The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, by Richard Hakluyt

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** Transcriber's Notes **

The printed edition from which this e-text has been produced retains the spelling and abbreviations of Hakluyt's 16th-century original. In this version, the spelling has been retained, but the following manuscript abbreviations have been silently expanded:

- vowels with macrons = vowel + 'n' or 'm'
- q; = -que (in the Latin)
- y[e] = the; y[t] = that; w[t] = with

This edition contains footnotes and two types of sidenotes. Most footnotes are added by the editor. They follow modern (19th-century) spelling conventions. Those that don't are Hakluyt's (and are not always systematically marked as such by the editor). The sidenotes are Hakluyt's
own. Summarizing sidenotes are labelled [Sidenote: ] and placed before the
sentence to which they apply. Sidenotes that are keyed with a symbol are
labeled [Marginal note: ] and placed at the point of the symbol, except in
poetry, where they are placed at a convenient point.

** End Transcriber's Notes **

THE PRINCIPAL

Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques

AND

Discoveries

OF

THE ENGLISH NATION.

Collected by

RICHARD HAKLUYT, PREACHER.
AND

Edited by

EDMUND GOLDSMID, F.R.H.S.

VOL. V.

CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN EUROPE.

Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries

IN

CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN EUROPE.

A Catalogue of the great Masters of the Order of the Dutch knights, commonly called the Hospitalaries of Jerusalem: and what great exploits every of the said Masters hath atchieued either in conquering the land of Prussia, or in taming and subduing the Infidels, or els in keeping them under their obedience and subjection, taken out of Munster.

The order of the Dutch knights had their first original at Jerusalem in the
yere of our Lorde 1190. within the Hospitall of the blessed Virgine: and
the first Master of the saide order was called Henrie of Walpot, vnder
whome many good things, and much wealth and riches were throughout all
Germanie and Italie procured vnto the order: and the saide Hospitall was
remoued from Ierusalem vnto Ptolemais, otherwise called Acon, and the
foresaid Order grew and mightily increased, whereof I will hereafter
discourse more at large in my Treatise of Syria. Henrie of Walpot deceased
in the yeere of Christ 1200. The 2. Master was Otto of Kerpen, and he
continued Master of the Order for the space of sixe yeeres. The 3. was
Hermannus Bart a godly and devout person, who deceased in the yeere 1210.
being interred at Acon, as his predecessors were. The 4. was Hermannus de
Saltza, who thirtie yeeres together governed the saide Order, and managed
the first expedition of warre against the Infidels of Prussia, and ordained
another Master also in Prussia to bee his Deputie in the same region.
[Sidenote: Ensiferi fratres.] In the yeere 1239. the knights of the sword,
who trauailed into Liuonia to convert the inhabitants thereof vnto Christ,
seeing they were not of sufficient force to performe that enterprise, and
that their enemies increased on all sides, they united themselves vnto the
famous Order of the Dutch knights in Prussia, that their worthie attempt
might bee defended and promoted by the aide and assistance of the saide
Dutch knights. [Sidenote: The first war moued against the Prussian
infidels, anno dom. 1239.] At the very same time the ensigne of the crosse
was exalted throughout all Germanie against the Prussians, and a great
armie of soldiers was gathered together, the Burgraue of Meidenburg being
generall of the armie, who combining themselves vnto the Dutch knights,
ioyned battell with the Infidels, and slew about five hundred Gentiles, who
beforetime had made horrible invasions and in-roads into the dominions of
Christians wasting all with fire and sword, but especially the land of
Colm, and Lubonia, which were the Provinces of Conrado Duke of Massouia.

Nowe, the foresaid knights having made so huge a slaughter, built the
castle of Reden, betweene Pomerania and the land of Colm, and so by degrees
they gotte footing in the lande, and daylie erected more castles, as
namely, Crutzburg, Wissenburg, Resil, Bartenstein, Brunsburg, and
Heilsburg, and furnished them all with garrisons. The fift Master of the
Order was Conrado Landgrauius, the brother of Lodouick, which was husband
vnto Ladie Elizabeth. This, Conrado, by his fathers inheritance, gaue
great riches and possessions vnto the Order, and caused Ladie Elizabeth to
be interred at Marburg, within the religious house of his saide Order.

Vnder the gouernment of this Master, Acon in the lande of Palestina was
subdued vnto the Saracens. Moreouer, in the yeere 1254. there was another
great armie of Souldiers prepared against Prussia, by the Princes of
Germanie. For Octacer, alias Odoacer king of Bohemia, Otto Marques of
Brandenburg, the Duke of Austria, the Marques of Morauia, the Bishops of
Colen and of Olmutz came marching on with great strength of their Nobles
and common Souldiers, and invading the lande of Prussia in the Winter
season, they constrained the inhabitants thereof to receiue the Christian
faith, and to become obedient vnto the knights. After which exploite, by
the aduise and assistance of king Odoacer, there was a castle built vpon a
certaine hill of Samogitia, which immediately after grewe to be a great
citie, being at this day the seate of the Prince of Prussia: and it was
called by Odoacer Kunigsburg, that is to say, Kings Mount, or Mount royall,
being finished in the yeere 1255. Out of this fort, the knights did bridle
and restraining the furie of the Infidels on all sides, and compelled them to
obedience. The sixt Master was called Boppo ab Osterna, vnder whom the
citie of Kunigsberg was built. [Sidenote: The Prussians abandon
Christianitie.] At the very same instant the knights being occupied about
the warre of Curland, the Prussians conspiring together, and abandoning the
Christian faith, in furious maner armed themselfes against the Christian,
defaced and burnt down Churches, slew Priests, and to the utmost of their
abilitie, banished all faithful people. The report of which misdemeanour
being published throughout all Germanie, an huge armie was leuied and sent
for the defence and succour of the knights, which marching into the land of
Natan, made many slaughters, and through the inconstancie of fortune
sometimes woonne, and sometimes lost the victorie. Also the Infidels
besieged these three castles, namely, Barstenstein, Crutzberg and
Kunigsberg, and brought extreame famine vpon the Christians contained
within the saide fortes. Againe, in the yeere of our Lord 1262. the Earle
of Iuliers, with other Princes and great chialerie came downe, and giuing
charge vpon the Prussians, put three thousand of them to the edge of the
sworde. Afterward the Prussians banding themselues together, were
determined to spoile the castle of Kunigsberg, but their confederacie being
disclosed, they had the repulse. And when the knightes had preuailed
against them, they laide in pledges, and yet for all that were not afraid
to breake their fidelitie. For vpon a certaine time, after they had giuen
duers pledges, they slewe two noble knights of the Order, and so by that
means incensed the principall of the saide order, insomuch that they
causd two paire of gallons to be set vp besides the castle, and thirtie of
the Prussians pledges to be hanged therupon. Which seueritie so vexed and
prouoked the Prussians, that in reuenge of the said injury, they renewed
bloody and cruel warres, slew many Christians, yea, and put 40. knights
with the master of the Order, and the Marshal, vnto the edge of the sword.
There was at the same instant in Pomerania a Duke called Suandepolcus,
professing the Christian faith, but being ioyned in league with the
Prussians, he indeuoured for many yeeres, not onely to expell the knights,
but all Christians whatsoever out of the lande of Prussia, in which warre
the foresaid knights of the Order suffered many abuses. For they lost
almost all their castles, and a great number of themselves also were
slaine. This Swandeapolcus put in practise many lewde attempts against
religion. For albeit he was baptised, he did more mischief than the very
Infidels themselves, until such time as the knights being assisted by the
Princes of Germanie, brought the said Duke and the Prussians also into
such straits, that (maugre their heads) they were constrained to sue for
peace. Afterward Swandeapolcus lying at the point of death, admonished his
sonnes that they should not doe any injurie unto the knights of the order,
affirming that himselfe neuer prospered so long as he urged warre against
them. Howbeit his sonnes for a certaine time obserued not their fathers
counsel, until at length one of them named Warteslaus, was created one the
Order, and the other called Samborus bestowed by legacie his goods and
possessions upon the said Order, receiving maintenance and exhibition from
the said Order, during the terme of his life. It fortuned also under the
government of the foresaid Master Boppo, that one Syr Martine a Golin
being accompanied with another knight, went into the countrey to see howe
the Prussians were employed. And meeting with three Prussians, they slew
two, and the thirde they reserved to guide them the directest way. But this
guide betrayed them into their enemies handes. Which when they perceiued,
ythey slew the Traytour. Then fiue Prussian horsemen came riding and tooke
them, deliuering them bounde to the custodie of two. And the other three
pursued the horses of the two, which broke loose in the time of the fraye.
And they tarying somewhat long, the other two would haue beheaded the two
Knights in the meane season. [Sidenote: A memorable stratageme.] And as
one of them was striking with his drawn sworde, at the neck of Sir
Martine, hee said vnto them: Sirs, you doe vnwisely in that you take not
off my garment before it bee defiled with blood. They therefore loosing the
Cordes wherewith hee was bounde, to take off his garment, set his armes
more at libertie. Which Syr Martine well perceiving reached his keeper such
a boxe, that his sworde fell to the grounde. Which hee with all speede
taking vp, slewe both the keepers and unbounde his fellowe Knight.
Moreouer, seeing the other three Prussians comming furiously vpon them with
stoute courageous hearts they made towards the saide Prussians, and slew
them, and so escaped the danger of death. The seveth great Master was
Hanno de Sangershusen, who deceased in the yeere one thousand two hundreth
seuentie fiue. The eight was Hartmannus ab Heldringen who deceased in the
yeere 1282. The ninth was Burckardus a Schuudenbe being afterwarde made
knight of the order of Saint Iohns. The tenth was Conradus a Feuchtuuang:
vnder this man the Citie of Acon in Palestina was sacked by the Soldan, and
manie people were slayne. The Templars which were therein returned home out
of Fraunce, where they had great reuenewes. The Knightes of Saint Iohn, who
also had an Hospitall at Acon, changed their place, and went into the Isle
of Cyprus, and from thence departing vnto Rhodes, they subdued that Islande
vnto themselves. Nowe the Dutch Knights abounded with wealth and
possessions throughout all Germanie, being Lordes of a good port of
Prussia, Liuonia, and Curland, whose chiefe house was then at Marpurg, til
such time as it was remooued vnto Marieburg, a Towne of Prussia. The
eleventh great Master was Godfrey Earle of Hohenloe. Vnder this man the
knights sustained a great overthrow in Liuonia: but hauing strengthened
their armie, they slewe neere vnto Rye foure thousande of their enemies.
The twelfth Master was Sifridus a Feuchtuuang. Vnder this man, the
principall house of the Order was translated from Marpurg to Marieburg,
which in the beginning was established at Acon, and from thence was
remooued vnto Venice, and from Venice vnto Marpurg. This Sifridus deceased
in the yeere 1341. The thirteenth Master was called Charles Beffart of
Triers. This man built a fort vpon the riuer of Mimmel, and it was named
Christmimmel. The foureteenth was Warnerus ab Orsele, whome a certaine
knight of the Order slewe with his sworde. The 15. was Ludolphus Duke of
Brunswick, who built the Towne of Ylgenburg, and deceased 1352. The
sixteenth was Theodoricus Earle of Aldenborg, and hee built the Towne of
Bartenstein. The seventeenth was Ludolphus sirnamed King. The eighteenth
was Henrie a Tusimer. The nineteenth Winricus a Knoppenrodt In this mans
time the knights took the king of the Lithuanians named Kinstut captiue,
and kept him prisoner in Marieburg halfe a yeere, but by the helpe of a
seruaunt, hauing broken out of the Castle, hee escaped away by night. But
fearing that hee was layde waite for in all places, hee left his horse, and
went on foote through vnknowen pathes. In the day time hee hidde himselfe
in secrete places, and in the night hee continued his iourney vntil hee
came vnto Massouia. But all the Knightes ioye was turned into sorrowe,
after they had lost so great an enemie. The twentieth grand Master was
Conradus Zolnerof Rotenstein. The one and twentieth Conradus Walenrod.
[Sidenote: This man sent an ambassage to Richard the Second.] The two and
twentieth Conradus a Iungingen, who deceased in the yeere one thousand
foure hundreth and seuen. The three and twentieth Vlricus a Iungingen. This
man dyed in battell in the yeere one thousand foure hundreth and tenne:
which battell was fought against Vladislaus Father of Casimire. Both partes
had leuied mightie and huge forces: vnto the Polonians the Lithuanians and
the Tartars had ioyned themselues, ouer whome one Vitoldas was capitaine:
the Dutch Knights had taken vp Souldiers out of all Germanie. And when
eache armie had encamped themselues one within twentie furlongs of another,
(hoping for victorie and impatient of delay) the great Master of the
Prussians sent an Herault to denounce warre vnto the King, and immediately
(alarme being giuen) it is reported that there were in both armies,
forty thousand horsemen in a readinesse. Vladislaus commaunded the
Lithuanians and the Tartars to giue the first onsette, and placed the
Polonians in the rerewarde of the battell: on the contrarie side, the
Prussians regarded least of all to reserue any strong troupes behinde,
which might rescue such as were wareie, and renewe the fight, if neede
shoulde require, but set forwarde the flower and chiualrie of all his
Souldiers in the verie forefront of the battell. The charge being giuen
certaine vnarmed Tartars and Lithuanians were slaine handsmooth: howbeit
the multitude pressed on, neither durst the fearefull Polonians turne their
backes, and so a cruell battell was fought vpon the heapes of dead
carkases. The combate continued a long time, terrible slaughters were
committed, and the Lithuanians and Tartars were slaine like sheepe. But
when newe and fresh enemies continually issued foorth, the Dutch knights
being wareied, began to fight more faintly. Which Vladislaus no sooner
perceiued, but in all haste hee sends forwarde his mightie and well armed
bande of Polonians, who suddenly breaking in renewed the skirmish. The
Dutch were not able to withstand the furie of the fresh troupes (great
oddes there is betweene the wearied Souldier and him that comes in a fresh)
insomuch that the knights with their people were constrained to flee. The
master of the Order seeing his souldiers giue way vnto the enemie, gathered
a companie together, and withstooede him in the face, howbeit himselfe was
slaine for his labour, the flight of his people proued greater and more
dishonourable, neither did the Dutch cease to flee, so long as the Polonian
continued the chase. There fell on the Knights partie manie thousands of
den, and the Polonians gotte not the victorie without great spoile and
damage. This battell was foughten in regard of the bounds of regions in the
yeere 1410. All Prussia following the happie success of the Polonian king
(except Marieburg onely) yeelded themselues vnto him being Conquerour.

Howbeit the Emperour Sigismund taking vp the quarell, peace was ordained between the knights and Polonia, and a league concluded, certaine summes of money also were paide vnto the Polonian, Prussia was restored vnto the knights, neither was the saide order disturbed in the possession of their lands vntill the time of Friderick. The 24. Master was Henrie Earle of Plaen. This man being deposed by the Chapter, was 7. yeres holden prisoner at Dantzik. The 25. Master was Michael Kuchenmeister, that is, master of the Cookes of Sternberg. The 26. was Paulus a Russdorff. The 27. Conradus ab Ellerichshausen. This man, after diuers and sundry conflicts betweene the Dutch knights, and the king of Polonia, concluded a perpetuall league with the saide king. Howbeit the citizens of Dantzig secretely going about to obtyne their freedome, that the foresaide Order might haue no dominion ouer them, made sute vnto the Polonian king to be their Protector. This Conradus died in the yeere 1450. The 28. was Lewis ab Ellerichshausen. Vnder this man there arose a dangerous sedition in Prussia betweene the chiefe cities and the knights of the Order. The citizens demanded libertie, complaining that they were oppressed with diuers molestations. Whereupon they primly made sute vnto Casimir then king of Polonia. The Master of the Order seeing what would come to passe began to expostulate with the king, that he kept not the peace which had bene concluded betweene them to last for euer. Also Frederick the Emperour commaunded the Prussians to returne vnto the obedience of the knights, who by the dint of their swordes had released that prouince out of the hands of Infidels, and had bought it with the shedding of much blood. Notwithstanding the popular sort persisting stil in their stubborne determination, proceeded at length to open warre. The cities adhearing vnto the king vsurped diuers Castles belonging to the Master, tooke certain Commanders and knights, yea, and some they slewe
also. Fiftie and fiue townes conspired together in that rebellion: but
thinking their estate and strength not sure enough against their own
gouernors without forrein aide, they chose king Casimir to be their lord.

Heereupon the Polonian king marched into Prussia with a great armie, taking
possession of such cities as yeelded themselues vnto him, and proceeding
forward against Marieburg, besieged the castle and the towne. [Sidenote:
The great master ouercommeth the king of Polonia.] In the meane season the
Master hauing hired an armie of Germane soildiers, suddenly surprised the
king at vnawares in his tents, and slewe about 300. Polonians, toke
prisoners 136. noblemen, spoiled their tents, toke away their horses,
victuals, and armour, insomuch that the king himselfe hardly escaped vpon
one horse. These things came to passe in the yeere 1455. The Master hauing
thus obtained the victorie, sent his armie into the countrey, and recouered
the castles and cities which he had lost, to the number of 80. putting many
of his enemies also vnto the sword. Moreover, he recouered Kunigsberg being
one of the foure principall cities, which are by name Thorne, Elburg,
Kunigsberg, and Gdanum, that is to say, Dantzig. [Sidenote: The king by
treason ouerthroweth the Master.] And when the warre was longer protracted
then the Master could well beare, and a whole yeres wages was vp_unpaid vnto
his captains, those captaines which were in the garrison of Marieburg
conspired against the Master, and for a great summe of money betrayed the
castle of Marieburg vnto the king. Which practise beeing known, the Master
fled to Kunigsberg, and newe warre was begunne, and great spoile and
desolation was wrought on both sides: vntill at length, after composition
made, the king retayned Pomerella, and all the castles and townes therein,
together with Marieburg and Elburg: and the master inioyed Samaitia,
Kunigsberg, &c. This composition was concluded in the yere 1466. The 29.
Master was Henrie Reuss, first being deputie, and afterwarde Master of
Prussia. The 30. was Henrie a Richtenberg, who deceased in the yeere 1477.
The 31. called Martine Truchses died in the yeere 1489. The 32. Iohn a
Tieffen died in the yeere 1500. The 33. being Duke of Saxonie, and marques
of Misn, deceased in the yeere 1510. This man began to call in question,
whether the foresaid composition concluded betweene the king of Polonia,
and the Order, were to bee observerd or no? especially sithence [Footnote:
Since, from _siththan_, SAX.
But, fair Fidessa, _sithens_ fortune's guile,
Or enimies power hath now captiv'd thee.
SPENS. _Faerie Queene_, I., IV., 57.]
it conteined certaine articles against equitie and reason. Whereupon he
appealed vnto the Bishop of Rome, vnto the Emperor, vnto the princes and
electors of Germany, and preuailed with them so farre forth, that there was
a day of hearing appointed at Posna in Polonia. And the Legates of both
parts meeting heard complaints and excuses, and dispatched no other
businesse. In the meane time Prince Frederick deceased in the tenth yeere
of his gouernment. The 34. Master was Albertus marques of Brandenburg,
[Footnote: Albrecht of Anspach and Baireuth, a scion of the Hohenzollerns.
He was a man of will and capacity, who reinvigorated the order of the
Teuton knights by renouncing Roman Catholicism and embracing Lutheranism,
while he consolidated its influence by erecting Prussia into a Duchy, whose
crown he placed on his own brow in 1525. After a prosperous reign he died
in 1550, and his son, having lost his reason, the elector John Sigismund of
Hohenzollern obtained the ducal crown in right of his wife Anna, daughter
of Duke Albert.] whom the King of Polonia did so grievously molest with
war, and oppressed all Prussia with such extreme rigour, that the Prince of
the countrey was constrained to make a league of foure yeeres with him, and
to yeeld vnto such conditions, as turned to the vtter overthrowe of the
whole Order. And amongst other conditions are these which follow. Sithence that the original of all discord between Polonia and the order doeth from hence arise, for that hitherto in Prussia, no lawfull heyre and successor hath borne rule and authority, but divers and sundry haue had the government thereof, by whose meanes the nations haue bene prouoked one against another, much Christian blood hath bin shed, the lands and inhabitants grievously spoiled, and many widowes and Orphans made: the Popes, Emperors, and Princes being often solicited for the establishing of that perpetual league, which Casimir hath heretofore concluded &c. Sithence also that the truce which hath bene agreed vpon of both parties is in short time to be expired; and that it is to bee feared, that bloody warres will then be renewed, and that all things will proove worse and worse, vnlesse some lawfull composition be made, and some good and wholesome devise be put in practise, as well for the benefit of the King and of his posteritie, as for the commoditie of the whole common weale of Prussia, especially considering that Albertus the Marques refuseth not to submitte himselfe to the Councell of the King, &c.

* * * * *

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

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

[Sidenote: The ancient assistance of the kings of England against infidels.] Whereas it is apparant, that diuers and sundrie times heeretofore, your famous progenitours and predecessours the kings of England haue alwaies bene gratious promoters and speciall friends vnto the generall Masters of the land of Prussia, and of the whole order: whereas also they haue vouchsafed, by their Barons, Knights, and other their nobles of the kingdome of England, vnto the Masters and order aforesaide, sundry and manifolde fauourable assistance in the conquest of the Infidels (in whose steppes your excellent Maiestie insisting, haue, in these your dayes shewed your selfie in like sort right graciously affected vnto the Master generall which nowe is, and vnto his famous Predecessour) in due consideration of the premisses, and in regard also of diuers other affaires, which are at this present to be propounded vnto your Highnes, the foresaid Master general which now is hath caused vs his messengers to be sent with letters of credence vnto your Maiestie: humbly praying, and earnestly beseeching your roial clemency, that in times to come, the said Master general, his successors, and our whole Order may of your bounty most graciously obtaine the same fauour, beneuolence, and stedfast amity and friendship, which hath bin continued from the times of your foresaid predecessors: in regard whereof, we do offer the said Master of ours, and our whole company, vnto your highnes, as your perpetual and deuote friends. Notwithstanding (most souereigne Prince) certaine other things we haue to propound vnto your Grace, in the name and behalfe of our saide Master and Order, by way of complaint, namely, that at certaine times past, and especially within the space of x. yeerers last expired, his subjectes and
marchants haue sustained sundry damages and ablations of their goods, by
diuers subiects and inhabitants of your realme of England, and that very
often both by sea and land: the which, for the behalf, and by the
appointment of the Master general aforesaid, and of his predecessor, are
put downe in registers, and recorded in the writings of his cities in the
land of Prussia. [Sidenote: Edward the 3.] Of which parties damnified, some
haue obtained letters from the Master general that now is, and also from
his predecessor, vnto your renowned grandfather K. Edward of famous memory,
and sundry times vnto your highnes also, to haue restitution made for their
goods taken from them: whereby they haue nothing at al preuailed, but
heaping losse vpon losse haue misspent their time and their charges: both
because they were not permitted to propound and exhibit their complaints
and letters before your maiesty, and also for diuers other impediments.
Certain of them also considering how others of their countriemen had
laboured in vain, and fearing the like successse, haue troubled the Master
general very often with grievous and sundry complaints, crauing and humbly
beseeching at his hands, that he would vouchsafe graciously to prouide for
them as his faithful and loial subiects, as touching the restitution of
their losses: especially seeing that so much wealth of the English
marchants was every yeere to be found in Prussia, as being arrested, they
might obtaine some reasonable satisfaction for their losses. Which thing
the Master general aforesaid and his predecessor also haue deferred vnto
this present (albeit to the great losse of their subiects) therby hauing
meere and principal respect vnto those special curtesies and fauours which
your excellent Maiesty and your worthy progenitors haue right gratiously
vouchsafed vpon our Masters and Order: neither yet for the injuries
aforesaid, was there euer any maner of offence, or molestation offered vnto
any of your subiects noble or ignoble whatsoeuer. Moreouer, in the name and
behalfe of our foresad Master general we do propound vnto your excellency by way of complaint, that in the yere last past, 6 dayes after the feast of the Ascension, certain persons of your realm of England, with their ships and captains comming vnto the port of Flanders, named Swen, and finding there, amongst sundry other, 6 ships of Prussia resident, which had there arriued with diuers goods and marchandises: and being informed that they were of Prussia, and their friends, they caused them and their ships to remain next vnto their owne ships, protesting vnto them, that they should in no sort be molested of damnified by themselues or by any other of their company, and that they would faithfully defend them, as if they were their own people, from the hands of their aduersaries: and for their farther security and trust, they deliuered some of their own men and their standerds into our mens ships: howbeit a while after being stirred vp, and bent far otherwise, they took out of the foresaid ships al kind of armors, wherewith they were to gard and defend themselues from pirats, and they deteined the masters of those ships, not suffring them to return vnto their own ships and companies, one also of the said ships (hauing taken al the goods out of her) they consumed with fire. And within 3. daies after they came with one accord vnto the abouenamed ships, and tooke away from them all goods and marchandises which they could find, and all the armour and weapons of the said ships, the chestes also of the marchants, of the ship-masters, and of other persons they brake open, taking out money, iewels, garments, and diuers other commodities: and so they inflicted vpon them irrecouerable losses and vnkind grieuances. And departing out of the foresaid hauen, they caried 2. of the Prussian ship-masters with them, as their captiues vnto an hauen of England called Sandwich. Who, being afterward released were compelled to sweare, that they should not declare the injuries offred vnto them, either before your roiall maiesty, or your
hon. Councell, or your chancelor: neither, were they permitted to come on
shore. And being offred such hard measure, when they made pitiful mones and
complaints vnto your foresaide subiects, amongst other matters they spake
on this wise vnto them: Do you complain of injurys and losses offered vnto
you? Loe, in your own countrey of Prussia there are English marchants, and
goods sufficient, go your waies home therfore, and recouer your losses,
taking two for one: and in this maner they were left, and so departed.
Afterward returning vnto the land of Prussia, they and their friends
repaired vnto the Master general, jointly and with one consent making their
complaint vnto him of the losses which had bin inflicted vpon them by your
subiects. And prostrating themselues at his feet, they all and euery of
them made their humble sutes, yet he would haue compassion on them, as vpon
his poore subiects, regarding themselues, their wiues, and children, and
pitying their distres, and penury, and that he would graciously procure
some redresse for them. And when he offred his letters vnto them, wishing
them to prosecute their cause before your highnes, they answered that they
were no way able to defray the expenses, and that others, who were in like
sort damnified, had laboured that way altogether in vain and to no purpose:
beseeching him again and again, that he would by another kind of means,
namely by arresting of your marchants and their goods procure them
restitution of their losses. [Sidenote: The arresting of the English goods
and marchants.] At length the Master general being moued by so many and so
great complaints, and by the molestation of his subiects, caused (albeoit
full sore against his will) a certaine portion of English marchants goods
to be laid hold on, and to be arrested, in his cities of Elburg and
Dantzik, and to be bestowed in sure places, vntil such time as he might
conveniently by his messengers propound and exhibit all and singular the
premisses vnto your highnes. And forasmuch as the foresaid Master general
and our Order do know no just occasion, whereby they have deserved your majesties indignation, but are firmly and most undoubtedly persuaded, to finde all curtesie, favour, and friendship at your Highnesse, according to your wonted clemency: the said Master generall therefore maketh no doubt, that all the above written damages and molestations, being in such sort, against God and justice, offered unto his subjects by yours, be altogether unknown unto your magnificence, and committed against your mind: wherefore presently upon the foresaid arrest of your merchants goods, he dispatched his messengers unto your royal majesty. Wherof one deceased by the way, namely, in the territory of Holland: and the other remained sick in those parts, for a long season: and so that ambassage took none effect. Wherefore the said master general was desirous to send us now the second time also unto your Highnes. We do make our humble suit therefore, in the name and behalf of our master and Order aforesaid, unto your kingly supremacy, that, having God and justice before your eyes, and also the dutiful and obsequious demeanor of the said master, and order towards you, you would vouchsafe to extend your gracious clemency, for the redresse of the premisses: whereby the foresaid losses may be restored and repaid unto our subjects. All which notwithstanding, that it would please you of your wisedome and prudence to procure so absolute a remedy, by means whereof, in time to come, such dealings and inconveniences may be avoided on both parts, and finally that your merchants may quietly be possessed of their goods arrested in Prussia, and our merchants may be admitted unto the possession of their commodities attached in England, to convert and apply them unto such uses, as to themselves shall seem most convenient. Howbeit (most gracious prince and lord) we are to sollicite your Highnesse, not onely about the articles to be propounded concerning the losses aforesaide, but more principally, for certain sinister reports and superstitious
slanders, wherewith certaine of your subiects, not seeking for peace, haue falsely informed your maiesty, and your most honorable and discreete Counsle: affirming that at the time of the aforesaid arrest your marchants were barbarously intreated, that they were cast into lothsom prisons, drenched in myre and water up to the neck, restrained from al conference and company of men, and also that their meat was thrown vnto them, as a bone to a dog, with many other enormities, which they haue most slanderously devise concerning the master general aforesaid, and his people, and haue published them in these dominions: vpon the occasion of which falsehoode certain marchants of our parts, and of other regions of Alemain (who, of your special beneuolence, were indued with certaine priuileges and fauours in your citie of London, and in other places) were, as malefactors, apprehended and caried to prison, vntil such time as the trueth was more apparant. Whereupon, the foresaide master generall propoundeth his humble sute vnto your maiestie, that such enemies of trueth and concord, your Maiesty woulde vouchsafe in such sort to chastise, that they may be an example vnto others presuming to doe the like.

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

Richard by the grace of God, king of England, and France, and lorde of
Ireland. To all, vnto whom these present letters shall come, greeting. We
haue seene and considered the composition, ordination, concord, and
treatie, betweene our welbeloued clearke, master Nicholas Stocket,
licentiat in both lawes, Walter Sibel, and Thomas Graa, citizens of our
cities of London and York, our messengers and ambassadors on the one part:
and the honourable and religious personages, Conrado de Walrode, great
commander, Sifridus Walpode de Bassenheim, chiefe hospitalary commander in
Elburg, and Vlricus Hachenberg Treasurer, the messengers and ambassadors of
the right reuerend and religious lord, lord Conrado Zolner de Rothenstein,
master general of the knightly order of the Dutch hospital of Saint Mary at Jerusalem on the other part, lately concluded and agreed upon in these words. In the name of the supreme and indivisible Trinity, the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen. Forasmuch as the author of peace will have peacemakers to be the sons of blessedness, and the execrable enemy of peace to be expelled out of the dominions of Christians: therefore for the perpetuall memorie of the thing, be it knowne unto all men who shall see or heare the tenour of these presents: that there being matter of dissension and discord bred betwene the most renowned prince and king, Richard by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and his subiects on the one part: and the right reverend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothinstein, Master general of the knightly order of the Dutch hospital of S. Marie at Jerusalem, and his land of Prussia, and his subiects also, on the other part: the foresaid lord and general master, upon mature counsell and deliberation had, sent his honourable ambassadours towards England vnto the forenamed most soueraigne prince and king, to propound and make their complaint vnto him of violence and injuries offered (as it is sayd) by the English vnto the Prussians: in consideration whereof certaine goods of the marchants of England were arrested in the land of Prussia. Whose complaint the foresaid most gracious prince did courteously and friendly admit, receiue, and accept, and after many speeches vuttered in this treaty, louingly dismissed them vnto their owne countrey againe, promising by his letters vnto the foresaid reverend Master general, that hee would dispatch his ambassadours vnto the land of Prussia. [Sidenote: 1388.] Whereupon, in the yeere 1388. he sent the hono: and reverend personages Master Nicholas Stocket licentiate of both lawes, Thomas Graa, and Walter Sibill, citizens of London and Yorke, with sufficient authority and full commandement, to handle, discusse, and
finally to determine the foresaid busines, and with letters of credence
vnto the right reuerend lord and master generall aforesayd. Which
ambassadours, together with Iohn Beuis of London their informer, and the
letters aforesaid, and their ambassage, the said right reuerend lord and
Master generall, at his castle of Marienburgh, the 28. of Iuly, in the
yeare aforesaid, reuerently and honourably receiued and enterteined; and in
his minde esteemed them worthy to treate and decide the causes aforesayd;
and so vnto the sayd ambassadours he ioyned in commission on his behalfe,
three of his owne counsellors, namely the honourable and religious
personages Conradus de Walrode great commander, Seiffridus Walpode de
Bassenheim chiefe hospitalary and commander in Elburg, Wolricus
Hachenberger treasurer, being all of the order aforesaid. Which ambassadors
so entreating about the premisses, and sundry conferences and consultations
hauing passed between them, friendly and with one consent, concluded an
agreement and concord in manner following: That is to say:

[Sidenote: 1.] First, that all arrestments, reprisals, and impignorations
of whatsoeuer goods and marchandises in England and Prussia, made before
the date of these presents, are from henceforth quiet, free, and released,
without all fraud and dissimulation: insomuch that the damages, charges and
expenses occasioned on both parts by reason of the foresayd goods arrested,
are in no case hereafter to be required or chalenged by any man: but the
demaunds of any man whatsoeuer propounded in this regard, are and ought to
be altogether frustrate and voide, and all actions which may or shall be
commenced by occasion of the sayd goods arrested, are to be extinct and of
none effect.
[Sidenote: 2.] Moreover, it is secondly concluded and agreed, that all and
singuler Prussians pretending themselues to be injured by the English at
the Porte of Swen, or elsewhere, howsoever, and whenssoever, before the date
of these presents, having receiued the letters of the foresaid right
reuerende lord and Master generall, and of the cities of their abode, are
to repayre towards England, vnto the sayd hon: embassadours, who are to
assist them, and to propound and exhibite their complaints, into the
forenamed lord and king. The most gracious prince is bounde to doe his
indeuor, that the parties damnedified may haue restitution of their goods
made vnto them, or at least complete iustice and iudgement without delay.
Also in like manner all English men affirming themselues to haue bene
endamaged by Prussians, wheresoever, howsoever, and whenssoever, are to haue
recourse vnto the often forenamed right reuerend lorde the Master generall,
with the letters of their king and of the cities of their aboad,
propounding their complaints and causes vnto him. Who likewise is bound to
do his indeuour that the sayd losses and damages may be restored, or at
the least that speedie judgement may be, without all delayes, executed.
This caueat being premised in each clause, that it may and shall be freely
granted and permitted vnto euery man that will citually make his suite and
complaint, to doe it either by himselfe, or by his procurator or
procurators.

[Sidenote: 3.] Also thirdly it is agreed, that whosoeuer of Prussia is
determined criminally to propound his criminal complaints in England:
namely that his brother or kinseman hath beene slaine, wounded, or maimed,
by English men, the same partie is to repayre vnto the citie of London in
England, and into the sayd ambassadors, bringing with him the letters of
the said right reverend lord and master generall, and of the cities of
their abode: which ambassadors are to haue free and full authority,
according to the complaints of the men of Prussia, and the answers of the
English men, to make and ordaine a friendly reconciliation; or honest
recompence betweene such parties: which reconciliation the sayd parties
reconciled are bound undoubtedly and without delay to obserue. But if there
be any English man found, who shall rashly contradict or contemne the
composition of the foresaid ambassadors: then the sayd ambassadours are to
bring the forenamed Prussian plaintifes before the presence of the kings
Maiestie: and also to make supplication on the behalfe of such plaintifes,
that complete iustice and iudgment may without delayes bee administred,
according as those suites are commenced. Moreover whatsoever English man,
against whom anie one of Prussia would enter his action, shall absent
himselfe at the terme, the said ambassadours are to summon and ascite the
foresayd English man to appeare at the terme next insuing, that the
plaintifes of Prussia may in no wise seeme to depart or to returne home,
without iudgement or the assistance of lawe. Nowe if the sayd English man
being summoned shall be found stubborne or disobedient, the forenamed
ambassadours are to make their appeale and supplication in manner
aforesayd. And in like sorte in all respects shall the English plaintifes
be dealt withall in Prussia, namely in the citie of Dantzic, where the
deputies of the sayd citie and of the citie of Elburg shal take vnto
themselves two other head boroughs, one of Dantzic, and the other of
Elburg: which foure commissioners are to haue in al respects, the very like
authority of deciding, discussing, and determining all criminall complaints
propounded criminally, by English men against any Prussian or Prussians, by
friendly reconciliation, or honest recompense, if it be possible. But if it
cannot friendly be determined, or if anie Prussian shall not yeeld
obedience vn-to any such order or composition, but shalbe found to
correct and to contemne the same: from thenceforth the said foure
deleys and head-boroughs are to make their appeale and supplication into
the Master generall of the land aforesayd, that vn-to the sayd English
plaintifes speedy judgement and complete iustice may be administred. But if
it shal so fall out that any of the principall offenders shall decease, or
already are deceased in either of the sayd countries, that then it shal
bee free and lawfull for the plaintife to prosecute his right against the
goods or heires of the party deceased. Also, for the executing of the
premisses the termes vnnder written are appointed: namely the first, from
the Sunday whereupon Quasi modo geniti is to be sung next ensuing, vntill
the seuenth day following: The second vpon the feast of the holy Trinitie
next to come, and for seuen dayes following: The third vpon the eight day
after Saint John Baptist next to come, and for seuen daies following: The
fourth, last, and peremptory terme shall be vpon the feast of S. Michael
next to come, and vpon seuen dayes next following. And from thenceforth all
dauses which concerne death, or the mayming of a member, with all actions
proceeding from them, are to remaine altogether voide and extinct. And if
peraduenture any one of the foresayd ambassadours, shall in the meane
season dye, then the other two shall haue authoritie to chuse a third vn-to
them. [Sidenote: An ancient custome.] And if after the date of these
presents any cause great or small doth rise or spring forth, it must bee
decided in England and in Prussia, as it hath beene accustomed in times
past and from ancient times.

[Sidenote: 4. The priuileges of the English marchants in Prussia.] Also, it
is farther concluded and agreed vpon, that all lawfull marchants of England
whosoeuer shall haue free licence and authority, with all kindes of
shippes, goods, and marchandises, to resorte vnto euery port of the land of
Prussia, and also to transport all such goods and marchandises vp farther
vnio any other place in the sayde land of Prussia, and there with all
kindes of persons freely to bargaine and make sale, as heretofore it hath
from auncient times bene accustomed. Which priuiledge is granted in all
things and by all circumstances vnto the Prussians in England. And if after
the date of these presents betweene the sayd kingdome of England, and land
of Prussia any dissension or discorde (which God forefend) should arise:
then the foresayd souereigne prince and king of England, and the sayd right
reuerend lord the Master generall are mutually by their letters and
messengers to giue certificate and intimation one vnto another, concerning
the matter and cause of such dissension and discord: which intimation, on
the behalfe of the foresaid souereigne prince and king of England, shall be
deliuered in the forenamed castle of Marienburg: but on the behalfe of the
sayd right reuerend lord the Master generall, such intimation shall be
given in the citie of London aforesayd, vnto the Maior of the said city:
that then such a denuntiation or intimation being made, the marchants of
England and the subjectes of the land of Prussia may, within the space of
one yeere next following, freely and safely returne home with al their
goods and marchandises: if at the least, in the mean while, some
composition, and friendly league betweene the two foresayd countreis be not
in some sorte concluded. And that all the premisses may more firmly and
faithfully be put in due practise and execution on both partes, for the
strong and inuiolable keeping peace and tranquillity: and also for the full
confirmation and strengthening of all the sayde premisses, the three
foresayd honourable and religious personages being by the said right
reuerend lord the Master general appointed as commissioners to deale in the
above written ordination and composition, have caused their seals unto
these presents to be put: and the said ordination also, and letter in the
same tenor word for word, and in all points even as it is inserted into
these presents, they have mutually received from the above named three
ambassadors of the right soueraigne king of England under their seals.
Given at the castle of Marienburg in the yeare of our lord aforesaid, upon
the twentieth day of the moneth of August. And we therefore doe accept,
approve, ratifie, and by the tenor of these presents doe confirme, the
composition, ordination, concorde, and treaty aforesaid. In testimony
whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness our
selues at Westminster the 22. of October, in the thirteenth yeare of our
reigne.

By the king and his counsell.

Lincolne.

* * * * *

The letters of Conradas de Iungingen, Master general of Prussia, written
unto Richard the second, king of England, in the yeere 1398, for the
renouncing of a league and composition concluded betweene England and
Prussia, in regard of manifold injuries, offered unto the Prussians.

Our humble commendations, with our earnest prayers unto God for your
Maiestie, premised. Most renowned prince and mighty lord, it is not (we hope) out of your Maiesties remembrance, how our famous predecessour going immediately before vs sent certaine letters of his vnnto your highnesse, effectually contayning sundry complaints of grieuances, injuries and losses, wherewith the marchants of his lande and Order, being woont in times past to visite your kingdome with their goods and marchandises, haue bene contrary to their liberties and priuiledges annoyed with manifold injuries and wrongs. Especially sithens they haue beene molested in your realme, being contrary to the friendly composition made and celebrated by the hono: personages, master Nicholas Stocket, Thomas Graa and Walter Sibil, in the yeare 1388, with the assistance of their coarbiters on our part and contrary to God and all iustice, oppressed with manifold damages, losses, and grieuances: as in certaine articles exhibited vnnto our predecessors aforesayd it doeth more manifestly appeare. In consideration whereof being vehemently moued by the damnified parties, he humbly besought your highnesse by his messengers and letters, for complement and execution of iustice. About the which affayres your Maiestie returned your letters of answere vnnto our sayd predecessor, signifying that the sayd businesse of articles concerned al the communality of your realme, and that your highnesse purposed, after consultation had in your parliament, to send a more deliberate, answere concerning the premisses, vnnto our predecessour aforesayd. Howbeit he being by death translated out of this present world, and our selues by the prouidence of God succeeding in his roome, and also long time expecting an effectuall answere from your highnesse, are not yet informed as we looked for: albeit the complaints of injurys and losses offered vnnto our subjectes doe continually increase. But from hencefoorth, to prouide a remedie and a caueat for the time to come, the sayd complaynt doeth vpon great reasons mooue and inuite me. Sithens therefore in regard
of the sayd composition, neither you nor your subjects may be judged in the
empire: and sithens plaine reason requireth that the one be not inriched by
the others losse: as undoubtedly our subjects should sustaine great damage
by the composition aforesayd, by vertue whereof your subjects doe enjoy all
commodities in our lande, and contrariwise our subjects in your realme haue
suffered, and as yet sundrie wayes do suffer manifold discommodities,
losses and injurys. Wherefore (most soueraigne prince and mighty lord)
being reasonably moued vpon the causes aforesayd, we doe, by the advise of
our counsellors, reuoke and repeale the sayd composition concluded as is
aboue written, together with the effect thereof, purely and simply
renouncing the same by these presents: refusing hereafter to haue either
our selues or our subjects in any respect to stand bound by the vertue of
the sayd composition: but from henceforth, and for the times heretofore
also, bee it altogether void and of none effect.

Provided notwithstanding, that from the time of the notice of this
denunciation giuen vnto the hono: Maior of your citie of London, for the
space of a yeare next ensuing, it shall be lawfull for all marchants of
your kingdome whatsoeuer, with their goods and marchandises to returne
home, according to the forme in the foresayd composition expressed:
conditionaly that our subjects may euen so in all respects be permitted to
depart, with the safety of their goods and liues out of your dominions:
this present renuntiation, reuocation, and retractation of the order and
composition aforesayd, notwithstanding. Howbeit in any other affayres
whatsoeuer, deuoutly to submit our selues vnto your highnesse pleasure and
command, both our selues, and our whole order are right willing and
desirous: and also to benefite and promote your subjects we wil indeuour to
the utmost of our ability, Given in our castle of Marienburgh in the yeare of our Lord 1398, and vpon the 22. day of February.

Frater Conradus de Iungingen, master generall of the Order of the Dutch knights of S. Maryes hospital at Ierusalem.

* * * * *

A briefe relation of William Esturmy, and Iohn Kington concerning their ambassadors into Prussia, and the Hans-townes.

[Sidenote: 1403.] Inprimis, that in the moneth of Iuly, and in the yeare of our Lord 1403, and the fift yeare of the reigne of our souereigne Lord the king that nowe is, there came into England the ambassadours of the mighty lord Fr: Conradus de Iungingen, being then Master general of Prussia, with his letters directed vnto our foresayd souereigne lord the king, requiring amends and recompense for certaine injuries vniustly offered by English men vnto the subjectes of the sayd Master generall, written in 20. articles, which amounted vnto the summe of 19120. nobles and a halfe &c.

Item, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our Lord abouewritten, and in the fift yere of the reigne of our soueraigne lord the king, between the reuerend father in God, Henrie then bishop of Lincolne...
lord chancelor, and William lord de Roos high treasurer of England, on the
one party and the sayd ambassadours on the other party, it was (according
to their petition) amongst other things ordayed: namely that the liege
people of our soueraigne lord the king should freely be permitted, vntill
the feast of Easter then next after ensuuing to remaine in the land of
Prussia, and from thence with their goods and marchandises to returne vnto
their own homes, and also, that the subiects of the sayd Master generall in
the kingdome of England should haue licence and liberty to doe the like.
Prouided alwayes, that after the time aboue limitted, neither the English
marchants in the land of Prussia, nor the Prussian marchants in the realme
of England should vse any traffique of marchandise at all, vnlesse in the
meane space it were otherwise agreed and concluded by the sayd king and the
sayd Master general.

Item, immediately after our sayd soueraigne lord the king sent his letters
by Iohn Browne marchant of Lin vnto the aforesayd Master generall, for to
haue mutuall conuersation and intercourse of dealing to continue some
certain space, betweene the marchants of England and of Prussia: promising
in the same letters, that he would in the meane season send vnto the
foresayd Master his ambassadors to intreat about the pretended iniuries
aforesaide: which letters the foresayd Master, for diuers causes, refused
to yeelde vnto, as in his letters sent vnto our lord the king, bearing date
the 16. day of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare of our lord 1404. more
plainely appeareth.

Item, that after the receit of the letters of the Master aforesaid, which
are next aboue mentioned, our sayd king, according to his promise, sent
William Esturmy knight, M. Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London, from his court of parliament holden at Couentrie, very slightly informed, as his ambassadours into Prussia.

Item, before the arriuall of the sayd ambassadours in Prussia, all intercourse of traffique betweene the English and the Prussians, in the realme of England, and in the land of Prussia was altogether restrained and prohibited: and in the same land it was ordainyed and put in practise, that in whatsoeuer porte of the land of Prussia any English marchant had arriued with his goods, he was not permitted to conueigh the sayd goods, out of that porte, vnto any other place of the land of Prussia, either by water, or by lande, vnder the payne of the forfeiting of the same: but was enioyned to sell them in the very same porte, vnto the Prussians onely and to none other, to the great preiudice of our English marchants.

[Sidenote: 1405.] Item, that after the arriuall of the sayd English ambassadours in the land of Prussia, it was ordainyed, that from the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeare of our lord 1405, all English marchants whatsoeuer should haue free liberty to arriue with all kindes of their marchandise in whatsoeuer port of the land of Prussia, and to make sale of them in the said land, as hath heretofore from auncient times bene accustomed. Also sundry other commodious priuiledges vnto the realme of England were then ordainyed and established: as in the indentures made for this purpose it doth more manifestly appeare.

Item, the said English ambassadours being arriued in the land of Prussia,
demanded of the said Master generall, a reformation and amends, for the
damages and injuries offered by the Prussians vnto the liege people of our
souvereigne lord and king, written in fifteene articles, which losses
amounted vnto summe of 4535. nobles.

Item, the said Master generall, besides the articles exhibited vnto our
souveraigne lord the king (as it is aboue mentioned) deliuered vnto the sayd
ambassadours diuers other articles of certaine injuries offered (as he
sayth) vniustly by English men, vnto his subiects, which amounted vnto the
summe of 5200. nobles.

[Sidenote: 1406.] Item, it was afterward concluded, that vpon the first of
May next then insuing, namely in the yeere of our Lord 1406, or within the
space of one yeare immediately following there should bee made a
conuenient, iust, and reasonable satisfaction, for all molestations
vniustly offered on both partes, as well on the behalfe, of our soueraigne
lord the king, as of the foresayd Master general. Which satisfaction not
being performed, the Prussians with their goods and merchandises, within
three moneths after the end of the sayd yere next following, were without
molestation or impediment, enioined to depart out of the realme of England
with their ships and goods, and the English men likewise, out of the
territories and dominions of the said Master general, and both of them,
without any further admonition, to abstaine and separate themselues, from
both the countreis aforesayd. For the performance of which premisses, the
ambassadors on both parts being sufficiently instructed, were appointed to
meete the first day of May, at the towne of Dordract in Holland.
Item, that the sayd William Esturmy and Iohn Kington in their returne homewards from Prussia towards England passed through the chiefe cities of the Hans, and treated in such sorte with the Burgomasters of them, that there were sent messengers and agents, in the behalfe of the common society of the Hans marchants, vnto the towne of Dordract, to conferre with the ambassadors of England, about the redressing of iniuries attempted on both parts: where diuers agreements were set downe betweene the sayd ambassadors, and messengers, as in the indentures made for the same purpose it doth more manifestly appeare.

Item, that the meeting appointed at the towne of Dordract, vpon the first of May, was by the letters of the foresayd ambassadors, proroged vnto the first of August then next ensuing, and afterward by vertue of the kings letters vnto the first day of March next following: and there was another day of prorogation also.

Item, that after the prorogations aforesayd, the ambassadors of England, and the messengers and commissioners of Prussia met together at the towne of Hage in Holland, the 28. day of August, in the yere of our lord 1407. And there was a treaty between them concerning the summe 25934. nobles and an halfe, demanded on the behalfe of the sayd Master generall for amends and recompence in consideration of wrongs offered vnto himselfe and vnto his subiects of Prussia, as is aforesayd. Also the sayd Master and his Prussians, besides the summe not yet declared in the articles, which is very small, are to rest contented and satisfied with the summe of 8957. nobles, in lieu of al the damages aforesaid: no times of paiement being then
assigned or limited, but afterward to be reasonably limited and assigned, by our sayd soueraigne lord the king. Insomuch, that our said soueraigne lord the king is to write his ful intention and determination concerning this matter, in his letters to be deliuered the 16. day of March, vnto the aldermen of the marchants of the Hans residing at Bruges. Otherwise, that from thenceforth all league of friendship shall bee dissolued betweene the realme of England and the land of Prussia.

Also it is farther to be noted, that in the appointment of the summe next before written to be disbursed out of England, this condition was added in writing, namely, that if by lawful testimonies it may sufficiently and effectuall be proueed, concerning the chiefe articles aboue written, or any part of them, that satisfaction was made vnto any of those parties, to whom it was due: or that the goods, of and for the which complaint was made on the behalfe of Prussia, in the sayd articles, did or doe pertayne vnto others, or that any other iust, true, or reasonable cause may lawfully be proued and alledged, why the foresaid sums or any of them ought not to be payed: that then in the summes contained in the articles aboue mentioned, so much only must be cut off, or stopped, as shal be found, either to haue bene payd already, or to appertaine vnto others, or by any true, iust, and reasonable cause alledged, not to be due. Neither is it to be doubted, but for the greater part of the summe due vnto the Prussians, that not our lord the king, but others (which will in time be nominated) are, by all equity and iustice, to be compelled to make satisfaction.

Also, at the day and place aboue mentioned it was appointed and agreed vpon, that our lord the king and his liege subiects, for the said 4535.
nobles demanded of the English in consideration of recompence to be made for injuries offered vnto the Prussians, are to discharge and pay the summe of 764. nobles, which are not as yet disbursed: but they haue reserved a petition to them, vnto whom the sayd summe is due, or if they please, there shalbe made satisfaction: which will be very hard and extreme dealing.

Item, that in the last assembly of the sayd ambassadors of England and messengers of Prussia, holden at Hage, made as is aforesayd, for the behalfe of England, there were exhibited anew certaine articles of injuries against the Prussians. The value of which losses amounted vnto the summe of 1825. nobles and three shillings.

Item, on the contrary part for the behalfe of the Prussians the summe of 1355. nobles, eight shillings and sixe pence.

Item, forasmuch as diuers articles propounded, as well on the behalfe of England, as of Prussia, and of the cities of the Hans, both heretofore and also at the last conuention holden at Hage, were so obscure, that in regard of their obscurity, there could no resolute answere bee made vnto them: and other of the sayd articles exhibited, for want of sufficient proofes, could not clearely be determined vpon: it was appointed and concluded, that all obscure articles giuen vp by any of the foresayd parties whatsoeuer, ought before the end of Easter then next ensuing, and within one whole yeare after, to be declared before the Chancelour of England, for the time being; and other articles euidently exhibited, but not sufficiently proued, to be proued, vnder paine of perpetuall exclusion. Which being done accordingly,
complete iustice shall be administred on both parts.

Item, as concerning the eleuenth article, for the behalfe of the Prussians, first exhibited, which conteined losses amounting vnto the summe of 2445. nobles: as touching the first article on the behalfe of England exhibited in the land of Prussia, containing losses which amounted to the summe of 900. nobles: after many things alleadged on both parts, relation thereof shall be made in the audience of the king and of the master generall: so that they shall set downe, ordaine, and determine such an ende and conclusion of those matters, as shall seeme most expedient vnto them.

Now concerning the Liuonians who are subiect vnto the great Master of Prussia.

Inprimis, that the Master of Prussia demaunded of the sayd English ambassadours, at their being in Prussia, on the behalfe of them of Liuonia, who are the sayd Master his liege people, to haue restitution of their losses, vnjustly (as he sayth) offered vnto them by the English, namely, for the robbing and rifling of three ships. [Sidenote: These ships were taken by the English the 20. Iuly 1404.] The value of which ships and of the goods contained in them, according, to the computation of the Liuonian marchants, doeth amount vnto the summe of 8037. pound, 12. shillings 7. pence.

Howbeit afterward the trueth being inquired by the sayd ambassadors of England, the losse of the Liuonians exceedeth not the summe of 7498. pound,
13. shillings, 10. pence halfepeny farthing.

Item, forasmuch as in the sayd ships, on the behalfe of the sayd Master, and of certaine cities of the Hans, there are alleadged abowe 250. men very barbarously to be drowned, of whome some were noble, and others honourable personages, and the rest common marchants and mariners, there was demaunded, in the first dyet or conuention holden at Dordract, a recompense at the handes of the sayd English ambassadors: albeit this complaint was exhibited in the very latter end of al the negotiations, in forme of a scedule, the tenor whereof is in writing at this present, and beginneth in maner following: Cum vita hominum &c. Howbeit in the last conuention holden at Hage, as is aforesaid, it was concluded betweene the ambassadours of England, and the messengers and commissioners of the land of Prussia, and of the cities of the Hans; that our sayd soueraigne lord the king, should, of his great pietie, vouchsafe effectually to deuise some conuenient and wholesome remedie for the soules of such persons as were drowned.

Item, that our sayd soueraigne lord the king will signifie in writing his full purpose and intention as touching this matter, vnto the aldermen of the Hans marchants residing at Bruges, vpon the sixtenth day of March next following. Otherwise, that from hencefoorth all amity and friendship, betweene the realme of England and the land of Prussia shall be dissolued.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that a great part of the sayd goods, for the which they of Liuonia doe demaund restitution, namely waxe and furres, redounded vnto the vse and commoditie of our soueraigne lord the king. And
also our said soueraigne lord the king gaue commandement by his letters,
that some of the sayd goods should be deliuered vnto others. And a great
part of them is as yet reserued in the towne of Newcastle. One Benteld also
hath the best of the sayd three ships in possession. Also it is reported
and thought to be true, that certaine Furriers of London, which will be
detected in the end, haue had a great part of the sayd goods, namely of the
Furres.

Now as concerning the cities of the Hans.

[Sidenote: Hamburgh.] Inprimis the Hamburgers exhibited nine articles,
wherein they demaundd restitution for certaine damages offered, as they
sayd, by the English men, the value of which losses amounted vnto the summe
of 9117. nobles, 20 pence. For the which, after due examination, there was
promised restitution to the summe of 416. nobles, 5. shillings. Besides the
two articles propounded against them of Scardeburg, the summe whereof was
231. pounds, 15s. 8d. concerning the which there was sentence giuen in
England by the commissioners of our lord the king, the execution whereof
was promised vnto the said Hamburgers by the ambassadors of England: leaue
and licence being reserued vnto the sayd Hamburgers, of declaring or
explaining certaine obscure articles by them exhibited, which declaration
was to be made at the feast of Easter then next to come, or within one
yeare next ensuing the said feast, vnto the chancelor of England for the
time being, and of proouing the sayd articles and others also, which haue
not as yet sufficiently bene proued. Which being done they are to haue full
complement and execution of iustice.
Also by the Hamburgers there are demanded 445. nobles from certaine of the inhabitants of Linne in England. Which summe, if it shalbe proued to be due vnto any English men, the Hamburgers are to rest contented with those goods, which they haue already in their possessions.

[Sidenote: Breme.] Item, they of Breme propounded sixe articles, wherein the summe conteined amounteth vnto 4414. nobles. And there was no satisfaction promised vnto them. But the same libertie and licence was reserued vnto them, in like maner as before vnto the Hamburgers.

[Sidenote: Stralessund] Item, they of Stralessund propounded 23. articles, whereof the summe amounted vnto 7415. nobles, 20. d for the which there was promised satisfaction of 253. nobles, 3. d. Also here is a caueat to be obserued: that they of Stralessund had of English mens goods a great summe particularly to be declared, which will peraduenture suffice for a recompense. And some of their articles are concerning injuries offered before 20, 22, 23, 24. yeres past. Also their articles are so obscure that they will neuer, or very hardly be able to declare or proue them. Howbeit there is reserued the very same liberty vnto them, that was before vnto the Hamburgers.

[Sidenote: Lubec] Item, they of Lubec propounded 23. articles, the summe whereof extended vnto 8690. nobles and an halfe: whereupon it was agreed, that they should haue paied vnto them 550. nobles. There was reserued the same libertie vnto them, which, was vnto the men of Stralessund.
Item, they of Gripeswold exhibited 5. articles, the summe whereof amounted vnto 2092. nobles and an halfe. For the which there was promised satisfaction of 153. nobles and an half. And the said men of Gripeswold haue of the goods of English men in possession, to the value of 22015. nobles, 18. s. as it is reported by them of Linne. And the same libertie is reserved vnto them that was vnto the Hamburgers.

[Sidenote: Campen.] Item, they of Campen propounded ten articles, the summe whereof extended vnto 1405. nobles. There is no satisfaction promised vnto them: but the same liberty is reserved vnto them, which was vnto the other aboue mentioned.

Item, the ambassadors of England demanded of the citizens of Rostok and Wismer, for damages and injuries by them committed against the subiects of the foresayd souereigne king 32407. nobles. 2. s. 10. d. And albeit every of the foresayd cities sent one of their burgomasters vnto the towne of Hage in Holland, to treat with the English ambassadours, it was in the end found out, that they had not any authority of negociating or concluding ought at al. And therefore they made their faithfull promises, that every of the said cities should send vnto our soueraigne Lord the king one or two procurator or procurators sufficiently instructed to treat and conclude with our said souereigne lord the king about the damages and injuries aforesaid at the feast of the natiuitie of Saint Iohn the Baptist.

* * * * *
Compositions and ordinances concluded between the messengers of Frater Conradus de Iungingen master generall of Prussia: and the chancelor and treasurer of the realme of England 1403.

In the yere of our Lord 1403, vpon the feast of S. Michael the Archangel, the right hono: Henrie bishop of Lincoln, chancelor of England, and the lord de Roos high treasurer of England, and the ambassadors of Prussia, Iohn Godek of Dantzik, and Henry Monek of Elbing, masters of the same cities haue at Westminster treated in maner of composition about the articles vnderwritten: between the most souereigne lord the king of England, and the right reuerend and honorable Conradus de Iungingen Master general of Prussia as concerning the iniuries offered vnto the people of Prussia and Liuonia vpon the sea by the English.

First, that all ships with their appurtenances, and the commodities of the mariners, according vnto the condition of the things, and all other goods taken away by the English, which are actually undiuided and whole, are incontinently and with al speed to bee restored. And if there bee any defect in ought, the value of the said defect is to be accounted, and with other losses of goods to be restored, at the terme of the restitution to be made and deliuered.

Item, that all ships, damages, and goods (as they are conteined in our bill of accusation) which are not now immediately restored, are to be restored and payd in the land of Prussia, between this and the terme appointed, with
full execution and complement of iustice.

Item, concerning the persons thrown ouer boord or slaine in the sea: it shall remayne to bee determined at the will and pleasure of the most mighty prince, the king of England, and of the right reuerend the Master of Prussia.

Item, betweene this and the terme appointed for the restoring of the goods taken away, and vntill there be due payment and restitution of the said goods performed, the marchants of England and of Prussia are in no wise to exercise any traffique of merchandise at all in the foresaid lands.

[Sidenote: 1403.] Memorandum, that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yere of our Lord. 1403. and in the fift yere of the reigne of the most mighty prince and lord, king Henrie the fourth, by the grace of God king of England and France &c. betweene the reuerend father Henrie bishop of Lincoln, chancelor, and the right honorable William lord de Roos, high treasurer of England, both of their counsellers vnto the sayd soueraigne king on the one party, and the right worshipfull Iohn Godeke, and Henrie Moneke, sent as messengers by the right reuerend and religious personage, Frater Gonradus de Iungingen Master generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. Mary on the other party: it was, at the request and instancie of the sayd messengers, appoynted, and mutually agreed vpon, that all the liege people and subiects of the sayd soueraigne lord and king shall haue free licence and liberty vntill the feast of Easter next ensuing, safety to trauel vnto the land of Prussia aforesayd, there to remaine, and thence,
with their ships, marchandises, and other their goods whatsoeuer, to returne vnto their owne home: which on the other side, all the subjects of the sayd Master general may, within the terme prefixed, likewise doe, in the foresaid realme of England. Proudied alwaies, that after the time aboue limited, neither the sayd marchants of the realme of England may in the land of Prussia, nor the marchants of that land, in the realme of England, exercise any traffique at al: vnles it be otherwise ordained by some composition, betweene the foresaid king of England, and the said Master general in the meane time concluded. In witnesse wherof, one part of this present Indenture is to remaine in the custodie of the foresaid messengers. Giuen in the Chapter-house of the Church of S. Paul at London, the day and yere aboue written.

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The letters of the chancelor and treasurer of England, vnto Frater Conradus de Iungingen, master generall of Prussia 1403.

Right reuerend and mighty lord, your honorable messengers Iohn Godeke, and Henry Moneke, the bearers hereof comming of late before the presence of our most souereigne lord the king of England and of France, and being welcomed by our said lord with a chearefull and fauourable countenance, they presented certaine letters on your behalfe vnto the kings Maiestie, with that reuerence which beseemed them: expounding vnto his highnes, sundry piracies and molestations offered of late vpon the sea, by his liege people and subiects vnto yours, contrary to the leagues of peace and amitie, which
hitherto (by Gods grace) haue bene maintained and continued on both parts.

In consideration of which piracies and molestation, your messengers
demanded full restitution and recompense to be made, either vnto the
damaged parties, or vnto their procurators. We therefore at that time,
especially being in the presence of our soueraigne (who with, his puissant
army tooke his progresse towards the remote part of Wales being subject
to his dominion, to see justice executed vpon his people of those parts,
who very rashly haue presumed to rebell against him their souereigne,
contrary to their allegiance) right well perceiued that it was his
highnesse intention, that evry one should haue due justice faithfully
administered unto him, especially your subiects, and that with all fauour,
whom he hath alwayes in times past right graciously intreated, as if they
had bene his owne liege subiects and native countrey men, whome also hee
purposeth hereafter friendly to protect: insomuch that betweene him and his
subiects on the one party, and betweene you and yours on the other party,
great abundance and perfection of mutuall amity may increase. And therefore
we offered vnto your foresayd messengers, after they had particularly
declared vnto vs such piracies and wrongs, to sende the kings letters vnto
them of whom complaint was made, firmely inioyning them, vnder grieuous
penalties, that without delay they restore or cause to bee restored vnto
the parties dammified, or vnto their procuratours, all ships, marchandises,
wares, and goods, by them taken or violently stolne from your subiects. And
that your said messengers may partly attaine their desire, we haue
commaundd certaine [Marginal note: Namely the ship of Edward Scof at
Caleis, The ship of Tidman Dordewant and Tidman Warowen, at Orwel and
Zepiswich.] ships, marchandises, wares and goods, found in certaine hauens,
to be deliuered vnto them. Howbeit, as touching other goods, which are
perhaps perished or wanting by unfortunate dissipation or destruction, and
for the which the said messengers of yours demand satisfaction to be made
vnto them within a certain time by vs limited: may it please your honor to
vnderstand that in the absence of our sayd souereigne lord the king, being
as yet farre distant from vs, wee can in no wise limit or set downe any
such terme of time. Notwithstanding, at the prosperous returne of our
soueraigne, we are determined to commune with him about this matter. Of
whose answere so soone as we be certified, we purpose to signifie his
intention vnto you by our letters. Sithens also (right reuerend and mighty
lord) your sayd messengers are contented, for the present, to accept of our
offer aforesayde, as indeede by all reason they ought thereat to rest
content, especially whereas by this meanes they shall the more speedily
attaine vnto the effect of their purposes (to the shorte and wished
execution and performance of which offer, we will, by Gods helpe, endeouour,
to the vtmmost of our ability) may it be your will and pleasure, that as in
the kingdome of England, your marchants and subiects are courteously
intreated: euen so the marchants and liege people of our soueraigne lord
the king and of his kingdoms peaceably frequenting your parts, either in
regard of traffique or of any other iust occasion, may there in like manner
friendly bee vsed, and with your marchants and subiects suffered to
communicate, and to haue intercourse of traffique, injoying the commodities
of the ancient league. By this also the feruent zeale and affection which
you beare vnto the royall crowne of England shall vndoubtedly appeare:
albeit beweene the famous houses of England and of Prussia, the bandes of
vnfained loue and friendship haue bin successiuely confirmed and kept
inviolable in times past And thus (right reuerend and mighty lord) wishing
vnto you increase of honour and prosperity, wee take our leaues. [Sidenote:
Note well. 1403.] Written at London the fift of October, in the yeare of
our lord 1403.
By the chancellor, the treasurer, and other lords of the honor council of the king of England and France, being personally present at London.

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The letters of king Henry the 4. unto Conradus de Jungingen the master general of Prussia, for mutual conversation and intercourse of traffic to continue between the marchants of England and of Prussia, for a certain time.

Henry by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to the noble and mighty personage of sacred religion, Frater Conradus de Jungingen Master general of the Order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our most dear and wellbeloved friend, greeting, and continuall increase of our auncient and sincere amity. By the grievous complainnts of our liege subject concerning traffic, as it were circularwise too and fro both our dominions, we have often bene aduertised that in regard of divers injuries and damages, which as well our as your marchants (who by their dealings in merchandise were wont peaceably to use mutual conversation together, whereupon very many commodities are known to have proceeded) have, by occasion of pirates, roving up and down the sea, sometimes heretofore sustayned: both the sayd marchants of our and of your dominions do abstaine themselves from their wonted mutual conversation and traffic, as they have likewise carefully abstained at times heretofore, and especially from that time, wherein, at the instant request of your messengers, being
of late before our presence, the free access of our merchants into your territories and dominions, and of your merchants into our realms hath beene forbidden. Sithen therefore (our most deare friend) such injuries (if any) as haue bene attempted against your subjects, were neuer committed by our will and consent, as we thinke that your selfe on the other side haue done the like: [Sidenote The auncient friendship betweene England and Prussia.] sithen also, so much as in vs lieth, wee are ready to exhibit full justice with fauour into any of your people being desirous to make complaint, so that accordingly justice may equally be done into our merchants by you and your subjects, which merchants haue in like sort bene injuried, wishing with all our heart, that the ancient friendship and loue, which hath continued a long time between our realme and your territories and dominions, may perseuere in time to come, and that sweet and acceptable peace, which is to be embraced of al Christians, may according to the good pleasure of the author of peace, be nourished and mayntained: we do most heartily require the sayd friendship, exhorting you in the Lord that you would on your behalf consent and ordain (even as, if you shall so do, we for our part wil consent likewise) that from this present vntil the feast of Easter next insuing (al molestations and injuries which may be offered ceasing on both parts) our subjects by your territories and dominions, and your subjects by our realms, may peaceably and securely trauel, and that according to their wonted maner, they may friendly conuerse and exercise mutual traffick together: because we are determined to send into you and your counsel in the mean time some of our ambassadors, friendly to intreat about, the foresaid pretended injuries, so far forth as they shal concerne our subiects. At whose arriual we stand in good hope that by the due administration of iustice on both parts, such order (by Gods assistance) shalbe taken, that mutual peace and tranquility may be established between
vs in times to come. Also our desire is in particular, that our marchants
and liege subiects may haue more free passage granted them vnto the parts
of Sconia, for the prouiding of herrings and of other fishes there, that
they may there remayne, and from thence also may more securely returne vnto
their owne home: and we beseech you in consideration of our owne selues,
that you would haue our marchants and liege subiects especially recommended
vnto you, safely protecting them (if need shall require) vnder the shadow
of your defence: euue as you would haue vs to deale in the like case with
your own subiects. Moreouer, whatsoeuer you shall thinke good to put in
practise in this behalfe, may it please you of your friendship, by our
faythfull subiect Iohn Browne the bearer hereof to giue vs to vnderstand.
In the sonne of the glorious virgine fare ye well, with continuall
prosperity and felicity according to your owne hearts desire. Giuen vnder
our priuie seale, at our palace of Westminster, the fift day of lune, and
in the fift yere of our reigne.

Postscriptum.

Right reuerend and our most deare friend: albeit our welbeloued Arnold de
Dassele the procurator of your foresaid messengers, being desirous at this
time to make his final returne vnto your parts, by reason of the affayres,
for which he hath remained in our realme of England, cannot as yet obtaine
his wished expedition: notwithstanding you of your sincere affection ought
not to maruel or any whit to be grieued thereat: because troubles of wars
arising, which in some sort concerned our selues, and especially in regard
of the continuall assaults of the French men and Britons against vs and our
kingdome, for the offence of whom, and our owne defence, our liege subiects
(especially they, of whom your subjects damnified have made their complaints) have armed themselves to combate upon the sea: we could not grant unto the foresaid Arnold such and so speedy an expedition, as he earnestly desired to have. Unto the which Arnold your procurator we have offered in as short time as may be, to administer complete iustice with favour, to the end that for this cause he might dispose himselfe to remaine in our realme of England: and yet notwithstanding we would do the very same euen in the absence of the sayd procurator. Giuen as aboue.

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To the most renowned prince and mighty Lord, Henrie king of England &c. our gracious Lord.

Our humble recommendations, with our most instant and continuall prayers for you being graciously by your Maiestie taken in good part &c. Most soueraigne king, mighty prince, gratious lord, and vnto vs most ufnaynedly beloued, we receiued of late your gracious letters by your Maiesties liege subiect John Brown, the contents wherof seemed to be these following: first that of long time heretofore, there haue bene between the marchants of your realm and of our lands, not only quiet and peaceable accesse one vnto another, but also mutual participation, and common traffique of their wares, being right commodious and auailable for them both: howbeit, that now the focesaid profitable conuersation, by reason of certain notorious robberies, committed vpon the sea by pyrates against both parts, and the wonted accesse also of your subjectvs vnto our dominions, were altogether
forbidden. Moreover, you call to remembrance the ancient amity and friendship betwenee both our lands, with the invaluabe commodity of sweet amiable peace, which are by al faithful Christians, to the vmost of their endeuour to be imbraced. Wherupon you of your exceeding clemency, do offer your Maiesties ful consent, that the foresaid prohibition being released vntil the feast of Easter next ensuing, the said marchants of your dominions may in our territories, and our marchants likewise may in your realms (al molestations ceasing) exercise their woonted traffique: especially sithens in the mean season your royall wisdome hath determined to direct vnto vs your hono: ambassadors in friendly sort to treat and parle with vs as touching the pretended iniuries, so far forth as they may concerne your subjects. Adding moreouer in particular that when your people shall repayre vnto the parts of Sconia to fish for herrings, hauing consideration and regard vnto your maiestie, we would haue them especially recommended vnto our protection &c. Most soueraine lord and king, and gracious prince, wee doe with vnfained and hearty affection embrace the oracles of your maiesties most courteous and acceptable offer: wherein you haue vsed most diligent and effectuall perswasions, that complement of iustice should be done vnto the parties iniuried, and that peace and friendship should take place, making no doubt of your own royall person, nor of our selues or of any appertayning vnto vs, but that our inclinations and desires in this regarde are all one and the same: neither would we lightly transgresse the limits of your perswasions without some iust, weighty, and reasonable cause, forasmuch as the matters perswaded are in very deede most happy preseruatiues of a common weale, yea, and of nature, it selfe. Moreouer whereas your highnes hath farther requested vs, that the prohibition of your subjects accesse vnto our dominions might, vntill the feast of Easter next ensuing, be released: we answere (vnder correction of
your majesties more deliberate counsell) that it is farre more expedient for both parts to haue the sayd prohibition continued then released, vntil such time as satisfaction be performed on both sides vnto the parties endamaged, not in words only, but actually and really in deeds, or by some course of law or friendly composition. For there is no equall nor indifferent kinde of consort or trade between the impouerished party and him that is inriched, betweene the partie which hath obtained iustice and him that hath obtayned none between the offender and the party offended: because they are not moued with like affections. For the remembrance of injuries easily stirreth vp inconsiderate motions of anger. Also, such a kind of temperature or permixtion, as it were, by way of contrariety breedeth more bitternes then sweetnes, more hate then loue: whereupon more grieuous complaints aswel vnto your highnes as vnto our selues, might be occasioned. The lord knoweth, that euen now we are too much wearied and disquieted with the importunate and instant complaints of our subiects, insomuch that wee cannot at this present by any conuenient meanes release or dissolve the sayd prohibition, before wee be sufficiently informed by your maiesties ambassadors, of the satisfaction of our endamaged subiects. [Sidenote: Margaret queen of Denmarke.] Furthermore, whereas your maiesties request, concerning your subiects that shal come vnto the parts of Sconia, is that we would defend them vnder our protection: be it knowen vnto your highnes, that for diuers considerations vs reasonably mouing, being prouoked by the queene of Denmarke and her people, being also vrged thereunto full sore against our wils, for the repelling and auoiding of injuries, we haue sent forth our armie against them. Howbeit for a certaine time a truce is concluded on both parts, so that our people are actually returned home. Farre be it from vs also, that our subiects being occupied in warres, should in any sort willingly molest or reproach any strangers,
of what landes or nations soeuer, not being our professed enemies. For this
should be to oppresse the innocent in stead of the guilty, to condemne the
iust for the uniust: then which nothing can be more cruel, nor a reuenge of
greater impietie. In very deede (most gracious prince and lorde) we are
moued with right hearty sympathy and compassion for any inconuenience which
might happen in your regiment: wishing from the bottome of our hearts, that
all affayres may right prosperously and happily succeede, about the royall
person and regiment of your most excellent Malestie, and that continually.
The like whereof wee hope from you: most humbly commending our selues, and
our whole Order vnto your highnes. Giuen at our castle of Marienburgh, the
16. day, the moneth of iuly, in the yere of our Lord 1404.

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An agreement made betweene king Henry the fourth and Conradus de Iungingen
Master generall of the land of Prussia.

This Indenture made between Sir William Esturmy knight, Iohn Kington
clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London the ambassadors,
commissioners, and messengers of the most mighty prince and lord, our
souereigne lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and
lorde of Ireland, for the repayring, reformation, and amends of whatsoeuer
damages, grievances, excesses, violences, and iniuries in any sort vniustly
attempted, done, or offered, by our sayd soueraigne lord the king and his
liege people and subiects, vnto the great and mighty lord Conradus de
Iungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries
Inprimis, that for the consideration of mutuall love and woonted friendship, and of peace and tranquillity hereafter to be continued and maintained, and also that the articles vnder written may more prosperously be brought vnto a wished effect, between our said soueraign lord the king...
and his liege people and subjects, and the subjects, people, and
inhabitants of the territories and dominions of the foresayd lord the
Master generall, it is agreed and concluded, that all liege marchants of
England whatsoeuer, shall haue free licence and libertie to arriue with
their shippes, goods and marchandises whatsoeuer, at any porte of the land
of Prussia, and also the sayd goods and marchandises farther vnto any place
of the sayd land of Prussia to transport, and these with any person or
persons freely to contract and bargaine, evne as heretofore, and from
auncient times it hath bene accustomed. Which liberty in all respects is
granted vnto the Prussians in England.

[Sidenote: 1403.] Item it is further agreed betweene the sayd ambassadours,
procurators, and commissioners, that whereas of late, namely in the yeare
of our lord 1403, the sayd Master general by his discreet subject Iohn
Godek of Dantzic, and Henry Monek of Elbing, his ambassadors and
messengers, for this purpose hath caused certain articles, (namely 20, in
number) containing in them matters of damages, molestatons, violences, and
inuries committed and offered against the said Master generall and his
subiects, by our sayd soueraigne lord the king his subiects and liege
people, to be exhibited, giuen vp and deliuered vnto our lord the king
aforesaid in his kingdome of England: it is concluded and agreed about the
sayd 20, articles, by the aforesaid ambassadors, commissioners, and
procurators, as in the acts and pleas had and made before the sayd
ambassadors, commissioners and procurators, and in the records made and
written of and about, the examination of such articles, it is more at large
contayned (vnto the which the sayd ambassadors, commissioners, and
messengers doe here in this place referre themselues) of the which articles
also some are received by the commissioners aforesaid, and others are
proroged unto a certaine time vnder written, euen as in the foresaid
registers it is more fully contained and put downe in writing.

As touching certaine other articles also exhibited a newe vnto the sayd
English ambassadors, in the land of Prussia being 16 in number (whereof one
is admitted, and the rest are proroged vntil A terme vnder written) the
same course is to be taken and observed, which was before appoynted and
agreed vpon, about the articles deliuered and exhibited vnto our foresaid
souraigne lorde the king, as is aforesaid.

Moreouer, as touching the articles exhibited by the English ambassadours in
the name and behalfe of their sayd souraigne lord the king of England,
vnto the procuratours and commissioners of the foresaid lord the Master
generall (of the which some are declared already, and the declaration of
the rest is proroged vntil a certayne terme vndernamed, euen as in the
registers made of and vpon the examination of the sayd articles, it is more
manifestly prouided) the same course is to be taken, which must be observed
about the articles of the sayd lord the Master general), exhibited, as well
vnto the foresaid souraigne prince in England, as vnto his ambassadors in
the land of Prussia, euen as about the sayd articles it is before
concluded.

[Sidenote: The complaints of Liuonians.] And whereas on the behalfe of the
citizens and marchants of the cities of Rij and Dorp [Footnote: These
cities seem to haue been large commercial centres], and of other townes in
the land of Liuonia, many and great complaints have bene by way of articles exhibited and delivered unto the sayd English ambassadors in the land of Prussia, which for divers causes, could not as then be ended: therefore it is concluded and agreed upon between the ambassadors, and the commissioners aforesaid, that the said citizens and merchants may in the town of Dordrecht in Holland, upon the first day of the month of May next ensuing (at the which time and place, the continuation and prorogation of all other articles not fully declared in the parts of Prussia, shall be put in vre [Footnote: _Ure_ i.e., use. Norman or law French (See Kelham's Norman Dict.)]

This vickering will but keep our arms in _ure_,

The holy battles better to endure.

--_Four Prentices of London_, VI., 493.

In Chaucer's time it also meant fortune, like the French Neure. (NARES' _Glossary_.) by themselves or their lawful procurators, make their appearance, for the obtaining of a convenient, just, and reasonable reformation of all injuries attempted against them, then, or at some other times within one whole yere next following, and not afterward, being effectually set downe and limited, at the place aforesaid, by the consent of the ambassadors and commissioners of either parte, all lawful impediments ceasing.

Provided always, that the value and price of all wares, goods, and marchandises, whereof the said citizens and merchants of Liuonia, in their articles received by the sayde English ambassadors, as is aforesaid, doe make mention, shall be justly esteemed, prized, and approv'd, not by any of England, or of Prussia, or of Liuonia, but by some other indifferent
marchants of good credite, valuing them at the true rate of marchants,
which such like marchandise would have amounted vnto, if, at the time when
they were taken, they had bene to be solde at the town of Bruges in
Flanders.

Forasmuch also, as divers and sundry Prussians (who exhibited manifolde
Articles of complaints, being receiued by the said English Ambassadonrs, at
their abode in Prussia) made not their personall appearance, before the
saide English Ambassadours, in the lande of Prussia aforesaide: The
prorogation aboue-mentioned was made vnto the first day of the moneth of
May: and also it was agreed vpon by the saide Ambassadours, Procurators,
and Commissioners, that the saide parties which had not appeared before
shall haue libertie graunted them, lawfully to make their appearance, vpon
the first of May aforesaide, at the towne of Dordract, either by themselues
or by their Procurators, and also to bring with them the letters
testimonial, and patents, sealed with the seale of the saide Lord the
master generall, (he hauing first of all receiued sound and sufficient
information from the cities whereof the parties plaintife are citizens, of
the damages and grievances any way viuulstly inflicted vpon them or any of
them by the English) to the end that they may there by articles
conueniently declare and proue, before the Ambassadours, Procurators,
messengers, and Commissioners of both partes, the rate and value of their
said goods: and that in so doing they may obtenie conuenient, iust, and
reasonable restitution, for all acts viuulstly attempted against them, then,
or at some other times effectually to bee set downe and limited at the
foresaid place by the consent of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both
parts, euen as it was aboue promised vnto the marchants of Liuonia.
But if they of Prussia last aboue-mentioned, shall not vpon the first of May, and at the place appointed, for some cause, make their appearance, that then it shalbe lawfull for them, at any time within one whole yeere next following, to repaire vnto the lord Chancelor of England, at the citie of London, and to insinuate and declare vnto him their complaints before exhibited vnto the saide English Ambassadours in the land of Prussia, or which complaints should haue bene deliuered at the foresaid terme and place, or els, the which were not then and there fully finished and dispatched: and also by articles as is aforesaide, to declare and proue the true worth and estimation of all damages and grievances any wayes vniustly offered by the English vnto them or any of them: to the ende that they may (as it is aboue mentioned) effectually receiue, and also speedily and easily obtaine conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation and satisfaction, for al acts vniustly attempted against them, which are contained in the complaints not as yet fully declared and finished.

Moreouer, it is appointed and agreed vpon betweene the foresaide Ambassadours and Commissioners: that the forenamed souereign Lord and the said lord the Master general are to send and set forward their Ambassadours, messengers, and Commissioners, vpon the first of May vnto the place appointed, to treate, parle, agree, and conclude about those affaires, which shal then and there happen to be treated of and handled among them.

Furthermore, betweene the often mentioned Ambassadours, Procurators, and
Commissioners, it is enacted and concluded: [Sidenote: Note well.] that vnto all and singular lawfull statutes, ordinations, and prohibitions framed, made, and ordained, by the saide lorde the Master generall, in his land of Prussia, or by his Proconsuls and Consuls, and his gouernours of cities, townes, villages, and of other places in the land of Prussia, vnto the obseruation whereof, aswell the subiectes of the said Master general, as foreners and strangers, are tyed and bound: vnto the very same statutes, ordinations, and prohibitions, al English marchants whatsoeuer resorting vnto the land of Prussia, must be firmly bounden and subiect.

Also it is ordained, that whatsoeuer sale-clothes are already transported, or at any time hereafter to bee transported out of England into Prussia by the English marchants, and shall there be offered to bee solde, whether they be whole cloathes or halfe cloathes, they must containe both their endes.

Lastly, that the matters aboue-mentioned fall not short and voyde of their wished effect; the treaty and conference about all and singular damages and grievances (whereof there is not as yet done, but there must be, by the vertue of these presents, performed, a reformation and amendment) must be continued and proroged vntill the first of May next ensuing: as by these presents they are continued and proroged with the continuation of the dayes then immediately following, at the towne of Dordract aforesaide: at the which time and place, or at other times and places, in the meane space, as occasion shall serue, by both parties to be limited and assigned, or else within one yeere after the said first day of the moneth of May next ensuing bee expired: the hurt and damaged parties generally before-mentioned, shall
haue performed vnto them a conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation on both partes. Provided alwayes, if within the terme of the saide yeere, some conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation bee not performed vnto the parties injured, and endamaged, which are generally aboue mentioned: that then, within three whole moneths after the foresaid yere shall haue expired, the Prussians shall depart out of the realmes and dominions of the saide Soueraigne Lord the king of England, together with their marchandize, and with other goods which theyshal haue gotten or bought, within the space of the foresaid three moneths: and that the English men also are likewise, in all respects bounden to avoid and (no lawfull impediment hindering them) to withdrawe themselues and to depart out of the territories and dominions of the saide Master generall, without all molestation, perturbation, and impediment whatsoever, none other intimation or admonition being necessarie in this regard.

Howbeit least that by the robberies and piracies of some insolent and peruerse people, matter should be ministred vnto the said lord the Master generall, of swaruing from the faithfull obseruation of the foresaid agreements, or (which God forbid) any occasion bee giuen him of not obseruing them: it is also decreed by the often aboue mentioned Ambassadours and messengers, that if the goods and marchandize of any of the saide lorde Master generall his subiectes whatsoever shall be from henceforth vniustly taken vpon the Sea, by any English Pirates, and shalbe caried into the realme of England, and there receiued, that the Gouernours and keepers of portes, and of other places (with whatsoever names they be called) at the which portes and places such merchandises and goods shall chaunce to arriue, beeing onely informed of the saide goods and
marchandises, by sole report, or (other proofes wanting) by probable
suspcion are bound to arrest and to keep them in safe custodie, fauourably
to be restored vnto the owners thereof, whensoever they shall be lawfully
demanded: which if they shall omit or deny to performe, from thenceforth
the saide gouernours and keepers are bound to make vnto the parties
endamaged, a recompense of their losses.

And for fault of iustice to be executed, by the said gouernours and
keepers, our soueraign lord the king aboue named, after he shall
conueniently be requested by the parties damnified, is bound within three
moneths next ensuing (all lawfull impediments being excepted) to make
correspondent, iust, and reasonable satisfaction, vnto the saide partes
endamaged. Otherwise, that it shal be right lawfull for the saide lorde the
Master generall, to arrest, and after the arrest to keepe in safe custodie
the goods of the English marchants being in the land of Prussia, to the
condigne satisfaction of such iniuries, as haue bene offered vnto his
subiects, vntill his said subiects be iustly and reasonably contented.

Likewise also in all respects, the same iustice is to be done vnto the
English by the said Lord the Master generall and his subiects in Prussia,
euen as it hath bene enacted and decreed in the aboue written clause,
beginning, Caterum ne per &c. In English: Howbeit least that &c. for the
said Master general, and his subiects by the foresaide ambassadors of
England, and the commissioners of the said lord the Master generall, that
in like cases iustice ought to be administred on the behalfe of himselfe,
and of his subiects in the realme of England.
And that all and singular the covenants above written, may in time to come, by the parties whom they concern, firmly and inviolably be observed; the forenamed ambassadors, messengers, and commissioners, all and every of them, for the full credit, probation, and testimonie of all the premisses, haue vnto these present Indentures, made for the same purpose, caused euery one of their seales with their owne hands to be put. One part of the which indentures remaineth in the custodie of the English ambassadors, and the other part in the hands of the commissioners of Prussia. Gien at the castle of Marienburgh in Prussia, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. vpon the 8. day of the moneth of October.

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An agreement made betweene King Henrie the fourth and the common societie of the Marchants of the Hans.

This Indenture made betweene the honourable Sir William Esturmy knight, and Iohn Kington clearke, procurators, messengers, and commissioners sufficiently deputed and authorized by the most mighty Prince, Lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, and France, and lord of Ireland, for the performance of the things vnderwritten, on the one part: and the hon. personages M. Henry Vredeland, M. Riman Salum chief notaries, Thederic Knesuolt secretary, M. Simon Clouesten chief notary, and Iohn Zotebotter citizen, being sufficiently made and ordained procurators and messengers, on the behalfe of the cities of Lubec, Bremen, Hamburg, Sund, and
Gripeswold, for the demanding and obtaining severally, of due reformation, and recompense at the hands of our said sovereign lord the king, and of his messengers and commissioners aforesaid, for all injuries, damages, grievances, and manslaughters, any ways unjustly done, and offered severally by the liege people and subjects of our sovereign lord the king, unto the common society of the merchants of the Hans, and unto any of the Citizens, people and inhabitants of the cities aforesaid whatsoever on the other part, Witnesseth: That between all and every of the said Procurators, messengers, and Commissioners, by virtue of the authority committed unto them, it hath been and is appointed, concluded, and decreed: that the liege merchants and subjects of our said sovereign lord the king, and the merchants of the common society of the Dutch Hans aforesaid, from henceforth for one whole year and seven months immediately next ensuing and following, shall be permitted and licensed friendly, freely, and securely, to exercise mutual traffic, and like merchants to buy and sell together, one of, and unto another, even as in times past, [Sidenote: 1400.] namely, in the year 1400. and before that time also, they have been accustomed to exercise mutual traffic and merchandise, and to buy and sell.

Also the said William and John agreed and consented, that they themselves, or some other perhaps to be appointed in this behalf by their said lord the king in their stead, shall upon the first day of the month of May next to come, with the continuation of the days following, at the town of Dordrecht in Holland, or upon any other terms or terms, then perhaps to be limited, competently satisfy, and perform convenient recompense unto the said common society, citizens, people, and inhabitants of the cities.
aforesaide, and also of other cities, townes and villages of the Hans, of
and for all injuries, damages, grievances, and drownings, or manslaughters
done and committed, as they allege, against them, deliuered and exhibited
in written articles, vnto the aboue named William and Iohn, or els
heereafter to bee deliuered and exhibited, either by the same procurators
or by some others, which shall perhaps be authorized in their stead, of by
the messengers procurators and commissioners of other cities, townes, and
places of the Hans, in equall and like maner and forme, euen as at the
saide terme limited, or then perhaps to be proroged, there is appointed by
the said William and Iohn, reparation, reformation, and recompence vnto the
inhabitants of Prussia, and Liuonia, for the injuries, damages, and
grievances vniuistly done and committed against them by the liege people and
subiects of the saide soueraigne lord the king, in the presence of the
mightie lord the Master general of Prussia, in his land of Prussia, as in
certain letters indented, bearing date in the castle of Marienburgh in
Prussia the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeere of our lord
1405. and being made and written about the reparation, reformation, and
recompence of such like injuris &c. (the tenour whereof ought here to be
vnderstood as if it were inserted) it is more manifestly contained.

It was furthermore promised by the said William and Iohn, that they should
not inflorce nor compell the citizens, people, or inhabitants of the common
society of the Hans, or of the aboue named cities, or of any other cities
of the Hans aforesaid (hauing receiued sufficient information of their
dwelling and place of abode) to more difficulty or district proofes of their
Articles of complaints alreadie exhibited, and in the foresaide termes to
come, to bee exhibited, then vnto the inhabitants of the lands of Prussia
and Liuonia, according to the forme of the Indentures aboue mentioned.

Moreouer the saide William and Iohn doe promise, that so soone as they shall come into the kingdome of England, and before the presence of their king, they shal prouide, that all and singular the priuiledges graunted vnto the marchants of the saide Hans by the renownmed kings of England, and confirmed by the said Soueraigne lord the king that now is, must, according to al their contents, be inuiolably obserued by the said soueraigne king and his subiects: and also, that from henceforth nothing is vniustly to be attempted, vpon any occasion, pretense, or colour, by the saide Soueraigne Prince, and the inhabitants, of the realme of England, to the preiudice of the sayde priuiledges. They shall prouide also, that all things heretofore attempted and practised against the saide priuiledges, shall, by reasonable, amendement and iust reformation, vtterly be abolished.

But if after the date of these presents (which God forfend) within the space of the said one yere and seuen moneths prescribed any damages, injuries or griuances, in ships, goods, or persons, should, either by the English and the inhabitants of England be vniustly inflicted vpon the cities, and marchants of the cities, townes, and places of the Hans aforesaid, or by any merchants or others of the cities or townes of the saide Hans, either vnto the English, or vnto any of the inhabitants of that Realme, vpon any fained pretense whatsoever, all and singular the foresaid messengers, commissioners, ambassadours, and procurators haue promised, that all such damages, injuries and molestations so inflicted by them who shall offer and commit them, must bee reformed and amended, after the very same forme and manner, that in the like case reformation, reparation and
amends of injuries, damages, and molestations committed by the English
against them of Prussia is to be performed, according unto a certaine
clause contained in the letters aboue mentioned, which beginneth: Caterum
ne per &c. In English: Howbeit least that &c. continuing unto that clause:
Et vt prascripta omnia &c. In English: And that all the covenants aboue
written &c.

It was also concluded betweene the foresaide messengers, commissioners, and
procurators, and with one general consent agreed vpon, that if from the
first day of the moneth of May next to come, within one whole yeere
following, some conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation be not
performed vnto the parties injured and damnified generally aboue mentioned,
in regard of their damages, molestations, and injuries: then, within three
moneths after the saide yeere bee expired, the marchants of the Hans cities
aforesaid are bound, without any molestation, perturbation, and impediment
whatsoever (none other intimation or admonition being necessarie in this
behalfe) to auoyde (and if no lawfull impediment shall hinder them) to
abstaine and depart from the Realmes and Dominions of the said Soueraigne
king of England, with their marchandize and other goods bought or gotten
within the space of the saide three moneths: and also the English likewise
in all respects shall auoide, abstaine, and depart from the territories and
dominions of the Hans cities aforesaid.

Also it was promised by the saide William and Iohn, that at the terme
appointed, namely upon the first of May next following, or at some other
terme or termes then limited or to bee limited, there must be made a due
recompense, and a proportionall satisfaction, for all those persons of the
land of Prussia, Liuonia, and of the cities, townes, and other places of
the Hans who haue uniustly bene drowned, and slaine by the English: and
that according to the tenour of a certain schedule written concerning a
recompense to be had in regarde of the saide persons drowned and slaine,
and presented unto them by Albertus Rode consul of the citie of Thoren, and
by the forenamed procurators and messengers of the cities aforesaid, they
must faithfully and effectually, to the vtmost of their abilitie indeuour,
for the obtaining of the saide recompense and amends. In witnesse whereof
(these letters of indenture remaining in the possession of the saide
William and Iohn the messengers, procurators, and commissioners of England
aforesaid, and left in their custodie, by the aboue named procurators and
messengers Henrie Rimarus, Thedericus, Simon, and Iohn Sotebotter, of their
certaine knowledge and assurance) and for the full confirmation and
testimonie of al the premisses, the foresaid procurators and messengers
haue put to their seales. Giuen in the towne of Dordract the 15. day of
December in the yere of our Lord 1405.

William Esturmy knight, and Iohn Kington canon of Lincolne (being in this
behalfe sufficiently authorized and deputed as Ambassadours, procurators,
messengers and commissioners, by our said soueraigne lord the king, namely
in regard of the molestations, inuries and damages uniustly done and
committed against the liege people and subiects of the foresaide most
excellent Prince and lord, Lord Henry by the grace of God king of England
and France, and Lord of Ireland, by the communalties of the cities of
Wismer and Rostok vnderwritten, their common counsel being assembled for
the same purpose, and authorized also, and as well closely as expressly
maintained and ratified, by the whole companie of the common society of the
marchants of the Dutch Hans) doe, in this present diet at the towne of Hage
situate in the countrey of Holland, being appointed for the very same
occasion, demaund of you Syr Iohn de Aa knight, and Hermannus Meyer
deputies for the cities of Wismer and Rostok, and sufficiently ordeined by
authority requisite in this behalfe, to be the procurators and messengers
of the said cities, that conuenient, iust, and reasonable satisfaction and
recompense may certainly and effectually be done vnto the injured and
endamaged parties, who are specified in the articles vnder written.

[Sidenote: Newcastle. An English ship of 200 tunnes.] Imprimis, that about
the feast of Easter, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. Henry van Pomeren,
Godekin Michael, Clays Sheld, Hans Howfoote, Peter Hawfoote, Clays
Boniface, Rainbek, and many others, with them of Wismer and of Rostok,
being of the societie of the Hans, tooke, by maine force, a ship of
Newcastle upon Tine, called Godezere sailing vpon the sea towards Prussia,
being of the burthen of two hundred tunnes, and belonging vnto Roger de
Thorneton, Robert Gabiford, Iohn Paulin, and Thomas de Chester: which ship,
together with the furniture thereof amounteth vnto the value of foure
hundred, pounds: also the woollen cloth, the red wine, the golde, and the
summes of money contained in the said ship amounted vnto the value of 200.
marks of English money: moreouer they vniustly slew Iohn Patanson and Iohn
Russell in the surprising of the shippe and goods aforesaide, and there
they imprisoned the sayde parties taken, and, to their vttter vndoing,
detayned them in prison for the space of three whole yeeres.

[Sidenote: Hull.] Item, that in the yeere of our Lord 1394 certaine persons
of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans their confederates robbed one
Richard Horuse of Hull of diuers goods and marchandizes in a ship called the Shipper Berline of Prussia, beeing then valued at 160. nobles.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lorde 1395. Hans van Wethemonkule, Clays Scheld, Godekin Mighel, and one called Strotbeker, by force of armes, and by the assistance of the men of Wismer and Rostok, and others of the Hans, did vpon the Sea neere vnto Norway, wickedly and vniustly take from Iohn Tutteburie, fiue pieces of waxe, foure hundred of werke, and halfe a last of osmundes, and other goods, to the value of foure hundred seuentie sixe nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1396. one Iohn van Derlowe, Hans van Gelder, and other their complices of the Hans villainously and vniustly tooke a shippe of William Terry of Hul called the Cogge, with thirtie wollen broad clothes, and a thousand narrow clothes, to the value of 200. pounds.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1398. one Iohn van Derlowe, Wilmer, Hans van Gelder, Clays Scheld, Euerade Pilgrimson, and diuers others of the Hans, did vpon the Sea neere vnto Norway villainously and vniustly take a shippe of Iohn Wisedome of Hull called the Trinitie, with diuers goods and marchandizes, namely oyle, waxe, and werke, to the value of 300. pounds.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. one Clays Scheld, and others aboue written of Wismer and Rostok, with certaine others of the Hans, their confederates, wickedly and vniustly tooke from one William Pound marchant
of Hull, two cakes of waxe, to the value of 18. poundes, out of the ship
called the Hawkin Derlin of Dantzik.

[Sidenote: Yorke.] Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. one Goddekin
Mighel, Clays Scheld, Storbiker, and diuers others of Wismer and Rostok,
and of the Hans, wickedly and vniustly tooke out of a ship of Elbing (the
master whereof was called Henry Puys) of the goods and marchandizes of
Henrie Wyman, Iohn Topcliffe, and Henry Lakenswither of Yorke, namely in
werke, waxe, osmunds, and bowstaues, to the value of 1060. nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and
Rostok, with others of the Hans, their confederats wickedly and vniustly
took out of a ship of Holland (the master whereof was called Hinkensman)
140. woollen clothes (the price of one of the which clothes was eight
nobles) from Thomas Thester of Yorke, and a chest, with armour, siluer and
Golde of the foresaid Thomas, to the value of 9. pounds.

[Sidenote: London.] Item, in the yere of our Lord 1393. certaine
malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, and others their complices of the Hans,
wickedly and vniustly tooke from one Richard Abel of London woollen cloth,
greene cloth, meale and fishes, to the value of 133. li. 6. s.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1405. about the feast of S. Michael, one
Nicholas Femeer of Wismer marchant of the Hans, with the assistance of
other his complices of the Hans aforesaide, wickedly and vniustly tooke
from one Richard Morley citizen of London fiue lasts of herrings, besides
32. pounds, in the sea called Northsound.

[Sidenote: Colchester.] Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398; about the
moneth of September, one Godekin Wisle, and Gerard Sleyre of Wismer and
Rostok, with others of the Hans, their confederats wickedly and vniustly
took out of a ship of Prussia (wherof the master was named Rorebek) from
Iohn Seburgh marchant of Colchester two packs of woollen cloth, to the
value of 100. markes: from Stephan Flispe, and Iohn Plumer marchants of the
same town two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of 60. pounds: from
Robert Wight marchant of the same towne, two packs of woollen cloth to the
value of an 100. marks: from William Munde marchant of the same town, two
fardels of woollen cloth, worth 40. li. and from Iohn Dawe, and Thomas
Cornwaile marchants of the same towne, three packs of woollen cloth, worth
200. marks. Moreover they tooke and imprisoned certain English men, which
were in the said ship, namely William Fubborne servaunt vnto Iohn Diere,
Thomas Mersh servaunt vnto Robert Wight, which Thomas paid for his ransome
20. nobles of English money, William Munde marchant of the towne
aforesaide, which William, by reason of the extremity of that imprisonment,
lost the sight of his eyes, and Thomas Cornwaile, marchant of the foresaide
Towne, which Thomas paide for his raunsome twentie nobles.

[Sidenote: Yermouth. Norwich] Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1394 certaine
malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, vpon the coastes of Denmark and Norway,
beneath Scawe, and at Anold, tooke Thomas Adams and Iohn Walters marchants
of Yermouth: and Robert Caumbrigge and Reginald Leman marchants of Norwich,
in a certaine shippe of Elbing in Prussia (wherof one Clays Goldesmith was
master) with diuers woollen clothes of the saide Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and
Reginald, to the value of one thousand marks English, and carried the persons and goods aforesaid, away with them: and the said Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and Reginald they imprisoned at Courtbuttressow, and there detained them, until they paid an hundred markes for their redemption.

[Sidenote: Yermouth.] Item in the yeere of our Lorde 1401. some of the inhabitants of Wismer and of Rostok wickedly tooke at Longsound in Norway, a certaine shippe of West-Stowe in Zealand (the Master whereof was one Gerard Dedissen) laden with diverse goods and marchandises of Iohn Hughson of Yermouth, namely with the hides of oxen and of sheepe, with butter, masts, sparres, boordes, questingstones and wilde werke, to the value of an hundred marks, and do as yet detaine the said things in their possession, some of the Hans being their assistants in the premisses.

Item, in the yeere of our Lorde 1402. certaine of the Hans, of Rostok, and of Wismer, tooke vpon the coast of England, neere vnto Plimmouth a certaine barge called the Michael of Yarmouth (whereof Hugh ap Fen was the owner, and Robert Rigweys the master) laden with bay salt, to the quantitie of 130. wayes, and with a thousand canuasse clothes of Britaine, and doe as yet detaine the saide goods in their possession, the said Hugh being endamaged, by the losse of his ship, and of his goods aforesaid 800. nobles and the foresaid Master and the mariners loosing, in regard of their wages, canuas, and armour, 200. nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1405. certain malefactors of Wismer wickedly and vniustly tooke, in a certaine port of Norway called Selaw, a ship of
Yarmouth (the owner whereof was William Oxney and the master Thomas Smith) laden with salt, cloth, and salmon, to the value of 40. pound, and doe as yet detaine the said ship and goods in their possession, some of the Hans their confederates ayding and assisting them at the same time.

[Sidenote: Cleye.] Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. one Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans, vnlawfully tooke vpon the sea a certaine ship of one Iohn Dulwer of Cley, called the Friday (whereof Laurence Tuk of Cley was master) and conueyed the ship it self vnto Maustrond in Norway, and the saide Master and mariners they robbed of diuers commodities, namely of artillery, furniture, and salt fishes being in the same ship, to the value of 500. nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans vnlawfully tooke vpon the sea a certaine ship of one William Bets of Cleys called the Margaret (wherein Robert Robines was master) and conueyed the ship it self vnto Mawstrond in Norway, and there robbed the master and his partners of diuers commodities, namely of artillerie, furniture, and salt fishes, to the value of 400. nobles, and one of the said masters mates they maliciously drowned.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feast of the natiiutie of S. Iohn Baptist, the forenamed Godekin and Stertebeker, with others their accomplices of the Hans vnlawfully tooke vpon the sea a certain ship of Nicholas Steyhard and Iohn Letis of Cley called the Nicholas (whereof Iohn Prest was master) and conueyed the said ship vnto Mawstrond, and there robbed the said master and his companie of diuers commodities, namely of furniture and salt fishes, being in the said ship, to the value of 320.
nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feast aforesaid, the said Godekins and Stertebeker, and their companions of the Hans vnjustly took vpon the sea a certaine ship of Thomas Peirs of Cley called the Isabel (whereof William Noie was master) and conueyed it vn to Mawstrond, and there robbed the said master and his company of diuers commodities, as namely of furniture, and salt fishes, being in the said ship, to the value of 406. nobles.

Item, in the yeere next aboue mentioned, vpon the Saterday, about the foresaid feast, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans unlawfully took vpon the sea, a certain ship of one Thomas Lyderpole of Cley, called the Helena, wherein Robert Alwey was master, and also wickedly and vnjustly drowned in the bottom of the sea diuers commodities, as namely salt fishes, together with the ship it selfe.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1398. about the feast of S. Michael the archangel, the foresaid Godekin and Stertebeker, with other their confederats of the Hans, took at Langsound in Norway a certain crayer of one Thomas Motte of Cley, called the Peter, (wherein Thomas Smith was master) and the foresaid crayer they wickedly and vnjustly caried away, being worth 280. nobles.

[Sidenote: Wiueton.] Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1395. about the feast of the natiiutie of S. Iohn Baptist, the forenamed Godekins and
Stertebeker, and others of the Hans vniustly tooke a certain ship of Simon Durham, called the Dogger-ship, and the Peter of Wiueton, laden with salt fishes (whereof Iohn Austen was master) vpon the coast of Denmarke. And they caried away the saide Dogger, with the furniture thereof, and the foresaid salt fishes, to the value of 170. pound. Moreouer, the master, and 25. mariners in the same ship they maliciously slewe, and a certaine ladde of the saide Dogger they caried with them vnto Wismer.

Item, in the foresaid yeere, and about the feast aforesaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, with other their complices, vniustly tooke vpon the sea a certain ship of Thomas Lyderpole, and Iohn Coote of Wiueton: and the master and mariners which were in the saide shippe, they villanously slue, among whom they put to death one Simon Andrew, the godsonne, nephew, and servant of the foresaid Simon Durham. Which ship, with the goods and furniture that were therein was worth 410. nobles.

Item, in the very same yeere, about the feast aforesaid, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker and other their complices wickedly spoiled a certaine ship of the foresaid Simon Durham called the Dogger, wherein Geruase Cat was master, lying, at an anker, while the companie were occupied about fishing, and likewise vniustly tooke away with them the salt fishes, and furniture of the said ship. Moreouer, the master and his company that were in the said Dogger they beate and wounded, so that they utterly lost their fishing for that yeere, the master and his said companie being endamaged thereby, to the summe of 200. nobles.
Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. the foresaid Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their complices vniustly tooke vpon the sea a certain crayer, called the Buss of Zeland, which one Iohn Ligate marchant, and seruant vnto the forenamed Simon Durham had laden in Prussia, on the behalfe of the said Simon, to saile for England, and spoiled the said craier, and also tooke and caried away with them the goods and marchandises of the said Simon, being in the foresaid ship, to the value of 66. pounds.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1397. certaine malefactors of Wismer and Rostok, with certaine others of the Hans, tooke a crayer of one Peter Cole of Zeland, called the Bussship, which Alan Barret the seruant and factor of the foresaid Simon Durham had laden with mastes, sparres, and other marchandize, for the behalfe of the said Simon, and vniustly tooke from thence the goods of the said Simon, to the value of 24. pounds, and caried the same away.

[Sidenote: Lenne.] Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. certaine malefactors of Wismer and others of the Hans vniustly tooke vpon the sea, and caried away with them a packe of woollen cloth of the foresaid Simon, worth 42. pounds, out of a certain crayer of one Thomas Fowler of Lenne being laden and bound for Dantzik in Prussia.

Item, pitifully complaining the marchants of Lenne doe auouch, verifie, and affirme, that about the feast of S. George the martyr, in the yeere of our Lord 1394. sundry malefactors and robbers of Wismer and Rostok, and others of the Hans, with a great multitude of ships, arriued at the towne of
Norbern in Norway, and tooke the said town by strong assault, and also wickedly and vniustly took al the marchants of Lenne there residing with their goods and cattels, and burnt their houses and mansions in the same place, and put their persons vnto great ransoms: [Sidenote: 21. houses of English marchants burnt at Norben in Norway.] euen as by the letters of safeconduct deliuered vnto the said marchants it may more euidently appeare, to the great damage and impouerishment of the marchants of Lenne: namely, Inprimis they burnt there 21. houses belonging vnto the said marchants, to the value of 440. nobles. Item, they tooke from Edmund Belyetere, Thomas Hunt, Iohn Brandon, and from other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 1815. pounds.


In the meane while Norway enioyed peace vnder the gouernment of a woman: vntil Albertus king of Suecia, who had now seuen yeeres continued in captiuity vnder Queen Margaret, was to be set at liberty. [Sidenote: The Vitalians.] Which, when the common souldiers of Rostok and Wismer, called the Vitalians perceiued, (who, whilst their king was holden captiue, in the right of the forenamed cities, for the behalfe of their lord the king being prince of Mekleburg by birth, vndertooke and waged warre al the time of his captiuitie) banding their forces together, they resolued, at their own costs and charges, but in the right of the said cities, to saile into the 3. kingdoms, and to take such spoiles as they could lay hold on. These
common soldiers therfore, seeing an end of their tyrannical and violent
dealing to approach, sailed into Norway, vnto the towne of Norbern, being a
mart towne for al the marchants of Germanie: who transporting fishes from
thence, doe bring thither marchandises of all kinds; especially corne, vnto
the scarcitie whereof, vnlesse it be brought out of other countreys, that
kingdome (as we haue said) is very much subiect. Departing out of their
ships and going on shore, they set vpon the towne, and by fire and sword
they easily compelled the inhabitants dwelling in weake woodden houses, to
giue place. Thus these Vitalians entering and surprising the towne conueyed
such spoiles vnto their ships as them pleased, and hauing laden their ships
with those booties, they returned home frolike vnto the ports of their own
cities. Without all respect, they robbed and rifled the goods, aswel of the
Germanes, as of the Noruagians: and like lewde companions, wasting and
making hauock of all things, prooued themselues neuer the wealthier. For it
is not the guise of such good fellowes to store vp or to preserue ought.
The citizens, at the first, seemed to be inriched: howbeit afterward, (no
man misdoubting any such calamitie) goods ill gotten were worse spent. Thus
farre Krantzius.]
were in the said four ships, they slew, some they spoyled, and others
they put unto extreme ransomes. And carying away with them those four
ships with the commodities and marchandise therin, they parted stakes
therewith, as them listed, to the great impoverishment and losse of the said
merchants of Lenne, namely in cloth of William Silesden, Tho. Waterden,
Ioh. Brandon, Ioh. Wesenham, and other merchants of Lenne, to the value of
3623. li. 5. s. 11. d.

Item, pitifully complaining, the foresaid merchants doe affirm, that one
Henry Lambolt and other his adherents, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke
upon the maine sea betweene Norway and Scaw, one crayer laden with osmunds,
and with divers other marchandises, perteining unto Iohn Brandon of Lenne,
to the summe and value of 443. li. 4. s. 2. d. Moreover, they tooke from
Iohn Lakingay 4. lasts and an halfe of osmunds, to the value Of 220. lib.
10. s.

Item, the foresaid merchants complain, that certain malefactors of Wismer,
with other their complices of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1396.
took from Thomas Ploket of Lenne, out of a certaine ship sailing upon the
maine sea towards Sconeland (whereof Iames Sncop was master) cloth and
other marchandise, to the summe and value of 13. lib. 13. s. 4. d.

Item, the aboue-named merchants complain saying, that certaine malefactors
of Wismer, with others of the Hans society, in the yere of our Lord 1397.
wickedly and unjustly took out of a certaine ship of Dantzik (whereof
Laurence van Russe was master) from Ralph Bedingam of Lenne, one fardel
Item, the foresaid marchants complaine, that certaine malefactors of Wismer
of Rostok, with others of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1399, wickedly
and vnjustly tooke one crayer pertayning vnto Iohn Lakinglich of Lenne,
laden with diuers goods and marchandise pertaining vnto sundry marchants of
Lenne, namely from the forenamed Iohn one fardel of cloth, and one chest
full of harneis, and other things, to the value of 90. lib. Item, they took
out of the foresaid ship from Roger Hood, one fardel of cloth, and one
chest with diuers goods, to the value of 58. lib. Item, from Iohn Pikeron,
one fardell of cloth, and one chest with diuers goods, to the value of 440.
lib. Item, from Andrew Purser one fardell of cloth, and one chest with
diuers commodities therein, to the value of ten pounds.

Item, the aboue named marchants complaine saying, that certaine malefactors
of Wismer and Rostok, and others of the Hans, namely, Godekin Mighel,
Henrie van Hall de Stertebeker, with other of their confederates, in the
yeere of our Lord 1399. wickedly and vnjustly took from Iohn Priour of
Lenne, out of the ship of Michael van Burgh, namely 160. nests of masers,
worth 100. lib. 13. s. 4. d. Item, 30. furres rigges of Kaleber woorth 13.
s. 4. d. a piece, the summe totall amounting to 20. li. Item, 20. furres
wombys of Kalebre worth &c. Item, one girdle of siluer, and one dagger
adorned with siluer worth 30. s. Item, two coates, and one long iacket, and
other goods, to the value of 30. s. Item, he paide for his ransome 4. lib.
[Sidenote: Note the secret treasons of the Hans.] Vnto all and singular the articles aboue-written, the ambassadors of England aforesaid do further adde, that the doers and authors of the damages, injuries, and robberies set down in the articles aboue written, (of whom some are named in particular, and others in general) performed and committed all those outrages, being hired thereunto at the expenses and charges of the common societies, of the cities aforesaid. And that the inhabitants of euery houshold in the foresaide cities (ech man according to his ability) wittingly and purposely set foorth one, two, or more men, for the very same expedition, wherein all and singular the foresaid trespasses were committed.

The foresaid English ambassadors doe exhibite the articles aboue-written vnto the procurators of the cities of Wismer and Rostok aforesaid: leaue and libertie being alwayes reserued vnto the said ambassadors, to enlarge, or to diminish or to expound all, or euery, or any of the said Articles whatsoeuer, so often as it shall seeme expedient vnto them.

* * * *

These be the grieuances and offences, whereat the marchants of the Hans of Almaine, comming vnto, and residing in the Realme of England, doe finde themselves aggriewed, contrarie to the Articles and priviileges of the Charter graunted vnto them by the worthy Progenitors of the king of
England that now is, and also by the said soueraigne Lord the King, ratified, and confirmed.

Imprimis, whereas the foresaid marchants haue a privilege graunted vnto them by Charter, that they may, in cities, boroughs, and in other towns and villages throughout the whole realme of England, exercise traffique in grosse, as wel with the natural inhabitants of the kingdome, as with strangers, and priuate persons: of late, those that are free denizens in the cities, boroughs, and villages within the foresaid kingdome, do hinder and restrain all others that be strangers, foreners, and aliens, that they neither can, nor dare buy and sel with the marchants of the Hans aforesaid, to their great hinderance and losse.

Item, the foresaid by vertue of their charter were wont to haue and to hold Innes and mansions, for the reposing of themselues and of their goods, wheresoeuer they pleased in any cities, boroughs, or villages, throughout the whole kingdome; howbeit of late the foresaide marchants are not suffered to take vp their mansions, contrary to the tenour of their charter.

Item, the foresaid marchants are priuileged not to vndergoe any other burthens or impositions, but onely to pay certaine customs, as it doeth by their charter manifestly appeare. Notwithstanding at the same time when Simon de Moreden was maior of London, the foresaid marchants were constrained, in the ward of Doue-gate at London, to pay fifteenths, tallages, and other subsidies contrary to the liberties of their charter.
Whereupon the saide marchants prosecuted the matter before the Council of our soueraign lord the king, insomuch that they were released from paying afterward any such tallages, fifteenths, and subsidies. Which marchants, a while after, of their owne accord and free will, gaue vnto the gild-hall of London an hundreth markes sterling, conditionally, that they of the citie aforesaid shoulde not at any time after exact or demaund of the said marchants, or of their successors, any tallages, fifteenths, or subsidies, contrary to the tenor of their charter, as by records in the foresaid gild-hall, it doth more plainly appeare. Howbeit of late the officers of our lord the king, in the foresaid ward of Doue-gate, constrained the marchants aforesaid to pay tallages, fifteenths, and other subsidies. And because the saide marchants murmured and refused to pay any such contributions, alleaging their priuileges, the foresaid officers arrested the goods of those said marchants (which are as yet detained vpon the arrest) notwithstanding that they were released before the councel of our soueraigne lord the king, and also that they gaue vnto the said gild-hall one hundreth marks to be released, as it is aforesaid. And also the foresaid marchants were constrained to pay 12. d. in the pound, and of late 6. d. and other subsidies, more then their ancient customes, to the great damage of those marchants.

[Sidenote: The ancient customes of wools.] Item, the foresaid marchants are priuileged as touching customs of wols by them bought within the realm of England, that they are not bound to pay, ouer and besides their ancient customs, but onely xl. d, more then the homeborn marchants of England were wont to pay. [Sidenote: Pence for the towne of Cales.] But now the foresaid marchants are compelled to pay for euery sack of wool (besides the ancient
custom and the 40. d. aforesaid) a certain imposition called Pence for the
town of Cales, namely for every sack of wool 19. d more than the merchants
of England do pay, to their great losse, and against the liberty of their
charter.

Item, the aforesaid merchants are privileged by their charter, that
concerning the quantity of their merchandize brought into the realm of
England (in regard whereof they are bound to pay 3. d. for the worth of
every pound of silver) credit is to be given unto them for the letters of
their masters and of their companies, if they were able to shew them. And
if so be they had no letters in this behalf to shew, that then credite
should be given unto themselves, and that their othe, or the othe of their
attorney should be taken, without any other proof, as touching the value of
their merchandize so brought in, and that thereupon they should be bound to
pay customs, namely the customs of 3. d. justly for that cause to be paid.
But now the customers of our soueraigne lorde the king put their goods to
an higher rate than they ought or were wont to be: and hereupon they
compell them to pay custome for their goods, at their pleasure, scanning
about their freight and expenses particularly disbursed in regard of the
said goods and merchandize, to the great hinderance of the said merchants,
and against the tenor of their charter.

[Sidenote: The great charter of Marchants.] Item, the aforesaid merchants by
way of pitiful complaint do allege, that, whereas the worthy progenitors
of our Lord the king that now is, by vertue of the saide great charter,
graunted liberty vnto them to pay the customes of certain clothes, namely
of skarlet, and cloth died in grayne, and of other clothes of assise, which
were by them to be caried out of the realme of England, euen as by their
foresaid Charter it doeth more plainly appeare: and whereas our soueraigne
lord the king that now is (ratifying and confirming the saide charter, and
being willing that they shoulde haue more especiall fauour shewed vnto
them) granted vnto them by their Charter, that the said marchants should be
exempted and freed from all custome and imposition of small clothes, as in
pieces and in narrow clothes which were not of assise, and in such other
clothes of like qualitie: [Sidenote: A speciall charter.] yet of late the
Customers of our Lorde the King that nowe is, not allowing their saide
speciall Charter so graunted vnto the marchants aforesaid, do compel them
to pay for straight clothes and for pieces of clothes which are not of
assise, (together with other demands particularly and seuerally made) as
great custome as if the clothes were full out of assise. [Sidenote: The
customers of the pety custome.] Moreouer also of late, the customers of the
smal or pety custome and of the subsidie doe demand of them custome for
kersey-clothes equal vnto the custome of those clothes, that be of ful
assise, whereas theforesaid marchants were not wont to pay for those
kerseys by vertue of their Charter, but onely according to the worth of ech
pound of siluer, as namely for other goods which are of golde weight: to
the great hinderance of the foresaid parties, and against the manifest
graunt of our soueraigne Lord the king, as it appeareth in the said
speciall Charter.

Item, the said merchants alleage, that they are priuiledged by their
Charter, if they pay custome and subsidy for their goods in the behalfe of
our lord the king, at any port of England where those goods haue arriued
and afterward would transport the saide goods or any part of them vnto any
other port within the realme aforesaid: that then they should be quite
released from paying of any other custome for the same goods, if they bring
a warrant that they haue paide the saide custome, as is aforesaide.

[Sidenote: 1405.] Of late it fortuned, that a certaine man of their
societie named Nicholas Crossebaire, being a marchant of the lande of
Prussia, immediately after the concord was concluded betwene the English
and the Prussians, brought vnto the towne of Sandwich a shippe laden with
bowe-staues and other marchandize, and there well and truely paide the
custome of our lord the king for all his ware: and selling there part of
the same goods, he afterward transported parcel thereof in a small barke
vnto London, there to be solde, and caried a warrant also with him, that he
had at Sandwich paid the custome due vnto our lord the king: and yet (the
said warrant notwithstanding) the customers of the pety custome and subsidy
of London came and demanded custome of him at another time contrary to
reason, and against the tenor of their charter: and the said Nicholas
offred pledges vnto them, yea, euen ready money downe into their hands,
vntil the question were discussed and determined, whether he should pay new
custome or no: but this they would not doe. Then the said Nicholas brought
a brief from our lord the king, to get himselfe discharged from paying the
said custome: and for all that, the foresaid customers would not as yet
haue regard vnto him, but kept the said goods within shipboord, vpon the
riuer of Thames, for the space of 15. dayes, vntil he had paid another
custome, to the great losse of the said Nicholas, for that which he sold
first at Sandwich to be deliuered at London for seuen nobles, he could not
afterward haue for it aboue foure nobles, and yet so was it solde, by
reason of the harme which his wares had taken by lying so long vpon the
water, contrary to the tenor of their Charter.
Item, the said marchants do alleage, that another of their company called Peter Hertson bought at Bristow certain clothes, and laded the same in a ship, to be transported for Prussia, for the which he truely paide at Bristowe, the customs and subsidies due vnto our soueraign lord the king: which ship with the foresaid goods arriving at London: the customers of the pety-custome and of the subsidie there would not permit the said ship with the goods to passe vnto the parts aforesaid, vntil the said Peter had paid another custome for the same goods (the warrant, which he brought with him notwithstanding) to his great hindrance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Item, pitifully complaining the foresaid marchants alleage, that wheras euery marchant, bringing wares into the realm, was wont to haue a schedule wherein his name was written, for a specification and certificat of the quantity of his goods in the said schedule to be found at the arriual of the ship, without paying therfore ought at all, of late, the customers of the pety custome do compel them to pay for ech mans name written a peny, at the arriual of their goods out of euery ship wherein the said goods are found, what commodities and marchandize soeuer they be: whereas notwithstanding, if there be a chest or any other smal matter, there should not therfore be any custome due vnto our lord the king, nor any receiued vnto his Maiesties vse. [Sidenote: The customers of the subsidie.] In like maner do the customers of the subsidy deale. Whereas also the foresaid marchants were not wont to pay for a cocket for the conueyance and transportation of their goods out of the realme (albeit many names were written theirne) more then 4. d. of late the customers of the pety custom
do compel them to pay for every name contained in the same cocket 4. d. and
in like sort do the customers of the said subsidy deale. Which
contribution in a yere extendeth it self vnto a great summe, to the vknown
preiudice of our lord the king, more then any man could suppose, (for the
customers enjoy their fees and commodities from his Maiestie that they may
doe him faithfull service) and likewise to the great damage of the said
marchants.

Item, pitifully complaining the said marchants do alleage that they are
constrained to pay for subsidy, sometime 12. d. and sometime 6. d. in the
pound, contrary to the tenor of their charter: and yet notwithstanding when
their marchandize commeth to the wharf, the customers prolong and delay the
time 3. or 4. weeks before they wil take custome for their goods, in the
which space other marchants sel their goods, the customers not regarding
whether the goods aforesaid take wet or no: to the great damage aswel of
our lord the king, as of the said marchants: because, if they had quicke
dispatch, they might pay custome vnto his Maiestie oftner then they doe.

Item, the said marchants doe farther alleage, that the customers of the
petie custome, and of the subsidie in the port of London haue appointed
among themselves certaine men to seale vp the goods of the saide marchants,
so soon as they are arriued at the port of safetie, vntil the said goods be
customed. By meanes of the which sealing, the foresaide parties doe compell
the marchants aboue-named, (vpon an vse and custome whereof themselues haue
bene the authors) to paye a certaine summe of money, to the great
hinderance of the sayde marchants, and contrarie to iustice and to their
charter. Moreouer, the saide customers haue ordained betweene themselues,
that the said marchants shall put or make vp no cloth into fardels, to
transport out of the realme, vnlesse certaine men appointed by them for the
same purpose bee there present, to see what maner of clothes they bee,
vnder paine of the forfeiture of the said goods. Also of late, when the
sayde marchants would haue made up such fardels, the foresayde parties
assigned to be overseers refused to come, vnlesse they might haue for their
comming some certain summe of money, delaying and procrastinating from day
to day, so long as themselues listed, to the great losse and vndoiing of the
foresaide marchants, and contrarie to their liberties: because the
foresaide customers are bound by their office to doe this, without any
contribution therefore to bee paide vnto them by the saiade marchants: for
that they doe enioy from our soueraigne Lord the King their fees and
commodities, to the ende that they may serue him and euery marchant iustly
and faithfully, without any contribution by them to be imposed anewe vpon
the sayde marchants, of custome.

Item, the said marchants doe alleage, that the customers and balifs of the
town of Southampton do compel them to pay for euery last of herrings,
pitch, and sope ashes brought thither by them 2. s. more then the kings
custome: and for ech hundreth of bowstaues and boords called Waghenscot, 2.
d. for every hundreth of boords called Richolt, 4. d. and for al other
marchandize brought by the foresaid marchants vnto the same towne: which
contributions they neuer paid at any time heretofore, being greatly to
their hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Item, the foresaid marchants do alleage, that one of their company; called
Albert Redewish of Prussia, bringing diuers goods and marchandizes vnto
Newcastle vpon Tine, and there laying the usual custom of 3. d. in the pound for all his wares, the bailifs of the saide towne, against all reason, exacted 7. pound sterling at his hands more then the custome: whereupon the foresaid marchant got a briefe from the kings majesty, for the recovery of the saide 7. li. according to equity and reason: howbeit, that at the coming of the said briefe the foresaid balifes would do nothing on his behalfe, but would haue slaine their foresaid associate, contrary to their charter and priuiledges.

William Esturmy knight, and Iohn Kington canon of Lincolne, being by the most mighty prince and lord, L. Henry by Gods grace K. of England and France and lord of Ireland, sufficiently deputed and appointed to parle, treate, and agree with the common society of the marchants of the Hans of Dutchland or Almain, concerning and about the redressing and reformation of vniust attempts happening between our said soueraign L. the king his liege people and subiects on the one part, and between the common society aforesaid, the cities, towns, And particular persons thereof on the other part: do (for the behalf of our said soueraign L. the King, with a mind and intention to haue al and singular the things vnderwritten to come to the knowledge of the said common society) intimate, declare, and make known vnto you (hono. sirs) Henr. Westhoff citizen and deputy of the city of Lubec, Henry Fredelaw, Ioh. van Berk citizen of Colen, Mainard Buxtehude citizen, and deputy of the city of Hamburgh, M. Simon Clawstern clerk, sir John de Aa knight deputie of the citie of Rostok, Herman Meyer deputy of the citie of Wismar, being as the procurators, messengers, and commissioners of the foresaid cities, assembled together at the town of Hage in Holland, with the forenamed Will. and Iohn in regard of the
foresaid redres and reformation: that, euen as our said soueraign L. the
king his meaning is not to disturb or hinder such priuiledges as haue bin
heretofore granted and vouchsafed vnto the common society of the marchants
aforesaid, by the renoumed kings of England, and the worthy progenitors of
our L. the K. that now is, and by himself also vnder a certain form
confirmed: euen so he is determined (without the preiudice of forren lawes)
vpn iust mature, and sober deliberation, by his royall authorise to
withstand such priuiledges, as by reason of the abuse thereof, haue bene
infinitey preiudiciall vnto himselfe and his subiects.

Inprimis the said ambassadours doe affirme as afore, that whereas all and
euery the Marchants of the said company, as often as they would, were, both
in the Realme of England, and in other territories and dominions subiect
vnto our soueraigne lord the king, admitted and suffered (according to the
tenor of the forenamed priuiledges granted vnto them) freely, friendly and
securely to traffique and conuerse with any of his Maiesties liege people
and subiects whatsoeuer, or with other people of whatsoeuer nation liuing
in the realme of England, or in the dominions aforesaid: the said common
society of marchants by their publike and deliberate common counsel did
appoint and ordain, that no society in any cities, townes, or places,
neither yet any particular man of any such society (there being no lawfull
or reasonable cause why) shoulde in any wise admit any marchants of the
realm of England resorting vnto their cities or other places for
marchandise, to enjoy intercourse of traffike: but that the saide English
marchants should bee altogether excluded from all traffike and mutuall
conuersation among them, by denouncing and inflicting grieuous penalties of
money as well vpon cities as other places, and vpon particular marchants
also of the foresaid societie practising the contrary.

Item, that immediately after, the foresaid parties enacting and ordaining published their sayde statute and ordinance, in all kingdomes, prouinces, partes, cities, and townes, wherin any marchants of the said societie were conuersant.

Item, that after that publication, the statute and ordinance aforesaid by euery of the marchants of the forenamed society were inuiolably obsuered.

Item, that the said statute and ordinance hath bene so rigorously put in execution, that whereas immediately after certaine English marchants with their ships, mariners, and marchandize beeing in a certaine part of one of the principall cities of the foresaide societie, vtterly destitute of meate, drinke, and money, publikely offred to sell their wollen clothes of England, onely to prouide themselues of necessary victuals: yet the marchants of the saide citie, stoutely persisting in their statute and ordinance aforesaid, straightly prohibited the buying of such clothes, vnchristianly denying meate and drinke vnto the said English marchants.

Item, the foresaid society decreed and ordained, that no marchant of the saide Company should in any place or countrey whatsoever, buy any woollen clothes of the realme or dominion of England (albeit offered by others and not by English men) or hauing bought any, should, after the terme prefixed, sel them, imposing grieuous pecuniary mulcts, besides the forfeiture of the clothes so bought or sold, vpon them that would attempt the contrary.
Item, that after the said statute and ordinance, the foresaid societie
decreed, that all marchants of the said companie, hauing among their wares
and marchandise any woollen clothes made in England, should either sell the
saide clothes, or within a short space then limited, should, vnder penaltie
of forfeiting the said clothes, utterly renounce the use and commoditie
thereof: Notwithstanding a grievous penaltie of money being imposed vpon
the violators of the same statute.

[Sidenote: The Hans societie determineth the overthrow of English
merchants.] Item, that the statutes and ordinances aforesaid might with
more speed and celerity be put in execution, the said authors and
publishers thereof imagining, according to their desire, that by this
means an utter extirpation and overthrow of English marchants might, yea
and of necessity must ensue: upon their serious and long premeditated
deliberation, straitely commanded and inioyned, vnder pain of losing the
benefit of all priuileges, wheresoeuer, or by the princes of what lands, or
the Magistrates of what Cities or townes soeuer vouchsafed vnto the said
common societie, that not only the aldermen of that, society in al places
throughout the realme of England, but also al other marchants of the said
company, after the maner of marchants conuersing in the said Realme,
should, without exception of persons, vterly abstein from all intercourse
of traffike with the marchants of the realme aforesaid: yea, and that they
shoulde depart out of the said kingdome within a very short space limited.
For the dispatching of al which premisses without delay, it was according
to their commandement effectually prouided.
Item, that the society aforesaid hath approved divers very unreasonable statutes and ordinances, made and published by the marchants of the same society residing in the kingdoms of Norway and Swedland, to the great prejudice of the kingdom of England, and the marchants thereof: and as yet both courtely and expressly do approve the same, unjustly putting them in daily execution.

Item, wheras in the priuileges and indulgences granted by the renowned princes somtimes kings of England, the worthy progenitors of our souereign lord the king that now is, vnto the society aforesaid, it is prouided, that the said marchants shal not auow any man which is not of their company, nor shal not colour his goods and marchandize vnder their company; whereas also in the confirmation of the sayd priuileges made up by our soueraigne lord that nowe is, it is manifestly prouided, that the marchants of the Hans towns, vnder the colour of their priuileges in England, shall not vpon paine of the perpetuall frustration and reuocation of the foresayd priuileges, receive any stranger of any other towne in their liberties, by whom the kings custome may in any sort be withholden or diminished: and yet the contrary vnto al these prouisoes hath bin euery yere, for these 20. yeres or thereabout notoriously practised and committed, as well ioyntly by the generall counsell, and toleration of the foresayd society, as also seuerally by the aduise and permission of diuers particular cities of the foresayd Hans company to the great diminution of his maiesties custome, the estimation whereof the foresayd ambassadors are not able at this present fully to declare. [Sidenote: How many and which be the Hans townes.] But
that all occasions of the last above mentioned diminution may be prevented
for the time to come, the said ambassadors do demand to have from the
foresaid society a declaration in writing, what and what manner of
territories, cities, towns, villages or companies they be, for which the
said society challengeth and pretendeth, that they ought to enjoy the
privileges granted unto their merchants, as is above mentioned.

Moreover, it is required by the foresaid ambassadors, if the society
aforesaid hath not decreed nor ordained the things above written, that the
names of the cities and places decreeing and ordaining such statutes and
ordinances, may by the said common society either now or at some other
times and places convenient for the same purpose, be expressed and set
downe in writing.

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A letter of Henry the fourth king of England &c. unto Frater Conradus de
Iungingen the Master general of Prussia.

Henry &c. to the most noble and mighty personage of sacred religion F:
Conradus de Iungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of
S. Marie, our most dear friend, greeting, and continual perfection of
amity.

When as your messengers and ambassadors were of late personally present in
Holland, and there expected the arrival of our ambassadors until the first day of the month of November last expired, that there might be by way of friendly conference a remedy provided in regard of certain injuries pretended to be offered, by both our subjects one against another, for the public benefit of both parts, we were determined to have sent unto Dordrecht, at the aforesaid day, our wellbeloved and faithful knight William Sturmy, and our wellbeloved clerk John Kington, upon our ambassador-affairs: having as yet in our desires, for a peaceable ending of the matter, (which, our aforesaid ambassadors, by reason of the shortness of time, or the finding out of some other remedy and happy conclusion of all and singular the aforesaid attempts concerning the principal business, could by no means at that instant attain unto) that upon some other more convenient day (to the end your ambassadors might not return home altogether frustrate of their expectation) there might be, after the wonted friendly manner, a conference and agreement with your aforesaid ambassadors, even as by other letters of ours directed unto your said ambassadors the second day of the month of November aforesaid we have delivered our mind unto them. But it fortuned not long before the departure of your ambassadors into their own country, that no sufficient shipping could be found wherein our said ambassadors might have secure and safe passage unto Dordrecht, or Middleburgh, neither was it thought that they should get any passage at all, till the ships at Middleborough were returned into our kingdom, by the force whereof they might be the more strongly wafted over. And so by reason of the departure of your ambassadors, all matters remain in suspense till such time as the said ambassadors shall again meet with ours to add perfection unto the business as yet imperfect. Wherefore (our friend unfailingly beloved) desiring from the bottom of our heart that the integrity of love, which hath from ancient times taken place betwixt our
and your subiects, may in time to come also be kept inuiolable, we haue
thought good once again to send one of our foresaid ambassadors, namely
William Esturmy knight to Dordract, giuing him charge thither to make
haste, and there to stay, till some of your messengers, at your
commandement doe in time conuenient repayre vnto that place, there (by Gods
assistance) to bring the matter vnto an happy conclusion. May it please you
therefore of your vnfayned friendship, without all inconuenience of delay,
to returne, not vnto vs, but vnto our forenamed knight an answere in
writing, what your will and determination is. Neither let it seeme strange
vnto you, that we haue not at this present sent our forenamed Iohn Kington
clerke together with the sayd William; for the cause of his abode with vs
is, that he may in the meane season employ his care and diligence about
those matters which muust be preparities for the finall conclusion of the
foresayd busines. Honorable sir, and most deare friend, we doe most
heartily wish increase of prosperity and ioy vnto your person. [Sidenote:
1407.] Giuen in our palace of Westminster the 14. day of Feb. in the yeare
of our Lord 1407.

* * * * *

To the right noble and valiant knight Sir William Sturmy sent at this
present by the most souereigne King of England &c, as his ambassadour
vnto Dordract, his most sincere friend.

Honorable sir, our most entier friend, wee receiued the royall letters of
the most mighty prince and lord, our lord the king of England and France
and lord of Ireland, sent unto vs vnder the date of the 14. day of February
(which we received at our castle of Marienburgh the 11. of April)
containing, amongst other matters, that his Maiesties purpose was once
againe to sende one of his ambassadors, namely your selfe our very sincere
friend unto Dordract, giving you in charge that you would make haste
thither and there stay; vntill some of our subiects might at our
commandement, in convenient time repaire vnto the same place, there (by
God's assistance) to bring our matters vnto a happy conclusion. And then he
requested that we should without delay write our determination vnto you,
as the conclusion of the said letter importeth. Howbeit (our most deare
friend) the treaties and conferences about the redresse or reformation of
uniust attempts committed by the subiects of our sayd lord and king and our
subiects, one against another, are both on our behalfe, and on the behalfe
of the common societie of the Hans marchants, hitherto had, made, and
continued common. And so our commissioners vpon our full and absolute
commandement, shal, for the managing of these and of other affaires of the
foresaid societie, many waies urgent and difficult, vpon the feast of our
Lords Ascension next to come, meet with the said societie at Lubec, there
to giue notice what they haue determined to conclude in this present
busines and in others for their owne behalfe. For we will giue our
ambassadours, which are there to appeare, streightly in charge that
according to the kings request aforesayde they doe without delay procure an
answere to be written vnto your honour concerning the determination of the
foresayd societie. Giuen at the place and vpon the day aboue named, in the
yeare of our Lord 1407.

Fr. Wemherus de Tettingen, commander in Elbing, general vice-master and
lieutenant in the roome of the master generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. Marie &c. of late deceased.

* * * * *

The letters of Henry the 4. king of England &c vnto Vlricus de Iungingen Master generall of Prussia, 1408. wherein he doth ratifie and accept the last agreement made at Hage in Holland.

Henry &c. vnto the honourable and religious personage Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen Master generall of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our most deare friend, greeting and dayly increase of our accustomed amity and friendship. We doe by these presents giue your honour to vnderstand, that our faithfull and welbeloued William Esturmy knight, and Master Iohn Kington clerke, our ambassadours and messengers sent of late on our behalfe, vnto the presence of your predecessour for the redressing of certaine grievances and damages being contrary to iustice offered against vs and our liege subiects by the people and subiects of your predecessors, and against them also by our subiects as it is aforesayd, in friendly maner to be procured, of late returning out of the parts of Alemain made relation vnto vs and to our counsell, that hauing conferred with your forenamed predecessour about the foresayd affayres, the particulars following were at length concluded: namely first of all, that at a certaine day and place they should meete in Holland with his ambassadors and messengers, to hold a friendly conference betweene them about the redressing and reformation of the grievances and damages aforesayd: and that they should by equall weight
of diligent elimination ponder, and in the balance of justice discusse and 
define al and singular the foresaid grievances and damages inflicted on 
both parts. [Sidenote: A meeting at Hage the 28. of August 1407.] Howbeit 
at length after sundry prorogations then made and continued on this 
behalf, our ambassadors and messengers aforesaid vpon the 28. of August 
last past, assembling themselues for our part at the towne of Hage in 
Holland, the hon. and discreet personages Arnold Heket burgomaster of the 
towne of Dantzik, and Iohn Crolowe, for the behalf of your subiects of 
Prussia, and Tidman de Meule, and Iohn Epenscheid for the behalf of 
Liuonia, being assembled as messengers and commissioners about the redresse 
and reformation aforesayd, did then and there demaund in certaine articles, 
of our ambassadours and messengers aboue named 25034. nobles and half a 
noble, for the grievances and damages offered (as it was then said) to your 
subiects of Prussia, and 24082. nobles 12. s. 8. d. in recompense of the 
damages offered unto those your subiects of Liuonia. And when the substance 
of those articles about the grievances and losses aforesayd was by the sayd 
ambassadours and messengers aboue named 25034. nobles and half a noble, for 
the grievances and damages offered (as it was then said) to your subiects 
of Prussia, and 24082. nobles, 12. s. 8. d. in recompence of the damages 
offered unto those your subiects of Liuonia. And when the substance of 
those articles about the grievances and losses aforesayd was by the sayd 
ambassadours and messengers throughly examined and discussed, by their 
generall consent it was finally agreed, that your subiects, in 
consideration of all and singular the foresayd grievances and damages 
offered unto them by our people, should within three yeares after the feast 
of Easter next ensuing, at three equall payments receiue from vs, namely 
they of Prussia, 8957. nobles, and they of Liuonia 22496. nobles, sixe 
pence, halfepeny, farthing, and no more, so that we our selues thought good
to condescend thereunto. Howbeit, forasmuch as certaine other goods of your
subjicts of Prussia, and also certaine articles in the behalfe of our
subjicts containing grieuous complaints in them, being propounded before
the ambassadors and messengers aforesaid, for the attaining of reformation
in regard of the damages and grieuances offered on both parts, could not as
then, for the great obscurity of diuers of the sayd articles, and also for
want of sufficient profe at the last meeting appointed and held by the
foresayd ambassadors at the towne of Hage in Holland, sufficiently to be
examined, discussed, and defined, it was agreed vpon by the ambassadors and
messengers of both partes, that from the 15. day of October then last
expired vnto the feast of Easter now next ensuing, and from thenceforth
within one whole yere immediately following, the plaintifes of both parts
should throughly declare before our chancelour of England for the time
being, the foresayd obscurities concerning the substance of their articles,
and that they should, for the obtaining of execution, and complement of
iustice at our sayd chancelours hands, peremtorily minister necessary
probations, vnder paine of perpetuall exclusion from the petition of those
things which are contayned in the articles aboue mentioned.

Provided alwayes, that if at the last it shall be by lawfull profe made
manifest concerning the summes aboue written or any part or parcell
thereof, that due satisfaction hath beene made, to him or them vnto whom it
was due, or that those goods of and for the which complaint hath bene made
on the behalfe of your subjicts haue pertained or doe appertaine vnto
others, or any other iust, true, and reasonable cause may lawfully bee
alleaged, why the payment of all the foresayd summes or any of them ought
not to be performed: that then so much only is to be cut off or deducted
from the sayd summes as shall be found to be already payd or to pertaine
vnto others, or else vpon some true, iust, and reasonable cause (as is
aforesayd) not to be due. We therefore considering that the sayd friendly
conference, and the finall agreement ensuing thereupon are agreeable vnto
reason and equitie, doe, for our part ratifie and willingly accept the very
same conference and agreement. And forasmuch as it hath bene alwayes our
desire, and is as yet our intention, that the league of amity and the
integritie of loue, which hath of olde time bene obserued betwene our and
your subiects; may in times to come perpetually remaine inviolable, and
that your and our people may hereafter, not onely for the good of our
common weale but also for the commodity and peace of both parts, according
to their wooted maner, assemble themselues and enjoy the faithfull and
mutuall conuersation one of another: we will cause in our citie of London,
with the Summe of 8957. nobles satisfaction to bee made vnto the Prussians,
and with the summe of 22496. nobles, sixe pence, halfe peny, farthing,
recompense to be performed vnto the Liuonians, in regard of the damages and
inuries (which in very deede proceeded not of our consent) by our suibects
offered vnto them, as it is afore sayd, and within three yeares after the
feast of Easter next ensuing the sayd summes of money to bee payed at three
payments, and by three equal portions. Conditionally that vnto our suibects
which be endamaged correspondent satisfaction be likewise on your part
within the terme of the foresayd three yeres performed, with paying the
summes of 766. nobles and of 4535. nobles, demaunded on our bchalfe, and
also with the payment of such summes as within one yeere immediately
ensuing the feast of Easter aforesayd, shallbe found by sufficient
declarations and prooffes to be made on the behalfe of our suibects (as is
aforesayd) to be due. Euen as we in like maner will make satisfaction vnto
your suibects within our citie aforesayd. Now as touching the request of
your ambassadors and of the Liuonians whereby we were required to procure
some holesome remedy for the soules of certaine drowned persons, as
conscience and religion seemeth to chalenge (in regard of whom we are moued
with compassion, and do for their sakes heartily condole their mishaps) you
are (our entier friend), of a certaintie to vnderstand, that after we shall
be by your letters aduertized of the number, state, and condition of the
sayd parties drowned, we will cause suffrages of prayers and diuers other
holesome remedies profitable for the soules of the deceased and acceptable
to God and men, religiously to be ordained and prouided: vpon condition,
that for the soules of our drowned countrey men there be the like remedie
prouided by you. The almighty grant vtto your selfe and vtto your whole
Order, that, you may prosperously triumph ouer the enemies of Christ his
crosse. Giuen vnder our priiue seale at our palace of Westminster the 26.
of March, in the yeere of our lord 1408. and in the ninth yere of our
reigne.

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The letters of Fr: Vlricus Master of Prussia directed vnto the king of
England, signifying that he is contented with the agreements concluded by
his messengers at Hage.

To the most renowned prince and mighty lord L. Henrie king of England and
France, and lord of Ireland, our most gracious lord.

Vnto your highnes pleasure at all assaies humbly recommending my voluntarie
seruice &c. Most renowned king, mighty prince, and gracious Lord, we receiued of late with great reuerence as it becommeth vs, by our wellbeloued Arnold de Dassel the bearer of these presents, your Maiesties letters of late directed vnto vs, making mention amongst other matters of certaine appointments first made and concluded between the noble and worthy personages William Esturmy knight, Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London your ambassadours and messengers on the one parte, and our honorable and religious brethren, namely Conradus Lichtensten great commander, Warnherus de Tettingen chiefe hospitalary and commander in Elbing, and Arnold de Hacken treasurer, being the procuratours and commissioners of Fra. Conradus de Iungingen our last predecessour of famous memory on the other parte, concerning the redressing, reformation, and amendement of vniust attempts committed on both sides, at our castle of Marienburgh, and also very lately at the towne of Hage in Holland, namely the twenty eight of the moneth August in the yeare immediately past, betwene your foresayde ambassadours William Esturmy knight, and Iohn Kington clerke, for your part, and our trusty and welbeloued commissioners and procurators, namely Arnold Hecht burgomaster of our citie of Dantzik, and Iohn Crolow citizen of the same citie, for our parte. And for our more perfect knowledge in this behalfe, our sayd commissioners made relation vnto vs and vnto our whole counsell, that associating vnto themselues our messengers of Liuonia, namely, Tidman Myeul, and Iohn Epensheid, together with your foresaid ambassadours and messengers, they there finally appoynted and concluded, of and about the aboue mentioned summes of money due on both partes, of the which mention is made in your letters aforesayd. [Sidenote: Here relation is had unto the king of the Romans.] With this special prouiso that in like manner satisfaction be made in all points, both vnto other of our damnified subiects of Prussia, namely such whose
goods or the true value thereof have been finally adjudged by the judges or
professors of our laws, and unto such who having brought their articles of
complaints unto the audience of the most dread and mighty prince and lord,
our lord Rupertus king of the Romans always most sovereign, were in
conclusion to have the estimations of their goods to be adjudged by the
sentence of the said lord, with the advice of two of his counsellors, and
also unto other of our subjects who have brought in sufficient proof of
damages unjustly inflicted upon them by your subjects, over and besides the
premises. So that in like manner satisfaction be made unto the common
society of the Hans merchants: and by the arbitragement set down in the
conferences had at Marienburgh, of the which it was aboven prorogued and
enacted on their behalf, namely if they will rest contented with our
subjects in the courses and means then concluded. If not, we intend not at
all to adhere unto them in this behalf. Afterward our messengers
aforesaid, both they of Prussia and of Livonia demanded convenient, just,
and speedy satisfaction, with the payment of all and singular the sums
above mentioned due unto both parts (so far as equity and reason
would yeild unto, for the recompense of the parties injured and endangered
on both sides) to be made within one whole year accounting from the feast
of Easter now last expired unto the very same feast next to come in the
year immediately following, and that in three several terms of payment, by
three portions of the said sums equally to be divided, at the town of
Bruges in Flanders as being a place indifferent for all parties, in manner
and forme as it was before at Marienburgh required and stood upon: namely
that reformation, reparation, and amendment of all unjust attempts
committed on both parts ought to be performed within one year. Howbeit
contrariwise your ambassadors aforesaid decreed that the said satisfaction
should be performed unto the parties injured of both parts within three
yeeres, beginning to accompt from the feast of Easter last past. And when
your ambassadours were not contented with the maner of satisfaction set
downe by our men, nor our commissioners were willing in any sort to consent
vnto that course which was thought conuenient by your ambassadors, the
honorable messengers of the sea-townes of the Hans being there at that time
present, made a motion that the foresayd satisfaction might be performed
within two yeeres and a halfe, accompting from the feast of Easter last
past, often before mentioned: yet vnder a certaine protestation, namely if
both parties should agree vnfo that forme of satisfaction, and if they
should thinke good finally and conclusiuely to yeeld their consent vnfo it.
Which kind of satisfaction also conceiued by the messengers, your sayd
ambassadours without givng notice thereof vnfo your royall Maiestie,
refused finally to approue; being rather desirous to make a true and
faithfull report of the sayd forme of satisfaction last aboue mentioned
vnfo your kingly highnesse, and that in such sorte, that (as they hoped)
effectuall satisfaction and payment of all and singuler the summes due and
to bee due on both partes should more conueniently and speedily bee
performed. Whereupon we might be put in good hope, that more speedy and
conuenient appointments of termes, for the sayd satisfaction friendly on
both parts to to be performed in, would haue proceeded from your bountifull
and gracious clemencie. And in very deede (most mighty prince) albeit it
was neuer the meaning of our foresayd predecessor, so for foorth as these
affayres concerned him, to protract and delay the execution of the sayd
busines so many and such long distances of time, and that for diuers
respects, both because restitution vnfo the parties robbed consisted
herein, and also because the sayd restitutions and satisfactions are to be
made vnfo poore people, widowes, orphanes, and other miserable creatures,
diuersly and miserably slaine and oppressed: notwithstanding we being moued
with hearty and fervent zeale and speciall affection vnto your royall
crowne of England, and having due regard and consideration of your most
excellent Maiestie, upon the advise of our honourable brethren our
counsellors, doe thankfully recieue, and by the tenour of these presents
totally ratifie and approue such satisfactions of the foresayd summes
howsoever due vnto our subiects both Prussians and Liuonians, in friendly
sorte to be performed at such times and occasions limited and prefixed by
your highnes as are expressed in your maiesties letters, and also of other
summes which within one yeare immediately ensuing after the feast of Easter
last past, by sufficient proofes to be madee on their part before your
chancelour at your citie of London shall be found due vnto them.
Conditionally that without inconuenience of delay and impediment they be
performed as they ought to be, according to the premisses. In like maner
also we our selues within the termes of payment aboue mentioned will
procure satisfaction to be without fayle perfourmed vnto your subiects
endamaged, with the summe of 766. nobles being in regard of their losses,
of the which they have giuen vp sufficient informations due vnto them: and
with other like summes also which are by sufficient proofes, within the
yeare aforesayd, and in maner and forme prescribed to be exhibited before
our treasurer at our citie of Dantzik. [Sidenote: Septem. 27. 1408.] The
almighty vouchsafe prosperously and longtime to preserue your maieisties
royal person. Giuen at our castle of Marienburgh the 27. of September, in
the yeare of our Lord 1408.

Fr. Vlricus de Tungingen master generall of the order of the Dutch-knights
of S. Maries hospital of Ierusalem.
The letters of king Henry the 4. sent vnto F. Vlricus master general of Prussia, wherein he doth absolutely approue the foresaid conference holden at Hage, and treateth about a perpetual league and amitie to be concluded betweene England and Prussia.

Henry by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, vnto the noble and mighty personage of sacred religion Vlricus de Lungingen master generall of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospitall of Ierusalem, our entirely beloued friend, greeting and increase of vnfainded friendship. After diuers conferences had in sundry places beyond the seas betweene the ambassadours and messengers of your late predecessor and of your selve also, on the one parte, and betweene our especiall ambassadors and messengers on the other parte, concerning reformations, reparations, and restitutions in certaine maner and forme to be performed vnto our subiects of both parts, in regard of manifold injuries practised against them both, and after that, in the last conference holden by the ambassadours of vs both at the towne of Hage at Holland, there was a motion made concerning a certaine forme of satisfaction, by way of finall conclusion in that behalfe: but not being as then by our ambassadours condescended vnto, because they durst not proceeede vnto the same conclusion without our priuitie, relation thereof at length being by them made before vs and our counsel; we returned vnto your honour an answere in writing by our letters vnder our priuie seale, of our full purpose and intention (vnto the which letters we doe at this present referre our selues, as if they
were here again expressly written) what we thought good to haue done in
this behalfe: so that we also might by your friendly letters be certaynly
informed of your will and express consent, being likewise conformable vn
to our foresayd intention. Nowe whereas since that time we haue of late
received the certaintie of the matter by your letters written vn to vs from
your castle of Marienburgh, bearing date the 27. of September last past,
contayning in effect amongst other matters, that you beeing mooued with a
feruent zeale and speciall affection (as you write) vn to the royall crowne
of our realme, and hauing due regard and consideration of our royall
maiestie, vpon the advise of your honourable brethren your counsellers, doe
with a thankful mind accept, and by the tenour of the said letters of yours
totally approue the concord of a certaine satisfaction to be performed with
the payment of certaine summes of money howsoever due vn to your subiects as
well of Prussia as of Liuonia, expressed in our former letters, within the
termes prefixed by our consent and limited in our said letters, and also of
other summes which within one whole yeare immediately following the feast
of Easter last past, be sufficient proofes on their part to bee made before
our chauncelour at our citie of London, shall be found due vn to them:
conditionally, that without inconuenience of delay and impediments, the
premises be performed as they ought to be. And that your selfe also will
without fayle, vpon the termes appointed for the said payments, procure
satisfaction to be made accordingly vn to our endamaged subiects with the
summes due vn to them by reason of their losses, whereof they haue
sufficient information. Wherefore in regard of those your friendly letters,
and your courteous answere returned by them vn to vs, as is aforesaid, wee
doe yeelde vn to you right vnfained thanks. [Sidenote: A motion for a
perpetuall league.] But because it will vndoubtedly be most acceptable and
pleasing both vn to vs and vn to our people, and vn to you and your subiects
that the zeale and feruencie of loue which hath from auncient times growen
and increased betweene our progenitours for them and their subiects, and
your predecessors and their subiects, and which by the insolencie of
certayne lewde persons, without any consent of the principall lords, hath
often bene violated betweene vs and you and mutually betweene the subiects
of vs both may be put in perpetuall vre and obtaine full strength in time
to come, sithens hereupon (by Gods assistance) it is to be hoped, that
uspeakeable commodity and quiet will redound vnto both parts: may it seeme
good vnto your discretion, as it seemeth expedient vnto vs, that some
messengers of yours sufficiently authorised to parle, agree, and conclude
with our deputy, about the mutuall contraction of a perpetuall league and
confimation of friendship, may with all conuenient speede be sent vnto our
presence. At whose arriuall, not onely in this busines so profitable and
behouefull, but also in certaine other affaires concerning the former
treaties and conclusions, they may, yea and of necessitie must greatly
auayle. Wherefore (our entirely beloued friend) euens vpon confidence of
the premisses we haue thought good to grant vnto the marchants and subiects
of our realme full authority to resort vnto your dominions, so we doe in
like maner graunt vnto your martchants and subiects free licence and liberty
with their marchandises and goods securely to come into our realmes and
dominions, there to stay, and at their pleasures thence to returne home.
Moreouer, if Arnold Dassel, who last of all presented your foresayd letters
vnto vs, shal thinke good in the meane season to make his abode here in our
dominions (as in very deede it is expedient) he may both by serious
consideration and deliberate consulting with our commissioners more
conuieniently and prosperously finde out wayes and meanes, for the more
speedy expedition of all the premisses. Fare ye well in Christ, Giuen vnnder
our priuie seale at our palace of Westminster, the seuenth of March, in the
yere of our lord 1408. according to the computation of the church of
England, and in the tenth yere of our reigne.

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A new concord concluded between king Henry the 4. and Vlricus de lungeningen
Master generall of Prussia in the yeare of our Lord 1409.

By this indenture or letters indented be it euidently knowen (for the
perpetual memory of the matter) vnto all faithfull Christians, that the
noble and honourable personages Richard Merlowe Maior and citizen of
London, Master Iohn Kington clerke, and William Askham citizen and Alderman
of the same citie, the commissioners of the most soueraigne prince and
lord, L. Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of
Ireland, and Tidericus de Longenthalorpe knight, Lefardus de Hereford
burgomaster of Elbing, and Iohn Crolowe citizen of the citie of Dantzik,
the procurators, commissioners, deputys, and messengers of the right noble
and religious personage Fr. Vlricus de lungeningen Master general of the
order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospital of Ierusalom, hauing in
the names of the sayd king and Master by vertue of the power on both parts
committed vnto them, sufficient authority, haue appointed and with one
consent agreed vpon all and singular the things vnder written.

1. Imprimis for the conservuation and mutuall loue and wonted amitie, and
for the tranquillitie of sweete amiable peace, it is decreed and ordained,
that all and singular the liege people and subiects of the Realme of
England and the marchants of the territories and dominions of the said Realme and all other persons of what state or condition soever, shall and may safely and securely, as well by land as by water enter into the parts of Prussia, and there mutually conuers and freely after the Maner of marchants exercise traffique aswell with the Prussians as with others, of what nation or qualitie soever, there also make their abode, and thence vnto their owne homes and dwelling places returne, and depart vnto any place whither and so often as they shall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods merchandize, and wares whatsoeuer; faithfully paying in the meane time all rights and customes due in regard of their said wares and marchandize. Reserued alwaies unto the said Master and his sucessours all right and remedie ordained, granted, and vouchsafed in certaine obligations by our Lord the king, whereof mention shall be made in the articles following.

2. It is ordained, that all and singular the subiects of the said Master generall and of his order, of what state and condition soever, shall and may, as well by water as by land enter into the kingdome of England and into the territories, and dominions, thereof, and there mutually conuerse, and freely after the maner of Marchants exercise traffique as well with all English people as with others of what nation or qualitie soever, and there also make their abode, and thence returne vnto their owne habitations and dwelling places, and to deport whither they will and as oft as they shall thinke good as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize and wares whatsoeuer: truely paying in the meane time all rights and customes due in regard of their said wares and Marchandize. Reserued alwayes vnto the said soueraigne king, his heires and successours, all rights and
remedies ordained and granted unto them in certaine obligations, by the commissioners and procurators of the said Master generall aboue-named, and in the name of the said Master generall.

3. Item it is with one consent agreed upon, promised, and granted that for all and singular damages, grievances, and robberies howsoever done and committed before the date of these presents against the foresaid soueraigne Prince and his subiects whatsoever, and all others which at the time of the grievances, damages, and robberies aforesaid, were, or at this present are the said soueraigne king his subiects; there are due to be payed unto the said king or his successours by the said Master generall or his successours, in full satisfaction and recompence of the damages, grievances, and robberies aboue written, certaine summes of English money: even as in the letters obligatorie made by the said Master generall his procurators and messengers aboue named in this behalfe, and sealed with their seales, and deliuered unto the forenamed procurators and commissioners of our said Lord the king it is expressed more at large.

4. Item it is couenanted, graunted, and promised, that no subiect of the said Master generall or of his successours, by reason or occasion of the damages, grievances, and robberies aforesaid, shall, by the said soueraigne king or his successours or by their authoritie or commandement, or by another person whatsoever who in regard of the foresaid losses, grievances and robberies hath bene molestted and damnified, or at the procurement or instant suite of any, be attached, arrested, imprisoned, or detained; nor that the goods of the said Master generall, or of his successors, or of any of them, shal be laid hold on, arrested, or detained.
5. Item it is couenanted and ordained, that if any of the liege people and
subjects of the sayde Master generall or of his successors shall, contrary
to the forme of the concord and graunt next aboue-written, chance to be
molested or endamaged: that then the foresaid soueraigne Lord the King and
his successors the kings of England are bound to make full satisfaction for
all such losses as the subjects of the said Master generall or of his
successours or any of them shall for that cause haue vniustly sustained,
vnto the parties endamaged. Which thing if the foresaid soueraigne Prince,
or his successours in the Realme of England, being conueniently requested
by the letters of the said Master generall or of his successours shall
refuse to doe, that then after the terme of sixe moneths immediately
following the said deniall or refusall, it shalbe right lawfull for the
Master generall that now is and for any of his successours in time to come
(hauing first made conuenient profe that the foresaid request was by him
or them exhibited) to arrest so many goods of the foresaid king his
subjects found in the land of Prussia, as may suffice for the reasonable
satisfaction and recompense of any person or persons whatsoeuer vniustly
molestted in this behalfe; and also to detaine the said goods under
arrestes, vntil condigne satisfaction and amends be made vnto the party or
parties molested.

6. Item by the commissioners and procuratours often aboue named it is
couenanted, promised, and graunted, that for all and singular the damages,
molestations and robberies by the foresayde soueraigne king his liege
people and subjects howsoever before the date of these presents committed
and offred against the said Master general or against any of his subjects
whether Prussians or Liuonians, and against all others who at the time of
the damages, grievances and robberies aforesaid were, or at this present
are the subjects of the Master general aforesaid (except notwithstanding
certaine damages and grievances hereafter to be mentioned, whereof also
some prouisoes shalbe had in the articles following, which damages were
before the date of these presents by the said soueraigne king his liege
people and subjects inflicted upon certaine subjects of the foresaid
general Master, especially them of Prussia which hereafter shalbe named)
there are certaine summes of money due to be payed vnto the said Master
generall or vnto his successours by the said soueraigne Prince or his
successours for the full satisfaction of the foresaid damages, molestations
and robberies inflicted vpon the Prussians and Liuonians, and the others
mentioned, euem as in the leters obligatorie of the said soueraigne Lord
the king made in this behalfe, being giuen and deliuered vnto the said
Master generall his procuratours and messengers, it is declared more at
large.

7. Item, it is couenanted, granted and promised, that none of the liege
people or subjects of the foresaid soueraigne prince or of his heires
shall, by reason or occasion of the damages, grievances and robberies
aforesaid, by the sayd Master generall or his successours or by their
authoritie and commandement, or by any other who in respect of the said
damages, grievances and robberies aboue mentioned, hath beene molested or
damnified, or by any of their procurements or instant suites shalbe
attached, arrested, imprisoned or detained: nor that any goods of the
subjects of the said soueraigne king or his heires or any of them, shall
bee attached, arrested, or detained. Reserued always vnto the forenamed
Master generall and his subject all right and remedie any way requisite or competent vnto them by meanes of the obligations aforesaid.

8. Item it is couenanted and agreed that if any of the liege people or subject of the sayde soueraigne prince or of his heires and successours shall (contrary to the forme of concord and graunt next aboue-written) chaunce to bee molested or endamaged; that then the saide Master generall and his successours, for all losses and hindrances which the liege people and subject of the foresayde soueraigne prince or of his heires or successours, shall by that meanes haue vniustly sustained, are bound to make full satisfaction vnto the partie endamage. Which if the Master generall aforesaid or his successors being conueniently requested by the letters of the sayde soueraigne prince or of his heires, shall refuse to doe; that then, after the space of sixe moneths next ensuing the time of the foresayde request, it may bee right lawfull for the forenamed soueraigne prince that nowe is, or that then for that time shall be (conuenient profe being first brought, that the foresayd request had conueniently bee exhibited) to arrest so many goods of the sayde Master generall his subjects founde in the Realme of England, as may suffice for the reasonable satisfaction and amends of any person or persons vniustly molested in this behalfe; and also to detaine the sayde goods vnder safe custodie, vntill condigne satisfaction and amends be made vnto the partie or parties aggrieued.

9. Item it is couenanted that besides the summes due vnto the sayde Master generall and his successors in the behalfe of his subjects both of Prussia and of Liuonia (whereof mention is made in the former articles) there are
due to be payed vnto the sayde Master generall and his successours, for
sundry other damaged, grievances, and robberies against himselfe and diuers
other of his subjects of Prussia, namely. Matthewe Ludekensson, Arnold
Ashen, Henri Culeman, Iohn Vnkeltop, Iohn Halewater, Egghard Scoffe of
Dantzik, and Nicolas Wolmerstene of Elbing, done and committed by the sayde
soveraigne king his liege people and subjects vnder-written, euene before
the date of these presents, for the full satisfaction of the sayde damages,
grieuances and robberies, certaine summes of nobles hereafter following.
Namely Imprimis by Tutburie, and Terry of Hull, 82. nobles, which are due
vtnto the foresaid Matthew Ludekinson. Item by Nicholas Scot of Calies the
sonne of Tutbury, and Hilg of Hull, 256. nobles, which are due vnto the
foresayd Arnold de Aschen. Item by the inhabitants of Scardeburgh,
Blakeney, and Crowmer (who had one Iohn Iolly of Blakeney for their
captaine) 156. nobles, which are due vnto Henrie Culeman aforesayd. Item by
the inhabitants of Bayon (Whose Capitaine was one Rideuille) 125. nobles
which are due vnto the said Iohn Vnkeltop. Item by the inhabitants of
Plymmouth and Dertmouth (whose Captaines were Henrie Pay, and William
Gadeling) 600. nobles which are due vnto the foresaye Iohn Halewater, in
respect of his goods by them violently taken away. [Sidenote: A ship of the
burthen of 300. tonnes.] Item 334. nobles to be payed by the selfe same
parties, being due vnto the sayde Iohn Halewater by reason that they
detained his ship from him three moneths and more, which ship was of the
burthen of three hundreth tonnes of wine, and had in it all the foresaye
time fiue and fourtie seruants maintained at the expenses of the sayde Iohn
Halewater. Item that Sir William de Ethingham knight, who was Vice-ادرmall
for the sea, must bee summoned to alleage a reasonable cause (for that the
sayd Sir William with his seruants expelled the said Iohn Halewater out of
his ship for the space of fifteene dayes together, and tooke of the goods
and victuals of the said Iohn to the summe of 114. nobles) why he ought not
to pay the said summe of 114. nobles vnto Iohn Halewater aforesaid: which
if hee shall not bee willing nor able to allege before the first of April
next ensuing, that then by the kings authoritie hee must be compelled to
pay unto the foresaid Iohn the said 114 nobles. Item by the inhabitants of
Caleis (whose captaines were Michael Scot, Bishop, and William Horneby)
1900. nobles, which are due vnto the foresayde Eggard Scoff, because the
saiede soueraigne king hath giuen them in charge by the said Michael Scot
and the rest concerning the payment of the summe aforesaid. Item by Iohn
Bilis neere vnto Crowmer, 68. nobles, which are due vnto Nicholas
Wolmersten of Elbing. Which summes of nobles must by the kings authority be
levied at the hands of his subiects aboue-mentioned betweene the time that
nowe is and the feast of the Purification of the blessed virgine which
shall fall in the yeere of our Lord 1411. effectually to bee deliuered and
payed unto the sayd Master generall or his lawfull procurator, or vnto his
successours or their lawfull procuratours, at the Citie of London, vpon the
feast aforesaid.

Item it is couenanted that besides the summes specified in the foresayde
letters obligatorie, made in the behalfe of the said soueraigne prince,
there are due to be paied vnto one Iohn Marion of Wersingham lately
deceased being in his life-time the liege subiect of the foresaid
soueraigne prince 200. nobles of Knglish money in regard of certaine
inuires and robberies done and committed before the date of these presents
against the foresayde Iohn, by one Egghard Scoff, subiect vnto the said
deceased Iohn, his wife, children, heires, or executors by the said
Egghard, his heires or by the administrators of his goods at the time and
place above mentioned.

10 Item, it is covenanted, confirmed, and promised, that for all the
injuries and robberies done and committed against one Iohn Dordewant of
Elbing, being in his life time subject unto the sayd Master generall, by
the liege people and subjects of the said soueraigne king the inhabitants
of the Scardeburgh before the date of these presents; for the full
recompense of all such injuries and robberies, there must be payed vnto
one Iohn Gruk of Dantzik eight hundred nobles of English money, vpon the
feast of Easter next following in the Citie of London by them of
Scardeburgh being guilty and culpable in this behalfe; who are by
definitiue sentence condemned vnto the said Iohn in the summe of 800.
nobles by reason of the injuries and robberies aforesaid, except the
lawfull expenses in this behalfe layed out: they are also taxed in due time
for the issue. And therefore the foresayde condemned parties (whose names
are in the sentence against them pronounced in this behalfe more expresly
conteined) must in the meane season by the kings authority be compelled and
constrained really and actually to obey the foresayd sentence, namely by
deliuering and paying vnto Iohn Gruk the summe of 800. nobles at the time
and place above mentioned, with reasonable expences, wherein also the said
parties stand condemned, their lawfull taxation being reserued.

Item it is covenanted and granted, that the heires of Lord Henrie du Percy
the younger after they shall come vnto lawfull age, and shall haue attained
vnto the possession and goods of their inheritance, must be compelled by
the kings authoritie (iustice going before) to make satisfaction vnto the
great procurator of Marienburgh with the summe of 838. nobles in lieu of
certaine corne and graine which the foresaid Lord Henrie, in the yeere 1403, bought and receiued of the said great procuratour, for the vse of the castle of Zutberwik. In testimonie and confirmation of all the which premisses, the said Tedericus Lefardus, and Iohn Crolow, of their certaine knowledges haue put their seales vnto these present letters indented, in the presence of the aboue-named Richard Merlow, Iohn Kington, and William Askam, commissioners for the behalfe of England giuen at the Citie of London in England the fourth day of December, in the yeere of our Lord 1409.

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That the Brittons were in Italie and Greece with the Cimbrians and Gaules, before the incarnation of Christ. M. Wil. Camden, pag. 33.

[Sidenote: Triadum Liber.] Britannos autem cum Cimbris et Gallis permistos fuisse in expeditionibus illis in Italiam et Graciarn videtur. Nam prater nomen commune in Britannico Triadum libro vetustissimo, vbi tres maximi exercitus, qui e Britannis conscripti erant, memorantur, proditum est, exterum quendam ducem longe maximum exercitum hinc contraxisse, qui, populata magna Europa parte tandem ad Gracum mare (forsitan Galatiam innuit) consederit.

Britomarum item ducem inter illos militarem, cuius meminit Florus et Appianus, Britonem fuisse nomem euincit, quod Britonem magnum significat. Nec torquebo illud Strabonis, qui Brennum natione Praedium fuisse scribit v
natione Britonem faciam.

The same in English.

It is not unlike that the Britons accompanied the Cimbrians and Gaules in those expeditions to Italy and Greece. For besides the common name, it is recorded in that most ancient British booke called Liber Triadum, (wherein also mention is made of three huge armies that were leuied out of Britaine) that a certaine outlandish captaine gathered from hence a mightie armie; who hauing wasted a great part of Europe, at length tooke vp his abode (perhaps the Author meaneth in Gallatia) neere vnto the sea of Greece.

Likewise that the warrelie captaine Britomarus (of whom Floras and Appian doe make report) was himselfe a Briton, his very name doeth testifie, which signifieth A great Briton. Neither will I wrest that testimony of Strabo (who reporteth Brennus to haue bene a Prause by birth) that I may proue him also to haue bene a Briton borne.

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The trauaile of Helena.

Helena Flauia Augusta serenissimi Coeli Britannici Regis Hares, et vnica filia, Magni Constantini Casaris mater, incomparabili decore, fide, religione, bonitate, ac magnificentia pia, Eusebio etiam teste, per totum
resplenduit orbem: Inter omnes atatis sua foeminas, nulla inueniebatur ea
in liberalibus artibus doctior, nulla in instrumentis musicis peritior, aut
in linguis nationum copiosior. Innatam habebat ingenij claritudinem, oris
facundiam, ac morum ornatissimam compositionem: Hebraice, Grace et Latine
erudita. Caruerat pater alia sobole (inquit Virumnius) qua Regni solio
potiretur. Illam proprerea his instrui fecit per optimos praceptores, vt eo
commodius Regni tractaret negotia. Vnde ob incredibilem eius
pulchritudinem, atque alias eximias animi et corporis dotes, Constantius
Chlorus Casar illam duxit in vxorem, atque ex ea filium in Britannia genuit
Constantinum Magnum. Sed eo tandem Eboraci defuncto, cum Anna illa
Euangelica, in sancta viduitate perdurauit ad ultimum vita diem, tota
Christiana religione dedita. Sunt enim authores, qui narrant per instam,
cessante persecutione, pacem Ecclesijs datam: Ad tantam coelestis
Philosophia; cognitionem cam ferunt post agnitum Euangelium peruenisse, vt
olim multos ediderit libros, et carmina quaadam Graca, qua hucusque a
Pontico superesse perhibentur. Visionibus admonita Hierosolymam petijt, et
onmia salvatoris loca perlustrauit. Roma tandem octogenaria foeliciter in
Christo quieuit 15. Kalendas Septembris, filio adhuc superstite, anno
salutis humana 337. Regnante apud Britannos Octauio. Huius corpus non
minima nunc cura Venetijs seruatur.

The same in English.

Helena. Flauia Augusta, the heire and onely daughter of Coelus sometime the
most excellent King of Britaine, the mother of the Emperour Constantine the
great, by reason of her singular beautie, faith, religion, goodnesse and
godly Maiestie (according to the testimonie of Eusebius) was famous in all
the world. Amongst all the women of her time, there was none either in the
liberall arts more learned, or in instruments of musike more skilfull, or
in the diuers languages of nations more abundant than herselfe. She had a
naturall quicknesse or excellency of wit, eloquence of speech, and a most
notable grace in all her behauiour. She was seene in the Hebrew, Greeke and
Latine tongues.

Her father (as Virumnius reporteth) had no other childe to succeed in the
kingdome after him but her, and therefore caused her to be instructed in
these things by the best teachers, that thereby she might the better in
time gouerne the Realme: so that by reason of her passing beautie, and
other her excellent giftes of body and minde, Constantius Chlorus the
Emperour married her, and had by her a sonne called Constantine the great,
while hee remained in Britaine. Who at length deceasing at Yorke, this
Helena (no otherwise then Anna of whom mention is made in the new
Testament) continued a vertuous and holy widow to the end of her life.

There are some writers which doe affirme, that persecution ceased, and
peace was granted to the Christian Churches by her good meanes.

After the light and knowledge of the Gospel, she grewe so skilfull in
diuinitie, that shee wrote and composed diuers bookes and certaine Greeke
verses also, which (as Ponticlus reporteth) are yet extant. Being warned by
some visions she went to Ierusalem, and visited all the places there, which
Christ had frequented. She liued to the age of fourescore yeeres, and then
died at Rome the 15 day of August in the yeere of oure redemption 337.
Octavius being then king of Britaine, and her sonne Constantine the
Emperour then also liuing, and her body is to this day very carefully
preserued at Venice.

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The life and trauels of Constantine the great, Emperour and king of
Britaine.

Flauius Constantinus cognomento Magnus post Genitorum Constantium
Britannorum Rex, ac Romanorum Casar Augustus, ex Britannica matre in
Britannia natus, et in Britannia creatus Imperator, patriam natalem
magnifice sua gloria; participem fecit, Proligatis Alemanis, Hispanis, et
Francis, eorumque Regibus pro spectaculo bestijs obiectis, Galliam
subiectam tenuit: Tres Helena matris auunculos Brittanos, Leolinum,
Traherum, et Marium, quos cateris semper fidentiores habuerat in suis
fortunis, Italis a Maxentij tyrannide foeliciter liberatis, in Senatorum
ordinem Roma promouit. Innumera in eo (vt Eutropius habet) claruere tam
animi, quam corporis virtutes, dum appetentissnnus esset gloria militaris,
successu semper in bellis prospero. Inter literas tam Gracas quam Latinas,
a Christianissima matre Helena Christi fidem edoctus, eos honorabat
pracipue [Transcriber's note: 'pracique’ in original] qui in Philosophia
Christiana vitam reclinassent. Vnde ab oceani finibus nempe Britannis
incipiens, ope fretus diuina, religionis curam in medijs superstitionum
tenebris cepit, ab Occiduis ad Indos, innumeris ad aterna spem vita erigens
gentes. Animum diuinis exercendo studijs, noctes trahebat insomnes, et
quasita scribendi diuerticula per otium frequentabat: Imperium oratione, ac
Sanctis operationibus continendum ratus, Egregius Christiana disciplina
praco, filios ac proceres docuit, pietatem diuitijs omnibus, atque adeo
ipsi anteferre totius mundi Monarchia. Falsorum deorum euersor. Imaginum
cultus per Graciam, Agyptum, Persiam, Asiam, et vniuersam ditionem Romanam,
repetitis abrogat legibus, iubens per edicta Christum coli, Euangelium
pradicari sacram, Ministris honores, et alimenta dari, atque idolorum
vbique destrui templam. Et vt fidei forma cunctis videretur, Euangelium Iesu
Christi ante se semper ferri fecit, et Biblia sacra ad omnes prouincias
destinari, diademaque Monarchicum primus Britannis regibus dedit: Ecclesiis
infinita prastilitit, agros, annonom, stipem egenis, agris, viduis, ac
orphanis, pro quibusque ut pater sollicitus. Eusebium, Lactantium, et
similes, familiarissimos habuit, et hanc ad Deum orationem indices ipsis in
eius vita testibus fudit. Vnum et Deum esse nouimus, vnum te Regem
intelligimus, appellamus adiutorem, nobis abs te victoria cecidit, ex te
Aduersarium fudimus, &c. Pro delicijs habuit, vt Sextus Aurelianus tradit,
literarum studia colere, bonos artes fouere, legere, scribere, meditari:
composuit Grace et Latine multos libros et Epistolas. E vita Nicomedia
discoessit Senex, atatis sua Anno 66. et Imperij 32. a Christi vero
incarnatione 339. Constantinopoli sepultus, Octauio in Britannijs regnante.
Eius vitam in quatuor libris Eusebius Casariensis Grace scripsit, et
Ioannes Portesius Gallus in Latinum transtulit sermonem.

The same in English.

Flavius Constantine, surnamed the great, king of the Britaines after his
father, and Emperor of the Romanes, borne in Britanie of Helena his mother,
and there created Emperour, made his native countrey partaker of his
singular glory and renoume.

Hauing conquered and put to flight the Almanes, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and
their Kings for a spectacle thrown out to wild beasts, he held France it
selfe as subiect vnto him: and hauing happily deliuered the Italians from
the tyrannie of Maxentius, he preferred three of his mothers vncles, all
Britaines, namely, Leoline, Trahere, and Marius, whom in all his actions he
had found more faithfull vnto him then any others, to be of the order of
the Romane Senators.

Eutropius reporteth, that he infinitely excelled in the vertues both of the
mind and body also, and that hauing a pleasure in the practise of warre,
and in the iust commendation, of Martiall prowesse, he neuer pitched his
field but his successe in the battel was alwayes victorious. His mother
Helena hauing instructed him in the faith of Christ, although hee made much
of all men that were learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, yet he
yeelded speciall honor to those that spent their time in the studie of
Diuinitie, which he called Christian Philosophie: so that beginning at the
furthest part of the Ocean sea, which then was taken to be his owne native
soyle of Britaine, and trusting in the assistance of God, when the darkenes
of superstition was most thicke, then hee vndertooke a care of Religion,
stirring vp innumerable nations from the West as farre as India it selfe,
to the hope of eternall life.

Hee passed many nightes without sleepe, hauing his minde occupied in diuine
studies: and whensoever his laisure from greater affaires did permit him, his vacant times should be spent in the use of writing and other good exercises, assuring himselfe that his kingdoms and Empire were to be continued and strengthened to him by prayer and holy works: and oftentimes taking upon him as it were the person of a notable preacher of Christian discipline, he would teach his children and nobilitie, that godlinesse was to be preferred before riches, yea, before the Monarchie of all the world.

He overthrew the false gods of the heathens, and by many lawes often ruued, he abrogated the worshipping of Images in all the countries of Greece, Egypt, Persia, Asia, and the whole Romane Empire, commanding Christ onely by his Edicts to be worshipped, the sacred Gospell to be preached, the Ministers thereof to be honored and relieued, and the temples of Idoles euery where to be destroyed.

Whithersoever he went hee caused the booke of the Gospell of Christ to be still caried before him, that thereby it might appeare to be a forme of faith to all men, and to appertaine generally to all nations.

He was the first that appointed an Imperiall Diademe, or Crowne to the Kings of Britaine.

He was most beneficial to all Churches, bestowing vpon them lands and fields, and vpooh the poore, sicke persons, widowes and orphanes, corne and wood, being as carefull of them as if he had beene their naturall father.
He vsed learned men most familiarly, as Eusebius, Lactantius and others, and they are witnesses that this was his usuall prayer to God. O Lord we know thee to be the onely God, we are sure that thou art the onely King, and wee call vpon thee as our helper: through thee we haue gotten the victorie, and by thee we haue ouerthrown the enemie.

Sextus Aurelius reporteth, that it was his greatest delight to imbrace the studie of learning, to fauour good Arts, to read, write and meditate, and that he composed many bookes and Epistles both in the Greeke and Latine tongues.

He died at Nicomedia, being then 66. yeres of age, in the 32. yere of his reigne, and in the 339. yeere after the Incarnation of Christ, and was buried at Constantinople, Octauius being then King of Britaine: whose life Eusebius bishop of Casarea hath written in Greeke in 4 bookes, which afterwards, were translated into the Latine tongue by Iohn Portes a Frenchman.

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Certaine Englishmen sent to Constantinople by the French King to Iustinian the Emperour, about the yeere of Christ, 500. out of the fourth booke of Procopius de Bello Gothico.

The same in English.

The Isle of Britaine is inhabited by three most populous nations, euery of which is gouerned by a seuerall king. The sayd nations are named Angili, Frisones, and Britones which last are called after the name of the Island. In this Isle there are such swarmes of people, that euery yeare they goe forth in great numbers with their wiues and children into France. And the Frenchmen right willingly receiue them into their lande, which seemeth very desolate for want of inhabitants. Whereupon it is sayd that the French doe challenge the foresayde Island vnto themselues. For not long since, when the king of the Frankes sent certaine of his subiects ambassadours to Constantinople vnto Iustinian the Emperour, he sent English men also, ambitiously boasting, as though the sayd Isle had bene vnder his iurisdiction.

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The life and trouailes of Iohn Erigena.


The same in English.

Iohn Erigene a Britane, descended of honourable parents, and borne in the Towne of S. Dauid in Wales, seeing the Englishmen to be oppressed with the warres and rapines of the cruell Danes, and all the land in a hurlie
burlie, he in the meane time vndertooke a long iourney, euen as farre as Athens, and there spent many yerres in the studie of the Greeke, Chaldie, and Arabian tongues: he there frequented all the places and schooles of the Philosophers, and the oracle also of the Sunne, which Asculapius had built vnto himselfe. And hauing found at length that which he had with long trauell searched, he returned againe into Italie, and France, where for his singular learning, he was much fauoured of the two Kings Charles and Lewes, and in his being there, he translated into Latine the bookes of Dionysius Areopagita concerning the Heauenly Hierarchie, which were sent from Constantinople in the yeere 858. After this hee came backe againe into his owne Countrey, and was schoolemster vnto Alphred then King of England, and his sonnes: and vpon his request, at his times of leasure, he translated Aristotles Morals, of the Secrets of Secrets, or of the right gouernement of Princes, out of Greeke into these three tonguues, Chaldie, Arabian, and Latine, which he did very exquisitely. At the last, being in the Abbie of Malmesburie, whither he went for his recreation, and there according to his manner disputing, and reading to the Students, some of them misliking and hating him, rose against him, and slue him in the yeere of Christ, 884.

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English men were the guard of the Emperours of Constantinople in the reigne of Iohn the sonne of Alexius Comnenus. Malmesburiensis, Curopolata and Camden, pag. 96.

Iam inde Anglia non minus belli gloria, quam humanitatis cultu inter
Florentissimas orbis Christiani gentes imprimis floruit. Adeo vt ad
custodiam corporis Constantinopolitanorum Imperatorum euocati fuerint
Angli. Ioannes enim Alexij Comneni filius vt refert noster Malmesburiensis,
eorum fidem suspiciens praeipue familiaritati sua applicabat amorem eorum
filio transcribens: Adeo vt iam inde longo tempore fuerint imperatorum
illorum satellites, Ingnini Bipenniferi Niceta Choniata, Barangi Curoopoata
dicti. Qui vbique Imperatorem prosequebantur ferentes humeris secures, quas
tollebant, cum Imperator ex oratorio spectandum se exhibebat Anglice vitam
diuturnam secures suas collidentes vt sonitum ederent comprecabantur.

The same in English.

From this time forward the kingdom of England was reputed among the most
nourishing estates of Christendome, no less in chivalrie then humanitie. So
farforth that the English men were sent for to be the guarders of the
persons of the Emperours of Constantinople. For Iohn the sonne of Alexius
Comnenus, as our countreyman William of Matmesburie reporteth, highly
esteeming their fidelity, vsed them very nere about him, recommending them
ouer to his sonne: so that long time afterwards the guard of those
Emperours were English halberdiers, called by Nicetas Choniata, Ingnini
Bipenniferi, and by Curoopoata, Barangi, which alwayes accompanied the
Emperour with their halberds on their shoulders, which they held vp when
the Emperour comming from his Orarie shewed himselfe to the people; and
clashing their halberds together to make a terrible sound, they in the
English tongue wished vnto him long life.
The worthy voyage of Richard the first, K. of England into Asia, for the recouerie of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Saracens, drawen out of the booke of Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, written by M. Iohn Foxe.

King Richard the first of that name, for his great valure surnamed Ceur de Lion, the sonne of Henry the second, after the death of his father remembirng the rebellions that he had vndutifully raised against him, sought for absolution of his trespasse, and in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king to take his voyage with him for the recouerie of Christes patrimonie, which they called the Holy land, whereupon the sayd King Richard immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his iourney, vsed diuers meanes to take vp summes of money, and exacted a tenth of the whole Realme, the Christians to make three score and ten thousand pounds, and the Iewes which then dwelt in the Realme threescore thousand.

Hauing thus gotten sufficient money for the exploite, he sent certaine Earles and Barons to Philip the French king in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, to put him in mind of his promise made for the recouerie of Christs holy patrimonie out of the Saracens hands: To whom he sent againe in the moneth of December, that he had bound himselfe by solemn othe, deposing vpon the Euangelists, that he the yeere next following, about the time of Easter, had certainly prefixed to addresse himselfe toward that
journey, requiring him likewise not to faile, but to bee ready at the terme 
aboue limited, appointing also the place where both the Kings should meete 
together.

In the yere therfore 1190. King Richard hauing committed the gouernment of 
this realme in his absence to the bishop of Ely then Chancellor of England, 
advanced forward his iourney, and came to Turon to meet with Philip the 
French king, and after that went to Vizeliac, where the French king and he 
ioyning together, for the more continuance of their iourney, assured 
themselues by solemne othe, swearing fidelitie one to the other: the forme 
of whose oth was this.

[Sidenote: The oth of fidelity betwixt King Richard and the French King.] 
That either of them should defend and maintaine the honour of the other, 
and beare true, fidelitie vnto him, of life, members and worldly honor, 
and that neither of them should faile one the other in their affaires: 
but the French King should aide the King of England in defending his land 
and dominions, as he would himselfe defend his owne Citie of Paris if it 
were besieged: and that Richard King of England likewise should aide the 
French King in defending his land and Dominions, no otherwise then he 
would defend his own Citie of Roan if it were besieged, &c.

Concerning the lawes and ordinances appointed by K. Richard for his Nauie, 
the forme thereof was this.

[Sidenote: The discipline and orders of the King.] 1. That who so killed
any person on shipboard, should be tied with him that was slaine, and throwen into the sea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like manner be tied with the partie slaine, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that shalbe conuicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent to strike any man, or that hath striken any to the drawing of blood, shall loose his hand.

4. Also he that striketh any person with his hand without effusion of blood, shall be plunged three times in the sea.

5. Item, who so speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes in reuiling or cursing one another, for so oftentimes as he hath reuiled, shall pay so many ounces of siluer.

6. Item, a thiefe or felon that hath stollen being lawfully conuicted, shall haue his head shorne, and boyling pitch powred vpon his head, and feathers or downe strawed vpon the same, whereby he may be knowen, and so at the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast vp.

These things thus ordered, king Richard sending his Nauie by the Spanish seas, and by the streights of Gibraltar, betweene Spaine and Africa, to meete him at Marsilia, hee himselfe went as is said to Vizeliac to the
A French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where the bridge over the flood Rhodanus with press of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned: by occasion whereof the two kings for the combrance of their traines, were constrained to disseuer themselves for time of their journey, appointing both to meet together in Sicily: and so Philip the French king tooke his way to Genua, and king Richard to Marsila, where he remained 8. dayes, appointing there his Nauie to meete him. From thence crossing over to Genua where the French king was, he passed forward by the coasts of Italy, and entred into Tiber not farre from Rome.

King Richard staying in Marsilla 8. dayes for his Nauie which came not, he there hired 20. Gallies, and ten great barkes to ship over his men, and so came to Naples, and so partly by horse and wagon, and partly by the sea, passing to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he had heard that his ships were arrived at Messana in Sicilie, he made the more speed, and so the 23. of September entred Messana with such a noyse of Trumpets and Shalmes, with such a rout and shew, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the Frenchmen, and of all other that did heare and behold the sight.

To the said towne of Messana the French king was come before the 16. of the same moneth of September, and had taken vp the pallace of Tancredus king of Sicily for his lodging: to whom king Richard after his arriuall eftsoones resorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the French king tooke shipping and entred the seas, thinking to saile towards the land of Jerusalem: but after he was out of the hauen, the winde rising contrary against him, returned him backe againe to Messana. Then king
Richard (whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the Citie) after
he had resorted againe and talked with the French king, and also had sent
to Tancredus king of Sicily, for deliuerance of loane his sister (who had
beene somtimes Queene of Sicily) and had obtained her to be sent vnto him,
the last day of September passed ouer the streight del Fare, and there
getting a strong hold called de la Baguare, or le Bamare, and there placing
his sister with a sufficient garrison, he returned againe to Messana.

The 2. of October king Richard wan another strong hold, called Monasterium
Griffonum, situated in the midst of the streight del Fare, betweene Messana
and Calabria, from whence the Monks being expulsed, he reposed there all
his store and prouision of victuals, which came from England or other
places.

The Citizens of Messana seeing that the king of England had wonne the
castle and Island de la Baguare, and also the Monasterie of the Griffons,
and doubting lest the king would extend his power further to inuade their
Citie, and get if he could the whole Isle of Sicilie, began to stirre
against the Kings armie, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and
kept their walles against them. The Englishmen seeing that, made to the
gates, and by force would haue broken them open, insomuch that the King
riding amongst them with his staffe, and breaking diuers of their heads,
could not asswage their fierceness, such was the rage of the Englishmen
agaynst the citizens of Messana. The King seeing the furie of his people to
be such that hee could not stay them, tooke boate, and went to the pallace
of king Tancred, to talke of the matter with the French king, in which
meane time the matter was so taken vp by the wise handling of the ancients
of the citie, that both parts laying downe their armour, went home in peace.

The fourth day of the sayd moneth of October, came to king Richard the Archbishop of Messana with two other Archbishops also with the French king, and sundry other Earles, Barons, and Bishops, to intreat of peace, who as they were together consulting, and had almost concluded upon the peace, the Citizens of Messana issuing out of the towne, some went vp vppon the mountains, some with open force invaded the mansion or lodging of Hugh Brune, an English captaine. The noyse whereof comming to the eares of the King, hee suddenly breaking off talke with the French king and the rest, departed from them, and comming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arme themselues. Who then with certaine of his souldiours making vp to the top of the mountaine (which seemed to passe their power to climbe) there put the Citizens to flight, chasing them downe the mountaines, vnto the very gates of the citie, whom also certaine of the kings servants pursued into the citie, of whom fiue valiant souldiers and twenty of the kings servants were slaine, the French King looking vpon, and not once willing to rescue them, contrary to his othe, and league before made with the king of England: for the French king with his men being there present, rode in the midst of them safely, and without any harme too and fro, and might well haue eased the Kings partie, more then he, if it had so liked him.

[Sidenote: Messana won by the English.] This being knowen to the English hoste how their fellowes were slaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuall, and other things, they vpon great
indignation gathered themselves in armes, brast open the the gates, and
scaled the wals, and so winning the citie, set up their flags with the
English armes vpon the wals which when the French King did see, he was
mightily offended, requiring the King of England that the Armes of France
might also be set vp, and ioyned with his: but King Richard to that would
in no case agree, notwithstanding to satisifie his minde, he was contented
to take downe his Armes, and to commit the custodie of the citie to the
Hospitaleries and Templaries of Ierusalem, till the time that Tancred king
of Sicily and he should agree together vpon conditions.

These things being done the fift and sixt day of October, it followed then
vpon the eight day of the same, that peace was concluded among the kings.
In which peace, first King Richard, and Philip the French king renewed
againe their oth and league before made, concerning their mutual aide and
societie, during the time of that peregrination.

Secondly, peace also was concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king
of Sicily aforesaide, with conditions, that the daughter of Tancrede in
case king Richard should die without issue, should be married to Arthur
Duke of Britaine the kings Nephew and next heire to his crowne, whereof a
formall charte was drawen, and letters sent thereof to Pope Clement being
dated the ninth of Nouember.

From this time vntill Februarie the next yeere these two kings kept still
at Messana, either for lacke of winde and weather, or for the repairing of
their shippes. And in the aforesayde Februarie, in the yeere 1191. King
Richard sent over his gallys to Naples, there to meete his mother Elinore, and Berengaria the daughter of Zanctius king of Navarre, whom he was purposed to marry, who by that time were come to Brundusium, under the conduct of Philip Earle of Flanders, and so proceeding unto Naples, they found the kings ships wherein they sayled to Messana.

In this mean space, king Richard shewed himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall to all men: to the French king first he gaue diuers ships, vpon others likewise he bestowed riche rewardes, and of his treasure and goods he distributed largely to his soouldiers and seruants about him, of whom it was reported, that he distributed more in one moneth, than any of his predecessors did in a whole yeere: by reason, whereof he purchased great loue and fauour, which not onely redounded to the advancements of his fame, but also to his singular use and profite, as the sequele afterwards prooued.

The first day of March following, he left the citie of Messana, where the French King was, and went to Cathneia, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicily then lay, where he was honorably receiued, and there remained with king Tancredus three dayes and three nights. On the fourth day when he should depart, the aforesaid Tancredus offred him many rich presents in gold and siluer, and precious silkes, whereof king Richard would receiue nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will: for the which king Richard gaue againe vnto him a riche sworde. At length when king Richard should take his leaue, king Tancred would not let him so depart, but needes would giue 4. great shippes, and 15. gallys, and furthermore hee himselfe would needes accompanie him the space of two dayes iourney, to
Then the next morning when they should take their leave, Tancredus declared unto him the message, which the French King a little before had sent unto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof were these: That the King of England was a false Traytour, and would neuer keepe the peace that was betweene them: and if the sayd Tancredus would warre against him, or secretly by night would invade him, he with all his power would assist him, to the destruction of him and all his armie. To whom Richard the King protested againe, that he was no traytour, nor neuer had bene: and as touching the peace, begun betwixt them, the same should neuer be broken through him; neither could he beleue that the French King being his good lord, and his sworn Compartner in that voyage, would utter any such wordes by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth forth the letters of the French King, sent to him by the Duke of Burgundie, affirming moreouer, that if the Duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the said letters, he was readie to trie it with him by any of his Dukes. King Richard receiuing the letters, and musing not a little vpon the same, returneth againe to Messana. The same day that King Richard departed, the French king came to Tauernium to speake with Tancred, and there abode with him that night, and on the morowe returned to Messana againe.

From that time, King Richard mooued in stomacke against King Philip, neuer shewed any gentle countenance of peace and amitie, as he before was woont: whereat the French king greatly marueiling, and enquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, word was sent him againe by Philip earle of Flanders from king Richard, what words he had sent to the King of Sicily,

a place called Tauernium.
and for testimony thereof the letters were shewed, which he wrote by the
duke of Burgundie to the king of Sicily: which when the French king
vnderstood, first he held his peace as guilty in his conscience, not
knowing well what to answere. At length turning his tale to another matter,
he began to quarrell with king Richard, pretending as though he sought
causes to breake with him, and to maligne him: and therefore he forged
(sayd he) these lies vpon him, and all because he by that meanes would
auoid to marry with Alise his sister, according as he had promised. Adding
moreouer that if he would so do, and would not marry the said Alise his
sister according to his oth, he would be an enemy to him, and to his, while
he liued.

To this king Richard sayd againe that he could by no meanes marry that
woman, forsomuch as his father had carnal copulation with her, and also had
by her a sonne: for proofe whereof he had there presently to bring forth
diuers and sundry witnesses to the kings face, to testifie with him.

In conclusion, through counsell and perswasion of diuers about the French
king, agreement at last was made, so that king Philip did acquite king
Richard from this bond of marrying his sister, and king Richard againe
should be bound to pay to him euery yeere for the space of fiue yeeres, two
thousand markes, with certaine other conditions besides, not greatly
materiall for this place. And thus peace being betweene them concluded the
28 day of the sayd moneth of March, the French king launching out of the
hauen of Messana, the 22 day after in the Easter weeke, came with his armie
to the siege of Achon.
After the departure of the French king from Messana, king Richard with his armie yet remaining behind, arrived Queen Alinor the kings mother, bringing with her Berengaria the king of Nauars daughter, to be espoused to king Richard: [Sidenote: The Nauie of King Richard.] which being done, king Richard in April following, about the 20 day of the said moneth, departed from the hauen Messana with 150 great ships, and 53 great galleys well manned and appointed, and took his journey toward Achon: who being upon the Seas on Good friday about the ninth hour, rose a mighty South wind, with a tempest, which disseuered and scattered all his Nauie, some to one place and some to another. The king with a few ships was driven to the Ile of Creta, and there before the hauen of Rhodes cast anker. The ships that caried the kings sister, queen of Sicily, and Berengaria the king of Nauars daughter, with two ships were driven to the Ile of Cyprus.

The king making great mone for the ships of his sister, and Berengaria his wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempest was overblown, sent forth his galleys diligently to seeke the rest of his Nauie dispersed, but especially the shippe wherein his sister was, and the maiden whom he should marry, who at length were found safe and merry at the port of Lymszem [Footnote: Lymasol.] in the Ile of Cyprus, notwithstanding the two other ships, which were in their company before in the same hauen, were drowned with diuers of the kings servants and men of worship, among whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the kings Vicechancellour, who was found with the kings seale hanging about his necke.

The king of Cyprus was then Isakius [Footnote: Isaac Comnenus who became
King in 1184.] (called also the Emperour of the Gryffons) who tooke and imprisoned all Englishmen, which by shipwracke were cast vpon his land, also inuegled into his hands the goods and prises of them which were found drowned about his coastes, neither would suffer the ships wherein the two ladies were to enter within the port.

The tidings of this being brought to king Richard, he in great wrath gathering his gallies and ships together, boordeth the land of Cyprus, where he first in gentle wise signifieth to king Isakius, how he with his English men, comming as strangers to the supportation of the holy land, were by distresse of weather driuen vpon his bounds, and therefore with all humble petition besought him in Gods behalfe, and for reuereence of the holy crosse, to let go such prisoners of his as he had in captiuitie, and to restore againe the goods of them that were drowned, which he deteined in his hands, to be employed for the behoofe of their soules. And this the king once, twise, and thrise desired of the Emperour: but he proudly answering againe, sent the king word, that he neither would let the captiues go, nor render the goods of them which were drowned.

When king Richard heard this, how light the emperour Isakius made of his so humble and honest petition, and how that nothing could be gotten without violent force, eftsoones [Footnote: The Saxon _Eft_ properly means _after_. It was beginning to be obsolete in 1400 but Spencer frequently uses it. It occurs rarely after his time.] giueth commandement thorowout all his hoste to put themselues in armour and follow him, to reuenge the injuries receiued of that proud and cruell king of Cyprus, willing them to put their trust in God, and not to misdoubt but that the Lord would stand with
them, and giue them the victory. The Emperour in the meane time with his 
people stood warding the Sea coasts, where the English men should arriue, 
with swords, billes, and lances, and such other weapons as they had, 
setting boordes, stoolees, and chestes, before them as a wall: few of them 
were harnessed, [Footnote: Clad in armour. 
This apish and unmannerly approach, 
This _harness'd_ masque, and unadvised revel. 
KING JOHN v. 2.] 
and for the most part all vnexpert and vnskilfull in the feates of warre. 

Then king Richard with his souldiers issuing out of ships, first set his 
bowemen before, who with their shot made a way for others to folowe. The 
Englishmen thus winning the land vpon them, so fiercely pressed upon the 
Gryffons, that after long fighting and many blowes, at last the Emperour 
was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly pursued, and slue many, and 
diuers he tooke aliue, and had gone neere also to take the Emperour, had 
not the night come on and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with 
much spoyle, and great victory, returning to the port Towne of Lymszem, 
which the Townesmen had left for feare, found there great abundance of 
corne, wine, oyle, and victuals. 

The day after the victory gotten, Ioanna the Kings sister, and Berengaria 
the mayden, entred the Porte and Towne of Lymszem, with 50. great ships, 
and 14. galliots: so that all the whole Nauie there meeting together, were 
254. tall shippes, and aboue threescore galliots. Then Isakius the 
Emperour, seeing no way for him to escape by Sea, the same night pitched 
his tentes fiue miles off from the English army, swearing that the third
day after, he would surely give battle to king Richard: but he preventing him before, suddenly the same morning before the day of battle should be, setteth upon the tents of the Gryffons early in the morning, they being unawares and asleep, and made of them a great slaughter, insomuch that the Emperour was fain to run away naked, leaving his tents and pavilions to the Englishmen, full of horses and rich treasure, also with the Imperial standard, the lower part whereof with a costly streamer was covered, and wrought all with gold.

King Richard returning with victory and triumph to his sister and Berengaria, shortly after in the month of May next following, and the 12th day of the said month, married the said Berengaria daughter of Zanclius, king of Navarre, in the yle of Cyprus at Lymszem.

The king of Cyprus seeing himself outmatched, was driven at length to yield himself with conditions to give king Richard 20000. marks in gold for amends of such spoils as he had gotten of them that were drowned, also to restore all the captives againe to the king: and furthermore, he in his owne person, to attend upon the king to the lande of Ierusalem, in God's service and his, with 400. horsemen, and 500. footmen: in pledge whereof he would give to his hands his castles, and his only daughter, and would hold his kingdom of him.

This done, and the Emperour swearing fidelity to king Richard before Guido king of Ierusalem, and the prince of Antioche (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Isakius committed to the
warde of certaine keepers. Notwithstanding shortly after he breaking from
his keepers, was againe at defiance with the King: whereupon king Richard
besetting the Iland of Cyprus round about with shippes and gallyes, did in
such sort preuaile, that the subjects of the land, were constrained to
yelde themselves to the King, and at last the daughter of the Emperour,
and the Emperour himselfe, whom king Richard caused to be kept in fetters
of gold and siluer, and to be sent to the citie of Tripolis.

[Sidenote: The Lord Chamberlaine of King Richard left governour of Cyprys.]
These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the
Ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed to Radulphe sonne of
Godfrey Lord Chamberlaine, being then the first day of lune upon the fift
of the saide moneth, king Richard departed from the Ile of Cyprus,

[Footnote: Cyprus, the third largest island of the Mediterranea, situated
in the N.E. angle, equidistant about 60 miles from the coasts of Syria and
Asia Minor. Its form was compared in ancient times to the skin of a deer.
Its length, from Cape Andrea to Cape Epiphanias, the ancient Acamas, is 140
miles. Its greatest breadth, from Cape Gatto on the south coast to Cape
Kormakiti on the north, is about 50 miles, but it gradually narrows towards
the east, being no more than 5 miles wide near Cape Andrea.

The coast of the island consists of a succession of gulfs and bays, many of
which, though not sufficiently land-locked to form natural harbours, would
be capable, with the addition of some artificial works, such as
breakwaters, &c., of affording safe anchorage in all the prevailing winds.
On the north-west and north the principal harbours or roadsteads affording
shelter from certain winds are the Bay of Chrysochon and the roads of Pyros
and Morpha, the harbour of Kyrenia, and the Bay of Exarkos; on the east and south, the bays and harbours of Salamis and Famagusta, the bay and roads of Larnaka, the roads of Limasol, which latter were greatly improved by the opening of an iron pier in 1882, and the small harbour of Paphos (Kuklia).

The great disadvantage of all these harbours and roadsteads is the shallowness of the water for some distance from the land; this has the effect of raising a great deal of surf when the wind blows on shore, and also of compelling vessels of any size to anchor at a considerable distance out, thus making the operations of landing and embarking cargo both tedious and expensive. It would not, however, be a matter of great expense to construct breakwaters and deepen the old harbours, especially that of Famagusta, which, at the end of the sixteenth century, was sufficiently deep and large to afford safe anchorage to the whole fleet of the Venetian Republic, and when in the outer harbour there is now shelter for about twelve ironclads. Larnaka is the port at present most frequented by trading vessels.

The ancient Olympus, how called Santa Croce, rises in the centre of the island, and two principal ranges of mountains runs in the direction of its length, keeping closer to the north than to the south coast. The highest summit of the range of Santa Croce is mount Troodos, with an elevation of 6590 feet above the sea-level. Here, on the south-east slopes, are the summer quarters of the troops and the summer residence of the high commissioner. The most extensive plain, called Messarea, is in the south-east part of the island, and is watered by the river Pedaus. The south of the island is watered by several streams, the principal of which is the river Kuris, or Lico, which falls into the sea at Episkopi, the
ancient Curium. But these streams, which were once rivers of some
importance, had very much decreased, owing to the almost complete
denudation, in the plains and lower slopes of the mountains, of the forests
which anciently covered them. Since the British occupation greater
attention has been paid to the forests, and the beneficial results are
already apparent. The Pediaus is the chief river. This and the other streams
generally overflow their banks in the rainy season, and flood the land; as
the waters subside, they leave behind a fertilizing mud, in the same manner
as the Nile, but during the rest of the year they give but little if any
help in the way of irrigation. The rainy season, although generally
occurring from October to February, is not, however, to be absolutely
depended upon; thus it is recorded that in 1330, during the reign of Hugo
of Lusignan, the rainfall was so heavy and the rivers flooded to such an
extent as to spread desolation far and near; and under Constantine there
was no rain for thirty-six years, so that most of the inhabitants left the
island. Again, in modern times, there was a disastrously small rainfall in
1869.

The soil is naturally fertile, and formerly maintained a population of
nearly 1,000,000 but the number of inhabitants in 1881 was only 185,906, of
whom the bulk were Greek Christians. Cotton of the finest quality has been
raised from American seed; excellent wine and all kinds of fruit are
produced, but agriculture is in a most backward state. Besides the
productions already named, madder, opium, oranges, lemons, pomegranates,
&c., are grown. The carob-tree abounds in some districts; its succulent
pods are exported to Egypt and Syria, while the fruit called St. John's
Bread is used as an article of food. Of all the agricultural products,
cereals hold the most important place. Wheat was largely grown until recently, but of late years, it has been in great measure replaced by barley and oats, which ripen earlier; and are not subject to the attacks of locusts.] with his shippes and gallies toward the seige of Achon, and on the next morrowe came to Tyrus, where by procurement of the French king he was restrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the first day of lune, crossing the seas, he met with a great carak, fraught with souldiers and men of warre to the number of a thousand and fiue hundred, which pretended to be Frenchmen, and setting foorth their flagge with the French armes, were indeede Saracens, [Sidenote: A great ship of Saracens taken by king Richard.] secretly sent with wilde fire [Footnote: Greek Fire was the name given to a composition which was largely used by the Greeks of the Byzantine Empire in their wars with the Mohammedans. Its nature was kept a profound secret for centuries, but the material is now believed to have been a mixture of nitre, sulphur, and naphtha. It burned with terrible fury wherever it fell, and it possessed the property of being inextinguishable by water. Even when poured upon the sea it would float upon the surface and still burn. It was used in warfare for a considerable time after the discovery of gunpowder, but gradually fell into the disuse as artillery became more effective. The name is still sometimes used to designate the inflammable compounds known to modern chemists which have been designed for use in incendiary shells, and for a composition which has been used by the Fenians to set fire to public buildings.] and certaine barrels of unknowen serpents to the defence of the towne of Achon, which king Richard at length perceiuing eftsoones set upon them and so vanquished them, of whom the most were drowned and some taken aliue: which being once knownen in the citie of Achon, as it was a great discomfort to them, so it was a great helpe to the Christians for winning the citie.
[Sidenote: King Richard arried at Achon.] The next day after which was the seuenth of Iune, king Richard came to Achon, which at that time had bene long besieged by the Christians. After whose comming it was not long, but the Pagans within the citie, seeing their wals to be undermined and towers overthrown, were driuen by composition to escape with life and limme, to surrender the citie to the two kings.

Another great helpe to the Christians in winning the citie, was this. In the said city of Achon there was a secret Christian among the Saracens, who in time of the siege thereof vsed at sundry times to cast ouer the wals into the campe of the Christians, certaine bils written in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine, wherein he disclosed to the Christians from time to time, the doings and counsels of the enemies, aduertising them how and what way they should worke, and what to beware, and alwayes his letters began thus. In nomine Patris, et Filij, et Spiritus sancti Amen. By reason whereof the Christians were much, aduantaged in their proceedings: but this was a great heauines unto them, that neither he would utter his name, nor when the citie was got did they euer understand who he was.

To make of a long siege a short narration. Vpon the twelth day of Iuly the yeere aforesaid, the Princes and Captaines of the Pagans, vpon agreement resorted to the tent of the Templaries to commune with the two kings touching peace, and giuing vp of their citie: the forme of which peace was thus.
[Sidenote: The forme of peace concluded between the Kings and Princes of Achon.] 1 That the Kings should haue the citie of Achon freely and fully deliuered vnto them, with all which was therein.

2 That 500. captiues of the Christians should be restored to them, which were in Achon.

3 That the holy crosse should be to them rendred, and a thousand Christian captiues with two hundreth horsemen, whosoever they themselues would chose out of all them which were in the power of the Saladine.

4 That they would giue vnto the Kings two hundreth thousand Bysants, so that they themselues should remaine as pledges in the Kings hands, for the performance hereof, that if in fortie daies, the aforesayd couenants were not accomplished, they should abide the Kings mercie touching life and limme.

These couenants being agreed vpon, the Kings sent their souldiers and seruants into the citie, to take a hundreth of the richest and best of the citie, to close them vp in towers vnder strong keeping, and the residue, they committed to be kept in houses and in streetes, ministring vnto them according to their necessities: to whom notwithstanding this they permitted, that so many of them as would be baptized and receiue the faith of Christ, should be free to goe whither they would: wherupon many there were of the Pagans, which for feare of death pretended to be baptized, but
afterward so soone as they could, reuolted agayne to the Saladine: for the which it was afterward commanded by the Kings that none of them should be baptized against their wils.

The thirteenth day of the said moneth of Iuly, King Philip of France, and King Richard, after they had obteined the possession of Achon, [Footnote: Acre, acca, anciently Ptolemais, in Syria, was taken by the Saracens in 638; by the Crusaders under Baldwin I. in 1104; by Saladin in 1187; and again by Richard I. and other Crusaders 12 July 1191, after a siege of 2 years, with a loss of 6 archbishops, 12 bishops, 40 earls, 500 barons, 300,000 soldiers. It was then named _St. Jean d'Acre_. It was retaken by the Saracens in 1291, when 60,000 Christians perished, and the nuns, who had mangled their faces to preserue their chastity, were put to death.] deuided betweene them all things therein conteined as well the people as golde and siluer, with all other furniture whatsoeuer was remaining in the citie: who in diuiding the spoyle, were so good caruers to themselues that the Knights and Barons had but litle to their share, whereupon they began to shew themselues somewhat discontented, which being knowne of the kings, they sent them answere that their wils should be satisfied.

The twentieth day of Iuly, king Richard speaking with the French king, desired him that they two with their armies, would binde themselues by othe to remayne there stil in the land of Ierusalem the space of 3 yeeres, for the winning and recouering againe of those countreys: but he sayd he would sweare no such othe, and so the next day after king Richard, with his wife and sister entred into the citie of Achon, and there placed himselfe in the kings pallace: The French king remayning in the houses of the Templaries,
where he continued till the end of the moneth.

[Sidenote: The French kings shamefull returne home.] About the beginning of
the moneth of August, Philip the French king after that he and King Richard
had made agreement betweene Guido and Conradus the Marques, about the
kingdome of Ierusalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithstanding king
Richard and all the Princes of the Christian armie with great intreatie
desired him to tary, shewing what a shame it were for him to come so farre,
and now to leaue undone that for which he came, and on the 3. day of August
departed from Tyrus, leaving the halfe part of the Citie of Achon in the
hands of the aforesayd Conradus Marques.

After his departure the Pagans refused to keepe their covenants made, who
neither would restore the holy Crosse nor the money, nor their captiues,
sending word to king Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him
at Achon, they would choppe off the heads of such captiues of the
Christians, as were in their hands.

[Sidenote: The captiues of the Saladine slaine by king Richard.] Shortly
after this the Saladine sending great gifts to king Richard, requested the
time limited for beheading of the captiues to be proroged, but the king
refused to take his gifts, and to graunt his request, whereupon the
Saladine caused all the Christian captiues within his possession forthwith
to be beheaded, which was the 28. of August: which albeit king Richard
vnderstood, yet would not he preuent the time before limited for the
execution of his prisoners, being the 20. day of August: vpon which day he
caused the prisoners of the Saracens openly in the sight of the Saladines armie to loose their heads: the number of whom came to two thousand and fiue hundreth, saue onely that certaine of the principal of them he reserued for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy Crosse, and certaine other of the Christian captiues.

[Sidenote: A notable victorie against the Saladine.] After this king Richard purposed to besiege the Citie of Ioppe, where by the way beweene Achon and Ioppe, neere to a towne called Assur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the kings rereward, but through Gods mercifull grace in the same battell, the kings warriers acquited themselues so well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whom the Christians pursued the space of 3 miles, and he lost that same day many of his Nobles and Captaines, in such sort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to such confusion 40 yeres before, and but one Christian Captaine called James Auernus in that conflict was ouerthrown.

[Sidenote: King Richard in possession of Syria.] From thence king Richard proceeding further went to Ioppe, and then to Ascalon, where he found first the citie of Ioppe forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the kings comming: Ascalon the Saladine threw downe to the ground, and likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria, through all which land the king had free passage without resistance: neither durst the Saracene Prince encounter after that with K. Richard. Of all which his atcheuances the sayd K. Richard sent his letters of certificate as well into England, as also to the Abbot of Clara valle [Footnote: Clairvaux, a famous Cistercian abbey, founded in 1114 by the celebrated Bernard. It increased so rapidly that
before his death, in 1153, it contained 700 monks, and had connected with
it seventy-six monasteries in various parts of Europe, partly founded by
Bernard and partly induced to join the brotherhood. All sorts of handicraft
and agricultural operations were carried on by the brethren. After
supplying the wants of their community the surplus was disposed of in the
nearest markets. It was suppressed at the Revolution.] in France, well
hoping that he God willing should be able to make his repair again to
them by Easter next.

Many other famous acts were done in this voyage by these two Kings, and moe
should have bene, had not they falling into discorde disseuered themselues,
by reason whereof Philip the French king returned home again within short
space: who being returned againe eftsoones invaeded the countrey of
Normandy, exciting also Iohn the brother of king Richard, to take on him
the kingdome of Englande in his brothers absence: [Sidenote: 1193.] who
then made league vpon the same with the French king, and did homage vnto
him, which was about the fourth yeere of king Richard. [Sidenote: King
Richard returneth from Palaestina.] Who then being in Syria, and hearing
thereof, made peace with the Turkes for three yeeres: and not long after,
king Richard the next Spring following returned also, who in his returne
driuen by distresse of weather about the parts of Histria, in a towne
called Synaca, was there taken by Lympold, Duke of the same countrey, and
so solde to the Emperour for sixtie thousand Markes: who for no small ioy
thereof, writeth to Philip the French king, these letters here following.

* * * * *
The letter of the Emperour to Philip the French king, concerning the taking of King Richard.

Henricus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, et semper Augustus, Dilecto et speciali amico suo, Philippo illustri Francorum Regi salutem, et sincera dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria Celsitudo non dubitat Regalem Magnificentiam tuam latiorem effici, de vniuersis quibus omnipotentia creatoris nostri nos ipsos, et Romanum Imperium honorauerit et exaltauerit, nobilitati tua tenore prasentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus Imperij nostri, et turbator Regni tui Rex Anglia, quum esset in transeundo mare ad partes suas reuersurus, accidit vt ventus rupta naui sua, in qua ipse erat, induceret eum in partes Histria ad locum qui est inter Aquileiam, et Venetias. Vbi Rex, Dei permissione passus naufragium cum paucis euasit.

Quidam itaque fidelis noster Comes, Maynardus de Grooxce, et populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, et considerato diligentius, qualem nominatus Rex in terra promissionis prodictionem et traditionem, et perditionis sua cumulum exercuerat, insecuti sunt, intendentes eum captuare. Ipso autem Rege in fugam conuerso, ceperunt de suis octo milites: Postmodum processit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiscopatu Salseburgensi, qui vocatur Frisorum, vbi Fridericus de Betesow, Rege cum tribus tantum versus Austriam properante, noctu sex milites de suis coepit: Dilectus autem Consanguineus noster Lympoldus Dux Austria, obseruata strata sape dictum Regem iuxta Denam in villa viciniori in domo despecta captuauit.

King Richard being thus traitorously taken, and solde to the Emperour by the Duke of Austridge for 60000. markes, was there kept in custodie a yeere and 3. moneths.

In some stories it is affirmed, that King Richard returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous winde, where he desired of the Pope to be absolued of an othe made against his will and could not obteine it: and so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the Countrey of Conradus the Marques, whose death (he being, slaine a little before) was falsly imputed by the French king to the king of England, there traiterously was taken (as is aforesayde) by Limpoldus duke of Austridge.

Albeit in another storie I finde the matter more credibly set forth: which saith thus. That king Richard slewe the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at Chesse in the French Kings Court: and Limpoldus taking his vantage, was more cruel against him and deliuered him (as is sayde) to the Emperour. In whose custodie he was deteined during the time aboue mentioned, a yeere and 3. moneths. During which time of the kings endurance, the French king in the meane season stirred warre in Normandie:
and Earle Iohn the Kings brother, made stirre and inuaded England, but the
Barons and Bishops of the land mightily withstood him.

At length it was agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that king Richard
should be released for a hundreth and foure thousand pound: of which money
part should remaine to the Duke of Austridge, the rest should be the
Emperours. The summe of which money was here gathered and made in England
of chalices, crosses, shrines, candlestickes and other Church place, also
with publike contribution of Friers, Abbots, and other subiects of the
Realme: whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remaining,
hostages and pledges were taken, which was about the fift yeere of his
reigne: and then it was obteined of the Pope that Priestes might celebrate
with Chalices of latten and tinne.

[Sidenote: The iust iudgment of God vpon the Duke of Austria.] At what time
this aforesaide money was payde, and the hostages giuen for the ransome of
the King, I haue an olde historie which saith, that the aforesaid Duke of
Australidge was shortly after plagued by God; with 5. sundry plagues.

First, with the burning of his chiefe Townes.

2. With drowning of tenne thousand of his men in a flood happening no man
can tell how.

3. By turning all the eares of his corne fieldes into wormes.
4. By taking away almost all the Nobles of his land by death.

5. By breaking his owne leg falling from his horse, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his owne hands, and afterwards died of the same: who then at his death is reported to forgiue K. Richard 50000. marks, and sent home the hostages that were with him. And further a certaine booke intituled Eulogium declareth, that the sayd Limpoldus duke of Austrich fell in displeasure with the bishop of Rome and died excommunicate the next yeere after, Anno 1196.

But thus, as you haue heard, Richard the King was ransomed and deliuered from the couetuous captiuitie of the Emperor, and returning home made an ende of his voyage for Asia, which was both honourable to himselfe and to all Christian states, but to the Saracens the enemies of Christianitie, terrible and dishonourable.

[This historie of King Richards voiage to Ierusalem is very excellently and largely written in Latine by Guilielmus Neobrigensis, [Footnote: William Little, died between 1208 and 1220. The best edition of his history is Mr Howlett's, 1884, published in the Rolls Series. It extends from the Conquest to 1197.] and Roger Houeden.] [Footnote: Roger of Hoveden, a fine old English chronicler attached to the household of Henry II. in some capacity of treasurer connected with minor abbeys and their royal dues, was also professor of theology at Oxford. His chronicle was chiefly written under Richard of the Lion Heart, and breaks off at the third year of John,
It is in Latin, and is easily accessible—the _Chronica Rogeri de Hovedene_, forming part of the magnificent Rolls Series. It is in four vols. 8vo, edited, by Professor Stubbs (London, 1871) The first part of Roger’s chronicle, beginning with the year 732, is really due to Benedict of Peterborough, under which name the king’s treasurer, Bishop Richard Fitz Neal, wrote. It professes to continue and complete Bede’s History. Roger of Hoveden is of high value for Henry II.’s time, but for that of Richard and the first year of John he is really admirable. No circumstance is too trivial for his pen, and in this garrulous diffuseness many touches are preserved of priceless worth to us, with which better authors would have disdained to cumber their work.]

* * * * *

Epitaphium Richardi primi regis Anglorum apud fontem Ebraldi.

Scribitur hoc auro, rex auree, laus tua tota aurea, materia conueniente nota. Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo tertia, Caruanna quarta, suprema lope. [Marginal note: Ciuitas Ioppe.] Retrusi Siculi, Cyprus pessundata, Dromo mersus, Caruanna capta, retenta lope.

Epitaphium eiusdem vbi viscera eius requiescunt.
Viscera Kareolum, corpus fons seruat Ebraldi, 
et cor Rothomagus, magne Richardo, tuum.

* * * * *

The trauailes of Gulielmus Peregrinus.

Gulielmus Peregrinus, Poeta quidem per eam atatem excellens, genere Anglus 
florebat, literarum, vt multi tunc erant, amator maximus, et qui bona 
tempora melioribus impenderat studijs. Hic cum accepisset, expeditionem in 
Saracenos per Regem Richardum parari, accinxit se ad iter illud, non tantum 
vt miles, sed etiam in peregrinus. Vidit ea qua in Mari Hispanico fiebant, 
vidit qua in Syria et Palastina commissa fuerunt, in Sultanum Babylonia 
Regem, ac perfidos Sarracenos. Omnia hac scripsit, et viuis depinxit 
coloribus, ita vt quasi pra oculis, totum poneret negotium, idemque 
Argumentum cum Richardo Canonico non infoeliciter, Heroico pertractauit 
carmine, opusque iam absolutum Huberto Cantuariorum Archiepiscopo, et 
Stephano Turnhamo Capitaneo rerum bellicarum expertissimo dedicauit, addito 
hoc titulo, Odeporicon Richardi Regis. Multaque alia edidisse Poetam talem 
non dubito, sed num extent illa eius scripta, mihi non constat. Hoc tamen 
satis constat, eum fuisse in pretio, Anno a saluitfero virginis partu 1200. 
sub Anglorum Rege Ioanne.

The same in English.
William the Pilgrime, a very excellent Poet in those dayes and an
Englishman borne, was of great fame, being much giuen to good letters, (as
many then were) and bestowed his good time in the best kinde of studies.
Hee vnderstanding of the preparation of king Richard against the Saracens,
prepared himselfe also for the same voyage, not onely as a Souldiour, but
as a Pilgrime also. He sawe those things which happened in the Spanish
Seas, and which were done in Syria and Palestina, against the Sultan the
King of Babylon, and the trecherous Saracens. All which things he wrote and
expressed them as it were in liuely colours, as if they had bene still in
doing before his eyes, and handled the same Argument in Heroicall verse
which the forenamed Richard Canonicus did. And hauing finished his worke he
dedicated it to Hubert Archbishop of Canterburie, and to Stephen Turneham a
most expert Captaine of warres, giuing it this Title, The expedition of
King Richard. And I doubt not but that so good a Poet as hee has published
many other things, but whether they be extant yea or no, I know not: but
this I know, that he was a man well accounted of, and flourished in the
yeere after the birth of Christ 1200. vnder king Iohn.

* * * * *

The comming of the Emperour of Constantinople called Baldwine into England
in the yere 1247, out of Matth. Paris, and Holensh. page 239. vol. 2.

About the same time, Baldwine naming himselfe emperour of Constantinople,
came againe into England, to procure sone new ayd of the king towards the
recovery of his empire, out of the which he was expelled by the Greeks.

Libro das obras de Garcia de Resende, que tracta da vida e feitos del Rey dom loham secundo. Embaxada que el Rey mandou a el Rey D'Inglaterra. Cap. 33.

Edaqui de Monte Mor mandou el Rey por embaixadores, a el rey dom Duarte de Inglaterra Ruy de Sousa-pessoa principal e de muyto bon saber e credito; de que el Rey muyto confiua: e ho doutor Ioam d'Eluas, e fernam de Pina por secretario. E foram por mar muy honradamente cum muy boa companhia: hos quaes foram en nome del rey confirmar as ligas antiquas com Inglaterra, que polla-condican deltas ho nouo Rey de hum zeyno e do outro era obrigado a mandar confirmar: e tambien pela monstrarem ho titolo que el rey tinha no senhorio de Guinee, pera que depois de visto el rey D'Inglaterra defendesse em todos seus reynos, que ninguen armasse nem podesse mandar a Guinee: e assi mandasse desfazer huna armada que pera laa faziam, per mandado do Duque de Medina Sidonia, hum Ioam Tintam e hum Guilherme fabiam Ingleses. Com ha qual embaixada e, rey D'Inglaterra mostrou receber grande contentamento: e foy delle commuyta honra recebida, e em tudo fez inteiramente ho que pellos embaixadores lhe foy requerido: de que elles
trouyran auenticas escrituras das diligencias que con pubricos pregones
fizeram: [Sidenote: These writings are in the Towre.] e assi as prouisones
das aprouaones que eran neccessarias: e com tudo muyto ben acabado, e ha
vontade del rey se vieram.

*

The voyage of Matthew Gourney, a most, valiant English Knight against the
Moores of Algier in Barbarie and Spaine. M. Camden pag. 159.

Nec tacendum Matthaum Gourney in oppido quodam, vulgari lingua Stoke vnnder
Hamden in comitatu Somersestensi appellato, sepultum esse, virum
bellicosissimum regnante Edwardo tertio: qui 96. atatis anno diem obiuit,
cum (vt ex inscriptione videre licuit) obsidioni d'Algizer contra
Saracenos, prалиjs Benamazin, Sclusensi, Cressiaco, Ingenos, Pictauensi,
et Nazarano in Hispania dimicasset.

The same in English.

[Sidenote: In the reigne of Edward the third.] It is by no means to be
passed ouer in silence, that Matthew Gourney, being a most valiant warriour
in the reigne of Edward the third, lyeth buried at a certaine towne, in the
countie of Somerset, commonly called Stoke vnnder Hamden: who deceased in
the 96. yeare of his age: and that (as it is manifest by the inscription of
his monument) after he had valiantly behaued himselfe at the siege of
Algizer against the Sarazens, and at the batailes of Benamazin, of Sluce, of Cressie, of Ingenos, of Poictou, and of Nazaran in Spaine.

* * * * *

The comming of Lyon King of Armenia into England, in the yeere 1386, and in the ninth yeere of Richard the second, in trust to finde some meanes of peace or good agreement betweene the King of England and the French king. Iohn Froyssart lib. 3. cap. 56.

Thus in abiding for the Duke of Berrie, and for the Constable, who were behind, then king Lyon of Armenia, who was in France, and had assigned him by the king, sixe thousande frankes by the yeare to maintayne his estate, tooke vpon him for a good intent to goe into England to speake with the king there and his Councell, to see if he might finde any matter of peace to be had, betweene the two Realmes, England and France: And so he departed from his lodging of Saint Albeyne beside Saint Denice, alonely [Footnote: "Merely" "only." (Nare's _Glossary_). "I speak not this _alonly_ for mine owne." MIR. FOR MAGIST., p. 367.] with his owne company, and with no great apparell. So he rode to Boloine, and there he tooke a shippe, and so sayled foorth till he came, to Douer; and there he found the Earle of Cambridge, and the Earle of Buckingham, and moe then a hundreth men of armes, and a two thousand Archers, who lay there to keepe that passage, for the brute [Footnote: Report, _French_ BRUIT. (Nare's _Glossary_). Compare 3 Ilen, vi., iv., 7.] ran, that the Frenchmen should lande there or at Sandwich, and the king lay at London, and part of his Councell with him, and daily
heard tydings from all the Portes of England. When the king of Armenia was
arrived at Douer, he had there good cheere, because he was a stranger, and
so he came to the kings vncles there, who sweetly receiued him, and at a
time conuenient, they demaunded of him from whence he came and whither he
would. The king answered and sayd, that in trust of goodnesse he was come
thither to see the king of England, and his Councell, to treate of peace
betweene England and France, for he saide that he thought the warre was not
meete: for he sayd, by reason of warre betweene these two Realmes, which
hath indured so long, the Saracens, Iewes and Turkes are waxed proude, for
there is none that make them any warre, and by occasion thereof I haue lost
my land and Realme, and am not like to recouer them againe without there
were firme peace in all Christendome: and I would gladly shew the matter
that toucheth all Christendome to the king of England, and to his Councell,
as I haue done to the French king. Then the kings Vncles demaunded of him
if the French king sent him thither or no; he answered and sayd, no: there
is no man that sent mee, but I am come hither by mine owne motion to see if
the king of England and his Councel would any thing leane to any treaty of
peace, then was he demaunded where the French king was, he answered I
beleeue he be at Sluce, I sawe not him sithence I tooke my leaue of him at
Senlize. Then he was demaunded, howe he could make any treatie of peace,
and had no charge so to doe, and Sir, if yee be conueyed to the King our
Nephew and to his Counsell, and the French king in the meane season enter
with his puissance into England; yee may happe thereby to receiue great
blame, and your person to be in great ieoperdy with them of the Countrey.
Then the King answered and said, I am in suretie of the French king, for I
haue sent to him, desiring him till I returne againe, not to remoue from
Sluce, and I repute him so noble and so well aduised, that he will graunt
my desire, and that hee will not enter into the sea, till I come againe to
him. Wherefore, sirs, I pray you in the instance of loue and peace, to conuey me to speake with the King, for I desire greatly to see him: or else yee that be his Vncles, if ye haue authoritie, to giue me answere to all my demaunds. Then the Earle of Buckingham sayd, syr king of Armenia, we be ordayne here to keepe and defend this passage, and the frontiers of England, by the King and his Counsell, and wee haue no charge to meddle any further with the businesse of the Realme, without we be otherwise commanded by the King. But sith ye be come for a good intent into this Countrey, ye be right welcome; but sir, as for any firme answere ye can haue none of vs, for as now we be not of the Councell, but we shall conuey you to the king without perill or danger. The king thanked them, and said: I desire nothing else but to see the king and to speake with him.

How the King of Armenia returned out of England, and of the answere that was made to him.

When the king of Armenia was refreshed at Douer a day, and had spoken with the kings Vncles at good leasure, then he departed towards London, with a good conduct that, the Lords appointed to him, for feare of any recounted: so long he rode that he came to London, and in his ryding through London he was well regarded, because he was a stranger, and he had good cheare made him, and so was brought to the king, who lay at the Royall at the Queenes wardrobe, and his Counsell were in London at their lodgings: The Londoners were sore fortifying of their citie. When the comming of the king of Armenia was knowen, the kings Counsell drew to the King to heare what tydings the King brought in that troublous season: When the king of Armenia was come into the kings presence, he made his salutation and then beganne
his processe to the states, how he was come out of France principally to
see the king of England whom he had neuer seene before, and said, how he
was right ioyous to be in his presence, trusting that some goodnesse might
come thereby. And there he shewed by his words, that to withstande the
great pestilence that was likely to be in England; therefore he was come of
his owne good will to doe good therein if he might, not sent from the
French king, willing to set some accorde and peace betweene the two Realmes
England and France. Many faire pleasant words the king of Armenia spake to
the king of England, and to his Counsell, then he was shortly answered
thus: Syr king, ye be welcome into this Realme, for the king our soueraigne
lord, and all we are glad to see you here, but sir, we say that the king
hath not here all his Councell, but shortly they shall be here, and then ye
shall be answered. The king of Armenia was content therewith, and so
returned to his lodging. Within foure dayes after the king was counselled
(and I thinke he had sent to his Vncles to know their intents, but they
were not present at the answere giuing) to goe to the pallace at
Westminster and his Councell with him, such as were about him, and to send
for the king of Armenia to come thither. And when he was come into the
presence of the king of England and his Councell, the king sate downe, and
the king of Armenia by him, and then the Prelates and other of his
Councell. There the king of Armenia rehearsed againe his requestes that he
made, and also shewed wisely how all Christendome was sore decayed and
feeblished by occasion of the warres betweene England and France. And how
that all the knights and Squires of both Realmes entended [Footnote: Attend
to. It is used in the same sense in the Alleyn papers. "Loe that I will now
after Monday, intend your busines carefully." And in _Timon of Athens_
ii., 2.] nothing else, but always to be on the one part or of the other:
whereby the Empire of Constantinople leeseth, [Footnote: Diminisheth,
dwindleth. Nares does not give this meaning, not have I ever come across a precisely similar instance of its use.] and is like to leese; for before this warre the Knights and Squires were wont to aduenture themselves. And also the king of Armenia shewed that by occasion of this warre he had lost his Realme of Armenia, therefore he desired for Gods sake that there might be some treaty of peace had betweene the two Realmes England and France. To these wordes answered the Archbishop of Canterburie, for he had charge so to doe; And he sayd, Sir king of Armenia, it is not the manner nor neuer was seen betweene two such enemies as the king of England and the French king, that the King my Souereigne lorde should be required of peace, and he to enter his land with a puissant army, wherefore sir, we say to you, that if it please you, ye may returne to the French king, and cause him and all his puissance to returne backe into their owne countrieys. And when euery man be at home, then if it please you ye may returne againe hither, and then we shall gladly intende to your treatie.

This was all the answere the king of Armenia could get there, and so he dined with the king of England, and had as great honour as could bee deuised, and the king offered him many great gifts of golde and siluer, but he would take none though he had neede thereof, but alonely a ring to the value of a hundreth Frankes. After dinner he tooke his leaue and returned vnto his lodging, and the next day departed, and was two days at Douer, and there he tooke his leaue of such lords as were there, and so tooke the sea in a passager, [Footnote: Generally spelt _passenger_, as in the letter of the Earl of Leicester 1585. Quoted by Nares.] and arrived at Calais and from thence went to Sluce, and there he spake with the French king and with his Vncles, and shewed them how he had bene in England, and
what answere he had: the French king and his Vncles tooke no regard of his saying, but sent him backe againe into France, for their full intention was to enter into England as soone as they might haue winde and weather, and the Duke of Berrie and the Constable came to them: The winde was sore contrary to them, for therewith they could neuer enter into England but the winde was good to goe into Scotland. [Footnote: The King of Armenia here referred to was Leon VI., the last of the Cilicio Armenian dynasty founded by Rupen, a relative of Gagik, the last of the Bagratide Kings: He was taken prisoner by the Mamelukes of Egypt in 1375, and after a long captivity wandered as an exile through Europe, dying at Paris in 1393.]

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The memorable victories in diuers parts of Italie of Iohn Hawkwood English man in the reigne of Richard the second, briefly recorded by M. Camden, pag. 339.


Hawkwoode Anglorum decus, et decus addite genti
Italica presidiumque solo,
Vt tumuli quondam Florentia, sic simulachri
Virtutem Iouius donat honore tuam.

William Thomas in his Historie of the common wealthes of Italy, maketh
honorable mention of him twise, to wit, in the commonwealth of Florentia
and Ferrara.

* * * * *

The comming of the Emperour of Constantinople into England, to desire the
aide of Henry the 4. against the Turkes, 1400.

[Sidenote: Thomas Walsingham.] Sub eodem tempore Imperator
Constantinopolitanus venit in Angliam, postulaturus subsidium contra
Turcas. Cui occurrat rex cum apparatu nobili ad le Blackheath, die sancti
Thomae Apostilo, susceptique, prout decuit, tantum Heroem, duxitque
Londonias, et per multis dies exebuit gloriose, pro expensis hospitij sui
soluens, et eum respiciens tanto fastigio donatiuis. Et paulo post: His
auditis rumoribus, Imperator laetior recessit ab Anglis, honoratus a rege
donarijs preciosis.

The same in English.

About the same time the Emperour of Constantinople came into England, to
seek ayde against the Turkes: whom the king accompanied with his nobilitie, met withall vpon Blackheath vpon the day of saint Thomas the Apostle, and receiued him as beseemed so great a prince, and brought him to London, and roially entertained him for a long season, defraying the charges of his diet, and giuing him many honorable presents. And a little afterward: Vpon the hearing of these newes, the emperor departed with great ioy out of England, whom the king honoured with many precious gifts.

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A briefe relation of the siege and taking of the Citie of Rhodes, by Sultan Soliman the great Turke, translated out of French into English at the motion of the Reuerend Lord Thomas Dockwray, great Prior of the order of Ierusalem in England, in the yeere, 1524.

Willingly faithfully to write and reduce in veritie Historiall, the great siege, cruel oppugnation, and piteous taking of the noble and renowned citie of Rhodes, the key of Christendome, the hope of many poore Christian men, withholden in Turkie to saue and keepe them in their faith: the rest and yeerely solace of noble pilgrimes of the holy sepulchre of Iesu Christ and other holy places: the refuge and refreshing of all Christian people: hauing course of marchandise in the parties of Leuant, I promise, to all estates that shall see this present booke, that I haue left nothing for feare of any person, nor preferred it for fauour. And first I shall shewe the occasions that moued this cruell bloodshedder, enemie of our holy Christian faith, Sultan Soliman, now being great Turke, to come with a
great hoste by sea and by lande, to besiege and assayle the space of sixe moneths, night and day, the noble and mightie citie of Rhodes, the yere of the incarnation of our Lord Iesu Christ, 1522.

The occasions why the great Turke came to besiege the Citie of Rhodes.

The first and principall cause was that he did consider and sawe by experience, that there was none other Towne nor place in Leuant that warred against him nor kept him in doubt, but this poore rocke of Rhodes. And hearing that continuall complaintes of his subjectes as well of Syria, as of Turkie, for the domages and prizes dayly done of their bodies and goods by Christian men of warre receiued into Rhodes: And also of the shippes and gallies of the religion, he tooke conclusion in himselfe, that if he might put the sayde Towne in his power and subiection, that then he should be peaceable lord of all the parties of Leuant, and that his subjectts should complaine no more to him.

The second, that he might followe the doings of his noble predecessours, and shewe himselfe very heire of the mightie and victorious lord Sultan Selim his father, willing to put in execution the enterprise by him left the yeere one thousand fiue hundred twentie and one. The which Selim the great Turke put in all redinesse his armie to the number of three hundreth sayles purposinge for to send them against Rhodes, if mortalitie had not happened in his host, and he afterwarde by the will of our lorde was surprised and taken with death: wherefore he being in the latter ende of his dayes, (as some Turkes and false christian men that were at this siege
shewed me) did charge by his testament, or caused to charge his sonne now being great Turke, that after this death hee should make his two first enterprises, the one against Bellegrado in Hungarie, and the other against Rhodes, for to get him honour, and to set his Countries and subiectes in rest and suretie. The which fatherly motion easilie entered into him and was imprinted in the heart and yoong will of the sayde Solyman, his sonne, the which soone after the death of his father put in effect the first enterprise, and raised an huge hoste both by water and by land, and went himselfe in person against Bellegrado, a right strong place in Hungarie.

[Sidenote: The taking of Belgrade.] And after that hee had besieged it the space of two moneths or thereabout, for fault of ordinance and vitailes, it was yeelded to him by composition the eight day of September, in the yeere of our lord, one thousand five hundred twenty and one. The sayd Solyman hauing this victory, being swollen and raised in pride and vaine glory, turned his heart agaynst Rhodes. Neuertheless, he not ignorant of the strength of it, and considering the qualities of the people that were within it, of whom he should be well receiued as his predecessours had bene aforetimes, doubted much, and knew not how to furnish his enterprise. For his capitaines and Bashas turned him from it as much as they might by many reasons, they knowing the force of it, saue onely Mustofa Basha his brother in lawe, the which councelel and put him in minde to goe thither. Finally, hee purposed entirely to haue it by treason or by force. [Sidenote: Forren physicians become spies oftentimes.] And also, for the same cause and purpose, his father in his dayes had sent a lewe physician into Rhode as a spie, to haue the better knowledge of it: the sayd Solyman was informed that he was there yet, wherefore he sent him worde that he should abide there still for the same cause. And gaue in charge to one of the chiefe men in Sio, to send vnto the sayd lewe all things needefull to maintaine him.
And the same lewe wrote to him of Sio, vnder priuie wordes, all that was
done in Rhodes to giue knowledge thereof to the great Turke: and the better
to hide his treason, the sayde lewe made himselfe to bee baptised. And to
bee the more named to be expert in Physike, he did some faire cures to such
such as were diseased, whereby he began to bee well trusted, and came in
favouer with many substantiall folkes of the towne. Among all other things
whereof hee advertised the great Turke, one was of a wall that was taken
downe for to be new builded at the bulwarke of Auuergne, certifying him
that if hee came hastely with his hoste, hee might easilie and at vnawares
surprise the towne in such estate as it was at that time. Many other
advertisements and warnings hee shewed the Turke, which shall bee declared
hereafter. [Sidenote: A Portingale traitor.] But beside his advertisement,
the sayd great Turke stirred and prouoked by a false traitour, a Portingale
knight of ours, that time Chancellor of the sayd holy Religion, a man of
great authoritie, dignitie, and vnderstanding, and one of the principall
lordes of the counsell of the same, named Sir Andrew de Merall, by little
and little was mooued and kindled to the sayd enterprise of treason,
whereof was no maruell, for it was a great hope and comfort to haue such a
person for him, that knew all the estate and rule of the religion and of
the towne. And for to declare the occasions of the cursed and vnhappy will
of the said traitor that had bene occasion of so great losse and damage,
and shall be more at the length, if the diuine power set not to his hand.

[Sidenote: Philip de Villiers great master.] And here it is manifestly to
bee vnderstood of all men, that after the death of the noble and right
prudent lord, Fabrice of Cacetto, great master of Rhodes, the sayd Sir
Andrew enflamed with ambition and couetousnesse to bee great master, and
seeing himself deceived of his hope, by the election made the two and
twentieth day of January, of the right reverend and illustrious lord, Philip
de Villiers Lisleadam, before him: from that time he took so great envy
and desperation, enmity and evil will, not only against the said lord;
but against all the holy religion, that he set all his studie and purpose,
to betray and sell his religion and the city of Rhodes to the cursed
misbelievers, forgetting the great honours and goodnesse that he had
of the religion, and hoped to receive, with many other particular pleasures
that the said lord master had done to him. But the devil, unkindness, and
wickedness had so blinded the eyes of his thought, that he in no wise
could refrain him, but at every purpose that was spoken afore him, he was
short and might not dissemble. And one day among other he said before
many knights, that his soul would be at the devil, and that
Rhodes and the religion were lost. And many other foolish and dishonest
purposes and words he uttered, whereat none took heed, nor thought that
he had the courage to do that thing that he had done. Howbeit,
obstinate as Judas, he put in execution his cursed will: for soon after
that the tidings of the election was sent Westward to the said noble lord,
the said de Merall did send a Turk prisoner of his to Constantinople,
vnder shadow to fetch his ransom. By whom he advertised the great Turk
and his counsel, of the manner and degree of Rhodes, and in what state and
condition the town was in of all manner of things at that time, and what
might happen of it, provoking and stirring him to come with a great host
to besiege the town. And after the coming of the said reverend lord great
master, he gave other advice to the great Turk, shewing him that he could
never have better time to come, seeing that the great master was new come,
and part of the wall taken down, and that all Rhodes was in trouble by
occasion of some Italian knights, rebels against the lord great master: of
the which rebellion he was causer, the better to bring his cursed mind to
passe: and also gaue the sayde great Turke knowledge that all Christian
princes were busie, warring each vpon other, and that he should not doubt
but if the rebellion lasted among them, the towne should be his without
faile, as it is seen by experience. And for lacke of succours of euery
part, and especially of such as might easily haue holpen vs beyng our
neighbours, with their gallies and men of warre, wherefore it is now in the
handes of the enemies of the christian faith. The which monitions and
reasons of the false traitor being vnderstood and pondered by the great
Turke and his counsell, it was considered of them not to loose so good
occasion and time. Wherefore hee made most extreme diligence to rigge and
apparell many ships and vessels of diuers sorts, as galliasses, gallies,
pallandres, fustes, and brigantines, to the number of 350. sailes and moe.

[Footnote: A Galliasse was a 3 masted galley; Pallandres were manned by 20
men and Fustes by 12 to 15.] When the prisoner that the sayd de Merall did
send into Turkie had done his commission, hee returned into Rhodes, whereof
every man had maruell. And many folkes deemed euil of his comming againe,
as of a thing vnaccustomed, but none durst say any thing, seeing the sayd
de Merall of so great authoritie and dignitie, and he cherished the sayd
prisoner, more than he was woont to doe. Therefore belike hee had well done
his message, and had brought good tidings to the damnable and shamefull
mind of the sayd traitor de Merall.

How the great Turke caused the passages to be kept, that none should beare
tidings of his hoste to Rhodes.

The great Turke intending with great diligence to make readie his hoste
both by sea and by land, the better to come to his purpose, and to take the
towne vnwarily as hee was aduertised, thought to keepe his doings as secret
as hee might, and commaunded that none of his subiects should goe to Rhodes
for any maner of thing. And likewise he tooke all the barkes and
brigantines out of the hauens and portes in those coastes, because they
should giue no knowledge of his armie. And also hee made the passages by
land to bee kept, that none should passe. Howbeit, so great apparell of an
armie could not bee long kept close: for the spies which the lord great
master had sent into Turkie, brought tidings to the castle of saint Peter,
and to Rhodes, of all that was said and done in Turkie. Neuerthelesse, the
sayd lord gaue no great credence to all that was brought and told, because
that many yeeres before, the predecessours of the great Turke had made
great armies: and alway it was sayd that they went to Rhodes, the which
came to none effect. And it was holden for a mocke and a by-word in many
places, that the Turke would goe to besiege Rhodes. And for this reason
doubt was had of this last armie, and some thought that it should haue gone
into Cyprus or to Cataro, a land of the lordship of Venice. Howbeit the
great master not willing to bee taken vnwarily, but the meane while as
carefull and diligent for the wealth of his towne, and his people,
vnderstanding these tidings of the Turkes armie, did all his diligence to
repaire and strengthen the towne. Amongst all other things to build vp, and
raise the bulwarke of Auuergne, and to cleanse and make deeper the ditches.
And the more to cause the workemen to haste them in their businesse, the
sayd lord ouersawe them twise or thrise every day.

How the lord great master counselled with the lordes for prouision of the
towne.
Then the sayd reverend lord thought to furnish and store the towne with more vitailes for the sustenance thereof, and for the same many times hee spake with the lordes that had the handling and rule of the treasurie, and of the expenses thereof in his absence, and since his comming: That is to wit, with the great Commander Gabriel de pommerolles, lieutenant of the sayd lord: The Turcoplier Sir Iohn Bourgh of the English nation: and the Chancellor Sir Andrew de Meral, of whom is spoken afore and of his vntruth agaynst his religion. The which three lordes sayd, that hee should take no thought for it, for the towne was well stored with vitailes for a great while, and that there was wheate ynough till new came in: Notwithstanding it were good to haue more, or the siege were laied afore the towne, and therefore it were behoouefull to send for wheate and other necessaries into the West for succours of the towne, and at that time to puruey for euery thing.

Of the prouision for vitailes and ordinance of warre.

As touching the store and ordinance of warre, the sayd lordes affirmed that there was ynough for a yeere and more, whereof the contrary was found, for it failed a moneth or the citie was yeelded. It is of trueth that there was great store, and to haue lasted longer then it did. But it was needful to spend largely at the first comming of the enemies to keepe them from comming neere, and from bringing earth to the ditches sides as they did. And moreouer you are to consider the great number of them, and their power that was spred round about the towne, giuing vs so many assaults and
skirmishes in so many places as they did, and by the space of sixe whole
moneths day and night assaulting vs, that much ordinance and store was
wasted to withstand them in all points. And if it failed, it was no
maruell. Howbeit the noble lord great master, prouided speedily for it, and
sent Brigantines to Lango, to the castle of saint Peter, and to the castels
of his isle Feracloous and Lyndo, for to bring powder and salt peter to
strength the towne, but it suffised not.

And for to speake of the purueiance of vitailes, it was aduised by the lord
great master and his three lords, that it was time to send some ships for
wheat to places thereabout, before the Turks hoste were come thither. And
for this purpose was appointed a ship named the Gallienege, whose captaine
hight [Footnote: The participle of the Anglo-Saxon verb _Hatan_, to
call:
"Full carefully he kept them day and night;
In fairest fields, and Astrophel he _hight_."
SPENSER Astrophel i., 6.]
Brambois, otherwise called Wolfe, of the Almaine nation, an expert man of
the sea, the which made so good diligence, that within a moneth he
performed his voyaige, and brought good store of wheat from Naples and
Romania, [Footnote: The territory around Rome, _not_ Roumania.] which did
vs great comfort.

How a Brigantine was sent to Candie for wine, and of diuers ships that came
to helpe the towne.
After this, a motion was made to make provision of wine for the town, for the men of Candie durst not sail for to bring wine to Rhodes as they were wont to do for fear of the Turk's host: and also they of the town would send no ship into Candie, fearing to be taken and enclosed with the said host by the way. Howbeit some merchants of the town, were willing to have adventured themselves in a good ship of the religion, named the Mary, for to have laden her with wine in Candie. But they could not agree with the three lords of the treasure, and their let was but for a little thing: and all the cause came of the said traitor de Merall, faining the wealth of the treasure: for he intended another thing, and brake this good and profitable enterprise and will of the said merchants, seeing that it was hurtful to the Turk, whose part the said traitor held in his diabolish heart: that notwithstanding, the reverend lord great master, that in all things from the beginning to the end, hath alway shewed his good will, and with all diligence and right that might be requisite to a sovereign captain and head of war, found other expedience, and sent a Brigantine into Candie, in the which he sent a brother sergeant named Anthonie of Bosus, a well spritely [Footnote: Loyal.] man and wise, that by his wisedome wrought so well, that, within a small time he brought fifteen vessels called Gripes, laden with wine, and with them men of warre the which came under shadow of those wines, because the governors of Candie durst let none of their men goe to the succour of Rhodes for fear of the Turk. And beside those fifteen Gripes came a good ship whose capitaine and owner was a rich yong gentleman Venetian, Messire Iohn Antonio de Bonaldi, which of his good will came with his ship laden with 700. buts of wine to succour the town with his person and folkes, whose good and lowable will I leaue to the consideration of the readers of this present booke. For hee being purposed to have had his wines to Constantinople, or
he was enformed of the busines of Rhodes, and was in the porte du Castell in Candie, would not beare his vitailes to the enemies of the faith, but came out and returned his way toward Rhodes, forgetting all particular profite and aduantage. He being arriued at Rhodes, dispatched and sold his wine, which was a great encrease and comfort for the towne. And when he had so done, he presented his person, his ship, and his folke, to the reuerend great master, the which retained him, and set him in wages of the Religion. And during the siege, the sayd capitaine behaued him woorthily in his person, and put himselfe in such places as woorthy men ought to be, spending his goods largely without demanding any paiment or recompense for his doing, of the Religion.

How the corne was shorne downe halfe ripe and brought into the towne for feare of the Turkes hoste.

During these things, the reuerend lord great master carefull and busie to haue everything necessary, as men and other strengths, sent vessels called brigantines, for to cause the wafters of the sea to come vnto Rhodes for the keeping and fortifying of the towne, the which at the first sending came and presented their persons and ships to the seruice of the religion.

[Sidenote: Haruest in April and May.] After that the sayd lord caused to shere downe the Rie of his isle, and caused it to bee brought into the towne, which was done in April: and then in May in some places, he made to shere the wheate halfe ripe, howbeit the most part was left in the fields, because the Turkes hoste was come out of the streights of Constantinople.
And doubting that any number of ships should come before to take the people of the sayd Isle vnawares, the sayd lord made them to leaue shering of wheate, and caused the people of the furthest part of the Isle to come into the towne.

While that the great master prouided for all things after the course of time and tidings that hee had, there arrniued a Carak of Genoa laden with spicerie from Alexandria, the which passed before the port of Rhodes the eight day of Aprill, and rid at anker at the Fosse, 7. or 8. miles from the towne, for to know and heare tidings of the Turkish hoste. Then the lord willing to furnish him with people as most behoouefull for the towne, sent a knight of Prouence named sir Anastase de sancta Camilla, commander de la Tronquiere to the captaine of the Carak, praying him to come into the hauen with his ship for the defence of the towne, profering him what he would, assuring him ship. The captaine excused him, saying, that the merchandise was not his owne, but belonged to diuers merchants to whom he must yeeld account. Howbeit at the last after many words and promises to him made hee came into the hauen, the which captaine was named messire Domingo de Fournati, and hee in his person behaued him valiauntly in the time of the sayd siege.

How the great master caused generall musters to be made, and sent a vessell to the Turkes nauie, of whom he receiued a letter.

After the moneth of April the lord master seeing that the Turkes hoste drew neere, and that he had the most part of the wafters within the towne, he
caused generall musters of men of armes to be made. And began at the knights, the which vpon holy Rood day in May made their musters, before the Commissioners ordained by the sayd lord in places deputed to each of them called Aalberge. The which Commissioners made report to the lordes that they had found the knights in good order of harnesse and other things necessary for warre, and their araie faire and proper, with crosses on them. When the muster of the knights was done, the lord master thought to make the musters of them of the towne, and strangers together: but his wisedome perceiued that harme should come thereby, rather then good, doubting, that the number of people should not bee so great as he would, or needed to haue, whereof the great Turke might haue knowledge by goers and commers into Rhodes, and therefore he caused them of the towne to make their musters seuerall by bandes and companies, and the strangers also by themselves, to the end that the number should not bee knowen, notwithstanding that there was good quantitie of good men and well willing to defend themselues. And the more to hearten and giue them courage and good will, some knights of the Crosse, decked their men with colours and deuises, and tooke with them men of the towne and strangers, and with great noyse of trumpets and timbrels, they made many musters, as enuying each other which should keepe best aray and order, and haue the fairest company. It was a great pleasure to see them all so well agree, and so well willing.

The number of the men of the towne amounted and were esteemed, three, or foure thousand, beside men of the villages that might be 1500. or 2000.

The eight day of the same moneth, the Turkes hearing of those tidings, made a fire for a token in a place called le Fisco, in the maine land right
against Rhodes. And certaine dayes afore they had made another, that is to
weet, when the ship of a knight named Menetow went thither, and had with
him the clarke of the gallies named Iaques truchman, the which vnnder shadow
to speake with him, was withholden of the Turkes. For the great Turke had
commanded to take him or some other man of the Rhodes to haue perfect
knowledge in what estate the towne was then in euery thing. And they of the
towne weening that the second fire was for to deliuer Iaques, the reuerend
lord great master sent one of his galliasses, whose patron was called
messire Boniface of Prouence, to know the cause thereof. And when hee
arrived at the sayd place of le Fisco, he demaunded of the Turkes wherefore
they had made the token of fire. And they said that it was because their
lord had sent a letter to the great master, but as yet it was not come, and
desired him to tary till it were brought. The patron as warie and wise in
the businesse of the sea, thought in himselfe that the Turkes made such
prolonging to some euill intent, or to surprise his vessell being alone,
wherefore hee bade them giue him the letter speedily, or els he would goe
his way, and neither tary for letter nor other thing: and told them of the
euill and dishonest deed that they had done the dayes afore, to withhold
the clarke vnnder their words and safeconduct: and therewith he turned his
galliassse to haue gone away. The Turkes seeing that, gaue him the letter,
the which he tooke, and when he was arrived at Rhodes, he presented it to
the lord great master, which assembled the lordes of his counsell, and made
it to be red. The tenor whereof was such as foloweth.

The copie of the letter that the great Turke sent to the lord great master,
and to the people of the Rhodes.
Sultan Solyman Basha by the grace of God, right mightie emperor of Constantinople, and of himselfe holding both the lands of Persia, Arabia, Syria, Mecha, and Ierusalem; of Asia, Europe, Aegypt, and of all the Sea, lord and possessor: To the reverend father lord Philip, great master of Rhodes, to his counsailors, and to all the other citizens great and small, greeting. Sending conuenient and worthy salutations to your reverances, wee giue you to weet, that we haue receiued your letters sent vnto our imperall majestie by George your seruant, the tenor whereof we doe well vnderstand: and for this occasion we send vnto you this our present commaundement, to the end that we will that ye know surely how by our sentence we will haue that Isle of Rhodes for many damages and euill deeds which we haue, and heare from day to day of the sayd place done to vs and our sujects, and ye with your good will shall hold it of vs and doe vs obeisance, and giue the citie to mine imperall majestie. And we sweare by God that made heauen and earth, and by 26000. of our prophets, and by the 4. Misafi that fell from the skies, and by our first prophet Mahomet, that if ye doe vs homage, and yeeld you with good will vpon these othes, all you that will abide in the sayd place, great and small, shall not need to feare perill nor damage of mine imperall majestie, neither you, your goods, nor your men: and who so will goe to any other place with his goods and houshold, may so doe, and who so will dwell and inhabits in any other places vnder mine Imperall majestie, may remaine where they like best, without feare of any person. And if there bee any of the principals and worthy men among you that is so disposed, wee shall giue him wages and provission greater then hee hath had. And if any of you will abide in the sayd isle, yee may so doe after your auncient vsages and customes, and much better. And therefore if that Imperall majestie, or els know yee that wee
will come upon you with all provisions of warre, and thereof shall come as
it pleaseth God. And this wee doe, to the end that ye may know, and that ye
may not say, but we haue giuen you warning. And if ye doe not thus with
your good will, wee shall vault and undermine your foundations in such
maner, that they shalbe torne upside downe, and shall make you slaues, and
cause you to die, by the grace of God, as we haue done many, and hereof
haue ye no doubt. Written in our court at Constantinople the first day of
the moneth of lune.

How the Turkes came to land in the Isle of Lango, and were driuen to their
ships againe by the Prior of S. Giles.

When the lord great master and his counsell had heard the tenor of the
letter, they would giue none answere to the great Turke, but that he should
be receiued with good strokes of artillerie. So that to a foolish demaund
behooued none answere. And it was very like that he would haue nothing. For
sixe dayes after, that was the 14. day of the said moneth of lune, the
Brigantines that went toward Sio to know of the said armie, came againe and
sayd, that of a trueth the said armie was comming; and that nigh to Lango
an Isle of the religion, and 100. mile from Rhodes, they had seene and told
30. sailes that were most part gallies and fustes: the which vessels set
men on land in the isle of Lango. Then the prior of S. Giles, Messire pre
John de Bidoux commander of the said place, taried not long from horsebacke
with his knights and people of the isle, and he met so well with the
Turkes, that he droue them to their ships, and slew a certaine number of
them: and of the side of Pre Iohn some were hurt, and his horse was slaine.
When the enemies were entered into their gallies, they went to a place
called castle Iudeo on the maine land, betweene the sayd isle of Lango and
the castle of S. Peter.

How part of the nauie and armie of the great Turke came before the citie of
Rhodes.

The 18. day of the said moneth of Iune, these 30. gallies went from the
sayd place, and passed, by the Cape of Crion, entering the gulfe of Epimes
beside Rhodes, and were discovered from the shade of the hill of Salaco, a
castle in the isle of Rhodes. On the morrow they came out of the gulfe by
plaine day, and sailing along by the coasts, they entered into a hauen on
maine land called Malfata, where they abode three dayes. Then they went
from thence, and returned to the gulfe of Epimes, where they abode two
dayes and two nights.

The 24 day of the same moneth they issued out of Epimes, and trauersing the
chanell, they came to the yle of Rhodes in a place before a castle called
Faues, and they went to land, and burnt a great field of corne the same
day, which was the feast of S. Iohn Baptist our patron. The guard of a
castle named Absito in the yle of Rhodes discovered and spied the great
hoste, and in great haste brought word to the lord master, and sayd that
the sayd hoste, that was in so great number of sailes that they might not
be numbred, was entered into the gulfe of Epimes. The 30 sailes that lay in
the yle arose in the night, and went to the sayd hoste in the gulfe.

The 26 day of lune the sayd great hoste arose and went out of Epimes an
houre after the sun rising, and trauersing the chanell, they came to a
place called the Fosse, eight miles from the towne. And the 30 first sailes
turned backe toward the cape of S. Martin and other places to watch for
ships of Christian men, if any passed by to Rhodes. The great hoste abode
still till noone or one of the clocke, and then arose, not all, but about
80 or 100 ships, as gallies, galliasses, and fusts: and passed one after
another before the towne and hauen of Rhodes three miles off, and came to
shore in a place nigh to land, called Perambolin, sixe miles from the
towne. In the which place the sayd hoste abode from that time to the end of
that vnhappy siege.

The number and names of the vessels that came to besiege Rhodes.

The number of the ships were these: 30 galliasses, 103 gallies, aswell
bastards as subtill mahonnets, 15 taffours, 20 fusts, 64 great ships, sixe
or seuen gallions, and 30 galleres, besides the nauy that waited for
Christain men, if any came to succour vs. These were the vessels that came
at the first to lay the siege. And sith that sayd host came out of
Perambolin, there came from Syria 20 other sailes, aswell gallies as fusts.
And many other ships came sith, and ioyned with the sayd army in the time
of the sayd siege. And it was sayd that there were 400 sailes and moe.

The same day that part of the host came to the sayd place, the reuerend
lord great master ordeined a great brigandine to send into the West, to
certifie our holy father the pope, and the Christian princes how the Turks
army was afore Rhodes. And in the sayd vessel he sent two knights, one a
French man named Sir Claude Dansoyuille called Villiers, and Sir Loys de Sidonia a Spaniard: and they went to the pope and to the emperour.

After the comming of the Turks nauy into the sayd place, if was 14 or 15 dayes or they set any ordinance on land, great or small, or any quantity of men came on shore, whereof we marueiled. And it was tolde vs by some that came out of the campe, and also by the spies that the lord great master had sent abroad arayed as Turks that they, abode the commandement of their great lord, vntill the hoste by land were come into the campe. Howbeit there came some number for to view the towne, but they went priuity, for the ordinance of the towne shot without cease.

All this while the gallies and galliasses went and came to land, bringing vitaile and people. At the which ships passing nigh the town, were shot many strokes with bombards, which made some slaughter of our enemies: and when the most part of them was past, they began to set ordinance on the land with great diligence. Then the lord great master departed from his palace, and lodged him nigh a church called The victory, because that place was most to be doubted: and also that at the other siege [Footnote: This refers to the siege of Rhodes in 1480, by Mohammed II., the conqueror of Constantinople.] the great businesse and assault was there.

How the lord great master made his petition before the image of S. Iohn, and offered him the keyes of the towne.

The day before were made many predications and sermons, and the last was in
the church of S. Iohn Baptist. When the sermon was done, a pontificall
Masse was celebrate with all solemnities, and all the reliques taken downe,
and the lord great master and all his knights with great deuotions and
reuerence heard it. And when the Masse was ended, the lord great master
made a pitious oration or prayer before Saint Iohn Baptist his protectour:
and aboue all other words, which were too long to tell, he besought him
meekly that it would please him to take the keyes of that miserable city.
The which keyes he presented and layed vpon the altar before the image,
beseeching S. Iohn to take the keeping and protection thereof, and of all
the religion, as by his grace he had giuen to him vnworthy, the gouerning
vtto that day: and by his, holy grace to defend them from the great power
of the enemies that had besieged them.

How the women slaues would haue set fire in the towne.

The eight day of Iuly it was knowen that the Turkish women being slaues and
seruaunts in many houses of the towne, had appointed to set fire in their
masters houses at the first assault that should be made, to the end that
the men should leaue their posterns and defenses to go and saue their
houses and goods. And it was found that a woman of Marchopota being a
slaue, was first moouer thereof, the which was taken and put to execution.

The same day some of our men went out for to skirmish with the Turkes, and
many of them were slaine with shot of our artillerie, and of our men but
one.
How the Turkes layd their artillerie about the towne, and of the maner and quantitie of their pieces and gunshot.

The 18. day of Iuly, for the beginning and first day they set vp a mantellet, vnder the which they put three or foure meane pieces, as sacres, wherewith they shot against the posterns of England and Prouence. But the mantellet was soone broken and cast downe, and their pieces destroyed with the shot of the wall, and they that shot them were most part slaine. As this first mantellet was broken, by the great and innumerable people that they had they set all their ordinance on land, and caried it to the places where it should be bent, or nigh thereby.

And the 29. day of the same moneth, they set vp two other mantellets. One beside a church of saint Cosme and Damian, and another toward the West. And from these mantellets they shot great pieces, as Culuerings, double gunnes, and great bombards [Footnote: For particulars of the artillery used from the 14th to the 16th Centuries, see Vol. iii, page 207. note.] agaynst the wals of England and Spaine, to the which mantellets the ordinance of the towne gaue many great strokes, and often brake them. And the more to grieue the towne and to feare vs, they set vp many other mantellets in diuers places, almost round about the towne, and they were reckoned foure score: the which number was well lessened by the great quantitie of strokes of artillerie shot out of the towne from many places.

The artillerie of the Turkes was such as followeth.
First there were sixe great gunnes, cannons perriers of brasse, that shot a stone of three foote and a halfe: also there were 15. pieces of iron that shot stones of fiue or sixe spannes about. Also there were 14. great bombards that shot stones of eleuen spans about. Also there were twelve basiliskes, whereof they shot but with 8. that is to weet, foure shot agaynst the posterns of England and Spaine, and two against the gate of Italy: the other two shot sometime against Saint Nicholas tower. Also there were 15. double gunnes casting bullets as basiliskes. The meane shot, as sacres and pasuolans, were in great number. The handgunshot was innumerable and incredible. Also there were twelve potgunnes of brasse that shot vpward, whereof eight were set behind the church of S. Cosme and Damian, and two at saint lohn de la Fontaine toward the port of Italy, and the other two afore the gate of Auuergne, the which were shot night and day: and there were three sorts of them, whereof the greatest were of sixe or seuen spannes about. And the sayd stones were cast into the towne to make murder of people, which is a thing very inhumane and fearefull, which maner of shooting is little vsed amongst christian men. Howbeit by evident myracle, thanked be God, the sayd pieces did no great harme, and slew not past 24. or 25. persons, and the most part women and children, and they began to shoot with, the said pieces from the 19. day of the same moneth, vnto the end of August, and it was accounted that they shot 2000. times more or lesse.

Then the enemies were warned by the iewe that wrote letters to them of all that was done and sayd in the towne, that the sayd potgunnes did no harme: wherefore they were angry, for they thought that they had slaine the third
part of our people: and they were counselled by him to leaue that shooting,
for it was but time lost, and pouder wasted, and then they shot no more
with them. It is of a trueth that they shot with the sayd potgunnes 12. or
15. times with bullets of brasse or copper, full of wild fire, and when
they were in the ayre, they flamed foorth, and in falling on the ground,
they brake, and the fire came out and did some harme: But at the last wee
knew the malice thereof, and the people was warie from comming neere to
them, and therefore they did hurt no more folke.

How the capitaine Gabriel Martiningo camee to the succor of Rhodes, and all
the slaues were in danger to be slaine.

The 24. day of the same moneth a brigantine arriued that was sent afore
into Candie, wherein came a worthy capitaine named Gabriel Martiningo with
two other captains. And there went to receiue him messieur prou Iohn prior
of S. Giles, and the prior of Nauarre. Then after his honourable receiuing
as to him well apperteined, they brought him before the lord great master
that louingly receiued him, and he was gladly seene and welcommed of the
people, as a man that was named very wise and ingenious in feats of warre.
Then came a Spaniard renegado from the host, that gaue vs warning of all
that was done in the field, and of the approaching by the trenches that our
enemies made.

And in likewise there arose a great noise in the towne, that the slaues
Turks that wrought for vs in the ditches had slaine their keepers, and would
haue fled, which was not so. Neuerthelesse, the rumour was great, and they
rang alarne: wherefore the sayd slaues comming to prison, as it was
ordeined in al the alarmes, were met of the people, which in great anger
put them to death: so that there were slaine an hundred and moe the same
day. And if the lord great master had not commanded, that none should hurt
them, they had bene all slaine, and there were fifene hundredth of them:
which slaues did great seruice in time of the siege: for they laboured
dayly to make our defences, and to cast earth out of the ditches, and in
all works they were necessary at our needs.

How the great Turke arriued in person before Rhodes.

The 25 day of the sayd moneth many of our men went out for to skirmish in
the field and made great murder of Turks, and in likewise did our
artillery. And it is to be noted that the 28 day of the same moneth the
great Turke in person passed le Fisco a hauen in the maine land with a
galley and a fust, and arriued about noone, where his army lay, the which
day may be called unhappie for Rhodes. For his comming, his presence and
continuall abiding in the fielde is and hath beene cause of the victorie
that he hath had. When the gallie that he came in was arriued, all the
other shippes of the hoste hanged banners aloft in their toppes and on
their sayle yerdes.

Soone after that the Turke was arriued, he went to land, and mounted on his
horse, and rode to his pauilion which was in a high place called
Megalandra, foure or fiue miles fro the towne but of the danger of the
gunne shot. And on the morrow, as it was reported to vs, hee came to a
Church nigh the towne called Saint Steuen, for to viewe the Towne and fortresses, whereas they had set vp mantellets for to lay their ordinance.

The last day of Iuly, one of our briganidines went out with a good company of men arrayed as Turkes, and some of them could speake Turkish, and went by night to lande through the Turkes hoste, and demaunded if there were any that would passe ouer into Turkie, that they should haste them to come. The Turkes weening that they had beene of Turkie, there entred a 12. persons, the which were carried to Rhodes, by whom we knew what they did in the campe.

The first day of August the Captaine Gabriel Martiningo was made knight of the order of the religion by the lord great Master, and was made the first auncient of the Italian nation, of the first baliage or priorie that should be vacant. And in the meane season the religion should giue him twelue hundred ducates for pension every yeere, and the same day he was receiued to the Councell in the roome of a baylife.

The fift day of the sayd moneth our master gunner was slaine with a gunne, which was great losse for us at that time.

The 15. day of the sayd moneth was knowen and taken for a traitor, Messire John Baptista, the physicion aforesayd, which confessed his euill and diuelish doings, and had his head striken of.
Of the marueilous mounts that the Turks made afore the towne, and how the capitaines were ordered in the trenches.

After the comming of the great Turke, the enemies began to shoote with ordinance of another sort then they did before, and specially with harquebushes and handguns, and also to make their trenches and approches. And also they did more diligence then afore, to bring the earth nigh the towne with spades and pickaxes. And it is to weet, that they mooued the earth from halfe a mile off, and there were shot out of the towne innumerable strokes with ordinance against the sayd earth, and innumerable quantitie of people hid behind the sayd earth, were slaine. Neuerthelesse they neuer left working till they had brought it to the brimmes of the ditches: and when it was there, they raised it higher and higher in strengthening it behind. And in conclusion the sayd earth was higher then the wals of the towne by 10. or 12. foote, and it seemed a hill. And it was agaynst the gate of Auuergne and Spaine, and beat our men that were at the gates and bulwarks, in such wise, that none durst be seene till certaine defences and repaires were made of plankes and boards to couer our people and keepe them from the shot. And at the gate of Italy was made such another heape, and in none other part.

When the trenches were thus made to the ditches, the enemies made holes in the wals of the ditch outward: wherethorow they shot infinitely with handgunnes at our men aswell on the walles as on the bulwarks, and slew many of them. Then the bashas and captaines entred into the trenches, ech to his place after their order and dignity: that is to wit, Mustafa Basha as chief captaigne entred the trench direct to the bulwarke of England with
his people and captains under him. Pery Bassha went to the trenches against the gate of Italy with his folk and captains under him. Acmek Bassha was in the trenches of Auvergne and Spain with the Aga of the Janizaires and the Beglarby of Romany with him. The Beglarby of Natolia was in the trenches of Provence. Allibey was with his company against the gardins of Saint Anthony on the North side, and divers other captains with him, and set his ordinance against the wall of the gate of Almaine, which was but weake, and set vp seven mantellets by the milles toward the West: and by the space of eight or nine dayes they beat upon the same wall; which put vs in great feare, if they had continued. Howbeit the noble lord great master forthwith caused repairs to be made within, and planks and tables to be set to fortifie the sayde weake wall: and abode there from the morning til night, to cause it to be the more hasted. The artillery of the gate of Almaine, and the Massif of the gate of the campe and of the palais beat so sore and so often upon the sayd mantellets that it wearied the enemies to make and repaire them so often: and they tooke vp the pieces, and bare them away. And also they could not well beat the sayd wall because the brimmes of the ditch without were almost as hie as the wall that they beat. But or they bare the artillery away, they beat the steeple of S. Iohns church so, that the most part was broken and cast downe. The foresayd mantellets were appointed to beat S. Nicholas tower, and by the space of ten or twelue dayes they shot sore against it: but they had so sharpe and vigorous answere, that there was not one mantellet that abode whole an hour. The capitaine of the sayd tower and his folke did such diligence and businesse in shooting off their pieces, that the enemies durst set up no more mantellets by day, nor shoot no more but onely by night, while the Moone did shine, which is a thing worthy of memory, of maruaile, and of praise. At the last when they had beaten against the sayd tower a certaine time,
seeing that it furthered nothing, they tooke their ordinance from thence,
and bare it where they thought best.

During the shot in the sayd place, the other captaines were not idle nor in
a sleepe, but without cease night and day they beat the wall of England and
Spaine, and set foureteene mantellets against it, shooting great bombards,
whereof some of the stones were fiue or sixe spannes about, and some other
of nine or ten: and within a moneth and lesse they cast downe the wall
almost euen smooth with the Barbican. And when the sayd wall was so beaten,
they set to beat the bulwarke of Spaine for to raise the defences: and in
their trenches they set three great bombards, which shot stones of eleuen
spannes in compasse, and with the sayd pieces they beat the sayd bulwarke
and wall in such wise, that they made great bracks, and the stones and
earth that fell, serued the enemies for ladders, so that they might come
upon the plaine ground. In like sort they raised the defences from the
height of the bulwarke at the posterne of Prouence, and set three great
pieces on the brimme of the ditch, which shot stones of eleuen spannes
against the wall, and within a while they made a breach as at the posterne
of Spaine. The artillery of the towne did shoot without cease against the
mantellets, and brake many of them, but they made other as it is said in
the nights. For they had all things that belonged to them, and needed. And
out of the posterne of England was shot a gunne that brake downe one of the
sayde mantellets, and hit upon one of the pieces, and slew foure or fiue
men, and bare away both the legs of the master of the ordinance, which died
soone after: whereof the great Turke was very ill content, and sayd that he
had rather haue lost one of his basshas or captaines then the sayd master.
Also it is to be knowen that there were three or foure mantellets addressed
against the plain ground of Italy, and by continuall beating of shot that
they made, there was also a breach, and by the earth and stones that were
fallen, they might come vp to it.

Of the politike repaires and defences that the ingenious captaine Gabriel
Martiningo, made within the towne against the breaches in the walles.

The captaine Gabriel Martiningo, prompt, diligent, and expert to giue
remedies to the needful places, foorthwith caused to make the trauerses
vpon the wall whereas the breach was, with good repaires, and gunnes small
and great which were set in the sayd trauerses, the which shot not onely at
the breaches but to the trenches, and made great murder of enemies aswell
at the assaults that they made as otherwhiles. And beside the trauerses,
the sayd captaine planted small artillery, as harquebushes, and handgunnes
vpon certaine houses within the towne, that stood open against the breach,
with good repaires: and from that place great slaughter of Turks was made
at the assaults. Also it is of trueth that beside the sayd mantellets that
shot against the wall of England and Spaine with great bombards, were two
mantellets in an hie place toward the way to the gardin of Maunas, in the
which were certaine double gunnes, as basilisks with holow stones and wild
fire in them, which shot against the wall into the towne at all auentures
for to make murder of people: howbeit, thanked be God, they did no great
harme but to the houses.

After these great and terrible beatings, and that the enemies had way to
mount vpon the towne walles, and come to hand with vs by trauersing of
their trenches to the fallen earth within the breach more surely, and
without hurt of our gunshot, shooting, thorow holes that they made in the
walles of the ditch without, they cast vp much stone and earth, because it
should couer them from the shot of the bulwarke of Auuergne. And also they
shot feruently against the bulwarke of Spaine, for to raise the defences,
of the which at the last they raised the most part, reserving only a few
gunners below in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, which little or nothing
damaged them. And this is touching the gunshot, whereof I say not the third
part, because it is a thing incredible to them that have not seene it. For
some dayes they shot with those great bombards that were on the brimme of
the ditch, and from the mantellets bent against the wall of England and
Spaine 20 or 30 times and more. And I beleue verily that since the
creation of the world such artillery, and so great quantity was neuer bent
and layed before any towne as hath bene against Rhodes at this siege.
Wherefore it is no maruell if the walles be and have bene beaten downe, and
if there be breaches and clifts in many places.

Of the mines that the Turks made: and how they ouerthrew part of the
bulwarke of England.

And because as it is sayd before, that the greatest hope that the enemies
had to get the towne of Rhodes, was by mining, therefore now after that I
have spoken of the gunshot and beatings, I shall shew of the mines that the
Turks made, the which were in so great quantity, and in so many places,
that I beleueue the third part of the towne was mined: and it is found by
account made, that there were about 60 mines, howbeit, thanked be God, many
of them came not to effect, by occasion of the countermines that they
within made, and also trenches that the right prudent lord the great master
caus'd to be made deepe within the ditches, vnto two or three foot of
water. The which trenches and certaine pits that he had caus'd in the sayd
ditches to be wrought, or the host arriv'd, serv'd right well since: for
night and day there were men in them to watch and hearken when the enemies
mined, for to meet them and cut their way, as was done many times.

And for to speake of the mines that had effect, and damaged vs, it is to
wit, that the fourth day of September, about foure houres after noone, the
enemies put fire in two mines, one was betweene the posterne of Spaine and
Auuergne, which did no hurt but to the Barbican. The other was at the
bulwarke of England, which was so fell and strong, that it caus'd most part
of the town to shake, and cast down a great part of the sayd bulwarke at
the spring of the day: and by the earth and stones that fell into the
ditches, the enemies came vpon the bulwarke with their banners, and fought
sore and mightily with our men, not with hands, but with shot handgunnes.
The lord great master that was come 15 dayes or more with his succours to
the sayd bulwarke, went with his company to helpe them that fought After
that they had fought the space of two or three houres, the enemies repelled
and driuen backe by our men from the sayd bulwarke, and beaten with
ordinance on euery side, withdrew them with their losse, shame, and damage.
[A thousand and more Turkes slaine before the English bulwarke.] And this
was the first victory that our lord gaue vs, and there abode of our enemies
a thousand and more.

When this assault was done, they, made another at the breach in the wall of
Spaine, and mounted vpon it, but the ordinance of the trauerses of the
walles and of the houses made so faire a riddance, that they were very willing to withdraw themselues: for at the retreat, and also at their comming the sayd ordinance of the bulwarke did them great damage, albeit that they had made some repaire of earth. Of our men died that day 25 or there about, as well knights as other. And the same day in the morning departed out of this world Gabriel de Pomerolles lieutenant to the lord master, which on a certayne day before fell from the wall as he went to see the trenches in the ditches, and hurt his breast, and for fault of good attendance he fell into a feuer, whereof he died.

How the Turks assailed the bulwarke of England, and how they were druien away.

The ninth day of the sayd moneth, at seuen in the morning the enemies put fire in two mines; one at the posterne of Prouence, which had none effect: the other was at the bulwarke of England, which felled another piece nigh to that that was cast downe afore. And the sayd mine, was as fierce as the other, or more, for it seemed that all the bulwarke went downe, and almost all they that were in it ranne away. And when the standard of the religion came into the sayd bulwarke, the enemies were at the breach ready to haue entered: but when they saw the sayd standard, as people lost and ouercome, they went downe againe. Then the artillery of the bulwarke of Quosquino, and of other places, found them well enough, and slew many of them. Howbeit, their captaines made them to returne with great strokes of swordes and other weapons, and to remount vpon the earth fallen from the sayd bulwarke, and pight seuen banners nigh to our repaire. Then our men fought with morispires and fixed speares against them the space of three whole
houres, till at the last they being well beaten with great ordinance and
small on every side withdrew themselves. And of their banners our men gate
one, for it was not possible to get any more: for assoone as any of our men
went vp on our repairs, he was slain with small gunnes of the trenches,
and holes made in the walls of our ditches. [Sidenote: Two thousand Turks
slain at the Englis bulwarke.] And there was slain of our enemies that
day at the assault 2000 of meane men, and three persons of estate, which
lay dead along in the ditch, with faire and rich harnessse. And it was
reported to us from the camp, they were three saniacbeis, that is to say,
great seneshalles or stewards. And of Christian men of our part abode about
thirty persons. And this was the second victory giuen to us by the grace
diuine.

How Sir John Bourgh Turcoplier of England was slain at an assault of the
English bulwarke.

The 17 day of the same moneth, about midday, the enemy came againe to giue
another assault to the sayd bulwarke, at the same place aforesayd, without
setting of fire in mines, and brought five banners with them, nigh to the
repairs. Then was there strong fighting on both parts, and there were
gotten two of their banners, of the which sir Christopher Valdenare, that
time Castelaine of Rhodes, gate one: the other was in the hands of Sir John
Bourgh Turcoplier of England, chiefe captaine of the succours of the sayd
posterne of England, a valiant man and hardy: and in holding of it he was
slain with the stroke of a hand-gunne, which was great damage. The sayd
banner was recouered by one of our men. And after long fighting on both
sides, the enemies seeing that they got nothing but stripes, returned into
their trenches. At the sayd fray the lord prior of S. Giles pre Iohn was
hurt thorow the necke with a handgun, and was in great danger of death, but
he escaped and was made whole. The same day, and the same houre of the sayd
assault, the enemies mounted to the breach in the wall of Spaine, and came
to the repaires to the handes of our men, and fought a great while: but the
great quantity of artillery that was shot so busily and so sharply from our
trauerses on ech side, and out of the bulwarks of Auuergne and Spaine,
skirmished them so well, that there abode as many at that assault as at the
other of England, well neere to the number of 5000. And they withdrew
themselves with their great losse and confusion, which was the third time
that they were chased and overcome; thanked be our Lord, which gaue vs the
force and power so to doe, for they were by estimation a hundred against
one.

Also the 22 day of the same moneth of September they fired a mine betwene
Italy and Prouence, which did no harme.

Of the terrible mine at the posterne of Auuergne.

And the 23 day of the same moneth they fired two mines, one at the posterne
of Spaine, and the other by the bulwarke of Auuergne, the which mine by
Auuergne was so terrible, that it made all the towne to shake, and made the
wall to open from aboue to beneath vnto the plaine ground; howbeit, it fell
not, for the mine had vent or breath in two places, by one of the
countermines, and by a rocke vnder the Barbican, the which did cleaue, and
by that cleft the fury and might of the mine had issue. And if the sayd two
vents had not bene, the wall had bene turned vpside downe. And for truth, as it was reported to vs out of the campe, the enemies had great hope in the sayd mine, thinking that the wall should haue bene ouerthrown, and then they might haue entered into the towne at their pleasures: but when they saw the contrary, they were very ill pleased. And the captaines determined to giue assault at foure places at once, to make vs the more adoo, and to haue an entrance into the towne by one of the foure. And the sayd day and night they ceased not to shoot artillery: and there came in hope of the mine threescore thousand men and moe into the trenches.

How the bulwarke of Spaine was lost, and woone againe.

The 24 day of the same moneth, a little before day, they gaue assault at the breach of Spaine, to the bulwarke of England, to the posterne of Prouence, and at the plaine ground of Italy, all at one houre and one time.
The first that mounted to the breach of Spaine, was the Aga of the lanissaries, a valiant man, and of great courage with his company, and bare three score or three score and tenne banners and signes, and pight them in the earth of the breach, and then fought with our men, and mounted on our repaires, making other maner of fray and more rigorous then the other that were passed, and the sayd skirmish lasted about sixe houres. And forthwith, as the assault was giuen, a great sort of Turks entred into the bulwarke of Spaine, and set vp eight or nine signes or banners vpon it, and droue our men out, I can not tell how, vnwares or otherwise. And they were lords of it three houres and more. Howbeit there were of our men beneath in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, the which bulwarke so lost, gaue vs euill hope. But incontinently the lord great master being at the defence of the posterne of
England, hauing knowledge of the sayd losse, and that there was great fighting and resistance on both sides at the breach of Spaine, marched thither with the banner of the crucifix, leauing the charge of the sayd bulwarke in the hands of the bailife de la Moree messieur Mery Combant. And the lord mounted on the wall of Spaine, whereas then began a great skirmish, and euery man layed his handes to worke, as well to put the enemies out of the breach, as to recouer the bulwarke that was lost. And the sayde lord sent a company of men into the bulwarke by the gate of the mine, or by the Barbican, the which entred at the sayd gate, and went vp, where they found but few Turkes. For the artillery of the posterne of England, right against the bulwarke of Spaine, had so well met and scattered them, that within a while our men had slaine all them that were left. And thus the sayde bulwarke was gotten and recouered againe, and with all diligence were made new repaires and strengths to the sayd place. And in like sort, the enemies were put from the breach, and few of them escaped, and all their banners and signes were left with vs. Surely it may be sayd, that after the grace of God (the trauerses of Spaine and Auuergne, and the small artillery set on the houses right against the sayd breaches, as it is sayd, with the comming and presence of the lord great master) hath giuen vs this dayes victory.

As touching the murder of the people, done by the artillery of the bulwarkes of England and Spaine, the quantity was such that a man could not perceiue nor see any ground of the ditches. And the stench of the mastifs carions was so grieuous, that we might not suffer it seuen or eight dayes after. And at the last, they that might saue themselues did so, and withdrew themselues to the trenches: and the reuerend lord great master
abode victorious of the sayd place, and in like sort of the other three
assaults, the which were but little lesse then that of Spaine, for they
fought long. But in conclusion, the enemies beaten on all sides, and in so
many sorts, with artillery were put backe, and vanquished, that there died
that day at all the foure places fifteene or sixeene thousand. And the
slaughter was so great at the plaue Italy, of the cursed enemies, that the
sea was made redde with their blood. And on our side also died to the
number of an hundred men or more. And of men of dignity in the towne,
hauing charge, died Sir Francis de Fernolz, commander of Romania, which Sir
Francis was chiefe captaine of the great ship of Rhodes, and he was slaine
at the plaue of Italy, wounded with two strokes of harquebushes: it was
great dammage of his death, for he was a worthy man, perfect, and full of
vertues. There died also messieur Nastasy de Sancta Camilla aforenamed,
hauing two hundred men vnder him of the lord great masters succours. There
died also diuers other worthy men that day, and many were maimed. Among all
other that lost any member, messier Iohn de le Touz called Pradines, being
at the sayd bulwarke, with a stroke of artillery had his arme smitten away,
in great danger to haue lost his life; howbeit by the helpe of God he died
not. [Sidenote: Sir Will. Weston captaine of the English posterne hurt.] In
like sort the same day was hurt Sir William Weston abouesayd, captaine of
the posterne of England, and had one of his fingers stricken away with an
harquebush: which knight behaued himselfe right woorthily at all the
assaults.

Of the Turkes part, of great men, were two principall captaines slaine
vnder the Aga of the Ianissaries, and another captaine that was come out of
Surey to the campe certeine dayes before, with sixe hundred Mamelukes, and
two or three thousand Moores. And of them that were hurt of great men the
Beglarby of Natolia had a stroke with an arrow as he was in the trench of
Prouence. And many other were wounded, whose names be not rehearsed here,
because of shortnesse.

How the great Turke for anger that he could not get the towne, would haue
put his chiefe captaine to death, and how they made 11 mines vnder the
bulwarke of England.

During this assault, the great Turke was by his pauillion in a place that
he had caused to be made, and saw all the businesse, and how his people
were so sharply put backe, and the victory lost on his side, and was very
sore displeased, and halfe in despaire: and he sent for Mustafa Basha with
whom he was angry, and chid him bitterly, saying that he had caused him to
come thither, and had made him to beleue that he should take the towne in
fifteene dayes, or a moneth at the furthest and he had beene there already
three moneths with his army, and yet they had done nothing. And after these
wordes he was purposed to put him to death in the campe: but the other
Bashas shewed him that he ought not to do iustice in the land of his
enemies, for it would comfort them and giue them courage. Whereby he did
moderate his anger, and left him for that time, and thought to send him to
Cairo, least the people there would rebell, by occasion of the captain of
Cairo which died a few dayes before. Howbeit he departed not so suddenly,
and or he went he thought to assay it he might do some thing for to please
the Turke, aswell for his honour as to saue his person, and was marueuous
diligent to make mines at the bulwarke of England for to ouerthrow it. And
by account were made 11 mines aswell to the sayd bulwarke as elsewhere,
beside them spoken of before, and that they had fired. But the most part of
the sayd mines came to no proofe though they put fire in them, and many
were met with countermines, and broken by our men by the good diligence and
sollicitude of sir Gabriel Du-chef, steward of the house of the lord great
master, which had the charge of the sayd countermines at the same bulwarke.
In the which businesse he behaued himselfe well and worthily, and spared
not his goods to cause the people to worke and trauell, but spent thereof
largely.

How the Turks were minded to haue gone their way, and of the traitours
within the towne, and of many great assaults.

The Turks seeing that by mining they were nothing furthered, nor might not
come to their intentions, and hauing but small store of gunpowder, were in
deliberation and minde to haue raised the siege, and gone their way. And in
deed some of them bare their carieges toward the shippes: and also certaine
number of people went out of the trenches with their standards straight to
the ships. And it was written vnto vs from the campe how the lanissaries
and other of the host would fight no more: and that they were almost all of
one opinion for to go away, saue some of the captaines of the foresayd
Mustafa Bassha or Acmek Bassha. And in the meane season the false traitours
that were in the towne wrote letters to the campe, giuing them knowledge of
all that was sayd and done among vs. And also an Albanese fled to the
enemies campe, and warned them not to go, for the gunshot was nigh wasted,
and that the most part of the knights and people should be theirs shortly.
In like sort then wrote the abouesayd Chancellor Sir Andrew de Merall, whose treason as then was not knowen: but when it commeth to the effect of his treason, I shall shew the knowledge that he gaue to the enemies at diuers times.

When the bashas and captains of the hoste vnderstood the sayd warnings, they all purposed for to tary, and caused those tidings of the towne to be knownen ouer all the army. And beganne againe to shoot artillery faster then euer they did, for new shot was come into the campe. Then Mustafa Bassha being in despaire that he could do nothing by mines, by gunshot, nor by assaults, he being ready to depart for to goe into Surey by the great Turkes commandement, before his departing hee thought once againe to assay his aduenture, and made three assaults three dayes together. The first was on a Saturday the fourth day of October an houre before night. The other on Sunday in the morning. And the third on Munday after dinner. And the sayd three assaults were made to the bulwarke of England. And it was assailed but with stones and bagges full of artificiall fire. And at these three assaults many of our men were hurt with the sayd fire, and with the stones that came as thicke as raine or haile. But in the end the enemies got nothing but strokes, and returned into their trenches euill contented, and murmuring, and sware by their Mahomet that Mustafa Bassha shoulde not make them to mount any more to the sayd bulwarke. And that it was great folly for them to cause them to be slaine at the will and fantasie of one man. These wordes sayd in Greeke by some of the enemies were heard of our men as they went downe from the bulwarke. And because (as it is sayd) that the enemies at the assaults that were made, came vp by the earth and stones that fell from the breaches, some of our men aduised to clense the
barbican, and take the earth out of the ditch, to the end that the enemies
should not easily come upon the wall. And in effect weening that it were
well and behoefull to be done, by great diligence night and day by mines
they voided the barbican, and the most part of the earth that lay in the
ditch was brought into the towne, the which was hurtfull afterward, and was
cause that the enemies got the foot of the wall. Notwithstanding, they had
it but scarsely. But this cleansing furthered the time, and caused them to
get it sooner then they should haue done if the earth had lien still: but
their finall intent was to raise the defence of the bulwarks, and then
passe at their pleasure, and enter into the barbican, as they haue done:
for the enemies seeing that the barbican was clensed, thought to get into
it by the trenches, and so they did, howbeit they were certaine dayes
letted by our handgun shot The enemies seeing, that they might not come
neere it, couered their trenches with tables to saue themselues: and then
they made a mine whereby they might goe to the barbican. So by these two
means, afterward they were repaired with earth and with a certaine wall
that they made for to eschew the shot of the bulwarks of Auuergne and
Spain: and in the mine they found but two gunners, which they slew by force
of men. By this manor they being couered on all parts and without any
danger, passed thorow and lept into the barbican, and got the foot of the
wall; which was the 17 day of October, an vnhappy day for the poore towne,
and occasion of the ruine thereof, and winning of the same.

At this point they slept not, but lightly and with great delight they began
to picke and hew the wall. And weening to make remedy therefore, and to
finde meanes to driue them from the sayde barbican with engines of fire and
barrels of gunpowder, wee slew many of them, but it auailed nothing: for
the quantitie and multitude of people that trauelled there was so great, 
that they cared not for losse of them. And if we had had men enow within 
the towne, there might haue bene remedy to haue raised them from thence: 
but considering that our force and totall hope was in people, wee left to 
doe many things that might haue beene done, and that should haue bene good 
than and other times also, for fault of men of warre. At the last it was 
pondred by Sir Gabriel Martiningo, that there was no remedy but to hew the 
wall for to meet them; and beat them with ordinance and with engins of fire 
to burne and vndoe them. Then our men began to hew the wall, and made some 
holes to shoot at the enemies that slept not, but did as wee did, and shot 
at vs, and indeed they slew and hurt many of our men. Then Sir Gabriel 
Martiningo ordeined to make repaires within the towne at the front where 
they did cut the wall, to the end that after the walles were cut, the 
enemies should know with whom to meet. The trauerses were made on ech side 
with good artillery great and small: and the sayd trauerses and repaires 
were of the length that the enemies had cut the wall, and beganne at the 
massife of Spaine made by the reuerend lord great master Mery d'Amboise, 
and ended at the church of Saint Saluador. The which trauerses and repaires 
the vulgar people call the Mandra, that is to say, the field.

The meane time that the repaires and trauerses were made with all 
diligence, Sir Gabriel Martiningo neuer ceased going to euery place to 
puruey for all things: and he being on the bulwarke of Spaine to ordeine 
all things that were needfull, there came a stroke of a handgun from the 
trenches that smote out his eye, and put him in danger of his life, but 
thanked be God, he recouered his health within a moneth and a halfe. His 
hurt came ill to passe, for the need that we had of him that time in all
things, and specially to the repaires of the breaches. Neuertheles the lord priour of S. Giles (not ignorant in all such things) with other men expert in warre, attended to the sayd repaires and trauerses, there and elswhere. The enemies on the other side night and day without rest (for the great number of labourers that they had hourely and newly ready) hewed and vndermined the sayd wall.

And the 20 day of October they put fire in the vndermines, weening to haue cast downe the wall, but they could not: then they would haue pulled it downe with great ropes and ancres, but the artillery of the bulwarke of Auuergne brake their ropes, and sent them away lightly.

At the last they made a mine vnder the sayd wall and breach; and the 26 day of the same moneth they did put fire to the same mine, weening to haue ouerthrown the wall, which it did not, but raised it, and made it to fall almost straight vpright, which was more disaduantage to the enemies then profit. Then they shot artillery at it, which in fewe dayes beat it downe, and they had opening and way to come into the Towne. Neuerthelesse it was not necessary for them as then to enter: for the artillery of our repaires beat them in the forepart, and the artillery lying at the two milles at the posterne of Quosquino, and in that of England, whereas was a basiliske that beat right vpon the breach with other pieces: and therefore the enemies sought other meanes, and beganne to raise the earth betweene our two walles, drawing toward the bulwarke of England on the one side, and toward Auuergne on the other side, and would haue cut the wall further then, our trauerses were for to come in vnbeaten of our artillery. Then were the repaires inlarged and made greater with the wall that was cut, of the
height of twelue, and 16 foot in breadth: and so the enemies might not go
further forward, but shot great artillery against our repaires, for to
breake and cast them downe, and also they made trenches for to come right
to the breach, and vnto the repaires: and certeinly we looked day by day,
and houre by houre for to have some assault. The reverend lord great
master, the which, as it is sayd, had left the bulwarke of England the day
that the great assault was made, and since that time he moued not from
thence while they hewed the wall, and where as the breach was, because that
they were most dangerous and most vnquiet places. And continually the sayd
lord kept him behinde the sayd repaires with his knights and men of
succours, intentiuely ready and prepared to liue and die, and to receiue
his enemies as they ought to bee receiued. And he abode three or foure
dayes at the sayd breach, continuing since it was made, vnto the end,
fighting with his enemies euery day in great perill of his body: for
oftentimes hee put himselfe further in the prease then needed for the
danger of his person, but he did it for to hearten and strengthen the
courage of his people, being so well willing to defend and die for the
faith.

How the enemies assailed the posternes of Prouence and Italy, and how they
were driuen away.

By the will of our Lord, the enemies alway in feare and dread, would giue
none assault, but continually shot against our repaires, and made trenches
for to passe forward into the towne: by the which trenches they shot
infinitely with harquebushes and handgunnes, and slew many of our folke,
and specially of them that wrought and made the repaires that were broken
and crased. And they put us in such extremity, that we had almost no more
 slaues nor other labouring people for to repaire that which they brake
 night and day, which was a great hindrance for us, and the beginning of our
 perdition. And if we had much to doe in that place, there was not lesse at
 the gate of Prouence, and at the plaine of Italy: for dayly they were doing
 either with assault or skirmish, and most at the plaine of Italy. Howbeit
 by the helpe of our Lorde with the good conducting of the capaine of
 succours of the same place, the priour of Nauarre, that was prompt and
 intentiue, and could well incourage his men, the enemies had alway the
 woorst, and were driuen from the sayde plaine, and from the breach of
 Prouence.

 How the treason of Sir Andrew de Merall was knowen, and of the maraellous
 assaults that the Turks made.

 Vpon these termes and assaults, the treason of the chancellour Sir Andrew
de Merall, of whom I spake before, was perceiued: for a seruaunt of his,
 named Blasie, was found shooting a quarrell of a crossebow with a letter,
 whereof he was accused to the lord great master, which commanded to take
 him and examine him by iustice, and he confessed the shot of that letter
 and of other before, at the commandement of his master: and sayd that he
 had great acquainstance with the Turks bashas, and that it was not long
 since he had written a letter, to them, warning them that they should not
 go, for gunshot began to faile, and the men were wasted by slaying and
 hurting at the assaults in great quantity: and if they abode still and gaue
 no more assaults, at the last the towne should be theirs. And diuers other
 things the seruant sayd of his master, of the which I haue spoken part
before at the beginning, and of the warning that he gaue to the great Turke for to come.

But to returne to the plaine of Italy. After many battels and assaults done in the said place, by continuall shot of seuenteene great gunnes that beat the sayde plaine, the repaires and trauerses were almost broken and lost. And by trenches the enemies were come ioining to the breach, and neuer ceased to grate the earth and scrape the earth to cause the repaires and trauerses to fall: and at the last the most part fell downe, and our men were constrained to leaue the sayd plaine, saue a camell that was toward the sea, as it were the third part thereof. Certaine dayes afore the enemies, came to the foot of the plaine, and did cut it and rased the earth, and at the last they passed thorow vnto the towne wall: and anon began to hew and cut as they did at that of Spaine. The lord great master seeing that, anon cast down a part of the church of our Lady de la Victoria, and of an other church of S. Panthalion. And within they began to make the repaires and trauerses as at the place of Spaine, whereto was made extreme diligence, but not such as the lord would, and as was needfull, because there were no labourers for to helpe. After that the enemies had woon the most part of the bulwarke of England and the plaine of Italy, they purposed to make assault to the sayde plaine, and to the breach of Spaine, and to enter into our repaires to winne them for to make an end of vs. And for euer to affeeble the repaires and for to abash vs, the 28 day of Nouember all along the day and night they ceased not to shoot great artillery both from the brimmes of the ditches with those great pieces, casting stones of nine and eleuen foot about, and from the mantellets without. And as it was reckoned, they shot the same day and night 150 times
or more against our repaires and trauerses of the wall.

And in the morning the 29 day of the same moneth, the vigill of S. Andrew
at the spring of the day, the enemies went thorow the breach with their
banners, and entred into the repaires with greater number of people then
they did at the great battell in September, hardly and furiously for to
fight with vs. But at their comming in, the artillery of the trauerses, and
the handguns, and the gunshot of the milles found them so well and so
sharply, that he that came in, was anon dispatched and ouerthrown, and
there abode above 2000 of the Turks slaine. The other that came after
seeing their fellowes so euill welcomed, as people that were astonied and
lost, they turned againe to their trenches: at whome the artillery of the
milles shot victoriously, and hasted them to go apace: and by report from
the campe there died sixe thousand or mo that day: the which day might be
called very happy, and well fortunate for vs, thanked be God, for there was
none that thought to escape that day, but to haue died all, and lost the
towne: howbeit, the pleasure of our Lord was by euident miracle to haue it
otherwise, and the enemies were chased and ouercome. And it is to be noted
that the same day the raine was so great and so strong, that it made the
earth to sincke a great deal that they had cast into the ditches, for to
couer them from the shot of Auuergne. And the sayd earth being so suncken,
the artillery of the sayde bulwarke (vnwares to them) smote them going and
comming, and made great murder of the sayd dogges. The sayd day also the
enemies came to the plaine of Italy for to assault it; but when they
vnderstood that their fellowes had bene put backe so rudely, and with so
great slaughter, they were afrayd, and so they returned againe to their
trenches.
How the Turks got the plaine ground of Spaine.

And that done, Acmek Basha seeing their businesse every day goe from woorse to woorse, and that at the assaults were but losse of people, without doing of any good, and that there was no man that willingly would go to it any more, he intended to giue no more assaults but to follow his trenches, and by them enter couerly without losse of a man from the breach to the other end of the towne. Semblably he intended for to winne the plaine earth beside Spaine: the which to get, he came at pleasure to the foot of the wall, and began to beat downe the plaine ground, and to giue many skirmishes and conflicts to our folke that kept it. And there were slaine many good men. And at the last, for default of more helpe and of gunshot, it was left and giuen vp of our men, and so lost. That done, the enemies came thither as in other places. And this is the third place where they came nere to the foot of the wall. And whoso wel considereth in what estate the poore towne was at that time, seeing their enemies haue so great aduantage, might well say, and iudge, that at length it should be taken, and a lost towne.

How a Genouois came to the gate of the towne for to speake for a treaty and deliuerance of the same.

A Few dayes after the saide iourney a Christian man that was in the campe, the which by his speech was a Genouois or Siotis, came to the gate of Auuergne, and demanded to parle, and after that he was demanded what he
would have, he said that he had marvel of us why we would not yield our
selves, seeing the pitious estate the town was in: and he as a Christian
man counselled us to yield our selves with some agreement; and that if we
would looke there to, that some should be found expedient to do somewhat for
our safeguard. And it is very like that he said not such words, nor spake
so farforth in the matter, without commission from some of the chiefe of
the campe, or of the great Turk himselfe. To the which Siotis was
answered, that he should go away with an euill hap, and that it needed not
to speake of appointment: and that though the enemies had great aduantage,
there was yet enough wherewith to receive and feast them, if they made any
assault. These words heard, he went away: and two days after he came again,
and demanded to speak with a marchant Genouois of the town named Mathew de
Vra, and he was answered that he which he demanded was sicke, and might not
come, but that he should deliuer the letter, and it should be giuen to him.
The sayd Siotis sayd nay, and that he would giue it himselfe, and speake
with him: and sayd that he had also a letter of the Grand signior, for the
lord master. Vpon this he was bidden to go his way: and to set him packing,
they shot after him a piece of artillery. The next day after Ballantis
Albanese that was fled thorow the breach of Spaine to the campe, came from
the sayd Genouois proposing such words, or like as the other had sayd,
saying likewise that the Grand signior had sent a letter to the lord
master. To whom no words were spoken nor answere made, for the lord great
master as wise and prudent considering that a town that will heare
intreatings is halfe lost, defended vpon the paine of death sith that
Siotis had spoken these two times, that none should be so hardy to speak
nor answere them of the campe, without his knowledge and commandement: but
seeing they were such ambassadors, they reported the words of the sayd
Albanese, or euer the sayd lord had knowledge of the words of the Siotis.
The which words spread thorow the towne put many folke in thought, and
would haue vndone that that the Siotis said the which is no maruell whereas
is much people, for with good will and most often they regard sooner to
saue the liues of them and their children, then they doe to the honour of
the residue. Howbeit not one durst speake a word openly of that businesse,
but all secretly: and some came and spake to certaine lords of the great
crosse for to speake to the lord great master. And in effect some lords
spake thereof to him, persuading him that it should be good to thinke
thereon, seeing that the towne went to losse. To whom the sayd lord shewed
many things for his honour and the Religion: and that no such things ought
to be done or thought for any thing in the world, but rather he and they to
die. The lords hearing this answere, went their wayes and then returned
againe to the sayd lord, aduising him more to thinke well, on all things,
and to the saluation of his towne and of his religion. And they said
moreouer, that they doubted that the people would rather haue a peace then
to die themselues, their wiues and children. The lord seeing that such
words were as things inforced, as who should say, if thou do it not, we
shall do it as wise men and prudent, willing to make remedies of needfull
things by counsell, called the lords of his Councell for to haue advise in
these doings, and other. And when they were assembled, the lord proposed
the words that were to him denounced, and sayd: With these terms and wordes
came two or three marchants and citizens of the towne that knocked at the
doore of the Councell, and presented a supplication to the great master,
and lords of the Council, whereby they required and besought meekely the
sayd reuereond lord to haue respect to them and their poore housholds, and
to make some appointment with the great Turke, seeing that the sayd matter
was already forward in purpose, that he would do it; and that it would
please him to consider the pitious and sorrowful estate that the towne was
in; and that there was no remedy to save it: and at the lest way, if the
lord would not make appointment, to give them leave (of his goodnesse) to
have their wives and their children out of the Rodes to save them, for they
would not have them slain nor made slaves to the enemies. And the
conclusion was, that if the said lord would not pursue therefore, they
would pursue for it themselves. And there was written in the said request
the names of eight or ten of the richest of the town. Which words of the
said supplication being heard, the said lord and his council were abashed
and ill content as reason would, seeing that it was but a course game, and
thought on many things to make answer to the said citizens, for to content
and appease them: and also to see if they should intend to the appointment,
as they required, and after as the Genouoy had reported: and the better to
make the said answer, and to know more plainly in what estate the town
was in all things: that is to wit, first of gunpowder, and then of men of
war, and of the batteries. Also were demanded and asked the lord S. Giles
pre John, which had the charge of the gunpowder, and then the captain Sir
Gabriel Martiningo, for being ouer their men of warre (as it is said) as to
him that knew the truth; if the town might holde or not, or there were any
means to save it. The said lord of S. Giles arose, saying and affirming
upon his honour and his conscience that almost all the slaves and labourers
were dead and hurt, and that scantily there were folk enow to remove a
piece of artillery from one place to another, and that it was vnpossible
without folk any more to make or set vp the repairs which every day
were broken and crushed by the great, furious, and continuall shot of the
enemies artillery. As for gunpowder the said lord sayd, that all that was
for store in the town, was spent long agoe, and that which was newly
brought, was not to serve and furnish two assaults. And he seeing the great
advantage of the enemies being so farre within the town, without powder to
put or chase them away, for default of men, was of opinion that the towne
would be lost, and that there was no meanes to saue it. The words of the
sayd lord finished, the captaine Gabriel Martiningo for his discharge sayd
and declared to the reuerend lord and them of the Councell, that seeing and
considering the great beatings of the shot that the towne had suffered, and
after seeing the entring which the enemies had so large, and that they were
within the towne by their trenches both endlong and ouerthwart; seeing also
that in two other places they were at the foot of the wall, and that the
most part of our knights and men of warre and other were slaine and hurt,
and the gunpowder wasted, and that it was vnpossible for them to resist
their enemies any more, that without doubt the towne was lost if there came
no succors for to helpe and resist the siege. The which opinions and
reasons of these two woorthy men and expert in such feats, vnderstood and
pondered by the lord great master and the lords of the Councell, they were
most part aduised for to accept and take treaty if it were offered, for the
saueguard of the common people, and of the holy reliques of the church, as
part of the holy crosse, the holy throne, the hand of S. Iohn, and part of
his head, and diuers other reliques. Howbeit the lord great master to whom
the businesse belonged very neere, and that tooke it most heauily, and was
more sorrowfull then any of the other, as reason required, was alway
stedfast in his first purpose, rather willing to die then to consent to
such a thing, and sayd againe to the lordes of the Councell: Aduise you,
and thinke well on euery thing, and of the end that may happen, and he
proposed to them two points: that is to wit, whether it is better for vs to
die all, or to saue the people and the holy reliques. The which two points
and doubts were long time disputed, and there were diuers opinions:
neuerthelesse, at the last they sayd all, that howbeit that it were well
and safely done to die for the faith, and most honor for vs,
notwithstanding seeing and considering that there is no remedy to resist
against our enemies, and means to save the town: and on the other part,
that the great Turk would not oppress us to forsake our faith, but only
would have the town, it were much better then, and tending to greater
wealth to save all the jewels above-said, that should be defiled and lost
if they came in the hands of the enemies of the faith. And also to keep
so much small people, as women and children, that they would torment and
cut some in pieces, other take, and perforce cause them to forsake their
faith, with innumerable violences, and shameful sins that should be
committed and done, if the towns were put to the sword, as was done at
Modon, and lately at Belgrade. Whereby they did conclude, that it were
better, and more agreeable to God, for to take the treaty, if it were
proffered, then for to die as people desperate, and without hope.

How the great Turk sent two of his men to the town, to have it by
intreating. And how the lord great master sent two knights to him, to
know his assurance.

Upon these consultations and words almighty God that saueth them which
trust in him, and that would not that so many evils and cruelties should
come to the poor city and inhabitants of it, and also that the great Turk
might not arise in ouer great pride and vaineglorie, put him in minde to
seek to have the said town by treaty, which he ought not to have done for
his honour, nor by reason, for the town was in a manner his. And in like
sort he ought not to have let us go as he did, seeing that we were his
mortall enemies euer, and shall be still in the time comming, considering
the great slaughter of his people that we have made in this siege. Howbeit,
the eternall goodnesse hath blinded him, and hath pleased that these things should be thus, for some cause vnknowen of vs. And for conclusion, the great Turke sent to haue a communication and parle in following the words of the Genouese aforesayd. Then was a signe set vpon the churche of the abbey without the towne, to the which was made answere with another at the milles of Quosquino. And forthwith came two Turks to speake with them of the towne. Then the lord great master sent the Priour of S. Giles pre Iohn, and the captaine Gabriel Martiningo to know the cause of their comming. And when they came to them, without holding of long speech, the two Turkes deliuered them a letter for to beare to the lord great master from the great Turke, and then returned safely into their tents. When the two lords had receiued it, they bare and presented it to the reuerend lord great master, which caused it to be read. By the which the great Turke demanded of the lord great master to yeeld the towne to him, and in so doing he was content to let him go and all his knights, and all the other people of what condition soeuer they were, with all their goods and ieweles safe without feare of any harme or displeasure of his folks. And also he swore and promised on his faith so to do. The sayd letter was sealed with his signet that he vseth, that is as it were gilded. And he sayde afterward, that if the lord great master would not accept the sayde treaty, that none of the city, of what estate soeuer he were, should thinke to escape, but that they all vnto the cats, should passe by the edge of the sword, and that they should send him an answere forthwith, either yea or nay. After the sight of the contents of the sayd letter of so great weight, and the time so short for to giue so great an answere, and with demand, the sayd lord great master and all the lords of the Councell were in great thought, howbeit they determined to giue an answere, seeing the estate of the towne so ill that it could be no woorse. Hearing the report and opinions a day or two
before of the two lords ordained to view the defects of the town, saying that the town was lost without remedy: considering also that the principalles of the town would have appointment. And in likewise, at the other counsell all the lords had already willed and declared, that it were better to saue the town for respect of the poore people, then to put it all whole to the furie of the enemies, whereupon they agreed and concluded for to take the foresayd treatie. After the conclusion taken, answere was made readily for a good respect: that is to weet, to take the Turke at his worde, to the ende that he should not repent him of it, nor change his opinion. For every houre his people wanne and entered further and further into the town. And for to goe unto the great Turke were ordeined these two knights, Sir Passin afore named, and he bare the token of the White crosse: and another of the town named Robert de Perruse iudge Ordinarie.

When these two ambassadours had made them readie, they went out at the gate of Quosquino, and went to the tent of Acmek basha, capitaine generall. And because it was late, and that they might not goe that day to the great Turke, on the next day in the morning the foresaid captaine Acmek led and conueied our sayd ambassadours to the great Turkes pauillion, that they might haue the more knowledge plainely, and for to heare his will as touching the wordes which were reported to the reverend lord great master, and after, the contents of his letter and writings.

When the sayd two ambassadours were departed out of the town, there did enter two men of authoritie of the campe; one was nephew or kinsman of the sayd Acmek, the other was the great Turkes truchman, which the lord master caused to be well receiued, and they were lodged nigh the sayd gate of
Quosquino. And then truce was taken for 3. dayes, and the enemies came to our repaires, and spake with our folke and dranke one with another.

How the ambassadours of Rhodes spake with the great Turke, and what answere they had.

When our ambassadours had made reuercence to the great Turke, they sayd that the lord great master of Rhodes had sent them to his Imperiall maiestie to know what he requested and desired that they might talke together, and how the great master had receiued his letter. The great Turke answered them by his truchman, that of demanding to speake together, nor writing of letter to the great master he knew nothing. Howbeit, sith the great master had sent to him for to know his will, he bade say to them that the great master should yeeld him the towne. And in so doing he promised by his faith for to let him goe with all his knights, and all other that would goe with their goods, without receiuing any displeasure of his people of the campe. And if he accepted not the sayd treatie, to certifie him that he would neuer depart from Rhodes till he had taken it, and that all his might of Turkie should die there, rather then hee would faile of it, and that there should neither great nor litle escape, but vnto the cats they should be all cut in pieces, and sayd that within 3. dayes they should giue him an answere, for hee would not that his people should loose time, and that during the sayd truce they should make no repaires nor defences within the towne.

When the great Turke had ended his wordes, our ambassadours tooke their leaue of him, and returned to the towne, and there was giuen to each of
them a rich garment of branched veluet, with cloth of gold of the Turkish fashion. Then Acmek basha tooke sir Passin, and led him to his pauillion, and intreating him right well, caused him to abide all that day and night: and in eating and drinking they had many discourses of things done at the siege, questioning each with other. And among all other things our ambassadour demaunded of Acmek, and prayed him to tell for trueth how many men died of the campe while the siege was laied. [Sidenote: 64000. Turks slaine at the siege of Rhodes] The said Basha swore vpon his faithand certified, that there were dead of the campe of violent death, that is to say, of gunshot and other wayes, 64000. men or more, beside them that died of sicknesse, which were about 40. or 50. thousand.

How one of the ambassadours made answere of his message, and how the Commons would not agree to yeeld the towne.

Retorne we now to our purpose and to the answere that our ambassadours brought to the lord great master. The sayd Robert Perruse made the answere, and told what the great Turke had sayd, certifying that he would haue an answere quickly yea or nay. The which answere after the demaund of the great Turke hath bene purposed and concluded by the whole counsel, and his offer and treatie accepted, howbeit the sayd ambassadours had it not to do so soone nor the first time that they went for good reasons, but yet they would not deferre it, for feare lest he should repent him. And vpon these determinations that they would haue sent the sayd Peruse to beare the answere, came some of the common people of the towne to the lord great master, that was with the lordes of the counsell, and sayd that they were advertised of the appointment that he had made with the great Turke, and
that he would yeeld the towne with couenaunts by him taken, which, they
supposed ought not to be done without calling of them. And because they
were not called to it, they sayd that they would not agree thereto, and
that it were better for them to die, for the great Turke by some way would
put them all to death, as was done in Bellegrado in Hungarie.

How the lord great master sent two ambassadors for the Commons to the great
Turke.

When the reuerend lord great master had heard their wordes, he sayd
graciously to them, that as touching the acceptation of the great Turks
offer, it was needful so to do in the degree that the towne was, and the
causes wherefore he bad done it the counsell had seene and discussed, and
that it was a thing that might not, nor ought not to be sayd nor published
in common, for reporting of it to the enemies by traitours, but be kept
still and secret. And moreouer, that it was concluded to make an answere
shortly, for to take the great Turke at his word, lest he repented, him.
For if they had bene called, or the answere had bene giuen, it had bene
ouerlong businesse, and in the meane time the Turke might haue changed his
mind, and that that he had done and concluded with the great Turke, the
lordes of the counsell had well regarded and considered in all things, and
for their profite and aduantage, as much or more as for that of the
Religion. And that they would send to the great Turke againe other
ambassadours, the better to know his will, and to be surer of his promise.
Then the lord great master ordained two other ambassadours for to goe to
the great Turke, which were two Spaniardes, the one named sir Raimon
Market, and the other messire Lopez at whose issuing entered Sir Passin the
first ambassadour, and the other two went to the tent; of Acmek basha, for to leade them to the great Turke. And when they were within the Turkes pauillion, and had done him reuerence as appertained, our ambassadours sayd that the great master had heard and seen his demaund to yeeld the towne. And for that it is a thing of great weight, and that he had to doe and say with many men of diuers nations, and because the time of answere was so short, hee might not doe that that hee demaunded so soone. Howbeit hee would speake with his people, and then hee would giue him no answere.

How the Turke began the assault, and how the Commons agreed to yeeld the towne.

When the great Turke heard the answere of our ambassadours, he sayd nothing, but commaunded his Bashas that they should begin the battell againe to the towne, the which was done, and then the truce was broken, and the shot of the enemies was sharper then it was afore. And on the other side nothing, or very litle for fault of pouder: for that that there was left, was kept for some great assault or neede. Howbeit the sayd Acmek Basha kept one of the ambassadours, and messire Lopez onely entered. The great master seeing the warre begun, and the shot thicker then it was afore, and the enemies entred hourely by their trenches further into the towne, called them that before had sayde to him, that they would not the towne should be yeelded, but had rather for to die. And therefore the sayd lord sayd that he was content for to die with them, and that they should dispose them to defend themselues well, or to doe their endeuour better then they had done in times past. And to the ende that each one of them should haue knowledge of his will (for as then be spake but to foure or
five of them that gainesayd him) he made a cry through all the towne, that all they that were holden to be at the posternes or gates should giue attendance, and not to come away day nor night on payne of death: for afore, the Rhodians came but little there. And that the other that were not of the posternes, or that were of his succours, should goe to the breach of Spaine where the sayd lord was continually, and not to goe away day nor night on the aboue sayd payne. The sayd cry made, each one were obedient for a day or twaine, howbeit a yoong Rhodian left his posterne and went to his house, which on the next day was hanged for breaking of the lorde commaundement. Notwithstanding that, by litle and litle the people annoyed them, and their heartes failed; and left the posternes and breaches: in such wise, that the enemies might come in without finding great resistauence, but of a fewe that the lord master caused to abide there (that is to weet) knightes of his succours. And in the night he sought out more people for to keep the watch at the said breach, and paiied to them as much as they would. The sayd lord seeing himself thus abandoned and left of his people, he sent to aske them againe wherefore they did not their endeuour, and why they came not to day, as they sayd before. Which made answere that they sawe and knew well that the towne was lost for certayne reasons that were told them: by occasion whereof they had gainesaid the ordinance of the sayd lord, and sayd that they had bene wrong enformed of diuers things: and on the other side, that they feared that the Turke would not hold his word. But sithens they sawe that there was none other remedie but to abide the aduenture and fortune, they sayd that they put all to the sayd lord to doe what he thought good, and that hee would see what were best for them. And required the lord, to doe them so much fauour as to let them choose one or two among them for to goe to the great Turke with his ambassadours for to haue suretie of him. The which was granted, and two ordinarie ambassadours
were chosen for them; one Nicholas Vergotie, and the other Piero of saint Cretice, and the foresayd Passin should returne with them for to make the sayd answere. Then the great master or they departed (prolonging the time as much as he might) aduised to send a letter to the great Turke, the which his grandfather had written or caused to be written. In the which letter he gaue his malediction or curse to his children and successours, if they enterprised to besiege Rhodes. The sayd Robert Perruse bare the sayd letter, and as he was accustomed, he went to Acmek Basha for to cause him to haue audience, and to present the sayd letter. And the Basha sayd hee would see the letter: for it is the guise in the great Turkes court, that none may speake to him nor giue him a letter, but he be aduertised first what shall be said, or what shall be written. When the Basha had seene the wordes written in the said letter, he brake it and cast it on the ground, and did tread vpon it, saying many iniurious and villanous wordes to the sayd iudge. And bade him returne apace to his great master, and bid him to thinke on his businesses and to make answere to the great lord (as he had sent and commaunded) or els, it should not be long or he sawe his dolorous and wofull ende. And that same day were taken two men of ours that bare earth toward the bulwarke of England. Of whom the sayd Acmek caused an officer to cut off their noses, fingers, and eares, and gaue them a letter to beare to the lord great master, wherein were great wordes and threatnings. After the sayd Perruse was returned, messire Passin was sent againe to the sayde Basha, for to know of him if the great Turke would be content with any summe of money for his costes and expenses, that he had made for his armie. The which answered that such wordes or offers of siluer were not to bee sayd nor presented to the great lord on paine of life, and that hee set more by honour then by siluer. And therefore hee bade him returne and say to the great master that hee should make answere to the
great lord after his demand, to yield or not to yield the town. The sayd 
Passin made relation of the wordes of the Basha to the great master: the 
which for the great sorrow that hee had deterred alwayes, saw himselfe in 
such pitious estate. Notwithstanding, the sayd lord putting all to the will 
of our lord, and considering that there was no remedie to do otherwise, nor 
to resist any more his enemies: and being constrained on all sides to make 
the appointment, with great heauinesse, inestimable dolours and bewailings, 
at the last gae his voyce to yeeld the town (with the treatise or offers 
to him presented) which was the 20. day of December, the yeere of our lord 
a thousand five hundreth and two and twentie.

An answere to such as will make question for the deliverance of the citie 
of Rhodes.

And if by any it were demaunded wherefore the sayde lord great master hath 
yeelded the towne to the great Turke, requesting it with treatie and 
couenaunts, which was a signe that he feared and would no more fight, but 
goe his way. To this I answere: Notwithstanding that the great Turke was 
aduertised by some traitours, and by other that fled into the campe, that 
the powder almost failed, and that there were but fewe men of warre within 
the towne, yet he beleued not, nor gaue credence of all that was reported 
to him, but thought verily that wee had ynough for a great while, and 
considered that hee must tary till they were wasted and spent, whereto 
behoued time. And seeing all his estate entered into strange places, and 
into the lands of his enemies, and had bene there already sixe moneths, 
(and not without great danger of his owne person) thinking on the other 
side, that taking the towne by assault, he should lose many of his folke;
and yet when hee had overcame and wonne the towne, they should fall each
upon other in departing of the bootie or pillage, doubting finally the
hazard of warre. For these reasons and other that may be alleaged, the
great Turke had much rather to have the towne by composition and treaty
then otherwise. And it suffised him to drive his olde enemies out of the
countreys of Leuant, and set the subjectes of his countreys in rest and
suretie. And we of the towne that knew our weaknesses, and that we might do
no more, it seemed better to save so much small people, then we and they to
fall into the furie of our enemies, for otherwise could we not have done,
but tempt God, and died as in despare.

How the citie of Rhodes was yeelded to the great Turke, and of the euill
behaviour of certaine Turkes.

But to returne to our principall: After that the reverend great master had
given his voyce to the yeelding of the towne, he sent the said Passin
againe for to beare it to the great Turke. And with him went the two men
that were chosen of the Commons, and they went all three together to the
tent of Acmek Basha. To whom the sayd Passin first made this pitious
answre and conclusion to yeeld the towne. Notwithstanding, he sayd the
people had ordained two men among them for to goe to the great Turke, to
speake of their particular doings, and to haue some suretie of their
persons, wiues, and children, to the ende that it were not done to them, as
to those of Bellegrado. The sayd Acmek led the three ambassadours toward
the great Turke. And when they were entered into the pauilion, the sayde
messire Passin made the report of his ambassade to the sayd lord, and sayd
that the great master yeelded him the towne vnder the promise made by his
Imperiall maiestie, with the treatie promised. Of the which promise bee
held him sure and certaine, and that hee would doe no lesse: howbeit, the
people had required him to giue them licence to go to his maiestie for to
aske some request of him. Then the two citizens besought the great Turke
that he would for suretie remoue his campe from the towne, to the ende
that they should haue no maner of harme to their bodies nor goods, and that
they that would goe, should goe, and that they that would abide still,
might be well entreated. The great Turke answered by his interpreter to
messire Passin, that hee accepted the towne, and promised agayne vpon his
faith, and on his honour to the lord great master, that he would performe
that he had promised, and sent to him by the same Passin that he should not
doubt of the contrary: and if he had not ships ynough for to carie his
people and their goods, that hee would let them haue of his, and that he
would deliuer the artillerie that was woont to be in the ships of the
Religion. And as touching the request of the people, he sayd that he would
remooue the campe, and that they that would abide, might abide, and they
should bee well entreated, and should pay no tribute in fiue yeeres, and
their children should not bee touched, and who so would goe within the sayd
space of fiue yeeres, they should goe in good time. These worries ended,
our ambassadours tooke leaue of him, and when they were departed, they
spake againe with the saide Acmed Basba for to haue a letter of the
contents of the promise of the sayd lord. And by his commandement the sayd
letter was made, whereby he promised to let go the great master with all
his knights, strangers and men of the towne that would go with their goods,
without hauing displeasure of any of his people of the campe, or by the
wayes. When the letter was made, it was deliuered to messire Passin. And as
touching withdrawing of the campe, the sayd Basha promised againe that he
would do it, since the great lord would so: howbeit he remooved but from
the trenches, and some of his people went a little way off. And the sayd Basha demanded in the Turkes behalfe, that they should send to him in hostage foure and twenty knights, whereof two should bee of the great Crosse, and two and twenty citizens. And the sayd lord should send onely a capitaine with three or foure hundred Ianissaries, for to keepe the towne when the campe were withdrawen. And so it was done; and beside this he gaue twelue dayes respite to the lord great master, to prepare him and depart out of Rhodes. And in conclusion all this done, our ambassadours returned and made the report to the reverend great master of all that they had done and practised with the great Turke, and the sayd Basha, and gaue him the letter for to goe surely. Then the great master with his counsell ordained the foure and twenty persons, and other of the towne. When they were readie, they went to the campe, where they were well intreated foure dayes. During this time, Ferra Basha passed from the maine land to the campe, with foure and twenty or fiue and twentie thousand Ianissaries, which by the commaundement of the great Turke was gone vpon the borders of the countreis of the Sophie. For the Turke seeing the people of the campe discouraged and willing no more to goe to the assaults, sent to the sayde Basha to come to Rhodes with his people, which would haue withstood vs sore as fresh men. And it was the worke of God and a wonderfull myracle, that they came after that the appointment was made: for if they had come afore, it is to be supposed that the deed had gone otherwise, and there had bene many strokes giuen: but I beleue that the ende should haue bene pitious for vs, but God would not that the Turke should haue victory vpon vs as hee might haue had, seeing the great aduantage that he had in all things, but he blinded him and would not that he should know his might. And on the other part it may be sayd and marueiled how it was possible alway to haue overcome our enemies in all assaults and skirmishes, and at the end to loose the towne,
it was the will of God that so hath pleased for some cause to vs vnknowen.

It is to bee thought, that lacke of men and gunshot, and the enemies so farre within the towne, and ready to enter at other places with the treasons haue caused the towne to be lost. Two or three dayes after the comming of the sayd Basha, his Ianissaries and other of the campe entred into the Towne, which was on Christmas day, within the time giuen to vs, and then the Turkes word was broken, if it were his will or not, I cannot tell. Neuerthelesse there was no sword drawen, and in that respect promise was kept. But they made pillage, and entered by force into the houses of the castle, and tooke all that they might and would. After that they had ransacked the houses, they entered into the churches, and pilled all that they found, and brake the images. And there was no crucifix, nor figure of our lady, nor of other saints, that were left whole. Then with great inhumanitie they went into the hospitall of poore and sicke folke, called the Fermorie, and tooke all the siluer vessell that the sicke folke were serued with, and raised them out of their beds, and droue them away, some with great strokes and staues, and some were cast down from the galleries. When these hounds had done that acte, they went to the church of saint lohn and tooke downe the tombes of the great masters, and sought if there were any treasure hid in them, and they forced certaine women and maidens. And all they that were christened and had bene Turkes afore, were they men, women or children, and children, that the sayd men had made christians, they led into Turkie, which thing is of greater importance then any of the other. The morrow after Christmas day, the reuerend lord great master went to the great Turkes pauillion for to visite him, and to be better assured of his promise, the which lord he made to be wel and graciously receiued. And he signified vnto him by his interpreter, that the case so happened to him was a thing vsuall and common: as to loose townes and lordships, and
that hee should not take ouermuch thought for it: and as for his promise, he bade that he should not doubt in any thing, and that he should not feare any displeasure to his person, and that he should goe with his people without feare. With these wordes the sayd lord thanked him, and tooke his leaue and departed.

FINIS.

Lenuoy of the Translator.

Go little booke, and woefull Tragedie,
Of the Rhodian feareful oppugnation,
To all estates complaining ruthfully
Of thine estate, and sudden transmutation:
Excusing me if in thy translation
Ought be amisse in language or in werke,
I me submit with their supportation,
To be correct, that am so small a clerke.

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An ambassage from Don Ferdinando, brother to the emperor Charles 5. vnto king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527 desiring his aide against Solyman the great Turke. Holinshed. pag. 894.
On the 14. day of March, 1527. were conueied from London to Greenwich by
the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salamanca, earle of
Ottonburge, John Burgraue of Sayluerberge, and John Faber a famous clerke,
after bishop of Vien, as ambassadours from Don Ferdinando, brother to
Charles the emperor, newly elected king of Hungarie and Beame, after the
death of his brother in law king Lewes, which was slaine by Solyman the
Turke the last Sommer. This company was welcommed of the high officers, and
after brought into the kings presence, all the nobilitie being present; and
there after great reverence made, M. Faber made a notable oration, taking
his ground out of the Gospell, Exijt seminator seminare semen suum: and of
that hee declared how Christ and his disciples went foorth to sowe, and how
their seed was good that fel into the good ground, and brought foorth good
fruite, which was the Christian faith. And then he declared how contrary to
that sowing, Mahomet had sown seed, which brought foorth euill fruit. He
also shewed from the beginning, bow the Turkes haue increased in power,
what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued euen to that
day. He declared further what actes the great Turke then liuing had done;
and in especiall, he noted the getting of Belgrade and of the Rhodes, and
the slaying of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he sayd) of
all the kings christened. Hee set foorth also what power the Turke had,
what diversities of companies, what captaines he had, so that he thought,
that without a marueilous great number of people, he could not be
ouerthrown. Wherefore he most humbly besought the king as S. Georges
knight, and defender of the faith, to assist the king his master in that
godly warre and vertuous purpose.

To this oration the king by the mouth of Sir Thomas Moore answered; that
much he lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres which were betweene the two great princes, [Sidenote: He meaneth the Emperor and the French King.] he thought that the Turke would not haue enterprised that acte: wherefore he with all his studie would take paine, first, to set an vnitie and peace throughout all Christendome, and after that, both with money and men he would be readie to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other prince in Christendome. After this done, the ambassadours were well cherished, and diuers times resorted to the court, and had great cheere and good rewards, and so the third day of May next following, they tooke their leaue and departed homeward.

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The antiquitie of the trade with English ships into the Leuant.

In the yeeres of our Lord, 1511. 1512. &c till the yeere 1534. diuers tall ships of London, namely, The Christopher Campion, wherein was Factor one Roger Whitcome: the Mary George, wherein was Factor William Gresham: the great Mary Grace, the Owner whereof was William Gunson, and the master one Iohn Hely: the Trinitie Fitz-williams, whereof was master Laurence Arkey: the Mathew of London, whereof was master William Capling, with certaine other ships of Southampton and Bristow, had an ordinarie and usuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripolis and Barutti in Syria. The commodities which they caried thither were fine Kersies of diuers colours, course Kersies, white Westerne dozens, Cottons, certaine clothes called Statutes, and others called Cardinal whites, and
Cauleskins which were well sold in Sicilie, &c. The commodities which they returned backe were Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malmesies, Muskadels and other wines, sweete oyles, cotten wool, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamon, and some other spices, &c. Besides the naturall inhabitants of the foresayd places, they had, euen in those dayes, traffique with Iewes, Turkes, and other forreiners. Neither did our merchants onely employ their owne English shipping before mentioned, but sundry strangers also: as namely Candiots, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian galliases, Spanish and Portugale ships. All which particulars doe most euidently appeare out of certaine auncient Ligier Bookes of the R. W. Sir William Locke Mercer of London, of Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, of master Iohn Gresham, and of others; which I Richard Hakluyt haue diligently perused and copied out. And here for authorities sake I doe annexe, as a thing not impertinent to this purpose, a letter of King Henry the eight, vnto Don Iohn the third, king of Portugale.

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A letter of the king of England Henry the eight, to Iohn king of Portugale, for a Portingale ship with the goods of Iohn Gresham and Wil. Locke with others, vnladen in Portugale from Chio.

Serenissimo Principi, domino Ioanni Dei gratia Regi Portugallia, et Algarbiorum citra et utra mare in Africa, ac domino Guinea, et conquista, nauigationis, et commercij Athiopia, Arabia, Persia, atque India, etc. Fratri, et amico nostro charissimo.
Henricus Dei gratia, Rex Anglia, et Francia, fidei defensor, ac dominus
Hibernia, Serenissimo Principi; domino Ioanni eadem gratia Regi Portugallia
et Algarborum citra et vltra mare in Africa, ac domino Guinea, et
conquista nauigationis, et commercij Athiopia, Arabia, Persia, atque India
etc. Fratri, et amico nostro charissimo, salutem. Tanto libentius,
promptiusque iustas omnes causas vestra Serenitati commendandas suscipimus,
quanto apertiori indies nostrorum, qui in eiusdem vestra Serenitatis regno
ac ditione negotiantur, subditorum testimonio cognoscimus, ipsam ex optimi
principis officio ita accurate, exacteque ius suum cuique prabere, vt ad
eam nemo iustitia consequenda gratia frustra vnquam conflugiat. Cum itaque
dilectus ac fidelis subditus noster Ioannes Gresham mercator Londoniensis
nuper nobis humiliter exposuerit, quod quidam Willielmus Heith ipsius
Factor, et negotiorum gestor nauim quondam Portugallensem, cui nomen erat
Sancto Antonio, praeratque Diego Peres Portugallensis superioribus mensibus
in Candia conduerit, cum nauisque praefecto conuenerit, vt in insulam Chium
ad quasdam diversi generis merces onerandas primo nauigaret, in Candiamque
mox aliarum mercium onerandarum gratia rediret, omnes quidem in hoc nostrum
regnum postmodum aduecturus ad valorem circiter duodecim millium ducatorum,
quemadmodum ex pactionis, conuentionisque instrumento apertius constat,
acciit, vt prafatus Diego vestra Serenitatus subditus, dictis suscepits
mercibus, et iam in itinere parum fideliter, et longe prater initas
conuentiones, grauisissimo certe nostrorum subditorum detrimento, vbi in
Portugallia portum diuertisset, sententia huc nauigandi mutata, in eodem
portu commoretur, nostrorumque etiam subditorum merces detineat: quam
iniuriam (quum subditis nostris in vestra Serenitatis regno, et ab eius
subdito illata sit) ex aquitate, ac iustitia ab ipsa corrigi, emendarique
confidimus, nostro quoque potissimum intuitu, qui vestra Serenitatis
ipsiusque subditorum causas, mercesque, si quando in hoc nostrum regnum
appulerint, semper commendatissimas habemus, id quod superiori anno testati
sumus: proinde ipsam vehementer rogamus, vt Ioannem Ratliffe prasentium
latorem, et dicti Ioannis Gresham nouum constitutum procuratorem, huius rei
causa istuc venientem, velit in suis agendis, in dictisque bonis
recuperandis, impuneque asportandis remittendisque vectigalibus (quod nos
in vestros subditos fecimus) quum per nauis prafectum fraude, ac dolo istuc
merces fuerint aducta, nisi istic vendantur, ac toto denique ex aquitate
confiendo negotio, sic commendatum suscipere, sicque ad suos, quos opus
fore intellexerit magistratus missis literis rem omnem iuuare, et expedire,
vi perspiciamus ex hac nostra commendatione fuisse nostrorum subditorum
iuri, et indemnitati quam maxime consultum. Quod nobis gratissimum est
futurum, et in re consimili, aut grauiori vestra Serenitas nos sibi
gratificandi cupidissimos experietur, qua foeliciter valeat. Ex Regia
nostra de Waltham, Die 15. Octobr. 1531.

The same in English.

To the high and mighty prince, Iohn by the grace of God, king of Portugale,
and of Algarue on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, lord of Ghinea,
and of the conquest, navigation, and traffique of Athiopia, Arabia, Persia,
India, &c. our most deere and welbeloued brother.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the
faith, and lord of Ireland; to lohn by the same grace, king of Portugale
and Algarue, on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, and lord of Ghinea,
and of the conquest, navigation, and trafficque of Athiopia, Arabia, Persia,
India, &c. our most deare and welbeloued brother, sendeth greeting. So much
the more willingly and readily we vndertake the recommending of all iust
causes vnto your highnesse, because by the daily testimonie of our subiects
which traffike in your kingdoms and dominions, we are informed, that
according to the dutie of a most worthy prince, so carefully and exactly
you minister iustice vnto every man, that all men most willingly repaire
vnto your highnesse, with full trust to obtaine the same. Whereas therefore
our welbeloued and trustie subiect Iohn Gresham merchant of London, of late
in humble maner hath signified vnto vs, that one William Heith his Factor
and Agent, ceretaine moneths agoe had hired in Candie a certaine Portugale
ship called Santo Antonio, (the patrone whereof is Diego Perez) and
couenanted with the patrone of the sayd ship, that he should first saile to
the Isle of Sio, to take in merchandize of sundry sortes, and then
eftsoones returne to Candie, to be fraughted with other goods, all which he
was to bring into our kingdome of England, to the value of 12000 ducats, as
by their billes of couenant and agreement more plainly appeareth: it so fel
out, that the aforesaid Diego your highnes subject hauing receiued the said
goods, very trecherously and much contrary to his couenant, to the
exceeding great losse of our subiects, putting in by the way into an hauen
of Portugale, and altering his purpose of comming into England, he
remaineth still in that hauen, and likewise detaineth our subiects goods.
Which injury (seeing it is done in your Highnes kingdome) we hope your
Highnes will see reformed according to equity and right, the rather at our
request, which alwayes have had a speciall care of the causes and goods of
your Highnes, and of your subiects whensoever they come into our kingdome,
whereof we made profe the last yeere. Wherefore wee instantly request your
Highnes, that you would so receiue Iohn Ratcliffe the bearer of these present letters, and the new appointed agent of Iohn Gresham, which commeth into your dominions about this busines, being thus commended vnto you in this busines, and recouering and freely bringing home of the said goods, and in remitting of the customs, vnlesse they were sold there (the like whereof we did towards your subiects) seeing by the fraud and deceit of the patron of the ship, the wares were brought thither, and finally in dispatching the whole matter, according to iustice, and so further the same by directing your highnes letters to your officers whom it may concerne, that we may perceiue, that our subiects right and liberty hath especially bene maintained vpon this our commendation. Which we will take in most thankful part, and your highnes shal find vs in the like or a greater matter most readie to gratifie you, whom we wish most heartily well to fare. From our court at Waltham the 15. of October 1531.

* * * *

A voyage made with the shippes called the Holy Crosse, and the Mathew Gonson, to the Iles of Candia and Chio, about the yeere 1534, according to a relation made to Master Richard Hackluit, by Iohn Williamson, Cooper and citizen of London, who liued in the yeere 1592, and went as cooper in the Mathew Gonson the next voyage after.

[Sidenote: The Holy Crosse and the Mathew Gonson depart for Turkie.] The shippes called the Holy Crosse, and the Mathew Gonson, made a voyage to the Islandes of Candia and Chio in Turkie, about the yeere 1534. And in the
Mathew Crosse went as Captaine M. Richard Gonson, sonne of old Master William Gonson, paymaster of the kings nauie. In this first voyage went William Holstocke (who afterwards was Controuller of her Maiesties Nauie, lately deceased) as page to M. Richard Gonson aforesaid, which M. Gonson died in Chio in this his first voyage. The ship called the Holy Crosse was a short shippe, and of burden 160 tunnes. And hauing beene a full yeere at the sea in performance of this voyage, with great danger she returned home, where, vpon her arriual at Blackwall, in the riuver of Thames, her wine and oyle caske was found so weake, that they were not able to hoyse them out of the ship, but were constrayned to draw them as they lay, and put their wine and oyle into new vessels, and so to vnlaide the shippe. Their chiefe freight, was very excellent Muscatels and red Malmesie, the like whereof were seeldome seene before in England. They brought home also good quantitie of sweete oyles, cotton wooles, Turkie Carpets, Galles, Cynamon, and some other spices. The saide shippe called the Holy Crosse was so shaken in this voyage, and so weakened, that she was layd vp in the docke, and neuer made voyage after.

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Another voyage to the Iles of Candia and Chio made by the shippe the Mathew Gonson, about the yeere 1535, according to the relation of Iohn Williamson, then Cooper in the same ship, made to M. Richard Hackluit in the yeere 1592.

[Sidenote: The Mathew Gonson goeth into Turkie.] The good shippe called the
Mathew Gonson, of burden 300 tunnes, whereof was owner old M. William
Gonson, pay-master of the kings Nauie, made her voyage in the yeere 1535.
In this ship went as Captaine Richard Gray, who long after died in Russia,
Master William Holstocke afterward Controuller of the Queenes Nauie went
then as purser in the same voyage. The Master was one Iohn Pichet, seruant
to old M. William Gonson, Iames Rummie was mate. The master Cooper was Iohn
Williamson citizen of London, liuing in the yeere 1592, and dwelling in
Sant Dunstons parish in the East. The M. Gunner was Iohn Godfrey of
Bristol. In this ship were 6 gunners and 4 trumpetters, all which foure
trumpetters at our returne homewards went on land at Messina in the Iland
of Sicilia, as our ship road there at anker, and gat them into the Gallies
that lay neere vnto vs, and in them went to Rome. The whole number of our
companie in this ship were about 100. men, we were also furnished with a
great bote, which was able to cary 10 tunnes of water, which at our returne
homewards we towed all the way from Chio vntill we came through the
straight of Gibraltar into the maine Ocean. We had also a great long boat
and a skiff. We were out vpyn this voyage eleuen moneths, yet in all this
time there died of sicknesse but one man, whose name was George Forrest,
being seruant to our Carpenter called Thomas Plummer.

In a great lygier booke of one William Eyms, seruant vnfo Sir William
Bowyer Alderman of London, bearing date the 15 of Nouember 1533, and
continued vntill the 4. of Iuly 1544. I find that the said William Eyms was
factor in Chio, not only for his Master, but also for the duke of Norfolkes
grace and for many other worshipful marchants of London, among whom I find
the accompts of these especially, to wit, of his said Master, sir William
Bowyer, of William and Nicholas Wilford Marchant-taylors of London, of
Thomas Curtis pewterer, of Iohn Starkey Mercer, of William Ostrige
Marchant, and of Richard Field Draper. And further I find in the said
ligier booke, a note of the said Eyns, of all such goods as he left in the
hands of Robert Bye in Chio, who became his Masters factor in his roome,
and another like note of particulers of goods that he left in the hands of
Oliuer Lesson, seruant to William and Nicholas Wilford. And for proove of
the continuance of this trade vntill the end of the yeere 1552. I found
annexed vnto the former note of the goods left with Robert Bye in Chio, a
letter being dated the 27 of Novembre 1552 in London.

* * * * *

The Epitaph of the valiant Esquire M. Peter Read in the south Ile of Saint
Peters Church in the citie of Norwich, which was knighted by Charles the
fift at the winning of Tunis in the yeere of our Lord 1538.

Here vnder lieth the corpes of Peter Reade Esquire, who hath worthily
serued, not onely his Prince and Countrey, but also the Emperour Charles
the fift, both at his conquest of Barbarie, and at his siege at Tunis, as
also in other places. Who had giuen him by the said Emperour for his
valiant deeds the order of Barbary. Who dyed the 29 day of December, in
the yeere of our Lord God 1566.

* * * * *
A discourse of the trade to Chio, in the yeere 1569. made by Caspar Campion, vnto master Michael Locke, and vnto master William Winter, as by his letters vnto them both shall appeare. Written the 14. of February.

Worshipfull Sir, &c. As these dayes past I spake vnto you about the procurement of a safeconduct from the great Turke, for a trade to Chio: The way and maner how it may be obtained with great ease shall plainly appeare vnto you in the lines following. Sir, you shall vnderstand that the Island of Chio in time past hath bene a Signiorie or lordship of it selfe, and did belong vnto the Genowaies. There were 24. of them that gouerned the island which were called Mauneses. But in continuance of time the Turke waxed so strong and mightie, that they, considering they were not able to keepe it, vnlesse they should become his tributaries, because the Island had no corne, nor any kind of vitailes to sustaine themselues, but onely that which must of necessitie come out of the Turkes dominions, and the sayd island being inclosed with the Turks round about, and but 12. miles from the Turks Continent, therefore the said Genowaies did compound and agree to be the Turkes tributaries, and to pay him 14000. thousand ducates yeerely.

Alwayes prouided, that they should keep their lawes both spirituall and temporall, as they did when the Iland was in their owne hands. Thus he granted them their priuiledge, which they inioyed for many yeeres, so that all strangers, and also many Englishmen did trade thither of long continuance, and went and came in safety. [Sidenote: The Prince Pedro Doria is captaine of 40 gallies vnder the Emperor.] In this meane time, the prince Pedro Doria (being a Genouois) became a captaine to serue the Emperor with 30 or 40 gallies against the Turke. And since that time diuers other captaines belonging to Genoa haue bene in the seruice of king
Philip against the Turke. Moreover, whensoever the Turke made out any army, he perceived that no nation did him more hurt than those Genouois, who were his tributaries. Likewise at the Turkes siege of Malta, before which place he lay a great while, with losse of his men, and also of his gallies, he found none so troublesome unto his force, as one Iuanette Doria a Genouois, and divers others of the Iland of Chio, who were his tributaries.

[Sidenote: The Mauneses put out of the Iland of Chio by the Turke.] At which sight, he tooke such displeasure against them of Chio, that he sent certaine of his gallies to the Iland, for to seise upon all the goods of the 24 Mauneses and to turne them with their wiuues and children out of the Iland, but they would let none other depart, because the Iland should not be vnpeopled. So that now the Turke hath sent one of his chiefe men to rule there: whereby now it will be more easie to obtaine our safeconduct then euer it was before. [Sidenote: The custome thorowout all Turkie is ten in every hundreth.] For if the townesmen of Chio did know that we would trade thither (as we did in times past) they themselves, and also the customer (for the Turke in all his dominions doth rent his customes) would be the chiefest procurer of this our safe conduct, for his owne gaine: which is no small matter: for we can pay no lesse than ten in the hundred thorowout the Turks whole dominion. Insomuch, that if one of our shippes should go thither, it would be for the customers profit 4000 ducats at least, whereas if we should not trade thither, he should lose so much. [Sidenote: English men do buy more commodities of Chio then any other nation.] Also the burgesses, and the common people would be very glad of our trade there, for the Communalty do get more by our countreymen then they do any nation whatsoever: for we do vse to buy many of their silke quilts, and of their Scamato and Dimite, that the poore people make in that towne, more then any other nation, so that we would not so gladly trade, but the people of the
countrey would be twise so willing. Wherefore they themselues would be a
means vnto their gouernour, by their petition to bring this trade to
passe: giuing him to vnderstand that of all nations in the world we do him
least hurt, and that we may do his countrey great good in consuming those
commodities which his countrey people make. Furthermore, it were farre more
requisite that we should cary our owne commodities, then to suffer a
stranger to cary them thither, for that we can affoord them better cheape
then a stranger can. I write not this by hearsay of other men, but of mine
own experience, for I haue traded in the countrey aboue this 30 yeres, and
haue bene maried in the towne of Chio full 24. yeres, so that you may
assure yourselfe that I will write nothing but truth. [Sidenote: Great
store of sundry commodities to be had in Chio.] Now I will declare vnto you
the wares and commodities that are in the countrieys neere about Chio. There
are very good galles, the best sort whereof are sold in England fiue
shillings deerer then any other countrey galles, There is also cotton
wooll, tanned hides, hides in the haire, waxe, chamlents, mocayares,
grogerams, silke of diuers countrieys, cordouan skinnes, tanned white, to be
made blacke, of them great quantity, and also course wooll to make beds.
The naturall commodities growing in the Iland it selfe are silke rawe, and
masticke. Of these commodities there are laden yeerely ten or twelue great
ships of Genoa, besides fiue or sixe that do belong to the towne of Chio,
which ships are fraughted for Genoa, Messina, and Ancona. And now that the
Mauneses and the chiefe merchants of Genoa are banished, the trade is
cleane lost, by reason whereof merchandise must now of necessity be better
cheape then they haue bene in times past. But yet when all those ships did
trade to the countrey, and also our ships, we neuer had lesse then three
kintals of galles for a carsie, and in England we sold them for 35 and 36
shillings the hundred. And whereas now they are brought by the Venetians,
they sell them vnto vs for three pound tenne shillings, and foure pound the
hundred. Also we had three kintals of cotten wooll for a carsie, and solde
the wooll in England for 50 shillings or 3 pound at the most, whereas now
the Italians sell the same to vs for 4 pound 10 shillings and 5 pound the
hundred. In like maner chamlets, whereas we had three pieces, and of the
best sort two and a halfe for a carsie, and could not sell them aboue 20
shillings and 22 shillings the piece, they sell them for 30 and 35
shillings the piece. Also grogerams, where we had of the best, two pieces
and a halfe for a carsie, they sell them for foure shillings and foure
shillings and sixe pence the yard. Carpets the smaller sort which serue for
cupboords, we had three for a carsie; whereas we at the most could not sell
them but for 26 shillings the piece, they sell them for 35 shillings the
piece. And so all other commodities that the Venetians do bring, they sell
them to vs for the third part more gaines then we our selues in those dayes
that we traded in those parts. Likewise the barrels of oile that they bring
from Candia, we neuer could sell them aboue foure nobles the barrell, where
they sell them always for 50 shillings and 3 pound the barrell. What great
pity is this, that we should loose so good a trade, and may haue it in our
owne hands, and be better welcome to that countrey then the Venetians.
Moreouer, the Venetians come very little to Chio, for their trade is into
Alexandria. And for to assure you that we had these commodities in barter
of our carsies, looke into your fathers books, and the books of Sir lohn
Gresham, and his brethren, and you shall finde what I haue sayd to be true.

[Sidenote: Diuers places where we may haue sweete oiles for our clothing
farre cheaper then out of Spaine.] Also you know, that we are forced to
seeke oiles out of Spaine, and that for these many yeeres they haue bene
solde for 25 pound and 30 pound the tunne: whereas, if we can obtaine the
foresayd safeconduct from the Turke, there are diuers places in his
dominions, where we may lade 500 tunnes, at 5 pound sterling the tunne. The
places are Modon, and Coron, which are but twelve miles distant the one
from the other, and do stand in our way to Chio, as you may plainly see by
the Card. Also these are places where we may vtter our owne commodities,
and not onely these two places, but many others, where we may haue oiles,
and be better vsed then we are in Spaine, where we pay very deare, and also
are very euill intreated many wayes, as to you is hot vnknowen. So that by
these meanes (if the marchants will) we may be eased, and haue such a trade
as the like is not in Christendome. Now, as for getting the safeconduct, if
I were but able to spend one hundred pounds by the yeere, I would be bound
to lose it, if that I did not obtaine the foresayd safeconduct. For I know
that if the inhabitants of Chio did but thinke that wee would trade thither
againe, they at their owne cost would procure to vs a safeconduct, without
any peny of charges to the marchants. So that if the marchants will but
beare my charges to solicit the cause, I will vndertake it my selfe.
Wherefore I pray you speake to M. Winter and the other marchants, that this
matter may take effect And let me haue your answere herein assoone as
conueniently you may, for that the time of the yeere draweth nigh that this
businesse must be done. Thus I commit you to God, and rest alwayes yours to
command.

Yours as your seruant Gaspar Campion.

* * * * *
The first voyage of Robert Baker (to Guinie), with the Minion, and
Primrose, set out in October, 1562. by Sir William Garrard, Sir William
Chester, M. Thomas Lodge, Anthony Hickman, and Edward Castelin.

As men whose heads be fraught.
with care, haue seldom rest:
(For through the head the body strait
with sorowes is opprest:)
So I that late on bed
lay wake, for that the watch
Pursued mine eye, and causde my hed
no sleepe at all to catch:
To thinke vpon my chaunce
which hath me now betide:
To lie a prisoner here in France,
for raunsome where I bide;
And feeling still such thoughts
so thicke in head to runne,
As in the sommer day the moats
doe fall into the Sunne,
To walke then vp I rose,
fansie to put to flight:
And thus a while I doe purpose
to passe away the night.
Morpheus I perceiu'd [The God of Sleepe.]
had small regarde of me,
Therefore I should be but deceiu'd
on bed longer to lie.

And thus without delay
rising as voide of sleepe,

I horned Cynthia sawe streight way [The Moone.]
in at my grate to peepe:

Who passing on her way,
eke knowing well my case,

How I in darke dungeon there lay
always looking for grace:

To, me then walking tho
in darke withouten light,

She wipte her face, and straight did show
the best countnance she might:

Astonneth eke my head
and senses for a space,

And olde fansies away now fled
she putteth new in place.

Then leaning in my grate
wherein full bright she shinde,

And viewing her thus on her gate
she mazeth streight my minde:

And makes me thinke anon
how oft in Ginnie lande

She was my friend, when I haue gone
all night vpon the sande,

Walking and watching efte
least any boate or ship
At any time, while we had slept
perhaps by vs might slip.
And streight with ardent fire
my head inflameth shee,
Eke me inspires with whole desire
to put in memorie,
Those daungers I haue bid
and Laberinth that I
Haue past without the clue of threede,
eke harder ieopardie.
I then gin take in hand
straight way to put in rime,
Such trauell, as in Ginnie lande
I haue past in my time.
But hauing writte a while
I fall faint by the way,
And eke at night I lothe that stile
which I haue writte that day.
And thinke my doings then
vnworthy sure, to be
Set forth in print before all men,
for eueryone to see.
Eke with dispaire therefore
my pen I cast away,
And did intende this neuer more
hereafter to assay.
My fellow prisoner then
sir Edward Gages sonne [Sir Edward Gages sonne,
Willes me to take againe my pen whose name was George Gage.
and ende that I begonne.

By this our friends (sayth he)
shall right well vnnderstande
And knowe the great trauels that we
haue past in Heathen lande.

Take pen therefore againe
in hande, I you require,
And thinke (saith he) thereof no paine
to graunt this my desire.

Then once againe my hed
my hande a worke doth sette:
But first I fall vpon my bed.
and there deepe sighes I fette,

To see that this to taske
is giuen me silly wight:
And of Minerua helpe I aske
that she me teach aright.
Helpe now without delay,
helpe, helpe, ye Muses nine,
O Cleo, and Calliope,
shew me how to define
In condigne stile and phrase
eche thing in euery line,

To you I giue loe all the praise
the trauell only mine.
Giuue care then ye that long
to know of my estate,
Which am in France in prison strong
as I wrote home of late:
Against all lawe or right
as I doe thinke in deede,
Sith that the warre is ended quite, [The warre at Newe hauen.]
and pease is well agreed
Yet least perchaunce you might
much maruell, how that I
Into a Frenchmans powre should light
In prison here to lie:
Giue now attentiue heede,
a straunge tale gin I tell,
How I this yeare haue bene besteede,
scaping the gates of hell,
More harde I thinke truly,
in more daunger of life,
Than olde Orpheus did when he
through hell did seeke his wife,
Whose musike so did sounde
in pleasant play of string,
That Cerberus that hellish hounde
(who as the poets sing
Hauing three huge heads great.
which doe continually
Still breath out firy flames of heate
most horrible to see)
Did giue him leaue to passe
in at the gates of Hell:
Of which gate he chiefe porter was
the Poets thus me tell.
And how he past alone
through great king Plutos Court
Yea ferried ouer with Charon [Caron passenger of Hell.]
and yet he did no hurt.
Well to my purpose now,
in Hell what hurt had hee?
Perchance he might strange sights inow
and ugly spirits there see:
Perhaps eke Tantalus,
there, making of his mone,
Who staru'd always: and Sysiphus
still rolling vp the stone.
Yet Orpheus passed by,
and went still on his way,
There was no torment came him nigh
or heate to make him stay.
And I a Gods name woulde
at hazarde play my life
In Guinie lande, to seeke for golde,
as Orpheus sought his wife.
At which saide lande of Guinie [His first voyage 1562.]
I was eke once before,
And scapt the death as narrowly
As Orpheus did and more.
Which first ill lucke will I
recite, then iudge you plaine,
If loue plagued me not now rightly
this yeare to goe againe.
The other yeere before
when Neptune vs had brought
Safely vnto that burning shore,
for which so long we sought,
One day when shippe was fast
in sea at anker holde,
The sailes vpfirl'd, all businesse past
the boteswaine then I tolde,
That he forthwith shoulde see
the small pinnesse well manded,
Eke all things therin prest to be
that we shoulde haue a lande,
And gunner see that ye
want not bowe, pike, or bill.
Your ordinance well primed be
with lintstocks burning still.
With merchandize a shore,
we hied to traffike then,
Making the sea fome vs before,
by force of nine good men.
And rowing long, at last
a riuer we espie,
In at the which we bare full fast
to see what there might be.
And entring in, we see
a number of blacke soules,
Whose likelinesse seem'd men to be,
but as blacke as coles.
Their Captaine comes to me
as naked as my naile,
Not hauing witte or honestie
to couer once his taile.
By which I doe here gesse
and gather by the way,
That he from man and manlinesse
was voide and cleane astray.
And sitting in a trough,
a boate made of a logge,
The very same wherein you know
we vse to serue a hogge,
Aloofe he staide at first,
put water to his cheeke,
A signe that he would not vs trust
vnlesse we did the like.
That signe we did likewise,
to put him out of feare,
And shewed him much braue marchandise
to make him come vs neare.
The wilde man then did come,
by signes nowe crieth the fiend
Of those gay things to giue him some
and I should be his friend.
I traffikt there that time
for such things as they had,
At night to ship I caried him,
where I with clothes him clad,
Yea, made him there good cheere,
and he by signes againe
Tolde vs that he would fraught vs then
after a day or twaine.
And eene thus as we were
in talke, looking about,
Our boate he sawe with wares that there
was tied at sterne without:
Which boate he viewing still,
as then well stufft with ware.
We thinking he had ment no ill,
had thereof little care.
And the next morne, againe
we caried him a shore,
Eke bartred there that day with them
as we had done before.
But when Phoebus began
somewhat for to draw neare
To Icarus his Court, the sonne
of Dedalus most deare,
(Whose chaunce it is to dwell
amids the Ocean flood,
Because that he obseru’d not well
his fathers counsell good)
We then with saile and ore
to ship began to hie,
That we might fetch aboorde, before
the day had lost his eye.
To ship we come at last,
which rid foure leagues from shore
Refresht vs after trauaile past
taken that day before.
Then, as it was our guise,
our boate at sterne we tie,
Eke therin leaue our marchandise,
as they were wont to be.
With troughes then two or three [The theft of the Negroes.]
this Captaine comes by night
Aboord our boate, where he with wares
himselfe now fraighteth quight.
The watch now hearing this,
the boate they hal'd vp fast:
But gone was all the marchandise,
and they escapte and past.
The next morne then by day
againe we went to shore,
Amends to haue for that which they
had stolne the night before.
But all in vaine was it,
our signes were now too bad,
They would not vnderstand a whit
of any thing they had.
But as though they had wrong [A conflict between the Negros
for to reuenged be, and our men.]
As we row'd downe the streame along
after comes hee and hee.

A hundred boats come fro
the steremost towne I say,

At least meets vs as many mo
before, to make vs stay.

In every boat two men,
and great long targets twaine:

Most of their darts had long strings then
to picke and pull againe.

Now gunners to your charge,
giue fier all arow,

Ech slaue for feare forsakes his barge,
and ducks in water low.

We downe the streame amaine
do row to get the sea,

They ouertake vs soone againe,
and let vs of our way.

Then did the slaues draw neere,
with dart and target thicke,

With diuelish fixed eyes they peere
where they their darts may sticke.

Now Mariners do push
with right good will the pike,

The hailesshot of the harquebush
The naked slaue doth strike.

Through targe and body right
that downe he falleth dead
His fellow then in heauie plight,
doth swimme away afraid.
To bathe in brutish bloud,
then fleeth the graygoose wing.
The halberders at hand be good,
and hew that all doth ring.
Yet gunner play thy part,
make haileshot walke againe,
And fellowes row with like good heart
that we may get the maine.
Our arrowes all now spent,
the Negroes gan approach:
But pikes in hand already hent
the blacke beast fast doth broch.
Their captaine being wood,
a villaine long and large,
With pois'ned dart in hand doth shroud
himselfe vnder his targe.
And hard aboord he comes
to enter in our boat,
Our maisters mate, his pike eftsoones
strikes through his targe and throat.
The capteine now past charge
of this brutish blacke gard,
His pike he halde backe which in targe
alas was fixed hard:
And wrestling it with might,
to pull it forth in hast,
A deadly dart strikes him too right
and in his flesh sticks fast,
He stands still like a man,
and shrinkes not once therefore,
But strikes him with his owne dart then
which shot at him before.
Then presse they on, and shake
their darts on every side,
Which, in our flesh doth light, and make
both deadly wounds and wide.
The gunner in that stound
with two darts strooke at last,
Shrinks not yet though the double wound
with streames of bloud out brast.
And eke the maisters mate,
of stomacke bolde and stout,
For all his wound receiu’d of late,
yet stirred not a foot.
But kept his standing still,
till that a deathful dart
Did strike him through the ribs so ill
that scarce it mist his hart.
The dart out hal’d quickly,
his guts came out withall,
And so great streames of bloud that he
for faintnesse downe gan fall.
The Negros seeing this,
how he for dead doth lie,
Who erst so valiant prou’d iwis,
they gladly, shout and crie:
And then do minde as there
to enter in his place,
They thinke so many wounded were
the rest would yeld for grace.
We then stand by the pike,
and foure row on our boat,
Their darts among vs fast they strike
that few were free I wot.
In legge and eke in thigh,
some wounded eke in th’arme,
Yea many darts stuche vs hard by,
that mist and did no harme.
By little thus at last,
in great danger of life
We got the sea, and almost past
the danger erst so rife.
Then gin they all retire
sith all their darts were spent
They had nought to reuenge their ire,
and thus away they went.
Our boat to ship doth roe,
where two ores make soft way
Sixe of vs nine were wounded so, [Sixe of our men wounded.]
the seuenth for dead there lay.
Lo, heare how cruelly
the fiends ment vs to kill,
Causelesse you see, if they truly
on vs might had their will.
And yet we gaue before
much merchandize away,
Among those slaues, thinking therefore
to haue friendship for aye.
And Orpheus past I wot
the passage quietly,
Among the soules in Charons boat,
and yet to say truly
I neuer read that he
paid for his passage there,
Who past and repast for to see.
if that his wife there were.
Nor yet that he paid ought,
or any bribe there gaue
To any office, while he sought
his wife againe to haue.
Whereby I surely gesse
these men with whom that we
Haue had to do, are fiends more fierce
then those in hell that be.
Well we now scaping thus
the danger I haue tolde,
Aboord we come, where few of vs
could stand now being colde.
Our wounds now being drest,
to meat went they that list,
But I desired rather rest,  
for this in minde I wist.  
That if I might get once  
a sleepe that were full sound,  
I should not feele my weary bones  
nor yet my smarting wound.  
And lying long aloft  
vpn my bed in paine,  
Vnto Morpheus call’d I oft  
that he would not disdaine  
To heare me then poore wight,  
but sende me helpe with speed  
That I might haue good rest this night  
of which I had great need.  
Me thought then by and by.  
there hung a heauie waight,  
At ech eye lid, which clos’d mine eye  
and eke my head was fraight.  
And being streight sleepe,  
I fell into a sweauen,  
That of my wound I tooke no keepe  
I dream’d I was in heauen.  
Where as me thought I see  
god Mars in armor bright,  
His arming sword naked holdes he  
in hand, ready to fight.  
Castor and Pollux there  
all complet stand him by,
Least if that Mars convinced were
they might revenged be.

Then came marching along
the great blacke smith Vulcan,
Hauing a staffe of yron strong,
and thus at last began:
O Mars, thou God of might,
what is the cause that thou
Hast chaleng'd me with thee to fight?
lo present am I now.

Wherefore if that thou hast
any great grudge to me,
Before this day be spent and past
it shall revenged be.

Then spake god Mars and said,
for that thou churlish wight,
Thy brutish blacke people hast made
with those white men to fight
Which cal'd on me for aid,
I bid thee warre for this.

Then answered Vulcan straight and said
that that coast sure was his.
And therefore he would still
his blacke burnt men defend,
And if he might, all other kill
which to that coast did wend,
Yea thus (said he) in boast
that we his men had slaine,
And ere that we should passe this coast
he would vs kill againe.

Now marcheth Mars amaine
and fiercely gins to fight,
The sturdie smith strikes free againe
whose blowes dint where they light.

But iupiter that sat
in his great royall throne
Hearing this noise maruell'd thereat,
and streightway sendeth one
To know the cause thereof:
but hearing them in fight,
Commandeth them for to leaue off
by vertue of his might,
And of Vulcan demands
the cause: then answered he,
O mightie Loue whose power commands
and rules all things that be,
Who at a word hast power
all things to destroy cleane,
And in the moment of an houre,
canst them restore againe,
The same God licence me
to speake now here my minde:
It is not, Loue, vnknowne to thee,
how that I was assign'd,
And pointed king of most
of all the Ginnie land,
A people lo is on my coast
which doth me now withstand.

They do my people strike,
they do this day them kill,

To whom I minde to do the like
if I may haue my will.

Then Jupiter bespake:

O Vulcan then said he,

Let this thy rage and anger slake
for this time presently,

But if at any time
these men chance there againe,

Doe as thou list, the charge is thine
I will not meddle then.

I know, them well (said he)
these men need not to seeke,

They haue so fruitfull a countrey
that there is none the like.

But if they can not be
therewith content, but still

Will seeke for golde so couetously
worke then with them thy will.

And therewith straight doth send.
a pursuiant in post,

To whom (saith he) see that thou wend
vnto the windie coast,

To Eolus, the king
command him thus from me,
That he straight way without lingering
do set at libertie,
His servuant Zephyrus,
which now is lockt so low,
Eke that he do command him thus,
that he straight way do go
To Vulcans coast in hast,
a ship where he shall finde,
Which ship he must with gentle blast
and eke with moderate winde,
Conduct safe to that coast
which Albion was hight,
And that no stormes do them withstand
by day or eke by night.
I sleeping all this space,
as it were in a trance,
The noise of them that hail’d apace
did waken me by chance.
Then looking out to know
what winde did blow in skie,
The maister straight came to me tho
and thus said by and by.
All our ill lucke is past,
we haue a merie winde,
I hope England, if this winde last,
yet once againe to finde.
When this I vnderstand,
to loue I vowed then,
Forswearing cleane the Ginnie land
for comming there againe.

And passing on in post
with fauourable windes,

We all arriu'd on Englands coast
with passing cheerefull mindes.

* * * * *

The second voyage to Guinie, and the riuver of Sesto, set out in the Moneth
of Nouember 1563, by Sir William Gerrard, Sir William Chester, Sir Thomas
Lodge, Maister Beniamin Gonston, Maister William Winter, Maister Lionel
Ducket, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Castelin, with two ships, the one
called the Iohn Baptist, wherein went for Maister, Laurence Rondell: and
the other the Marlin, wherein went also for Maister, Robert Reuell,
hauing for Factors, Robert Baker, Iustinian Goodwine, Iames Gleidell, and
George Gage: and written in verse by the foresaid Robert Baker.

You heard before, that home I got
from Ginnie at the last,
But by and by, I quite forgot
the sorrowes I had past.

And ships rigg'd also,
with speed to ship againe,
I being then requir'd to go,
did not denie them plaine,
But granted them to go,
unhappy foolish wight,

When they command, eke there to do
the best service I might.

In fine, to go our way
now serveth time and tide.

We having nothing vs to stay,
what should we longer bide?

The hempen band with help
of Mariners doth threat

To way and reare that slouchfull whelpe [The anker.]

up from his mothers teat.

The Master then gan cheere

with siluer whistle blast

His Mariners, which at the Icere

are laboring wondrous fast.

Some other then againe,

the maineyard vp to hoise,

The hard haler doth hale a maine,

while other at a trice

Cut saile without delay:

the rest that be below,

Both sheats abaft do hale straitway

and boleins all let go.

The Helme a Mariner

in hand then strait way tooke,

The Pilot eke what course to stir

within his care did looke.
Againe with siluer blast,
the Maister doth not faile,
To cause his mates fortwith in hast
abroad to put more saile.
We then lanch from the shore,
sith warre we knew it right.
And kept in sea aloofe therefore
two dayes and eke a night.
And, as it is the guise,
to toppe a man we send,
Who straight a saile or two espies,
with whom we then do wend.
Aloofe would some with one,
and roomeward would the rest:
But with the tallest ship we gone,
whom we thinke to be best.
At last, in camming neere
as captaines vse to do,
I hale them, and of whence they were
I did desire to know:
Of France when they had said,
we weaued them a maine,
But they nothing therewith dismaid
did like to vs againe.
We then our selues aduant
through hope of purchase here,
Amaine say we, ye iolly gallant
or you shall buie it deere.
To arme the maine top tho
the boatswaine goeth eke,
His mate to the foretop also
makes hast to do the like.
To top both stones and darts
good fellowes hoise apace:
The quarter maisters with glad hearts
do know ech one his place.
Our topsailies strike we tho
and fit our sailes to fight,
Our bulwarke at maine mast also
is made likewise aright.
Vpon our poop eke then
right subtilly we lay
Pouder, to blow vp all such men,
as enter theraway.
Our Trumpetter aloft
now sounds the feats of war,
The brasen pieces roring oft
fling forth both chain and bar.
Some of the yardes againe
do weaue with naked swoord,
And crying loud to them amaine
they bid vs come aboord.
To bath hir feet in bloud
the graigoose fleeth in hast:
And Mariners as Lions wood,
do crie abroad as fast.
Now firie Faulkons flie
right greedie of their pray,
And kils at first stone dead truely
ech thing within their way.
Alarme ye now my mates I say,
see that ye nothing lacke.
At every loope then gins straightway
a harquebush to cracke.
Their saile to burne, we shoot
our arrowes of wilde fire,
And pikes burning therewith about
lads tosse with like desire.
Eke straightway forth for wine
the steward call I then,
With fiery spice enough therein
I drinke unto my men,
And then euen with a woord
our lime pot prest to fall,
This iolly gallant we clap aboord
and enter him withall.
Their nettings now gan teare
dint of heauie stone.
And some mens heads witnesse did beare
who never could make mone.
The harquebush acroke
which hie on top doth lie,
Discharg'd full of haileshot doth smoke
to kill his enemie.
Which in his enemies top
doeth fight, there it to keepe,
Yet he at last a deadly lope
is made from thence to lepe.
Then entreth one withall
into this Frenchman's top,
Who cuts ech rope, and makes to fall
his yard, withouten stop.
Then Mariners belowe,
as carelesse of the pike,
Do hew, and kill still as they goe,
and force not where they strike.
And still the trumpets sound
with pleasant blast doth cheare
Ech Mariner, so in that stound
that they nothing did feare.
The Maister then also,
his mates to cheare in fight,
His Whistle chearefully doth blow,
whereby strait euery wight
So fierce begins to be,
that Frenchmen gin to stoe,
And English men as right worthy
do catch for pillage tho.
What would you more I say
but tell the truth alway:
We vsde our matters so this day
we caried him away,
Vnto a port in Spaine,
which sure is call'd the Groine,
Whereas we for French lading plaine
receiued readie coine.
Well thus this good lucke past,
we through salt Seas did scoure,
To Ginney coast eke come at last,
O that unhappie houre.
My hand alas for feare
now shakes, of this to write,
Mine eye almost full fraught with teare,
eke lets me to indite.
What should I here recite
the miserie I had,
When none of you will scarce credit
that ere it was so bad?
Well, yet I would assay
to let it, if I might,
But O Minerua, helpe me aye,
my wits astond be quite.
Yea helpe, ye muses nine,
lot no thought me withstand,
Aid me this thing well to define,
which here I take in hand.
Well, thus it fortuned tho,
in Ginney now arriu'd,
Nine men in boat to shoe we go,
where we traffike espide,
And parting at midday
from ship, on good intent
In hope of traffike there I say
to shore away we went.
Our ships then riding fast
in sea at anker bight,
We minded to dispatch in hast,
cke to returne that night.
But being hard by land,
there suddenly doth rise
A mightie winde, wherewith it raind
and thundred, in such wise,
That we by shore did ride,
where we best Port might finde,
Our ships we thinke from anker slide,
a trice before the winde.
This night Vulcan begins
on vs reueng’d to be,
And thunderbolts about he flings
most terrible to see,
Admixt with fierie flame
which cracks about our cares.
And thus gins he to play his game,
as now to him appeares,
He Eolus hath feed
herein to be his friend,
And all the whirling windes with speed
among vs doth he send,
Thus hard by shore we lay,
this wet and weary night,

But on next morne and all the day
of ship we had no sight.

For Vulcan all this night
from fierie forge so fast

Sent thunder bolts with such great light,
that when the night was passed,

The next day there remaind
so great smoke all about,

Much like a mist, eke therewith raine,
that we were wet throughout.

And thus in smoke mindes he
to part vs from our ship:

Thus nere a one ech other see,
and so haue we the slip.

Our ships then backe againe,
thinking we were behinde,

Do saile by shore a day or twaine
in hope there vs to finde.

And we the contrary,
do row along the shore

Forward thinking our ships to be
still sailing vs before.

They sailing thus two dayes or three,
and could not finde vs than

Do thinke in that foule night we
were drowned euery man.
Our ship then newes doth beare
when she to England wends
That we nine surely drowned were,
and thus doth tell our friends:
While we thus being lost,
aliue in miserie
Do row in hope yet on this coast,
our ships to finde truly.
Well thus one day we spent,
tho next and third likewise,
But all in vaine was our intent,
no man a saile espies:
Three dayes be now cleane past
since any of vs nine,
Of any kinde of food hath tast,
and thus gan we to pine,
Till at the last bare need
bids vs hale in with land,
That we might get some root or weed
our hunger to withstand:
And being come to shore,
with Negros we intreat,
That for our wares which we had there
they would giue vs to eat.
Then fetch they vs of roots,
and such things as they had,
We gaue to them our wares to boote
and were thereof right glad.
To sea go we againe,
in hope along the shore,
To finde our ships, yet thinking plaine
that they had beene before.
And thus with saile and ore
twelue dayes we went hard by
The strange vncomfortable shore
where we nothing espie,
But all thicke woods and bush
and mightie wildernesse,
Out of the which oft times do rush
strange beasts both wilde and fierse,
Whereof oft times we see,
at going downe of Sunne,
Diuers descend in companie,
and to the sea they come.
Where as vpon the sand
they lie, and chew the cud:
Sometime in water eke they stand
and wallow in the floud.
The Elephant we see,
a great vnweldie beast,
With water fils his troonke right hie
and blowes it on the rest.
The Hart I saw likewise
delighted in the soile,
The wilde Boare eke after his guise
with snout in earth doth moile.
A great strange beast also,
the Antelope I weene
I there did see, and many mo,
which erst I haue not seene.
And oftentimes we see
a man a shore or twaine,
Who strait brings out his Almadie
and rowes to vs a maine.
Here let we anker fall,
of wares a shew we make,
We bid him choose among them all,
what wares that he will take
To bring to vs some fish,
and fresh water therefore,
Or else of meat some daintie dish,
which their cookes dresse ashore.
They bring vs by and by
great roots and beries eke,
Which grow vpon the high palme tree,
such meat as they do like.
We drinke eke of their wine
much like our whey to see:
Which is the sappe as I haue seene
that runnes out of a tree.
Thus do they bring ech thing
which they thinke to be good,
Sometime wilde hony combes they bring
Which they finde in the wood,
With roots and baggage eke
our corps we thus sustaine
From famine though it be so weake,
that death was figured plaine
In every joint for lacke
of sustenance and rest.
That still we thinke our hearts would breake
with sorrowes so opprest.
We now alongst the coast
haue saild so many a mile,
That sure we be our ships be lost,
what should we do this while?
In Heathen land we be,
impossible it is
That we should fetch our owne countrey
in such a boat as this.
We now gan to perceiue
that wee had ouerpast
The Melegate coast so much,
that we were come at last
Vnto the coast of Myne,
for Niegros came aboord
With weights to poise their golde so fine,
yea speaking euery word
In Portugesse right well
demanding traffike there?
If we had any wares to sell,
and where our ships then were?
We answered them againe,
we had two ships at sea,
The which would come trafike with them
we thought within a day.
The cause why we thus said,
was hope to be well vsde:
But seeing this, as men dismayd
away we went and musde
Whither our ships were gone,
what way were best for vs:
Shall we here perish now saith one?
no, let vs not do thus:
We see all hope is past
our ships to finde againe,
And here our liues do shorten fast
in miserie and paine:
For why the raging heat
of Sunne, being so extreme,
Consumes our flesh away in sweat,
as dayly it is seene.
The Ternados againe
so often in a weeke,
With great lightnings, thunder and raine
with such abundance eke,
Doe so beat vs by night,
that we sleepe not at all,
Whereby our strength is vaded quite.
no man an ore can hale.
How hard liue we, alas?
three whole dayes oft be past,
Ere we poore men (a heauie case)
of any thing doe tast.
These twentie dayes ye see,
we haue sit still ech one,
Which we doe of necessitie,
for place to walke is none.
Our legs now vs deceiue,
swole euery ioint withall,
With this disease, which, by your leaue,
the Scuruie men doe call.
We cannot long endure
in this case as we be,
To leaue our boat I am right sure,
compeld we must agree.
Three wayes for vs there is,
and this is my request,
That we may of these three deuise,
to choose thereof the best.
The Castle of the Mine
is not farre hence, we know,
To morrow morne we there may be,
if thither you will goe.
There Portingals do lie,
are christened men they be:
If we dare trust their curtesie,
the worst is hanging glee.
Our miserie may make
them pitie vs the more,
Nine such yong men great pains would take
for life to hale an ore.
Their Gallies may perhaps
lacke such yong men as we,
And thus it may fall in our laps,
all Galeyslaues to be,
During our life, and this,
we shall be sure to haue,
Although we row, such meate as is
the allowance of a slaue.
But here we rowe and sterue,
our misery is so sore:
The slaue with meat inough they serue,
that he may teare his ore.
If this you will not like.
the next way is to goe:
Vnto the Negros, and to seeke
what friendship they will shew.
But what fauour would ye
of these men looke to haue:
Who beastly sauage people be,
farre worse then any slaue?
If Cannibals they be
in kind, we doe not know,
But if they be, then welcome we,
to pot straightway we goe.
They naked goe likewise,
for shame we cannot so:
We cannot liue after their guise,
thus naked for to go.
By rootes and leaues they liue,
as beasts doe in the wood:
Among these heathen who can thrue,
with this so wilde a food?
The piercing heate againe,
that, scorcheth with such strength,
Piercing our naked flesh, with paine,
will vs consume at length.
The third and last is this,
(if those two you refuse)
To die in miserable wise,
here in the boate you chuse.
And this iudge by the way,
more trust is to be giuen,
Vnto the Portingals alway,
sith they be christned men,
Then to these brutish sort,
which beastly are ye see:
Who of our death will make a sport,
if Canibals they be.
We all with one consent,
now death despising plaine:
(Sith if we die as innocent,
The more it is our gaine)
Our sayle we hoyse in hast,
with speed we mind to go
Vnto the castell, now not past
a twentie leagues vs fro.
And sayling all this day,
we spied late in the night.
And we past by thus on our way,
upon the shore a light.
Then sayd our Boateswaine thus,
by this great light a shore,
Trafique there seemes, will you let vs
anker this night therefore,
And trie if we may get,
this next morning by day,
Some kind of food for vs to eate,
and then to goe our way?
We anker there that night,
the next morning to shore:
And in the place, where we the light
did see the night before:
A watch house now there stood,
upon a rocke without:
Hard by a great blacke crosse of wood,
which putteth vs in doubt,
What place that this should be,
and looking to the shore,
A Castell there we gan espie,
this made vs doubt the more.
Wherein we saw did stand
a Portingall or twaine;
Who held a white flag in his hand,
and waued vs amaine.
Our flesh as fraile now shakes,
whereby we gan retire,
And he at vs a shot then makes,
a Negro giuing fire.
A piece discharged thus,
the hissing pellet lights,
I thinke within a yard of vs,
but none of vs it hits.
We wisht then we had there
a good ship, eke or twaine,
But helpelesse now, we rowe a shore
to know th'end of our paine.
The neerer that we went
to them vnto the shore,
To yeld our selues, as first we ment
they still did shoot the more.
Now Canons loud gan rore,
and Culuerins now crackt,
The Castell eke it thundred sore,
as though the wals were sackt.
Some shot doth light hard by,
some ouer vs againe:
But though the shot so thicke doth flie,
yet rowe we in a maine,
That now so neere we be
vnto the castell wall,
That none of them at vs we see,
can make a shot at all.
We ment a land to goe,
their curtesie to trie:
But from the wall great stones they throw,
and therewith by and by,
The Negros marching downe,
in battell ray do come,
With dart and target from the towne,
and follow all a dromme.
A bowe in hand some hent,
with poisin'd arrow prest,
To strike therewith they be full bent,
a pined English brest.
But stones come downe so fast
on vs on euery side,
We thinke our boats bottom would brast
if long we thus abide.
And arrowes flie so thicke,
hissing at euery eare,
Which both in clothes and flesh do sticke,
that we, as men past feare,
Cry now, Launch, launch in hast,
hale of the boate amaine:
Foure men in banke let them sit fast
and rowe to sea againe.
The other five like men,
do manfully in hand,
Take up each kind of weapon then,
these wolves here to withstand.
A harquebus takes one,
another bends his bow,
Among the slaves then downe falls one
and other hurt I trowe.
At those Portingals then shoot we,
vpon the Fort which stand,
In long fine white shirts as we see,
and lintstocks in their hand.
And of these shirts so white
we painted some full red,
Striking their open corps in sight,
with dint of arrow head.
For we sawe they had there
no Gallies vs to take,
Where threatnings them could vs not feare
or make vs once to shake.
Then Canons loud gan rore,
and pellets flie about,
And each man haleth his ore
and mooed not a foote.
Yea, though the poulder sent
the pellets thicke away,
Yet spite of them cleane through we went
at last, and got the sea,
And pieces charging fast,
they shot after us so,
That wonder was it how we past
the furie of our foe,
The pinned anne felt not
as now, the heauie ore:
With foure such ores was neuer boat
I thinke, row'd so before.
To seaward scaping so,
three Negroes we see there,
Came rowing after us to know,
what countrey men we were?
We answered Englishmen,
and that thither we came,
With wares to trafique there with them,
if they had meant the same.
They Portuguse doe speake
right naturall iwis:
And of our ship to know they seeke,
how big and where she is.
We answered them again
we had two ships at sea,
Right well appointed full of men,
that streight would take their way
Along the coast for gold,
they tarry but for us,
Which came with wares there to haue sold
but that they vs’d vs thus.
Then gan they vs to pray,
if we lackt any thing,
To anker there all that whole day,
and they to vs would bring
All things that we doe want,
they sory say they be:
But we their words yet trusting scant,
refuse their curtesie.
We aske them of this hold
what place that it should be,
Then they againe thus straight vs told
that Portingals there lie.
And how that point they sayd,
which there hard by we see,
Was one of Cape three points that lay
the Westernmost of three.
Withouten further speech,
we hoise our saile to sea:
Minding a friendlier place to seech,
and thus we part our way.
We mind truly to prooue
the Portingals no more:
But now t'assay rather what loue
Negroes will shew a shore.
We then with saile and ore,
went backe againe in hast:
A thirtie leagues I thinke, and more
from thence where we were chast.
And here we anker fall,
aboord the Negros come:
We gaue gay things vnto them all,
and thus their hearts we wonne.
At last aboord comes one,
that was the kings chiefe sonne:
To whom by signes I made great mone,
how that I was vndone,
Had lost our ships, and eke
were almost staru'd for meate,
And knew not where our ships to seeke,
or any thing to eate.
I offred him our wares,
and bid him take them all:
but he perceiuing now the teares,
which from our eyes did fall,
Had great pitie on vs,
and sayd he would haue nought,
But streight by signes he will'd vs then,
that we should take no thought.
As one whom God has sent,
and kept for vs in store,
To know in hast away he went,
the Kings pleasure on shore.
And came foorthwith againe,
yea, bade vs come a land:
Whereof God knowes we were ful faine,
when this we vnderstand.
Each man bankes to his ore,
to hale the boate a land:
Where as we see vpon the shore,
fiue hundred Negros stand.
Our men rowing in a maine,
the billow went so hie,
That straight a waue ouerwhelms vs cleane
and there in sea we lie.
The Negros by and by,
came swimming vs to saue:
And brought vs all to land quickly,
not one durst play the knaue.
The Kings sonne after this,
a stout and valiant man,
In whom I thinke Nature iwis,
hath wrought all that she can,
He then I say commaunds
them straight to saue our boate,
To worke forthwith goe many hands,
and bring the same a floate.
Some swimme to saue an ore,
some diue for things be lost:
I thinke there helpe to hale a shore
fiue hundred men almost.
Our boate thus halde vp drie,
all things streight way were brought
The which we mist or could espie,
no man that durst keepe ought.
Then vs they led away,
knowing we wanted meate.
And gaue to us, euen such as they
themselves do daily eate.
Was neuer Owle in wood
halfe so much wondered at,
As we were then poore men, alas,
which there among them sat.
We feared yet our part,
and wisht a moneth were past,
For each man there went with his dart,
which made vs oft agast.
We lay vpon the ground,
with them there all that night:
But fearing still a deadly wound,
we could not sleepe a whit.
Two dayes thus past we well,
no man vs offred wrong:
The cause thereof I gin you tell,
they thought this them among:
Our ships had bene at sea,
and would come there before
Two dayes, to fetch vs thence away,
and giue them wares good store.
But when they thus heare tell
how that our ships be lost,
And that we know not very well,
when ships will come to coast:
They then waxe wearie streight,
and they which did before
At sundry times giue vs to eate,
did giue vs now no more.
Our lowance waxt so small,
that neuer nine gesse,
Were seru'd the like, yet still withall,
it waxed lesse and lesse.
Some run now in the wood,
and there for rootes do seeke,
Base meat would here be counted good
too bad that we mislike
Our clothes now rot with sweat,
and from our backs do fall,
Saue that whom nature wils for shame,
we couer nought at all.
One runs to seeke for clay
to fashion straight a pot,
And hardens it in Sunne all day:
another faileth not
To fetch home wood for night,
and eke for fire sought,
That we our roots and things seeth might
if any home were brought.
The rest the wood doth seeke,
eke euery bush and tree
For berries and such baggage like,
which should seeme meate to bee.
Our fingers serve in stead,
both of pickaxe and spade,
To dig and pull up every weed,
that grew within the shade.
Eke diged for roots the ground,
and searcht on every brier
For berries, which if we had found,
then straight way to the fire:
Where we rost some of those,
the rest seeth in a pot,
And of this banquet nought we lose,
nor fragment resteth not.
The night as beasts we lie
the bare hard earth, upon,
And round by us a great fire light
to keepe wilde beasts vs from.
But what should I recite,
or couet to declare
My sorrowes past, or eke t'endite
of my hard Ginnie fare?
I cease here to enlarge
my miserie in that land,
A toy in head doth now me charge,
as here to hold my hand.
In fine, what would ye more,
the heat did so exceed,
That wanting cloths it scorcht so sore
no man could it abide.
The countrey eke so wilde,
and vnhealthfull withall,
That hungry stomacks neuer fill'd,
doth cause faint bodies fall.
Our men fall sicke apace,
and cherishing haue none:
That now of nine, within short space,
we be left three alone,
Alas, what great agast
to vs three liuing yet,
Was it to see, that death so fast
away our fellowes fet?
And then to loue on hie
we call for helpe and grace,
And him beseech vnfainedly,
to fetch vs from this place.
From this wild heathen land,
to Christendome againe,
Or else to lay on vs his hand,
and rid vs from our paine.
Lest that we ouerprest
with too much miserie,
Perhaps as weake breake our behest
which we owe God on high.
And least we liuing here
among this heathen, might
Perchance for need do that which were
right hainous in his sight.
Well, to my purpose then,
when we to loue thus crie,
To helpe vs hence poore silly men
from this our miserie.
He hearing vs at length,
how we to him doe call,
He helps vs with his wonted strength,
and straight thither withall,
A French ship sends at last,
with whom we three go hence:
But six in earth there lie full fast,
and neuer like come thence.
This Frenchman as I say,
through salt and surging seas,
Vs brought from Ginnie land, away
to France, the Lord we praise.
And warre he proues it plaine
when we entered his ship,
A prisner therefore I remaine,
and hence I cannot slip
Till that my ramsome be
agreed vpon, and paid,
Which being leuied yet so hie,
no agreement cant be made.
And such is lo my chance,
the meane time to abide
A prisner for ransome in France,
till God send time and tide.
From whence this idle rime
to England I doe send:
And thus till I haue further time,
this Tragedie I end.

R. Baker.

* * * * *

The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham with the great Barke Aucher to Candia and Chio, in the yeere 1550.

In the yeere 1550. the 13 of Nouember I Roger Bodenham Captaine of the Barke Aucher entered the said ship at Grauesend, for my voiage to the Ilands of Candia and Chio in the Leuant. The master of my ship was one William Sherwood. [Sidenote: The Barke Aucher goeth for Leuant.] From thence we departed to Tilbery hope, and there remained with contrarie windes vntill the 6. of Ianuarie, 1551. The 6 of Ianuary, the M. came to Tilbery, and I had prouided a skilfull pylot to cary me ouer the lands end, whose name was M. Wood, and with all speede I valed downe that night 10 miles to take the tide in the morning, which happily I did, and that night came to Douer, and there came to an anker, and there remained vntill Tuesday, meeting with the worthy knight sir Anthony Aucher owner of the saide ship.
The 11 day we arrived in Plimoth, and the 13 in the morning we set forward on our voyage with a prosperous winde, and the 16 we had sight of Cape Finister on the coast of Spaine.

The 30 we arrived at Cades, and there discharged certaine marchandise, and tooke others aboord.

[Sidenote: Mallorca.] The 20 of February we departed from Cades, and passed the straights of Gibraltar that night, and the 25 we came to the Ile of Mallorca, and stated there fiue daies with contrary windes.

The first of March, we had sight of Sardenna, and the fift of the said month wee arrived at Messina in Sicilia, and there discharged much goods and remained there vntill good Fryday in Lent.

The chiefe marchant that landed the sayd Barke Aucher was a marchant stranger called Anselm Saluago, and because the time was then very dangerous, and on going into Leuant, especially to Chio, without a safe conduct from the Turke, the said Anselm promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, that we should receive the same at Messina. But I was posted from thence to Candia, and there I was answered that I should send to Chio, and there I should haue my safe conduct. I was forced to send one, and hee had his answere that the Turke would giue none, willing me to looke what was best for me to doe, which was no small trouble to me, considering I was bound to deliuer the goods that were in the ship at Chio, or send them at mine aduenture. [Sidenote: The Turke prepareth an army to besiege Malta]
The marchants without care of the losse of the ship would haue compelled me
to goe, or send their goods at mine aduenture, the which I denied, and sayd
plainely I would not goe, because the Turkes gallies were come foorth to go
against Malta, but by the French kings means, he was perswaded to leaue
Malta, and to goe to Tripoly in Barbary, which by the French he wan. In
this time there were in Candia certaine Turkes vessels called Skyrasas,
which had brought wheat thither to sell, and were ready to depart for
Turke. And they departed in the morning be times, carying newes that I
would not goe foorth: the same night I prepared beforehande what I thought
good, without making any man priuie, vntill I sawe time. Then I had no
small businesse to cause my mariners to venture with the ship in such a
manifest danger. Neuerthelesse I wan them to goe all with me, except three
which I set on land, and with all diligence I was readie to set foorth
about eight of the clocke at night, being a faire moone shine night, and
went out. Then my 3 marriners made such requests vnto the rest of my men to
come aborde, as I was constrained to take them in. [Sidenote: The Barke
Ancher at Milcone.] And so with good wind we put into the Archipelago, and
being among the llands the winde scanted, and I was forced to anker at an
lland called Micone, where I taried 10 or 12 daies, hauing a Greeke Pilot
to carrie the ship to Chio. In this meane season, there came many small
botes with mysson sayles to go for Chio, with diuerse goods to sell, and
the Pilot requested me that I would let them goe in my company, to which I
yeelded. After the sayd dayes expired, I wayed and set saile for the lland
of Chio, with which place I fel in the after noone, whereupon I cast to
seaward againe to come with the lland in the morning betimes. The foresaid
smal vessels which came in my company, departed from me to win the shore,
to get in the night, but vpon a sudden they espied 3 foystes of Turkes
comming vpon them to spoyle them. My Pilot, hauing a sonne in one of those
small vessels, entreated me to cast about towards them, which at his request
I did, and being something farre from them, I caused my Gunner to shoot a
demycoluering at a foyst that was readie to enter one of the botes. That
was so happy a shot, that it made the Turke to fall a sterne of the bote
and to leaue him, by the which means he escaped. Then they all came to
me, and requested that they might hang at my sterne vntill day light, by
which time I came before the Mole of Chio, and sent my bote on land to the
marchants of that place to send for their goods out of hand, or else I
would returne back with all to Candia, and they should fetch their goods
there. [Sidenote: The towne of Chio is bound in 12000 ducats for the
safegard of Barke Aucher.] But in fine, what by perswasion of my merchant
English men, and those of Chio, I was entreated to come into the harbour,
and had a safe assurance for 20 dayes against the Turkes army, with a bond
of the citie in the summe of 12000 ducats. So I made hast and solde such
goods as I had to Turkes that came thither, and put all in order, with as
much speede as I could, fearing the comming of the Turkes nauie, of the
which, the chiefe of the citie knew right wel. So vpon the sudden they
called me of great friendship, and in secret told me, I had no way to saue
my selfe but to be gone, for said they, we be not able to defend you, that
are not able to help our selues, for the Turke where he commeth, taketh
what he will, and leaueth what he list, but the chiefe of the Turkes set
order that none shal do any harme to the people or to their goods. This was
such news to me, that indeed I was at my wits end, and was brought into
many imaginations how to do, for that the winde was contrarie. In fine, I
determined to goe foorth. [Sidenote: The companie do murmure against their
Captaine.] But the marchants English men and other regarding more their
gaines then the ship, hindred me very much in my purpose of going foorth,
and made the marriners to come to me to demaund their wages to be payed
them out of hande, and to haue a time to employ the same there. But God
provided so for me, that I paied them their money that night, and then
charged them, that if they would not set the ship foorth, I would make them
to answere the same in England, with danger of their heads. Many were
married in England, and had somewhat to loose, those did sticke to me. I
had twelue gunners: the Master gunner who was a madde brained fellow, and
the owners seruant had a parlament betweene themselues, and he vpon the
same came vp to me with his sword drawen, swearing that hee had promised
the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, to liue and die in the sayde shippe against
all that should offer any harme to the shippe, and that he would fight with
the whole armie of the Turkes, and neuer yeelde: with this fellow I had
much to doe, but at the last I made him confess his fault and followe mine
aduise. Thus with much labour I gat out of the Mole of Chio, into the sea
by warping foorth, with the helpe of Genoueses botes, and a French bote
that was in the Mole, and being out God sent mee a speciall gale of winde
to goe my way. [Sidenote: The Turkes Gallies come to seeke the Barke
Aucher.] Then I caused a peece to be shotte off for some of my men that
were yet in the towne, and with much a doe they came aboord, and then I set
sayle a little before one of the clocke, and I made all the sayle I could,
and about halfe an houre past two of the clocke there came seuen gallies
into Chio to stay the shippe: and the admirall of them was in a great rage
because she was gone. Whereupon they put some of the best in prison, and
tooke all the men of the three ships which I left in the port, and put them
into the Gallies. They would haue followed after mee, but that the townes
men found meanes they did not The next day came thither a hundred more of
Gallies, and there taried for their whole companie, which being together
were about two hundred and 50 sayle, taking their voyage for to surprise
the Iland of Malta. The next day after I departed, I had the sight of
Candia, but I was two dayes after or euer I could get in, where I thought my selfe out of their daunger. There I continued vntill the Turkes armie was past, who came within the sight of the towne. There was preparation made as though the Turks had come thither. [Sidenote: Fiue thousand banished men in Candia.] There be, in that Iland of Candia many banished men, that liue continually in the mountaines, they came down to serue, to the number of foure or fiue thousand, they are good archers, every one with his bowe and arrowes, a sword and a dagger, with long haire, and bootes that reach vp to their grine, and a shirt of male, hanging the one halfe before, and the other halfe behinde, these were sent away againe assoon as the armie was past. They would drinke wine out of all measure. Then the armie being past, I laded my shippe with wines and other things; and so after I had that which I left in Chio, I departed for Messina. In the way I found about Zante, certaine Galliots of Turkes, laying abord of certaine vessels of Venice laden with Muscatels: I rescued them, and had but a barrell of wine for my powder and shot: and within a few dayes after I came to Messina. I had in my shippe a Spanish pilot called Noblezia, which I tooke in at Cades at my comming foorth: he went with me all this voyage into the Leuant without wages, of good will that he bare me and the shippe, he stoode me in good steede vntill I came backe againe to Cades, and then I needed no Pilot. And so from thence I came to London with the shippe and goods in safetie, God be praysed. And all those Mariners that were in my sayd shippe, which were, besides boyes, three score and tenne, for the most part were within fiue or sixe yeeres after able to take charge, and did.

[Sidenote: Master Richard Chancellour. Master Mathew Baker.] Richard Chancellour, who first discouered Russia, was with me in that voyage, and Mathew Baker, who afterward became the Queenes Maiesties chiefe ship-wright.
Another discourse of the trade to Chio in the yeere 1569, made by Gaspar Campion, vnto master M. William Winter.

It may please your worship to vnderstand, that as concerning the voyage to Chio, what great profit would be gotten, both for marchants, and also for owners of shippes (as it was well knowne in those dayes when the Matthew Gonson, the Trinitie Fitzwilliams, and the Sauiour of Bristow, with diuers other ships which traded thither yerely, and made their voyage in ten or twelue moneths, and the longest in a yeere) M. Francis Lambert, M. Iohn Brooke, and M. Drauer can truely informe you heereof at large. And by reason that wee haue not traded into those parts these many yeeres, and the Turke is growen mighty, whereby our ships doe not trade as they were woont, I finde that the Venetians doe bring those commodities hither, and doe sell them for double the value that we our selues were accustomed to fetch them. Wherefore, as I am informed by the aboue named men, that there is none so fit to furnish this voyage as your selfe: my request is that there may be a shippe of conuenient burthen prepared for this voyage, and then I will satisfie you at large what is to be done therein. And because the Turke, as I sayd before, is waxen strong, and hath put out the Christian rulers, and placed his owne subiects, we may doubt whether we may so peaceably trade thither as we were woont: therefore I dare vndertake to obtaine a safeconduct, if my charges may be borne to goe and come. Of the way how this may be done, M. Locke can satisfie you at large. [Sidenote: Gaspar
Campion maried in Chio 24 yeeres.] Moreouer, I can informe you more of the
trade of that countrey, then any other, for that I haue bene in those parts
these thirty yeeres, and haue bene married in the very towne of Chio full
foure and twenty yeres. Furthermore, when one of our ships commeth thither,
they bring at the least sixe or eight thousand carsies, so that the customs
thereof is profitable for the prince, and the returne of them is profitable
to the common people: for in barter of our wares, we tooke the commodities
which the poore of that towne made in their houses: so that one of our
shippes brought the prince and countrey more gaines than sixe ships of
other nations. The want of this our trade thither was the onely cause why
the Christian rulers were displaced: for when they payd not their yerely
tribute, they were put out by force. Touching the ship that must go, she
must obserue this order, she must be a ship of countenance, and she must
not touch in any part of Spaine, for the times are dangerous, nor take in
any lading there: but she must lade in England, either goods of our owne,
or els of strangers, and go to Genoa or Legorno, where we may be wel
intreated, and from thence she must make her money to buy wines, by
exchange to Candia, for there both custom and exchange are reasonable: and
not do as the Math. Gonson and other ships did in time past, who made sale
of their wares at Messina for the lading of their wines, and payed for
turning their white money into guide after foure and fiue in the hundredth,
and also did hazzard the losse of shippe and goods by carrying away their
money. Thus by the aforesayd course we shall trade quietly, and not be
subiect to these dangers. [Sidenote: Store of hoops laden at Castilla de la
mare for Candia.] Also from Legorno to Castilla de la mar, which is but 16
miles from Naples, and the ready way to Candia, you may lade hoopes, which
will cost carolins of Naples 27 and a halfe the thousand, which is ducats
two and a halfe of Spaine. And in Candia for every thousand of hoops you
shall have a butt of Malmesey clear of all charges. Insomuch that a ship of the burden of the Mathew Gonson will carry four hundredth thousand hoops, so that one thousand ducats will lade her, and this is an usual trade to Candia, as M. Michael Locke can testify. Furthermore, it is not unknown to you, that the oiles which we do spend in England for our cloth, are brought out of Spain, and that very dear, and in England we cannot sell them under 28 pounds and 30 pounds the tunne: I say we may have good oile, and better cheaper in divers places within the streights. Wherefore if you think good to take this voyage in hand, I will inform you more particularly when you please. In the mean time I rest your worships to command.

Yours at your pleasure Jasper Campion.

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The true report of the siege and taking of Famagusta, of the antique writers called Tamassus, a city in Cyprus 1571. In which the whole order of all the skirmishes, batteries, mines, and assaults given to the said fortress, may plainly appear. Englished out of Italian by William Malim.

To the right honourable and his singular good Lord, and onely Patron the Earle of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the honourable order of the Garter, one of the Queenes Maiesties most honourable priuie Councell &c. William Malim wisheth long health with increase of honour.
It hath bene a naturall instinct (right honourable and mine especiall good lord) ingraffed in noble personages hearts, much approued and confirmed also by custome, for them to seeke from time to time, by some meanes in their life, by the which they after their death might deliuer ouer their name to their posteritie: least otherwise with their body, their fame also altogether might perchance be buried. Vpon the which consideration we reade many notable and famous things to haue bene erected in time past of noble personages (hauing had wealth at will) in such sort, that not onely certaine ruines of the same sumptuous works, builded so many hundred yeres past, do still remaine, but also the most part of those princes, the authours of them, do continually by them dwell in our memories. As the Pyramides made at Memphis, or neere the famous riuer of Nilus, by the great expenses of the kings of Egypt: the tower called Pharia, made in the Iland of Pharos by king Ptolomee: the walles of Babylon, made or at least reedified by queene Semiramis; Dianas church at Ephesus builded by all the noble persons of Asia; Mausolus toome or sepulchre, made by his wife queene of Caria: Colossus Solis placed at Rhodes, I remember not by what Princes charge, but made by the hands of Cares Lindius scholar to Lysippus: and the image of Iupiter, made of Yuory by the hands of the skilful workman Phydias. The which monuments made of barbarous and heathen Princes to redeeme themselves from obliuion deserued both for the magnificence, and perfect workmanship of the same, to be accounted in those dayes as the seuen woonders of the world. Since the which time, an easier, readier, and lighter way, being also of more continuance then the former, hath bene found out, namely, Letters, which were first inuented by the Caldies and Egyptians, as we reade, and augmented since by others, to our great
benefit, and now last of all (no long time past) the same to haue bene committed to Printers presses, to the greatest perfection of the same; men being first inforced to write their actes and monuments in beasts skinnes dried, in barkes of trees, or otherwise perchance as vnreadily. By the which benefit of letters (now reduced into print) we see how easie a thing it is and hath bene for noble persons, to liue for euer by the helpe of learned men. For the memory of those two woorthy and valiant captaines Scipio and Hannibal had bene long before this present quite forgotten, except Titus Liuius, or some such learned Historiographer had written of them in time. And Alexander Magnus himselfe that great conquerour had nothing beene spoken of, had not Q. Curtius, or some other like by his learned stile reuiued the remembrance of him, and called backe his doings to his posteritie. For the which cause we see commonly, in all ages learned men to be much made of by noble personages, as that rare paterne of learning Aristotle to haue bene greatly honoured of that former renowned Monarch Alexander: who affirmed openly, that he was more bound to his Master Aristotle, then to king Philip his father, because the one had well framed his minde, the other onely his body. Many other like examples I could allledge at this present, if I knew not vnto whom I now wrote, or in what: for your honour being skilfull in histories, and so familiarly acquainted with the matter it selfe, that is in still entertaining learned men with all curtesie, I should seeme to light a candle at noone tide, to put you in remembrance of the one, or to exhort you to doe the other, dayly being accustomed to performe the same. Crassus sayth in Tullies first booke, De Oratore: that a Lawyer's house is the oracle of the whole citie. But I can iustly witnesse, that for these fiue yeeres last past, since my returne from my trauell beyond the seas, that your lodging in the Court (where I through your vndeserued goodnesse to my great comfort do dayly
frequent) hath bene a continuall receptacle or harbour for all learned men
comming from both the eyes of the realme, Cambridge, and Oxford (of the
which Vniuersity your lordship is Chanceller) to their great satisfaction
of minde, and ready dispatch of their sutes. Especially for Preachers and
Ministers of true religion: of the which you haue beene from time to time
not onely a great fauourer, but an earnest furtherer, and protectour: so
that these two nurseries of learning (in one of the which I haue before
this spent part of my time, that I may speake boldly what I thinke) should
wrong your honour greatly, and much forget themselues, if by all meanes
possible they should not heerafter (as at this present to their smal powers
many well learned gentlemen of them do) labour and trauell in shewing of
themselves thankefull, to reuerence and honour your lordship, and honest
their owne names: whose studies certeiny would suddenly decay and fall
flat, if they were not held vp by such noble proppes, and had not some sure
ankerholds in their distresse to leane vnto. How ready dayly your trauell
is, and hath long beeene besides to benefit all other persons, in whom any
sparke of vertue or honesty remaineth, I need not labour to expresse, the
world knowing already the same. But whosoeuer they be, that in all their
life time haue an especiall care by all meanes to profit as many as they be
able, and hurt none, do not onely a laudable act, but leade a perfect and
very godly life. Whereupon Strabo affirmeth this most truely to be spoken
of them: Mortales tum demum Deum imitari, cum benefici fuerint. That is,
Mortall men then specially to follow the nature of God, when they are
beneficial and bountifull to others. Great commendation vndoubtedly it
bringeth to any noble personage, that as the Moone, that light and
brightness which she receiueth of the Sun, is wont presently to spread
abroad upon the face of the earth, to the refreshing and comforting all
inferiour and naturall things bearing life: so for him, to bestow all that
favour and credit, which he hath gotten at the princes handes, to the helpe
and reliefe of the woorthy and needy. Great is the force (my right
honourable lord) of true vertue, which causeth men, as Tully writeth in his
booke De Amicitia, to be loued and honoured oft of those persons, which
neuer saw them. [Sidenote: Master Malim at Constantinople 1564.] Whereof I
neuer had better proofe (I take God and mine one conscience to witnesse,
the which I declared also to certaine of my friends assone as I returned)
then at my last being at Constantinople, in the yere of our Lord 1564,
whereas I oft resorting (as occasion serued) to the right honorable
Christian ambassadors, while I made my abode there (namely vnto Monsieur
Antonio Petrimol, lieger there for the French king, Sig. M. Victor
Bragadino, for the segniory of Venice, Sig. Lorenzo Giustiniano, for the
state of Scio, or Chios, and Sig. Albertacio delli Alberti, for the duke of
Florence) heard them often report and speake very honourably of your
lordship, partly for your other good inclinations of nature, but especially
for your liberality, and courteous intreating of diuers of their friends
and countrymen, which vpon sundry occasions had bene here in this our
realme. So that to conclude, all men iustly fauour your honourable dealings
and deserts: and I for my part haue reuerenced and honoured the same
euermore both here at home, and elswhere abroad, wishing often to haue had
some iust occasion to pay part of that in good will, which my slender
abilitie will neuer suffer me fully to discharge. For vnto whom should I
sooner present any thing any way, especially concerning matters done
abroad, then vnto your lordship, by whom I was much cherished abroad in my
trauell, and mainteined since my returne here at home? For the which cause
I haue enterprised (hoping greatly of your lordships fauour herein) to
clothe and set forth a few Italian newes in our English attire, being first
mooued thereunto by the right worshipfull M. D. Wilson Master of her
Maiesties Requests, your honours assured trusty friend, a great and
painfull furtherer of learning, whom I, and many other for diuers respects
ought to reuerence: who remembring that I had bene at Cyprus, was willing
that my pen should trauell about the Christian and Turkish affaires, which
there lately haue happened: perswading himselfe, that somewhat thereby I
might benefit this our natie countrey. Against whose reasonable motion I
could not greatly wrestle, hazzarding rather my slender skill in attempting
and performing this his requested taske, then he through my refusall should
seeme to want any iot of my good will. In offering vp the which newes,
although I shall present no new thing to your honour, because you are so
well acquainted with the Italian copy, as I know: yet I trust your lordship
will not mislike, that the same which is both pleasant to reade, and so
necessary to be knowen for diuers of our captaines and other our
countreymen, which are ignorant in the Italian tongue, may thus now shew it
selfe abroad, couered vnder the wing of your lordships protection.
Certeinly it mooueth me much to remember the losse of those three notable
Ilands, to the great discomfort of all Christendome, to those hellish
Turkes, horseleeches of Christian blood: [Sidenote: Rhodes lost.] namely
Rhodes besieged on S. John Baptists day, and taken on Johns day the
Euangelist, being the 27 of December 1522. [Sidenote: Scio lost.] Scio or
Chios being lost since my being there, taken of Piali Basha with 80
gallies, the 17 of April 1566. [Sidenote: Cyprus lost.] And now last or all
not only Famagusta the chiefe holde and fortresse in Cyprus to haue bene
lost of the Venetians the 15 of August last past 1571 (the chiefe governors
and capitaines of them being hewen in sunder by the commandement of that
tyrant Mustafa Basha) but all the whole Iland also to be conquered by those
cruell Turks, ancient professed enemies to all Christian religion. In the
which euill successe (comming to vs as I take it for our offences) as I
lament the generall losse: so I am surely pensiue to understand by this too
true a report of the vile death of two particular noble gentlemen of
Venice, Sig. M. Lorenzo Tiepolo, and Sig. M. Giouanni Antonio Querini: of
both the which I in my trauaile was very courteously vsed, the former of
them being then (as now also he was in this ouerthrow) gouernour of Bafio
in Cyprus, the other captaine of one of the castels at Corcyra in Greece,
now called Corfu. But things past are past amendment, and they could neuer
die more honourably, then in the defence of their countrey. Besides that
the late blowes, which the Turks haue receiued since this their fury, in
token of Gods wrath against them, do much comfort every Christian heart.
Moreouer this uniforme preparation which is certainly concluded, and
forthwith looked for, by very many Christian Princes (would God by all
generally) against these barbarous Mahometists: whose cruelty and beastly
behaviour I partly know, and am able to judge of, hauing bene in Turky
amongst them more than eight moneths together. Whose vnfaithfulnesse also
and breach of promise, as the Venetians manly courage in defence of
themselues, and their fortresse, your honour may easily reade in this short
treatise and small handful of leaues, I hauing set downe also a short
description of the lland of Cyprus, for the better understanding of the
whole matter. The which I not onely must humbly beseech your honour now
faavourably to accept as an earnest peny of more to come, and of my present
good will: but with your accustomed goodnesse toward me, to defend the same
against such persons, whose tongues too readily roule sometime against
other mens painfull trauells, perswading themselues to purchase the sooner
some credit of learning with the ruder sort, by controlling and ouerdaintie
sifting of other mens laboured tasks, for I know in all ages to be found as
well Basilisks as Elephants. Thus nothing doubting of your ready ayd
herein, as I assuredly trust of your honours faavourable acceptation of this
my poore present, wishing long life with the increase of Gods holy spirit
to your lordship and to all your most honourable familie (vnto whom I haue
wholly dedicated my selfe by mine owne choise and election for euer) I,
crauing pardon for my former boldnesse, most humbly thus take my leaue.
From Lambhith the 23 of March. Ann. 1572.

Your honours most humble and faithfull seruant for euer, William Malim.

A briefe description of the Iland of Cyprus: by the which not onely the
Venetians title why they haue so long enioyed it, but also the Turks,
whereby now he claimeth it, may plainly appeare.

The Iland of Cyprus is inuironed with diuers seas: for Westward it is
washed with the sea called Pamphilium: Southward, with the sea Agyptum: on
the East part, with the sea Syrium: and Northward, with the sea called
Cilicium. The which Iland in time past had diuers names: called once
Acamantis, as Sabellicus witnesseth. Philonides maketh mention, that it was
called sometime Cerasis. Xenogoras writeth, that it was named Aspelia,
Amathusa, and Macaria. There were in times past fifteene cities or famous
townes in it, but now very few, amongst the which Famagusta is the chiefest
and strongest, situated by the sea side. There is also Nicosia, which was
woont, by the traffike of marchants, to be very wealthy: besides the city
of Baffo, Arnica, Saline, Limisso, Melipotamo, and Episcopia. Timosthenes
affirmeth, that this Iland is in compasse 429 miles and Arthemidorus
writeth the length of the same to be 162 miles, measuring of it from the
East to the West, betwixt two promontories named Dinaretta and Acamanta.
This Iland is thought to be very rich, abundant of Wine, Oile, Graine, 
Pitch, Rozin, Allum, Salt, and of diuers precious stones, pleasant, 
profitable, and necessary for mans vse, and much frequented of Marchants of 
Syria, vnto the which it lieth very nere. It hath bene, as Plinie writeth, 
ioyned sometime with Syria, as Sicilia hath beene also with Italy. It was a 
long time subject vnto the Romans, after to the Persians, and to the Soldan 
of Agypt. The selfe same Iland was sometime also English, being conquered 
by king Richard the first, in his voyage to Hierusalem in the yeere of our 
Lord 1192. Who (as Polydore writeth in his fourteenth booke of our English 
historie) being prohibited by the Cypriottes from arriual there, invasioned 
and conquered the same soone after by force: and hauing left behind him 
sufficient garrisons to keepe the same, departed from thence to Ptolemayda: 
who afterward exchanged the same with Guy of Lusignan, that was the last 
christened king of Hierusalem, for the same kingdome. For the which cause 
the kings of England were long time after called kings of Hierusalem. And 
last of all, the Venetians haue enjoyed it of late a long time, in this 
order following. In the yeere of our Lord 1476, Iohn king of the said 
Iland, sonne to Ianus of Lusignan, had by Helen his wife, which was of the 
Emperiall house of Paleologus, one daughter only called Charlotta, and a 
bastard called Iames: the which Iames was afterward consecrated Bishop of 
Nicosia. This Charlotta was married first to the king of Portingall, of 
whom he had no issue, so that he being dead, Lewes Duke of Sauoy (to whom 
shee was the second time married) sonne to Lewes the second of that name 
(vnto whom the said Iland by the right of this his wife Charlotta did 
appertaine) had the possession of the same. Iames the bastard assoone as 
his father was dead, of a bishop became a souliour, and with an army wanne 
the Iland, making it his owne by force. This Duke of Sauoy hearing these 
newes, with a number of well appointed souldiers, arriued shortly after in
Cyprus, and recouering againe the Iland, compelled the bastard to flie
forthwith ouer to the Soldan of Agypt. Who making himselfe his subiect, in
time so wrought and tempered the matter, that the Soldan in person at his
request passed ouer into Cyprus, besieged Duke Lewes in the castle of
Nicosia, and at length compelled him to depart, leauing his kingdome. So
that this Bishop became againe King of this Iland: who shortly after
cleaung to the Venetians hauing made a league of friendship with them,
married by their consent one Catherina the daughter of Marco Cornaro, which
Catherin the Senate of Venice adopted vnto them soone after as their
daughter. This Bishop not long after sickened, and died, leauing this his
wife with child, who liued not long after his fathers death. By the which
meanes the Venetians making themselues the next heires to Catherina by the
law of adoption, tooke vnto them the possession of this kingdome, and haue
kept and enjoyed the same almost this hundred yeeres. Now this great Turke
called Sultan Selim in the right of the Soldan of Agypt, whom his
grandfather (called also Sultan Selim) conquered, pretendeth a right title
vnto it, and now, as you may vnderstand by reading of this short Treatise,
hath by conquest obtained the same. Whom I pray the euerliuing God, if it
be his holy will, shortly to root out from thence.

To the Reader.

I am not ignorant (gentle Reader) how hard a matter it is for any one man
to write that, which should please and satisfie all persons, we being
commonly of so diuers opinions and contrary iudgements: againe Tully
affirmeth it to be a very difficult thing, to finde out any matter which in
his owne kinde may be in all respects perfect. Wherefore I trust by your
owne judgement I ought of reason to be the sooner pardoned (my translation being precisely tied to mine authours meaning) if anything herein besides be thought to be wanting: I haue learned by the way how comberous a thing it is to turne the selfe same matter out of the Italian language into our countrye speech. But who so doeth what he possibly can is bound to no more. And I now at the request of others (who put me in minde, that I was not onely borne vnto my selfe) haue accomplished that in the ende, which I promised and was required. With what paine and diligence, I referre me to them which are skilfull in the Italian tongue, or may the better iudge, if it please them to trie the same, casting aside this exampler. I speake it not arrogantly, I take God to witnesse: but mens painefull trauels ought not lightly to be condemned: nor surely at any time are woont to be of the learned, or discreet. By whose gentle acceptation if these my present doings be now supported, I will perswade my selfe that I haue reaped sufficient fruit of my trauell. Vnto whome with all my heart I wish prosperous successe in all their affaires.

Ann. Dom. 1572. W. M.

In Turchas precatio.

Summe Deus, succurre tuis, miserescce tuorum,
Et subeat gentis te noua cura tua.
Quem das tantorum finem, Rex magne, laborum?
In nos vibrabit tela quousque Sathan?
Ante Rhodum, max inde Chium, nunc denique Cyprum,
Turcharum cepit sanguinolenta manus.
Mustafa foedifragus partes grassatur in omnes,
Et Veneta Cypriam strage cruentat humum.
Nec finem imponit sceleri, mollitue furorem,
Nec nisi potato sanguine pastus abit.
Qualis, qua nunquam nisi plena tumensque cruore
Sanguisuga obsessam mittit hirudo cutem.
Torturam sequitur tortura, cruorque cruorem,
Et cadem admissam cadis alius amor.
Sauit inops animi, nec vel se temperat ipse,
Vel manus indomitum nostra domare potest.
At tu, magne Pater, tumidum disperde Tyrannum,
Nec sine mactari semper ouile tuum.
Exulet hoc monstrum, ne sanguine terra redundet.
Excutiantque nouum Cypria regna iugum.
Et quod Christicola foedns pepigere Monarcha,
Id faustum nobis omnibus esse velis.
Tu pagna illorum pugnas, et bella secundes.
Captiuosque tibi subde per arma Scythas.
Sic tua per totum fundetur gloria mundum,
Vnus sic Christus fiet, et vna fides.

Gulielmus Malim.

The true report of all the successe of Famagusta, made by the Earle Nestor
Martiningo, vnto the renownmed Prince the Duke of Venice.
The sixteenth day of February, 1571, [Footnote: In Italy and other places the date of the yere of the Lord is alwayes changed the first of January, or on New yerse day, and from that day reckoned upon: although wee heere in England, especially the temporall lawyers for certaine causes are not woont to alter the same untill the Annunciation of our Ladie.] the fleet which had brought the ayde vnto Famagusta, departed from thence, whereas were found in all the army, but foure thousand footmen, eight hundred of them chosen souldiers, and three thousand (accounting the Citizens and other of the Villages) the rest two hundred in number were souldiers of Albania. After the arriuall of the which succour, the fortification of the City went more diligently forward of all hands, then it did before, the whole garison, the Grecian Citizens inhabiting the Towne, the Gouernours and Captaines not withdrawing themselues from any kinde of labour, for the better incouragement and good example of others, both night and day searching the watch, to the intent with more carefull heed taking they might beware of their enemies, against whom they made no sally out of the City to skirmish but very seldom, especially to understand when they might learne the intent of the enemies. Whilst we made this diligent prouison within the Citie, the Turks without made no lesse preparation of all things necessary, fit to batter the fortresse withall, as in bringing out of Caramania and Syria with all speed by the Sea, many wool packs, a great quantitie of wood and timber, diuers pieces of artillery, engins, and other things expedient for their purpose.

At the beginning of April Halli Basha landed there with fourscore gallys or thereabout in his company, who brought thither that, which of our
enemies was desired, who soone after departing from thence, and leauing
behinde him thirty gallies, which continually transported soouldiers,
munition, fresh victuals, and necessaries, besides a great number of
Caramusalins, [Footnote: Carumusalini be vessels like vnto the French
Gabards, sailing dayly vpon the rier of Bordeaux, which saile with a mizen
or triangle saile.] or Brigandines, great Hulkes called Maones, [Footnote:
Maone be vessels like vnto the great hulks, which come hither from
Denmarke, some of the which cary 7 or 8 hundred tunnes a piece, flat and
broad, which saile some of them with seuen misens a piece.] and large broad
vessels termed of them Palandrie, [Footnote: Palandrie be great flat
vessels made like Feriboats to transport horse.] which continually passed
to and fro between Cyprus and Syria, and other places thereabout, which
they did with great speed, standing in feare of the Christian army. And
about the middest of the same moneth the Turkes caused to be brought out of
the Citie of Nicosia, [Footnote: Nicosia, otherwise called Licosia.] which
they had wonne a little before, fifteene pieces of artillery, and raising
their army from whence they were before, making ditches and trenches
necessary, incamped themselues in gardens, and towards the West part of
Famagusta neere a place called Precipola.

The fiue and twentieth day of the same moneth they raised vp mounts to
plant their artillery vpon, and caused trenches to be made for
harquebuzers, one very nigh another, approaching still very neere the
Citie, in such order, as was almost impossible to stay the same, fortie
thousand of their Pioners continually labouring there the most part of all
the night The intent of the enemie being then known, and in what part of
the Citie he minded most to plant his battery, we tooke diligent heed on
the other part, to repaire and fortifie all places necessary within. For
the which cause wee placed a great watch in that way, which was couered
with a counterscharfe, and in the sallies of their priu. Posternes, for
the defence of the said counterscharfe, there were new flanckers made, also
Traurerses called Butterisses made vpon the Cortaine, with one trench of
Turues two foot high and broad, the which was made on that side of the wall
of the Citty, which was already battered with the shot of the Turkes, with
certaine loopes holes for our Harquebuzers, by the which they defended the
counterscharfe. Two noble personages Bragadino and Baglione [Footnote: Sig.
Bragadino was Proueditore, that is, Gouernour, and Sig. Baglione Generall
of the Christian armie.] personally tooke this charge on them, by the which
meanes the Christian affaires passed in very good order. All the bread for
our Souldiours was made in one storehouse, of the which noble gentleman
Lorenzo Tiepolo capitaine of Baffo [Footnote: Baffo of the ancient writers
named Paphos, in the which Citty there was a sumptuous Church dedicated to
Venus.] had charge, who refused no paine, where thought his trauell might
preuaile. In the castle was placed that famous gentleman Andrea Bragadino,
who with a diligent gard had charge on that part of the castle principally,
next vnto the sea side, trimming and digging out new flanckers for the
better defence of the Arsenall. [Footnote: Arsenall in Constantinople and
Venice is the place for munition and artillery to lie in.]

A valiant knight named Foito was appointed Master of the Ordinance, who was
slain within few dayes after in a skirmish, whose garrison the noble
Bragadino Proueditore before named presently deliuered ouer to me. Three
other captaineis were appointed ouer the wilde-fire with twentie footmen for
every one of them, chosen out of the armie, to vse and execute the same as
occasion should serue. The best pieces of Ordinance were brought foorth vnto that side of the towne, where the battery was looked for to be made: and they made priuy fences to couer the better their cannon shot withall. There was no want in the Christians to annoy their enemies in issuing often out of euery side against them, as well to hinder their determinations, as to hurt them otherwise at diuers times. They also rendered to vs the like. For three hundred of the inhabitants of Famagusta one time issuing out of the citie, armed onely with their swords and targets, with so many Italian Harquebuzers also in their company, receiued great dammage, because the trenches of the enemies were made about so thicke, although at the same present wee compelled them to flie, and slew also many of them: yet they increased to such number, that they killed presently thirty, and hurt there threescore of our company. For the which cause order was taken, that our men should no more come forth of their holde, committing themselues to manifest perill to bid their enemies the base.

The Turkes in processe of time by little and little with their trenches, came at length to the toppe of the counterscharfe, and hauing furnished their forts the nineteenth day of May, began their battery with ten forts, hauing threescore and foureteene pieces of great artillery within their custody, amongst the which there were four Basilikes (for so they terme them) of an immeasurable greatnesse, and began to batter from the gate Limisso vnto the Arsenall, and layed fiue batteries against the towne, the one against the great high Turret of the Arsenall, which was battered with fiue pieces of Ordinance mounted vpon that fort of the rocke, the other against the Cortaine it selfe of the Arsenall, battered by one fort with eleuen pieces: another against the Keepe of AndruZZi with two commanders,
or caualiers, which were aboue with one fort of eleuen other pieces:

another battery against the Turret of S. Nappa, the which was battered with foure Basilisks. The gate of Limisso, which had one high commander or caualier alone, and a Brey and Cortaine without was battered by the forts with three and thirty pieces of artillery, whereas Mustafa himselfe Generall of the Turkes army tooke the charge in person. At the first they seemed not to care much to spoile the walles, but shot still into the city, and against our Ordinance, which greatly galled them. Whereupon they, who were within the city, as well our souldiers as the Grecians, assoone as the battery began, withdrawing themselues, came and dwelt by the walles of the citie, whereas they continued from that time to the end of the siege. The noble Bragadino lodged in the Keepe of Andruzzi, Baglioni in that ward of S. Nappa. The honourable Tiepolo in that which was called Campo Santo. Wherefor they being present at all that was done, both encouraged, and punished the souldiers according to their deserts. The right worshipfull Luigi Martiningo was appointed chiefe ouer the Ordinance, who answering all mens expectation of him, with great courage diuided the charge thereof vnto sixe other inferiour captaines, who tooke order and care for that company, and for the prouision of things necessary for the gunners: one company of the Grecians being appointed to euery gate of the Citie for to attend vpon the seruice of the artillery. The valiant captaine Francesco Bagone warded at the Keepe, and at the great Commander of the Arsenall. Captaine Pietro Conte attended the Cortaine, at the Commander of the Volti, and at the Keepe of Campo Santo. I for my part attended vpon the Commander of Campo Santo, and vpon the Commander of Andruzzi, and of the Cortaine, vnto the Turret of Santa Nappa. The Earle Hercole Martiningo attended vpon the Commander of Santa Nappa, and to the whole Cortaine, vnto the gate of Limisso. Horatio Captaine of Veletri attended vpon the Brey and Cortaine,
toward the Bulwarke. Vpon the high Commander of Limisso, which was more troubled then all the rest, attended the Captaine Roberto Maluezzi. At the same time, when the battery began (by the commission of the honourable Bragadino) victuals were appointed, and giuen to all the souldiers, as well Grecians, as Italians, and Gunners: namely Wine, Pottage, Cheese, and Bakon: all the which things were brought to the walks as heed did require in very good order, so that no souldier there spent anymore in bread than two souses a day. [Marginal note: Two Venetian souses or Soldi amount but to one peny English.] They were payed at the end of euery thirty dayes with the great trauell of that right worshipfull Venetian gentleman M. Giouanni Antonio Querini, who besides this his ordinary charge was found present in all weighty and dangerous affaires to the great incouragement of our souldiers. And wee make a counterbattery against our enemies for ten dayes space, with so great rage, that we choked and destroyed fifteene of their best pieces, also we killed and dispatched of them about thirty thousand at that season, so that they were disappointed at that time, of their battery in that place, and were greatly dismayed. But we forseeing that we had no great store of powder left, there was made a restraint, and such order taken, that thirty, pieces should not shoot off but thirty shot a piece every day, and that in the presence of the Captaines, who were still present, because the Souldiers and Gunners should not shoot off in vaine.

The nine and twentieth day of May there came towards vs from Candia a Fregat or Pinnace, the which giuing vs great hope and lightening of ayde, encreased maruellously euery mans courage. The Turks with great trauell and slaughter of both sides, had woone at the last the counterscharfe from vs, with great resistance and mortalitie on both parts. Whereupon they began on
the other side of the first battery to fill up the ditch, with the earth
that they threw down, which was taken near the wall of the
counterscarp. But all that earth and falling down of the wall made by
the shot of their artillery, was carried away of us within the city, all
our company labouring continually as well by night as day, until our
enemies had made certain looeee-holes in the wall, through which they
flanking and scouring all the ditch with their harquebussie, stopped our
former course of carrying, or going that way any more, without certain and
expresse danger. But M. Gioanni Marmori, a fortifier, had devised a
certain kind of joined boards, the which being carried of the soldiers,
defended them from the shot of the harquebuzers, so that some other
quantity of earth, but no great store, was carried also away: in the which
place this foresayd fortifier was slain, who had done especiall good
service in all our necessary affaires. And our enemies having cast so much
earth into the ditch, as filled it vp againe, and made it a firme way to
the wall of the counterscarp, and casting before them the earth by little
and little, they made one traverse even unto the wall on two sides in all
their batteries, the which they made thicke and strong with woolpacks; and
other fagots, to assure themselves the better of our flankers.

When they had once possessed the ditch, that they could not be hurt of us
but by chance, they began forthwith to cast and digge out vndermines to
vndermine the Brey, the Turret of Santa Nappa, the Commander of Andruzz,
the Keepe of Campo Santo, the Cortaine, and the Turrioon of the Arsenatl: so
that being able no longer to serue our turne and inioy those fewe
flankers, we threw downe wilde-fire into our enemies campe, the which
annoyned them very sore, because it fired their woolpacks, and also their
fagots. And for the better encouragement of the soldiers, the right
honorable Bragadino gave to every soldier one ducat, the which could
gain or recover any of the former woolpacks, making countermines in all
places. To which charge Maggio the fortifier knight was appointed, who
in all our business served with such diligence and courage, as he was
able, or was requisite. But the countermines met not, saving those of the
Commander of S. Nappa, of Andruzzi, and that of Campo Santo, because they
were open, and our men sallied out often both by day and night into the
ditch to perceive better the way of the mines, and to fire the fagots and
wool. Nor we ceased at any time through the unspeakable traveell of the
Lord Baglione (who had the oversight of all these matters) to trouble our
enemies intents, by all manner of wit and policie, dividing the companies
for the batteries, uniting and planting in all places a garrison of the
Albanois [Footnote: Albanois soldiers, soldiers of Albania, otherwise
called Epirus, who commonly serve the Venetians both on horseback and
foot, very skilful and painfull.] soldiers, who as well on foot as on
horseback, shewed always notable courage and manhood.

The first assault.

The one and twentieth day of June they put fire to the mine of the Turret
of the Arsenall, whereas Giambelat Bey took charge, who with great ruine
rent in sunder a most great and thick wall, and so opened the same, that
he threw down more than half thereof, breaking also one part of the
vaimure, made before to uphold the assault. And suddenly a great number of
the Turkes skipping upon the ruins thereof, displayed their Ensignes, even
to the top of the same. Captain Pietro Conte with his company was in that
ward, the which was much shaken and terrified by that sudden ruine. I with
my company came first thither, so that they shortly tooke the repulse, and
although they refreshed themselves with new supplies fiue or sixe times,
yet they failed of their purpose. There fought personally the Lord
Baglione: Bragadino and Querini [Footnote: Of this noble and painfull
Venetian gentleman M. Gio. Antonio Querini (who was afterwardes hewed in
sunder by the commandement of Mustafa) I was entertained very courteously
in my trauell at Corcyra, now called Corfu, he being then there Mag.
Castellano or Captaine of one of the Castles.] being armed stood not farre
off to refresh and comfort our Souldiours, and the Captaine of the Castell
with the Ordinance, that was planted vpon the Butteries, destroyed many of
our enemies, when they gaue the assault, the which endured fiue houres
together: so that of Turkes were slaine very many, and of our side betweene
them that were slaine and hurt one hundred: most part of the which number
were cast away by a mischance of our Wilde-fire, the which being
vnaduisedly and negligently handled, burnt vp many of our owne company.
There died at that present the Earle Gio. Francesco Goro, the Captaine
Barnardino Agubio: and by the throwing of stones Hercole Malatesta,
Captaine Pietro Conte, with other Captaines and Standerd-bearers, were very
sore hurt.

[Sidenote: In extremities men haue no regard to spare trifles.] The night
following arrived in Cyprus a Pinasse from Candia, which bringing newes of
most certaine ayde, greatly increased both the mirth and courage of vs all,
so that we made soone after, with the helpe of the Captaine Marco
Criuellatore, and Maggio the knight, certain retreats flancked to all the
places beaten downe, and whereas they suspected that the enemy had digged
up any mines, with hogheads, Chests, Tikes, and Sacks stuffed full of moist earth (the Grecians with all speed having already brought almost all that which they had) because their having dispatched their Canueis about necessary vses, they brought their hangings, cortaines, carpets, euen to their very sheets, to make and stuffe vp their foresayd sacks, a very good and ready way to make vp againe their vaimures, the which were thrown downe with the fury of the artillery, which neuer stinted, so that we made vp againe still that in the night, the which was thrown downe and broken in the day, sleeping very seldome: [Footnote: Prouident and carefull gouernours or magistrates seldome sleepe all the night at any time, much lesse in dangerous seasons.] all the souldiers standing alwayes upon the walles, visited continually of the Gouernors of the Citie, which slept at no time, but in the extreame heat of the day, hauing no other time to take their rest, because the enemie was at hand giuing vs continually alarmes, not suffering vs long to breath.

The second assault.

The nine and twentieth day of the same moneth they set the mine made towards the Brey on fire, the which mine was digged in stone, which brake and cleft all things in pieces, and caused great ruine, making an easie way for the enemy to assault vs, who with an outragious fury came to the toppe, whereas Mustafa their General was altogether present, which assault was receiued, and stayed at the beginning [Footnote: A small thing at the beginning, or in due time done, helpeth much.] of the Earle Hercole Martiningo with his garrison, and so were repulsed by our company, who fought without any aduantage of couert, the vaimure being thrown downe by

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Footnotes:

[Footnote: Prouident and carefull gouernours or magistrates seldome sleepe all the night at any time, much lesse in dangerous seasons.]

[Footnote: A small thing at the beginning, or in due time done, helpeth much.]
the mine. There were slain of our company Captaine Meani the Serieant 
Maior of our armie, Captaine Celio de Fuochi, Captaine Erasmo da Fermo: and 
Captaine Soldatello, Antonio d'Ascoli, Captain Gio. d'Istria, Standard 
bearers, with many other officers, were sore wounded, there died also 30 
other of our common souldiers. At the Arsenall they were beaten backe with 
greater dammage of our enemies, and small hurt to vs. Five onely of our 
part being slain there, whereas Captaine Giacomo de Fabriano also was 
killed, and I was wounded in my left legge with an harquebush shot. The 
which assault continued sixe houres, the Bishop of Limisso standing vp 
there, incouraging the Souldiours. Where also were found present stout 
women, [Footnote: That certaine women inhabiting this Iland be viragos, or 
mankind, I saw sufficient triall at my last being there, in a city called 
Saline.] who came thither with weapons, stones, and water, to help the 
Souldiours. Our enemies vnderstanding how great hinderance they had 
received at these two assaults, changed their mindes, and began againe with 
greater fury than euer they had before accustomed to lay battery to all 
places, and into our retreats, so that they labouring more speedily then 
euer they did, made seuen other forts more, vnder the castle, and taking 
away the artillery from them which was farther off, planting of it somewhat 
neerer, to the number of fourescore, they battered the holde with so great 
rage, that on the eighth day of Iuly, with the same night also were numbred 
five thousand Canon shot, and after that sort they ouerthrew to the ground 
the vaimeures, that scarsely with great trauell and paine we could repaire 
them againe, because our men that laboured about them were continually 
slaine by their Ordinance, and by reason of the endlessse tempest of the 
shot of their Harquebuzers. And our men beganne to decrease. For the Turkes 
causd vs to retire from our Breyes, by the violence of their artillery and 
mining, in such sort, that there being no more standing left for our
Souldiours, because we making our vaimures more thicke, our standing began
to waxe narrower, the which presently we of necessitie enlarged with boords
as a scaffolde to the vaimure, whereby we might haue more elbow room to
fight. Captain Maggio also made one mine vnder the sayd Brey, to the
intent, that we being not able any longer to keepe it, the same might be
left to our enemies to their great hinderance. [Footnote: It is accounted a
good warlike shift, to leaue that to our enemies with hinderance, which we
can not any longer keepe, and vse to our owne commodity.]

The third assault.

To the sayd Brey the ninth day of Iuly they gaue the third assault to the
Turrion of Santa Nappa, to that of Andruzzi, to the Cortaine, to the Keepe
of the Arsenall: the which assault hauing continued more then sixe houres,
they were beaten backe in foure places, but we left the Brey to their great
losse, and ours also: because we being assaulted, our company being not
able to mannage their pikes in good order, by reason of the narrownesse of
the standing where they were, being willing to retire in that order, as the
L. Baglione had prescribed vnto them, and could not, cast themselues at the
last into a confuse order, and retired, they being mingled amongst the
Turks: so that fire being giuen to our mine, the same (with a terrible
sight to beholde) slew presently of our enemies more then one thousand, and
aboue one hundred of vs. There was slaine Roberto Maluezi, and Captaine
Marchetto de Fermo was grieuously wounded. At the assault of the Arsenall
was slaine Captaine Dauid Noce master of the campe, and I myself was hurt
by the racing of a cannon shot. This assault continued fiue houres, and the
Citizens of Famagusta shewed great courage in euery place, with their women
also, and yeong striplings. The Brey was so defaced by reason of this mine
set on fire, that no body any more attempted to recover the same, because
there was no apt place remaining to stay upon. The left flancker onely
remained still, whereas another mine was made. The gate of Limisso was over
against this foresayd Brey, and somewhat lower, which was alwayes open,
hauing made to the same a Portall, with a Percollois annexed to it, the
which Percollois by the cutting of a small cord, was a present defence to
the gate, and our Souldiours gaue their attendance by that gate to bring in
the battered earth, which fell in the ditches from the rampaire: and when
they saw that their enemies in foure dayes came not thither, they beganne
to entrench aboue the Brey, and by the flanckers aboue they suffered no
person to passe out of the gate, the which thing brought great suspition
unto our enemies, because they were often times assailed of our company.

The fourth assault.

Wherefore they came to the foureteenth day of luly to assault the gate of
Limisso, and laying their battery to all other places, they came and
planted their Ensignes even before the gate, whereas the L. Baglione, and
Sig. Luigi were in readinesse, who had taken vpon them to defend that gate
of the Citie. Who assoone as they had encouraged their Souldiours,
[Footnote: The forwardnesse of the captaine at dangerous times not only
much comforteth the common soouldier, but also increaseth greatly his credit
and commendation with all men.] sallying swiftly forth, killed, and put to
flight the greater part of them, and at the last giuing fire to the mine of
the flancker slew foure hundred Turkes, and Sig. Baglione at the same time
woon an Ensigne of our enemies, wrasting it violently out of one of the
Ensigne bearers hands. The day following they gave fire to the mine of the
cortaine, the which thing not falling out greatly to their purpose, they
followed not their prepared assault. Wherefore they beganne to fortifie,
and advancement higher their trauerses in the ditches, for their better
assurance against they should give the assault: and they had emptied and
carried away all the earth neere vnto the counterskarfe, where they lodged
in their pauillions, so that we could not descrie them. They shot seuen
pieces of artillery vpon the wall of the counterscharfe so couertly, that
they were not seene: two from the Brey of the Turrion of Santa Nappa, one
from Andruuzzi, and two other all along the battery of the Cortaine. And
they came with certaine boordes couered with rawe and greene hides, vnder
which they brought their men to digge in the vaiumures, we being nothing
behinde or forgetfull to cast wilde-fire amongst them, and sometime to
issue foorth of our sallies called Posternes, to offend their Pioners,
although to our great hindrance. And we still repaired the vaiumures by all
meanes possible, with Buffe skins, being moist and wet, throwing in also
earth, shreads, and cotton with water, being well bound together with
corde: all the women of Famagusta gathering themselues together into
companies in euery street (being guided of one of their Monkes called
Caloiiero) resorted daily to a certaine place appointed to labour, gathering
and prouiding for the souldiers, stones and water, the which was kept for
all assaults in halfe buts to quench the fire, which the Turks threw
amongst them.

Hauing had no great successe in taking of the gate, they found out a newe
way, neuer heard of before, in gathering together a great quantity of
certaine wood called Teglia. [Footnote: Teglia in Latine called Teda is a
certaine wood which burneth easily, and sauoreth vnpleasantly, of the which
there is great store in Sicilia: sometime it is vsed for a torch.] which
easily burned, and smelt very euill, the which they throwing before the
former gate of the Citie, and fagots fastened to the same, with certaine
beames besmeered with Pitch, kindled suddenly so great a fire, as was not
possible for vs to quench the same, although we threw vpon it whole Buts of
water, which were throwen downe from an high Commander, which Buts
presently brake in sunder.

[Sidenote: No necessarie thing to bee done was left vnattempted on either
tart.] This fire continued foure dayes, wherefore we were inforced by
reason of the extreame heat and stinch, to withdraw ourselves further
inward, and they descended towardes their lower flanckers, beganne other
mines, so that the gate was shut vp, because it would be no longer kept
open and suddenly (a thing maruellous to be spoken) the standing of the
Brey being repaired, and made vp againe, they planted one piece ouer
against the gate, the which of vs with stones, earth and other things, was
suddenly buried vp.

[Sidenote: Mans courage oft abateth, but hope seldome forsaketh.] By this
time we were driuen to an exigent, all our prouision within the citie
stooing very lowe, sauing onely hope, the noble courage of the Gouernours
and Captaines, and the stout readinesse of the Souldiours: our wine, and
flesh as well powdered as vnpowdered was spent, nor there was any Cheese to
be gotten, but vpon an vnreasonable price, our company hauing eating vp
their Horses, Asses, and Cats, for lacke of other victualls: there was
nothing left to be eaten, but a small quantitie of Bread, and Beanes, and
we dranke water and Vinegar together, whereof was not much left. When that we perceived that our enemies had digged and cast up three mines in the Commander of the gate, they labouring in all places more diligently then ever they did before, bringing into the ditch, over against the battery of the Cortaine, a hill of earth, as high as the wall: and already they came to the wall above the counterscharfe over against the Turrion of the Arsenall, and had made one Commander complete, fenced with shares, like unto plough shares, in proportion and height correspondent to ours.

Within the City were remaining but five hundred Italian Soldiers, who were not hurt, yet very faint and weary by their long watching and pains in fighting in those fervent and burning heates, which are in those parts.  [Footnote: In July the heat is so extreme in this Island, that the inhabitants thereof are not wont to travel, but by night only.]  
[Sidenote: A letter of supplication exhibited by the Cypriotes unto Sig. Bragadino.] And the greater and better part, also of the Grecians were by this time slaine, whenas the chief of those Citizens remaining did fully resolve themselves (the which was about the twentieth day of July) to present a supplication in writing to that noble gentleman Bragadino Proueditore, desiring and beseeching him, that seeing their City and Fortresse was thus battered and brought to extremity, without sufficient ayde to defend the same, without substance or sustenance, having no hope of succour, or any newe supply, they having spent and consumed not onely their goods, but also their lives for the defence of them, and in testifying of their dutifull service towards the noble and royall state of the Segnorie of Venice, that it might nowe please him, and the rest of the honourable Gouernours, that were present, and put in trust, having a carefull eye unto
some honourable conditions, to have now at the last a respect to the credit
and honour of their long travelled wives, and the safeguard of their poor
children, which otherwise were shortly very like to be a pray to their
bloodthirsting and ravening enemies. [Sidenote: The answer of the former
letter.] To the which letter or supplication speedy answer was made by the
forenamed honourable Bragadino, comforting them, that they should by no
means abate their courage, and that shortly he looked for succour from the
Segnorie, diminishing as much as he might, the fear which they had
conceived in their hearts, dispatching and sending away suddenly from
Cyprus into Candia, a Pinnesse to certify the duke and governours there,
in what extremity they were. The Turkes by this time had ended their
mines, and set them on fire, the 29. of July; in the which space our men,
according as they were wont to doe, renewed and made vp againe the vaumures
ruined before by the ordinance, and having no other stuffe left to advance
them with, made sackes of Kersie, unto the which the noble Tiepolo
diligently looked. [Sidenote: It standeth with reason, in hope of sauing
the greater, to let the lesser go.] The three mines of the Commander did
great damage to vs, having thrown downe the greater part of the earth,
whereas the the governour Randacchi was slaine. The mine of the Arsenall
overtrew all the rest of the Turrion, having smoldered and choked one
whole garrison of our soldiers, the two flanckers onely still remaining.

The fifth assault.

The enemies travelled much to become masters of those foresayd flanckers,
and to sally forth by the other batteries, and this assault lasted from
three of the clocke in the after noone vntil night, where, and at what time
were slaine very many of our enemies. In this assault Sig. Giacomo
Strambali, amongst the rest, shewed much worthinesse, as hee had done
before in other conflicts.

The sixth and last assault.

The next morning following, at the breake of the day, they assailed all
places, the which assault continued more then sixe houres, with very little
hurt on our side, because our enemies fought more coldly then they were
wont to doe, annoyng of vs continually on the Sea side with their Gallies,
shooting in all their assaults and batteries continually Cannon shot in all
parts of the Citie, as neere as they might. After we had defended and
repulsed this assault, and perceiued things brought to a narrower straite
then they were wont to be at, wee hauing left in all the whole Citie but
seuen barrels of pouder, the gouernours of the Citie fully determined to
yeelde vp themselues and the Citie, with honourable conditions. [Footnote:
Necessitie oft times presseth vs in the end to that, which our will
continually spurneth against.] Wherefore the first of August in the after
noone, they tooke a truce, one being come for that purpose from Mustafa the
Generall, with whom they concluded the next morning following to giue two
hostages a piece, vntill such time as both armies were agreed. For our
hostages (by the appointment of the right honourable Bragadino) were sent
foorth the earle Hercole Martinengo, and Signior Matteo Colsi a Citizen of
Famagusta, and from our enemies came into the Citie the Lieutenant of
Mustafa, and the Aga of the Gianizzers, [Footnote: Giannezeri be the gard
of the great Turke, so that Aga de Giannizeri is the captaine of the Turkes
gard.] the which were met, euen vnto the gate of the Citie of Signiour
Baglione with two hundred harquebusers: ours also were met in like manner
with great pompe with horsemen and harquebusers, with the sonne also of
Mustafa in person, who made very much of them.

The Lord Baglione imparted with these hostages, which were then come for
that purpose of the articles of peace, requiring by them of their Generall,
their liues, armour, and goods, fiue pieces of Ordinance, three of the best
horses, and safe passage from thence vnto Candia accompanied with their
Gallies, and last of all, that the Grecians inhabiting the Island, might
dwell there still quietly, and enjoy peaceably their owne goods and
possessions, living still Christians hereafter, as they had done before.
All the which requests and articles were agreed vpon, granted, and
subscribed vnto by the hand of Mustafa. [Footnote: Iust Turkish dealing, to
speake and not to meane: sodainly to promise, and neuer to perform the
same.] Foorthwith were sent Gallies, and other vessels into the hauen, so
that our soldiers immediately began to imbarke themselues, of the which
the greater part were already gone aboorde, the Nobilitie and our chiefe
Captaines also being likewise very desirous to depart.

The 15. of August in the morning, the worthy Bragadino sent me with a
letter vnto Mustafa, by the which hee signified, that the same night hee
would come vnto him to deliuer vp the keyes of the Citie, and that he would
leave in the holde the honourable gentleman Tiepolo, praying him therefore,
that whilst hee should haue iust cause thus to bee abroad, that there
might be no harme done at home, and in the Citie. The Turkes from our truce
taking vntill that time, practised with vs all familiarly, and without any
suspition of sinister or double dealing, they having shewed vs much
courtesie both in word and deede. Mustafa himselfe by worde of mouth 
presently answered me to this letter, in this sort, that I should returne, 
and make relation to this noble man Bragadino, who had sent mee, that he 
should come ouer to him at his owne pleasure, for hee was very desirous 
both to see and know him, for his great worthinesse and prowesse, that hee 
had tried to be in him, and in the other of his Captaines and Souldiers, of 
whose manhood and courage he would honourably report, where soeuer he came, 
as occasion should serue thereunto: and to conclude, that hee should 
nothing doubt of any thing: because in no maner of condition hee would 
suffer any violence to be done to those, which remained behind within the 
Citi. So I speedily returning made true report of the same: and towards 
night about foure of the clocke, the right honourable Bragadino accompanied 
with the L. Baglione, with Signior Aluigi Martinengo, with the right 
worshipfull Signior Gio. Antonio Querini, with the right worshipfull 
Signior Andrea Bragadino, with the knight of Haste, with the captaine Carlo 
Ragonasco, with captaine Francesco Straco, with captaine Hector of Brescia, 
with captaine Girolomo di Sacile, and with other gentlemen and fiftie 
souldiours, the Gouernours and Noble men with their swordes, and the 
souldiours with their harquebuzes came foorth of their hold, and went vnto 
the pauillion of Mustafa, of whom, all they at the beginning were 
curteously receiued, and caused to sit downe by him, he reasoning and 
discoursing with them of diuers things, a certaine time, and drawing them 
from one matter to another, at the last vpon a sudden picked a quarell vnto 
them, especially burdening that noble Bragadino with an vntrueth, laying to 
his charge that he had caused certaine of his slaues in the time that the 
truce continued between them, to be put to death. The which thing was most 
false. So that hee being angry therewith, suddenly stept foorth, and 
commaundd them to bee bound. Thus they being vnarmed (not suffered at that
time to enter into his pauillion, with their former weapons) and bound,
were led one by one into the market place, before his pauillion, being
presently cut and hewn in sunder in his presence, and last of all from
that woorthy and noble Bragadino (who being bound as the rest, and being
commaunded twice or thrice to stretch foorth his necke, as though hee
should haue bene beheaded, the which most boldly hee did without any sparke
of feare) his eares were cut off, and causing him to bee stretched out most
vilely vpon the ground, Mustafa talked with him, and blasphemed the holy
name of our Sauiour, demaunding him; where is now thy Christ, that hee
helpeth thee not? [Footnote: The propertie of true fortitude is, not to be
broken with sudden terrors. Mustafa, cosin germaine to the thiefe, which
hong on the left side of our Sauiour at his Passion.] To all the which no
answere at all was giuen of that honourable gentleman. The earle Hercole
Martinengo, which was sent for one of the hostages, who was also bound, was
hidden by one of Mustafas eunuches vntill such time as his furie was past,
afterward his life being graunted him, hee was made the eunuches slaue.
Three Grecians which were vnder his pauillion were left vntouched. All the
souldiers which were found in the campe, and all sortes of Christians to
the number of three hundred, were suddenly slaine, they nothing mistrusting
any such treason, or tirannie. The Christian souldiers which were embarked
a little before, were linked and fettered with iron chaines, made slaues,
all things being taken from them; and stripped into their shirtes.

The second day after this murther was committed, which was the 17. of
August, Mustafa entred the first time into the Citie, and caused the
valiant and wise gouernour Tiepolo to bee hanged, who remained behind,
waiting the returne of Signior Bragadino. I being in the citie at that
present, when other of my countreymen were thus miserably slaine and made
slaves, hid my selfe in certaine of the Grecians houses the space of fiue
dayes, and they not being able to keepe mee in couert any longer for feare
of the great penaltie, which was proclaimed agaynst such transgressors and
concealers, I offred, and gaue my selfe slave to one Sangiaccho del Bir,
promising him fiue hundred Zechins [Footnote: Zechini, be certaine pieces
of fine gold coined in Venice, euery one of the which is in value sixe
shillings eight pence of our mony, and somewhat better: and equal
altogether to a Turkish Byraltom.] for my ransome, with whom I remained in
the Campe. The Friday folowing (being the Turkes sabbath day) this woorthy
and patient gentlemen Bragadino was led still in the presence of that
unfaithfull tirant Mustafa, to the batteries made vnto the Citie, whereas
he being compelled to cary two baskets of earth, the one vpon his backe:
the other in his hand slave-like, to euery sundry battrie, being enforced
also to kisse the ground as oft as he passed by him, was afterward brought
vnto the sea side, where he being placed in a chaire to leane and stay
vpon, was winched vp in that chaire, and fastened vnto the maineyard of a
galley, and hoisted vp with a crane, to shew him to all the Christian
souldiers and slaves (which were in the hauen already shipped) hee being
afterward let downe, and brought to the market place, the tormentors tooke
of his clothes from him, and tacked him vnto the pillorie, whereas he was
most cruelly flaid quicke; with so great constancie and faith on his part,
that be neuer lost or abated any iot of his stedfast courage, being so
farre from any fainting, that hee at that present with most stout heart
reproched them, and spake much shame of his most traitorous dealing in
breaking of his faithfull promise. At the last without any kind of
alteration of his constancie, he recommending his soule vnto almightie God,
gave vp the ghost. When hee had thus ended his life (thanks be to God) his
skin being taken and filled with strawe, was commanded forthwith to be
hanged vpon the bowsprit of a Foist, [Footnote: A Foist as it were a
Brigandine, being somewhat larger then halfe a galley, much vsed of the
Turkish Cursaros, or as we call them Pirates or Rouers.] and to be caried
alongst the coast of Syria by the sea side, that all the port townes might
see, and understand who he was.

This is now so much as I am able to declare to your highnesse by that I
sawe my selfe, and can remember whilst that I was in the Fortresse: that
also which by true relation of others I could understand, and sawe also my
selfe in the campe, whilst I was slaue, I will likewise briefly vtter vnto
you. The enemies armie was in number, two hundred thousand persons of all
sortes and qualities. Of souldiers which tooke pay there were 80. thousand,
besides the which number, there were l4. thousand of Giannizzers taken out
from all the holdes of Syria, Caramania, Natolia, and part of them also
which came from the gate [Footnote: The gate of the great Turke, is as much
to say, as Constantinople: the which they call in the Turkish language
Stanboll.] of the great Turke. The venturers with the sword were 60.
thousand in number. The reason, why there were so many of this sort, was
because Mustafa had dispersed a rumour through the Turkes dominion, that
Famagusta was much more wealthy and rich, then the citie of Nicosia was: so
for that cause, and by the commodious and easie passage from Syria ouer
into Cyprus, these venturers were easily induced to come thither.

[Footnote: Gli Venturieri da spada, are a kind of venturing souldiers, who
commonly are wont to follow the army in hope of the spoile.] In 75. dayes
(all the which time the batterie still continued) 140. thousand iron
pellets were shot of, numbred, and seene. The chiefe personages which were
in their armie neere vnto Mustafa, were these following; the Bassa of Aleppo, [Footnote: Aleppo, a famous citie neere vnto Antiochia, otherwise called in Greeke, [Greek: haeliopolis], the city of the Sunne.] the Bassa of Natolia, Musafer Bassa of Nicosia, the Bassa of Caramaniai, the Aga of the Giannizzers, Giambelat Bey, [Footnote: Bey in the Turkish language, signifieth knight with vs.] the Sangiaccho of Tripolis, the Begliarbei of Greece, [Footnote: Begliarbei signifieth lord Admirall.] the Bassa of Sciuassi and of Marasco, Ferca Framburaro, the Sangiaccho of Antipo, [Footnote: Sangiaccho, is that person with the Turkes, that gouerneth a province or countrey.] Soliman Bey, three Sangiacchos of Arabia, Mustafa Bey general of the Venturers, Fergat gouernour of Malathia, the Framburaro of Diuerie, the Sangiaccho of Arabia and other Sangiacchos of lesser credite, with the number of fourescore thousand persons beside, as by the muster made by his Commission might well appeare.

The Framburaro which was at Rhodes, was appointed and left gouernour at Famagusta, and the report was that there should bee left in all the Island of Cyprus, twentie thousand persons, with two thousand horses, many of the which I saw, being very leane and euill appoynted for seruice. It seemeth also a thing not impertinent to the matter, to signifie to you, how I, by the especiall grace of God, was deliuered out of their cruell hands, [Footnote: God suffereth much to be done to his seruants, but neuer forsaketh them.] I hauing paied within two and fortie dayes (all the which time I was slaue) fiue hundred Zechins for my ransome to him, whose prisoner I was, by the meanes of the Consul for the French merchants, a Ligier then at Tripolis, who a little before came from Tripolis in Syria vnto Cyprus, into the Turkes campe. Yet for all that I had paied this summe
of money to him, hee would not so set me at libertie, but fed mee vp still
with faire wordes, and promised mee that hee would first bring mee vnto his
gouernment, which abutted vpon a piece of the famous riuer of Euphrates,
and dismisse me. The which malice and falsehood of his I perceiuing,
determined with my selfe to giue him the slip, [Footnote: Necessitie oft
times sharpeneth mens wits, and causeth boldnes.] and to flie: so I waiting
my time, and repairing often to the Citie, at length met with a small
Fisher boate, of the which a small saile made of two shirts, I passed ouer
from Cyprus vnto Tripolis, being in very great danger of drowning, whereas
I remained in couert in the house of certaine Christians, vntill the fiue
and twentie of September, at what time I departed from thence in a little
French shippe called Santa Vittor, which came into these partes, and as wee
rode, wee touched at a part of Cyprus Westward, called Capo delle Gatte,
where as I came on land, and talking with certaine of the inhabitants of
the Villages, who were then by chaunce a Hauking, demaunded of them, how
they were intreated of the Turkes, and after what sort the Island was
tilled: to the which they answered, that they could not possiblie bee in
worse pickle then they were at that present, not enioying that quietly
which was their owne, being made villains and sluaes, and almost alwayes
carying away the Bastonados, so that now (they sayd) they knew by triall
too perfectly the pleasant and peaceable gouernment of the Christians,
wishing and praying God that they might shortly returne. [Footnote: The
nature of euery commoditie is sooner vnderstood by lacking, then by
continuall enioying of the same.] And concerning the tillage of the Island
they made answere moreouer, that no part of it was plowed or laboured,
sauing onely that mountaine which was towards the West, and that because
they were little troubled with the crueltie of the Turkes, but as for the
plaine and east part of the Island, there was small seede sowen therein,
but became in a maner desert, there being left but few inhabitants, and
lesse store of cattell there. Afterward wee departing from thence we
arrived in Candia. [Footnote: Candia of the old writers called Creta in
Latin, [Greek: Hekatompolis] in Greek, because it had once a 100. Cities in
it, now there remaining but onely 4. thus commonly named, Candia, la Cania,
Retima, and Scythia.] I for my part being clothed in sackecloth, whereas
soone after by the great curtesie of the right honourable Signior Latino
Orsino, I was new apparelld accordingly, friendly welcommed, and my
necessitie relieued. From whence I shortly after sayling in a Cypriettes
ship (thankes be to almightie God) arriued in this Citie in health, and am
safely come home now at the honorable feete of your highnesse.

The Captains of the Christians slaine in Famagusta.

The lord Estor Baglione.
The lord Aluigi Martinengo.
The lord Federico Baglione.
The knight of Asta Vicegouernor.
The Capitaine Dauid Noce Master of the Campe.
The capitaine Meani of Perugia Serieant Maior.
The earle Sigismond of Casoldo.
The earle Francesco of Lobi of Cremona.
The captaine Francesco Troncailla.
The captaine Hannibal Adama of Fermo.
The captaine Scipio of the citie of Castello.
The captaine Charles Ragonasco of Cremona.
The captaine Francesco Siraco.
The captaine Robeto Maluezzo.
The captaine Casar of Aduersa.
The captaine Bernardin of Agubio.
The captaine Francesco Bugon of Verona.
The captaine Iames of Fabiana.
The captaine Sebastian del Sole of Florence.
The captaine Hector of Brescia, the successour to the captaine Casar of Aduersa.
The captaine Flaminio of Florence, successor vnto Sebastian del Sole.
The captaine Erasmus of Fermo, successor to the captaine of Cernole.
The captaine Bartholomew of Cernole.
The captaine Iohn Battista of Riuarole.
The captaine Iohn Francesco of Venice.

The names of Christians made slaues.

The Earle Herocles Martinengo, with Iulius Casar Ghelfo a Souldiour of Bressa.
The earle Nestor Martinengo, which fled.
The captaine Marco Cruellatore.
The lord Herocles Malatesta.
The captaine Peter Conte of Montalberto.
The captaine Horatio of Veletri.
The captaine Aluigi Pezano.
The Conte Iames of Corbara.
The captaine Iohn of Istria.
The captaine Soldatelli of Agubio.
The captaine Iohn of Ascoli.
The captaine Antonie of the same towne.
The captaine Sebastian of the same towne.
The captaine Salgano of the citie of Castello.
The captaine Marcheso of Fermo.
The captaine Iohn Antonio of Piacenza.
The captaine Carletto Naldo.
The captaine Lorenzo Fornaretti.
The captaine Barnardo of Brescia.
The captaine Barnardino Coco.
The captaine Simon Bagnese, successour to the captaine Dauid Noce.
The captaine Tiberio Ceruto, successor vnto Conte Sigismond.
The captaine Ioseph of Lanciano, successour vnto captaine Francesco Troncauilla.
The captaine Morgante, successor to captain Hannibal.
The Lieutenant, successour vnto the captaine Scipio.
The Standerd bearer, successour to captaine Roberto.
The captaine Ottauia of Rimini, successour to the captaine Francesco Bugon.
The captaine Mario de Fabiano, successour to captaine Iacomo.
The captaine Francesco of Venice, successour vnto captaine Antonio.
The captaine Matteo of Capua.
The captaine Iohn Maria of Verona.
The captaine Mancino.

The Fortifiers.

Iohn Marmori, slaine.
The knight Maggio, slaeue.

Turkish Captaines at Famagusta.

Mustafa Generall.
The Bassa of Aleppo.
The Bassa of Natolia, slaine.
Musafer Bassa of Nicosia.
The Bassa of Catamania.
The Aga of the Giannizers.
Giambelat Bey.
The Sangiaccho of Tripolis, slaine.
The Beglarbei of Greece.
The Bassa of Sciuassi and Marasco.
Ferca Framburaro.
The Sangiaccho of Antipo, slaine.
Soliman Bey, slaine.
Three Sangiacchos of Arabia slaine.
Mustafa Bey, General of the Venturers, slain.
Fergat, ruler of Malathia, slaine.
The Framburaro of Diuerie, slaine.

* * * * *

The renewing and increasing of an ancient and commodious trade vnto diuerse places in the Leuant seas, and to the chiefest partes of all the great

This trade into the Leuant (as is elsewhere mentioned) was very usuall and much frequented from the yeere of our Lord 1511, till the yeere 1534, and afterwards also, though not so commonly, vntill the yeere 1550, when as the barke Aucher vnder the conduct of M. Roger Bodenham made a prosperous voyage vnto Sicilia, Candia, Sio, and other places within the Leuant. Since which time the foresaid trade (notwithstanding the Grand Signiors ample priuilege granted to M. Anthony lenkenson 1553, and the strong and weighty reasons of Gaspar Campion for that purpose) was utterly discontinued, and in maner quite forgotten, as if it had neuer bene, for the space of 20 years and more. Howbeit, the discreete and worthy citizens Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper seriously considering what benefite might grow to the common wealth by renuing of the foresaid discontinued trade, to the inlarging of her Maiesties customes, the furthering of nauigation, the venting of diuerse generall commodities of this Realme, and the inriching of the citie of London, determined to vse some effectuall meanes for the reestablishing and augmenting thereof.

[Sidenote: The voyage of Iohn Wight, and Ioseph Clements to Constantinople.] Wherefore about the yeere 1575 the foresaid R. W. marchants at their charges and expenses sent Iohn Wight and Ioseph Clements by the way of Poland to Constantinople, where the said Ioseph remained 18 monethes to procure a safe conduct from the grand Signior, for M. William Harborne, then factor for Sir Edward Osborne, to haue free accesse into his Highnes dominions, and obtained the same.
Which businesse after two yeres chargeable trauell and suit being accomplished, the sayd M. Harborne the first of Iuly 1578 departed from London by the sea to Hamburgh, and thence accompanied with Ioseph Clements his guide and a seruant, he trauelled to Leopolis in Poland, and then apparelling himselfe, his guide, and his seruant after the Turkish fashion (hauing first obteyned the king of Poland his safe conduct to passe at Camienijecz the frontier towne of his dominions next vnlo Turky) by good means he obtained fauour of one Acmet Chaus the Turks ambassadour then in Poland, and readie to returne to Constantinople, to bee receiued into his companie and carouan. And so the fourth of September 1578 he departed with the said Acmet from Leopolis in Poland, and travelling through Moldauia, Valachia, Bulgaria, and Romania, gratifying the Voiauodes with certaine courtesies, he arriued at Constantinople the 28 of October next insuing. Where he behaued himselfe so wisely and discreetly, that within few moneths after he obtained not onely the great Turkes large and ample priuiledge for himselfe, and the two worshipfull persons aforesaid, but also procured his honourable and friendly letters vnlo her Maiestie in maner following.

* * * * *

The letters sent from the Imperiall Musulmanlike highnesse of Zuldan Murad Can, to the sacred regall Maiestie of Elizabeth Queene of England, the fifteenth of March 1579, conteyning the grant of the first priuileges.
In greatness and glory most renowned Elizabeth, most sacred Queene, and
noble prince of the most mightie worshippers of Iesus, most wise gouernour
of the causes and affaires of the people and family of Nazareth, cloud of
most pleasant raine, and sweetest fountaine of noblenesse and vertue, ladie
and heire of the perpetuall happinesse and glory of the noble Realme of
England (whom all sorts seeke vnto and submit themselues) we wish most
prosperous successe and happie ends to all your actions, and do offer vnto
you such pleasures and curtesies as are worthy of our mutuall and eternall
familiaritie: thus ending (as best beseemeth vs) out former salutations.

In most friendly maner we giue you to vnderstand, that a certaine man hath
come vnto vs in the name of your most excellent Regall Maiestie, commending
vnto vs from you all kindnesse, curtesie and friendly offices on your part,
and did humbly require that our Imperiall highnesse would vouchsafe to giue
leaue and libertie to him and vnto two other merchants of your kingdome
[Sidenote: These two were Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper.], to
resort hither and returne againe, and that by way of traffike they might be
suffered to trade hither with their goods and merchandizes to our Imperiall
dominions, and in like sort to make their returne.

Our stately Court and Countrey hath beene euer open for the accessse both of
our enemies and friends. But because we are informed that your most
excellent Regall Maiestie doth abound with good will, humanitie, and all
kind of louing affection towards vs, so much the rather shall the same our
Countrey be alwayes open to such of your subiects, as by way of merchandize
shall trade hither: and we will neuer faile to aide and succor any of them
that are or shall be willing to esteem of our friendship, favour, and assistance: but will reckon it some part of our dutie to gratifie them by all good meanes. And forasmuch as our Imperiall highnesse is giuen to understand that your most excellent Regall Maiestie doth excell in bountie and curtesie, we therefore haue sent out our Imperiall commandement to all our kings, iudges, and travellers by sea, to all our Captaines and voluntarie seafaring men, all condemned persons, and officers of Ports and customes, straightly charging and commanding them, that such foresaid persons as shall resort hither by sea from the Realme of England, either with great or small vessels to trade by way of marchandize, may lawfully come to our imperiall Dominions, and freely returne home againe, and that no man shall dare to molest or trouble them. [Sidenote: He calleth the Germaine emperor but king of Germanie.] And if in like sort they shall come into our dominions by land, either on foote or on horsebacke, no man shall at any time withstand or hinder them: but as our familiars and confederates, the French, Venetians, Polonians, and the king of Germany, with diuers other our neighbours about vs, haue libertie to come hither, and to returne againe into their owne countreys, in like sort the marchants of your most excellent Regall Maiesties kingdome shall haue safe conduct and leave to repayre hither to our Imperiall dominions, and so to returne againe into their owne Country: straightly charging that they be suffered to vse and trade all kind of marchandize as any other Christians doe, without let or disturbance of any.

[Sidenote: The Turke demandeth like priuiledges for his subjects in the Queenes dominions.] Therefore when these our Imperiall letters shall be brought to your most excellent Maiestie, it shall be meet, according to our
beneuolence, humanity, and familiarity toards your most excellent Maiesty, 
that you likewise bethinke your selfe of your like beneuolence, humanitie 
and friendshipe towards vs, to open the gate thereof vnto vs, and to 
nourish by all good meanes this kindnesse and friendship: and that like 
libertie may be granted by your Highnesse to our subiects and merchants to 
come with their merchandizes to your dominions, either by sea with their 
ships, or by land with their wagons or horses, and to returne home againe: 
and that your most excellent Regall Maiestie do alwayes declare your 
humanitie, good will, and friendship towards vs, and alwayes keepe open the 
dore thereof vnto vs.

Giuen at our citie of Constantinople the fifteenth day of March, and in the 
yeere of our most holy Prophet Mahomet. [Marginal note: With vs the yeere 
1579.]

* * * * *

The answere of her Maiestie to the aforesaid Letters of the Great Turke, 
sent the 15 of October 1579, in the Prudence of London by Master Richard 
Stanley.

Elizabetha Dei ter maximi, et vnici coeli terraque Conditoris gratia, 
Anglia, Francia et Hibernia regina, fidei Christiana contra omnes omnium 
inter Christianos degentium, et Christi nomen falso profitentium 
Idololatrias inuictissima et potentissima Defensatrix, augustissimo, 
inuictissimoque principi Sultan Murad Can, Turcici regni dominatori
potentissimo, Imperijque orientis, Monarcha supra omnes soli et supremo, 
salutem, et multos cum rerum optimarum affluentia foelices, et fortunatos 
annis. Augustissime et inuictissime Caesar, accepius inuictissima Casarea 
vestra celsitudinis literas, die decimoquinto Martij currentis anni ad nos 
scriptas Constantinopoli, ex quibus intelligimus quam benigne quamque 
clementer, litera supplices qua Casarea vestra celsitudini a quodam subdito 
nostro Guilielmo Hareborno in Imperiali Celsitudinis vestra ciuitate 
Constantinopoli commorante offerebantur, litera profectionis pro se et 
sociis eius duobus hominibus mercatoribus subditis nostris cum mercibus 
suis ad terras ditionesque Imperio vestro subiectas iam per mare quam per 
terras, indeque reuersionis venia potestatisque humillimam complexa 
petitionem, ab inuictissima vestra Casarea celsitudine, accepta fuerunt. 
Neque id solum, sed quam mira cum facilitate, dignaque augustissima Casarea 
clementia, quod erat in dictis literis supplicibus positum, ei sociisque 
suis donatum et concessum fuit, pro ea, vi videtur, solum opinione, quam 
de nobis, et nostra amicitia vestra celsitudo concepit. Quod singular 
beneficium in dictos subditos nostros collatum tam grate tamque beneuole 
accepius (maximas celsitudini vestra propterea et agentes, et habentes 
gratias) nullo vt vnquam patiemur tempore, pro facultatum nostrarum 
ratione, proque ea quam nobis inseuit ter maximus mundi monarcha Deus (per 
quam et cuius auspicij regnamus) natura bonitate, qua remotissimas nos 
esse voluit, et abhorrentes ab ingratitudinis omni vel minima suspitione, 
docuitque nullorum vnquam vt principum, villis in nos meritis nos sineremus 
vinci, aut superari, vt apud ingratam principem tantum beneficium 
deposuisse, se vestra Celsitudo existimet. Proptereaque animum nostrum 
inpraeintiurum vestra celsitudini emetimur, bene sentiendo et pradicando, 
quanto per nos obstrictas beneficiij huius in subditos nostros collati 
putemus memoria sempiterna: longe vberiorem, et ampliorem gratitudinis erga
vestram celsitudinem nostra testificationem datura, cum tempora incident,
vt possimus et a nobis desiderabitur. Quoniam autem qua nostrius paucis
subditis, eaque suis ipsorum precibus, sine vlla intercessione nostra
concessa donatio est, in aque libera potestate sita est ad omnes terras
ditionesque Imperio vestro subiectas, com mercibus suis tam per mare quam
per terras eundi et redeundi, atque inuictissima Casarea vestra
celsitudinis confœderatis, Gallis, Polonis, Venetis, atque adeo regis
Romanorum subditis largita vnum aut donata fuit, celsitudinem vestram
rogamus ne tam singularis beneficentia laus in tam angustis terminis duorum
aut trium hominum concludatur, sed ad vniuersos subditos nostrus diffusa,
propagataque, celsitudinis vestra beneficium eo reddat augustius, quo
eiusdem donatio latius patebit, et ad plures pertinebit. Cuius tam
singularis in nos beneficij meritum, eo erit celsitudini vestra minus
poenitendum, quo sunt merces illa, quibus regna nostra abundant, et aliorum
principum ditiones egent, tam humanis vsibus comoda tamque necessaria,
nulla gens vt sit, qua eis carere queat, proptereaque longissimis,
difficillimisque itineribus conquisitis non vehementer gaudeat. Carius
autem distrabunt alijs, quo ex labore suo quisque victum et quastum
quaritat, adeo vt in earum acquisitione vtllitas, in emptione autem ab
alijs onus sit. Vtllitas celsitudinis vestra subditis augebitur libera hac
paucorum nostrorum hominum ad terras vestras perfectione: onus minuctur,
profectionis, quorumcunque subditorum nostrorum donatione. Accedet præterea
qua a nobis in celsitudinis vestra subditos proficiscetur, par, aquaque
mercium exercendarum libertas, quoties et quando voluerint ad regna
dominaque nostra mercatura gratia accedere. Quam celsitudini vestra
pollicemur tam amplam lateque patentem fore, quam est vlla a
confœderatorum vestrorum vllis principibus antedictis, regibus videlicet
Romanorum, Gallorum, Polonorum, ac republica Veneta, celsitudinis vestra
subditis vilium quam tempore concessa et donata. Qua in re si honesta
petitioni nostra invictissima Caesarea vestra celsitudo dignabitur
auscultate, facietque vt acceptis nostris literis intelligamus gratum ne
habitura sit quod ab ea contendibus et rogamus, ea proposita prastitaque
securitate, qua subditos nostros quoscunque ad dominia sua, terra, marique
proficientes, indeque reuerentes tutos et secures reddat ab omni
quorumcunque subditorum suorum iniuria, efficiemus, vt qua Deus opt. max.
in regna dominiaque nostrae contulit commoda (qua tam singularia sunt,
omnium vt principum animos pelliceant ad amicitiam, summaque necessitudinis
coniunctionem nobiscum contrahendam, stabiliendamque quo liberius tantis
summi Dei beneficij fruantur, quibus carere nequeunt) nostri subditi ad
regna dominiaque Celsitudinis vestra aduehunt tam afluentes tamque
cumulate, vt utrique incommodo praelato necessitatibus et oneris plenissime
succurratur. Facit præterea singularis ista Celsitudinis vestra in nos
Gentemque nostram summa benevolentia significatio ac fides, vt eandem, in
causam quorundam subditorum nostrorum, qui captiui triremibus vestris
detinentur, interpellamus, rogemusque, vt quoniam nullo in celsitudinem
vestram peccato suo, siue arma in eam ferendo, siue iniquius prater fas et
tius gentium se gerendo in suos subditos, in hanc calamitatem inciderint,
soluti vinculis, et libertate donati, nobis pro sua fide et obsequio
inscruentes, causam vbiorem praebeant vestra Celsitudinis in nos
humanitatem pradiciendi: et Deum illum, qui solus, et supra omnia et omnes
est acerrimus idololatrina vindicator, suique honoris contra Gentium et
aliorum falsos Deos Zeleotes, pracadimur, vt vestræm invictissimam Casareaem
Celsitudinem omni beatitate eorum donorum fortunet, qua sola et summe iure
merito habentur desideratissima.
Data e Regia nostra Grenouici, prope ciuitatem nostram Londinum,
quintodecimo Mensis Octobris, Anno Iesu Christi Saluatoris nostri 1579,
Regni vero nostri vicessimo primo.

The same in English.

Elizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God, and onely Creatour of
heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, the most
inuincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all
kinde of idolatries, of all that liue among the Christians, and fully
professe the Name of Christ, vnto the most Imperiall and most inuincible
prince, Zaldan Murad Can, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie,
sole and aboue all, and most souereigne Monarch of the East Empire,
greeting, and many happy and fortunate yeeres, with abundance of the best
things.

Most Imperiall and most inuincible Emperour, wee haue receiued the letters
of your mightie highnesse written to vs from Constantinople the fifteenth
day of March this present yere, whereby we vnderstand how gratiously, and
how fauourably the humble petitions of one William Hareborne a subiect of
ours, resident in the Imperiall citie of your highnes presented vnto your
Majestie for the obteining of accesse for him and two other Marchants more
of his company our subiects also, to come with marchandizes both by sea and
land, to the countries and territories subject to your gouernment, and from
thence againe to returne home with good leave and libertie, were accepted
of your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse, and not that onely, but with
an extraordinarie speed and worthy your Imperial grace, that which was
caused by petition was granted to him, and his company in regard onely (as
it seemeth) of the opinion which your highnesse conceived of vs and our
amitie: which singular benefit done to our aforesaid subiects, wee take so
thankfully, and so good part (yeeding for the same our greatest thanks to
your highnesse) that we will never give occasion to your said highnesse
(according as time, and the respect of our affaires will permit) once to
thine so great a pleasure bestowed upon an ungrateful Prince. For the
Almighty God, by whom, and by whose grace we reign, hath planted in vs
this goodnesse of nature, that we detest and abhorre the least suspicion
of ingratitude, and hath taught vs not to suffer our selves to bee
ouermatched with the good demerits of other Princes. And therefore at this
time wee doe extende our good minde vnto your highnesse, by well
concerning, and publishing also abroad, how much we repute our selfe bound
in an euërsting remembrance for this good pleasure to our Subiects,
meaning to yeelde a much more large and plentifull testification of our
thankfulness, when time conuenient shall fall out, and the same shall bee
looked for at our handes.

But whereas that graunt which was giuen to a fewe of our Subiects, at their
onely request without any intercession of ours, standeth in as free a
libertie of comming and going to and from all the lands and kingdoms
subiect to your Maistrie, both by land and sea with marchandizes, as euer
was granted to any of your Imperial highnesse confederates, as namely to
the French, the Polonians, the Venetians, as also to the subjects of the
king of the Romanes, wee desire of your highnesse that the commendation of
such singular courtesie may not bee so narrowly restrained to two or three
men onely, but may be inlarged to all our subiects in generall, that
thereby your highnesse goodnesse may appeare the more notable, by reason of
the graunting of the same to a greater number of persons. The bestowing of
which so singular a benefit your highnesse shall so much the lesse repent
you of, by howe much the more fit and necessary for the vse of man those
commodities are, wherewith our kingdomes doe abound, and the kingdomes of
other princes doe want, so that there is no nation that can be without
them, but are glad to come by them, although by very long and difficult
travels: and when they haue them, they sell them much deerer to others,
because euery man seeketh to make profite by his labour: so that in the
getting of them there is profit, but in the buying of them from others
there is losse. But this profite will be increased to the subiects of your
highnesse by this free accesse of a few of our subiects to your dominions,
as also the losse and burden wilbe eased, by the permission of generall
accesse to all our people. And furthermore we will graunt as equall and as
free a libertie to the subiects of your highnesse with vs for the vse of
traffique, when they wil and as often as they wil, to come, and go to and
from vs and our kingdomes. Which libertie wee promise to your highnesse
shalbe as ample, and as large as any was euer giuen or granted to your
subiects by the aforesaide princes your confederate, as namely the king of
the Romanes, of France, of Poland, and the common wealth of Venice. In
which matter, if your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse shall vouchsafe
to incline to our reasonable request, and shall giue order vpon these our
letters, that wee may haue knowledge how the same is accepted of you, and
whether it wilbe granted, with sufficient securitie for our subiects to go,
and returne safe and secure from all violences and inuiries of your people,
we on the other side wil giue order, that those commodities which Almighty
God hath bestowed vpon our kingdomes (which are in deed so excellent, that
by reason of them all princes are drawen to enter, and confirme leagues of amitie and good neighborhood with vs, by that meanes to enjoy these so great blessings of God, which we haue, and they can in no case want) our subiects shall bring them so abundantly and plentifully to the kingdomes and dominions of your highnesse, that both the former inconueniences of necessitie, and losse, shall most sufficiently be taken away.

Moreouer the signification and assurance of your highnesse great affection to vs and our nation, doeth cause vs also to intreat and use mediation on the behalfe of certain of our subiects, who are deteined as slaues and captiues in your Gallies, for whom we craue, that forasmuch as they are fallen into that misery, not by any offence of theirs, by bearing of armes against your highnesse, or in behauing of themselues contrarie to honestie, and to the law of nations, they may be deliuered from their bondage, and restored to libertie, for their service towards vs, according to their dutie: which thing shall yeeld much more abundant cause to vs of commending your clemencie, and of beseeching that God (who onely is aboue all things, and all men, and is a most seuere reuenger of all idolatrie, and is ielous of his honour against the false gods of the nations) to adorne your most invincible Imperiall highnesse with all the blessings of those gifts, which onely and deseruedly are accounted most worthy of asking.

Giuuen at our palace of Greenwich, neere to our citie of London, the fiue and twentieth day of October, in the yeere of Iesus Christ our Sauiour one thousand, fiue hundreth, seuentie and nine, and of our reigne the one and twentieth.
The charter of the privileges granted to the English, and the league of the
great Turke with the Queenes Maiestie in respect of traffique, dated in
June 1580.

 Immensa et maxima ex potestate potentissimi, terribilibusque verbis et
nunquam finienda innumerabiliue clementia et ineffabili auxilio sanctissimi
et pura mente colendissimi tremendissimique moderna atatis monarcha, totius
orbis terrarum potentribus sceptrum dividere potens, clementia, gratiaque
diuina vmbra, regnorum provinciarumue, et urbium ciuitatumue distributor
permultarum: Nos sacratissimus Casar Muzulmanicus Meccha, id est domus
diuina, Medina, gloriosissima et beatissima Ierusalem, Aegypti
fertilissima, Iemen, et Zouan, Eden et Canan, Sami pacifera et Hebes, labza
et Pazra, Zerazub et Halepia, Caramaria et Diabekiruan, et Dulkadiria,
Babylonia, et totius triplicis Arabia, Euzorum et Georgianorum, Cypri
diuitis, et regnorum Asia Ozakior, Camporum Maris albi et nigri, Gracia et
Mesopotamia, Africa et Goleta, Algeris et Tripolis occidentalis,
selectissimaque Europa, Buda, et Temeswar, et regnorum transalpinorum, et
his similium permultorum princeps Casarue sacerrimus, potentissimus Murad
Can, filius principis Zelim Can, qui fuit Zoleiman Can, qui fuit Zelim Can,
qui fuit Paiezid Can, qui fuit Mehemed Can, &c.

 Nos princeps potentissimos Murad Can hoc in signum nostra Casarea amicitia
significamus, manifestamus, quod in temporibus modernis Regina Anglia,
Francia, et Hibernia Elizabetha in Christianitate honoratissima Regina
(cuius mercatorum exitus sit foelicissimus) ad nostram excelsam, et
iustitia plenam, fulgidissimamue portam, qua omnibus principibus mundi est
refugium et requies, per egregium Gulielmum Harebornum literas misit suas,
quibus sua maiestas significauit, quod tempore praterito quidam subditi sui
venissent ad nostram portam excelsam, et suam obedientiam erga eam
demonstrassent, et ob eam causam illis quoque ad nostras ditiones
mercandi gratia venire et redire poscerent venia et potestas fuisset data:
et quod in locis et hospitijs eorum per mare et terram nemo auderet
impedire et illis damnun facere, mandatum Casareum fuisset datum: et quod
hanc nostram gratiam, quam paucis hominibus sua maiestatis
demonstrasssemus, vniuersis suis subditis concederemus petebat. [Sidenote:
Foedus Turcici Imperatoris cum Regina initum.] Quare, quemadmodum cum
serenissimis benevolentiam et obedientiam, seruitiaue sua demonstrantibus
erga nostram portam excelsam regibus et principibus confederatis (vt sunt
rex Gallorum. Veneti, et rex Polonorum, et cateri) pacem et foedus
sanctissimum pepigimus: sic etiam cum prafata Regina amicitiam
custodiendam, pacem et foedus coniunximus. Illius igitur homines, et
vniuersi mercatores, sine aliquo impedimento cum suis mercibus et oneribus
cunctis ad nostras ditionis Casareas pacifice et secure veniant, et suam
exerceant mercaturam, maneant in suis statibus, et secundum suos mores
negocientur. Et adhac, sua maiestas significabat ex hominibus suis aliquos
iamdudum captos fuisse, et in captiuitate detineri, et quod hi
dimiterentur petebat, et quod sicut alijs principibus nobiscum
confederatis priuilegia et mandate Casarea super foedus sanctissimum
dedissemus, sic prafata quoque Regina priuilegium et mandata Casarea
vt daremus, nostra Casarea celsitudini placeret. Quare secundum nostram
benevolentiam et gratiam innatam, optata sua maiestatis apud nos grata
fuere: Et hoc nostrum privilegium iustitiis plenum dedimus maiestata sua:
Et Beglerbegis, Zanziaecbegis famulis nostris, et Kazis, id est, iudicibus,
et omnibus telonioribus omnium locorum, portuum, et vadorum firmiter
mandamus, vt donec ex parte praefata regina foedus, et pax, et eorum
conditiones articulique (vt conuenit) custodiuntur et seruantur, nostra
quoque Casarea celsitudinis mandata sunt:

[Sidenote: Articuli huius privilegij.] 1 Vt praefata Regina homines, et
subditi eius quibusuis rebus et mercibus, oneribus et suppellectilibus per
mare in magnis et paruis nauibus, per terram autem homines cum oneribus et
pecoribus, secure et pacifice ad nostras ditiones Casareas veniant, et nemo
illis noceat, sed secure et sine aliquo impedimento negocientur, et in suis
statibus et conditionibus permaneant.

2 Item, si praefeti homines et mercatores in suis rectis vijs et
negociationibus aliquo modo caperentur, sine aliqua tergiuersione
dimittantur liberenturque.

3 Item, si naues eorum ad aliquos portus et loca venire voluerint, pacifice
omni in tempore, et sine impedimento veniant, et discendant in sua loca.

4 Item, si in tempestatibus maris naues eorum essent in periculo et auxilio
opus esset illis, naues nostra Casarea celsitudinis, earumque homines, et
aliornm naues hominesque statim auxilium et opem ferant illis, mandamus.
5 Item, si edulia suis pecunijs emere voluerint, nemo resistat illis, sed
sine impedimento edulia emant.

6 Item, si infortunium maris naues eorum in terram proiecerit, Begi et
iudices, et cateri nostri subditi sint auxilio illis, merces et res eorum
qua remanserint iterum reddantur illis, et nemo impediat illos.

7 Item, si prafata regina homines, eorum interpretetes, et mercatores, siue
per terram, siue per mare mercandi gratia ad nostras ditiones venire
velint, legitimo telonio, et vectigali reddito, pacifice vagentur,
capitanei et reges maris et nauium, et aliud genus hominum per mare
vagantium in personis, et rebus eorum, pecoribusque, ne noceant illis.

8 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis debitor, aut are alieno esset obstrictus,
inuenirique non possit, ratione debitorum alterius nullus nisi esset
fideiussor capiatur aut impediatur.

9 Item, si Anglus testamentum fecerit, et sua bona cuicunque legauerit,
illii dentur bona illius, et si sine testamento moreretur, consul eorum
cuicunque sociorum mortui hominis dixerit debere dari, illii, dentur bona
mortui hominis.

10 Item, si Angli, et ad Angliam pertinentium locorum mercatores et
interpretetes, in vendendis et emendis mercibus fideiussionibus et rebus
aliud negocij habuerint, ad iudicem veniant, et in librum inscribi
faciant negotium, et si voluerint, literas quoque accepiant a iudice,
propterea quod si aliquid incidisset, videant librum et literas, et secundum
tenorem eorum perficiatur negocia eorum suspecta: si autem neque in librum
inscriberentur, neque literas haberent, iudex falsa testimonia non
admittat, sed secundum iustitiam legem administrans non sinat illos
impediri.

11 Item, si aliquis disceret, quod isti Christiani nostra fidei Muzulmanica
male dixerint, et eam vituperis affecerint, in hoc negocio etiam et aliis,
testes falsi minime admittantur.

12 Item, si aliquis eorum aliquid facinus pataret, et fugiens non possit
inueniri, nullus nisi esset fideiussor pro alterius facto retineatur.

13 Item, si aliquid mancipium Anglicum inueniretur, et consul eorum peteret
illud, examinetur diligentur mancipium, et si inuentum fuerit Anglicum,
accipiatur, et reddatur Anglis.

14 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis hoc venerit habitandi aut mercandi gratia,
sine sit vxoratus, siue sit sine vxore, non saluat censum.

15 Item, si in Alexandria, in Damasco, in Samia, in Tunis, in Tripoli
occidentali, in Aegypti portubus et in alijs omnibus locis, vbicunque
voluerint facere Consules, faciant: Et iterum si voluerint eos mutare, et
in loco priorum consulum alios locare, libere faciant, et nemo illis
resistat.

16 Item, si illorum interpres in arduis negotijs occupatis abesset, donec veniret interpres, expectetur, et interem nemo illos impediat.

17 Item, si Angli inter se aliquam litem haberent et vellent ad suos consules ire, nemo resistat illis, sed libere veniant ad Consules suos, vt secundum mores eorum finiatur lis orta.

18 Item, si post tempus aut datum huius priuilegij, pirata, aut alij aliqui liberi gubernatores nauium per mare vagarites, aliquem ex Anglis ceperint, et trans mare vel cis mare venderint, secundum iustitiam examinetur: et si Anglus inuentus fuerit, et religionem Muzulmanicam assumpserit, libere dimittatur: si autem adhuc esset Christianas, Anglis reddatur, et emptores suam pecuniam ab illo petant, a quo emerant.

20 Item, si naues magna, et parua in itinere et loco vbi stant
detinebuntur, nemo illos audeat impedire, sed potius auxilio sint illis.

21 Item, si latrones et fures vi raperent naues illorum nauiumque merces,
magna diligentia quarantu latrones et fures, et seuerissime puniantur.

23 Ad extremum, Beglerbegij, et Zanziaebegi, Capitanei nostri, Mancipia, et
per mare nauigantes serui Capitaneorum, et Indices, et Teloniatores nauium
Reiz dicti, et liberi Rez, omnes isti prafati, secundum tenorem huius
priuilegij, tenoremue articulorum eius, omnia facere teneantur, et debeat.
Et donec hoc in priuilegio descriptum foedus, et pax illius Maiestatis ex
parte sancte seruabitur, et custodietur, ex parte etiam nostra Casarea
custodiri, et obseruari mandamus.

Datum Constantinopoli, anno nostri propheta Sanctissimi 988, in principio
mensis Iunij, anno autem Iesu 1580.

The interpretation of the letters, or pruilege of the most mightie and
Musumanlike Emperour Zuldan Murad Can, granted at the request of
Elizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God, and only Creator of
heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, confirming a
peace and league betwixt both the said Princes and their subject.

We most sacred Musolmanlike Emperor, by the infinite and exceeding great
power, by the euerlasting and wonderfull clemencie, and by the vnspeakable
helpe of the most mighty and most holy God, creator of all things, to be
worshipped and feared with all purenesse of minde, and reuerence of speech.

The prince of these present times the onely Monarch of this age, able to
giue scepters to the potentates of the whole world, the shadow of the
diuine mercy and grace, the distributer of many kingdoms, prouinces, townes
and cities, Prince, and most sacred Emperour of Mecca, that is to say, of
Gods house, of Medina, of the most glorious and blessed Ierusalem, of the
most fertile Egypt, Iemen and Iouan, Eden and Canaan, of Samos the
peaceable, and of Hebes, of Iabza, and Pazra, of Zeruzub and Halepia, of
Caramaria and Diabekiruan, of Dulkadiria, of Babylon, and of all the three
Arabias, of the Euzians and Georgians, of Cyprus the rich, and of the
kingdonmes of Asia, of Ozakior, of the tracts of the white and blacke Sea,
of Grecia and Mesopotamia, of Africa and Goleta, of Alger, and of Tripolis
in the West, of the most choise and principall Europe, of Buda and
Temeswar, and of the kingdonmes beyond the Alpes, and many other such like,
most mightie Murad Can, the sonne of the Emperour Zelim Can, which was the
sonne of Zoleiman Can, which was the sodne of Zelim Can, which was the
sonne of Paiizid Can, which was the sonne of Mehemed Can, &c.

We most mightie prince Murad Can, in token of our Imperiall friendship, doe
signifie and declare, that now of late Elizabeth Queene of England, France
and Ireland, the most honourable Queene of Christendom (to whose marchants
we wish happy successse) sent her letters by her worthy seruant William
Hareborne vnto our stately and most magnificent Porch replenished with
justice, which is a refuge and Sanctuary to all the prince of the world, by
which letters her Maiestie signified, that whereas heretofore certaine of
her subiects had repaired to our saide stately Porche, and had shewed their
obedience to the same, and for that cause had desired that leave and 
libertie might also be granted unto them, to come and goe for traffiques 
sake too and from our dominions, and that our Imperial commandement might 
be giuen, that no man should presume to hurt or hinder them, in any of 
their abodes or passages by sea or land, and whereas shee requested that we 
would graunt to all her subjects in generall, this our fauour, which before 
wee had extended onely to a fewe of her people: therefore as we haue entred 
into amitie, and most holy league with the most excellent kings and princes 
our confederates, shewing their deuotion, and obedience or servuices towards 
our stately Porch (as namely the French king, the Venetians, the king of 
Polonia and others) so also we haue contracted an inuiolable amitie, peace 
and league with the aforesaid Queene, Therefore wee giue licence to all her 
people, and marchants, peaceably and safely to come unto our imperiall 
dominions, with all their marchandise and goods without any impeachment, to 
exercise their traffique, to use their owne customes, and to buy and sell 
according to the fashions of their owne countrey.

And further her Maiestie signified unto vs, that certaine of her people had 
heretofore bene taken prisoners, and were detained in captiuitie, and 
required that they might bee set at libertie, and that as we had graunted 
unto other Princes our confederats, priuileges, and Imperiall decrees, 
concerning our most inuiolable league with them, so it would please our 
Imperial Maiesty to graunt and confirme the like priuileges, and princely 
decrees to the aforesaid Queene.

Wherefore according to our humanitie and gracious ingraffed disposition, 
the requests of her Maiestie we accepted of vs, and we haue granted unto
her Maiestie the privilege of ours agreeable to reason and equitie. And we
straightly command all our Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs our seruants, and
our Reyz, that is to say, our luges, and all our customers in all places,
hauens and passages, that as long as this league and amitie with the
conditions, and articles thereof, are kept and obserued on the behalfe of
the aforesaid Queene. 1 Our Imperiall commandement and pleasure is, that
the people and subjests of the same Queene, may safely and securely come to
our princely dominions, with their goods and marchandise, and laden, and
other commodities by sea in great and smal vessels, and by land with their
carriages and cattels, and that no man shall hurt them, but they may buy
and sell without any hinderance, and obserue the customes and orders of
their owne countrey.

2 Item, if the aforesaid people and marchants shalbe at any time in the
course of their iourneis and dealings by any meanes taken, they shall be
deliuered and inlarged, without any excuse or cauillation.

3 Item, if their ships purpose to arrriue in any of our ports and hauens, it
shalbe lawfull for them so to do in peace, and from thence againe to
depart, without any let or impediment.

4 Item, if it shall happen that any of their ships in tempestuous weather
shall bee in danger of losse and perishing, and thereupon shall stand in
need of our helpe, we will, and commaund that our men and ships be ready to
helpe and succour them.
5 Item, if they shalbe willing to buy any victuals for their money, no person shall withstande them, but they shall buy the same without any disturbance to the contrary.

6 Item, if by any casualtie their shippes shall bee driuen on shoare in perill of shipwracke, our Begs and judges, and other our subiects shall succour them, and such wares, and goods of theirs as shall bee recouered from the losse, shall bee restored to them, and no man shall wrong them.

7 Item, if the people of the aforesayd Queene, their interpreters and marchants, shall for traffique sake, either by lande or Sea repaire to our dominions paying our lawfull toll and custome, they shall haue quiet passage, and none of our captaines or gouernours of the Sea, and shippes, nor any kinde of persons, shall either in their bodies, or in their goods and cattells, any way molest them.

8 Item, If any Englishman shall grow in debt, and so owe money to any other man, and thereupon doth absent himselfe that he can not be found, let no man be arrested or apprehended for any other mans debt, except he be surety.

9 Item, if any Englishman shall make his will and testament to whom soeuer by the same hee shall giue his goods, the partie shall haue them accordingly, and if hee die intestate, hee to whom the Consull or gouernour of the societie shall say the goods of the dead are to bee giuen, hee shall
haue the same.

10 Item, if the Englishmen or the marchants and interpreters of any places vnder the iurisdiction of England shall happen in the buying and selling of wares, by promises or otherwise to come in controuersie, let him go to the ludge, and cause the matter to be entred into a booke, and if they wil, let them also take letters of the ludge testifying the same, that men may see the booke and letters, whatsoeuer thing shall happen, and that according to the tenour thereof the matter in controuersie and in doubt may be ended: but if such things be neither entred in booke, nor yet the persons haue taken letters of the ludge, yet he shall admit no false witnesse, but shall excute the Law according to iustice, and shall not suffer them to be abused.

11 Item, if any man shall say, that these being Christians haue spoken any thing to the derogation of our holy faith and religion, and haue slandered the same, in this matter as in all others, let no false witnesses in any case be admitted.

12 Item, if any one of them shall commit any great crime, and flying thereupon cannot bee found, let no man be arrested, or detained for another mans fact, except he be his suretie.

13 Item, if any slaue shall be found to be an Englishmen and their Consull or gouernour shall sue for his libertie, let the same slaue be diligently examined, and if hee be found in deed to be English, let him be discharged
and restored to the Englishmen.

14 Item, if any Englishman shall come hither either to dwel or trafique, whether hee be married or vnmarried, he shall pay no polle or head money.

15 Item, if either in Alexandria, Damasco, Samos, Tunis, Tripolis, in the west, the port townes of Agypt, or in any other places, they purpose to choose to themselves Consuls or governours, let them doe so, and if they will alter them at any time, and in the roome of the former Consuls place others, and let them do so also, and no man shall restraine them.

16 Item, if their interpreter shalbe at any time absent, being occupied in other serious matters, let the thing then in question bee stayed and differed till his coming, and in the meane time no man shall trouble them.

17 Item, if any variance or controuersie shall arise among the Englishmen, and thereupon they shall appeale to their Counsuls or governours, let no man molest them, but let them freely doe so, that the controuersie begunne may be finished according to their owne customes.

18 Item, if after the time and date of this privilege, any pirats or other free governours of ships trading the Sea shall take any Englishman, and shall make sale of him, either beyonde the Sea or on the side of the Sea, the matter shalbe examined to iustice, and if the partie shalbe found to be English, and shall receiue the holy religion, then let him freely be
discharged, but if he will still remaine a Christian, let him then be
restored to the Englishmen, and the buyers shall demand their money again
of them who sold the man.

19. Item, if the ships of warre of our Imperiall highnesse shal at anytime
go forth to Sea, and shall finde any English ships laden with merchandise,
no man shall hinder them, but rather shall use them friendly, and doe them
no wrong, even as we haue giuen and granted articles, and privileges to
the French, Venetians, and other Kings and princes our confederates, so
also we haue giuen the like to the English: and contrary to this our
divine lawe and privilege, let no man presume to doe any thing.

20 Item, if either their great or small ships shall in the course of their
voyage, or in any place to which they come, bee stayed or arrested, let no
man continue the same arrest, but rather helpe and assist them.

21 Item, if any theeves and robbers shall by force take away any of their
ships, and merchandise, let the same theeves and robbers be sought and
searched for with all diligence, and let them be punished most severely.

22 Last of all the Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs, our Captaines, our slaves
and servants of Captaines using the sea, and our ludgees, customers and
governours of ships called Reiz, and free Reiz, all these, according to the
tenor of this privilege and articles, shall be bound to doe accordingly: and
as long as the Queene of England on her part shall duly keep and observe
this league and holy peace, expressed in this privilege, we also for our
Imperial part, do charge and commaund the same so long to be straightly kept and observed.

Given at Constantinople, in the 988. yeere of our most holy prophet, in the beginning of the moneth of Iune, And in the yeere of Iesus 1580.

* * * * *

Her Maiesties, letter to the Turke or Grand Signior 1581. promising redresse of the disorders of Peter Baker of Ratcliffe, committed in the Leuant.

Elizabeth by the diuine grace of the eternall God, of England, France and Ireland most sacred Queene, and of the most Christian faith, against all the prophaners of his most holy Name the zealous and mightie defendour, &c.

To the most renowned and emperious Casar, Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of all the dominions of Turkie, and of all the East Monarchie chiefe aboue all others whosoever, most fortunate yeeres with the successe of al true happinesse. As with very great desire we wish and embrace the loue and amitie of forreine Princes, and in the same by al good dueties and meanes we seeke to bee confirmed: so to vs there may bee nothing more grievous and displeasing, then that any thing should happen through the default of our Subiects, which any way might bring our faith and fidelitie into suspition: Although wee are not ignorant how many good princes, by the like misaduenture be abused, where the doings of the Subiects are imputed to the want of good gouernment. But such mutters of importance and so well
approv’d we may not omit: such is to vs the sacred estimation of our
honour, and of our Christian profession, as we would the same should
appeare as well in the concluding of our promises and agreements, as in the
faithfull performing of the same.

The matter which by these our letters wee specially beholde, is a most
injuruous and grieuous wrong which of late came vnto our vnderstanding,
that should be done vnto certaene of your subiects by certaene of our
Subiects, at yet not apprehended: but with all seueretie vpon their
apprehension they are to be awarded for the same. [Footnote: This was Baker
of Ratcliffe, who with the barke called the Roe, robbed certaene Grecians
in the Leuant.] And as the deede in it selfe is most wicked, so it is much
more intollerable, by how much it doeth infringe the credit of our faith,
violate the force of our authoritie, and impeach the estimation of our word
faithfully giuen vnto your Imperiall dignitie. In which so great a disorder
if wee should not manifest our hatred towards so wicked and euill disposed
persons, we might not onely most lustly be reprou’d in the iudgement of all
such as truely fauour lustice, but also of all Princes the patrones of
right and equitie, might no lesse be condemned. That therefore considered,
which of our parts is ordained in this cause which may be to the good
liking of your highnesse, we are most especially to request of your
Imperiall Maiestie, that through the default and disorder of a son of euill
and wicked disposed persons, you wil not withdraw your gratious fauour from
vs, neither to hinder the traffique of our subiects, which by virtue of
your highnesse sufferance, and power of your licence are permitted to trade
into your dominion and countreys or that either in their persons or goods
they be preiudiced in their traueyling by land or by water, promising vnto
your greatnesse most faithfully, that the goods whereof your subiects by
great wrong and violence haue bene spoyled, shall wholly againe be
restored, if either by the liues or possessions of the robbers it may any
way be brought to passe: And that hereafter (as now being taught by this
euill example) wee wil haue speciall care that none vnnder the title of our
authoritie shall be suffered to commit any the like wrongs or injuries.

Neither they which haue committed these euil parts had any power vnnder your
highnesse safecoondt graunted vnto our subiects, but from some other
safecoondt whether it were true or fained, we knowe not, or whether they
bought it of any person within the gouernment of Marseils: but vnnder the
colour thereof they haue done that, which the trueth of our dealing doeth
utterly abhorre. Notwithstanding howsoeuer it be, wee wil surely measure
their euill proceedings with most sharpe and iust correction, and that it
shall repent them of the impeachment of our honours, as also it shalbe an
example of our indignation, that others may dread at all times, to commit
the like offence. Wherefore that our amitie might be continued, as if this
vnfortunate hap had neuer chanced, and that the singuler affection of our
Subiects towards your Imperiall Maiestie vowed, and dayly more and more
desired, might be conserved and defended, we thereunto do make our humble
suite vnto your greatnesse: And for so great goodnesse towards vs and our
people granted, doe most humbly pray vnto the Almightye creator of heauen
and earth, euer to maintaine and keepe your most renowned Maiestie in all
happinesse and prosperitie.

Dated at our palace of Greenewich the 26. of Iune, Anno 1581.
The letters patents, or privileges granted by her Maiestie to Sir Edward Osborne, Master Richard Staper, and certaine other Marchants of London for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke, in the yeere 1581.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our Officers, ministers, and Subjects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme of England, as else where under our obeysance, iurisdiction, or otherwise, vnto whom these our letters shall be seene, shewed or read, greeting. Where our welbeloued Subjects Edward Osborne Alderman of our Citie of London, and Richard Staper of our sayde City Merchant, haue by great aduenture and industrie, with their great costes and charges, by the space of sundry late yeeres, trauailed, and caused trauaile to bee taken, as well by secret and good meanes, as by dangerous wayes and passages both by lande and Sea, to finde out and set open a trade of Marchandize and traffique into the Lands, Islands, dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, not heretofore in the memory of any man nowe liuing knownen to be commonly vsed and frequented by way of marchandise, by any the Marchants or any Subjects of vs, or our progenitours; and also haue by their like good meanes and industrie, and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signior (in our name), amitie, safetie, and freedome, for trade and traffique of Marchandise to bee vsed, and continued by our Subjects within his sayde Dominions, whereby there is good and apparant hope and likelyhoode both that many good offices may bee done for the peace of
Christendome, and reliefe of many Christians that bee or may happen to bee
in thraldome or necessitie vnder the sayde Grand Signior, his vassals or
Subiects, and also good and profitable vent and vterance may be had of the
commodities of our Realme, and sundry other great benefites to the
aduancement of our honour, and dignitie Royall, the increase of the
reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of our Realme: Knowe ye, that
hereupon wee greatly tendering the wealth of our people, and the
incouragement of our Subiects in their good enterprises for the aduancement
of the Common weale, haue of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and
meere motion, giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires
and successours, doe giue and graunt vnta our sayd trustie, and welbeloued
Subiects Edward Osborne, and vnto Thomas Smith of London Esquier, Richard
Staper, and William Garret of London Marchants, their executors, and
administrators, and to the executours and administratours of them, and of
every of them, that they, and every of them, and such other person and
persons Englishmen borne, not exceeding the number of twelue, as they the
sayde Edward, and Richard shall appoint, nominate, or admit to be
parteners, adventurers, or doers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas,
Richard and William, in their societie by themselues, their seruants,
Factours or deputies, and to such others as shall bee nominated according
to the tenour of these our letters Patents, shall and may during the terme
of seuen yeeres from the date of these Patents, freely trade, traffique,
and use feates of Marchandise into, and from the dominions of the sayde
Grand Signior, and every of them, in such order, and maner, forme,
liberties and condition to all intents and purposes as shalbe betweene them
limitted, and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation,
impeachment, or disturbance, any Lawe, statute, vsage, diuersitie of
religion or faith, or other cause or matter whatsoeuer to the contrary
notwithstanding.

And that it shalbe lawful to the said Edward and Richard their executors and administrators, (during the said terme) to appoint or admit to be parteners and aduenturers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William; such persons not exceeding the number of twelue (as afore is said) to trafique and vse the said trade and feat of marchandise according to our saide graunt. And that all and euery such person and persons, as shall hereafter fortune to bee appointed or admitted as parteners in the saide trade or trafique according to these our letters patents, shall and may from the time of such appointment or admittance, haue and enjoy the freedome and libertie of the said trade and trafique during the residue of the said terme of seuen yeeres, according to such limitation and agreement as is aforesaide, and that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours and administratours, seruants factours and deputies, and all such as shall be so appointed, nominated or admitted, to be parteners or aduenturers in the saide trade, or so many of them as can and will, to assemble themselves for or about any the matters, causes, affaires or businesse of the saide trade, in any place or places for the same conuenient, from time to time during the said terme of 7. yeeres, within our dominions or elsewhere, and to make, ordeine, and constitute reasonable lawes and ordinances, for the good gouernment of the said Company, and for the better advancement and continuance of the said trade, and trafique, not being contrary or repugnant to the lawes, estatutes or customes of our Realme, and the same lawes or ordinances so made to put in vse, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to revoke the same lawes and ordinances, or any of them, as occasion shall
require.

And in consideration that the said Edward Osborne hath bene the principall setter foorth and doer in the opening, and putting in use of the said trade, we do therefore especially ordeine, constitute, and prouide by these patents, that the saide Edward Osborne shall be gouernour of all such as by vertue of these our letters patents, shall be partners, adventurers, or trafiquers in the said trade, during the said terme of seuen yeeres, if he so long liue: And that if the saide Edward shall happen to decease during the saide terme, the saide Richard Staper then liuing, then the said Richard Staper shall likewise be gouernour during the residue of the said terme (if he so long liue) and that if the said Edward and Richard shall both happen to decease during the said terme, then the partners or adventurers for the time being, or the greatest, part of them, shall from time to time as necessitie shall require, choose and elect a gouernour of the said Company.

Prouided alwayes, that if there shall happen any great or vrgent occasion to remoue or displace any person that shall be gouernour of the saide fellowship, that then it shall, and may be lawfull for vs, our heires and successours, to remoue, and displace euery such gouernour, and to place another of the said fellowship in the same office, during such time as such person should haue enjoyed the same, according to this our graunt, if there had bene no cause to the contrary.

And we further for vs, our heires, and successors, of our especiall grace,
certaine knowledge, and meere motion, do graunt to the said Edward Osborne,
Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and
administrators, that nothing shall bee done to be of force or validitie
touching the sayde trade or trafique, or the exercise thereof, without or
against the consent of the saide Edward, during such time as hee shall bee
Gouernour as afore is saide. And after that time without the consent of the
Gouernour for the time being, and the more part of the said Company.

And further, wee of our more ample and abundant grace, meere motion and
certane knowledge, haue graunted, and by these patents for vs, our heires
and successors, doe graunt to the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and
William, their executors and administrators, that they, the saide Edward,
Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, and the
said person and persons, by them the said Edward and Richard to be
nominated, or appointed as afore is said, together, with such two other
persons, as wee our heires or successors from time to time during the sayd
terme shall nominate, shall haue the whole trade and trafique, and the
whole entire onely libertie, vse and priuilege of trading, and trafiquing,
and vsing feate of marchandise, into, and from the said dominions of the
said Grand Signior, and euery of them. And when there shall be no such
persons so nominated or appointed by vs, our heires or successors, that
then the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William
Garret, their executors and administrators, and such persons by them so to
be appointed, shall haue the saide whole trade and trafique, and the whole
entire, and onely libertie, vse, and priuilege of trading and trafiquing
aforesaid. And that they the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William,
their executors and administrators, and also al such as shal so be
nominated or appointed to be partners or aduenturers in the said trade,
according to such agreement as is abouesaid, and euer of them, their
servants, factors and deputies, shal haue ful and free authoritie,
libertie, facultie, licence and power to trade and trafique into and from
all and euery of the saide dominions of the saide Grand Signior, and into,
and from all places where, by occasion of the said trade, they shall happen
to arrifie or come, whether they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles or other,
and into, and from all Seas, riuers, ports, regions, territories,
dominions, coastes, and places with their ships, barks, pinnesses and other
vessels, and with such mariners and men, as they will lead with them or
send for the said trade, as they shall thinke good at their owne proper
cost and expenses, any law, statute, vsage, or matter whatsoeuer to the
contrary notwithstanding. And that it shalbe lawful for the said Edward,
Thomas, Richard and William, and to the person aforesaid, and to and for
the mariners and seamen to bee vsed and employed in the said trade and
voyage to set and place in the tops of their ships and other vessels the
armes of England with the red crosse ouer the same, as heretofore, they
haue vsed the red crosse, any matter or thing to the contrary
notwithstanding.

And we of our further royall fauor, and of our especiall grace, certaine
knowledge and meere motion haue graunted, and by these presents doe graunt
to the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William
Garret, their executors and administrators by these presents, that the said
lands, territories, and dominions of the said Grand Signior, or any other
of them, shall not be visited, frequented, nor haunted by way of
marchandise by any other our subiects during the said terme, contrary to
the true meaning of these patents.

And by vertue of our high prerogatiue royall (which wee will not haue argued or brought in question) we straightly charge and commaund, and prohibite for vs, our heires, and successours, all our subiects (of what degree or qualitie soeuer they be) that none of them directly, or indirectly, do visite, haunt, frequent or trade, trafique, or aduenture by way of marchandise into, or from any of the Dominions Of the saide Grand Signior, or other places aboue sayde by water or by lande (other then the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours or administrators, or such as shalbe admitted, and nominated as is aforesaide) without, expresse licence, agreement, and consent of the saide Gouernour, and company or the more part of them, whereof the said Gouernour alwayes to be one, vpon paine of our high indignation, and of forfeiture and losse, as well of the ship and shippes, with the furniture thereof, as also of the goods, marchandizes, and things whatsoever they be of those our Subiects which shall attempt, or presume to saile, trafique, or aduenture, to or from any the dominions, or places abouesaid, contrary to the prohibition aforesaied: the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the vse of vs, our heires and successors, and the other halfe to the vse of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and the said companie, and further to suffer imprisonment during our pleasure, and such other punishment as to vs, for so high contempt, shal seeme meete and conuenient.

And further of our grace speciall, certaine knowledge and meere motion we haue condescended and graunted, and by these patents for vs, our heires and successors, doe condescend and graunt to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard
and William, their executors and administrators, that we our heires and successors during the said terme, will not graunt liberty, licence or power to any person or persons whatsoever, contrary to the tenor of these our letters patents, to saile, passe, trade, or trafique into or from the said dominions of the said Grand Signior or any of them, without the consent of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and such as shalbe named or appointed as afore is said, or the most of them. And that if at any time hereafter during the said terme, the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the suruiuors of them, shal admit or nominate any of our subiects to be partners and aduenturers in the said trade to the number of 12. or vnder as afore is said, that, then we our heires and successors at the instance and petition of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the suruiuors of them in our Chauncerie to be made, and vpon the sight of these presents, will grant and make to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, of to the suruiuors of them, and to such persons as so shall be nominated or appointed by their speciall names, surnames, and additions as is aforesaid, new letters patents vnder the great seale of England in due forme of law with like agreements, clauses, prohibitions, prouisoes and articles (mutatis mutandis) as in these our letters patents are conteined, for, and during the residue of the said terme of seuen yeres then remaining unexpired. And that the sight of these presents shalbe sufficient warrant to the Lord Chancellour, or Lord keeper of the great seale for the time being, for the making, sealing and passing of such new letters patents, without further writ or warrant for the same to be required, had, or obtained.

And the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, and Richard Staper, and William
Garret and such others as shalbe so nominated or appointed, as is aforesaid, to be of their trade or companie; shall yeerely during 6. of the last yeres of the said 7. yeres, lade out of this our Realme, and bring home yeerely, for, and in the feate and trade of marchandizing aforesaid, so much goods and marchandizes, as the custome, and subsidie inwards and outwards, shall amount in the whole to the summe of 500. li. yeerely. So that the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret and the said persons so to be nominated as is aforesaid, or any of them, or their ship or shippes be not barred, stayed, restrained or let by any reasonable occasion from the saide trade or trafique, and so that the said ship or ships do not perish by any misfortune, or bee spoyled by the way in their voyage.

And further, the said Edward Osborne; Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, and such others as shall be appointed as aforesaide to be of their said trade or Company, shall giue notice vnto the Lord Admirall of England, or to some of the principall officers of the Admiraltie for the time being, of such ship or shippes as they shall set foorth in the same voyage, and of the number of Mariners appointed to goe in the same ship or shippes, by the space of fifteene dayes before the setting or going foorth of the same ship or shippes. And also the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper and William Garret, and such other as shall be by them the saide Edward and Richard, nominated to be of the said trade, shall and will at the setting foorth of their ship, or shippes, for the same voyage, permit and suffer the Master of the Ordinance of vs, our heires and successors, or some others, our or their principall officers of the Ordinance, to take a view of the number and quantitie of such Ordinance,
power, and munition as shall be caried in the said ship, or shippes, and
shall also at the returne of the same ship, or shippes, suffer a view to be
taken, and vpon request made, make an accompt to the saide officers of our
Ordinance, of the expenses, and wastes of the said Ordinance, power, and
munition, so to bee caried in the same ship, or shippes.

Provided alwayes, that if any of the said trade or Company, or their
servants, factors, or sailers, in any ship by them laden, shall commit any
piracie or outrage vpon the seas, and that, if the said Company or societie
shall not, or do not, within reasonable time, after complaint made, or
notice giuen to the said Company, or to any of them, either satisfie or
recompense the parties that so shall fortune to be robbed, or spoiled by
any of the said Company, or sailers, in the said ships, or else shall not
do their endeuour to the vtermost oftheir reasonable power, to haue the
parties so offending punished for the same their offences, that then, and
from thencefoorth, these present letters patents shall be vtterly voyd,
cease, and determine.

Provided likewise, that if it shall hereafter appeare vnto vs, our heires,
or successors that this grant, or the continuance thereof in the whole, or
in any part thereof, shall not be profitable to vs, our heires, our
successors, or to this our Realme, that then, and from thencefoorth, vpon,
and after one full yeeres warning, to be giuen vnto the said Company, or to
the Gouernour thereof, by vs, our heires or successors, this present grant
shall cease, be voyd, and determine, to all intents, constructions, and
purposes.
Provided also, that we, our heires and successors, from time to time, during the said 7. yeeres, may lawfully nominate, appoint, and authorise two persons, being fit men, to be of the said company, and for want or lacke of them, two others to be aduenturers in the said trade, for such stocke and summe of money, as they shall put in, so that the said persons to bee nominated, or authorised, shall be contributorie to all charges of the said trade and aduenture indifferently, according to their stockes: and as other aduenturers of the said trade shall doe for their stockes, and so that likewise they doe observer the orders of the said Company, allowable by this our graunt, and that such persons so to be appointed by vs, our heires or successors, shall and may, with the saide Company, and fellowship, vse the trade and feate of marchandise aforesaide, and all the liberties and privileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we haue condescended and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe condescend, and grant to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors, and administrators, that if at the ende of the said terme of seuen yeeres, it shall seeme meete, and conuenient vnto the saide Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the suruiuer of them, that this present grant shall be continued: and if that also it shall appeare vnto vs, our heires, or successors, that the continuance thereof shall not be preiudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, that then we, our heires,
or successors, at the instance and petition of the said Edward Osborne, 
Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the suruiuor of them, 
to be made to vs, our heires, or successors, wil grant and make to the said 
Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the suruiuor of them, and to such 
other persons, as so shall be by the said Edward and Richard nominated and 
appointed, new letters patents, vnnder the great seale of England, in due 
forme of lawe, with like covenants, grants, clauses, and articles, as in 
these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessary articles, 
or change of these, in some part, for and during the full terme of seuen 
yeeres then next following. Willing, and straightly commanding, and 
charging all and singuler our Admirals, Viceadmirals, Justices, Maiors, 
Sheriffes Escheaters, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singuler our other 
officers, ministers, liege men, and subiects whatsoeuer, to be aiding, 
fauouring, helping, and assisting vnto the said Gouernour, and company, and 
their successors, and to their Deputies, officers, servuants, assignes, and 
ministers, and euery of them, in executing and enjoying the premisses, as 
well on land as on sea, from time to time, and at all times when you, or 
any of you, shall be thereunto required, any statute, act, ordinance, 
proviso, proclamation, or restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, 
ordained, or prouided, or any other matter, cause or thing to the contrary, 
in any wise notwithstanding.

In witnesse whereof we haue caused these our letters to be made patents, 
witnesse our selfe, at Westminster, the 11. day of September, in the 23. 
yeere of our raigne.

* * * * *
The Queens Commission vnder the great seale, to her servaunt master William
Hareborne, to be her maiesties Ambassadour or Agent, in the partes of
Turkie. 1582.

Elizabetha, Dei optimi Maximi, conditoris, et rectoris vnici clementia,
Anglia, Francia, et Hibernia Regina, vera fidei contra Idololatras falso
Christi nomen profinetes inuicta et potentissima propugnatrix, vniuersis,
et singulis presentes has litteras visuris, et inspecturis, salutem. Cum,
augustissimus, et inuictissimus princeps, Zuldan Murad Can, Turcici regni
Dominator potentissimus imperique Orientis Monarcha, foedus, amicitiamque
nobiscum percusserit, iurauertique, (quam nos perpetuis futuris temporibus,
quantum in nobis erit; inuiolate seruare destinamus) ad eamque magis
ornandam, illustrandamque concesserit idem augustissimus Imperator subditis
nostris liberam suas merces excercendi rationem in omnibus Musulmanici
imperij sui partibus, cum tam ampla priuilegorum concessione, quam alij
bonis principibus, socijs, et foederatis nostris largitus est, quoram
priuilegorum donationem nos gratam, acceptamque habentes, pari cum animi
gratitudine colere certum habemus deliberatumque, nihil, in votis, habentes
potius, quam bonorum erga nos principum animos beneuolos honoratissima
mente fouere, promererique: Sciatis, nos de singulari erga nos,
obsequiumque nostrum, fide, obseruantia, prudentia, et dextaitate multum
nobis chari Guilielmi Hareborne, e custodibus corporis nostri vnius,
plurimum confidentes, eum Oratorem, Nuntium, Procuratorem, et Agentem
nostrum certum et indubitatum ordinamus, facimus, et constituimus, per
præsentes: dantes ei, et concedentes potestatem, et authoritatem, nomine
nostro, et pro nobis prædictum amicitia foedus confermandi, priuilegorum
concessionem in manus suas capiendi, ratamque habendi, omnibus et singulis
subditis nostris, Musulmanicis oris terrisque negotiantibus, pro Maiestatis
nostra authoritate prascipiendi, mandanique, vt sint in suis commercijs,
quamdiu, quotiesque cum Mansulmanicis versantur, dictorum, privilegiorum
prascripto obtemperantes in omnibus, ac per omnia, ad obsequia tanta
amicitia digna se componentes, ac in delinquentes in foedus nostrum
iustitiam exequatur. Potestatem, et authoritatem ei damus in omnes, et
singulos subditos nostros in quibuscunque et locis, et partibus Musulmanici
Imperij dominationi subjectis negotiantes, constituendi emporiorum suorum
sedes in quibus voluerit portubus, et ciuitatibus, in alijs vetandi, in
constitutis autem emporiorum sedibus, consules curandi, leges
praceptionesque ferendi, condendique, quarum ex prascripto dicti nostri
subditi, et eorum quilibet sese publice, et priuatim gerant, eorum
violatores corrigendi, castigandique omnia denique et singula faciendi,
perimplendique, qua ad dictorum subditorum nostrorum honestam
gubernationem, et commercij exercendi in illis partibus rationem pertinent:
promittentes bona fide, et in verbo Regio, nos ratum, gratum, et firmum
habituas, quacunque dictus Orator, et Agens noster, a legibus nostris non
abhorrentia in pramissis aut pramissorum aliqua fecerit. In cuius rei
testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, et sigilli nostri
impressione iussimus muniri. Datum e castro nostro Windesoria, 20. die
Mensis Nouembris, Anno Iesu Christi 1582. regni vero nostri, vicesimo
quarto.

The same in English.

Elizabeth, by the clemencie of the most good and most great God, the only
creator and gouvour of all things, Queene of England, France, and
Ireland, inuiincible, and most mightie defender of the true faith, against
all Idolaters falsly professing the name of Christ, to all and singuler
persons, to whose sight and view these our present letters may come,
greeting. Whereas the most renownmed, and most inuiincible Prince Zuldan
Marad Can, the most mighty gouvour of the kingdom of Turke, and Monarch
of the East Empire, hath entered into league and friendship with vs, (which
we for our part, as much as lieth in vs, doe purpose solemnly, and
inuiolable to keepe in all times to come) and whereas for the better
countenancing and authorizing of the same, the foresayd renownmed Emperour
hath graunted vnto our subiects free libertie of traffique, in all the
partes of his sacred Empire, with as ample and large a grant of priviileges,
as is giuen to other good Princes our neighbours and confederates, the
grant of which priviileges, we taking very thankfully, and acceptably, are
certainly, and throughly determined to keepe and mainetaine, with the like
goodnesse and curtesie of minde, desiring nothing more, then with an
honourable respect to nourish, and deserue the beneuolent affections of
good Princes toward vs: Know ye, that wee thinking well, and hauing good
confidence in the singular trustinesse, obedience, wisedome, and
disposition of our welbeloued seruant William Hareborne, one of the
Esquiures of our body, towards vs, and our seruice, doe by these presents,
make, ordaine and constitute him our true and vnoubted Orator, Messenger,
Deputie, and Agent. Giuing and granting vnto him power and authoritie, in
our name, and for vs, to confirme the foresaid league of friendship, to
take into his hands, and to ratifie the grant of the priviileges, and to
command, and enioyne by the authoritie of our Maiestie, all and singular
our Subiects trading and dealing in any of the coastes and kingdomes of
that Empire, that as long as they remaine in traffique with his subiects,
they be obedient to the prescription and order of the foresayd privileges, applying themselues in all things, and through all things, to such duties and seruices as appertaine to so great a league and friendship, and the offenders agaynst this our league to receiue iustice, and punishment accordingly. We further giue unto him power and authoritie ouer all and singuler our Subiects, dealing, and vsing traffique in any place or part whatsoever, subiect to the gouernment of that Empire, to appoint the places of their traffiques, in what Hauen or Citie it shall please him, and to prohibite them from all other places, and wheresoeuer their traffiques are appointed to bee kept, there to make and create Consuls or Gouernors, to enact lawes and statutes, by the vertue and tenor whereof all our foresayd subiects, and every one of them, shall both publikely and priuately use and behaue themselves, to correct and punish the breakers of those lawes: and last of all, to doe and fulfill all and singular things whatsoever, which shall seeme requisite and conuenient for the honest and orderly gouernment of our said subiects, and of the maner of their trafique in those parts.

Promising assuredly, and in the word of a Prince, that whatsoever shall be done of our sayd Orator and Agent, in all, or in any of the premisses, not repugnant and contrary to our lawes, shall be accepted, ratified, and confirmed by vs. In witness whereof we haue caused these our letters to be made patents, and our seale thereunto to be appensed. Giuen at our Castle of Windsore, the 20. day of Nouember, in the yeere of Christ 1582. and of our raigne the 24.

* * * * *

The Queens Letter to the great Turke 1582. written in commendation of
Master Hareborne, when he was sent Ambassadour.

Elizabeth &c. Augustissimo inuictissimoque principi, etc. Cum ad postulatum nostrum Casarea vestra Maiestas, anno saluatoris nostri lesu 1580. pacis foedus nobiscum pepigerit, coniunctum cum liberalissima priuilegiorum quorundam concessione, quorum beneficio subditi nostri cum omni securitate tutissime liberrimeque ad vniuersas et singulas Musulmanici imperij vestri partes terra marique proficisci, in iisque commercij exercendi gratia, negotiari, habitare, manere, exindeque ire et redire cum volent queant, ab ijs qui sub Casarea vestra Maiestate in magistratu sunt vbique locorum protegendi defendendique sine vlla vel corporum, vel bonorum lasione: nos tanta concessionis beneficium gratum acceptumque habentes, quantum in nobis est, approbamus confirmamusque: pollicentes in verbo regio, quod nos eandem pacem sine vlla violatione sartam tectamque conseruvabimus: faciemusque vt subditi nostri priuilegiorum sibi indultorum concessione ita vtantur, vt Casaream vestram Maiestatem magnificentissima sua liberalitatis nunquam poenitere queat. Quoniam autem concessionis huius virtus in vsu potius quam verbis, Maiestatis vtriusque nostrum sententia, ponenda videtur, voluiimus hunc mandatarium virum Guilielmum Hareborne, ex satellitibus quibus ad corporis nostri tutelam vtimur vnum, virum compluribus virtutibus ornatum, ad Casaream vestram, Maiestatem ablegare, qui tum nomine nostro vobis gratias ageret; tum vt eius opera vteremur ad eam subditorum nostrorum mercimoniorum rationem stabiliendam, tam in Imperiali vestra ciuitate Constantinopoli, quam alij imperij vestri Musulmanici locis, qua ex prascripto priuilegiorum, Casarea vestra Maiestatis benignitate, conceditur, et ex vsu subditorum vtriusque nostrum erit. Ad quam rem quoniam opus illi erit Casarea vestra Maiestatis authoritate, summa
contentione ab eadem rogarmus, velit id agere apud omnes qui sub se in
magistratu sunt, vt quibuscunque poterunt melioribus modis huic nostro
mandatario in Casarea vestra Maiestatis placito exequendo, adiutores sint
et esse velint. Ei enim hanc curam demandauimus, in qua quam fidem suam sit
honeste liberaturus erga Maiestatem vtriusque nostrum neutiquam dubitamus:
cui etiam, vt in omnibus sint obtemperantes nostri subditi, quantum Casarea
vestra Maiestatis concessio patitur, volumus. [Sidenote: Mustafa
interpres.] Praterea, cum praclarus vir Mustaia sacra Casarea vestra
Maiestatis Musulmanorum interpres egregiam nauarit operam vt hoc inter nos
foedus fieret, rogamus summopere vt in nostram gratiam eum in
Mustafaracarum ordinem Casarea vestra Maiestas recipere dignetur. Si in his
aliisque omnibus honestis causis hic noster agens subitique nostri
Imperatoria vestra sublimitatis aquanimitatem senserint, florebit inter has
gentes nobile commercium, et nos omnibus officijis huic vestra Maiestatis
faouri et benevolentia (si vlla ratione rebus vestris commodare poterimus)
respondere libentissime semper parata erimus. Deus optimus maximus mundi
opifex, etc.

The same in English.

Elizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God and only creator of heauen
and earth, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, the most inuincible and
most mightie defender of the Christian faith against all kind of idolatries
of all that liue among the Christians and falsly professe the name of
Christ, vnto the most Imperiall and most inuincible prince, Sultan Murad
Can, the most mighty ruler of the kingdom of Turkie, sole aboue all, and
most soueraigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting.
Whereas at our request your Imperiall Maiestie in the yeere of our Saviour Iesus 1580. hath entered into a league of peace with vs, whereunto was united a most large and bountifull grant of certaine priuileges, by benefite whereof our subiects may with all securitie most safely and freely trauell by Sea and land into all and singular parts of your Musulmanlike Empire, and in the same exercising the trade of marchandise, may traffique, dwell, remaine, depart from thence, and returne thither at their pleasure, and in places be maintained and defended from all damage of bodies and goods, by such as are in authoritie vnder your Imperiall Maiestie: we thankfully and gratefully receiuing the benefite of so great a priuilege, as much as in vs lieth doe approue and confirme the same, promising in the worde of a Prince, that we will keepe the saide league perfect and inuiolable, and will cause our subiects so to vse the grant of the priuileges giuen vnto them, as your Imperiall Maiestie shall neuer haue occasion to repent you of your most princely liberalitie. [Sidenote: M. Wil. Hareborne sent ambassador to the Turke.] And because the force of this grant, in the iudgement of both our maiesties, seemeth rather to consist in the vse thereof then in the wordes, we thought good to send vnto your Imperiall maiestie this our ambassadour William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, which both on our behalfe should yeeld thanks vnto your maiestie, and also that we might vse his good indeauour for the establishing of such order in our subiects trade of merchandise, as well in your Imperiall citie of Constantinople, as in other places of your Musulmanlike Empire, as according to the prescript of the priuileges is granted by your princely maiesties goodnesse, and shall be for the benefit of both our subiects. For performance whereof because hee standeth in neede
of your Imperiall Maiesties authoritie, wee earnestly beseech the same,
that you would cause all those which bee in authoritie vnder your
Highnesse, by all their best meanes to aide and assist this our Ambassadour
in executing this your Imperiall Maiesties pleasure, for vnto him wee haue
committed this charge: wherein how honestly hee will discharge his credite
toward both our Maiesties, I no whit stand in doubt: to whom also our
pleasure is, that all our subiects shall bee obedient, as farre as the
grant of your Imperiall maiestie doeth permit. [Sidenote: A request for the
preferring of Mustafa Beg.] Moreouer, whereas that woorthie personage
Mustafa, your Imperiall maiesties Interpreter, hath taken speciall paines
for the procuring of this league betwene vs, wee earnestly beseech you
that for our sakes your Imperiall Maiestie would vouchsafe to aduance him
vnto the degree of the Mustafaraks or chiefe pensioners. If in these and in
all other honest causes, our aforesayde Agent and our subiectes shall finde
your Imperiall Highnesses fauour, a noble traffique will flourish betwenee
these nations, and wee (if by any way wee may stand your State in steade)
will alwayes most willingly be readie to requite this your Maiesties fauour
and good will with all kinde of good offices. Almightye God the maker of
the world preserue and keepe your Imperiall Maiestie, &c.

* * * * *

A Letter of the Queenes Maiestie to Alli Bassa the Turkes high Admirall,
sent by her ambassadour M. William Hareborne, and deliuered vnto him
aboord his gallie in the Arsenal.
Elizabetha, &c. Illustrissimo viro Alli Bassa, magni Musulmanici Casaris
Admiralio, salutem et successus fortunatos. Non ignotum esse Excellentia
vestra arbitramur, priuilegia quadam a potentissimo Casare Musulmanico
domino vestro clementissimo subditis nostris Anglicis concessa esse, vt
illis liceat in omnibus imperij Musulmarnici prouincijis tuto et secure
manere ac negotiari: non aliter quam hoc ipsum Francis, Polonis, Venetis
Germanis antea indultum est. Qua ex causa nos Gulielmum Hareborne nobis
dilectum, e corporis custodibus vnum, ac multis nominibus ornatum ad
inclytam Constantinoplis ciuitatem pro agente misimus: qui, ex
priuilegiorum pradictorum prascripto nostras et subditorum nostrorum res in
illis locis constitueret. Facere igitur non potimus, quin Excellentia
vestra. Guilielmum hunc, pro ea qua apud magnum Casarem polles authoritate,
commendaremus: petentes summopere vt tuto in mari sine Classiariorum
vestrorum violentia, et secure in portibus absque ministrorum rapinis et
injuria, tam ipse quam omnes Angli subditi nostri possint versori: vti pro
tenore literarum patentium a magno Casare concessarum illis licere ex
illarum conspectione perspicuum esse potest. Gratissimum ergo nobis
excellentia vestra facerit, si portuum omnium, aliorumque locorum, qui
vestra iurisdictioni parent, custodibus, item classium et nauium praefectis
omnibus mandare velit, vt Guilielmus iste, alique Angli subditi nostri cum
in illorum erunt potestate, amice et humaniter tractarentur. Quemadmodum
nos vicissim omnes magni Casaris subditos omni humanitatis genere
trucabimus, si in Oceani maria, aliaue loca venerint, qua nostro parent
imperio. Postremo excellentiam vestram pro eo quem in nostros extendet
faure ijs omnibus officiis prosequemur, qua a gratissima principe in
optime de semerentes debent profisci. Bene et foeliciter valeas. Datum e
castro nostro Windesorij die vicessimo mensis Nouembris, Anno Iesu Christi
saluators nostri 1582. Regni vero nostri vicessimo quarto.
A briefe Remembrance of things to be indeuoured at Constantinople, and in other places in Turkie; touching our Clothing and our Dying, and things that bee incident to the same, and touching ample vent of our naturall commodities, and of the labour of our poore people withall, and of the generall enriching of this Realme: drawen by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, and giuen to a friend that was sent into Turkie 1582.

1 Anile wherewith we colour Blew to be brought into this realme by seed or roote.

2 And the Arte of compounding of the same.

3 And also all other herbes vsed in dying in like maner to bee brought in.

4 And all Trees whose Leaues, Seedes, or Barkes, or Wood doe serue to that vse, to be brought into this realme by Seed or Roote.

5 All little Plants and Buskes seruing to that vse to be brought in.

6 To learne to know all earths and minerals forren vsed in dying, and their naturall places, for possible the like may here be found vpon sight.
7 Also with the materials vsed in dying to bring in the excellencie of the arte of dying.

8 To procure from Muhaisira a citie in Agypt to Constantinople, the seed of Sesamum the herbe, and the same into this realme. Common trade is betweene Alexandria and Constantinople, and therefore you may easily procure the seeds. Of this seed much oyle is made, and many mils set on worke about the same in the sayde Muhaisira, and if this seede may prosper in England, infinite benefite to our Clothing trade may rise by the same. This citie is situate vpon Nilus the riuer, and thence this is brought to Venice and to diuers other Cities of Italie, and to Antwerpe.

9 To note all kindes of clothing in Turkie, and all degrees of their labour in the same.

10 To endeanour rather the vent of Kersies, then of other Clothes as a thing more beneficiall to our people.

11 To endeauour the sale of such our clothes as bee coloured with our owne naturall colours as much as you can, rather then such as be coloured with forren colours.

12 To seeke out a vent for our Bonettos, a cap made for Barbarie, for that the poore people may reape great profite by the trade.
13 To endeuour vent of knit Stocks made of Norwich yarne, and of other
yarne, which brought to great trade, may turne our poore people to great
benefite, besides the vent of the substance, of our colours, and of our
diuers labour.

14 To endeuor a vent of our Saffron for the benefit of our poore people:
for a large vent found, it setteth many on worke.

* * * * *

Remembrances for master S. to giue him the better occasion to informe
himselfe of some things in England, and after of some other things in
Turkie, to the great profite of the Common weale of this Countrey.
Written by the foresayd master Richard Hakluyt, for a principall English
Factor at Constantinople 1582.

Since all men confesse (that be not barbarously bred) that men are borne as
well to seeke the common commoditie of their Countrey, as their owne
 priuate benefite, it may seeme folliie to perswade that point, for each man
 meaneth so to doe. But wherein men should seeke the common commoditie, and
 what way, and by what meane that is to bee brought about, is the point or
 summe of the matter, since euery good man is ready to impoy his labour.
This is to bee done by an infinite sort of meanes, as the number of things
bee infinite that may be done for common benefite of the Realme. And as the
chiefe things so to bee done be diuers, so are they to be done by diuers men, as they bee by wit and maner of education more fit, or lesse fit, for this and for that. And for that of many things that tend to the common benefite of the State, some tend more, and some lesse, I finde that no one thing, after one other, is greater then Clothing, and the things incident to the same. And vnderstanding that you are of right good capacitie, and become a Factor at Constantinople, and in other partes in Turkie, I finde no man fitter of all the English Factors there, then you. And therefore I am so bold to put you in minde, and to tell you wherein with some indeuour you may chaunce to doe your Countrey much good, and giue an infinite sorte of the poore people occasion to pray for you here throughout the Realme this that I meane is in matter of Cloth, &c.

1 First, you cannot denie but that this Realme yeeldeth the most fine Wooll, the most soft, the most strong Wooll, the most durable in Cloth, and most apte of nature of all other to receiue Die, and that no Island or any one kingdome so small doeth yeeld so great abundance of the same and that no Wooll is lesse subiect to mothes, or to fretting in presse, then this as the old Parliament robes of Kings, and of many noble Peeres to be shewed may plainly testifie.

2 There is no commoditie of this Realme that may set so many poore subjects on worke, as this doeth, that doeth bring in so much treasure, and so much enrich the merchant, and so much employ the Nauie of this Realme, as this commoditie of our Wooll doeth.
Ample and full Vent of this noble and rich commoditie is it that the common weale of this realme doeth require.

Spaine nowe aboundeth with Wools, and the same are Clothed. Turkie hath Wools, and so haue diuers prouinces of Christendome and of Heathenesse, and cloth is made of the same in diuers places.

1 But if England haue the most fine, and the most excellent Wools of the world in all respects (as it cannot bee denied, but it hath). 2 If there may bee added to the same, excellent artificiall, and true making, and excellent dying. 3 Then no doubt but that we shall haue vent for our Clothes, although the rest of the world did abound much more with Wool then it doeth, and although their workemanship and their dying were in euery degree equal with ours of England, vnlesse the labour of our people imploied that way, and the materials vsed in dying should be the cause of the contrary by dearth.

But if Forren nations turne their Wools, inferiour to ours, into truer and more excellent made cloth, and shall die the same in truer, surer, and more excellent and more delectable colours, then shall they sell and make ample vent of their Clothes, when the English cloth of better wooll shall rest unsold, to the spoyle of the Merchant, of the Clothier, and of the breeder of the wooll, and to the turning to bag and wallet of the infinite number of the poore people impioied in clothing in seuerall degrees of labour here in England.
Which things wayed, I am to tell you what things I wish you in this Realme,
and after in Turkie, to indeuour from time to time, as your laisure may
permit the same.

Before you goe out of the Realme, that you learne:

1 To know wooll, all kind of clothes made in this realme, and all other
employments of wooll, home or forren, be the same in Felt clokes, felt
hats, in the red knit cap for Barbarie, called Bonetts ruggios colorados,
or whatsoever, &c.

All the deceits in Clothmaking; as the sorting together of Wools of
seuerall natures, some of nature to shrink, some to hold out, which causeth
cloth to cockle and lie vneuen.

The euill sorting of threed of good or bad wooll, some tootoo [Footnote:
Tootoo. The duplication is often used for the sake of emphasis. "A lesson
tootoo hard for living clay." _Spenser, Faerie Queen_, iii., iv., 26.] hard
spun, some tootoo soft spun delivered to be wouen.

The faults in Weaving.

The faults in Walking, [Footnote: A "Walker" is a fuller of cloth. "She
curst the weaver and the walker." _Boy and Mantle, Percy Rel_, iii.,}
5. Rowing, and Burling and in Racking [Footnote: Stretching. "Two lutes rack's up / To the same pitch." _The Slighted Maid_, p. 53.] the
Clothes aboue measure vpon the Teintors: all which faults may be learned of honest men, which faults are to be known to the merchant, to be shunned and not to be vsed.

2 Then to learne of the Diers to discerne all kind of colours; as which be good and sure, and which will not hold: which be faire, which not; which colours by the dearth of the substances bee deare, and which by reason of the cheapenesse of the Materials with which they be died, be cheape colours.

3 Then to take the names of all the materials and substaunces vsed in this Citie or in the realme, in dying of cloth or silke.

To learne to know them, as which be good, which bad.

And what colours they die.

And what prices they be of.

And of them which bee the Naturals of this Realme, and in what part of the Realme they are to be had.
And of all the forren materials vsed in dying to know the very naturall places of them, and the plentie or the scarcenesse of each of them.

These things superficially learned in the realme before you goe, you are the fitter in forren parts to serue your Countrey, for by this meanes you haue an enterie into the thing that I wish you to trauell in.

What you shall doe in Turkie, besides the businesse of your Factorship.

1 Forasmuch as it is reported that the Woollen clothes died in Turkie bee most excellently died, you shall send home into this realme certaine Mowsters or pieces of Shew to be brought to the diers hall, there to be shewed, partly to remoue out of their heads, the tootoo great opinion they haue concerned of their owne cunning, and partly to mooue them for shame to endeuour to learne more knowledge to the honour of their countrey of England, and to the vniuersall benefit of the realme.

2 You shall deuise to amend the Dying of England, by carying hence an apte yoong man brought vp in the Arte, or by bringing one or other from thence of skill, or rather to deuise to bring one for Silkes, and another for Wooll and for Woollen cloth, and if you cannot worke this by ordinarie meanes, then to worke it by some great Bassas meane, or if your owne credite there be not sufficient by meane of your small abode in those parties, to worke it by the helpe of the French ambassador there resident, for which purpose you may insinuate your selfe into his acquaintance, and otherwise to leaue no meane vnsought that tendeth to this end, wherein you
are to doe as circumstances may permit.

3 Then to learne to know all the materials and substances that the Turkes use in dying, be they of Herbes, simple or compound, be they plants, Barkes, Wood, Berries, Seedes, Graines, or Minerall matter, or what else. But before all other, such things as yeeld those famous colours that carrie such speciall report of excellencie, that our Merchants may bring them to this realme by ordinarie trade, as a light meane for the better vent of our clothes.

4 To know the vse of those, and where the naturall place of them and of ech of them is, I meane the place where each of them groweth or is bred.

5 And in any wise, if Anile that coloureth blew be a naturall commodity of those parts, and if it be compounded of an herbe, to send the same into this realme by seed or by root in barrell of earth, with all the whole order of sowing, setting, planting, replanting, and with the compounding of the same, that it may become a naturall commodity in this realme as Woad is, to this end that the high price of forreine Woad (which deuoureth yeerely great treasure) may be brought downe. So shall the marchant buy his cloth lesse deare, and so he shalbe able to occupy with lesse stocke, be able to afoord cloth cheaper, make more ample vent, and also become a greater gainer himselfe, and all this to the benefit of this realme.

6 To do the like with herbe and plant, or tree that in dying is of any excellent vse, as to send the same by seed, berry, root, &c: for by such
meanes Saffron was brought first into this realme, which hath sent many
poore on worke, and brought great wealth into this realme. Thus may Sumack,
the plant wherewith the most excellent blacks be died in Spaine, be brought
out of Spaine, and out of the lands of the same, if it will grow in this
more colde climat. For thus was Woad brought into this realme, and came to
good perfection, to the great losse of the French our olde enemies. And it
doeth maruellously import this realme to make naturall in this realme such
things as be special in the dying of our clothes. And to speake of such
things as colour blew, they are of greatest vse, and are grounds of the
most excellent colours, and therefore of all other to be brought into this
realme, be it Anile or any other materiall of that quality.

7 And because yellowes and greenes are colours of small prices in this
realme, by reason that Olde and Greenweed wherewith they be died be
naturall here, and in great plenty, therefore to bring our clothes so died
to common sale in Turkie were to the great benefit of the merchant, and
other poore subiects of this realme, for in sale of such our owne naturall
colours we consume not our treasure in forren colours, and yet we sell our
owne trifles dearely perhaps.

8 The woolles being naturall, and excellent colours for dying becomming by
this meanes here also naturall, in all the arte of Clothing then we want
but one only speciall thing. For in this so temperate a climat our people
may labor the yere thorowout, whereas in some regions of the world they
cannot worke for extreme heat, as in some other regions they cannot worke
for extreme colde a good part of the yere. And the people of this realtime by
the great and blessed abundance of victuall are cheaply fed, and therefore
may afford their labour cheaply. And where the Clothiers in Flanders by the
Flatness of their rivers cannot make Walkmilles [Footnote: Fulling, or the
art of scouring, cleansing, and thickening cloth, &c., in a mill, makes the
material more compact and durable. Walkmill is the old name for a
fullingmill.] for their clothes, but are forced to thicken and dress all
their clothes by the foot and by the labour of men, whereby their clothes
are raised to an higher price, we of England have in all Shires store of
milles upon falling rivers. And these rivers being in temperate zones are
not dried up in Summer with drought and heat as the rivers be in Spain and
in hotter regions, nor frozen up in Winter as all the rivers be in all the
North regions of the world: so as our mills may go and work at all times,
and dress clothes cheaply. Then we have also for scouring our clothes
earths and clays, as Walkers clay, [Footnote: Fuller's earth, which
attains a thickness of 150 feet near Bath.] and the clay of Oborne little
inferior to Sope in scouring and in thickening. Then also have we some
reasonable store of Alum and Copperas here made for dyeing, and are like to
have increase of the same. Then we have many good waters apt for dyeing, and
people to spin and to do the rest of all the labours we want not.
[Footnote: Supply of the want of oil.] So as there wanteth, if colours
might be brought in and made natural, but only Oil: the want whereof if
any man could devise to supply at the full with any thing that might become
natural in this realm, he whatsoever he were that could bring it about,
might deserve immortal fame in this our Common wealth, and such a devise
was offered to the Parliament and refused, because they denied to endow him
with a certain liberty, some others having obtained the same before, that
practised to work that effect by Radish seed, which only made a trial of
small quantity, and that went no further, to make that Oil in plenty: and
now he that offered this devise was a merchant, and is dead, and withall
the devise is dead with him.

It is written by one that wrote of Afrike, [Sidenote: Leo Africanus lib. 8.] that in Egypt in a city called Muhaisira there be many milles imployed in making of Oile of the seed of an herbe called Sesamum. Pena and Lobell, Physicians, write in our time, that this herbe is a coddled herbe full of oily seed, and that there is plenty of this seede brought out of Egypt to divers Cities in Italy. If this herbe will prosper in this realme, our marchants may easily bring of it, &c.

9 Hauing heerein thus troubled you by raising to your minde the consideration of certaine things, it shall not be impertinent to tell you that it shall not be amisse that you note all the order of the degrees of labour vsed in Turky, in the arte of Clothing, and to see if any way they excell in that profession our people of these parts, and to bring notice of the same into this realme.

10 And if you shall finde that they make any cloth of any kind not made in this realme, that is there of great vse, then to bring of the same into this realme some Mowsters, that our people may fall into the trade, and prepare the same for Turkie: for the more kinds of cloth we can devise to make, the more ample vent of our commoditie we shall haue, and the more sale of the labour of our poore subiects that els for lacke of labour become idle and burdenous to the common weale, and hurtfull to many: and in England we are in our clothing trade to frame our selues according to the desires of forren nations, be it that they desire thicke or thinne, broad
or narrow, long or short, white or blacke.

11 But with this prouiso alwayes, that our cloth passe out with as much
labour of our people as may be, wherein great consideration ought to be
had: for (if vent might so admit it) as it were the greatest madnesse in
the world for vs to vent our wooll not clothed, so were it madnesse to vent
our wooll in part or in the whole turned into broad cloth, if we might vent
the same in Kersies: for there is great difference in profit to our people
betweene the clothing of a sacke of wooll in the one, and the like sacke of
wooll in the other, of which I wish the marchant of England to haue as
great care as he may for the uniuersall benefit of the poore: and the
turning of a sacke of wooll into Bonets is better then both &c. And also
not to cary out of the realme any cloth white, but died if it may be, that
the subiects of this realme may take as much benefit as is possible, and
rather to seeke the vent of the clothes died with the naturall colours of
England, then such as be died with forren colours.

12 And if of necessity we must be forced to receiue certaine colours from
forren parts, for that this climat will not breed them, I wish that our
marchants procure Anile and such other things to be planted in like climats
where now it growes, in diuers others places, that this realme may haue
that brought in for as base prices as is possible, and that falling out
with one place we may receiue the same from another, and not buy the same
at the second or the third hand &c. For if a commodity that is to be had of
meere necessity, be in one hand, it is dearely purchased.
1. How many seuerall colours be died is to be learned of our Diers before you depart.

2 Then how many of those colours England doth die of her owne naturall home materials and substances, and how many not.

3 Then to bring into this realme herbs and plants to become naturall in our soiles, that may die the rest of the colours, that presently of our owne things here growing we can not yet die, and this from all forren places.

4 There is a wood called Logwood or Palo Campechio, it is cheape and yeeldeth a glorious blew, but our workmen can not make it sure. This wood you must take with you, and see whether the Silke diers or Wooll diers in Turky can doe it, with this one you may inrich your selfe very much, and therefore it is to be endeououred earnestly by you. It may bring downe the price of Woad and of Anile.

Other some things to be remembred.

If you can finde oat at Tripoly in Syria or elsewhere a vent for the Cappes called in Barbarie, Bonettos colorados rugios, which is a red Scottish cap as it were without brims, you should do your countrey much good: for as a sacke of wooll turned into fine Dewonshire kersies doth set many more people on worke then a sacke spunne for broad cloth in a grosser threed, so a sacke of wool turned into those Bonets doth set many more poore people on
worke, then a sacke turned into Kersies, by reason of the knitting. And therefore if you can indeuour that, you worke great effect. And no doubt that a maruellous vent may be found out of them into Afrike by the way of Alexandria, and by Alcayer [Footnote: Cairo.] Southeast and Southwest thence.

2 And by the vent of our knit hose of Woollen yarne, Woorsted yarne, and of Linnen thred, great benefit to our people may arise, and a great value in fine Kersies and in those knit wares may be couched in a small roome in the ship. And for these things our people are growen apt, and by indeuour may be drawen to great trade.

3 Saffron the best of the vniuersall world groweth in this realme, and forasmuch as it is a thing that requireth much labour in diuers sorts, and setteth the people on worke so plentifully, I wish you to see whether you can finde out ample vent for the same, since it is gone out of great vse in those parts. It is a spice that is cordiall, and may be vsed in meats, and that is excellent in dying of yellow silks. This commodity of Saffron groweth fifty miles from Tripoli in Syria, on an high hill called in those parts Garian, so as there you may learne at that port of Tripoli the value of the pound, the goodnesse of it, and the places of the vent. But it is sayd that from that hill there passeth yeerly of that commodity fifteene moiles [Footnote: A Mule. "Well, make much of him; I see he was never born to ride upon a moyle."--_Every man out of his humour_, ii., 3.] laden, and that those regions notwithstanding lacke sufficiencie of that commodity. But if a vent might be found, men would in Essex about Saffronwalden [Footnote: Saffron Walden--_Saffron Weal-den_. The woody
Saffron Hill.] and in Cambridge shire reuiue the trade for the benefit of
the setting of the poore on worke. So would they doe in Hereford shire by
Wales, where the best of all England is, in which place the soile yeelds
the wilde Saffron commonly, which sheweth the naturall inclination of the
same soile to the bearing of the right Saffron, if the soile be manured and
that way employed.

[Sidenote: Leo Africanus lib. 4.] 4. There is a walled towne not farre from
Barbarie, called Hubbed, toward the South from the famous towne Telensin,
[Footnote: Tlemcen, on a tributary of the Tafna, in Algeria.] about six
miles: the inhabitants of which towne in effect be all Diers. And it is
sayd that thereabout they haue plenty of Anile, and that they occupy that,
and also that they vse there in their dyings, of the Saffron aforesayd.
[Sidenote: This may be learned at Alger.] The trueth whereof, in the
Southerly ports of the Mediteran sea, is easily learned in your passage to
Tripoli, or in returne from thence homeward you may vnderstand it. It is
reported at Saffronwalden that a Pilgrim purposing to do good to his
countrey, stole an head of Saffron, and hid the same in his Palmers staffe,
which he had made hollow before of purpose, and so he brought this root
into this realme, with venture of his life: for if he had bene taken, by
the law of the countrey from whence it came, he had died for the fact. If
the like loue in this our age were in our people that now become great
travellers, many knowledges, and many trades, and many herbes and plants
might be brought into this realme that might doe the realme good. And the
Romans hauing that care, brought from all coasts of the world into Italie
all arts and sciences, and all kinds of beasts and fowile, and all herbes,
trees, busks and plants that might yeeld profit or pleasure to their
countrey of Italie. And if this care had not bene heretofore in our ancestors, then, had our life bene sauage now, for then we had not had Wheat nor Rie, Peaze nor Beanes, Barley nor Oats, Peare nor Apple, Vine nor many other profitable and pleasant plants, Bull nor Cow, Sheepe nor Swine, Horse nor Mare, Cocke nor Hen, nor a number of other things that we injoy, without which our life were to be sayd barbarous: for these things and a thousand that we vse more the first inhabitors of this Iland found not here. And in time of memory things haue bene brought in that were not here before, as the Damaske rose by Doctour Linaker king Henry the seuenth and king Henry the eights Physician, the Turky cocks and hennes about fifty yeres past, the Artichowe in time of king Henry the eight, and of later time was procured out of Italy the Muske rose plant, the plumme called the Perdigwena, and two kindes more by the Lord Cromwell after his trauell, and the Abricot by a French Priest one Wolfe Gardiner to king Henry the eight: and now within these foure yeeres there haue bene brought into England from Vienna in Austria diuers kinds of flowers called Tulipas, and those and other procured thither a little before from Constantinople by an excellent man called M. Carolus Clusius. And it is sayd that since we traded to Zante that the plant that beareth the Coren is also brought into this realme from thence; and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may serue for pleasure and for some vse, like as our vines doe, which we cannot well spare, although the climat so colde will not permit vs to haue good wines of them. And many other things haue bene brought in, that haue degenerated by reason of the colde climat, some other things brought in haue by negligence bene lost. The Archbishop of Canterburie Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, brought into this realme the plant of Tamariske from thence, and this plant he hath so increased that there be here thousands of them; and many people haue receiued great health by this
plant: and if of things brought in such care were had, then could not the
first labour be lost. The seed of Tobacco hath bene brought hither out of
the West Indies, [Footnote: As these instructions were written in 1582, how
can Tobacco have been introduced by Raleigh in 1586, as generally asserted?
It is not more probable that it dates from Sir John Hawkin's voyage 1565?]
it groweth heere, and with the herbe many haue bene eased of the reumes,
&c. Each one of a great number of things were woorthy of a iourney to be
made into Spaine, Italy, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, Constantinople, the West
Indies, and to diuers other places neerer and further off then any of
these, yet forasmuch as the poore are not able, and for that the rich
setled at home in quiet will not, therefore we are to make sute to such as
repaire to forren kingdomes, for other businesses, to haue some care
heerein, and to set before their eyes the examples of these good men, and
to endeuour to do for their parts the like, as their speciall businesses
may permit the same. Thus giuing you occasion by way of a little
remembrance, to haue a desire to doe your countrey good you shall, if you
haue any inclination to such good, do more good to the poore ready to
starue for reliefe, then euer any subiect did in this realme by building of
Almes-houses, and by giuing of lands and goods to the reliefe of the poore.
Thus may you helpe to driue idlenesse the mother of most mischiefs out of
the realme, and winne you perpetuall fame, and the prayer of the poore,
which is more woorth then all the golde of Peru, and of all the West
Indies.

* * * * *

The voyage of the Susan of London to Constantinople, wherein the
worshipfull M. William Harborne was sent first Ambassadour vnto Sultan Murad Can, the great Turke, with whom he continued as her Maiesties Ligier almost sixe yeeres.

The 14 of Nouember 1582, we departed from Blackewall, bound for the Citie of Constantinople, in the tall shippe called the Susan of London: the Master whereof was Richard Parsons, a very excellent and skilfull man in his facultie. But by occasion of contrary weather we spent two moneths before we could recouer the Kowes [Footnote: Cowes.] in the Isle of Wight. [Sidenote: Ianuary the foureteenth.] Where the 14 of Ianuary following we tooke in the worshipfull M. William Hareborne her Maiesties Ambassadour to the Turke, and his company, and sailed thence to Yarmouth in the foresayd Isle of Wight. The 19 we put from Wight. The 26 we did see Capo de Sant Vincente. The same day we were thwart of Capo Santo Maria. The 27 we passed by Tariffa, and Gibraltar. The 28 in the morning we passed by Velez Malaga: and that night were thwart of Capo de Gates. The 29 at night we had sight of Capo de Palos. The 30 in the morning we did see the high land of Denia, [Footnote: Near Cape Antonio.] in the kingdome of Valentia, and that night we had sight of the Iland Formentera. The 31 in the morning appeared the Iland of Cabrera. [Footnote: A small island south of Majorca.] [Sidenote: February the first.] The first of February we put into a Port in Mallorca, [Footnote: Maiorca.] called Porto de Sant Pedro: where they would haue euill intreated vs for comming into the Harbour: we thought we might haue bene as bolde there as in other places of Christendome, but it proued farre otherwise. [Sidenote: The shippes men goe on land at Porto de Sant Pedro.] The first man we met on land was a simple Shepheard, of whom we demanded whether wee might haue a sheepe or such like to refresh our selues, who
told vs yea. And by such conference had with him, at the last be came aboard once or twice, and had the best cheare that we could make him: and our Ambassadour himselfe talked with him, and still be made vs faire promises, but nothing at all meant to performe the same, as the end shewed.

In the meane time came in a shippe of Marseils, the Master whereof did know our Ambassadour very well, with whom our Ambassadour had conference, and with his Marchants also. They came from Alger in Barbarie, which is vnder the gouvernement of the Great Turke. They did present our Ambassadour with an Ape, wherefore he made very much of them, and had them often aboard.

[Sidenote: The Ambassadour betrayed.] By them I suppose, he, was bewrayed of his purpose as touching his message, but yet still we had faire words of the Shepheard aforesayd, and others. So that vpon their words, our Purser and another man went to a Towne which was three or foure miles from the port, and there were well entertained, and had of the people very faire speeches, and such small things as could be gotten vpon the sudden, and so returned to the shippe that day. Then wee were emboldened, and thought all had bene well, according to their talke. [Sidenote: February the sixth.]

The next day, being the sixth day of Februarie, two of our Gentlemen, with one of our Marchants, and the Purser, and one of the Ambassadours men went to the Towne aforesayd, thinking to doe as the Purser and the other had done before, but it prooued contrary: for at their comming thither they had faire wordes a while, and had bread and wine, and such necessaries for their money, vntill such time as they were beset with men, and the Maiorcans neuer shewed in their countenance any such matter, but as the manner of all the people in the dominions of Spaine is, for the most part to be trecherous to vs, if they thinke they haue any aduantage. [Sidenote: The English men are surprised.] For vpon the sudden they layed handes on them, and put them in holde, as sure as might be in such a simple Towne.
Then were they well guarded with men both day and night, and still deluded with faire words, and they sayd to our men it was for no hurt, but that the Viceroy of the Iland would come aboard to see the shippe. But they presently sent the Purser to the Towne of Maiorca, where he was examined by the Viceroy very straightsly, what their shippe and captaine were, and what voyage they intended, but he confessed nothing at all. In the meane time they in the Towne were likewise straightsly examined by a Priest and other officers vpon their othes: who for their othes sake declared the whole estate of their voyage. The Ambassadours man was a French man, and therefore was suffered to goe to the shippe on a message, but he could tell the Ambassadour none other newes, but that the Viceroy would come aboard the shippe, and that our men should come with him, but they had another meaning. For the Marseilian Marchants were stayed in like maner in the Towne, onely to make a better shew vnto vs. But in the meane time, being there three or foure dayes, there came men vnto vs euery day, more or lesse, but one day especially there came two men on horsebacke, whom we tooke to be officers, being lusty men, and very well horsed. These men desired to speake with our Captaine (for all things that passed there were done in the name of our Captaine Iohn Gray) for it was sayd by vs there, that he was Captaine of one of her Maiesties shippes: wherefore all things passed in his name: and the Ambassadour not seene in any thing but rather concealed, and yet did all, because of his tongue and good inditing in that language. For he himselfe went on land clothed in Veluet, and talked with these men, and with him ten or twelue lusty fellowes well weaponed, ech one hauing a Boarespeare or a Caliuer, the Captaine Iohn Gray being one of them, and our boat lying by very warely kept and ready. For then wee began to suspect, because the place was more frequented with men than it was woont. [Sidenote: The Spaniards come to the sea side to speak with the
captaine.] The men on horsebacke were in doubt to come neere, because hee
came so well weaponed. But they bade him welcome, and gaue him great
salutations, in words as their maner is: and demanded why he came so
strong, for they sayd he needed not to feare any man in the Iland. Answere
was made, that it was the maner of English Captaines to goe with their
guard in strange places. Then they tolde our Ambassador (thinking him to be
the Captaine) that they were sent from the Viceroy to know what they did
lacke, for they promised him beefe or mutton, or any thing that was in the
Iland to be had, but their purpose was to haue gotten more of our men if
they could, and they sayde that wee should haue our men againe the next
day: with such prety delusions they fed vs still. Then our Ambassadour did
write a letter to the Viceroy in her Maiesties name, and in our Captaine
John Grayes name, and not in his owne, and sent it by them, desiring him to
send his men, and not to trouble him in his voyage, for he had giuen him no
such cause, nor any of his. So these men departed with great courtesie in
words on both parts. And in all this time we did see men on horsebacke and
on foot in the woods and trees more then they were accustomed to be, but we
could perceiue nothing thereby. [Sidenote: The Spaniards come again to
parle.] The next day, or the second, came either foure or sixe of the best
of them as wee thought (the Viceroy excepted) and very many men besides in
the fieldes, both on foot and on horse, but came not neere the water side.
And those in like order desired to speake with the Captaine and that when
he came on land the trumpets might sound: but then the Ambassadour, whom
they thought to be Captaine, would not goe, nor suffer the trumpets to be
sounded, for that he thought it was a trappe to take himselfe, and more of
his company. But did send one of the principall of the Marchants to talke
with them. And the Captaine John Gray went also with him, not being knowen
of the Spaniards, for he went as a souldiour. Thus they receiued of those
men the like wordes as they had of the other before mentioned, who sayd we should have our men againe, for they meant vs no hurt. [Sidenote: The Ambassadour writeth to the Viceroy.] Then our Ambassadour did write another letter, and sent it by them to the Viceroy, in like order as he did before, but he receiued no answere of any of them. In all this time they had priuily gathered together the principall men of the iland, and had laboured day and night to bring downe ordinance, not making any shew of their trecherie towards vs. But the same night following, we saw very many lights passe in the woods among the trees. [Sidenote: The ninth of February.] And in the morning when the watch was broken vp, being Saturday the ninth of Februarie, at faire day light, one of our men looked foorth, and saw standing on land the carioage of a piece: then was one commanded to goe into the toppe, and there he did descrie two or three pieces and also many men on the shore, with diuers weapons that they brought. Then they suddenly tooke foure or fiue brasse pieces, and placed them on either side of the harborough where we should go out, and hid them with stones and bushes that we should not see them. Now I think the harborough not to be aboue the eight part of a mile ouer. Thus perceiuing their meaning which was most plaine: wee agreed to take vp our anker and goe out, and leaue our men there, hauing none other way to take. Then our Ambassadour intreated the Master of the Marseilian, his friend, to goe on land with his boat, and to know the trueth: who satisfied his request. And at his returne he tolde vs that it was very true, that they would lay holde of vs if they could. Then we weighed our ankers: but hauing little winde, we towed the ship forward with the boat. The Viceroy himselfe was at the water side with more then fiue hundred men on both sides of the harbour as we thought. [Sidenote: The ship Susan prepareth to defend herselfe.] And when we came out with our shippe as far as their ordinance, our Ambassadour and the Captaine being in
their armour, the Master commanding of the company, and trimming of the
sailes, the Pilot standing on the poope, attending to his charge, with
other very well furnished, and euery man in order about their businesse
very ready, they on land on the contrary part hauing a very faire piece
mounted on the North side openly in all our sights, as the shippe passed
by, they trauersed that piece right with the maine mast or after-quarter of
the shippe, and a Gunner standing by, with a lint-stocke in his hand, about
doureteene or fifteene foot long, being (as we thought) ready to giue fire.
Our whole noise of trumpets were sounding on the poope with drumme and
flute, and a Minion of brasse on the summer decke, with two or three other
pieces, alwayes by our Gunners trauersed mouth to mouth with theirs on
land, still looking when they on land should shoot, for to answere them
againe. The Pilot standing on the poope, seeing this readinesse, and the
shippe going very softly, because of the calmenesse of the winde, he called
to them on the South side, where the Viceroy was, and sayd vnto him: Haue
you warres with vs? If you haue, it is more then we know; but by your
provisioun it seemeth so: if you haue, shoot in Gods name, and spare not,
but they held all fast and shot not. Then the Viceroy himselfe held vp a
paper, and sayd he, had a letter for our Captaine, and desired vs to stay
for it. Then we answered and sayd we would not; but willed him to send it
by the Marseilians boat, and our men also, All this while, our trumpets,
drum and flute sounded, and so we passed out in the face of them all. When
they perceiued that they could lay no holde on vs, they presently sent to
the Towne for our men, whom within lesse then three houres after they sent
aboord with the sayd letter, wherein he desired our Captaine and his
company not to take it in ill part, for he meant them no harme, but would
haue seene our shippe. His letter did import these and such like faire
speeches: for it altogether contained courteous salutations, saying that he
might boldly come into any port within his Iland, and that he and his would
shew him what friendship they might: and that the injury that was offered
was done at the request of the Shepheards; and poore people of the countrey,
for the more safegard of their flockes, and because it was not a thing
usuall to haue any such shippe to come into that port, with many other
deceitfull words in the sayd letter. [Sidenote: The effect of the
Ambassadours answere.] Then our Ambassadour wrote vnto him another letter
to answer that, and gaue him thanks for his men that he had sent him, and
also for his good will, and sent him a present. This done, we shot off
halfe a dozen pieces, hoised our sailes, and departed on our voyage. Then
the Purser and the rest of our men that had beene in holde, tolde vs that
they did see the Captaine, and other gentlemen of the Iland, hauing their
buskins and stockings torne from their legges, with labouring in the bushes
day and night to make that sudden prouision. The 12 of February we saw an
Iland of Africa side called Galata, [Footnote: Galita, off Cape Serrat, in
Tunis.] where they vse to drag out of the Sea much Corall, and we saw
likewise Sardinia, which is an Iland subject to Spaine. The 13 in the
morning we were hard by Sardinia. The 15 we did see an Iland neere Sicilia,
and an Iland on Africa side called Cysimbre. [Footnote: Zembra, off Cape
Bon.] The same day likewise we saw an Iland called Pantalaria, and that
night we were thwart the middle of Sicilia. The 16 at night we were as
farre as Capo Passaro, which is the Southeast part of Sicilia., The 24 we
were put into a port called Porte de Conte, in an Iland called Cephalonia:
it is an out Iland in the dominions of Grecia, and now at this present
gouerned by the Signory of Venice, as the rest of Grecia is vnder the
Turke, for the most part. The 27 we came from thence, and that day arriued
at Zante which is also in Grecia: for at this present wee entred the parts
of Grecia. The second of March we came from Zante; and the same day were
we were thwart of an Iland called Sapientia [Footnote: Off Cape Gallo.] againe. There standeth a faire Towne and a Castle on the maine ouer against it, called Modon. The same day by reason of contrary windes we put backe againe to Prodeno, because we could not fetch Sapientia. The ninth we came from thence, and were as farre as Sapientia againe. The tenth we were as farre shot as Capo Matapan; and that day we entered the Archipelago, and passed thorow betweene Cerigo and Capo Malio. [Footnote: Cape Malea.] This Cerigo is an Iland where one Menelaus did sometimes reigne, from whome was stollen by Paris faire Helena, and carried to Troy, as ancient Recordes doe declare. The same day we had sight of a little Iland called Bellapola, and did likewise see both the Milos, [Footnote: Milo and Anti-Milo, the latter a rocky islet, six miles north-west of Milo.] being Ilands in the Archipelago. The 11 in the morning we were hard by an Iland called Falconara, [Footnote: Falconers.] and the Iland of the Antemila. [Footnote: Ante-Milo.] The 12 in the morning we were betweene Fermenia [Footnote: Thermia, so called from the warm springs at the foot of Santa Irene.] and Zea, being both Ilands. That night wee were betweene Negroponte and Andri, being likewise Ilands. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Parsa [Footnote: Probably Psara.] and Sarafio, being Ilands nine or tenne miles from Chio, and could not fetch Chio. [Sidenote: Sigra, a port in Metelin.] So we put roome with a port in Metelin [Footnote: Mitylene, the ancient Lesbos.] called Sigra, and about nine of the clocke at night we ankered there. The 15 we came from thence, the sixteenth we put into Porto Delfi. This port is 9 English miles to the Northward of the City of Chio, (and it may be twelve of their miles) this night we stayed in the sayd port, being in the Iland of Chio. Then went our Marchant and one or two with him to the City of Chio. [Sidenote: Ermin, or Customer.] And when the By, who is the
governour of the Iland (and is in their language a Duke) had communed with
the Marchant, and those that were with him, and understood of our arriuall
within his dominion, the day following he armed his gallyes, and came to
welcome our Ambassadour, accompanied with the Ermine, that is, the Kings
Customer, and also the French Consull, with diuers of the chiefe of the
City, and offered him as much friendship as he could or would desire: for
he did offer to attend upon us, and towse vs if need were to the Castles.
The 21 we departed from thence, and that day passed by port Sigra againe.
This Iland of Metelin is part of Asia, and is neere to Natolia. The 22 we
passed by a head land called Baberno, [Footnote: Cape Baba.] and is also in
Asia. And that day at night we passed by the Isle of Tenedo, part of Asia,
and by another Iland called Maure. And the same day we passed thorow the
straights of Galipoli, and by the Castles, and also by the Towne of
Galipoli it selfe, which standeth in Europa. And that night we were in
sight of Marmora which is neere Natolia, and part of Asia. The 23 in the
morning, we were thwart of Araclia, [Footnote: Ereki.] and that night we
ankerded in Silauria. [Footnote: Silivri.] The 24 in the morning the
Marchant and the Pilot were set on land to goe to the City about the
Ambassadours businesse, but there they could not land because we had the
winde faire. That place of some is called Ponte grande, and is foure and
twenty miles on this side of Constantinople, and because of the winde, they
followed in the skiffe untill they came to a place called Ponte picola, and
there is a little bridge; it standeth eight Turkish miles from
Constantinople, there the Marchant and the Pilot landed. At this bridge is
an house of the great Turkes with a faire Garden belonging vnto it, neere
the which is a point called Ponte S. Stephano, and there the shippe ankered
that day. The 26 day the ship came to the seuen Towers, and the 27 we came
neerer. The 29 there came three gallyes to bring vs vp further: and when
the shippe came against the great Turks palace, we shot off all our
ordinance to the number of foure and thirty pieces. [Sidenote: The arriuall
of the Susan at Constantinople.] Then landed our Ambassadour, and then we
discharged foure and twentie pieces, who was receiued with more then fifty
or threescore men on horsebacke. [Sidenote: The Ambassadour giueth a
present to the great Bassa.] The ninth of April he presented the great
bassa with sixe clothes, foure canes of siluer double gilt, and one piece
of fine holland, and to three other Bassas, that is to say, the second
Bassa which is a gelded man, and his name is Mahomet Bassa, to the third
who maried the great Turks sister, and to the fourth whom they call Abraham
Bassa, to euery one of these he gaue foure clothes. [Sidenote: A man halfe
naked goeth before the greaat Bassa.] Now, before the great Bassa, and
Abraham Bassa, at their returne from the Court (and as we thinke at other
times, but at that time for a certaine) there came a man in maner of a
foole, who gaue a great shout three or foure times, crying very hollowly,
the place rebounded with the sound, and this man, say they, is a prophet of
Mahomet, his armes and legges naked, on his feet he did weare woorden
pattens of two sorts, in his hand, a flagge, or streamer set on a short
spere painted, he carried a mat and bottels, and other trumpery at his
backe, and sometimes vnder his arme, on his head he had a cappe of white
Camels haire, flat like an helmet, written about with letters, and about
his head a linnen rowle. Other seruingmen there were with the sayd Bassas,
with red attire on their heads, much like French hoods, but the long flappe
somewhat smaller towards the end, with scuffes or plates of mettall, like
vnto the chape of an ancient arming sword, standing on their foreheads like
other Ianisaries. [The Ambassadours entertainment with the Bassas.] These
Bassas entertained vs as followeth: First, they brought vs into a hall,
there to stand on one side, and our Ambassadour and gentlemen on the other
side, who sate them downe on a bench couered with carpets, the Ambassadour in the midst; on his left hand sate our gentlemen, and on his right hand the common sort of Turkes stayed in the Court yard, not suffered to come near vs. When our Ambassadour had sitten halfe an houre, the Bassas (who sate by themselves in an inner small roome) sent for him; to whom the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went: they all kissed his hand, and presently returned (the Ambassadour only excepted, who stayed there, and a Turks chaus [Footnote: Interpreter.] with him) with the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went: all kissed his hand, and presently retired.

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are foure other of his sonnes, and one daughter, in like order. In the first chappell is a thing foure foot high, couered with greene, beset with mother of pearle very richly. This is a relique of Mahomet, and standeth on the left side of the head of the great Turks tombe. These chappels have their floores couered, and their walles hanged with Tapistrie of great price, I could value the couering and hangings of one of the chappels, at no lesse then fiue hundred poundes, besides their lamps hanging richly gilded. These chappels have their roofes curiously wrought with rich stone, and gilded. And there lie the bookes of their Lawes for euery man to reade.

[Sidenote: The ship cometh to the custome house.] The 11 day of April the shippe came to the Key of the Custome house. [Sidenote: The Ambassadour presenteth the Admirall Vchali.] The 16 the Ambassadour and we his men went to the Captaine Bassa, who is Admirall of the seas, his name is Vchali, he would not receiue vs into his house, but into his gally, to deliuer our present, which was as followeth: Foure pieces of cloth, and two siluer pots gilt and grauen. The poope or sterne of his gally was gilded both within and without, and vnder his feet, and where he sate was all couered with very rich Tapistry. Our Ambassadour and his gentlemen kissed his hand, and then the gentlemen were commanded out, and our Ambassadour sate downe by him on his left hand, and the chaus stood before him. Our men might walke in the gally fore and after, some of vs taried, and some went out againe. The gally had seuen pieces of brasse in her prowe, small and great, she had thirty bankes or oares on either side, and at euery banke or oare seuen men to rowe. [Sidenote: The Susan goeth from the Custome house. The Admirall departeth to the sea.] The 18 day the shippe went from the Key. And 21 the Admirall tooke his leaue of the great Turke, being bound to the Sea with sixe and thirty gallies, very fairely beautified with gilding and painting, and beset with flags and streamers, all the which gallies discharged their
ordinance: and we for his farewell gaue him one and twentie pieces. Then he went to his house with his gallies, and the 22 he went to the Sea, and the Castle that standeth in the water gaue him foureteene or sixteene pieces: and when he came against the Turks Seraglio he shot off all his caliuers and his great pieces, and so hee went his way. [Sidenote: The Ambassadour repaireth to the great Turks court.] The 24 our Ambassadour went to the Court, whose entertainement with the order therof followeth. When wee came first on land there was way made for vs by two or three Bassaes and diuers chauses on horsebacke with their men on foot, to accompany our Ambassadour to the Court. Also they brought horses for him and his gentlemen for to ride, which were very richly furnished: and by the way there met with vs other chauses to accompany vs to the Court. When we came there wee passed thorow two gates, at the second gate there stood very many men with horses attending on their masters. When we came within that gate we were within a very faire Court yard, in compasse twise so bigge as Pauls Church-yard. On the right hand of the sayd Court was a faire gallerie like an Alley, and within it were placed railes and such other prouision. On the left side was the like, halfe the Court ouer: it was diuided into two parts, the innermost fairer then the other. The other part of that side is the place where the Councell doe vsually sit, and at the inner end of that is a faire place to sit in, much like vnto that place in Pauls Church-yard, where the Maior and his brethren vse to sit, thither was our Ambassador brought, and set in that place. Within that sayde place is another like open roome, where hee did eate. [Sidenote: The entertainment at dinner of the Ambassadours men.] Assoone as wee came in, wee were placed in the innermost alley of the second roome, on the left side of the Court, which was spread with carpets on the ground fourescore or fourescore and tenne foot long, with an hundred and fiftie seuerall dishes set thereon, that is to say,
Mutton boiled and rosted, Rice diversely dressed, Fritters of the finest fashion, and dishes daintily dight with pritty pappe, with infinite others,

I know not how to express them. We had also rosted Hennes with sundry sorts of fowles to me unknown. The gentlemen and we sate downe on the ground, for it is their manner so to feede. There were also Greekes and others set to furnish out the roome. Our drinke was made with Rose water and Sugar and spices brewed together. Those that did serve vs with it had a great bagge tied ouer their shovlders, with a broad belt like an arming belt full of plates of copper and gilt, with part of the sayd bagge vnder his arme, and the mouth in his hand: then he had a devise to let it out when he would into cuppes, when we called for drinke. The Ambassadour when hee had eaten, passed by vs, with the chausse aforesayd, and sate him downe in an inner roome. This place where he sate was against the gate where we came in, and hard by the Councell chamber end, somewhat on the left side of the Court, this was at the East end of the Court, for we came in at the West. All this time our presents stood by vs vntill we had dined, and diner once ended, this was their order of taking vp the dishes. Certaine were called in, like those of the Blacke gard in the Court of England, the Turks call them Moglans. These came in like rude and rauening Mastifs, without order or fashion, and made cleane riddance: for he whose hungry eye one dish could not fill turned two, one into the other, and thus euon on the sudden was made a cleane riddance of all. Then came certaine chausse and brought our gentlemen to sit with the Ambassadour. Immediately came officers and appointed Ianisers to beare from vs our presents, who caried them on the right side of the Court, and set them hard by the doore of the Priuy chamber, as we call it: there all things stoode for the space of an houre. Thus the Ambassadour and his gentlemen sate still, and to the Southward of them was a doore whereas the great Turke himselfe went in and
out at, and on the South side of that doore sate on a bench all his chiefe
lords and gentlemen, and on the North side of the West gate stood his
gard, in number as I gesse them a thousand men. These men haue on their
heads round cappes of mettall like sculles, but sharpe in the toppe, in
this they haue a bunch of Ostridge feathers, as bigge as a brush, with the
corner or edge forward: at the lower end of these feathers was there a
smaller feather, like those that are commonly worn here. Some of his gard
had smal staues, and most of them were weaponed with bowes and arrowes.
Here they waited, during our abode at the Court, to gard their Lord. After
the Ambassadour with his gentlemen had sitten an houre and more, there came
three or foure chauses, and brought them into the great Turkes presence. At
the Priuy chamber doore two noble men tooke the Ambassadour by ech arme
one, and put their fingers within his sleeues, and so brought him to the
great Turke where he sumptuously sate alone. He kissed his hand and stood
by vntill all the gentlemen were brought before him in like maner, one by
one, and ledde backewards againe his face towards the Turke; for they might
neither tarry nor turne their backs, and in like maner returned the
Ambassadour. The salutation that the Noble men did, was taking them by the
hands. All this time they trode on cloth of golde, most of the Noble men
that sate on the South side of the Priuy chamber sate likewise on cloth of
golde. Many officers or Ianisaries there were with staues, who kept very
good order, for no Turke whatsoeuer might goe any further than they willed
him. [Sidenote: The Turke is presented with a rich present.] At our
Ambassadours entring they followed that bare his presents, to say, twelue
fine broad clothes, two pieces of fine holland, tenne pieces of plate
double gilt, one case of candlesticks, the case whereof was very large, and
three foot high and more, two very great Cannes or pots, and one lesser,
one basin and ewer, two poppinayes of siluer, the one with two beads: they
were to drinke in: two bottles with chaines, three faire mastifs in coats
of redde cloth, three spaniels, two bloodhounds, one common hunting hound,
two greyhounds, two little dogges in coats of silke: one clocke valued at
fiue hundred pounds sterling: ouer it was a forrest with trees of siluer,
among the which were deere chased with dogs, and men on horsebacke
following, men drawing of water, others carrying mine oare on barrowes: on
the toppe of the clocke stood a castle, and on the castle a mill. All these
were of siluer. And the clocke was round beset with ieweles. All the time
that we stayed at the Councell chamber doore they were telling or weighing
of money to send into Persia for his Souldiours pay. There were carried out
an hundred and three and thirty bags, and in euery bagge, as it was tolde
vs, one thousand ducats, which amounteth to three hundred and thirty
thousand, [Footnote: Blank in original.] and in sterling English money to
fourescore and nineteene thousand pounds. The Captaine of the guard in the
meane time went to the great Turke, and returned againe, then they of the
Court made obeisance to him, bowing downe their heads, and their hands on
their breasts, and he in like order resaluted them: he was in cloth of
siluer, he went and came with two or three with him and no more. Then wee
went out at the first gate, and there we were commanded to stay vntill the
Captaine of the guard was passed by and all his guard with him, part before
him and part behinde him, some on horsebacke and some on foot, but the most
part on foot carrying on their shoulders the money before mentioned, and so
we passed home. There was in the Court during our abode there, for the most
part a foole resembling the first, but not naked as was the other at the
Bassas: but he turned him continually, and cried Hough very hollowly. The
third of May I saw the Turke go to the church: he had more then two hundred
and fifty horses before and behinde him, but most before him. There were
many empty horses that came in no order. Many of his Nobilitie were in
cloth of golde, but himselfe in white sattin. There did ride behinde him
sixe or seuen youthes, one or two whereof carried water for him to drinke
as they sayd. There were many of his guard running before him and behinde
him, and when he alighted, they cried Hough very hollowly, as the aforesayd
fooles.

* * * * *

A letter of Mustapha Chaus to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

Serenissima, prudentissima, et sacra Regia Maiestas, domina mihi semper
clementissima, meorum fidelium officiorum promptam paratissimamque
commendationem. Generosus et virtuosus Gulielmus Hareborne legatus vestra
sacra Maiestatis venit ad portam excelsissimam potentissimi et
inuictissimi, et semper Augustissimi Casaris Sultan Murad Can, cui Deus
omnipotens benedicat. Et quanto honore, quanta dignitate, quantaque
humanitate aliorum confoederatorum legati accipiuntur, prafatus quoque
legatus vester tanta reuarentia, tantaque amplitudine acceptus et
collocatus est in porta excelsissima. Et posthac subditi et homines vestra
sacra Maiestatis ad ditiones omnes Casareas venire, et sua negotia
tractare, et ad suam patriam redire sine impedimento, vt in literis
excelsissimi, potentissimi, et inuictissimi et semper Augustissimi Casaris
ad vestram sacram Regiam Maiestatem datis facile patet, tranquille et
pacifice possunt. Ego autem imprimis diligentem operam et fidele studium et
nunc eodem confirmando nauauui, et in futurum quoque vsque in vltimum vita
spiritum in negotijs potentissimi et inuictissimi Casaris et vestra sacra

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A letter of M. Harborne to Mustapha, challenging him for his dishonest dealing in translating of three of the Grand Signior his commandements.

A petition exhibited to the viceroy for reformation of sundry injuries offered our nation in Morea, as also for sundry demaundes needefull for the establishing of the traffike in those parts.

1 First that our people may be freed of such wonted molestation, as the Ianisers of Patrasso haue alwayes from time to time offered them, not regarding the kings commandements to the contrary. That they be remoued and called away from thence, and none other remaine in their place.

2 That where heretofore the kings commandements haue beene graunted to ours, that no person whatsoeuer shall forceably take from them any of their commodities, otherwise then paying them before the deliuerie thereof, for the same in readie money, at such price as they themselues will, and sell ordinarily to others, as also that no officer whatsoeuer, of the kings or any other, shall force them to buy any commodities of that countrey, otherwise then the needfull, at their owne will and pleasure, that the said commandements not heretofore obeyed may be renued with such straight charge for the execution of the same, as is requisite for their due effect.

3 That whereas sundry exactions and oppressions be offered ours by such Byes, Saniacbies, iustices and Cadies, Ianizaries, Capagies, and others, officers of the kings comming downe into those parts, who finding there
resident no other nation but only ours, will under the name of presents
forceable take from them what they please: We do require to obuent these
harmes, it may be specified by a commandement from the king to which of
such his officers, presents may be giuen, and their sundry values, whereby
both they and ours may rest contented, seuerely prohibiting in the said
Commandement, that they take no more then that appointed them, and that no
other officers but those onely specified in that commandement, doe
forcibly require of them any thing whatsoever.

4. That the Nadir and Customer of the port, having permitted our ship to
lade, doe not after demand of the marchants any other then the outward
custome due to the king for the same goods. And being so laden, may by them
and the Cadie with other their inferiour officers be visited, requiring for
the visiting no more then formerly they were accustomed to pay at their
first coming. After which the said ship to depart at the Consul's
pleasure, without any molestation of them, or any other officer whatsoever.

5. That Mahomet Chaus, sometime Nadir of Lepanto, and Azon Agon his
substitute being with him may be seuerely punished to the example of
others, for often and vniustly molesting our nation, contrarie to the kings
commandement, which they disdainefully contemned, as also that the said
Mahomet restore and pay vnto ours thirtie [Footnote: Blank in original.]
for 300 sackes of currants nowe taken forcibly out of a barke, comming
thither from the hither partes of Morea, to pay the king his custome, and
that from hence forth; neither the said Mahomet, Azon Agon, nor any other
officer or person whatsoever doe hinder or trouble any of ours going
thither or to any other place about their affaires.
6. That whereas certaine Iews of Lepanto owing money to our marchants for commodities solde them, haue not hitherto satisfied them, notwithstanding ours had from the king a commandement for the recouery of the same debts, but fled and absented themselues out of the Towne at the comming of the same, another more forcible commaundement may be graunted ours, that for nonpaiement, whatsoeuer may be found of theirs in goods, houses, vineyards, or any other thing, may be sold, and ours satisfied of their said debt, according to equitie and reason.

* * * * *

A commandement to Patrasso in Morea.

When this commandement shall come vnto you, know you, that the Consull of the English Nation in our port of Patrasso, hath giuen vs to vnderstand, that formerly we granted him a commandement that hauing paied once custome for the currants bought to lade in their ships, they shall not pay it again: according to which they bringing it to the port of Patrasso, informing thereof Mahomet the Nadir of Lepanto, he contrary to the tenor thereof and former order, doth againe take another custome of him, and requiring him to know why he so did contrary to our commandement, he answered vs, he tooke it not for custome, but for a present. Moreouer the sayd Consull certified vs how that the said Nadir contrary to ancient custome doth not take for the kings right as he ought currents, but will haue of the poore men money at his pleasure, and therewith buyeth currents at a very low price, which after he doth forcibly sell to vs at a much
higher price, saying it is remainder of the goods of the king, and by this
meanes doth hurt the poore men and do them wrong. Wherefore I command you
by this my commandement, that you looke to this matter betweene this
Consull, the Nadir, and this people, and do therein equally according to
right. And see that our commandement in this matter be obserued in such
sort, as they hauing once in the port payed full custome, do not pay it
againe, neither that this Nadir do take any more money of them by the way
of present, for that therein it is most certaine he doth them injurie
contrarie to the Canon. And if with you shall be found to the value of one
Asper taken heretofore wrongfully of them, see it presently restored to
them, without any default. And from hencefoorth see that he doe neither him
nor his people wrong, but that he deale with them in all things according
to our Canon, that the Consull and his hereafter haue no occasion any more
to complaine here in our Court, and that the Nadir proceed in gathering
corants of the people after the old order and not otherwise. This know you
for certaine, and giue credit to this my commandement, which hauing read
deliever againe into the Consuls handes. From Constantinople the yeere of
Mahomet 993.

* * * * *

A commandement for Chio.

Vobis, Beg et Cadi et Ermini, qui estis in Chio, significamus: quod
serenissima Regina Maiestatis Anglia orator, qui est in excelsa porta per
literas significauit nobis, quod ex nauibus Anglicis vna nauis venisset ad
portum Chio, et illinc Constantinopolim recto cursu voluisset venire, et
contra priulegium detiunistis, et non siuistis venire. Hac predictus
orator significauit nobis; et petiuit a nobis in hoc negcio hoc mandatum,
vt naues Anglica veniant et redeant in nostras ditiones Casareas.

Priulegium datum et concessum est ex parte Serenitatis Casarea nostra: et
huius priulegij copia data est sub insigni nostro: Et contra nostrum
priulegium Casareum quod ita agitur, qua est causa? Quando cum hoc mandato
nosto homines illorum ad vos venerint ex pradicta Anglia, si nauis venerit
ad portum vestrum, et si res et merces ex naue exemerint, et vendiderint,
et triessimam secundam partem rediderint, et res qua manserint
Constantinopolim auerre velint, patiantur: Et si aliquis contra
priulegium et articulos eius aliquid ageret, non sinatis, nec vos facite:
et impediri non sinatis eos, vt recta Constantinopolim venientes in suis
negociationibus sine molestia esse possint. Et quicunque contra hoc
mandatum et priulegium nostrum aliquid fecerit, nobis significate. Huic
mandato nostro et insigni fidem adhibete. In principio mensis Decembris.

* * * * *

A commandement for Baliabadram.

Serenissima Regina Anglia orator literis supplicatorijs in porta nostra
fulgida significauit, quod Baliabadram venientes mercatores, naues et
homices eorum, contra priulegium impedirentur et molestarentur. Inter nos
enim et Reginam cum foedus sit, vt mercatores, homines et naues eorum
contra priulegium impediantur aut molestentur, nullo vnquam pacto
concedimus. Mandamus igitur, vt litera nostra Casarea, quam primum tibi
exhibita fuerint, has in persona propria cures, secundum quod conuenit,
videasque ex Anglia Baliabadram cum mercibus venientibus mercatoribus, et
alias ob causas venientibus hominibus, in summa Angliensibus et nauibus
eorum, et in nauibus existentibus mercibus et rebus contra foedus et
privilegium, iniuria, vis aut damnum non inferatur: sed, vt conuenit,
defendas, vt naues, mercatores, et homines, nostri velut proprii subditi,
liberi ab omni vi et iniuria permaneant; et negotiis suis incumbant. Et
quod ilius loci Ianisseri illos impedirent, significatum est: vt illi illis
nocumento sint nullo modo concedimus. Iuxta tenorem mandata huius illos
commonefacias, vt nihil quicquam contra foedas faciant, ita vt nunquam
huiusmodi querela huc veniat, quia quicquid acciderit, a te expostulabimus.
Negligentiam postponito, et insigni Casareo fidem adhibeto.

* * * * *

A commandement for Egypt.

Scito quod orator Regina Anglia in porta mea existens libellum supplicem ad
portam nostram mittens significavit, quod cum ex Agypto Consul eorum
abesset, Consul illic Gallicus existens, Vento nuncupatus, quamuis ante hac
tempora ne manus in Anglos mitteret mandatum nostrum fuerit datum, Angli
sub vexillo et tutela nostra sunt inquiens, mandatum Casareum vili
existimans, non cessavit perturbare Anglos. Quare scito quod Regina Anglia
priuilegium nostrum est datum. Iuxta illud priuilegium Anglis nulla ratione
Consul Gallicus Consulatum agat, neue manus immittat, mandatum nostrum

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A commaundement of the Grand Signior to the Cadie or Iudge of Alexandria.

The Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of England certified vs howe that at the death of one of their marchants in Alexandria called Edward Chamberlaine, the French Consul Vento sealing vp his fondegio and chamber, tooke vnder his seale al his goods and merchandise into his power, and required our commandement that all the goods might be restored againe according to iustice vnto the Englishmen: wherefore we commaund you that hauing receiued this our commandement, you assemble those of the one part and of the other together, and if it be not passed fiue yeeres, if you haue not looked to it heretofore, now carefully looke to it, and if it be according to their Arz or certificate presented vnvo to vs, that the foresaid French Consull Vento hath wrongfully taken into his power the goods of the deceased English marchant vnnder his seale, that then you cause him to restore all the said goods and merchandise sealed by him, and make good that which is thereof wanting vnto the English marchants: doe in this matter according to iustice, and credite this our seale.
A commandement to the Bassa of Alexandria.

The Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Maiesty of England by supplication certified vs, how that notwithstanding our privilege granted them to make Consuls in all parts of our dominions to gouerne their nation according to their owne custome and law, to defend them against all wrongs and injuries whatsoeuer: yet that the French Consull affirming to thee that art Bassa, that they were under his banner, and that he should gouerne them, and ouersee their businesse, and hauing got a new privilege, mentioning therein the English men to be under his banner, did by all meanes molest and trouble them, insomuch that their Consull oppressed with many injuries fled away, and that thou which art Beglerbie didst maintaine the French Consul herein: whereupon the Embassadour required our commandement, that they might have justice for these injuries: wherefore we commaunde thee that hauing receiued this our commandement, you examine diligently that this privilege, and send the copie thereof hither, and if it be found that the French Consull Vento hath by subtilitie got the aforesaid privilege written, that you then see him punished, and suffer not hereafter the French or Venetian Consuls to intermeddle with their businesse. Obey this our commaundement, and giue credit to the seale.
A commandement to the Byes, and Cadies of Metelin and Rhodes, and to all
the Cadies and Byes in the way to Constantinople.

To the Saniakbies of Rhodes and Metelin, to the Saniacbies bordering on the
sea coast, and to the Cadies in Rhodes and Metelin, and to the Ermins in
the other ports and coastes. This commandement comming to you, know that
the Embassadour of England required of vs our commandement that their
ships comming to Chio, and from thence to Constantinople; no man should
hurt them or offer any violence, either in the way on the sea or on the
land, or in the portes. I haue commaunded, that their ships comming to any
of the said places or ports with marchandise, if they themselues will, they
may sell their commodities, and as much, and as little as they will, and if
it be in a place where custome was not woont to be taken, hauing taken the
custome due by the olde Canon you suffer them not to bee injured, either
in the way, portes, or other places, but that they may come in quietnesse
to Constantinople, and certifie vs of those that be disobedient to our
commandement, and giue credite to our seale. And hauing read this our
commandement, giue it to them againe.

* * * * *

A commandement for Aleppo.

When my letters shal come vnto you, know that the Queene of England her
Embassador by supplication certified how that before this time we had giuen
our commandement that the summe of 70 ducats, and other marchandize
belonging to one William Barret in Aleppo, now dead, saying he was a
Venetian, should be giuen to the Venetians. And if they did find that he
was not a Venetian, my will was that they should send all his goods and
marchandize to our port into my treasuries. But because that man was an
Englishman, the Embassadour required that the sayde goods might not be
diminished, but that they might be restored to one of their Englishmen.
This businesse was signified vnto vs in the nine hundred ninety and fourth
yere of Mahomet, and in the moneth of May the 10. day. This businesse
pertaineth to the Englishmen, who haue in their handes our priuilege,
according to which priuilege being in their hands let this matter be done.
Against this priuilege do nothing, aske nothing of them, but restore to
every one his goods. And I command that when my commandement shall come
vnto you, you doe according to it. And if it be according as the
Ambassadour certified, that they haue the priuilege, peruse the same, looke
that nothing be committed against it and our league, and let none trouble
them contrarie to it, restore them their goods according to iustice, and
take heede diligently in this businesse: if another strange marchant be
dead, and his goods and marchandize be taken, if he be neither Venetian,
nor Englishman, let not his goods perish among you. Before this time one of
our Chauses called Cerkes Mahomet chaus was sent with our commaundement to
sende the money and marchandize of a dead marchant to our port, and
hitherto no letters or newes is come of this matter, for which you shall be
punished. Wherefore beware, and if he that is dead be neither Venetian nor
Englishman in veritie, doe not loose the goods of the said dead marchant,
vnder the name of a Venetian or Englishman, doe not to the discommoditie of
my treasurie, for after it will be hard to recouer it.
The voyage of Master Henry Austell by Venice and thence to Ragusa over land, and so to Constantinople: and from thence by Moldauia, Polonia, Silesia and Germanie to Hamburg, &c.

The 9. of June we tooke shipping at Harewich and the next day landed at the Ramekins in the Isle of Walcheren with very stormy weather, and that night went to Middleburgh in the same Island.

The twelft we tooke shipping for Holland, and the 13. we landed at Schiedam: and the same day went to Delft by boat, and so that night to the Hague.

The 17. we tooke shipping at Amsterdam, and the 18. we landed at Enckhuysen.

The 19. we tooke shipping and by the Zuydersee we passed that day the Vlie, and so into the maine sea; And the next day we entred into the riever of Hamburg called the Elbe.

The 21. we came to anker in the same riever before a towne of the bishop of Breme called Staden, where they pay a certaine toll, and specially for wine, and so that night wee landed at Hamburg, where we stayde three dayes.
The 24. wee departed from Hamburg in the company of Edward Parish Marchant, and that day wee baited at Wyntson, and so ouer the heathes we left Lunenburg on the left hand, and trauailed all that night.

The 25. we met with Master Sanders vpon the heathes, and passed by a towne of the duke of Lunenburg called Geftherne, [Footnote: Gifhorn, on the river Aller,] and from thence through many waters, wee lay that night within an English mile of Brunswig.

The 27. we lay at Halberstat, which is a great towne subiect to the bishop of that towne.

The 28. we baited at Erinsleiben: and there wee entred into the duke of Saxon his countrey: and the same night we lay at a town called Eisleben, where Martine Luther was borne. [Footnote: 10th November, 1483.]

The 29. we passed by Mansfield, where there are many Copper mines: and so that night went to Neuburg vpon the riuer of Sala; [Footnote: Saale.] and at that time there was a great faire.

30. we baited at a proper towne called Iena vpon the same riuer and the same night wee lay at Cone vpon that riuer.

The first of Iuly we baited at Salfeld: and the same day we entred first
into the great woods of fine trees, and that night to Greuandal.

The second to dinner to Neustat.

The 3. day to dinner at Bamberg: and before wee came to the towne wee passed the river of Mayne that runneth towards Arnfurt, and that night to Forchaim.

The 4. we came to Nurenberg, and there stayed two dayes.

The 6. to bed to Blayfield. [Footnote: Pleinfeld.]

The 7. we passed without Weissenburg to dinner at Monhaim, and that night we passed the river of Danubius at Tonewerdt, [Footnote: Donauwerth.] and so to be to Nurendof.

The 8. we came to Augspurg, otherwise called Augusta, vpon the river of Lech.

The 9. we lay at Landsberg vpon the said river, in the duke of Bauars countrey,

The 10. to dinner at Suanego, [Footnote: Shongau.] and that night to Hambers [Footnote: Amergan.] against the mountains, where the small toyes
be made.

The 11. to dinner to Parcberk, [Footnote: Partenkirch.] and that night to Sefelt in the Archduke of Austria his countrey.

The 12. to dinner at Inspruck, and that night to bed at Landeck, where there is a toll, and it is the place where Charles the fift and his brother Ferdinand did meet. And there is a table of brasse with Latine letters in memorie thereof.

The 13. we passed by Stizen, and dined at Prisena, and so that night to Clusen. [Footnote: Autstell thus crossed the Alps by Trent and not by the Brenner, which would seem the most direct route to Venice.]

The 14. to dinner at Bolsan and to bed at Neumark, and by the way we passed the dangerous place, where so many murthers haue bene committed.

The 15. to dinner at Trent: That day we entred the borders of Italy, that night to Lenigo. [Footnote: Probably a misprint for Levigo.]

The 16. to dinner at Grigno, where the last toll of the Emperour is: and so we came by Chursa, which is a streight passage. And the keeper thereof is drawne vp by a cord into his holde. And that night we went to Capana to bed in the countrey of the Venetians.
The 17. to dinner at castle Franco: by the way we stayed at Taruiso, and
there tooke coche, and that night came to Mestre to bed.

The 18. in the morning we came to Venice, and there we stayed 15. dayes. In
which time the duke of Venice called Nicholas de Ponte died, and we saw his
burial. The Senators were continually shut vp together, as the maner is, to
chuse a new duke, which was not yet chosen when we departed from thence.

The 2. of August at night wee did embarke our selues vpon the Frigate of
Cattaro, an hauen neere Ragusa.

The 3. we came to a towne in Istria called Citta noua.

The 4. we came to Parenzo, and so that night to Forcera of the bishop.

The 5. we passed by Rouigno: and a little beyond we met with 3. Galies of
the Venetians: we passed in the sight of Pola; and the same day passed the
gulfe that parteth Istria from Dalmatia. [Footnote: Gulf of Quarnero.]

The 6. of August we came to Zara in Dalmatia, a strong towne of the
Venetians: and so that night to Sebenico, which standeth in a marueilous
goodly hauen, with a strong castle at the entrie thereof.
The 7. we came to Lezina, and went not on shoore, but traueiled all night.

The 8. we passed by a very well seated towne called Curzola, which standeth in an island of that name.

The 9. in the morning betimes we landed at Ragusa, and there stayed three daies, where we found many friendly gentlemen.

The 11 being prouided of a Ianizarie we departed from Ragusa in the company of halfe a dosen Marchants of that towne: and within 6 miles we entred into the countrey of Seruia. So trauailing in barren and craggie mountaines for the space of foure dayes, wee came by a small Towne of the Turkes called Chiernisa, being the 14. of the moneth; and there wee parted from the Marchants.

The 16. we dined in a Cauarsara hi a Towne called Focea, [Marginal note: Or, Fochia.] [Footnote: Fotchia.] being then greatly infected with the plague.

The 17. we lay by a Towne called Taslizea. [Footnote: Tachlidcha.]

The 20. we came to Nouibazar.

The 21. we parted from thence, trauailing stil in a countrey very ill
inhabited, and lying in the fields.

The 22. we passed within sight of Nicea. [Sidenote: Or, Nissa.]

The 23. we passed in sight of another towne called Circui: [Footnote: Sharkei.] and about those places wee began to leaue the mountaines, and to enter into a very faire and fertile countrey, but as euill inhabited as the other, or worse.

The 27. we came to Sophia, where wee stayed three dayes, being our Ianizaries home: and by good chance we lay in a Marchants house of Ragusa, that came in company with vs from Nouibazar; and also wee had in company, euer since wee came from Focea, a Turke which was a very good fellow, and he kept with vs till we came very neere Constantinople.

The first of September we came to Philippopoli, which seemeth to be an ancient towne, and standeth vpon the riuer of Stanuch. [Footnote: The Maritza.]

The 4. we came to Andrinopoli, a very great and ancient towne, which standeth in a very large and champion [Footnote: Flat--"the Champion fields with corn are seen," (Poor Robin, 1694).] countrey, and there the great Turks mother doth lye, being a place, where the Emperours of the Turkes were wont to lye very much.
The 5. we lay in one of the great Cauarzaras that were built by Mahomet Bassha with so many goodly commodities.

The 6. we lay in another of them.

The 8. we came to Siliueri, [Footnote: Silivri.] which by report was the last towne that remained Christian.

The 9. of September wee arrived at the great and most stately Citie of Constantinople, which for the situation and proude seate thereof, for the beautifull and commodious hauens, and for the great and sumptuous buildings of their Temples, which they call Moschea, is to be preferred before all the Cities of Europe. And there the Emperour of the Turkes then liuing, whose name was Amurat, kept his Court and residence, in a marueilous goodly place, with diuers gardens and houses of pleasure, which is at the least two English miles in compass, and the three parts thereof ioyne vpon the sea: and on the Northeast part of the Citie on the other side of the water ouer against the Citie is the Towne of Pera, where the most part of the Christians do lye. And there also wee did lye. And on the North part of the saide Towne is the Arsenal, where the Galies are built and doe remaine: And on the Southside is all the Ordinance, artillerie, and houses of munition.

Note that by the way as wee came from Ragusa to Constantinople, wee left on our right hand the Countreys of Albania, and Macedonia, and on the left hande the countreys of Bosnia, Bulgaria, and the riuers of Danubius.
The 14. of September was the Turkes Beyram [Footnote: Bairam is the
designation of the only two festivals annually celebrated by the Turks and
other Mohammedan nations. The first is also called _Id-at-Fitr_, "the
festival of the interruption," alluding to the breaking of the universal
fast which is rigorously observed during the month Ramazan. It commences
from the moment when the new moon of the month Shewel becomes visible, the
appearance of which, as marking the termination of four weeks of abstinence
and restraint is looked for and watched with great eagerness. The second
festival, denominated _Id-al-Asha_ or _Kurban Bairam_, "the festival of the
sacrifices," is instituted in commemoration of Abraham offering his son
Isaac and is celebrated seventy days after the former, on the 10th of
Zulhijjah, the day appointed for slaying the victims by the pilgrims at
Mecca. The festival lasts four days. At Constantinople the two bairams are
celebrated with much pomp. Amurath III, son of Selim II.] that is, one of
their chiepest feastes.

The 16. we went to the blacke Sea called Pontus Euxinus, and there vpon a
rocke we sawe a piller of white Marble that was set vp by Pompeius: and
from thence we passed to the other side of the water, vpon the shore of
Asia and there we dined.

The 25. we departed from Constantinople.

The 29. we came to an ancient Towne called Cherchisea, that is to say,
fourtie Churches, which in the olde time was a very great City, now full of
scattered buildigs.
The 4. of October wee came to Prouaz, one dayes iourney distant from Varna vpon the Blacke Sea.

The 9. we came to Saxi [Footnote: Tsakchi, S. E. of Galatz.] vpon the riuer of Danubius.

The 10. we passed the said riuer which in that place is about a mile ouer, and then we entered into the countrey Bogdania [Marginal note: Or, Moldauia]: they are Christians but subiects to the Turkes.

The 12. we came to Palsin vpon the riuer Prut. [Footnote: Faltsi.]

The 14: wee came to Yas [Footnote: Jassy.] the principall Towne of Bogdania, where Peter the Vayuoda prince of that Countrey keepeth his residence, of whom wee receuied great courtesie, and of the gentlemen of his Court: And he caused vs to be safe conducted through his said Countrey, and conueyed without coste.

The 17. we came to Stepanitze. [Footnote: Stephanesti, on the frontier between Moldavia and Bessarabia.]

The 19. we came to Zotschen, [Footnote: Chotin.] which is the last towne of Bogdania vpon the riuer of Neister, that parteth the said countrey from
The 20. we passed the river of Nyester and came to Camyenetz [Footnote: on
the river Smokriz.] in the country of Podolia, subject to the king of
Poland: this is one of the strongest Townes by nature and situation that
can be seen.

The 21. we came to Skala. [Footnote: A market town on the Podhoree, S. of
Zeryz.]

The 22. to Slothone, or Scloczow. [Footnote: Czorkorw, on the Sered.]

The 24. to Leopolis [Footnote: Lemberg, also called Leopol.] which is in
Russia alba, and so is the most part of the country betwixt Camyenetz and
it. And it is a towne very well built, well governed, full of traffic and
plentiful: and there we stayed five days.

The 30. we baited at Grodecz, and that night at Vilna [Footnote: Probably
Sandova--Wisznia.]

The 31. we dined at Mostiska, [Footnote: Mosciska.] and that night at
Rodmena. [Footnote: Radymno.]

The first of November in the morning before day we passed without the
Towne of Iaroslaw, where they say is one of the greatest faires in all Poland, and chiefly of horses, and that night to Rosdnoska. [Footnote: Rosnialov.]

The second to diner at Lanczut, [Footnote: Lanaif.] at night to Retsbou. [Footnote: Rzeszow.]

The thirde to Sendxizow, [Footnote: Sedziszow.] at night to Tarnow, and that night wee mette with the Palatine Laski.

The fourth to Vonuez, [Footnote: Woinicz.] and that night to Brytska. [Footnote: Brzesko.]

The fift to Kuhena. [Footnote: Perhaps, Kozmice.]

The 6. to Cracouia the principall Citie of all Poland: at which time the King was gone to Lituania: for he doeth make his residence one yeere in Poland, and the other in Lituania. Cracouia standeth on the river of Vistula.

The 9. wee departed from Cracouia, and that night wee came to a village hard by a Towne called Ilkusch, [Footnote: Olkusz.] where the leade Mines are.
The 10. wee passed by a Towne called Slawkow: where there are also leade
Mines, and baited that day at Bendzin, [Footnote: Bedzin.] which is the
last tome of Poland towards Silesia; and there is a toll.

[Sidenote: Salt digged out of mountaines in Poland] Note that all the
Countreys of Poland, Russia alba, Podolia, Bogdania, and diuers other
Countreys adjoyning vnto them, doe consume no other salt but such as is
digged in Sorstyn mountaine neere to Cracouia which is as hard as any
stone; it is very good, and goeth further then any other salt. That night
we lay at Bitom, [Footnote: Beuthen.] which is the first Towne of Silesia.

The 12. we passed by a great towne called Strelitz, and that night we lay
at Oppelen vpon the riuver of Odera.

The 13. we passed by Schurgasse, [Footnote: Schurgast.] and that night wee
lay without the towne of Brigk: [Footnote: Brieg.] for wee coulde not bee
suffered to come in by reason of the plague which was in those partes in
diuers Townes.

The 14. we passed by Olaw, [Footnote: Oblau.] and that night we came to the
Citi of Breslaw, which is a faire towne, great, well built and well seated
vpon the riuver of Odera.

The 16. we baited at Neumargt. [Footnote: Neumark.]
The 17. we passed by Lignizt and by Hayn, [Footnote: Hainau.] and that night to Buntzel. [Footnote: Buntzla.

The 18. we passed by Naumburg through Gorlitz vpon the riuier of Neiss, and that night lay without Reichenbach.

The 19. we passed by Baudzen and Cannitz, [Footnote: Camenz.] and that night to Rensperg.

The 20. we passed by Hayn, by Strelen, were we should haue passed the riuier of Elbe, but the boate was not there, so that night we lay at a towne called Mulberg.

The 21. we passed the said riuier, wee went by Belgern, by Torga, by Dumitch: and at night to Bretch.

The 22. we passed the Elbe againe at Wittenberg, which is a very strong towne, with a good Vniuersitie: and that day we passed by Coswig.

The 23. we passed through Zerbst in the morning, and that night at Magdeburg, a very strong Towne, and well gouerned as wee did heare. The most part of the Countrey, after wee were come one dayes iourney on this side Breslawe to this place, belongeth to the Duke of Saxon.
The 24. wee passed by a castle of the Marques of Brandenburg called Wolmerstat, and that night we lay at Garleben.

The 25. wee lay at Soltwedel.

The 26. at Berg.

The 27. we baited at Lunenborg, and that night we lay at Winson.

The 28. we came to Homborg, and there stayed one weeke.

The 5. of December wee departed from Hamborg, and passed the Elbe by boate being much frosen, and from the riuer went on foote to Boxtchoede, being a long Dutch mile off, and there we lay; and from thence passed ouer land to Emden.

Thence hauing passed through Friseland and Holland, the 25. being Christmas day in the morning we came to Delft: where wee found the right honourable the Earle of Leicester with a goodly company of Lords, knights, gentlemen, and soildiers.

The 28. at night to Roterodam.
The 29. to the Briel, and there stayed eight dayes for passage.

The fift of January we tooke shipping.

The 7. we landed at Grauesend, and so that night at London with the helpe of almightie God.

* * * * *

The Turkes passeport or safeconduct for Captaine Austell, and Iacomo Manuchio.

Know thou which art Voyuoda of Bogdania, and Valachia, and other our officers abiding and dwelling on the way by which men commonly passe into Bogdania, and Valachia, that the Embassador of England hauing two English gentlemen desirous to depart for England, the one named Henry Austel, and the other Iacomo de Manuchio, requested our hignesse letters of Safeconduct to passe through our dominions with one seruant to attende on them. Wherefore wee straightly charge you and all other our seruants by whom they shall passe, that hauing receiued this our commandement, you haue diligent care and regard that they may haue prouided for them in this their iourney (for their money) all such necessary prouision as shalbe necessary for themselues and their horses, in such sort as they may haue no cause hereafter to complaine of you. And if by chaunce they come vnto any place, where theyshal stand in feare either of their persons or goods, that then
you carefully cause them to bee guarded with your men, and to be conducted through all suspected places, with sufficient company; But haue great regard that they conuey not out of our countrey any of pur serviceable horses. Obey our commandement, and giue credite to this our Seale.

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A Passeport of the Earle of Leicester for Thomas Foster gentleman trauailing to Constantinople.

Datum in castris nostris Duisburgi, decimo die Septembris, anno 1586. stylo veteri.

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The returne of Master William Harborne from Constantinople ouer land to London 1588.

I departed from Constantinople with 30. persons of my suit and family the 3. of August. Passing through the Countries of Thracia, now called Romania the great, Valachia and Moldauia, where arriuing the 5. of September I was according to the Grand Signior his commandement very courteously interteined by Peter his positiue prince, a Greeke by profession, with whom was concluded that her Maiesties subiects there trafiquing should pay but three vpon the hundreth, which as well his owne Subiects as all other nations answere: [Sidenote: The letters of the Prince of Moldauia to the Queene. Letters of the Chanceler of Poland to the Queene.] whose letters to her Maiestie be extant. Whence I proceeded into Poland, where the high Chanceler sent for mee the 27. of the same moneth. And after most honorable intertainment imparted with me in secret maner the late passed and present occurrents of that kingdome, and also he writ to her Maiestie.

Thence I hasted vnto Elbing, where the 12. of October I was most friendly welcomed by the Senate of that City, whom I finde and iudge to be
faithfully deuoted to her Maiesties seruice, whose letters likewise vnto
the same were presented me. No lesse at Dantzik the 27. of that moneth I
was courteously receiued by one of the Buroughmasters accompanied with two
others of the Senate, and a Ciuil doctor their Secretarie. After going
through the land of Pomer I rested one day at Stetin, where, for that the
duke was absent, nothing ensued. At Rostoke I passed through the Citie
without any stay, and at Wismar receiued like friendly greeting as in the
other places: but at Lubeck, for that I came late and departed early in the
morning, I was not visited. At Hamburg the 19. of Nouember, and at Stoed
the ninth of December in like maner I was saluted by a Boroughmaster and
the Secretarie, and in all these places they presented mee sundry sorts of
their best wine and fresh fish, euery of them with a long discourse,
congratulating, in the names of their whole Senate, her Maiesties victory
ouer the Spaniard, and my safe returne, concluding with offer of their
ready seruice to her future disposing. Yet the Dantziks after my departure
thence caused the Marchants to pay custome for the goods they brought with
them in my company, which none other towne neither Infidels nor Christians
on the way euer demanded. And notwithstanding the premisses, I was most
certainly informed of sundry of our nation there resident that most of the
Hansetowns vpon the sea coasts, especially Dantzik, Lubeck, and Hamborough
haue laden and were shipping for Spaine, great prouision of corne, cables,
ropes, powder, salt peter, hargubusses, armour, iron, leade, copper, and all
other munition seruing for the warre. Whereupon I gather their fained
courtesie proceeded rather for feare then of any good affection vnto her
Maiesties seruice, Elbing and Stoed onely excepted, which of duetie for
their commoditie I esteemed well affected.
The privilege of Peter the Prince of Moldauia granted to the English Marchants.

Petrus Dei gratia princeps Valachia et Moldauia; significamus prasentibus, vniuersis et singulis quorum interest ac intererit, quod cum magnifico domino Guilielmo Hareborne oratore Serenissima ac potentissima domina, domina Elizabetha Dei gratia Anglia, Francia, ac Hibernia Regina apud Serenissimum ac potentissimum Turcarum Imperatorem hanc constitutionem fecerimus: Nimirum vt dehinc sua Serenitatis subditis, omnibusque mercatoribus integrum sit hic in prouincia nostra commorandi, conuersandi, mercandi, vendendi, contrahendique, imo omnia exercendi, qua mercatura ac vita humana societas vsusque requirit, sine vlla alicuius contradicione, aut inhibitione: saluo ac integro tamen iure Telonij nostri: hoc est, vt a singulis rebus centum ducatorum pretij, tres numerent. Quod ratum ac firmum constitutione nostra haberi volumus. In cuius rei firmius testimonium, sigillum nostrum appressum est. Actum in castris nostris die 27. mensis Augusti, anno Domini 1588.

The same in English.

Peter by the grace of God prince of Valachia and Moldauia; we signifie by these presents to all and singuler persons, whom it doth or shall concerne, that we haue made this agreement with the worthy gentleman William Hareborne Ambassador of the right high and mighty prince, the Lady
Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, with
the most puissant and mightie Emperour of the Turkes: To witte, that from
hencefoorth it shalbe lawfull for her highnesse subiects and all her
Marchants, to remaine, converse, buy, sel, bargaine and exercise all such
things, as the trade of marchandise, and humane societie and vse requireth,
without any hinderance or let: the right of our Custome alwayes reserued;
That is, that they pay three ducats vpon all such things as amount to the
price of one hundred ducats. Which by this our ordinance we command to be
surely and firme obserued; For the more assured testimony whereof our
seale is hereunto annexed. Giuen in our Campe the 27. of the moneth of
August in the yeere of our Lord 1588.

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The letters of Sinan Bassa chiefe counsellour to Sultan Murad Can the Grand
Signior, to the sacred Maiestie of Elizabeth Queene of England, shewing
that vpon her request, and for her sake especially, hee graunted peace
vnto the King and kingdome Of Poland.

Gloriosissima et splendore fulgidissima foeminarum, selectissima Princeps
magnanimorum IESVM sectantium, regni inclyti Anglia Regina Serenissima
Elizibetha, moderatrix rerum et negotiorum omnium plebis et familia
Nazarenorum sapientissima; Origo splendoris et gloria dulcissima; nebes
pluuiarum gratissima, heres et domina beatitudinis et gloria regni inclyti
Anglia; ad quam omnes supplices confugiunt, incrementum omnium rerum et
actionum Serenitatis vestra beatissimum, exitusque foelicissimos a Creatore
praedictum, ut Cosaci facinoros exquirantur et poena perfecta puniantur, aut
ratione munera aliquantula eorum delicta condonentur, hac inquam
condizione litera Casarea celsitudinis ad Regem Polonia sunt data. Si autem
ex parte Serenitatis vestra foedus et pax sollicitata non fuisse, nulla
ratione Casara celsitudo foedus cum regno Polonia iniisset. In favorem
autem Serenitatis vestra regno et Regi Polonia singularem gratiam Casarea
celsitudo exhibuit. Quod tam Serenitas vestra, quam etiam Rex et regnum
Polonia sibi certo persuadere debent. Serenitatem vestram bene
foelicissimeque valere cupimus. Datum Constantinopoli in fine mensis Sabaum
nuncupati, Anno propheta nostri sacrati Mahumeddi nongentesimo, nonagesimo,
octauo. IESV vero Anno millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo, die duodecimo
mensis Iunij.

The same in English.

Most glorious, and the most resplendent of women, most select Princesse,
most gratious Elizabeth Queene of the valiant followers of Iesus in the
famous kingdom of England, most wise gouernesse of all the affaires and
bussinesses of the people and family of the Nazarens, most sweet fountaine
of brightnesse and glory, most acceptable cloud of raine, inheritresse and
Ladie of the blessednesse and glory of the renowned kingdome of England, to
whom in humble wise all men offer their petitions: wishing of the almighty
Creator most happie increase and prosperous successe vnto all your
Maiesties affaires and actions, and offering vp mutuall and perpetuall
vowes worthy of our familiarity; with eternall prayses: In most friendly
manner we signifie vnto your princely Highnesse, that certaine yeeres past
the most mightie Cesarlike maiestie of the Grand Signor waged vnspeakeable
warres with Casul-bas the Prince of the Persians, in regarde of which
warres he would not goe in battell against any other places; and for that
cause certaine theeuues in the partes of Polonia called Cosacks, and other
notorious persons liuing in the same partes ceased not to trouble and
molest the subiects of our most mightie Emperour. But now hauing finished
and brought to some good issue his affaires in Persia, determining to
punish the saide malefactors of Poland, and for that purpose committing an
army vnto the Beglerbeg of Grecia, and the yeere last past, sending his
imperiall commaundement vnto the Prince of the Tartars, he hath forraged,
molested, and layed waste some part of the kingdome of Poland, and the
Cosacks and other notorious offenders haue receiued condigne punishment.
Which the king of Poland perceiuing sent two Embassadours to his imperiall
Highnesse signifying, that he would hunt out the said malefactors, and
inflict most seuerse punishments vpon them, and also that he would better
his gift, which he hath for many yeeres heretofore ordinarily sent vnto the
porch of his imperiall Highnesse. Howbeit his imperiall maiestie (vpon whom
the almighty creator hath bestowed so great power, and who vouchsafeth to
giue eare vnto all humble suppliants) reiecting the supplication of the
King of Poland, determined againe to send his armie against the said king,
and by the helpe of the Almighty creator, utterly to subuert and
ouerthrowe his kingdome. But your Maiesties Embassadour resident in the
blessed and glorious porch of his imperiall Highnesse interposing himselfe
as a mediatour, signifying that from the partes of Poland you were
furnished with corne, gun-powder, mastes of ships, guns, and other
necessaries, and crauing peace on the behalfe of the kingdome and king of
Poland, and making intercession, that the said king might not be molested
nor troubled by the meanes of the Grand Signior, and declaring that this
was your Maiesties most earnest desire; so soone as the report and
intercession of your Maiesies Embassadour was signified vnto the Grand
Signor, for your sake, vnto whom all honour and fauourable regard is due,
upon the condition aforesaid, namely, that the wicked Cosacks might be
sought out and grievously punished, or that their offences might be
remitted for the value of some small gift, vpon this condition (I say) the
letters of his imperiall Highnesse were sent vnto the king of Poland.
Howbeit had not this conclusion of league and amitie beene sollicited on
the behalfe of your Maiestie, his imperiall Highnesse would neuer haue
vouchsafed the same vnto the kingdome of Poland. But for your Maiesties
sake his imperiall Highnesse hath exhibited this so singular a fauour vnto
the said king and kingdome of Poland. And hereof your Maiestie and the king
of Poland ought cenainely to be perswaded. We wish your Maiestie most
happily and well to fare. Giuen at Constantinople in the ende of the moneth
called Sabaum, in the yeere of our sacred prophet Mahomet 998, and in the
yeere of Iesus 1590, the 12 of Iune.

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A letter written by the most high and mighty Empresse the wife of the Grand
Signior Sultan Murad Can to the Queenes Maiesty of England, in the yeere
of our Lord, 1594.

Il principio del ragionamento nostro sia scrittura perfetta nelle quatro
parte del mondo, in nome di quello che ha creato indifferentemente tante
infinite creature, che non haueuano anima ni persona, e di quello che fa
girar gli noue cieli, e che la terra sette volte vna sopra l'altra fa
firmar; Signor e Re senza vicere, e che non ha comparacion alla sua
creazione ne opera, e vno senza precio, adorato incomparabilmente,
l'altissimo Dio creatore; che non ha similitudine, si come e descrito dalli
propheti: a la cui grandessa non si arriue, e alla perfettione sua compiuta
non si oppone, e quel omnipotente creatore e cooperatore; alla grandessa
del quale inchinano tutti li propheti; fra quali il maggior e che ha
ottenuto gracia, horto del paradiso, ragi dal sole, amato del altssimo Dio
e Mahomet Mustaffa, al qual e suoi adherenti e imitatori sia perpetua pace:
alla cui sepultura odorifera si fa ogni honore. Quello che e imperator de
sette climati, e delle quattro parti del mondo, invincibile Re di Gracia,
Agiamia, Vngeria, Tartaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet,
Caramania, Abessis, Giouasir, Siruan, Barbaria, Algieri, Franchia,
Coruacia, Belgrado, &c. sempre felicissimo e de dodeci Auoli possessor
della corona, e della stirpe di Adam, fin hora Imperator, figliolo
dell'Imperatore, consucesso de la diuina prouidenza, Re di ogni dignita e
honore, Sultan Murat, che Il Signor Dio sempre augmenti le sue forzze, e
padre di quello a cui aspetta la corona imperiale, horto e cypresso
mirabile, degno della sedia regale, e vero herede del commando imperiale,
dignissimo Mehemet Can, filiol de Sultan Murat Can, che dio compisca li
suoi dissegni, e alunga li suoi giorni felici: Dalla parte della madre del
qual si scrive la presente alla serenissima e gloriosissima fra le
prudentissime Donne, e eletta fra li triomlanti sotto il standardo di Iesu
Christo, potentissima e ricchissima regitrice, e al mondo singularissima
fra il feminil sesso, la serenissima Regina d'Ingilterra, che segue le
vestigie de Maria virgine, il fine della qoale sia con bene e perfettione,
secondo il suo desiderio. Le mando vna salutacion di pace, cosi honorata,
che non basta tutta la copia di rosignoli con le loro musiche ariuare, non
che con questa carta: l'amore singolare che e conciputo fra noi, e simile a
vn'horto di Vccelli vagi; che il Signor Dio la faci degna di saluacione, e il fine suo sia tale, che in questo mondo e nel' futuro sia con pace. Dopo comparsi li suoi honorati presenti da la sedia de la Serenita vostra, sapera che sono capitati in vna hora che ogni punto e stato vna consolation di lungo tempo, per occasione del Ambassadore di vostra serenita venuto alla felice porta del Imperatore, con tanto nostro contento, quanto si posso desiderare, e con quello vna lettera di vostra sereneta, che ci estata presentata dalli nostri Eunuchi con gran honore; liccarta de la quale odoraua di camfora e ambracano, et l'inchiostro di musco perfetto, et quella peruenuta in nostro mano tutta la continenza di essa a parte ho ascoltato intentamente. Quello che hora si conuiene e, che corrispondente alla nostra affecione, in tutto quello che si aspetta allie cose attenente alli paesi che sono sotto il commando di vostra serenita, lei non manchi di sempre tenermi, dato noticia, che in tutto quello che li occorera, Io possi compiacerla; de quello che fra le nostre serenita e conueniente, accioche quelle cose che si interprendran, habino il desiderato buon fine; perche Io saro sempre ricordeuole al altissimo Imperatore delle occorenze di vostra serenita, per che sia in ogni occasione compiaciuta. La pace sia con vostra serenita, e con quelli che seguitano dretamente la via di Dio.
Scritta al primi dell luna di Rabie Liuol, anno del profeta 1002, et di Iesu 1594.

The same in English.

Let the beginning of our discourse be a perfect writing in the foure parts of the world, in the name of him which hath indifferently created such infinite numbers of creatures, which had neither soule nor body, and of him
which moueth the nine heauens, and stablisheth the earth seuen times one
aboue another, which is Lord and king without any deputy, who hath no
comparison to his creation and worke, and is one inestimable, worshipped
without all comparison, the most high God, the creator, which hath nothing
like vnto him, according as he is described by the Prophets, to whose power
no man can attaine, and whose absolute perfection no man may controll; and
that omnipotent creatour and fellow-worker, to whose Maiesty all the
Prophets submit themselves, among whom the greatest, and which hath
obtained greatest fauour, the garden of Paradise, the beame of the Sunne,
the beloued of the most high God is Mahomet Mustafa, to whom and to his
adherents and followers be perpetuall peace, to whose fragrant sepulture
all honour is performed. He which is emperour of the seuen climats and of
the foure parts of the world, the inuincible king of Graecia, Agiamia,
Hungaria, Tartaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania,
Abessis, Giouasir, Siruan, Barbaria, Alger, Franchia, Coruacia, Belgrade,
&c. always most happy, and possessour of the crowne from twelue of his
ancestours; and of the seed of Adam, at this present emperour, the sonne of
an emperour, preserued by the diuine prouidence, a king woorthy of all
glory and honour, Sultan Murad, whose forces the Lord God always increase,
and father of him to whom the imperiall crowne is to descend, the paradise
and woonderfull tall cypresse, worthy of the royall throne, and true heire
of the imperiall authority, most woorthy Mehemet Can, the sonne of Sultan
Murad Can, whose enterprise God vouchsafe to accomplish, and to prolong his
happy dayes: on the behalfe of whose mother [Marginal note: This Sultana is
mother to Mahumet which now reigneth a Emperour.] this present letter is
written to the most gracious and most glorious, the wisest among women, and
chosen among those which triumph vnder the standard of Iesus Christ, the
most mighty and most rich gouernour, and most rare among womankinde in the
world, the most gracious Queene of England, which follow the steps of the
girgine Mary, whose end be prosperous and perfect, according to your hearts
desire. I send your Maiesty so honorable and sweet a salutation of peace,
that all the flocke of Nightingales with their melody cannot attaine to the
like, much lesse this simple letter of mine. The singular loue which we
have conceiued one toward the other is like to a garden of pleasant birds:
and the Lord God vouchsafe to saue and keepe you, and send your Maiesty an
happy end both in this world and in the world to come. After the arriuall
of your honourable presents, from the Court of your Maiesty, your Highnesse
shall understand that they came in such a season, that euery minute
ministred occasion of long consolation by reason of the comming of your
Maiesties Ambassadour to the triumphant Court of the Emperour, to our so
great contentment as we could possibly wish, who brought a letter from your
Maiestie, which with great honour was presented vnto vs by our eunuks, the
paper whereof did smell most fragrantely of camfor and ambargriese, and the
incke of perfect muske; the contents whereof we have heard very attentiuely
from point to point. I thinke it therefore expedient, that, according to
our mutuall affection, in any thing whatsoeuer may concerne the countreys
which are subiect to your Maiesty, I neuer faile, hauing information giuen
vnto me, in whatsoeuer occasion shall be ministred, to gratifie your
Maiesty to my power in any reasonable and conuenient matter, that all your
subjectes businesses and affaires may haue a wished and happy end. For I
will always be a sollicitour to the most mighty Emperour for your
Maiesties affaires, that your Maiesty at all times may be fully satisfied.
Peace be to your Maiesty, and to all such as follow rightly the way of God.

[Sidenote: Ann. Dom. 1594] Written the first day of the Moone of Rabie
Liuol in the yere of the Prophet, 1002.
END OF VOL. V.