

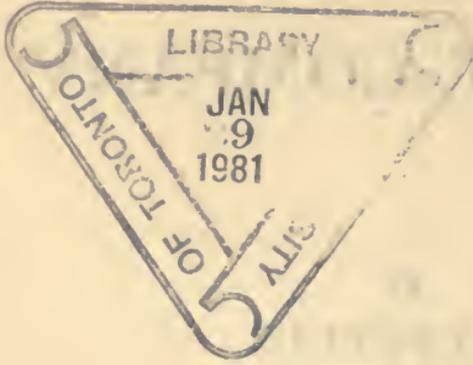
THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE LEVANT COMPANY

By
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TO
MY FRIEND
MR.
PHILIP J. HARTOG
ACADEMIC REGISTRAR
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

PREFATORY NOTE

IT is to Mr. Sidney Webb that I owe the suggestion of the subject with which this little book deals, and I would here like to express my gratitude to him.

The work is based to a very large extent on unprinted material, and in every case the documents quoted have been examined (cf., p. 42, note 6). I have modernized the spelling in all the quotations, with the exception of the Charter of James I given in the first Appendix. The miscellaneous documents in Appendix VIII are, I believe, published in full for the first time.

M. E.

LONDON,
June, 1908.

ABBREVIATIONS

V. S. P. Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries in Northern Italy.

8 vols., edited as follows :

Vols. I to VI, by Rawdon Brown,

Vol. VII, by the late Rawdon Brown and the Rt. Hon. G. Cavendish Bentinck.

Vol. VIII, by Horatio F. Brown.

S. P. D. "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Elizabeth (or, of the reign of James I) preserved in the Public Record Office."

Turkey Papers : Foreign State Papers, Turkey. These miscellaneous papers are kept in bundles at the Public Record Office ; they are unbound, and un-numbered.

Min. : Minutes of the Meetings of the Court of the Company. They may be obtained at the Public Record Office under the following description : "Foreign Archives, Levant Company, Nos. 147-156."

S. P. F. : "Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the reign of Elizabeth, preserved in the Public Record Office."

Printed Books and Pamphlets to which reference is made in the notes.

"Account of the Levant Company ; with some notices of the benefits conferred upon Society by its officers in promoting the cause of humanity, Literature and the fine Arts." (Anonymous.) London 1825.

Pages 4, 8, 62.

- CAMDEN : Life and reign of Queen Elizabeth (1719 edition).
Page 18.
- CUNNINGHAM : The Growth of English Industry and
Commerce, 4th edition 1905.
Pages 1, 6, 124, 143.
- HAKLUYT, RICHARD : The principal navigations, voyages
traffiques, etc., of the English nation. Glasgow
edition 1903-1905 in 12 vols.
Pages 5, 7, 11, 16, 43.
- HEWINS : English trade and Finance chiefly in the 17th
century.
Page 8.
- HEYD : Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter
(1879).
Page 1.
- P. MASSON : Histoire du commerce français dans le levant.
Page 14.
- MONSON, SIR WILLIAM : Naval Tracts.
Pages 5, 7.
- PALGRAVE : Dictionary of Political Economy,
Page 8.
- ROGERS : History of Prices.
Page 1.
- RYMER : Foedera.
Page 6.
- SCHANZ : Englische Handelspolitik.
Page 1.
- Statutes of the Realm.
Page 3.
- WILLIAMSON : The Foreign Commerce of England under
the Tudors.
Pages 6, 8

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I

INTRODUCTION

DURING the Middle Ages it was through the markets of Italy that the rich products of the East found their way into Christendom. Italian merchants indeed played the first part in mediaeval Levant commerce.¹ England's connexion with them was of very old standing.² First the Florentines were the chief Italian traders ; they were succeeded by the Genoese, and in the fifteenth century, the Mediterranean trade with England fell almost exclusively into the hands of the Venetians. Indeed, already in the fourteenth century the Venetian merchants in England

¹ Heyd : *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter* (1879) Band I. Vorwort, page vi. Rogers : *History of Prices*, I. p. 147 ; Cunningham : *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, I. p. 184.

² Schanz : *Englische Handelspolitik*, I. pp. 111-130.

were sufficiently numerous to be under the government of their own Consul.³

The chief intercourse between England and Venice was carried on by a small fleet of trading vessels called the "Flanders Galleys."⁴ These galleys brought a variety of merchandise to England⁵ which may be classed under two heads. First, there were the costly spices, and secondly, the more general articles of Eastern product and Venetian industry. The Italians distinguished between spices proper or "gross-spice" and the drugs or "small-spice."⁶ Gross-spice included gingers, cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, red sandal-wood, camphor and many other drugs; while under small-spice such things as rhubarb from Persia, aloes, dates, sugar, currants, prunes, malmsies and Tyrian wine were understood. The whole of the spice trade was enormously lucrative, though

³ *V. S. P. I.* Preface, p. 59.

⁴ For an account of these Galleys and the regulations which were made concerning them, see *Venetian State Papers*, I. Preface, p. 61 ff.

⁵ *V. S. P. I.* Preface 135 ff. and Rogers: *History of Prices*, iv. chapter 23.

⁶ *V. S. P. I.* Preface, p. 137.

the other more general articles must have yielded a good profit too. These included such goods as silk, cotton, and glass ; and of these latter, perhaps the trade in silk was the most important.

A variety of causes brought it about that the Venetian trade with England gradually declined. There was first of all the commercial and naval policy of Henry VII, who desired English ships to have a share in the wine trade. This led to a quarrel with Venice,⁷ who, intent on preserving the monopoly she enjoyed, levied an extra duty of 4 Ducats or 18 shillings on every Butt of Malmsey exported from Candia in foreign ships. In 1492 Henry retaliated by an Act of Parliament⁸ which fixed 126 gallons as the precise amount of wine to be contained in every Butt ; fixed the price of the Butt at 4 pounds sterling, and compelled every alien importer to pay an extra 18 shillings⁹ per butt as import duty. The Act was to be in

⁷ Compare *Statutes of the Realm*, 7^o Hen. VII, chapter 7, preamble.

⁸ 7^o Henry VII, cap. 7.

⁹ Cf. also *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 15, No. 4.

force so long as the Venetians retained their impost of 4 Ducats.

But causes of a more general nature were at work to undermine the commercial greatness of Venice. The League of Cambrai crippled the power of the Republic, and while the struggle was going on, the voyages of the "Flanders galleys" were interrupted. From 1509 to 1518 no Venetian trading fleet visited England. In 1518 a fleet came but it was coldly received; in 1521 it was an unprofitable venture. And so the trade declined until 1532. On the 22nd of May in that year the "Flanders Galleys" sailed from Southampton¹⁰ for the last time.¹¹ But this was not quite the end of Venetian trading to England. Venetian merchants still continued to send

¹⁰ Southampton had been appointed as depôt for oriental goods. In 1456 the Italian merchants left London and made Southampton their headquarters. Cf. "*Account of the Levant Company; with some notices of the benefits conferred upon Society by its officers in promoting the cause of humanity, Literature and the fine arts.*" London, 1825. This pamphlet is No. 8 in a collection of *Tracts on Trade and Commerce* to be found in the British Museum under press mark T. 1146.

¹¹ Cf. *V. S. P. I.* Preface, p. 70. Also *V. S. P. IV.* Entry No. 771.

vessels with Levant commodities, but these vessels came at the merchants' own risk, and, unlike the "Flanders Galleys," regulated their movements at their own will. A vessel of this kind was wrecked off the Isle of Wight in October, 1587,¹² and that was the last of the Venetian vessels trading to England of which we know.

The interruption of the commerce of Venice which the League of Cambrai had brought about exercised a very beneficial influence on the enterprise of English merchants. Up till that time they had been content to receive Levant goods from the Venetians; now they were forced to go themselves for them. Thus we find that between the years 1511 and 1534, five London ships "with certain other ships of Southampton and Bristow (Bristol) had an ordinary and usual trade to Sicily, Candia and Chios."¹³ In 1513 an English

¹² Sir William Monson was an eye-witness of this catastrophe, and describes it in his *Naval Tracts*, IV. p. 408 (given in Churchill's *Collections of Voyages and Travels*, 1752). Sir William there says: "The goodly ship struck upon the shingles at The Needles and all on board save seven poor creatures perished, and her entire merchandize was lost."

¹³ Richard Hakluyt: *The principal navigations*,

consul was established in the island of Chios,¹⁴ and in 1522 a mercantile settlement was made at Candia,¹⁵ while in 1533 began the English currant trade with Zante.¹⁶

The trade must have continued with varying fortune. Hakluyt relates¹⁷ how voyages to Candia and Chios were made by English ships in 1534 and 1535, and mentions¹⁸ one, William Eyms who was factor in Chios for his master Sir William Bower, Alderman of London, as also for the Duke of Norfolk, both of whom must have had commercial relations with the island up to 1552. But traders had many difficulties to overcome, as would appear from Hakluyt's account¹⁹ of Captain Bodenham's voyage; especially the pirates²⁰ that abounded in the Levant seas. Besides, the Levant was a new area for English merchants and it took some time

voyages, traffiques, etc., of the English nation, vol. 5. p. 62.

¹⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 13, p. 353.

¹⁵ Rymer, ditto, p. 766.

¹⁶ See Williamson: *The Foreign Commerce of England under the Tudors*, p. 20.

¹⁷ V. p. 67, 68. ¹⁸ V. p. 69. ¹⁹ V. p. 71.

²⁰ Cf. Cunningham, "*Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, II. p. 188.

before any very great numbers of them adventured thither. Nevertheless, it was gradually being felt that if English merchants fetched the goods from the Levant and did not depend on the Venetians, they would be able to sell them at home much more cheaply than the Venetians.²¹ This at any rate was a spur to English merchants to try their fortunes in the Levant. No doubt, too, the spirit of adventure which was rife in England in the second half of the sixteenth century must also have worked in the same direction.

The first Englishman who went to Turkey, and of whom we know anything, was the energetic and experienced traveller Anthony Jenkinson, who at Aleppo in 1553 received recognition at the hands of Sultan Solyman the Great. The Sultan granted him a safe-

²¹ Cf. *Hakluyt* V. pp. 133, 115. "And by reason that we have not traded into those parts these many years . . . I find that the Venetians do bring those commodities hither and do sell them for double the value that we ourselves were accustomed to fetch them."

Cf. also Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, p. 408. "The Venetians have engrossed the whole trade on those seas (the Mediterranean) and furnished us with the rich merchandize of Turkey . . . at what rate they pleased themselves."

conduct and gave him permission to trade in Turkey on an equal footing with the French and the Venetians²² that is to say, he was to pay the ordinary toll and no other.

But the case of Jenkinson was apparently an isolated one, for we hear of no other English merchants till 1575 or thereabouts. Indeed, Hakluyt asserts²³ that after 1550 the Levant trade declined, was "in manner quite forgotten" until Sir Edward Osborne and Richard Staper made an attempt to revive it.²⁴

²² Mr. Williamson (*The Foreign Commerce of England under the Tudors* p. 58) says that Jenkinson "obtained leave to trade to the market of Aleppo upon the same terms as those enjoyed by the French and the Genoese." There are two errors here. (1) The privileges say that Jenkinson might trade "wheresoever it shall seem good unto him"—anywhere in Turkey therefore; and (2) his liberties were to be such as were enjoyed by the French and the Venetians—not the Genoese.

²³ V. p. 168.

²⁴ The anonymous writer in the *Account of Levant Company* (see above, p. 4, note 10) is not very full on the earlier history of the Company. Nor is Mr. Hewins in his *English Trade and Finance, chiefly in the Seventeenth Century*, nor the writer of the article "Turkey Company" in Mr. Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*. Both Mr. Hewins and the writer of the article appear to have followed the author of the *Account, etc.*

No doubt this was just a case of two enterprising merchants who wished to open up new markets. For though the Venetian merchants, as we have seen, continued their commerce with England as late as 1587, yet it may be assumed that they were not very numerous and could not adequately supply the demand. Accordingly it was but natural to find English merchants bent on making an attempt for themselves. Sir Edward Osborne and Richard Staper, about the year 1575 sent two agents to Constantinople²⁵ to procure a safe-conduct from the Sultan for one, William Harborne, who was factor for Sir Edward. The agents were successful, and in July, 1578, William Harborne set sail from London, travelling overland²⁶ to Constantinople where he arrived on October 28

²⁵ Hakluyt V. p. 168.

²⁶ Harborne travelled overland in order that no attention might be directed to his journey. Walsingham in his "Considerations of the Trade into Turkey" (*S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 144, No. 70) says that the Ambassador's "repair thither is to be handled with great secrecy and his voyage to be performed rather by land than by sea, for that otherwise the Italians that are here will seek underhand that he may be disgraced at his repair thither." See Appendix VIII, No. 2 (page 248).

of that year. That he was a skilful and diplomatic agent we know from later events,²⁷ and evidently his very first visit to Constantinople was successful. He managed to obtain from the Sultan a letter to Queen Elizabeth²⁸ couched in flattering terms, offering to open up the Turkish dominions to the English traders who had sent Harborne, and asking that liberty might be granted to Turkish traders to come to England. The reply to this²⁹ suggests that the grant which the Sultan had been pleased to make to one or two Englishmen only should be extended to all English traders,³⁰ and that in return Elizabeth would grant equal liberties to the subjects of the Sultan. This letter was carried to Constantinople, where Harborne then was,³¹ by the good ship the *Prudence*

²⁷ Cf. *V. S. P.* VIII. Introduction, p. 43.

²⁸ Hakluyt V. p. 169 gives this letter in full. It is dated March 15, 1579. Cf. also Appendix VIII. No. 1 (page 239).

²⁹ Hakluyt V. p. 171. It is dated Oct. 20, 1579.

³⁰ Cf. *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 151, No. 33.

³¹ Cf. Elizabeth's letter as quoted by Hakluyt V. p. 172: *Guilielmo Harbornio in Imperiali Celsitudinis vestrae civitate Constantinopoli commorante.*" Mr. Horatio Brown in his Introduction to vol. 8 of *V. S. P.* (p. 30)

of London.³² Seven months later Murad III issued a charter of privileges to English traders³³ which is dated at Constantinople the beginning of the month of June, 1580,³⁴ granting the same rights to English merchants as other European traders in Turkey possessed. They were to be allowed to buy and sell without any hindrance, and observe the customs and orders of their own country.³⁵

In all probability it was due to the diplomacy of Harborne that these privileges were granted. But seemingly, the French Ambassador in Constantinople, M. de Germigny, was very powerful and he successfully brought his influence to bear on the Sultan to cancel

makes him come to Constantinople in February, 1580. But he gives no authority for the statement. Hakluyt is supported by the document given in Appendix VIII. No. 1.

³² Hakluyt V. p. 171.

³³ Cf. Hakluyt V. p. 178. Also *V. S. P.* vol. 8, No. 127. Also *S. P. Foreign*, 1579-80, No. 305.

³⁴ Hakluyt's version of the charter has "in principio mensis Junii." Mr. Brown in his Introduction to vol. 8 of the *V. S. P.* (p. 30) says the charter was dated May 13, 1580.

³⁵ Cf. Appendix VIII. No. 1, where a good deal of light is thrown on the whole proceeding.

the patent.³⁶ Harborne had meanwhile returned to England; but, nothing daunted by the power of the French ambassador in Constantinople, he determined to sail once more for the East and renew his efforts to obtain a patent of privileges. On his arrival at Constantinople he found his position extremely difficult and had to return home with his purpose unachieved. But he made yet another effort, and on November 20, 1580,³⁷ he obtained credentials from Elizabeth appointing him ambassador or agent for her majesty at Constantinople, giving him power over all English subjects trading in Turkey and authority to appoint consuls and to enact laws.³⁸ With these he set sail for Turkey in the good ship, the *Susan*, on January 14, 1583,³⁹ carrying with him letters of recommendation, one to the Sultan⁴⁰ and the

³⁶ Cf. *V. S. P.* vol. 8. Introduction, p. 30 and entry No. 2.

³⁷ This is the date given by Hakluyt. Mr. Horatio Brown in his Introduction to *V. S. P.* vol. 8 (p. 31) says the date was November 15.

³⁸ The whole document given in Hakluyt V. pp. 221-2.

³⁹ Hakluyt V. p. 243.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Hakluyt V. p. 224, and also in *V. S. P.* vol. 8 (No. 132).

other to Ali⁴¹ Pasha, the Turkish High Admiral.⁴² In spite of the opposition and protests of M. de Germigny, Harborne succeeded in getting himself recognized, and on May 3, 1583, kissed hands and presented the gifts which Elizabeth had sent to the Sultan.⁴³ The result of this reception was

⁴¹ Mr. Horatio Brown calls him Mehemet.

⁴² This letter is quoted in Hakluyt V. p. 228, and also in *V. S. P.* vol. 8 (No. 133).

⁴³ Cf. *V. S. P.* vol. 8, No. 131. The gifts were a regular feature of the intercourse. Every new ambassador brought presents for the Sultan and his ministers. Cf. *Minutes of Meetings of the Court of the Company*, under date June 16, 1636; also *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 233, No. 13: "every six years must a present of £1,500 be given to the Grand Signior according to ancient custom." In *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 241, No. 13 the present is said to be of the value of £2,600. Whether the Sultan also sent presents to the rulers of England does not seem quite clear. But there is one record of a present from the Sultana to Elizabeth in 1593 (found among the papers in *Bundle 2 of Turkey Papers* in the Record Office), which runs as follows—

"First, two garments of cloth of silver (might cost) £68
 more, one girdle of cloth of silver (might cost) 10
 more, two handkerchers, wrought with massy gold asps (might cost) 22
 more, one shell of gold which covered the seal of her letter to her majesty, with 2

that the cancelled treaty was renewed,⁴⁴ in face of strong opposition on the part both of the French and the Venetian ambassadors; and the first-fruits of the new treaty were visible in the arrival of an English merchant-ship at Constantinople on June 9, 1584.⁴⁵

Harborne's mission was originally purely for trading purposes. But in due course Elizabeth must have perceived that if he were given a political position he would be the better able to win the Sultan's support against Spain. No doubt the common hostility of the two rulers to Spain helped to draw them closer together,⁴⁶ and the English merchants all through the negotiations were not unmindful of this political aspect of the case.⁴⁷ They point out that if the queen has an agent in Constantinople she may thus be enabled to use the Grand Signior in any

small diamonds and 2 small rubies, which
might be worth 20

£120."

⁴⁴ *V. S. P.* vol. 8, No. 138.

⁴⁵ *V. S. P.* vol. 8, No. 191.

⁴⁶ Cf. Appendix VIII. No. 2. Cf. also P. Masson: *Histoire du Commerce Français dans le Levant*, xvii.

⁴⁷ Cf. Appendix VIII. No. 1 (e.g. p. 241).

matter of State. Furthermore, Harborne was promised that he would be repaid for any expense he might be put to, and also for his trouble.⁴⁸ It does not seem likely that such a promise would have been made if only commercial relations had been contemplated.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ See *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 151, No. 33. See also below, p. 74.

⁴⁹ See *V. S. P.* vol. 8, No. 188. The French King "was sure that not commerce, but some far deeper design was at the root of the queen's action."

II

THE FIRST CHARTER OF THE TURKEY COMPANY, 1581

BUT commercial relations were certainly aimed at, and on September 11, 1581, Elizabeth issued letters patents ¹ to Sir Edward Osborne, Richard Staper and certain other merchants of London to trade into the dominions of the Great Turk; but the Company so formed was never to exceed twelve in number. The patent should extend for seven years; but if before that time it proved unprofitable to continue the trade, the grant might be recalled. On the other hand, if during the first period the trade proved lucrative, then a second grant would be made for another seven years. Sir Edward Osborne was appointed Governor of the Company, and only those who were members might trade in the

¹ See Hakluyt V. p. 192. Cf. also *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 30.

dominions of the Grand Signior. The Company was bound to send out shipping yearly, and the customs on their exports and imports were to be not less than £500 per annum during six out of the seven years. Furthermore, they were to give notice to the Lord High Admiral of England or to the other principal officers of the Admiralty of the number of the ships they were sending out and also of the number of men in them.

Now although the Company was limited to yearly shipping it was sometimes found necessary to send goods to Turkey on occasions other than those allowed by the charter. It would then have to obtain special permission; we find, for example, on one occasion that the merchants asked for permission to send a fleet into Turkish waters because there was a prospect of brisk trade.² The ambassador, they say in their letter to Walsingham, had assured the Viceroy that the English would fully furnish the country with commodities, and the factors had bound

² Cf. *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 165, No. 56. Cf. also Appendix V. p. 221, No. 5.

themselves for the delivery of English goods by a certain date.

There appears to be little evidence on which to base any opinion as to the state of the Turkey trade during this period of the first letters patent. Camden³ relates that after the Company came into being it "has ever since found a very gainful trade," and mentions spices, cottons, raw silk, tapestries, Indian dye, grapes of Corinth or currants and soap as commodities of trade, both imported and exported. The merchants themselves said in a letter to Walsingham⁴ that the commodities they sent to Turkey were cloths, kerseys, and cony-skins, which were both dyed and tanned. These three articles were important English exports in the Turkey trade.⁵ The same document gives a list also of their imports.⁵ But the whole of the Turkey trade must have been pretty flourish-

³ *Life and reign of Queen Elizabeth* (p. 464 in edition of 1719). ⁴ See *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 165, No. 56.

⁵ Cf. document in *Bundle I of Turkey Papers*. The document has no date, but from the mention of "her majesty" it is clearly under Elizabeth. It proceeds, "The commodities vented within the straits be all sorts of cloth and kerseys, dyed and dressed to the best proof, tin, lead, black cony skins, etc., for which we return

ing. In 1590, in reviewing their five years' activities the Company state ⁶ that they had employed nineteen ships during the time they had held their charter ; that these ships had made twenty-seven voyages and had employed 787 men in them ; while in customs they had paid £11,359 6s.

[i.e. bring back] oils, Indigo, raw silk, spices, drugs, currants, wines of Candia, cotton wool and yarn, grograms, chamblotte, carpets, allum, caules, aniseed, brimstone and divers other things."

Cf. also *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 233, No. 13 : " The commodities we carry thither are kerseys of all sorts, coloured cloths of all sorts and colours, tin in bars, wrought pewter, black cony skins. The commodities we return are all kinds of spices, as Indigo blues, raw silk, allum, apothecary drugs of all kinds, cotton wool and yarn, cotton cloth—blue and white ; galls, currants, oils, grograynes, chamblette, anniseed, white soap, worm seed, goat skins, carpets, quilts and divers other things."

[Grogram or grograyn was a kind of coarse stuff made of silk and mohair. Chamblette was a stuff mixed with camel's hair.]

Cf. also two entries in *V. S. P.* vol. 8. No. 267 (March 29, 1585) gives an extract from the Report of the Venetian ambassador in Constantinople : " Four days ago an English ship arrived with a cargo of cloth, tin and other goods. The Turks were glad, for the city is almost without cloth for clothing." *V. S. P.* vol. 8. No. 329 (March 17, 1586) : " Some days ago an English ship entered this port ; she has a little cloth and tin."

⁶ *S. P. D. Elizabeth*, vol. 233, No. 13.

III

THE FIRST CHARTER OF THE VENICE COMPANY, 1583

BUT the Turkish traders were not the only Englishmen who during this time did business in the waters of the Eastern mediterranean. There was another Company of traders who did not go quite so far East, but limited its enterprise to Venice and its dominions. It will be necessary to cast a glance at its origin.¹

In 1575 Queen Elizabeth at the request of the Earl of Leicester granted a patent to one, Acerbo Velutelli, a citizen of Florence, giving him the sole right of importing currants into England. By virtue of this licence Acerbo exacted of all merchants who brought in currants two shillings or two shillings and

¹ The story of the foundation of the Venice Company is told pretty fully in the document in *S. P. D.* James I, vol. 20, No. 25.

sixpence on each hundredweight, calling it licence-money.

About the same time began the embargo in Spain, and therefore many English merchants were deprived of the Spanish trade. They turned their attention to the trade in the Levant seas and took to bringing currants into England. Hence it came about that a large number of merchants, English as well as foreign, were made to feel the exactions of Acerbo. Accordingly the English merchants made their complaint to the queen, pointing out how intolerable it was that a foreigner should have the right of taxing Englishmen. Whereupon Acerbo was ordered to cease his exactions on English merchants, and the consequence was that only foreign merchants had to pay him his licence-money. The majority of the foreign merchants were Venetians, and they complained to the Seignior of Venice. The Seignior, dissatisfied that Venetians should be forced to pay Velutelli for permission to import their own products into England, retaliated by an imposition as well on exports as on imports, and on English merchants as on all strangers.

On a hundredweight of currants 10 ducats were exacted ²; on a Butt of wine 6 Ducats or 30s.; on a hundredweight of wool, 3 Ducats; on a kersey, 2 Ducats, and on each hundredweight of tin, 2 Ducats likewise.

The English merchants found this a heavy charge and complained to Elizabeth,³ saying that the Venetian trade had greatly increased to the advantage of the realm, and was likely to increase still more if left unburdened by exactions. An attempt was then made ⁴ to enter into negotiations with the Venetian Senate with a view to their excepting English commerce from their duties. But in vain. Thereupon Elizabeth in 1563, granted some English traders a privilege to trade to Venice for six years, Velutelli's privilege having been recalled.⁵ The grant was made to Edward

² A Ducat was equivalent to five shillings. So that on each hundredweight of currants the tax was 50 shillings. Yet the document (*S. P. D. James I*, vol. 20, No. 25) says it was five shillings and sixpence! In another document, however, speaking of the same point (*S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 233, No. 14) fifty shillings is rightly mentioned.

³ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 149, No. 58.

⁴ *S. P. D. James I*, vol. 10, No. 27.

⁵ Cf. *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 155, No. 110. Also, *S. P. D.*

Cordell, Edward Hambdon, Paul Banning and others, who had the sole privilege of importing currants, sweet wines and oils from Venice into England during the time of the grant. All others were forbidden to import these commodities on pain of confiscation both of ships and goods. So the Venetians were hit. There was however this proviso: that as soon as the Venetian Senate should lay aside its impositions, Venetian traders might import currants into England as before.

The wording of the patent then, was quite clear. Only members of the Company could bring currants into England, and no others. The Company, however, went beyond this and levied a tax of five shillings and sixpence on every hundredweight of currants brought into the country by any merchant who was not a member of the Company. It is important to note this fact in the light of later events.⁶

During the period 1581 to 1588 there were two English companies engaged in the Eastern

Eliz. vol. 177, No. 55. Also, *S. P. D. James I*, vol. 10, No. 27 and No. 30.

⁶ See below, p. 43, note (7).

trade.⁷ The Venetian Company must have had a fairly prosperous business. Already in 1581, that is before they were incorporated, they mention fourteen ships⁸ with an aggregate crew of 510 men and 2,550 tons burden, which would point to a fairly large volume of trade, large for those days. Like their Turkey brethren they too exported cloth and kerseys.⁹

⁷ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 157, No. 84.

⁸ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 149, No. 58. In 1584 (cf. *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 177, No. 55) they gave a list of 14 ships; 8 of the names are the same as in the previous list, the following are new—

1. The *Samaritan* of 140 tons burden, with 30 men.
2. The *Mary Rose* of 130 tons burden, with 28 men.
3. The *Alice Thomas*, of 140 tons burden, with 28 men.
4. The *Margaret Bonaventura*, of 120 tons burden, with 26 men.
5. The *Red Lion*, of 150 tons burden, with 30 men.
6. The *Trinity Bear*, of 140 tons burden, with 20 men.

So obviously an increase in shipping in the space of three years. For lists of ships, see Appendix V.

⁹ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 149, No. 58.

IV

THE FOUNDING OF THE LEVANT COMPANY, 1592

IN 1588 the Charter of the Turkey Company was not renewed. Some of the merchants were rather disheartened¹ by the great expense of having to maintain an Ambassador at Constantinople. They were even prepared to have him recalled and end the traffic. But the counsel of Harborne and the more enterprising spirits prevailed, and during the next three years the members of the old Company negotiated with the Privy Council for a renewal of their patent. They sought larger powers than their previous

¹ Cf. a letter from Harborne (who had returned to England in 1588) to Walsingham, dated London, February 17, 1588-9, in *Turkey Papers, Bundle I*, in which he says: "Some of those trading to Turkey, Right Honorable, had conference with me this day for the return of the agent from Constantinople, whereby they might be unburthened of the great charge, and so end the traffic."

charter gave them, and to this the Venice Company objected. Their own charter came to an end in 1589, but even before that they registered their protest against giving enlarged powers to their rivals.² What they chiefly objected to was the wish of the Turkey merchants to trade in Candia, which they regarded as lying within their sphere of influence. But their objection to this was more or less conditional ; for they made it clear that they would be agreeable if they in their turn were allowed to trade in Turkey, asserting that they had a licence from the Grand Signior even before the Turkey merchants had received theirs—a statement for which it is difficult to find proof. However, it became pretty clear that there was overlapping to a large extent in the operations of the two companies. They both exported and imported the same commodities. There was however this difference : that while the Turkey merchants were unmolested by extraordinary exactions in Turkey, the Venetian traders had to pay heavy impositions,³ which

² *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 157, No. 84.

³ *Cf. S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 233, No. 14.

impeded the growth of their trade. On the other hand the Turkey Company were hampered by having to bear the expenses of the embassy at Constantinople. Still on the whole there might perhaps be a gain all round if the two sets of merchants combined. This feeling must have gained strength because it soon became apparent that the two Companies joined forces in negotiating with the Council. Thus, "the merchants trading Turkey and Venice" appeal to the Lord High Treasurer of England,⁴ saying that they had long been suitors to him "for uniting the Turkey and Venice Companies into one body politic," and asking him to be mediator with her majesty for them that they might obtain

On a Hundredweight of currants, they had to pay 10 Ducats	=50s.
On a Butt of a wine they had to pay 6 ducats	=30s.
On a Hundredweight of tin, they had to pay 20 Ducats	=£5.
On a Hundredweight of wool, they had to pay 30 Ducats	=£7 10s.
On a Broad of Cloth they had to pay 7 Ducats	=35s.
On a Pair of Kerseys, they had to pay 2 Ducats	=10s.

⁴ S. P. D. Eliz. vol. 239, No. 40.

letters patents "in such form and order mentioned in the annexed articles, to us the undernamed of both Companies." ⁵

⁵ The Letter is endorsed: "The humble petition of the merchants trading Turkey and Venice for confirmation of their trade, uniting them in one patent." It is signed simply "The merchants trading Turkey and Venice." There is no date; the calendarer has assigned the document to 1591. I believe this to be too late. I would suggest 1589 (see below).

There do not follow any articles—the letter talks of "annexed articles." But I have found two drafts of articles elsewhere, and I would suggest that one of these drafts accompanied this letter. The calendarer has separated the three documents.

- A. The Letter (*S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 239, No. 40). Cf. Appendix VIII, No. 3.
- B. A document (*S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 151, No. 34) entitled, "Articles of the merchants trading Turkey and Venice to be incorporated into one body by the name of Merchants of Levant." Cf. Appendix VIII, No. 3 (page 252).
- C. A document (*S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 231, No. 55) very similar to the last, enumerating the same points, with only one addition, and endorsed, "The Articles of the privileges desired of her majesty by the merchants for trade into Turkey and the Seigniory of Venice." See Appendix VIII, No. 3 (page 256).

The date of document C can be fixed. It must have been written in 1589, as appears from the name of Sir John Hart, who signs himself "Lord Mayor." He was Lord Mayor of London in 1589. Cf. *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 229, No. 1.

It would seem that the wished-for patent was not easily forthcoming. For the merchants used their best efforts to set forth the advantages to the realm which they had been instrumental in obtaining, either directly or indirectly. In a letter dated June 18, 1590 ⁶ they urge on Cecil ⁷ how they had been useful politically, in that their agent had frustrated the designs of the King of Spain. They relate the story at length. It appears that the subjects of the King of Spain in the Straits had obtained from the pope a special

It is clear by comparing the list of names at the end of documents B and C that document C is subsequent to document B. For in B *Mr. John Hart* and *Mr. Richard Martin* are named; in C they are both knights.

My suggestion is that document A—the Letter—was accompanied by either documents B or C (being the “annexed articles” which are mentioned in the letter). In either case 1591 (as the calendarer suggests) would be too late for its date. I would put it at 1588 or 1589.

I have not been able to fix the year in which Sir Richard Martin or Sir John Hart was knighted. In any case it would appear that already in 1589 the two companies combined to obtain a charter which would unite them. It is worthy of note also that their suggestions, which are evidently embodied in documents B and C, were adopted in the charter of 1592.

⁶ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 232, No. 54.

⁷ “Your honour” is the person addressed.

Bull granting peculiar privileges to such as would leave legacies for the maintenance of an army of 30,000 men for the defence of those dominions against the Turk. This army was to be employed in no other service save only when there was peace with the Grand Seignior. Now in 1588 the King of Spain wanted to have the use of these soldiers against England. He therefore sent a special envoy to make a treaty of peace with the Sultan. The English ambassador "twice repulsed" the Spanish envoy, and so, the merchants point out, was doing work for her majesty.⁸ They beg therefore, "to have an end of this tedious suit by granting our privileges." In spite of this Cecil was circumspect. He wished to have full particulars of the trade in order to see whether it was really worth while to continue it. He accordingly issued a series of questions to each of the Companies, the tenor of which may be

⁸ See *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 232, No. 54. Richard Staper was then ambassador, and he tells the story again in *S. P. D. James I*, vol. 15, No. 4 (see below, p. 56), and gives the name of the Spanish envoy as John Stephano.

seen from the answers received.⁹ Both Companies were asked as to the extent of their trade and their shipping, the amount they paid in customs, the area over which their trade extended and the commodities they dealt in. The Venetian Company were also asked to specify the exactions laid upon them in Venice.

In the meantime, when it became known that the merchants of both Companies were asking for renewed privileges to only a limited number of persons¹⁰ petitions¹¹ were sent

⁹ Answer of the Turkey Company, *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 233, No. 13. Answer of the Venetian Company, *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 233, No. 14. Both are dated July 16, 1690. Cf. above, p. 18 for particulars as to the Turkey Company. The Venice Company set forth that they employ yearly ten or twelve ships for Venice, Corfu, Zant, Cephalonia and Candia, their biggest burden being 350 tons, their smallest 160 tons, and they carry 550 men. They also give the impositions which the Venetians demand of them. For these impositions, see note (3) on p. 26 above.

¹⁰ Forty-one names are mentioned in document C (*S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 231, No. 55), and thirty names in document B (*S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 151, No. 34).

¹¹ Cf. *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 239, No. 41 (dated June 18, 1591), No. 42, No. 43, No. 80. In No. 43 the calendarer has in square brackets after the words "company intended for Levant Seas" the following, "or Tripoli

to the council to protest against limiting the membership of the Company. The petitions seem to regard the merchants as a kind of clique against whose monopoly they are opposed. One petition¹² even asserts that it can be proved that those who first sought the privilege of the Turkish trade were not the first to discover it, and furthermore, that fifty years ago more English merchants participated in the trade than in that day. The same petition affirms that those who seek to exclude all others from the freedom are such as least need the freedom themselves, being also free of the Dantzic and Muscovy Companies, very rich and few in number.

Company." This is an error, and quite unnecessary. The Levant Company is of course meant, and indeed, is mentioned.

In No. 80 there is an endorsement, "objections against the Tripoli merchants." This is obviously a slip of the pen, and it may have led the calendarer astray in her note to No. 43. That it is nothing but a slip is clear from the preamble of the document :

"Whereas it hath pleased her majesty to grant two patents for uniting the Company of Tripoli and the traders of Venice for establishing a society for the continuing of trade into Turkey, and to all the Venetian dominions," etc.

¹² *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 239, No. 41.

It is interesting to note that one reason why these "outsiders" wish to be admitted was the decay of the trade with France and Spain on account of the "troubles."¹³ Besides which the trade was good¹⁴ and therefore it was unfair to limit it to a few persons, especially as there were so many merchants in the realm who were just then anxious to enter a new field. It is also pointed out that if more merchants were admitted into the Company it would make it easier to bear the burden of the expenses arising from the ambassador's and consul's charges. One petition¹⁵ asserts that there is no unanimity among the merchants themselves; some would have the new company a close corporation, refusing to admit new blood at all; others would admit only a very few persons; while others again would have all enter who wish to do so upon their paying a reasonable entrance fee.

As was to be expected the merchants of

¹³ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 239, Nos. 41, 42, 43, 80.

¹⁴ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 230, No. 80: "It is well known that the parts of Italy and Turkey will bear a greater trade than all parts of Christendom now in amity with her majesty." ¹⁵ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 239, No. 80.

both Companies issued a counter petition¹⁶ to these claims. They laid stress on the large amount of money they had expended in the trade, on the fact that their enterprise had been the means of encouraging builders of ships and had therefore given work to many people both as sailors and otherwise, and that it had tended to increase her majesty's customs. They then proceeded to show that a trade may be overcharged, and instanced the Barbary trade as a case in point. That trade, they asserted, was overthrown by having too many merchants participating in it ; and so, in like manner, if the petitions of the grumblers were listened to, the same fate would overtake their own trade. As it was there were already too many in it—" the one half of us already traders are too many." Nor was it true that they were unable to support the trade ; and they ended up with a threat to withdraw from the trade altogether if others were allowed to enter the new company.

¹⁶ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 239, No. 44. See Appendix VIII. No. 4. The names appended to the document include members of both the Turkey and the Venice Companies.

But Burleigh appeared not to fear this threat and proceeded to seek independent evidence on the whole question. He therefore asked the opinion of Sir John Hawkins and William Borough, who reported to him in a document dated August 3, 1591.¹⁷ They advised that the company should be a large one, including as many merchants as possible. For if there were many merchants there would be many ships, and in those dangerous times it was advisable to have large numbers of ships, so that they might the better be able to defend themselves against attacks from the enemy.

This report weighed with Burleigh more than the arguments set forth by the merchants themselves. In a paper¹⁸ bearing date August 14, 1591, which contains some rough notes by Burleigh, he has jotted down that a conference is to be held between some prominent merchants and Mr. Harborne, to settle one or two points as to the new charter. They were to agree to the persons who should be named in the Charter, and to see to it that

¹⁷ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 239, No. 124.

¹⁸ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 239, No. 140.

those so named had been traders in Turkey or in Venice. Yet these were by no means the only members to be admitted; other merchants of ability who were able and willing to bear the charges of the trade might also be enrolled.

At last the new charter was issued, joining both companies into one. It bore date January 7, 1592,¹⁹ and was to be for twelve years. Fifty-three merchants were named and incorporated as "the Governor and Company of merchants of the Levant," with Sir Richard Osborne as the first Governor.

¹⁹ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 241, No. 11; cf. also Hakluyt VI. p. 73 ff. Cf. also document in *Turkey Papers, Bundle 2*. (cf. also *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 27).

The document in *S. P. D. Eliz.* is apparently a rough form of the patent to be granted. It runs to three sheets, is very carelessly written, and most difficult to read. It differs considerably in wording (but the substance is the same) from Hakluyt's account. Hakluyt evidently transcribed the original charter. As for the document in Bundle 2 of the *Turkey Papers*, it also is apparently a rough copy, and like the document in *S. P. D. Eliz.* is very hard to read. It contains fifty-three names (as does the charter given by Hakluyt) as original members of the Company, while the document in *S. P. D. Eliz.* contains only forty-nine. The particulars, however, are shorter than in the *S. P. D.* document.

Subsequent governors were to be elected by the general body of members, as also twelve assistants who appear to have formed the governing Committee of the Company. But although there were fifty-three names mentioned in the patent as members, twenty others were also named who were to form fresh blood. Two of these should be admitted for the mere asking and the others on payment of an entrance fee of £130. In addition to these, the members of the company were empowered to admit their servants, factors or agents "according as they or the most of them shall think requisite." And the Crown was to have the right, during the twelve years for which the charter ran, of appointing two merchants to be members of the company, such persons to enjoy the same rights and privileges as elected members possessed.

The area in which the Company enjoyed the monopoly of trade was described as the dominions of the Grand Signior and those of Venice, including Zant, Cephalonia and Candia—in a word, the Levant, interpreting the term in a very broad sense, and also the East

Indies "lately discovered." Only members of the company and no others should have the right of trading in that sphere.

The company was also given many privileges. It was to have six months time in which to pay customs dues—three months for payment of the first moiety and three months for the rest, the custom-house "receiving good and sufficient bond or security to our use for the payment of the same accordingly." Furthermore, if any ship of the company should miscarry, the customs and other dues owing on account of such a ship shall be "allowed" the merchants. And customs were to be paid only once, so that if more goods were imported than could be sold in England, they might be exported for sale in neighbouring lands without further payment of any kind. The company also got permission to furnish four ships with men and ammunition to be allowed to sail "at all times during the said twelve years," presumably as a protection for the merchant-ships. But this permission did not extend to times of war. Moreover, the company might allow strangers to import Levant

goods ; but without such permission those who were not free of the company were forbidden to bring in currants and wines of Candia, on pain of severe penalties. In like manner all aliens were also forbidden to import Levant goods, an exception being made in favour of the Venetians. These would be allowed to import currants and wines of Candia so soon as the State of Venice removed the intolerable imposts on English goods brought to Venice and on Venetian goods carried from Venice by English merchants or in English ships.²⁰

The Charter was granted for twelve years, but if it appeared at any time that the grant was not profitable to the country, the Charter might be recalled after eighteen months' notice. On the other hand, if the trade was prosperous, the Company's charter would be renewed for a further term of twelve years.

²⁰ At the time the charter was granted these impositions were still in force. Cf. *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 20, No. 25.

V

THE HISTORY OF THE COMPANY FROM 1592 TO
1605

THE Company appeared to have prospered¹ and so stirred up jealousy in mercantile circles. At least one petition is extant² wherein it is shown that the Company is not altogether an unmixed blessing. "The profit they reap and take is grown so great that they are jealous of it and refuse to licence any one to import small fruit called currants or raisins of Corinth at less than £5 a ton." But more than that. One reason, so the petition proceeds, that moved the Queen to grant a charter to the company was the

¹ Cf. *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 242, No. 36. Here is a list (dating from 1595) of commodities which ships of the company were bringing to England: raw silk, indigo blue, all sorts of spices, all sorts of chemicals, grogranes, chamblettes, cotton yarn, cotton wool, Turkey carpets, cotton cloth and shawls. Cf. document in *Turkey Papers, Bundle 3.*

² *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 242, No. 36.

intolerable impost on Englishmen and English ships which the Venetians levied. But the English merchants, says the petition, know how to avoid the Venetian imposts. For they bring goods into Venice from the islands where they buy them, and then ship the goods from Venice to England. Accordingly, since one of the chief causes for a charter exists no longer, the charter ought to be withdrawn, and it is this that the petitioners ask for, more especially as the continuance of the charter means a great loss to the customs. For strangers pay double customs, and if strangers were allowed to import Levant goods, the customs on currants alone would be £1,900.³ Nor was it overlooked that these goods tended to become a monopoly in the hands of the Company. “The engrossing of this traffic into these few men’s hands increases the price of these kinds of wines, raisins and commodities, the benefit whereof goeth but to a few.”⁴

This feeling of dissatisfaction must have

³ It is interesting to note that this document mentions the amount of currants imported yearly—viz. 2,300 tons. See below, p. 123.

⁴ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 242, No. 36.

made itself very strongly felt. In a document ⁵ entitled, "Needful observations for maintaining of the Turkish intercourse" it is significant to find that mention is made of the possibility of adding to the numbers of the original merchants. "Forasmuch as the Turkey and Venice Company be incorporated into one fellowship, both for the setting out of the greater number of ships as no less for the more easy supporting of all needful charges, a competent number of mere merchants not free of that company, upon reasonable contribution towards their charge, might be adjoined to them . . . lest some of the wealthy sort deceasing ⁶ the rest might be unable to continue the same."

Whether this actually took place we cannot tell since documents for the period between 1592 and 1600 are scarce. But as far as can be gathered from the later statements, one thing is certain. The company was making itself very unpopular by levying five shillings and sixpence on every hundredweight of

⁵ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 241, No. 13. Cf. also No. 12.

⁶ In the printed summary of the contents of this document the calendarer has "decreasing."

currants brought into England by foreigners or by Englishmen not free of the Company. Even if the Company had had authority to raise this duty there would have been dissatisfaction enough. But as a matter of fact, their charter gave them no such power.⁷

⁷ Cf. *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 27, which says that the Company imposed the duty "without any express warrant given them in their privileges." As the point is of considerable importance, since the whole issue turns on the interpretation of the wording of the charter, perhaps it will be as well to quote Hakluyt's version (vol. 6, p. 84) in full.

"And further that we plainly understand that the states and governors of the city and Seigniorie of Venice have of late time set and raised a new impost and charge, over and besides their ancient impost, custom and charge of and upon all manner of merchandize of our realm brought into their dominions, and also of and upon all merchandize carried or laden from their said country or dominions by our subjects or in the ships or bottoms of any of our subjects to the great and intolerable charge and hindrance of our said subjects trading thither, we, therefore, minding the redress thereof, do also by these presents for us, our heirs and successors further straightly prohibit and forbid not only the subjects of the said state and Seigniorie of Venice, but also of all other nations and countries whatsoever other than the said Governor and Company of Merchants of the Levant, and such only as be or shall be of that company, their factors, servants,

Accordingly an outcry arose; and when Richard Carmarthen, an officer of the Custom House who appears to have had a good deal of influence, observed the impositions complained of, he took occasion to inform the Queen⁸ of the large sums of money which the merchants levied, and pointed out that by so doing they wronged her, seeing that it was the Queen's prerogative to lay an

agents or assigns: *That they or any of them, during the said term of 12 years, shall bring or cause to be brought into this our realm of England or any part thereof, any manner of small fruits called currants, being the raisins of Corinth, or wine of Candia, unless it be by and with the license, consent and agreement of the said Governor and Company in writing under their said common seal first had and obtained, upon pain, etc."*

Not a word is here said about the right of the Company to tax foreigners or non-members. Yet document *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 30 asserts that in the patent of the Venetian Company of 1583 there was a clause giving the company authority to tax Venetian goods, just as English goods were taxed in Venice; and that this clause was repeated in the charter of 1592. Evidently this document is prejudiced in favour of the company. *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 20, No. 25 rightly says that the company's action in taking the duty was not warranted by its charter.

⁸ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 27.

imposition on merchandise.⁹ The result was that the charter of the company was made null and void¹⁰ and the merchants were ordered to cease their trade in the Levant.¹¹ They replied in a humble petition dated July 12, 1600, that they submitted to her majesty's orders, but at the same time asked that they might "receive their trade anew from her majesty with a gracious and sufficient privilege."¹² It was no easy thing for them to cut themselves off from so profitable a source of income. Besides, the members of the company had property¹³ in Turkey

⁹ *S. P. D. James I.*, vol. 20, No. 25.

¹⁰ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 30. It is curious to note that in a document which the company issued (*S. P. D. James I.* vol. 6, No. 69) it is asserted that "our said patent (of 1502) was made void because we were named merchants of the Levant and should have been called merchants trading of the Levant" (!), while in another document (*S. P. D. James I.* vol. 4, No. 46) we read that "the company did voluntarily upon her (Elizabeth's) death relinquish and give over their said grant upon pretence and allegation given forth from themselves that the same grant was a mere monopoly."

¹¹ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 6, No. 69. Cf. also *S. P. D. Elizabeth*, vol. 275, No. 27.

¹² Cf. also *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 6, No. 69.

¹³ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 6, No. 69: "Wherefore we made humble suit to her majesty to be restored of our

and could not tell how to bring it home again. There was reason enough therefore why the company should wish to continue the trade. But there was reason enough also why the Government should like to have it continued. The impositions on the trade yielded the sum of £4,000 per annum,¹⁴ and if the trade either ceased altogether or passed into the hands of new men, it was doubtful whether this large sum could be raised. Accordingly when the Company promised to pay the Queen the sum mentioned on condition that they received a new grant, the Queen agreed, and on December 31, 1601¹⁵ a new charter of privileges was granted the company to continue for fifteen years.¹⁶ But

said trade, which we did chiefly in respect of our goods on the other side."

¹⁴ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 275, No. 27.

¹⁵ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 27. Cf. also vol. 10, No. 30.

¹⁶ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 27; vol. 6, No. 69; vol. 10, No. 30; vol. 20, No. 25.

I have not been able to discover this charter of 1601. But that the company paid the £4,000 appears from an entry in the payments received by the Exchequer. Cf. *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 285, No. 21, which says that £2,000 was received by the Exchequer from the merchants of the Levant in the forty-third year of Eliza-

they enjoyed the privilege for two years only, that it is to say, until James I came to the throne.¹⁷

And so for two years there was no organized company; the trade was open to everybody; ¹⁸ and the whole question of the Levant trade was under consideration.¹⁹ But one thing was certain. The £4,000 per annum which the company had recently been paying to the Crown was a very real loss to James, and he at once set about to make it good. On October 31, 1603,²⁰ he issued an

beth's reign (1601) and £2,000 in the forty-fourth year (1602).

¹⁷ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 6, No. 69.

It does not seem quite clear from the documents why the company gave up their charter. We have already seen (p. 45, note (10)) two alleged reasons. In document *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 6, No. 69 it is asserted that the charter ceased on the accession of James, because "all particular patents and monopolies were put down" then. In yet another document (*S. P. D. James I.* vol. 20, No. 25) we are told that on the death of the queen the company owed £2,000, due for half a year's rent and that they "considered together" to forfeit their patent, in order, as it would seem, to avoid payment of this debt. Perhaps this is the real reason.

¹⁸ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 6, No. 69. Also vol. 15, No. 4.

¹⁹ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 6, No. 70.

²⁰ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 4, No. 46.

order to the Lord Treasurer, saying that whereas the company had ceased to be, and the King had thus lost the rent they paid, "it is very fit and requisite that the same be re-supplied unto the Crown by some lawful and convenient means as may repair so great a decay to his majesty's customs." The Lord Treasurer was accordingly authorized to impose a duty of five shillings and sixpence on every hundredweight of currants, five shillings on every barrel of oil and thirty shillings on every Butt of Muscadelles imported into the country. These taxes were not collected directly but were farmed out at a yearly rent of £5,322.²¹

The old traders regarded this as a grievance and petitioned²² to be relieved of the taxes. They pointed out that it was they who had discovered the trade and had continued it at great cost to themselves; furthermore, the trade was advantageous to the country in

²¹ Cf. *S. P. D. James I. Docquets*, No. 7 under date October 24, 1604. "Grant to Sir Roger Dallison and Richard Wright of the impost on currants for ten years at the yearly rent of £5,322."

²² *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 23.

that various English commodities were taken to foreign markets and English shipping thereby increased. And if the trade was to be continued, there must be an Ambassador and Consuls in the Levant, which meant great expenditure. Hence, what with the new tax at home, and the ill-treatment of English traders at the hands of the Venetians,²³ unless relief were granted them, they would be forced to leave the trade.

Something was done. They were discharged of a debt of £5,000,²⁴ which they owed to the King, upon their bonds to pay the impositions which had been fixed.²⁵

But still the traders were dissatisfied.

²³ Cf. *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 6, No. 60.

The ill-treatment of the English at the hands of the Venetians was a constant theme of complaint, and the English traders sought to make it quite clear how much worse off they were, by compiling tables of expenditure. For one or two such calculations, see Appendix VIII, No. 5, page 262.

²⁴ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 20, No. 25.

²⁵ *S. P. D. James I. Docquets*, No. 7, under date November 10, 1604. The extent of the debt is not given here, but it is quite clear from *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 20, No. 25, also from vol. 10, No. 27. Later on it appears that the king asked for a repayment of this remission. Cf. *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 20, No. 25.

They reasserted²⁶ that the trade could only be carried on effectively when an ambassador resided in Constantinople. Furthermore they complained that the impositions made no difference between Englishmen and foreigners, so that it would be easy for the latter to drive out the English from the trade. Especially easy would this be for the Venetians, since the English had to pay double impositions, once here and once in Venice. And so the English traders asked that strangers should be forced to pay double impositions in England.

To all these points the King replied that the trade was so extensive that it could easily bear all taxation.²⁷ As to making distinctions between native and foreigner, it was without a precedent. Besides, if a difference were made the Venetians would be the

²⁶ Cf. *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 29.

²⁷ Cf. *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 34, where the statement is made that if the merchants go on persisting that they cannot maintain the ambassador and consuls if the impost is continued, the king himself should maintain them. "By which course the maintenance of the ambassador shall be more honorable in the king than it was in the merchants, all foreign nations disgracing the ambassador in Turkey as a stipendiary of the merchants and maintained by them."

only strangers to suffer, seeing that they were the only foreigners who imported currants into England; and very soon they would retaliate by levying still another imposition on the English and then there would be an everlasting tariff war.²⁸

There seems to have been good reason for the complaint of the English merchants as to their treatment by the Venetians. The Venetians were anxious to drive the English

²⁸ Cf. *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 32: "But if his majesty should lay a double imposition upon the Venetian only, intending thereby to help the trade of his own subjects, let it be considered what the sequel thereof might be: first, the commodity, viz., the currants, is a native commodity of the Venetians, growing in their own dominions. And although for the good of their own state they have laid an imposition thereupon, yet have they no otherwise dealt with his majesty's subjects than with all other strangers. If therefore his majesty shall single out them, above all other nations, to pay a greater rate for their own native commodities which they shall bring hither in trade of merchandize, than other merchants do, it will teach them (which are apt enough) to take occasion to redouble the same imposition upon English merchants, and give all other strangers leave to trade the same at better rate, by which means the English merchants shall be sure to be utterly worn out of the trade—where they are now as able to trade as any other nation."

from the lucrative trade in currants²⁹ and began by levying taxes on English traders in currants, and currants, be it noted, was the staple of the Anglo-Levant trade. The Venetians could do this effectively because the lands where currants grew were under Venetian rule. There were three places "for the whole growth of currants"³⁰—Zant, Cephalonia and Patras. Zant and Cephalonia were Venetian islands, while Patras in the Morea was under Turkish rule.³¹ Finding that the impositions were of no avail to drive off the English, the Venetians made Venice the centre of the currant trade.³² Now as Venice lay out of the way for ships trading to the Levant, this became a hardship. In addition to this the Senate decreed that no foreign ship should lade currants unless it brought with it to Venice the wares of its country to the extent of two-thirds of its freight.

²⁹ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 29.

³⁰ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 26.

³¹ Patras was estimated to yield about 400 tons of currants yearly, but the Patras currants were not so good as the currants of Zant and Cephalonia, and sold cheaper by two shillings or three shillings a hundred-weight. Cf. *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 26.

³² Cf. also *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 6, No. 69.

Altogether, then, the state of the trade was wholly unsatisfactory. It was unorganized ; it suffered not only from the competition of the Venetians but also from that of the newly-founded East India Company.³³ For whereas before, all spices, silks and other Eastern goods had been brought through Persia into Turkey and thence to England, they were now brought to England direct from the Indies. It became clear that something would have to be done if the trade was to continue in a healthy condition. Salisbury evidently tried to get expert advice on the whole matter. For there is a letter³⁴ of his extant, dated September 8, 1605, and addressed to the Chief Justice, asking his advice about various questions of trade, including also the trade of the Levant. What he specially wanted to know was whether it would be better to form a limited company for the Levant trade or for the trade to be thrown open to all. Salisbury himself said that he rather favoured an open company, free to all on payment of an entrance fee of

³³ Cf. *S. P. D. James I.* vol 10, No. 27.

³⁴ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 15, No. 54.

£25, which, in his view, would cover all the debts of the old company, and the expenses which had grown up since the last charter lapsed.

But Salisbury must have asked for information as to the general state of the trade also, for there is a letter from Richard Staper,³⁵ dated July 8, 1605, giving a lengthy account of the trade and what it meant for the country. Staper was one of the oldest of the Levant merchants; the first charter of Elizabeth for trade into Turkey, was issued to a very few merchants, of whom he was one;³⁶ he had been in Turkey as early as 1578,³⁷ and was thus well qualified to give an opinion on the question. He strongly advocated the continuance of the trade and pointed out that the greatest hindrance to its success was the continued imposition on currants.³⁸ Of the advantages which arose to the country from its continuance, the greatest in his view was

³⁵ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 15, No. 4.

³⁶ Cf. *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 27; No. 30; and see also above, p. 16.

³⁷ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 15, No. 4.

³⁸ He gives a list of thirty-one ships, and also their burden. See Appendix V, p. 225.

the growth of shipping,³⁹ the increase of ^{Advantage}
sailors, and the consequent increasing of the ^{to Eng^d fr}
forces of the country.⁴⁰ The company had
 been instrumental in setting to work more
 than 40,000 persons to make fustians; they
 had also been the means of freeing Christian
 captives in Turkey. On the other hand,
Staper was not slow in pointing out what
harm might ensue if the intercourse with
Turkey were broken off. Apart from the fact
 that the English navy would suffer and the
 number of English sailors (for whom a great
 number of houses had of late years been built

³⁹ "It is very strange that this trade should be so much overburdened, more than any other, being the most beneficial trade that is in this land for maintenance of great shipping, increase of skilful mariners, setting awork above 100,000 people in divers parts of this land by making of fustians which hath been brought in by our industry and charge." *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 15, No. 4.

⁴⁰ Staper says, "The use and trade of merchants, what good it doth is seen by the flourishing estates of Italy, Holland and Zeland, whereby they, our neighbours, have much increased their shipping, which the French doth imitate. Therefore under your honour's correction we think it shall be for the safety of this kingdom to be still furnished with ships and mariners, thereby to be masters of the seas as heretofore we have been."

at Wapping, Redcliffe, Limehouse and other places) would fall off, the King would lose the income derived from import and export duties. Furthermore, if the trade were once lost, it would be lost irrecoverably, to say nothing of the loss of all the money and labour spent during the whole of the previous decade. But even leaving out of account these economic results, Stapers hinted at political consequences. He tells the story to which reference has already been made ⁴¹ of the King of Spain attempting to make peace with the Sultan, and how he (Staper) had frustrated the attempt. What happened in 1588 might happen again, and if England broke off intercourse with the Turk, the Sultan might more easily incline to ally himself with Spain. Accordingly the continuance of trade was some guarantee that the Spanish forces mentioned in Staper's story would not be set free for use against England. Curious too, as throwing some light on the state of religious feeling in England at that time is Staper's appeal for the continuance of the intercourse with Turkey on account of the great freedom

⁴¹ P. 30, above.

of conscience which the Turks allow all Christians.⁴²

Now if the trade was to be continued, an Ambassador and consuls would have to be maintained as before, and for this some organization was clearly necessary. All things seemed to point in the direction of continuing the Company. But the King was determined to have no monopoly⁴³ of the trade nor to reserve it for any limited number of merchants.⁴⁴ And so, when the new charter was issued, on December 14, 1605, it was no narrow clique that was formed into the Levant Company.

*new charter
gave no
monopoly.*

The aim of this, the first perpetual, charter may perhaps be best expressed in the words

⁴² " And notwithstanding that the Turks in general be a most wicked people, walking in the works of darkness . . . yet notwithstanding do they permit all Christians, both Greeks and Latins, to live in their religion and freely to use their conscience, allowing them churches for their divine service, both in Constantinople and very many other places, whereas to the contrary by proof of 12 years residence in Spain I can truly affirm, we are not only forced to observe their popish ceremonies but in danger of life and goods. . . ."

⁴³ S. P. D. *James I.* vol. 20, No. 25.

⁴⁴ This notion is expressed in the charter of the Company. See Appendix I. page 154.

of a warrant addressed to the Lord High Treasurer.⁴⁵ “ James, by the Grace of God, etc. . . . Whereas . . . we have of late taken a course to enlarge the liberty of the trade of the Signiory of Venice and the dominions of the Grand Signior (which heretofore have been enjoyed only by certain particular merchants of our city of London) and to lay the same open to all our loving subjects within the realm of England trading merchandise, to be enjoyed by them under such a form of Government and contribution of charge as themselves have conceived and resolved to be fit.”

⁴⁵ *S. P. D. James I*, vol. 17, No. 35. It is dated December 13, 1605, and asks the Treasurer to pay the Governor and Company of merchants then incorporated for trade to the Levant Seas the sum of £5,322, for a present to the Grand Signior.

In *S. P. D. James I*, vol. 20, No. 25 it is asserted that it was the old members of the Company who suggested to James that he should grant them a fresh charter, and that they would be satisfied if two conditions were observed: (1) that the king give them £5,322 for the present to the Sultan, and (2) that all merchants admitted to the company should pay an entrance fee of £25. By means of these entrance fees it was intended to raise £8,000, the debt of the ambassador in Turkey. Both these conditions were fulfilled. See Charter, Appendix I.

The charter ⁴⁶ itself, (a verbose document) makes this abundantly clear in the preamble. We are there told that King James wished the Levant trade to flourish, but there was to be no monopoly in it. Seemingly the King was not alone in this ; the merchants also inclined to that view.⁴⁷ The broad outlines of the grant were considered at a Conference held between royal commissioners and those merchants who wished to enter the Company. One hundred and nineteen names were enumerated in the charter as forming the nucleus of the present company, but this number was not limited. Elaborate regulations were laid down for admitting others. Any English subject who was a merchant, and over the age of twenty-six, might be admitted on payment of £25, provided he made application before the next Feast of the Annunciation. If he did not and applied after that date, the entrance fee would be £50. This rule held good with regard to those who wished to enter the Company on the occasion

⁴⁶ The charter is given in full in Appendix I.

⁴⁷ Cf. *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 20, No. 25, and note (45) on p. 58.

of its being formed. For subsequent years it was laid down that any one might apply within one year of his reaching his twenty-sixth birthday or the expiration of his apprenticeship—whichever event came first—and on payment of the entrance fee of £25 might be admitted. But if any one applied after this term, that is to say beyond a year from the end of his apprenticeship or his twenty-sixth birthday, the entrance fee was to be double. The company was not to refuse admittance without reasonable excuse to any person duly qualified, who was willing to pay the entrance fee. No doubt this clause was inserted in order to prevent jealousy or personal feeling from excluding any one. Furthermore, the sons of freemen of the company and such of their apprentices, as had been engaged in the Levant trade for a space of three years, might be admitted on payment of 20 shillings only. But of those apprentices of freemen who had not been so employed only one might be admitted once in every seven years ⁴⁸ and he too was to pay only

⁴⁸ In the *Minutes* of the meetings of the court for November 6, 1614, Richard Coxe is admitted a member of the company under this clause.

20 shillings by way of entrance fee. A reduced entrance fee was also allowed those merchants who had been apprentices to members of the old company under the last charter.

Every merchant who was admitted had to take an oath promising to obey the laws and regulations of the company. The Company were given power to expel any member who was guilty of a misdemeanour or who was discovered to be not a merchant at all but a retailer.

The entrance fees were to be used to discharge the debts incurred by the ambassador ⁴⁹ and consuls during the time when there was no company; also the debts still owing to members of the old company, who in addition were to receive a consideration for any property they had in Turkey—property which the new company would take over. The whole sum so to be expended should not exceed £8,000. If the entrance fees yielded more than that, the excess should be devoted to the annual charges of the company.

The official title of the new corporation was: The Governor and Company of Mer-

⁴⁹ Cf. note (45) on p. 58.

chants of England trading into the Levant Seas. It was made a legal person and was allowed to use a common seal. At the head of the organization stood the Governor, who was elected annually at the general meeting of members, which was prescribed to be held within the first 14 days of February. The Governor was to be aided by 18 assistants, who were likewise to be elected annually from among the members who lived in London. The Governor and Assistants formed a kind of executive Committee. In addition, there was to be a deputy Governor, who must live in London, and a local deputy Governor in every town where there were members of the company. The local deputy governors remained in office at the pleasure of the company. Power was likewise given to the company to appoint their own consuls.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Cf. *Account*, etc. (see note (10) on p. 4), pp. 5 and 6, where the anonymous writer accounts for the conferring of such powers upon a trading company, by considering the peculiarities of the Levant trade. The Turkish government, he says, is essentially different from any other government, despotic in its nature, and approached only like all oriental peoples, through the medium of presents and particular influences. No intercourse can

These officers must be members of the company and were to live in the respective towns to which they were sent. There they should have authority over all English merchants, whether members of the company or not, administering justice to them and acting as arbitrators in case of need.⁵¹

Besides the annual meeting in February, the company had the right to meet at any other time for the consideration of any special questions and for the making of laws and regulations. The company had pretty extensive powers to punish any breaches of its regulations, and if need arose, it might call

be carried on with the natives with any security to the Westerns unless under certain regulations called *Capitulations*. By the terms of these capitulations all causes of dispute in which a Western is concerned must be determined by interference of the ambassador or consul. Now the English Levant Company paid these officials; therefore it was perhaps only reasonable that they should have their appointments in their own hands.

⁵¹ "In early times it would seem that the consul was a magistrate elected by the merchants to watch over their interests at a foreign port and to govern the little colony resident in a foreign land rather than what he afterwards became—an officer appointed by the state to represent the commercial interests of its subjects at the seat of a foreign government." *V. S. P. I. Introduction*, p. 56.

on the civil authorities to back it up by the arm of the law. It had the right, too, of levying duties on Levant merchandise, either exported or imported. And, of course, only members of the company had the privilege of trading in the Levant area.⁵² This privilege appears to have been jealously guarded, and breaches were punished by the seizure of the offender's goods to the extent of 20 per cent. of their value. To hedge round this privilege still more the Custom House officers were to levy duties only on goods for the Levant which belonged to members of the company.⁵³

⁵² This area covered (roughly) the Eastern portion of the Mediterranean Sea.

⁵³ It is interesting to note that the company appeared to be satisfied with this charter until the year 1632. In that year it was discussed at a meeting of the Court of Assistants (*Minutes, February 14, 1632*) whether to petition the king to renew the charter "the same being conceived to be defective in some main material points." It was decided that "it were very requisite to have the charter renewed." This recommendation was brought before the General Court of Members (*Min. February 20, 1632*) and accepted. A committee was appointed to consider the clauses of the charter and to suggest improvements. But it appears that nothing came of this.

The only other charter issued to the company was

that of Charles II, which bore date April 2, 1661. It states that whereas "in these late years of libertinism many of the known privileges of the company had been violated," the company had petitioned to have their powers confirmed. This the charter did. The preamble re-states the points of James' charter as to the name of the Society, as to its being a legal person, as to its seal, its officers, the admittance of members, its meetings, and its authority to levy duties on goods. All these are confirmed by the charter of Charles and other (new) points of importance are added. The principal are these: (1) The company was given the right of levying duties on aliens, such duties to be double of what members of the company paid. (2) English subjects living or trading in the lands within the influence of the company should be subject to English justice and not to native justice. Should they show themselves stubborn in this matter, power was given to the company or its officers to transport such culprits to England, where they would be dealt with according to their deserts. (3) The company might administer oaths to "all merchants, factors, masters and pursers of ships" that they make a true entry of the goods on board their ships. (4) "And forasmuch as we are informed that many inconveniences have happened to the said trade by reason of too popular and general elections of officers for government thereof by persons not at all interested or concerned in the said trade, We therefore for us, our heirs and successors do will, ordain and grant to the said governor and company and their successors for ever by these presents, that no person or persons whatsoever of the said company, from henceforth for ever hereafter, shall be admitted to vote or give any voice or suffrage in the election, nomination, choice and appointment of any officer or minister . . .

unless such person or persons have or hath in his own name and for his own account traded in the said company so far as to pay at least 40 shillings in impositions to the said company towards the public charges, within one year next before such vote . . . and not otherwise." (5) No person residing within the City of London, or within a radius of twenty miles from it, should be admitted into the company unless he were first a freeman of the city ; noblemen and gentlemen of quality to be excepted from this regulation.

VI

OFFICERS AND OFFICIALS OF THE COMPANY

FROM 1605 the company had a permanent charter under the clauses of which, with slight alterations introduced later on, it was governed for over two centuries. It was in 1821 that the English Government took over the whole of the establishment of the company, the charter being finally surrendered in 1825.

The vicissitudes of the company in the early years under the permanent charter are reflected in the Court Books,¹ of which for-

¹ The Court Books contain Minutes of the Meetings of the court, and may be seen in the Public Record Office. But unfortunately the first book at the Record Office is not complete. The first portion is torn away, page 141 being the first page in the volume. The last page is numbered 186, so that a good deal of this first volume is gone. The first minutes recorded in this book are dated July 13, 1614. For the first nine years, therefore, under the permanent charter we do not know much. But after 1614 the Court Book is pretty full,

unately there are a goodly number extant. To begin with, the company had nine officials.² The Governor stood at the head of the company ; at his side were the deputy Governor and Assistants. The Treasurer had charge of the company's cash ; there was also a Husband, whose duty it was to keep the papers, bonds and seals of the company,³ as well as to pass the Bills of entry for goods on Ships⁴ ; a Secretary ; a Bookkeeper ; and a Beadle. Later on auditors were elected. These are first mentioned in 1632⁵ as having been annually elected like the other officers. Before 1632 they were elected as required.

Many of the men who held the position of Governor⁶ appear to have been men of influence in their generation. Thus, Sir Thomas Lowe, who was nominated in the Charter of James I, as the first governor of and gives a very good view of the development of the company and of its policy.

² The first list of officials is to be found in the *Minutes* for February 14, 1614.

³ Cf. *Minutes*, February 9, 1617.

⁴ Cf. *Min.* October 5, 1631.

⁵ *Min.* February 5, 1632.

⁶ A full list of Governors is given in Appendix II. (page 211).

the re-constituted company, was also Governor of the Company of Merchant Adventurers. He was re-elected annually until his death in 1623, when Mr. Alderman Hammersley was elected to succeed him.⁷ As soon as he was duly elected, he received "the company's charter under the great seal of England together with a book wherein the same is fair written, and two balloting boxes, a Bible, a pewter standish and a little mallet of ebony." Hammersley was afterwards Lord Mayor of London (1628). He was also Governor of the Muscovite Company. It appears that he did not enjoy the complete confidence of the members of the Levant Company throughout the whole of his tenure of the governorship. In 1634,⁸ at the Court of Election, Hammersley declared that he had served the company faithfully for 12 years "and that notwithstanding all his care and pains taken to the best of his experience and understanding for the good and welfare of the general company, and maintenance of their privileges," there were some who were not satisfied, and so, he felt that he ought not to offer himself again

⁷ *Min.* May 8, 1623.

⁸ *Min.* February 3, 1634.

for re-election. Besides which, he had great stress of other business, both for the city and for himself, weighing upon him ; and he must also consider his growing age. Accordingly he was willing to resign. The meeting there-upon nominated candidates for the office, eventually reducing their number to two. Hammersley being one and Alderman Garway the other. The election was by ballot, " each of those present came up to the table and took a ball and put it into the box, whereby the choice fell on Alderman Garway, he having 26 balls and Sir Hugh but 20." ⁹ Garway who held office for nine years was Lord Mayor of London in 1639-40.

It would appear that the Governor and his Deputy were at first honorary officials. It is not until 1617 ¹⁰ that mention is made of a grant to the Governor. Sir Thomas Lowe was re-elected to the office at that meeting, " and in respect to his pains and trouble in the affairs of this society it was now ordered that . . . as a gratuity for the year past he should receive the sum of £100—which allow-

⁹ *Min.* February 3, 1634.

¹⁰ *Min.* February 4, 1617.

ance he took kindly at the company's hands ¹¹" At the same meeting, Mr. Leate was chosen Deputy. But he refused to take office, pleading his age and the stress of his own private business. He was pressed, however, and eventually gave way. Whereupon he was voted a sum of 100 marks.¹² Later on it became customary to vote an allowance to the Governor, his Deputy and the Husband. Thus in 1629 ¹³ "a usual gratification" of £100 was made to the Governor, £80 to the Deputy and £50 to the Husband. Often the sum allowed was much larger. In 1636 ¹⁴ £100 is mentioned as the "fee" of the Governor, which makes it clear that it was by that time looked upon as an established payment for services done. On this occasion a sum of £200 was voted the Governor, £100 being described as a gratuity, over and above the fee. On another occasion, in 1639 ¹⁵ the Governor's grant was even larger. Garway

¹¹ Surely an early example of the payment of a director of a company for his services.

¹² *Min.* February 4, 1617.

¹³ *Min.* February 3, 1629.

¹⁴ *Min.* February 2, 1636.

¹⁵ *Min.* February 10, 1639.

who was Lord Mayor of London in that year, was re-elected Governor of the company and a grant of £300 over and above his fixed allowance of £100 was voted him. The extra grant had to be thus divided: £100 was a fee for his extraordinary pains and £200 was towards furnishing his house—made necessary by the fact that he was Lord Mayor.

These officials managed the affairs of the company at home. But the company had also to have responsible representatives in those places with which it had commercial dealings. And so there was an Ambassador residing at Constantinople and consuls and vice-consuls in various towns in the Levant.¹⁶ The staff of the embassy included, besides interpreters, a treasurer and a preacher. The first Treasurer at Constantinople mentioned in the minutes¹⁷ is Mr. Stringer. His duty is laid down as having "to gather and collect all the consulage due to the Company, and to pay the same to the Ambassador."

¹⁶ For list of ambassadors to 1640, see Appendix III. For list of consuls, see Appendix IV.

¹⁷ *Min.* November 17, 1617. Later on there were Treasurers at the important centres of trade. Cf. *Min.* February 5, 1620.

For his trouble he would receive 2 per cent. on the consulage money. Obviously his was a position of trust, and therefore two of his friends at home were sureties for him, each to the extent of £200 per annum.

At first the company had a preacher only at Constantinople.¹⁸ But as the "nation"—the English colony—grew in numbers, preachers were sent to other towns also. Aleppo appears to have been the first town so distinguished.¹⁹ It was agreed to send a preacher to Aleppo "as a matter tending to the glory of God, the reputation of the company and the benefit of the English nation there." Five years later a request came from Smyrna that a preacher be sent there too. A candidate was chosen and offered the position for 5 years.²⁰ He accepted it only for 3. The salary in this case was fixed at the same rate as it was at Aleppo: £50 per annum. The Company gave him a free passage out, and also "somewhat towards furnishing him for his voyage."

¹⁸ *Min.* February 16, 1619.

¹⁹ *Min.* March 25, 1630.

²⁰ *Min.* February 28, 1635.

The position of the Ambassador was somewhat anomalous. He received his salary from the Company and was in Constantinople in the first instance to look after the interests of the Company. But he had duties in the field of politics as well as in that of commerce. In so far then as he was a political agent, he was a servant of the King of England. There was this element in the position from the very earliest days of the Anglo-Turkish intercourse.²¹ In October, 1579, Elizabeth required a safe-conduct from the Sultan which should cover all English subjects.²² "At what time in like case the late Mr. Secretary Wilson commanded Harbrown in her majesty's name to perform his duty in that service, promising a consideration to be had of his travail and expense; to achieve which exploit the said

²¹ In *Bundle I. of Turkey Papers* at the Public Record Office there are very many letters from Edward Barton, the Company's ambassador at Constantinople to Burleigh, letters of political import and therefore for the most part in cipher. Likewise a large number—many of these also in cipher—from William Harborn to Sir Francis Walsingham. It may be interesting to note in passing that in Barton's cipher letters *Libra* stands for the Turkey Company.

²² Cf. *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 151, No. 33.

Harbrowne defrayed one thousand five hundred ducats." This may be regarded as the first appointment to the office, and the words "in her majesty's name" are significant.²³ In a later document²⁴ "her majesty's ambassador resident in those parts" is spoken of. Yet not the crown but the Company paid his salary.²⁵ This made him rather looked down upon by his colleagues in Constantinople. Thus, the Venetian Ambassador writes home²⁶ that Barton "is dependent on the English merchants who pay his salary and employ him in the interests of their trade," implying

²³ Cf. *V. S. P.* vol. 8, No. 132, where the Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople encloses a copy of the letter of Elizabeth to the Sultan, in which she says that she is sending William Harborn, one of her body-guard, to render thanks to his majesty and to establish the working of the privileges (dated November 15, 1582).

²⁴ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 165, No. 56. There is no date to the document, but this does not affect the point under consideration.

²⁵ Cf. *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 232, No. 54: "We have thought it our duty now likewise to remember your honour that the late ambassador and agent there resident [in Turkey] hath at our only cost and charge twice repulsed the King of Spain's Ambassador sent to obtain a truce of the Grand Signior."

²⁶ *V. S. P.* vol. 9, under date October 26, 1593.

that his is not a position of great importance. Nor was the Venetian Ambassador far wrong. From a letter ²⁷ dated 7 January, 1595, from Dr. Charles Parkins to Sir Robert Cecil, it may be plainly seen that first and foremost, the English agent was to represent the interests of the Company at Constantinople. But the merchants were afraid that if the Sultan discovered that the ambassador was there for that purpose only, their men and goods would at once be imperilled. Therefore they arranged that Mr. Barton's commission should be made under the great seal, but only as a pretence.²⁸ Yet in the course of time the feeling must have grown that the English agent was a political agent. But the crown was slow in drawing the practical conclusion from that and paying the agent's salary out of public money. In any case, there

²⁷ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 256, No. 18.

²⁸ Cf. a document in *Bundle I. of Turkey Papers*, where the queen's agent is mentioned as being thought by the Sultan "to be only maintained by her majesty and that rather for causes of estate than of traffic."

Cf. also *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 34: "All foreign merchants disgracing the ambassador in Turkey as a stipendiary of the merchants and maintained by them."

were constant complaints from the ambassador that he was left unpaid, or if paid, not paid sufficiently.²⁹

The re-organized Company, jealous of their rights in all matters, determined to keep the appointment of ambassadors in their own hands, more especially as they went on paying

²⁹ In *Turkey Papers*, both in Bundle I. and in Bundle II., there are very many letters complaining of this matter. In Bundle II. one document sets forth the advantages of having an ambassador, and indirectly throws some light on the point under discussion. "Fifthly, it is needful that there be speedily some certain order set down for the maintenance of the ambassador there . . . for that it being referred over to the merchants they know not, or will not respect, of what estimation the honour of the prince ought to be. For whereas your honour long since took order with the merchants that the Ambassador should have 4 per cent. rented of all the goods that cometh in: he that is now there affirmeth that the merchants promise one thing to your lordship, and perform not the same towards him, whereby sometimes when occasion of expense happeneth (as in the country it doth daily) he wanteth the needful money, to his extreme grief and hindrance of the prosperous success of his affairs. . . ."

Sixthly, . . . the merchants . . . in this four year's space would never find in their hearts to send him his ordinary stipend of £200 a year as his predecessor had. . . ."

This state of affairs is borne out by the Report of the Venetian ambassador. *V. S. P.* vol. 9, No. 849.

the salary.³⁰ The first Ambassador mentioned in the Minutes was Mr. Paul Pindar³¹; but as the Minutes recording his appointment are lost, we are unable to discover the terms of his appointment. His letters of recall bore date 25 Jan., 1617,³² and his successor, Sir John Eyre, was elected at the court held on 1st August, 1619. His first letters home, bearing date 28 April, 8 May, and 17 June, were read at the court held on 4 Aug., 1620.³³

³⁰ But before recalling an Ambassador the Company had to get permission from the Privy Council. Cf. *Min.* 24 September, 1617, and *Min.* 4 Feb., 1617.

³¹ *Min.* November 4, 1614. In later documents he is called Peter Pindar.

³² *Min.* February 4, 1617.

³³ It may be of interest to note how long, in those days, it took letters from the East to reach England. Here is an example or two:

1. Letter dated November 18 from Aleppo, was read in London February 25.
2. Letter dated December 24 from Constantinople was read in London February 25.
3. Letter dated January 25 from Aleppo, was read in London May 7.
4. Letter dated September 7 from Patras, was read in London May 25.
5. Letter dated January 26 from Smyrna, was read in London May 25.
6. Letter dated May 28 from Patras, was read in London October 6.

The conditions of his appointment ³⁴ were those which the company made with slight alterations in the case of all subsequent ambassadors. The company agreed to pay Sir John Eyre £300 towards his voyage and £200 more for furnishing his house. As his salary he would receive 5,000 chequins ³⁵

7. Letter dated January 23 from Leghorn, was read in London March 15.
8. Letter dated April 5 from Constantinople, was read in London June 20.
9. Letter dated July 11 from Constantinople, was read in London September 23.

These give but *approximate* notions, for in each case the date on which the letter was read was in all probability not the day of its arrival in London; the date given in the above table being the date of the meeting of the court at which it was read. It may possibly have arrived at an earlier date—though not much earlier; and possibly the ship which brought it to England sailed some little time—though probably not much—after the letter was written.

³⁴ Found in a document, No. 69, in a bundle at the Record Office, numbered *F. A. Levant Company*, No. 109. The bundle contains Royal Letters, instructions to agents and miscellaneous notes bearing on the history of the Company from the earliest times to the year it was wound up.

³⁵ From a document in *Bundle I. of the Turkey Papers* it would appear that a chequin was equivalent to a little over six shillings and eightpence. But there is no date to this document, so that it is impossible to

per annum over and above what he could procure from the Grand Signior. In consideration of the allowance he should defray the cost of presents ³⁶ out of his own purse. His chief business was to help to collect the consulage, "which is the means of discharging and paying the charges."

Sir John Eyre did not occupy his position long; he quarrelled with the company and seized their money and property at Constantinople.³⁷ Whereupon negotiations were entered into with Sir Thomas Rowe, which ended successfully. At a meeting of the court on 31 July, 1621,³⁸ Rowe was made a Freeman of the company and is spoken of as "the now elect ambassador." His term of office expired in the spring of 1628, but already in 1626 ³⁹ Sir Peter Wiche was made free of the company and chosen successor to Rowe.

fix this rate of exchange for any particular year. It must have been in Elizabeth's reign, for "her majesty" is mentioned in the document. In 1617 (*Min.* 24 Sept., 1617) a chequin exchanged for eight shillings and sixpence.

³⁶ On presents, cf. Appendix VIII, No. 1 (p. 243).

³⁷ Cf. *Min.* June 14, 1621.

³⁸ See *Minutes* under this date.

³⁹ Cf. *Min.* March 6, 1626.

The first letter of Wiche signifying his arrival at Constantinople bore date 19, April, 1628, and was read at the Court held on 2 July 1628.⁴⁰

The election of Wiche as Ambassador is interesting as showing the interference of Charles I and his high-handed treatment of the Company.⁴¹ When Sir Thomas Rowe's term of office was about to expire, Charles requested the Company to choose a certain Sir Thomas Phillipps in his place. The company demurred and petitioned to be allowed to have the privilege, as they had

⁴⁰ See *Minutes* under this date.

⁴¹ James had also interfered with them, though perhaps with some justice. He did not seek to influence the company in their election, but he insisted that there must be an ambassador in Turkey. It so happened that in 1617 Peter Pindar asked to be relieved of his duties. The company recalled him (see p. 78), and pleading poverty, decided not to appoint another ambassador, but only an agent. The difference between the two is not quite clear. Perhaps if a person were sent who was to be called agent, it would not be necessary to pay him so large a salary as if he were called ambassador. But James insisted that an ambassador should be sent, and after refusing several times, the company gave way and elected Sir John Eyre. See *Min.* May 7, 1619; May 25, 1619; June 8, 1619; June 13, 1619; and July 1, 1619.

done in the past, of freely electing their own ambassador.⁴² But Charles was obdurate and signified to the company that he wished Phillipps to be sent to Constantinople. The matter was discussed at the court held on 10 Nov., 1625,⁴³ and the question put "whether they would stand as formerly they had of the continuance of Sir Thomas Rowe, and to have free election of their ambassadors, or no." By a show of hands, they decided to abide by their rights, and the same decision was again come to thirteen days later.⁴⁴ The Company resolved to send a deputation to the King to plead their rights and privileges. But though they were promised a hearing the promise was not carried out.⁴⁵ At the Court which was held on 25 Feb., 1625,⁴⁵ Phillipps came personally to the meeting, saying that he already had a commission to be his majesty's ambassador at Constantinople but he was anxious to go with the good will of the Company. The Minutes report

⁴² *Min.* May 14, 1625; May 20, 1625.

⁴³ See *Minutes* under that date.

⁴⁴ *Min.* November 23, 1625.

⁴⁵ *Min.* February 25, 1625.

quite dramatically that "the court desiring to confer in private, asked Sir Thomas to withdraw a while. Then the Governor asked each man present whether he wished Sir Thomas to go, and each answered, No." Phillips on his return into the room was informed of the feeling of the meeting. His only reply was that if he could not go to Constantinople for the company, he would go as the king's agent.

Thereupon the Company decided to present a Petition to the Privy Council against the appointment of Phillipps.⁴⁵ Every member present at the meeting signed the petition. But seemingly it was not well received,⁴⁶ and once more the question was debated whether or not to accept the King's nominee. Once again it was negatived, and the company resolved to petition the House of Commons to mediate between them and the King in the matter. Nothing came of this; and when Conway, the King's secretary, wrote to the company that it was the King's pleasure that Sir Thomas Phillipps should sail for

⁴⁶ *Min.* March 2, 1625.

Constantinople on the next ship which the company sent there, a deputation of the company waited on Conway to protest against the high-handed procedure of the King.⁴⁷

Thus matters stood at a deadlock. Nor is it easy to perceive how the business might have ended. Luckily Phillipps died,⁴⁸ and the struggle, so far as his appointment was concerned, was ended. But Charles had another candidate ready very shortly after in the person of Sir Peter Wiche. The company however stuck to their rights and decided to re-elect Rowe. But when Wiche made it clear⁴⁹ that he would not go out to Turkey unless he had the support of the company, they so far relented as to nominate Rowe, Wiche and a third person⁵⁰ and asked Charles to make the final choice. He naturally chose his own candidate, and Wiche was accepted by the company and made free.⁵¹

⁴⁷ *Min.* March 18, 1625.

⁴⁸ *Min.* May 5, 1626.

⁴⁹ *Min.* November 20, 1626.

⁵⁰ *Min.* December 8, 1626.

⁵¹ *Min.* March 6, 1626.

Had there been but the case of Phillipps it might have been possible to suppose that the King was anxious to get a favourite of his into a good position. But when it is seen that directly Phillipps died, the King was ready with another candidate, it would seem that there is ground for assuming that it was the policy of Charles to nominate his candidates for positions of trust. More especially does this supposition seem justified when it is seen that on the expiration of Wiche's appointment, the King nominated a successor, Sir Sackville Crow.⁵² There appears to have been little opposition this time on the part of the company with regard to the principle involved.⁵³ Crow was received as a candidate without a murmur and a committee was appointed to treat with him.⁵⁴ It took two years to settle the articles of agreement,⁵⁵ partly owing to the illness of Crow, and partly to other difficulties. Finally all appeared ready, and arrangements were made⁵⁶ for

⁵² *Min.* December 2, 1633.

⁵³ *Min.* November 20, 1633.

⁵⁴ *Min.* December 2, 1633.

⁵⁵ *Min.* December 17, 1635.

⁵⁶ *Min.* June 16, 1636.

Crow to go on board the *Royal Merchant* which was to sail shortly after for Constantinople. But at the last moment a disagreement arose on the question of strangers' consulage. Strangers' goods carried on English ships paid a special duty which the company regarded as belonging to them and not to their ambassador, seeing that the company had to pay a similar duty for their goods carried on the ships of other nations. But already as early as 1635⁵⁷ the Ambassador claimed the right of taking strangers' consulage. The company naturally refused to recognize this right, seeing that it would mean a loss to them. But the ambassador would not give way. So to prevent the question from arising in actual practice, the company adopted a regulation which forbade English ships to carry any goods belonging to aliens, within the sphere of the company's activities.⁵⁸ Seemingly then, the

⁵⁷ *Min.* February 19, 1635.

⁵⁸ *Min.* March 3, 1635. A similar act had been passed in 1633 (*Min.* October 11, 1633). Furthermore, it had been found that empty ships had been going into several parts of Turkey and been taking in goods for England, thus forestalling the markets at home and depriving the

question was for the moment settled, but Crow, when the conditions of his appointment were being fixed, opened it once more by asking to have the right to take strangers' consulage. The company took no steps in the matter, expressing no opinion either one way or the other, because they hoped that their regulation would make it impossible for a case to arise. Eventually, Crow promised not to press the point. He was thereupon made free of the company and his agreement was signed on 10 Aug., 1636.⁵⁹ One of the clauses stated that Crow should receive a sum of money in advance before setting out. But no sooner did Crow obtain this money than he played the company a scurvy trick : he refused to sail.⁶⁰ Nothing further is mentioned of the company of their freighting homeward. So a restraint was made (*Min.* October 24, 1633) that after that date no private ships should go from London or Leghorn or Naples to take in any commodities at Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, etc., upon penalty of 20 per cent.

Probably the first of these orders must have become a dead letter, or perhaps it was forgotten. Otherwise there would have been no necessity to re-enact it two years later.

⁵⁹ See *Minutes* under this date.

⁶⁰ *Min.* August 31, 1636.

tioned of Crow until the next year, when he was present at a Meeting of the Court held on the 20th March,⁶¹ and expressed his readiness to sail for Constantinople. Once again the question of strangers' consulage came up for discussion, for Crow asked that he might be allowed to have it. It was agreed that the ambassador should not take strangers' consulage for at least one year from his arrival, and that after that, a friendly agreement would be come to.⁶² But a final settlement was not yet to be had, for it was now suggested that a clause should be inserted in the agreement with Crow, forbidding him to trade. Already in 1632⁶³ it had been resolved that "the Ambassador at Constantinople for the time being shall not be permitted to trade directly or indirectly in any commodity whatsoever." Apparently the company had found this general regulation ineffective; hence the suggestion to insert a special clause in the Ambassador's agreement. But Crow objected, though he promised on his honour as a gentleman that he would not trade. Finally

⁶¹ *Min.* March 20, 1637. ⁶² *Min.* July 2, 1638.

⁶³ *Min.* April 13, 1632.

on 6 July, 1638,⁶⁴ his articles of agreement were sealed, and on 9 Feb., 1638,⁶⁴ a letter was read from Crow, dated 17 Nov., 1638, in which he acquainted the company of his arrival in the Turkish capital. It is of interest to note that Crow was described as "His Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople."⁶⁵

These were not the only instances of interference by Charles I in the affairs of the company. Not only did he override the company's privilege of appointing their own officers, he was also bold enough to ask the company for grants of money. Thus, in 1628⁶⁶ the Governor, Sir Hugh Hammersley (then Lord Mayor of London) reported that the King had asked him to use his influence with the company and urge them to grant him £10,000 for the fitting out of a fleet to relieve Rochelle. He promised to pay this sum out of the first subsidies which should be shortly collected. But the company excused themselves, saying that they were quite unable to do the King this favour. In the first place they had not any stock of money

⁶⁴ See *Minutes* under this date.

⁶⁵ *Min.* July 3, 1639. ⁶⁶ *Min.* July 2, 1628.

lying in their coffers ; then, too, they were in debt to the extent of £3,000 and they owed great sums of money at the Customs House. As a matter of fact, the year 1628-9 was an exceptionally bad one for the company. They suffered great losses at Aleppo through the behaviour of Sir Kenelm Digby ; ⁶⁷ they were unduly oppressed by the Venetians at Zant and Cephalonia ; ⁶⁸ a ship of theirs, the *Rainbow* had been seized by the Turks ; and in addition to all this, they were in debt to the City of London and to Sir Thomas Rowe. ⁶⁹ Indeed, so unsatisfactory was their condition

⁶⁷ Cf. *Minutes*, February 10, 1628, October 1, 1628, October 15, 1628, November 6, 1628, January 8, 1629, March 3, 1629. It appears that Sir Kenelm Digby sailed into the Scanderone Road with some ships, intending to seize certain French ships lying at anchor there. A fight resulted between him and the French and Venetians. Complaint of this was made at Aleppo, and the company suffered in consequence a loss of 60,000 dollars [a dollar varied in value from 5s. to 6s.

<i>Min.</i> December 14, 1630, dollar	= 4s. 10d.
„ May 16, 1615, dollar	= 5s.
„ March 7, 1631, dollar	= 5s. 2d.
„ June 21, 1615, dollar	= 6s.]

⁶⁸ See below, p. 116.

⁶⁹ *Min.* March 31, 1629. The debt owing to Rowe was £300, for which the company was paying him interest at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum.

in that year that they decided ⁷⁰ to petition the Commons to be released from impositions not only on currants, the staple of the Levant trade, but on all commodities.⁷¹ Under these circumstances it is not surprising that when Charles made a request of the company to recommend those of their number who were owners of the currants just arrived from the East to pay him "all the several duties and payments heretofore paid for currants," ⁷² the answer was in a decided negative. But Charles did not always ask for grants; he often appropriated them without asking. Thus, it would appear that some time before 1640 ⁷³ he had taken strangers' consulage as

⁷⁰ *Min.* January 22, 1628.

⁷¹ The company had made a similar request four years previously (*Min.* April 13, 1624), asking Parliament to pay some attention to the grievances that lay heavy on their trade and to direct some means of relieving them. Some of these grievances were the imposition of two shillings and twopence on currants, (on what amount is not stated); of threepence on the pound of raw silk, and of the extraordinary fees which had been taken by petty officers of the custom house.

⁷² *Min.* January 1, 1628.

⁷³ *Min.* May 4, 1640.

The company complained that as a consequence of the appropriation it was difficult for them to pay their

his due. This was regarded as "of such consequence as in time may prove the ruin of the whole Turkey trade." Under James I there is no trace of similar high-handed treatment, and any interference on the part of the crown was met by a dignified reminder of the company's rights. Thus, in 1616 a letter from Sir Francis Bacon, then Attorney

ordinary expenses. It may be that this was but an excuse to avoid fulfilling an order of the king's. Charles acquainted the company (*Min.* August 14, 1640) that a Turkish ambassador was on his way to England formally to announce the death of Sultan Murad and the accession of his successor Ibrahim; and that the king hoped the company would provide for the reception and entertainment of this ambassador, "according unto custom." The company pleaded poverty, more especially as a result of the loss of strangers' consulage which the king had taken. Charles sent a peremptory order to have his wishes obeyed, and the company in the end acquiesced.

A similar incident had occurred in 1631 (*Min.* December 5, 1631). A Greek gentleman had been well recommended to the king by the Emperor, and Charles asked the company to allow him convenient maintenance during his stay in England and also a free passage home to Constantinople. The company refused "in regard of the present disability of the company and the dangerous precedent it might be for future times." However, they did agree (*Min.* December 13, 1631) to allow him a free passage to Constantinople.

General, was read at one of the Courts,⁷⁴ asking the Company to remit the fine imposed on two brothers, Dorrington by name, who had overstepped the company's regulations. The reply was that the company could not entertain the idea ; the King in his charter had given them the power to make regulations and they would abide by the regulations they had made.⁷⁵

As in the case of Ambassadors, so too with regard to Consuls, Charles I made recommendations to the company for appointment to offices, sometimes even when the particular place had as yet no vacancy.⁷⁶ There is one case on record⁷⁷ however, where the King made a suggestion to the company without any intention of limiting them in their choice ;

⁷⁴ *Min.* June 17, 1616.

⁷⁵ Cf. this with a similar request in the year 1624 (*Min.* November 11, 1624). The Privy Council gave the Venetians permission to bring in currants. When the company were informed, they were anything but satisfied. Yet nothing was done, for "they considered it not fit at this time to make any suit for contradicting thereof."

⁷⁶ Cf. *Min.* January 27, 1635. Charles recommended a gentleman as consul for Aleppo, though at that time the consulate there was filled.

⁷⁷ *Min.* November 19, 1633.

it was merely a recommendation. It so happened that complaints were made by certain influential members of the company against Mr. Green, the consul at Smyrna, for his unjust proceedings in several matters. It was therefore decided to dismiss him, although later ⁷⁸ this decision was suspended until further news came from Smyrna and the company had more facts upon which to base a final judgment. Yet so soon as the rumour got about that there was likelihood of a vacancy at Smyrna, the King recommended to the company for appointment a Mr. John Freeman.⁷⁹ The company did not at once accept the King's candidate, but the Court resolved that whoever was appointed should receive a salary of 1,200 Dollars per annum, in consideration of which he was not to be allowed to trade for himself or to be a factor for another.⁸⁰

There was no fixed rule in the payment of consuls or in the conditions of their appointment. One of the earliest cases to be found,

⁷⁸ *Min.* December 2, 1633.

⁷⁹ *Min.* December 18, 1633.

⁸⁰ *Min.* December 18, 1633.

under the reconstituted company, of definite articles of agreement is that of Mr. John Markham, in 1611,⁸¹ who went as consul to Smyrna.⁸² The first clause lays down that he shall collect by way of consulage 2 per cent. in and out—i.e., on imports and exports—of the English nation to the use of the company.⁸³ This consulage he had to send to Constantinople every six months. For his pains he received a salary of 500 Dollars per annum. Every six months he had to send the company an account of the consulage, and it was his business to see that they were

⁸¹ Document 69 in Book of Letters, etc., marked *F.A. Levant Company*, No. 109 in Record Office. Cf. note (34) on p. 79 above.

⁸² Markham was later consul at Cio (cf. list of Consuls, Appendix IV.), though he returned to Smyrna afterwards.

⁸³ The chief business of the consul at any place was the collection of consulage. It is difficult to define his other duties, but, in general, he looked after the company's interests. On one occasion he was even allowed to fix prices (*Min.* November 19, 1633). The company had fixed the price of cloth at Aleppo at 1½ Dollars per pike. But the consul wrote to say that this price was inconvenient, and the company accordingly ordered that in future the consul and the majority of the English merchants in Aleppo should have the power to fix the price of cloth.

not defrauded of any part of it.⁸⁴ From the wording of the salary-clause, it seems that the consul might engage in business on his own account, and that if only he carefully collected the consulage due to the company there would be no objection to his so doing. No doubt, 500 Dollars a year was not sufficient salary for an official if he was to undertake no other work of any kind. The matter is made abundantly clear in the case of the appointment of Mr. Freeman as consul in Smyrna in 1633.⁸⁵ He was offered alternative conditions. Either to have 1,200 Dollars per annum as salary and to be prohibited from trading, or to have 600 Dollars per annum and be allowed both to take factorage and to engage in trade on his own account. He chose the second alternative. A similar alternative was offered to Mr. Barnard on his appointment as consul at Smyrna in 1635.

⁸⁴ Every consul had to give the company security. Thus, Mr. Chapman (see list of Consuls in Appendix IV.) on his appointment as vice-consul in Aleppo gave the company five sureties, each for £100, and himself for £50. See *Min.* February 28, 1615.

⁸⁵ *Min.* Feb. 22, 1633.

But not all consuls received a salary. Thus, Humphrey Bunnington who was chosen consul for Patras ⁸⁶ was sent out on the understanding that he was to receive no salary nor were the company to be at all responsible for charges of his establishment or indeed, for charges of any kind. But he was empowered ⁸⁷ to levy a consulage of 2 per cent. on all goods belonging to members of the company, exported from, or imported into Patras.

The appointment of Consuls or Vice-Consuls was, as a rule, made by the Company,⁸⁸ and that the company were jealous of their power is illustrated by a case which occurred in 1630.⁸⁹ At the Court held on the 29th of July the company was informed that as the Consul at Smyrna had died, the Ambassador and the English colony in Smyrna had chosen as successor one, Mr. Greene, for whom they then asked the company's approval. The company decided to make their own choice,

⁸⁶ *Min.* April 30, 1630. ⁸⁷ *Min.* May 6, 1636.

⁸⁸ Usually Englishmen were appointed, but there were exceptions. In 1616 (*Min.* August 2, 1616) a Greek is reported to have been made vice-consul at Zant.

⁸⁹ *Min.* July 29, 1630.

since "the election of such their public ministers being wholly in themselves, which power they mean neither to wave nor yet to communicate, whereby it may suffer the least diminution." Still, because they thought very highly of Mr. Greene they agreed to let him be one of three candidates to be recommended to the Court. He was eventually chosen and his salary fixed at 500 Dollars per annum.

There appears to have been a time limit in some cases for the holding of the office of consul. Mr. Markham,⁹⁰ for example, was appointed Consul in Aleppo from midsummer 1622 for 4 years. Afterwards his appointment was prolonged. Similarly Mr. Potton,⁹¹ who was also chosen for Aleppo, in 1627, was appointed in the first instance for four years.

A curious case in reference to the appointment of consuls occurred in the year 1638.⁹² Mr. Symonds had been appointed consul for the islands of Zant and Cephalonia.⁹³ An

⁹⁰ See list of consuls in Appendix IV. Cf. *Min.* July 31, 1633.

⁹¹ *Min.* May 1, 1627. ⁹² *Min.* May 1, 1638.

⁹³ Cf. *Min.* March 10, 1637, and see below, p. 128, note (45).

agreement was duly drawn up, and at a Court held in the following May it was resolved to prepare for the emergency of the consul's death by making what was called a "dormant commission," which should remain sealed, appointing another to succeed to the office if Symonds died. But no one was to be informed who the successor was that was named in the dormant commission, and the commission was to be opened only when Symonds died.

VII

MEETINGS OF THE COMPANY AND MEMBERSHIP

THE Meetings of the Court were not held at regular intervals ; seemingly only when occasion called. To take one of the earliest examples of which there is a record, in the year 1614 there was the Statutory Court of Election on February 10, and the next meeting was held nearly three months later, on April 28, 1615. Nor was there a regular rule about the Meetings of the Assistants. It was not until 1630¹ that the company decided that for the future "for the better and more speedy regulating divers business of the company which are far out of order" the Assistants should meet once a week. Three months later² the stress of business both at home and abroad was so great that it was resolved to hold meetings of the Assistants twice a week.

From the earliest days of the re-organiza-

¹ *Min.* February 3, 1630. ² *Min.* May 9, 1631.

tion of the company it would seem that members attended the meetings of the company badly. So much so, that penal acts had to be adopted by the company for punishment of defaulters. In October, 1622³ the Governor complained that members did not attend meetings of the company with sufficient regularity and that in consequence the business of the company suffered. In the following February⁴ at the Court of Election, the business of the day could not be proceeded with because there was not a full number of Assistants present. At the next Meeting of the Court⁵ this question received full attention and it was resolved to fine those who stayed away.⁶ But this fine was no new thing. For already as early as 1615⁷ the company had adopted a penal law,⁸ fining late comers to the meetings and those who

³ *Min.* October 17, 1622. ⁴ *Min.* February, 4 1622.

⁵ *Min.* February 20, 1622.

⁶ The fine could not have been very effective, for in 1629 (*Min.* February 3, 1629) complaint was again made that some of the assistants came seldom, and some never, to the meetings of the court.

⁷ *Min.* April 28, 1615.

⁸ A number of penal laws were adopted at this meeting, and this particular law is the 12th—§ 12.

stayed away. If any one was late or absent on special occasions the fine was double the ordinary rate. The whole collection of penal laws adopted at this meeting is most interesting for the peculiar light it throws on the commercial etiquette which prevailed among members of the company at that time. Any one, for example, who should be found opening letters not addressed to him was to lose his freedom.⁹ No unseemly or unfitting language should be used at any of the meetings, on pain of fine.¹⁰ No member was to speak more than three times at any Court, nor was any one to depart without first obtaining leave.¹¹ Fines paid under this head would go to the poor,¹¹ likewise those fines imposed on any one who refused to vote on a disputed question.¹² Furthermore, if any one did not keep silence after the Governor had struck his hammer, he was fined sixpence for the poor.¹³ Of more general import are the regulations that no member of the company should pass any other man's goods in his own

⁹ Ditto, § 14.

¹⁰ Ditto, § 17.

¹¹ Ditto, § 18.

¹² Ditto, § 19.

¹³ Ditto, § 20.

name ;¹⁴ that no one should enter goods for the Straits, where no impositions were due, and then ship them into the Levant¹⁵ ; that no coin should be exported from England,¹⁶ and that on pain of a fine of 200 dollars, no one should appeal to Turkish justice.¹⁷

As a rule the Meetings of the Court were held at the Governor's house. But there were exceptions. In 1623¹⁸ it was resolved to find a fitting place for the meetings and the

¹⁴ Ditto, § 1.

¹⁵ Ditto, § 7.

This trick appears to have been very often practised. The regulation here mentioned was adopted in 1615, but as late as 1631 (cf. *Min.* December 5, 1631) we find it again. The company had settled that a ship called the *London* should sail to Scanderone, carrying cloth. Some merchants hearing of this sent larger quantities of cloth to Leghorn (which lay outside the company's privileges), intending to put it on board the *London* when it called there. By so doing they would avoid the special impositions which the company levied on goods for the Levant laden in England. To guard against future abuse the company decided, that if any member be discovered playing this trick, his goods should be specially taxed to the extent of 20 per cent. (presumably *ad valutem*) in Turkey.

¹⁶ Ditto, § 9.

¹⁷ Ditto, § 10. Cf. Charter of Charles II, where a clause to that effect was added. See above, p. 64, note (53), subsection (2). ¹⁸ *Min.* May 8, 1623.

East India House was suggested. Mr. Morris Abbott was commissioned to ask the East India Company for the use of it in consideration of the fact that the Levant Company "do afford the conveyance of their letters out of Persia." Twelve years later¹⁹ meetings were held at Crosby House; and on July 8, 1635²⁰ a meeting was held for the first time at Drapers' Hall.

The company were very jealous of their privileges, and it was no easy matter, as time went on, to be admitted a member. The tendency gradually began to show itself of keeping within a narrow circle the rights which membership bestowed. Even the sons of freemen were not admitted without any further question; it was resolved that before their admittance they must be freemen of the city of London.²¹ This was not a condition named in the charter, though it was afterwards incorporated in the charter of Charles II.²² A further limitation²³ was placed on

¹⁹ *Min.* June 21, 1635, and often before about this time. ²⁰ *Minutes* under this date.

²¹ *Min.* December 18, 1633.

²² Cf. above, p. 64, note (53), subsection (5).

²³ *Min.* December 18, 1633.

the admittance of sons of members: only such sons of members could be admitted as were born within three years before their father's election as a member of the company, or such as were born after his election. Likewise²³ there was a further limitation for apprentices. All apprentices who in the future wished to apply for the freedom of the company were to have their indentures specially registered with the company.

Yet, nevertheless, there are occasions on record where the company admitted freemen gratis. Thus in June, 1618,²⁴ William Trumball, one of the Clerks of the Council, "upon his request to be made free of the company out of his affection to do them service either abroad or at home" was admitted without fee. It must be noted, however, that this happened pretty early in the history of the re-organized company, and moreover, a Clerk of the Privy Council was a friend at Court.²⁵

²⁴ *Min.* June 19, 1618.

²⁵ The company were fully alive to the advantages of such friends, and sought to win them by making them annual presents. Indeed, the meetings of the assistants to decide as to New Year's gifts occurred regularly every year. Thus, in 1615 (*Min.* December

The company were not so lenient in later years. In 1636²⁶ three gentlemen asked to be made free of the company. They were apparently eligible, but the company were doubtful whether to accept them or not in face of a rumour that a ship was expected home very soon with currants, and that these three gentlemen had goods on board. If the company made them free, it would have to forego the duty which the gentlemen in ques-

30, 1615) the assistants met to grant a New Year's gift to certain persons who had been helpful to the company, among others, to the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice. In 1629 there was quite a long list of names (*Min.* December 29, 1629). "At this court, taking into consideration the many and great occasions the company hath to request the help and assistance of the Lords of his majesty's privy council [the company] did resolve that according to the usual custom [in the *Minutes* for December 14, 1631, these gifts are described as "an ancient and continued custom] those lords and others hereafter named should be presented with New Year's gifts." The following got a present of plate: the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Dorset, Lord Secretary Carlton, Sir John Coke, and Sir Henry Martyn, judge of the admiralty. The value of the whole was £113 11s. 9d. For similar instances, cf. *Min.* December 30, 1628; December 20, 1627; December 9, 1630.

²⁶ *Min.* December 15, 1636.

tion, if they remained non-members, would in the ordinary course of things have to pay. The three were summoned to a meeting of the Assistants and questioned. They asserted that they had no currants on board the ship expected home and that, moreover, they were prepared to pay all fines and duties which the company might lay upon them. They evidently valued the privilege of membership and in the end they got it.

The charter had fixed the entrance fee for merchants in ordinary cases at £25.²⁷ In 1622 the Crown appointed a Commission "for the reviving of trade" and this commission recommended that one of the things which would be advantageous would be the lessening of the entrance fee. They fixed it, therefore, at £10 and the company agreed to this.²⁸ Eventually ²⁹ the company raised the sum to £15 and then to £20.³⁰ The reduction on the sum named in the charter was, it is true, small; but the company agreed to it in order to yield to the desire of the commissioners on the point. But they stipulated

²⁷ See above, p. 59. ²⁸ *Min.* February 20, 1622.

²⁹ *Min.* March 11, 1622. ³⁰ *Min.* March 15, 1622.

that their yielding should not prejudice the rights and privileges of their charter, and furthermore, that members of the Levant Company might be received into other companies on the same terms. It does not appear whether £20 remained the entrance fee or whether the original sum named in the charter was again in force.

VIII

THE CURRANT TRADE AND THE REGULATION OF TRADE IN OTHER COMMODITIES

THE staple of the Levant trade was in currants¹ and consequently questions concerning the trade in, and the price of, currants occupied the company not a little. To all intents and purposes the company had a monopoly in the trade, but it must have been so tempting that there were constantly cases of "interlopers," as those were called who were not members of the company and yet traded in this commodity. The earliest case under the re-organized company of which there is a record is that of some merchants of Bristol, Yarmouth and Exeter² who, in 1617, contrary to the Charter of the company, imported currants into England. When the company heard of this, it was resolved that

¹ Cf. *Min.* December 2, 1619, where currants are spoken of as "the maine trade of this Societie." Cf. also *Min.* October 15, 1617. ² *Min.* July 30, 1617.

the whole stock brought in by these interlopers should be sent back to the places they came from. In the same year ³ the company had to deal with a similar case which ended somewhat differently. A certain Mr. Flower who was a member of the Company of Merchant Adventurers brought a quantity of currants into the port of London. This was clearly a breach of the company's rights and the company resolved that the currants of Flower should be sent back to where they had come from. But Mr. Flower came to a Meeting of the Court and asserted that he was fully within his rights, since he was a member of the

³ Cf. *Min.* November 28, 1617; December 11, 1617, and December 17, 1617. The price of currants in February of this year, it is interesting to note, was 43 shillings and 4 pence per hundredweight. Cf. *Min.* February 14, 1617. Three months later it had gone down and new currants cost 43 shillings a hundredweight, while old currants were at 40 shillings. See *Min.* May 17, 1617.

It is curious to note that payment for currants at this time (and presumably generally) was made, half the money at once for new currants and the rest in two portions at intervals of three months. For old currants, however, the traders paid half of the money down, and the rest in two portions at intervals of four months.

Company of Merchant Adventurers and that that company also had the right of importing currants. Thereupon an appeal was made to the Privy Council. Both companies sent representatives and copies of their patents. The Lords of the Council advised an amicable settlement, and Sir Thomas Lowe, who was Governor of both companies,⁴ called a meeting of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, who decided to waive their rights on certain conditions.⁵ First, that all currants which

⁴ An early example of the fact, so often occurring in modern times, that a man might be director of more than one company.

⁵ Their resolution was as follows: "Forasmuch as by the declaration made of that which passed at the council board on Monday last in the controversy between this fellowship and the Levant Company, it appeareth that the Lords much desire that this fellowship should not stand strictly upon the uttermost of their rights and privileges touching the importation of the commodity of currants which is considered of mainly to concern the Levant Company and this company but little, Therefore in obedience and conformity to their lordship's said desire this fellowship is contented to yield to be restrained from the importation of the said commodity of currants for such time as their lordships shall think meet to set or limit upon these conditions following." Then followed the conditions given in the text.

were already brought in by members of the Company of Merchant Adventurers or that shall be bought by any of them in Germany or Flanders ⁶ and imported before the news of the agreement got about, should be allowed by the Levant Company. Secondly, that no one—neither the members of the Levant Company nor those of the Company of Merchant Adventurers—should import currants thereafter from Germany or Flanders. The Merchant Adventurers attached great importance to both these conditions, for they made it quite clear that if the Levant Company refused to accept them, they would refuse to be bound by the request of the Council. But the Levant Company did yield, and there the matter ended.⁷

⁶ Germany and Flanders was the trading sphere of the Merchant Adventurers.

⁷ In their declaration to the Lords of the Council accepting an amicable agreement, the Merchant Adventurers asserted that they yielded their right "because your honours who are the competent judges in this case seem to judge that the present estate of the said Levant Company standeth in need of some special favour." The year 1617 appears to have been a year of bad trade for the Levant Company. See *Min.* April 15, 1617. Indeed, so bad was it that they pleaded it as an excuse for not electing a full successor to Sir

The most troublesome cases in this respect were those of individual merchants who attempted to smuggle currants into the country. In the same year as the quarrel with the Company of Merchant Adventurers,⁸ one Browne, a master of a ship brought in currants on his own account,⁹ and when the company fined him he refused to pay. Legal proceedings were therefore taken against him, the company claiming 20 per cent. of the value of his currants, in order to make an example of him.

Cases of this kind were by no means limited to the early years of the re-organized company. They occur constantly, and now and again even a member of the company attempts to cheat the company by obtaining an advantage over them. An interesting case came up in November, 1632¹⁰. The company were informed by the Consul at Zant that a ship Peter Pindar as ambassador at Constantinople (see above, p. 81, note (41)), saying it was necessary for them to lessen their expenses.

⁸ *Min.* March 11, 1617.

⁹ Later on, it would appear, the company allowed masters of ships to bring in a small quantity of currants. See *Min.* January 20, 1630.

¹⁰ *Min.* November 14, 1632.

called the *Salutation*, of Yarmouth, had laid in a stock of currants contrary to the company's regulations. In order to ascertain who the owners were it was resolved to ask Mr. Secretary Coke to send letters to some of the captains of the King's ships to stop the *Salutation* in the Downs until the owners claimed her. A special Court of Assistants was called on November 28, 1632¹¹ to consider the matter. They ordered the ship to be brought up the Thames, and there to be kept until the owners were discovered. When they were discovered they should be ordered either to send back the currants to the place from which they had been brought or to keep them until the company's currants came and then sell them after they had paid all the regular dues. If the owners chose the second alternative, they and the master of the ship were to give the company security that they would abide by the conditions. But as the owners could not be found the matter was taken before the Lord Treasurer,¹² who advised the company to buy the currants from

¹¹ See *Minutes* under that date.

¹² *Min.* December 11, 1632.

the owners, whoever they were, and so settle the dispute. But the company stood by their charter and would take no action which might prejudice their powers.¹³ So the currants were kept in sequestration. On 20 March 1633¹⁴ the question came up once more, now that some of the Zant ships had returned, bringing the company's currants, and Mr. Abbott, a member of the company, owned to having some of the currants on board the *Salutation* belonging to him. He was allowed to keep them on condition of his paying double imposition, viz., 8 pence per hundredweight, and also all his debts to the company. The remainder of the stock of currants was delivered over to the owners on their paying a fine of £3 per ton.¹⁵

In another instance of this kind¹⁶ where a ship, the *Elizabeth and Dorcas*, had brought in currants contrary to the company's regu-

¹³ *Min.* December 28, 1632.

¹⁴ See *Minutes* under this date.

¹⁵ It will be seen that the company treated the stranger much more harshly than their own member. The fine of the stranger works out at the rate of 3 shillings per hundredweight.

¹⁶ *Min.* January 14, 1633.

lations, quite apart from the fact that the owners of the ship were dealt with by the company, it was also resolved to put the ship on a black-list and never to employ her in any part within the company's privileges.

Now while the company was pestered at home with small troubles in the currant-trade, it had on occasions also to face the worries of the Venetians abroad. From "an Act to reform the price of currants at Zant and Cephalonia"¹⁷ it would appear that the Venetians had put many obstacles in the way of English traders in those islands. They prohibited the English from landing English manufactured goods there, or if they allowed them to be landed, exacted heavy duties, and that regardless of the fact whether they were for sale in the islands or merely carried through them. They refused to allow the oil-casks of the company to pass over into the Morea. Last, but not least, they exacted greater duties on currants than heretofore. The Venetians did all these things although they were aware that the English were the best customers, paying always in cash, which the

*difficulties
with the
Venetians
in the islands
to the detriment*

¹⁷ *Min.* July 11, 1628.

natives required to buy them bread, and also that the English were the customers who bought most of that commodity. The company felt these difficulties keenly, and set about finding means to avoid them. It was suggested¹⁷ that the currants be laden at Clarentia or elsewhere, thus avoiding the payment of any impost whatever; or else the company might decide to leave the trade altogether.

On the same occasion the price of currants was fixed.¹⁸ Until December 1, 1628, members of the company might buy at any price they pleased; from December 1 until the following February 1, no one was to buy at a price higher than 20 dollars per mille weight.¹⁹ Then from February 1 to July 1 no one was to pay more than 16 dollars "per mille weight;" and from July 1 (1629) to February 1, it was again to be 20 dollars "per mille weight." Likewise from February 1 (1629) to February 1 (1630) the price was again to be 16 dollars "per mille weight."

¹⁸ *Min.* July 11, 1628.

¹⁹ I have not been able to discover the exact amount represented by "mille weight." Is it ten times a hundredweight? If a dollar was equivalent to about

In the same way each year the price of currants at which members of the company might buy should be no higher than 20 dollars "per mille weight" between July 1 and February 1, and no higher than 16 dollars "per mille weight," between February 1 and July 1.

The company regarded these regulations as so important that a special officer was chosen²⁰ to reside at Zant in order to look after the interests of the company, to keep the bazaar-book, and above all, to see that the Regulations concerning the price of currants were duly observed.

The experience of members of the company in this connexion could not have been altogether pleasant, because in July, 1630²¹ it was resolved to re-consider the Act and perhaps decide to repeal it. On the one hand it

five or six shillings, then about 120 shillings was the price of a "mille weight." Therefore (on the assumption that mille weight = 10 hundredweight), one hundredweight would cost 12 shillings. But in 1617 the price of a hundredweight was about 40 shillings (see p. 110, note (3)). If the assumption is true, there must have been a remarkable fall in price in the space of eleven years.

²⁰ *Min.* October 1, 1628. ²¹ *Min.* July 7, 1630.

was feared that if the company persisted in paying only the prices fixed by the Act, the Dutch traders and others—the competing tradesmen—would buy up all the currants at a higher price. On the other hand it was feared that if the price was left quite unfettered, the factors would out-bid each other, and in consequence, the price might rise to even 40 ducats.²² It was therefore decided to continue the Act which fixed the buying price of currants, but not to stand too closely by it. Moreover, for that year (1630) the price should remain 20 ducats,²³ provided there were great quantities of the currants and that the quality was not specially good. But if they were good and the quantity small, then the factors might pay more, but never more than 25 ducats.²³ In every case, however, they were to pay 2 ducats less for the currants of Cephalonia than for those of Zant. In the same month ²⁴ the whole question was

²² Here ducats are spoken of; in the *Minute* of the year 1628 (on previous page) dollars was term used. But it would appear that the two were used as interchangeable terms.

²³ See above note (22). ²⁴ *Min.* July 29, 1630.

considered afresh and it was agreed to raise the price on occasions to 23 or 25 ducats²⁵ "per mille weight," and secondly to trade in a joint-stock²⁶ so as to reduce the Greeks to reasonable prices and prevent the factors from out-bidding each other. The joint-stock principle was re-affirmed in the following January²⁷ as likely to be beneficial to the company. And for the better management of the trade it was also resolved at the same time to farm the customs duties on currants from the King for a rent for a fixed number of years. In this way the company might be able to keep the price of currants pretty fixed both at home and abroad. Furthermore, the company resolved to make an attempt to force the West-countrymen—the merchants of Bristol and Exeter²⁸—to recognize the company's monopoly in the trade of currants and to pay the impositions levied by the company.

²⁵ *Min.* June 7, 1631.

²⁶ i.e. where the company as a whole did business and not individual members. This was nothing new at that time, for it had already been tried and given up, e.g. in 1620. Cf. *Min.* November 24, 1620.

²⁷ *Min.* January 20, 1630. ²⁸ Cf. above, p. 109.

But the order allowing the price paid for currants to be raised was apparently unsatisfactory, for nearly a year after it was made ²⁹ it was put on record that it had been inconvenient in the past and might be dangerous in the future. Therefore, it was repealed and the order of July 11, 1628,³⁰ where the price was fixed at 16 or 20 ducats "per mille weight" was once more put into force

Nor was the joint-stock satisfactory. That too was re-considered,³¹ and as an alternative to it, it was suggested that the trade of currants be farmed out for a certain number of years. But this was rejected, and once again the principle of settling the price of currants as had been done on July 11, 1628,³⁰ was re-asserted and adopted.³²

Two further recommendations were agreed to at this meeting.³¹ It was found that the fact that ships came to Zant and Cephalonia at uncertain times tended to raise the price of

²⁹ *Min.* June 7, 1631.

³⁰ See p. 117, note (18). ³¹ *Min.* January 7, 1631.

³² "It was the joint opinion of those present that the best and only way to produce good to the general company by this trade is to confirm the Act of 11 of July, 1628, in all particulars." Cf. *Min.* January 7, 1631.

currants. And so the company resolved that English ships for the future should not come into the ports of Zant, Cephalonia, the Morea³³ or any other place where currants were to be had or laden until December 1, and no ship should begin to take in currants until December 15. This applied to new currants; old currants should not be taken in after July 1.

³³ At the very next meeting of the court (January 19, 1631) it was decided that "the best and only way to raise benefit to the company by the trade of the Morea was to let the same to farm." Accordingly that trade was to be farmed out to a member of the company for five years at £500 per annum at least. A similar resolution had been come to on July 27, 1614 (see *Minutes* under that date). The farm, decided on on January 19, 1631, was put up to auction six days later (*Min.* January 25, 1631). An auction was arranged in this wise. A candle was lit and a demand made. Then bids were offered so long as the candle burned, and the man who made the last bid before the candle extinguished itself was adjudged to have the bargain. In this case the company started, in accordance with the terms of the resolution, with a demand of £500 per annum for five years, and at the end Mr. Langham got the farm for five years at £670 per annum.

A similar proceeding was adopted in 1635 (*Min.* February 19, 1635) to sell certain jewels belonging to the company. They were sold "by the candle." (Apparently standing capital in those days was invested in jewels, just as to-day it is invested in stocks.)

In the second place, Mr. Hunt who had just returned from the islands of Zant and Cephalonia, reported that the company suffered an inconvenience in that currants were bought by the English *Stalira* and not by the *Stalira* of St. Mark, which was the weight of the country, seeing that the former was 2 per cent. less than the latter. The company thereupon resolved that in future, purchases of currants should be made in the local weight, the *Stalira* of St. Mark.

Now, despite all the arrangements and re-arrangements concerning the currant trade, it was by no means in that satisfactory condition in which the company wished to see it. And therefore the arrangements and re-arrangements were continued. In 1633³⁴ it was decided to set down a certain quantity of currants to be bought in Zant and Cephalonia and that quantity to be imported into England, "namely, 2,200 tons³⁵ (besides, those currants brought from Patras) is conceived to be as great a quantity as this Kingdom will want." Moreover, each member of

³⁴ *Min.* April 1, 1633.

³⁵ See above, p. 41, note (3).

the company who had been a trader in currants within the last seven years should be "stinted"³⁶ to a reasonable amount. A special committee had made this recommendation, and the full Court of Assistants adopted it,³⁷ provided the following conditions were attached. First and foremost, no member of the company should be given a part in the stint who did not first pay all his debts to the company. Secondly, no one should exceed the portion allotted to him, and lastly, no one should alienate or transfer or sell his allotment to another without first getting leave of the company. But at the general meeting of members held on May 21, 1633³⁸ some objected to the whole plan, complaining of the small quantity allowed them; others of being altogether neglected. In consequence, the scheme was dropped and the trade in currants left as it had been at first when

³⁶ A "stint" or limit was assigned to each member according to his standing in the company. This restricted the quantity of currants he might import in any year. Cf. Cunningham: *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, I. p. 416.

³⁷ *Min.* April 9, 1633.

³⁸ See *Minutes* under that date.

each member traded as he wished and in any quantity he chose.³⁹

There appears to have been no improvement in the currant-trade. The great difficulty was that the quantities imported were so large ⁴⁰ that the prices left little margin of profit. And so the company appointed a special committee to find means to check the supply.

The committee recommended ⁴¹ that an order should be issued by the company, forbidding the lading of currants until Christmas, 1637, and that after that the quantity to be brought in should not exceed 24 or 25 thousand

*Recommend
of Committee*

³⁹ Yet in 1620 (*Min.* January 16, 1621) this had been complained of as one of the causes for the decline of trade. The company, it was then alleged, suffered great prejudice by the liberty given at home of free trade to every man, to send what quantities of cloth, etc., in what ships and at what times he pleased. And accordingly a joint-stock was then decided upon.

The company had no settled policy with regard to this matter. Now the joint-stock principle prevailed; now the individual trader was left free.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Min.* January 4, 1637.

The trade "is now grown to such disorder by reason of the great quantities brought hither yearly." The trade "is so far out of order that the traders therein do trade to great disadvantage and loss."

⁴¹ *Min.* February 12, 1637.

weight at most. In order that this quantity, and no more, be bought, an agent of the company was to be sent to Zant and Cephalonia ⁴² and he should be made acquainted with every bargain, though he himself was forbidden to trade or to act as factor for another.

These recommendations came before the Assistants ⁴³ who put them, together with one or two other points, into the form of an Act, which the members considered. ⁴⁴ The first recommendation they accepted: it was to the effect that means should be taken to remove the exactions which the State of Venice laid on currants from Zant and Cephalonia. The second laid it down that no ship should take in currants at either of the islands before December 1 in each year. The members agreed to this so far as that year was concerned, but that later on, if occasion arose, it should be amended. As to the price of

⁴² At the same meeting it was also resolved to make proclamation in those islands, informing the inhabitants that unless they cured their currants well the English would not buy any.

⁴³ *Min.* March 4, 1637.

⁴⁴ *Min.* March 10, 1637.

currants, the Assistants suggested, and the members agreed, that Zant currants before Christmas, i.e., from August until Christmas, should be bought at the rate of 22 dollars "per mille weight," while after Christmas, i.e. from Christmas until August, the price was to be 20 dollars "per mille weight." And the currants should be bought only if they were well cured.⁴² To this the members agreed, as also to the next article which set forth "that unless the currants sent home do hold in weight 900 at least for each 1,000, the factors are to be liable to make satisfaction, which is to be deducted from their provision or otherwise." Eminently practical was the suggestion that the company should build a magazine or storehouse at Cephalonia where the currants could be preserved till they were shipped. But as this was a question of spending money, the company were somewhat cautious, and the members wished for the opinion of the factors on the spot about this matter. Last of all, it was suggested that to keep the business in order, a general factor should be chosen who was to be the sole buyer of all currants at both islands. For his better

credit he should have the title of Consul conferred upon him. To this the members agreed, and it was decided that the person appointed should have as commission $\frac{3}{4}$ dollar for every ton of currants bought; and he was to give the company security to the extent of £1,000.⁴⁵

Currants, as we have seen, formed the staple of the imports from the Levant. But the

⁴⁵ Mr. Thomas Symonds was chosen for this position out of five candidates. See above, p. 98. Letters were read from Symonds at the court held December 24, 1638 (see *Minutes* under that date), in which he related that the Venetian Senate had ordered him to come to Venice. The company after that received letters from him from Venice, saying that the Senate were wasting his time, keeping him in Venice by means of idle excuses. Obviously the Venetians wanted to hinder the company's trade (cf. *Min.* July 11, 1639). At last, at a meeting of the currants-committee held in August, 1639, it was resolved to put an end to the loss the company was sustaining. "Rather than the company shall persist so vainly to struggle with the state of Venice or trouble the king's majesty in his (Symonds') behalf, he (Symonds) shall be dismissed of his employment, since it is impossible he should now after so much opposition and envy, quietly enjoy and execute the same." And so it was resolved to appoint an agent in each island, without the name of consul or any other title that might give the Venetians offence.

trade also included cotton, wool and yarn,⁴⁶ spices,⁴⁷ oils,⁴⁸ chemicals, skins,⁴⁹ silk⁵⁰ wines,⁵¹ and many other things.⁵² Of English commodities taken to Turkey cloth⁵³ kersies⁵⁴ and tin⁵⁵ appear to have been the chief. And concerning all commodities, whether imports or exports, the company laid down rules to regulate trade, either to create an artificial supply so as to raise the price, or to safeguard some other of their interests. We have already seen how the company did this in the case of currants. But currants were by no means the only commodity so treated. In cloth, for example, the trade was also regulated. In 1615⁵⁶ the Ambassador sent word home that a great quantity of cloth remained

⁴⁶ *Min.* Oct. 20, 1631.

⁴⁷ *Min.* July 31, 1624.

⁴⁸ *Min.* April 13, 1624.

⁴⁹ *Min.* Feb. 4, 1631.

⁵⁰ *Min.* June 10, 1624.

⁵¹ *Min.* July 12, 1618.

⁵² For long list, see Appendix VII.

⁵³ *Min.* January 20, 1630.

⁵⁴ Kersies were a kind of coarse woollen cloth made of long wool. Cf. *Min.* February 28, 1615; November 19, 1633.

⁵⁵ *Min.* August 2, 1627.

⁵⁶ *Min.* February 28, 1615.

[In all these cases I have given but one reference, but I need scarcely add they occur *passim* in the *Minutes*.]

at Constantinople unsold, and that the country was glutted by reason of the importations by Venetians and others. Thereupon the company decided that no cloth or other English goods should be sent out until the following April on penalty of 20 per cent. In 1627⁵⁷ the Company regulated shipping for 12 months in exactly the same way. Of course, these limiting Acts were repealed when the time was considered fit. The last limitation mentioned was repealed in December, 1628⁵⁸ but repealed in the following July⁵⁹. So, too, in 1631⁶⁰ it was found that the quantity of cloth remaining at Aleppo was so small that it would be desirable to send a further supply. The company accordingly agreed,⁶¹ stipulating that only those members be allowed to ship goods to Aleppo who had paid all their debts to the company, whether for imposi-

⁵⁷ *Min.* August 2, 1627.

⁵⁸ *Min.* December 29, 1628.

⁵⁹ *Min.* July 9, 1629.

“Henceforth it shall be free for every member of the company to ship cloth and other commodities unto any place within the company’s privileges at what time and in what measure and upon what shipping they shall think fit.”

⁶⁰ *Min.* September 27, 1631.

⁶¹ *Min.* October 5, 1631.

To prevent
glutting the
cloth mkt.

tions or otherwise. And in the future, in order that each member of the company might know more certainly what quantity of goods to send, and also that the supply be not too great, the company resolved⁶² to send a ship to Constantinople and one to Aleppo every year at Christmas. Six years later⁶³ a slight change was introduced into this "annual shipping" (as it was called). The ship for Aleppo was to sail in February and March, and that for Constantinople and Smyrna in June and July.

An interesting case of regulating trade, which did not, as it would seem, directly affect the company's operations but which yet played an important part at the time it occurred, was the trade in corn. The Sultan allowed the exportation of corn only as a special privilege. In 1631⁶⁴ the company learned that many English ships had been sent from Leghorn and Messina into Turkish ports in order to lade corn. This they regarded as a serious danger to their trade,⁶⁵

Company regarded all trade with Turkey as belonging to them.

Case I

⁶² *Min.* October 20, 1631.

⁶³ *Min.* February 14, 1637.

⁶⁴ *Min.* April 9, 1631.

⁶⁵ See below, p. 133.

and petitioned the Privy Council to take speedy measures for prohibiting Englishmen, whether they were members of the company or not, to carry on this trade in corn unless they first got permission from Constantinople. Moreover, those who did get permission were requested to give good bonds to the company that they would import the corn into England and nowhere else, more particularly into no country which was at enmity with Turkey.

The Privy Council must have regarded the matter as important because five days later ⁶⁶ a message from the Lords of the Privy Council was read, intimating that the company's request in this matter had been granted, and that orders had been sent out accordingly. In the December of the same year ⁶⁷ the company was informed by Mr. Secretary Coke that complaints had been made against this order. It had been pointed out that the order was a hindrance to the development of English shipping; that many merchants had suffered loss through it; that the corn trade was an old trade and by no means an innovation;

⁶⁶ *Min.* April 14, 1631.

⁶⁷ *Min.* December 13, 1631.

and that, lastly, if Englishmen did not continue it, their rivals, the Dutch, would seize it. For all these reasons he asked the company to repeal the order. But they replied that since the Turkish ports where the corn trade flourished were within the privileges of their charter, and furthermore—a very important point—if the Turks should proceed to recoup themselves for any loss, it would be the company's property that would suffer, they therefore regarded it as perfectly justifiable to abide by the order of the Council.

Nor was this the only occasion where the company looked upon all English shipping to Turkey, no matter of what nature, as coming within their influence and therefore to be regulated by them.

Another case of transporting corn came up again in 1637.⁶⁸ The company got information that an English ship proposed to carry corn from Turkey to Genoa and Spain. Now the Company were aware that the Venetians enjoyed something like a monopoly in this carrying trade, and that therefore the Venetians, on hearing of the exploits of the English ship in question,

Case II

⁶⁸ *Min.* February 5, 1637.

might complain to the Sultan. There might be a possibility of harm being done to the company's property in Turkey in consequence, and therefore steps were taken to prevent the English cornship from sailing.

On another occasion ⁶⁹ it had come to the knowledge of the company that there was a breach between Venice and Turkey. The company hastened to obtain an Act of State prohibiting English ships from serving the Venetians against the Turk. Their reason is once again self-protection : "to prevent the danger and loss that may redound to the company in their estates in Turkey."

⁶⁹ *Min.* December 24, 1638.

IX

THE REGULATION OF SHIPPING

NOT only did the company decide as to the time when ships might sail, it also laid down the charges for freight on each occasion. There are several examples on record, illustrating this very important point, and we shall quote one or two. In 1624 the *Delight* was chosen to sail with goods for the company. It was settled¹ that for freight outward she was to charge 6 dollars on an ordinary bale and 3½ dollars for pepper. As for the homeward journey, the charge would be "after the accustomed rates," £4 a ton for cauls, £5 a ton for cottons and yarns, and £7 a ton for fine goods, while for money it was to be a chequin² per mille dollars per day. Pretty much the same rates were fixed in the fol-

¹ *Min.* July 31, 1624.

² In 1621 (*Min.* April 12, 1621) a chequin was equivalent to eight shillings and sixpence.

lowing year ³ for the *Sampson*. For the outward voyage, freightage was taken at the rate of 6 dollars per bale, accounting 2 long and 3 short cloths to a bale, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ dollars for pepper. For the homeward journey, for fine goods the charge was £7 a ton, for cauls £4 a ton, for money, 1 per mille ⁴ in the case of money shipped by laders for buying commodities.⁵ But for money not to be used in this way, the charge was higher. For the outward journey it was $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and for the return journey $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

The conditions laid down in 1631 ⁶ for a ship sailing to the Levant were slightly different. Here it was fixed that each merchant who laded goods for both journeys should pay a composition sum of £10 per ton for all his goods. Half of the whole amount that was due had to be paid within 2 days after the discharge of the goods, and the remainder within one month after the first payment. But for those who laded for one journey only, the charges were to be a dollar per cloth, and

³ *Min.* December 8, 1625. ⁴ Which is $\frac{1}{10}$ per cent.

⁵ Hence, it would seem, the system of foreign credit and bills was as yet but little used.

⁶ *Min.* October 20, 1631.

other goods in proportion—for the outward journey; and for the homeward journey, 4 shillings per ton for cauls, 6 shillings a ton for cotton, and 7 shillings a ton for fine goods.⁷

Still another variation dates from the year following⁸; it was made for the *Royal Merchant*. The charges here for both journeys were 1 dollar per cloth, 5 dollars a bale for cony skins and other furs as well as for kersies, and 1 dollar per hundredweight for pepper. But for the homeward journey alone all goods without exceptions as to fine or coarse paid 6 shillings a ton.

Minute regulations were issued also with regard to the time each ship should spend on its journey.⁹ In 1616¹⁰ the *Royal Merchant*,

⁷ It will be observed that the figures in each case here are the same as in the first two examples given (see previous page), except that shillings take the place of pounds. It seems remarkable. Perhaps this is due to a slip of the pen on the part of the writer of the minutes. ⁸ *Min.* March 7, 1631.

⁹ This appears to have been a constant theme with the company. In 1630, for example (*Min.* January 20, 1630) the state of the trade is considered to be unsatisfactory, and one of the suggestions was "that the company should again establish an order for joint shipping, set a certain freight as near as may be, limit the time of their departure here and stay abroad."

¹⁰ *Min.* August 2, 1616.

a ship belonging to Mr. Morris Abbott, carried goods to Constantinople for the company and it was directed that she should sail as follows: First to Leghorn, and to stay there 20 days: then to stay 3 days at Zant; 15 days (or in case of need 30 days) at Scanderone, 5 days at Cio, and 20 at Constantinople. On the return journey, she was allowed a stay of 3 days at Cio, and 50 at Scanderone, where she was to take her lading for England. Besides her master, she carried 53 men and a boy. More elaborate were the regulations¹¹ for the *Sampson* which also went to Constantinople. The Master took with him 80 men and boys, and such munition and other things as should be needful for the defence of a ship of such burthen "in those dangerous times." For the same reason, no doubt, it was suggested that another ship be hired to accompany the *Sampson*. From London she went to Leghorn, stayed there 20 days and proceeded to Zant. Only 3 days were allowed her in Zant. Smyrna was her next point and she stayed 5 days there, proceeding to Constantinople for a stay of 30 days, to discharge

¹¹ *Min.* December 8, 1625.

Not
Time
each
journey
was
fixed

what she had brought and to take in lading for home.

One last example shall be quoted, from the year 1631.¹² Leghorn was again the first place of call after London. The ship in question might stay there 15 or 20 days, or indeed so many days as were needed to discharge and relade. From Leghorn she was to make for Zant, stay there 3 days, and then proceed to Scanderone, where she might stay 30 days or more, according to the time she required for discharging. Thence she should make for Cyprus, where 40 days were allowed her, in order that she might be able to take in her lading, half of which at most should consist of cotton wool and cotton yarn.

In 1637¹³ an incident occurred which brought it about that the company decided to add yet another regulation concerning its shipping. It so happened that the *Royal Exchange* had been chosen to sail for Scanderone, but it was found that very few people sent goods to be laden. On enquiry it appeared that there was a fear abroad that

¹² *Min.* December 20, 1631.

¹³ *Min.* July 29, 1637.

she was a crazy vessel. Whereupon the company ordered her to be examined by some of the masters of Trinity House and certain carpenters.¹⁴ They decided that in future all ships before they were taken into the service of the company should be so examined.

¹⁴ This is a copy of the certificate made by the masters of Trinity House—

“At the request of William Browne, master of the good ship called the *Royal Exchange* of London, we whose names are hereunto subscribed, have been aboard and viewed the sufficiency of the said ship, and find her able and sufficient to perform her pretended voyage to Scanderone (and many other by God's assistance). Witness our hands, July 31st, 1637.”

X

PIRATES, INTERLOPERS AND FACTORS

ALL these regulations had the great object in view, expressed or unexpressed, of safeguarding the interests of members of the company and of maintaining their sole rights in the Levant trade. No doubt they proved useful to a large extent. Yet the company had trouble from three sources which was a ^{3 sources of trouble.} constant cause of irritation. There were the "interlopers"—people who were not ^{interlopers} members of the company, yet attempted to enjoy advantages which only members of the company might have. There were secondly, ^{pirates} pirates, and last of all, there were the factors ^{factors} of members of the company resident in all centres of trade in the Levant.

We have already mentioned examples of interloping,¹ which were attempts at nothing less than smuggling. But these were not the

¹ See above, p. 109 ff

only ways of avoiding the company's impositions. A favourite trick appears to have been to enter goods brought from Turkey in the name of some member of the company.² So grave did this trouble become that it was found necessary to take serious steps to check it. A special officer was appointed, who was strengthened by a warrant from the Lord Treasurer, and his duty was to detain all goods brought from Turkey until the owners who came to claim them brought the company's seal to their bill of lading. William Burgess, the company's secretary was appointed to the position, and special instructions were issued to him.³ He was to be daily at the Custom House, in the forenoon : and to see to it that no bill of entry passed unless the company's seal was affixed to it. An interesting suggestion was made with regard to the bills ; the quantity of goods mentioned had to be expressed in words and not merely in figures, in order that no tampering might take place—as seems to have been the case in the past. The official of the

² Cf. *Min.* December 11, 1633 ; December 18, 1633.

³ *Min.* February 17, 1633.

company was to watch the clerks of the Custom House to see that there was no underhand dealing to the prejudice of the company. He was to see also that no member of the company lent his name to merchants who were not freemen of the Company so that these might get in their goods without having to pay the duty.

But while the company could draw close the net around its privileges, so that non-members should not get in easily, they could not protect themselves effectively against *piracy* pirates. Piracy had been the scourge of Mediterranean trade from its earliest beginnings.⁴ The method adopted in the 17th century to combat it was for all the trading companies to combine in fitting out a fleet. In this, of course, the Levant Company were asked to participate. Such a request was made in 1618,⁵ but they replied that their means did not allow of their contributing anything. Nor did they feel it their particular duty to participate in the venture, since

⁴ Cf. Cunningham: *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, II. p. 251; p. 188. Cf. also above, p. 6.

⁵ *Min.* January 25, 1618.

they had been at pains to build strong ships and to man them well both with sailors and ammunition. Besides which, they had ordered all their ships to sail in fleets so that they might the better be able to defend themselves against pirates if they met them.⁶

The levy on the company for fighting the pirates was unpopular, and if the company subscribed anything it was because it had to. In 1619 James had obtained a grant from the trading companies for 2 years for this purpose, and when the period was ended he wished to continue the shipping against the pirates for 3 months longer. Therefore it became necessary to obtain a further grant for this extra period, short though it was. A meeting of the company was called⁷ to agree to another subscription, but there was not a sufficient attendance to proceed with the business. It was feared that unless some

⁶ This order was very often given, e.g. cf. *Min.* March 28, 1622, where it is stated that a special messenger was sent to the ships at Leghorn and Messina, ordering them, if they had not already contracted for another voyage, to sail for Zant and accompany the ships there on their homeward journey.

⁷ *Min.* May 2, 1621.

Means of
protection
against
pirates

stern measures were adopted there would be no obtaining of a sufficient attendance for this purpose. So it was resolved to fine absentees. Every Assistant who was not present would have to pay 5 shillings and every ordinary member half as much. A meeting was thereupon called for the next day, and as the attendance was by no means satisfactory despite the fines, these were raised to double the previous amount—10 shillings on an absent assistant and 5 on an ordinary member.

The question came up again in exactly the same form in 1633. Charles had decided for another fleet against the pirates to the cost of which all the companies should contribute. The message conveying the intention to the Levant Company⁸ stated that the pirates "had done great spoil to his (majesty's) subjects, their persons and goods, and taken many ships, putting the men into captivity and slavery." It was made clear that Charles would have no arguments in the matter, and "if the merchants would not consent and find a way to raise the money, that then his

⁸ *Min.* July 15, 1633.

majesty would." The company had a day or two for making their decision. They waited to see what course of action the other companies would take. At their next meeting⁹ they resolved to petition the Privy Council to be excused a contribution, seeing that they had had bad times recently, and promising to send out a reasonable proportion of shipping against the pirates at their own charge.

Trouble from factors in the East.

The difficulty with regard to pirates is a constant one, but even so it did not appear to trouble the company as much as the factors in the East. To guide the factors in their dealings a mass of rules and regulations was laid down by the company. The factors were the agents in the Levant of members of the company and they were there to do business for their principals. But there was always a strong temptation for them to do business on their own account,¹⁰ and it was to prevent this that the company tried various ways and means.

⁹ *Min.* July 18, 1633.

¹⁰ "By which the principal hath a double prejudice and loss : first, in that the factors prefer the sale of their own commodities, and secondly, that they make use of their principal's money to their own benefit." *Min.* January 20, 1631.

At the court held on 20 January, 1630,¹¹ a letter was read from Mr. Cowley, the company's agent at Zant, in which he informed the company that factors were quite heedless of the regulations in force, and not only were great traders themselves but also dealt for masters of ships. So once again it was laid down by the company that factors were not to trade, exception being made only for Cowley¹² "for his better encouragement."

Yet these regulations made no difference. The factors went on in their old way,¹² and the company saw themselves forced to sterner measures. It was decided to recall all such factors as broke the company's regulations.¹³ Yet, in order to remove temptation from their way, the factors were given power¹⁴ to take a Dollar "upon every thousand of currants he shall lade for England." They might also charge for stiving,¹⁵ for waste of bags and

¹¹ See minutes under this date.

¹² *Min.* June 7, 1631.

¹³ Cf. *Min.* March 2, 1630, where a penalty is laid down as follows: If the offending factors are free of the company they shall be disfranchised; if not free, they shall be made incapable of ever enjoying the freedom. ¹⁴ *Min.* January 25, 1631. ¹⁵ i.e. dusting.

boxes, for the lining and stuffing of the casks, for hoops and nails, and so forth.

But all in vain. The regulations were powerless to check those factors who were intent on avoiding them. Again and again there were complaints against them. In 1638¹⁶ it was even alleged that some of them had stolen the customs; on another occasion¹⁷ that they had exceeded the stint on currants, having bought more than they had agreed to, and pretended that it was done at the order of their employers. Yet again¹⁸ it was asserted that they charged their principals a larger consulage than they actually paid, and¹⁹ that they bought silk at one weight and delivered it out to the account of their principals by another—to their own great profit.

Whether these accusations were true or not, certain it is that the factors made a good deal out of their positions, and were able to live in grand style in consequence. Otherwise there would have been no occasion for

¹⁶ *Min.* February 19, 1638.

¹⁷ *Min.* October 3, 1639.

¹⁸ *Min.* March 23, 1639. ¹⁹ *Min.* June 2, 1636.

the Governor to ask ¹⁹ the Company that they should take some course against "the exorbitant height and excess that their factors abroad do live in for apparel and otherwise." Perhaps one excuse for this was that some of them at any rate were very young.²⁰

²⁰ Cf. *Min.* October 3, 1638, where a letter from the consul at Aleppo was mentioned, in which he asked the company to send no factors to Aleppo "till they were of the age of twenty-two or upwards, and had attained to some settledness in judgment and manners."

XI

CONCLUSION

WE have brought down our consideration of the development of the Levant Company to the year 1640. Perhaps it will be well to finish this portion of our study with quoting certain recommendations made by the company, recommendations which, we take it, summed up and gave expression to the experience of the company during the first three decades of its history. In 1640 the "Honourable Committee for Trade" assembled in the House of Commons (9 June 1640). This committee had already sent out 4 questions to the trading companies regarding their commerce, and like the others, the Levant Company were asked (1) whether there was a decay in their trade; (2) wherein the decay consisted; (3) what was its cause; and (4) how it might be remedied. On 9 July 1640¹ the company considered what

¹ See minutes under that date.

answers should be given to these questions, and among other things, decided to ask that its Charter should be confirmed by Act of Parliament. At the next meeting² the company demanded to be freed from all arrears of impositions on silk, currants and other commodities. They suggested, moreover, that shipping in strange bottoms should be most strictly prohibited, for it was a source of loss to the whole kingdom ; secondly, that a court of merchants should be established for hearing and deciding all controversies which concerned merchants, in a summary and decisive way of justice. This would avoid long and tedious suits in the law courts, which cost much money and wasted much valuable time.

All this is novel ; and therefore a suitable starting point for the second instalment of the History of the Levant Company.

² *Min.* January 12, 1640.

Appendix I

THE CHARTER TO THE COMPANY OF JAMES I.
1605.¹

JAMES by grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, Britnnie, and Ireland, defendor of the faithe, etc., to all our officers, ministers and subjects and all other people as well within this our realme of England as elsewhere within our obeysance and jurisdiction or otherwise unto whome these our lrs² shall be seene shewd or read greeting: whereas the trade of the Signiorie of Venice and the Domynions of the graund Signior hath heretofore bin granted by our late deceased sister Elizabeth of famous memorye late queene of England unto dyverse particuler marchants of our citie of London by twoe generall grauntes of priviledges and hath bin enjoyed

¹ This charter is numbered at the Public Record Office. *F.A. Levant Company, No. 107.*

² i.e. letters.

by those marchants for dyverse yeares by some of the said several grants which grants being determynd and the said trade at this present without government, we being desierous not onely to uphold and mayntayne the trade and traffique of our kingdomes for the increase of our navigacion and the benifit of our subjects but by the best means we may devise to advance and enlarge the same have resolved hereafter not to appropriate the said trade of the Signore of Venice and Turkey to any lymited nombre of marchants nor to anie one cittie towne or place within these our realmes and Domynions nor to suffer the same to be used or enjoyed in anie degree of monopoly but to lay open the same to all our loving subjects using onely the trade of marchandize whoe are willing to enter into the said trade upon such reasonable tearmes and condicions as shall necessarily belong to the supporte of the same. And to that end we have of late intimated our pleasure in this behalfe and have caused notice thereof to be geven by lres wrytten under the hand of our welbeloved cousin Thomas Earle of Dorset our high Treasurer of England to all

our porte Townes within this our realme of England wherein marchants doe reside requyring all such marchants whoe shall be willing to enter into the said trade to repaire unto our cittie of London to the Guildhall of the said cittie and there to conferre with such commissioners as we had or should appoynte in that behalfe. And in their conference to consider not onely of the necessary charge of the said trade of the Signiory of Venice³ [and the Dom] yunion of the graund Signior but of the trade of all other the partes of the levant. And whether the Islandes Portes havens creekes and other places of traffique within the levant seas not heretofore contayned with ³ [in the pri]viledge granted to the said marchants of London weare fitt to be conteyned under one entire government of marchants trading to the levant. And whereas after such intimation made of our pleasure for the e³ [] trade for the general good of our subjects repaire hath bin made by dyverse marchants as well from sondrye other Ports of

³ There is a hole in the MS. here. The words there are presumably those I have put between [].

this our realme of England as of oure Cittie of London to the said place appoynted and sondrye conferences have beine there had betwene our said commissioners and the said marchants touching the said trade and the meanes to mayntaine and supporte the same wherein it hath bin resolved fforasmuch as the late discovery of the trade of the East Indies wherby manie spices druggs silks and marchandize which formerlie weare brought into this realme of England and the Domyions thereof by the trade of Turkey are nowe brought imēdiately from the Indyes to the diminucion of the said trade of Turkey that therefore for the repayre of the said trade it weare convenient that all the Islandes havens ports creekes and all other the places of trade and traffique within the levant or Mediteranean Seas should be annexed and united unto the Priviledges and gouvernement of this trade of the Signiory of Venice and the Domyions of the graund Signior and especiallye for that those Islands havens Portes creekes and other places of marchandizing have their peaceable and safe trafique against the Turkes Galleyes by reason of the capitu-

lacion of intercourse holden by us with the Graund Signior and by the residence of our Ambassador within his Domynions. And whereas it was resolved in the said conference for the necessarie supporte of the said trade that active payment and contribucions should be levyed rated and collected upon all and everie of the marchants which should enter into the Priviledges and freedomes of this trade ffirste by the payment of a reasonable some of money upon their fyrst entry thereunto and afterwarde from tyme to tyme by a rateable levy upon their goodes and marchandizes sent and returned into and from the places of traffique by waye of consulage as three, two or one in the hundred more or less in and out as the necessary charge of the trade shall require wherein one equall and generall rate and proporcion of consulage is to be kepte soe that all mens goodes shall be charged and rated alike upon all which and severall proceedinges in the navigation of the trade aforesaid and upon the desire of diverse of our loving subjects whose names doe hereafter ensue to have the said trade established under a forme of government

manifesting their desire and redyness to enter into the said trade of the Levant by the payment of the severall somes of twentye and fyve poundes by everye of them upon their first entry towards the necessarye supporte of the present charge of the said trade giving their full and free consent to beare and paye upon their goodes to be sent and returned to and from all and everie partes of the said trade such rateable consulage as from tyme to tyme shall be found proporcionable to supporte the future necessarye charge thereof, know ye that we for the considerations aforesaid and for dyverse other good causes and considerations as thereunto especiallye moving, of our especiall greate certaine knowledge and meere mocion have willed ordayned constituted graunted and declared and by these presents for us our heires and successors doe will ordaine constitute graunte and declare that our wel-beloved subjects syr Thomas Lowe, syr John Spencer, syr Thomas Smyth, syr Stephen Soame, syr Robert Lee, syr leonerd holladay, syr Willm Romney and syr John Ffearne knights John Jowles cittizen and alderman

of London, Willm Harborne esquire Richard
 Staper Willm Garrawaye Thomas Cordall
 John Eldred Andrewe Bayning Robert
 Sandy Thomas Symonds Robert Offley
 Robert Coxe Nicholas Leate Roger O'feild (?)
 Richard Aldworth Thomas Garraway Nicho-
 las Salter Richard Martyn Thomas Farring-
 ton John Bate Morris Abbott Willm Ffree-
 man Jeffery Kirby Hugh Hammersley
 Thomas Bostock Humfrey Robinson Raphe
 Ffiche George Salter William Kellett Thomas
 Cowley Thomas Juett William Wastell
 Edward Abbott Phillip Dawkins Simon
 Broadstreate John Dyke Thomas Sowth-
 arcke Richard Wright Thomas Cutler Olyver
 Style George Holman James Cullimer
 Richard Wich Giles Parslowe William Harri-
 son William Gowerson William Angell Wil-
 liam Greenewell Andrew Ellim Samuell Hare
 Richard Ven Lionel Cranfield William
 Massam Robert Harvy Richard Coxe
 Thomas Style Richard Talboys William
 Heynes Robert Angell John Cornellis Richard
 Deane Richard Husband Thomas Wright
 John Humfrey William Gunnell William
 Hynde William Walton John Skeete Clem-

ent Edmonds Raphe Harrison John Deanes
 Robert Johnson Richard Champion Edward
 Barkeham John Banckes Samuell Armitage
 Christofer Nicholls William Turnor Richard
 Allen Humfrey Smyth John Bushbridge
 William Wodder Robert Middleton Robert
 Bateman Henry Barefoote Richard Cham-
 pion Anthony Skinner William Anys Henry
 Bridgman Lawrence Wetherall John Green-
 wood Thomas Havers William Russell George
 Wright William Millet Andrew Holdippe
 Robert Spence Thomas Boothbye Humfrey
 Milward William Dunckombe John Cooper
 William Clarke George May Thomas Ed-
 wardes Raphe Ffreeman Lawrence Greene
 Robert Bowyer John Holloway David
 Bourne Richard Welby and John Rayney
 marchants of our realme of England and
 their and everie of their sonnes whatsoever
 and all and everie other marchant and mar-
 chants which shall hereafter from tyme to
 tyme be admytted or made free in such manner
 and forme as hereafter in these presents is
 declared and specified and their and everie
 of their sonnes whatsoever shall be one
 fellowship, and one bodye corporate and

pollitique in deede and in name by the name of Governor and company of marchants of England trading into the Levant Seas. And them by the name of Governor and company of marchants of England trading into the levant Seas one bodye corporate and pollitique indeede and in name really and fully for us our heires and successors we doe erecte name constitute and declare by these presents and that by the same name of Governor and company of marchants of England trading into the levant seas they shall have perpetuell succession and that they and their successors by the name of Governor and company of marchants of England trading into the levant Seas be and shall be at all tymes hereafter one fellowshipe and one bodye corporate and pollitique and capable in lawe to have purchase receive possesse enjoye and retayne mannors mesuages landes tenements liberties priviledges franchises jurisdictiones and hereditaments of whatsoever kynde nature forme and quallitie they shall be to them their successors in fee or perpetuitie or otherwise for tearme of lyfe or yeares. And alsoe to give graunte alien lett assigne and dispose

manors mesuages landes tenements and hereditaments and to doe and execute all and singuler other acts and things whatsoever by the same name. And that they and their successors by the name of Governor and company of marchants of England trading into the levant seas maye sue and be sued pleade and be impleaded aunswere and be answered unto defend and be defended in whatsoever courtes and places and before whatsoever judges and before all psons⁴ officers and mynisters of us our heires and successors whatsoever within this our realme of England and other our Domynions whatsoever in all and singuler pleas, actons, suites quarrells causes and demandes whatsoever of whatsoever kynde nature or sorte in such manner and forme as anie other our leige people of this our realme of England or other our Domynions being parsons able and capeable in law may or can have purchase receive possesse enjoye retaine geve graunte demyse alien assign dispose plead and be impleaded answeare and be answered defend and be defended doe pmet⁵ and execute. And that

⁴ i.e. persons.

⁵ i.e. permit.

the said Governor and companye of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors maye have a comon seale to serve for all the causes and businesses of them and their successors. And that it shall and may be lawfull to the said Governor and company of marchants of England trading into the Levant Seas and their successors the same seale at their will and pleasure to breake change alter and make newe as to them shall seem expedient. And further we will and by these presents for us our heires and successors we doe ordaine that there shall be from henceforth for ever hereafter one of the said companye to be elected and appointed in such forme as hereafter in these presents is expressed which shall be called the Governor of the said company of marchants of England trading into the levant Seas. And for the better execucion of this our will and graunte in that behalf we have assigned named constituted and made and by these presents for us our heires and successors we doe assign name constitute and make our welbeloved subject Syr Thomas Lowe Knight and alderman of our cittie of

London to be the first and present Governor of the said company by vertue of these our lres patent to contynue in the said office from the date of these presents for the space of one whole yeare nexte ensuying and from thence untill another of the said companie shall in due manner be chosen and sworne to the said office according to the ordinances and provisions hereafter in these presents expressed and declared yf be the said Syr Thomas Lowe shall soe long lyve. And further we will and ordeyne and by these presents for us our heires and successors we graunte that from henceforth for ever there shall be eightene of the best and discreetest parsons of the said company resident and remayning within our cittie of London or the libties ⁶ thereof, the which eightene parsons shall be and be called the assistants of the said companie for all things matters causes and businesses of the said companie in all things towching [and] ⁷ concerning the good rule state and government of the same.

⁶ i.e. liberties.

⁷ There is a blank here in the MS. I assume the word left out is "and."

And that they maye and shall be from tyme to tyme assistantes and ayders to the said Governor or his Deputie or Deputies for the time being in all causes or matters towching or concerning the said companie. And for the better executing of this our graunte we have assigned nomynated constituted and made and by these presents for us our heires and successors we doe assign nomynate constitute and make the said Richard Stapers Thomas Cordall Nicholas Leate Thomas Symonds Robert Sandy Hugh Hammersley John Bate Morris Abbott Jeffrey Kyrby William Greenewell William Harryson Samuell Hare Robert Harvye William Massam William Duncombe William Gowerson Anthonye Skynner and George Holman to be the first and present assistants of the said companie from the date of these presents for the tearme of one whole yeare nexte ensuyng and from thence untill they or eighteene others of the said companie shall in due manner and forme be sworne into the said office according to the ordinances and provisions hereafter in these presents expressed and declared. And further we will and by

these presents for us our heires and successors doe graunte unto the said Governor and companye of the marchants of England trading unto the levant seas and their successors that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Assistants of the said companye for the tyme being or the greater part of them present at anie publique assembly comonly called the generall court for the said companye whereof the Governor of the said companye for the tyme being allwayes to be one from tyme to tyme with the consent of the greater parte of the said companye assembled at such generall courte to electe⁸ [nominate] and appoynte one of the said companye abiding and dwelling within our said Cittie of London to be Deputie to the said Governor for the tyme being for and concerning the matters and businesses of the said companie. And likewise one other pason of the said companye to be Deputie to the said Governor in everie other Cyttie Towne and Porte within this our realme wherein anye⁹

⁸ I cannot quite make the next word out. I take it to be "nominate."

⁹ The second page of the charter commences here.

marchant free of the said companye shall be inhabiting or resident which Deputie and Deputies shall and may from tyme to tyme in the absence of the Governor exercize and execute the office of Governor in such sorte as the said Governor ought to do. And shall contynewe in the said offyce or offyces of Deputie or Deputies to the said Governor duering the pleasure of the said Governor assistants and companye for the tyme being or the most part of them. And to be removed when the Governor and the Assistants or the greater parte of them together with the assent of the greater parte of the said companye present at anie generall Courte the Governor for the tyme being being one shall thinke fitt. And furthermore for the greater encrease and advancement of trade and traffique and for the enriching of our loving subjects being meere marchants we doe for us our heires and successors straightly charge and commande the said Governor and companye of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors That they and their successors shall from time to time and at all times hereafter admytt

and receave into their said companye and to be free of the same all and everie such pson and psns being subjects of us our heires and successors as nowe are or hereafter shall be meere marchants above thage of Twentie and syxe yeares and not within his or their apprenticeshippe and which by the lawes and statutes of this our realme maye lawfullye use the trade of marchandize from or into our realme of England Soe as such pson or psons require to be made free of the said companye before the feaste of the Anunciation of our blessed ladye saint mary the virgin nexte ensuying the date of this our graunte And shall offer and paye unto the said Governor and companie for the tyme being at the tyme of his or their admyttance the some of Twentie and fyve poundes for his or their freedome in that behalfe and that they and their successors shall alsoe from tyme to tyme admytt and receave into their said companye and to be free of the same all and everye such pson and psons being subjects of us our heires and successors as nowe be or hereafter shall be meere marchants and by the lawes and statutes of this realme may

lawfully use the trade of marchandize from or into the Realme of England which now are or hereafter shall happen to be under the age of sixe and Twentie yeares or not oute of his or their appreticeshippe soe as such pson or psons doe and shall require to be free of the said companye within one yeare nexte after he or they attaine the age of sixe and Twentie yeares or within one yeare nexte after the end of his or their appreticeshippe. And shall offer and paye to the said Governour or his said Deputie for the tyme being and companye at the tyme of his or their admittance the some of ffyve and Twentie poundes for his freedome in that behalfe. And that they and their successors shall alsoe from tyme to tyme admit and receive unto the said fellowshippe and to be free of the same all and everie such pson and psons being subjects of us our heires and successors as nowe be or hereafter shall be meere marchants and which by the lawes and statutes of this realme of England may lawfullie use the trade of marchandize from or into this realme of England soe as such pson or psons having neglected to be made

free before the said feaste of the Anunciacion of our blessed ladye sainte marye the virgin next¹⁰ [ensuyng] the date hereof or which at any tyme heereafter shall neglect to be made free of the said companye within one yeare nexte after he or they shall attaine the full age of Twentie-six yeares or within one yeare after the ende of his or their apprenticeshippe as is aforesaid doe and shall require to be made free of the same companye at anie tyme whensoever after the said feaste and shall offer and paye unto the said Governor or his said Deputy for the tyme being and companye at the tyme of his or their admittance the some of ffyftie pounds for his freedome in that behalfe. And our further will and pleasure is and we doe hereby graunte unto the said Governor and company of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and to their successors that all and everie the sonnes of all and everie such as are or shall be of the said companie or corporation and also all their apprentices imployed in that trade by the space of three

¹⁰ There is a hole here in the MS. I take it the word is "ensuyng."

yeares or upwardes within the signiories and Domynions aforesaid whither those yeares of imployment be wholly within their apprentishippes or partelie within their apprentishippes and partlye after their apprentishippes ended and whether those yeares of imployment be jointly together or at severall tymes amounting to three yeares or upwardes shall from tyme to tyme at all tymes hereafter after their severall apprenticeshippes fullye ended and wholly imployed in the service of their masters uppon presenting of their and everie or anie of their name or names unto the said Governor and company of marchants and uppon payment of the some Twentie shillings onely for the freedome of eache and everie such sonne or apprentice unto such officer or other pson as by the said Governor and company for the tyme being shall be appoynted for the Receipte thereof shall and may be admytted and becomee free of the said companie and corporacion of Governor and company of marchants of England trading into the levant seas. And towching such apprentices of all and everie pson or psons as are or shall be

of the same companie or corporacon which duering their apprentishippe are not or shall not be employed in the said trade by the space of three yeares or upwardes within the signiories and Domynions aforesaid: Our will and pleasure is that everie or anie pson or psons nowe being or which hereafter shall be of the said companie or Corporation shall or maye once in everie seaven yeares nexte ensuyng the date hereof make one such his apprentice free of this company or corporation albeit the same apprentice have not been employed as aforesaid paying at his admysion to be free of the said companie the some of Twentie shillings unto such officer or other pson as by the said Governor and companie for the tyme being shall be appoynted for the receipte thereof as is aforesaid And whereas dyverse and sondrye of our subjects have been bounde apprentices and have served their full apprentishipp with several psons which weare of the former societie of the marchants of London trading the levant seas and have been employed in the said trade in the service of their masters by the space of three yeares or more and by

reason of the dissolving of the former societie have not bein made free of the said trade according to the tenor of their Indentures of Apprentishipp our will and pleasure is and we do heereby ordaine and appoint the said Governor and Company for the tyme being to admitt into the freedome of this present company of marchants of England trading the levant seas such and soe many of our said subjects as shall have bein so imployed and have served their said apprentishippes paying such reasonable ffynes upon their said admyssions as to the said Governor and companye or the more parte of them for the tyme being the Governor for the tyme being being one shalbe thoughte meete and reasonable so as the same ffyne soe to be payd by everie such pson upon his admyssion as aforesaid do not excede the some of Twentie nobles. And our further will and pleasure is and by these presents for us our heires and successors we will and graunte unto the said Governor and companye of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and to their successors that all and singuler such some and some of monie as at anie tyme or tymes

hereafter shall be due received or paid for or in respecte of anie admittance or admittances into the said Incorporation of Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas by force and vertue of these presents shall from tyme to tyme be ymployed and bestowed to and for the use and behoofe of the said Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas for and towards the discharging and defraying of the debtes and moneyes taken upp in Turkye by the Ambassador and consulls there resident upon such marchants and others as have traded those partes since the decease of the said late queene Elizabeth over and besides such due consulage as those marchants weare to paye upon their goodes traded for and towards the mayntenance of the said ambassador and consulls duering that tyme and for and towards such other debtes and arrerages as doe depend upon the said former Societie and which weare by them owing before the dissolving of their former priviledges Provided allwaies that no pson or psons which be or shall be admitted into this company or fellow-

shipp in manner and forme as is aforesaid other then such onely as heretofore in the tyme of the said late queene Elizabeth and duering the contynewance of the former lres patent of freedome and priviledge of the said trade were free of the societie of marchants of london trading into the levant seas shalbe charged with the payment of anie debtes charges or payment owing or payable by the said former societie or fellowship concerning the mayntenance of the said trade or for other debtes charges or arrerages for anie cause belonging to the said trade growing due before the feaste of saint michaell the archangell last past before the date of these presents But that all such debtes arrerages charges and payments soe formerlie due shall be defrayed by the marchants which had and enjoyed the former liberties priviledges lres patents of the said late queene Elizabeth toward the levying and cleering of all which former debts payments and charges before the said feaste of sainte michaell the archangell last past soe due by the said former societie we doe hereby authorice and appoynt the marchants formerly

interested in the said trade of the levant seas by force of the former lres patents not onely to receave and retaine of the monies which shall be collected and received for thadmysion of ffreemen into this company all such admyssion monies as shall be due as well by themselves for their severall admyssions as by others that weare not of the former priviledges but alsoe to collecte and gather in all such debtes and dueties which weare due and owing eyther by waye of consulage imposicons or otherwise unto the former societie before the dissolving of the said former priviledges untill the moneye by them to be collected uppon the said debtes dueties and admyssion money shall arrise to the some of eight Thowsand poundes sterling out of which eight thowsand poundes they shall defraye all the said debtes arrerages and charges due and owing or otherwise formerlye growing uppon the said trade for the charge of the ambassador and consulls resident in Turkey and alsoe all other charges depending uppon the said trade from tyme to tyme formerlie growen due untill the said feast of saint michael tharchangell last past before the

date hereof. And shall alsoe with the said allowance of eight Thowsand poundes content themselves for the charges heretofore by them expended uppon such houses and furniture of house and warehouses appertayning and belonging to the said late societie And to leave the same houses and furniture to the use of this present Governor and companye of merchants of England trading into the Levant seas and their successors allwaies excepted one warehowse at Petrasse which particularly and soly doth appertaine to Richard Staper of London marchant and that the overplus which shall arrise and growe out of all and everie the said debtes dueties and admyssion money over and besides the said some of eighte Thousand poundes shall from tyme to tyme hereafter be employed by the said Governor and company for and towards the yearlie charges which shall hereafter growe for the contyneuance and mayntenance of the said companie. And our will and pleasure is and by these presents for us our heires and successors of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere mocion wee doe will and graunt that yf anie of our

loving subjects being a meere marchant or meere marchants and which for anie some or some or other consideracons agreable to the articles and clauses before mentioned mighte or oughte to be admytted into the said corporation of Governor and company of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and according to the true entent and meaning of these presents shall uppon reasonable request and uppon payment or tender of such some or some of money or pformance of such other consideracons as is afore-said be refused by the said Governor and companie to be admytted and made free of the said companye contrarie to the true entent and meaning hereof Then we for us our heires and successors doe graunte and ordaine by these presents that everie such pson and psons soe being refused shall be free of the said companye and a member of the said Incorporacon these presents or anie thing therein conteyned to the contrarie notwithstanding And further we will and by these presents for us our heires and successors we doe graunte to the said Governor and company of marchants of England trad-

ing into the levant seas and their successors That the said Governor for the tyme being or his Deputie with the assent and consent of the said assistants or the greater parte of them together with the greater parte of the said companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas assembled at a generall courte maye and shall have power to name choose and appointe at their will and pleasure from tyme to tyme one or more of the said companie to be the consull consulls or vice-consulls of the said Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas in all such places of the Signiorie of Venice the Domynions of the Graund Signior and other places within the levant as they shall thinke meete which consulls or vice consulls shall be resident in such place and places as the said Governor and Assistants of the ffellowshipp aforesaid or the greater parte of them together with the assent of the greater parte of the said companie present at any courte or assembly shall thinke meete and ¹¹ convenient. And that for the said consull and consulls and

¹¹ Page 3 of the charter commences here.

vice consulls and everie of them soe named and chosen shall have authoritie and power to governe all singuler marchants being subjects of us our heires and successors as well of the said company as others which be not of the said companie and theirre ffactors agents and servants trading marchandize into the signiorie of Venice the Domynions of the graunde Signior and other places aforesaid And to administer to them and everie of them full speedie and expedite justice in all theirre plaintes causes and contencions amongst them begune and to be begune in the said Domynions of the Signiorie of Venice and the graunde Signior and other places aforesaid and to pacifie decide and determyne all and all manner of questions discordes and strifes amongst them in anie the Signiorye Domynions and places aforesaid moved and to be moved for the better government of the said marchants in the Signiorye Domynions and places aforesaid for the tyme being And alsoe that the said consull consulls and vice consulls and everie of them resident in the said Signiorye Domynions and places aforesaid shall have full power and lawfull

authoritie to doe and execute all thinges which by the said Governor or his Deputie and Assistants of the said companie for the tyme being or the more parte of them together with the assent of the said companie resident in London present at anie courte or assembly shall be unto the said consull or consulls and vice consulls and everie of them in the said Signiorye Domynions and places aforesaid for the tyme being prescribed and appoynted according to the Statutes actes and ordinances of the said companie Soe as anie of the ordinances orders direccions and constitucions soe to be prescribed be not to the hinderance of the trade of anie of the said companie behaving him or themselves duelye and orderlye as becomēth good marchants of the said companye without anie fraudulent or disorderly attempte or practize And that it shall be lawfull for the said Governor and companie and their successors the said consull or consulls or vice consulls and everie of them to change and remove at their pleasure. And further we will and for us our heires and successors by these presents doe graunte unto the said Governor

and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors that they or the greater parte of them whereof the said Governor or his Deputie for the tyme being to be one from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter shall and may have auctoritie and power yearely and everie yeare upon the ffirst day of ffebruarie or at anie tyme within ffowerteene dayes after that daye to assemble and meete together in some convenient place within the cittie of london to be appoynted from tyme to tyme by the said Governor or in his absence by his Deputie for the tyme being And that being soe assembled yt shall and maye be lawfull to and for the said Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas for the tyme being or the greater parte of them which then shall happen to be present whereof the Governor or his Deputie for the tyme being to be one to electe and nominate one of the said companie which shall be Governor of the said companie for one whole yeare from thence nexte following and from thence untill one other of the said companie shall in due manner be chosen and sworne

unto the said office according to the true meaning of these presents And after the said Governor soe chosen yt shall be likewise lawfull to the said Governor and companye for the tyme being or the greater parte of them as ys aforesaid to electe ordayne nomynate and appoynte one other of the said companie resident within our said Cittie of London which shall be Deputie to the said Governor for one whole yeare from thence following and from thence untill another of the said companie shall in due manner be chosen unto the said office according to the true meaning of these presents. And after the said Deputie soe chosen it shall be alsoe lawfull unto the said Governor and companye for the tyme being or the greater parte of them as is aforesaid to nomynate elect and appoynt eighteene of the best and most discrete psons of the said companie inhabiting within the cittie of London or the liberties thereof to be assistants to the said Governor and companie for one whole yeare then nexte following and from thence forth untill a newe eleccion of Assistants of the said companye shall be made which said severall psons so

nomynated elected and chosen to the severall offices aforesaid before they shall enter into execucion of anie of the said severall offices shall take their corporall oathes before the laste Governor or his Deputie Assistants and companie or the greater parte of them psent at such courte or assembly that they shall duely and truelie execute their said offices whereunto they shall be severally chosen in all things concerning the same. And that the said laste Governor or his Deputie shall have full power and authoritie from tyme to tyme to give and mynister to the said severall psons soe elected and chosen the said oathe accordinglye. And if it shall happen the said Governor the said Deputie or Assistants or anie of them to dye or uppon juste cause to be removed from the execucon of anie of their said places as before the tyme of the yearelie eleccion of the said officers by these presents assigned for anie misdemeanor by them comytted in the execucōn of their said office for which cause it shall be lawfull for the said companie at their generall assemblye in the presence of the Governor or his Deputie and the greater number of

thassistants together with the consent of the greater number of the companie assembled to displace anie officer formerlie chosen That then and soe often the said Governor and companie or his deputie with the greater number of Assistants with the assent of the greater number of the companie present at their generall courte to electe and choose soe manie pson or psons of the said companie as shall supplie the place or places of every pson or psons soe dying or being removed as aforesaid. And furthermore our will and pleasure is and by these presents for us our heires and successors we doe graunte to the said Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors that it shall and maye be lawfull to and for the Governor or his Deputie or Deputies and to the said Assistants and companie and their successors for the tyme being or the greater parte of them for ever to assemble themselves for or about anie the matters causes affaires or businese of the said companie in anie place or places for the same convenient within our cittie of london or our Realme of England and there

to houlde Courte for the said companie and the affaires thereof. And that alsoe it shall and may be lawfull to and for them or the more parte of them being soe assembled and then present in anie such place or places whereof the Governor for the tyme being or his Deputie to be one to make ordaine and establishe statutes lawes orders constitucions and ordinances as well for the good rule and governement of the said Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors as of all and singuler other subjects of us our heires and successors entermedling or by anie means exercizing marchandize in anie parte of the Signiorie of Venice or the Domynions of the Graund Signior and other places within the levant seas and the same lawes orders constitucions and ordinances soe had and made to putt in use and execute accordinglie and at their pleasure to revoake the same or anie of them as occasion shall require. And that the said Governor and companie or the greater parte of them present at anie courte or assembly as often as they shall make ordeyne or establishe anie such statutes lawes

orders constitucions or ordinances in forme aforesaid shall and maye lawfullie ordaine lymitt and provide such paynes punyshments and penalties by ymprisonment of bodie or by fynes and amercements or by all or anie of them to be extended upon and against all and everie offenders contrarie to such statutes lawes orders constitucions and ordinances or anie of them as to the said Governor and companie for the tyme being or the greater parte of them then and there being present or assembled the Governor or in his absence his said Deputie being allwaies one shall seeme necessarie requisite or convenient for the observacion of the same statutes lawes constitucions orders and ordinances And the same ffynes and amerciaments shall and maye levy take and have to the use of the said Governor and companye and their successors without the ympeachment or lett of us our heires or successors and without anie accompte therefore to us our heires or successors to be rendered or made. All and singuler which statutes lawes constitucions orders and ordinances soe as aforesaid to be made we will to be observed

performed and kept under the paines and penalties therein to be conteyned soe as the same statutes lawes constitucōns orders and ordinances forfeitures and penalties be not contrarie or repugnant to the lawes and statutes of this Realme nor contrarie repugnant or derogatorie to anie treatise leagues capitulacions or covenants betwene us our heires or successors and anye other Prince or Potentate made or to be made nor tending to the hinderance of the trade and traffique of anie of the same companie behaving hym or themselves duellie and orderlie as becometh good marchants of the said companie without anie fraudulent or disordered attemptes or practices. And also wee will and by these presents for us our heires and successors wee doe graunte to the said Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors that the said Governor or his Deputie or Deputies and assistants aforesaid or the more parte of them for the tyme being together with the consent of the greater parte of the companie assembled at a generall courte may and shall have full and whole

power and auctoritie from tyme to tyme at their will and pleasure to asseſse and sett reasonable and convenient ſōmes of money as well upon the marchandize to be transported or carried out of this Realme of England or Domynions of the same into the Signiorye of Venice and the Domynions of the Graund Signior and other places within the levant seas or anie the partes or Domynions thereof as alsoe upon all other marchandize to be transported out of the said Signiorye of Venice and the Domynions of the Grand Signior and other places within the levant seas or anie the partes or Domynions thereof in or to this Realme of England or Domynions of the same or elsewhere And upon everie shipp laden with the said marchandize as to them shall seeme requisite and convenient for the com̄on proffit and sustentacōn of the necessarie and reasonable stipendes and other charges of the said companie and corporacōn whether such ſōmes of money soe sett either upon the goodes or shippes used in the said trade be rated by waye of consulage or otherwise. And further we will and by these presents for us our heires and successors doe

graunte to the said Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors [that]¹² yf anie of the said companie or other pson or psons which shall use the trade of marchandize into the said Domynions of Turkey the Signiorie of Venice and other places of traffique within the levant seas or anie parte thereof shall refuse to paie or shall not paie the said somes of money soe assessed or to be assessed or sett upon their marchandize or shippes as aforesaid or shall offend or doe against the advancement of the said trade and traffique and the comon proffitt of the priviledges or liberties of the said companie in and by these presents to the said Governor and companie graunted or contrairie to anie article clause or graunte herein contayned or againste anie statute acte or ordinances by the said Governor or his Deputie or Deputies or Assistants aforesaid or the greater parte of them in manner and forme aforesaid made or hereafter to be made or shall refuse to paye the said some or somes of money

¹² The word is so faint in the MS. that it can scarcely be read. I take it to be "that."

ffyne or ffynes forfeiture or forfeitures or penalties due assessed or appoynted to be by them payed to the said Governor or his Deputie or Deputies and Assistants aforesaid by the said actes or ordinances or anie of them Or yf anie pson or psons whatsoever by anie means directlie or indirectlie or by waye of complainte or by anie other cautell devise consideracōn or intelligence with anie forraigne Prince Potentate or magistrate or with any stranger borne attempte or cause to be attempted or breake violate or make void these our priviledges or anie of them or anie article in these presents contayned to the said Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas graunted whether it be within this our Realme of England or else where That then and soe often it shall and maye be lawfull to the said Governor or his Deputie and to the said Assistants or the greater parte of them which shall be then present at anie courte or assemblie and their successors for the tyme being and to the consull consulls or vice consulls to be appoynted and established in the Signiories of Venice the Domynions of

the Graund Signior and other places of trafique in the levant seas as aforesaid and to the Deputie and Deputies or anie other officer established or appoynted in anie Porte Towne or other place in this our realme of England by the said Governor and companie for the tyme being such obstinate offendórs and ill doers to chastice and correcte by imprisonment or otherwise by fyne amercement or other reasonable punyshment according to the quallitie of the faulte or offence as by the said Governor for the tyme being or his Deputie and the said assistants or the greater parte of them for the tyme being which shall be then soe present and assembled shall be ordered and adjudged And that then and soe often it shall be lawfull to and for the said Governor or his Deputie and the said assistants or the greater parte of them for the tyme being present at anie courte or assembly or to and for their officer and officers in that behalfe by them appoynted and aucthorised to enter into anie house shoppe warehouse celler or shippe where anie goodes or marchandize of such offendor or offenders or pson or psons soe refusing to paye the said

ffynes and penalties imposed on hym or them shall be or remaine and the same goodes or marchandizes to distraine and the¹³ distresse and distresses there founde to take seize carrye away detaine and keepe untill the same fynes and penalties and everie of them shall be fullye satisfied contented and paide to the said Governor Deputie or assistants according to the true entent and meaning of these presents. And for that diverse psons our subjects being not brought upp [to]¹⁴ marchandize or use of traffique but altogether ignorant and inexpert aswell in¹⁵ the order and rule of marchandize as in the lawes and customes in the Domynions of Turkye Signiorie of Venice and other places of traffique in the levant seas And in the customes usages tolls and values of moneyes weightes and measures and in all other thinges belonging to marchandize verye necessarie through their Ignorance and lacke of know-

¹³ Page 4 of the MS. commences here. It is the uppermost full page, consequently the lower half is rather dirty and therefore somewhat more difficult to read than the rest.

¹⁴ This word is illegible. I take it to be "to."

¹⁵ This word is repeated in the MS.

ledge do comytt manie inconveniences and absurdities as we are informed to the offence of us and the graund Signior We willing to prevent and meete with such inconveniences and intending to helpe the experte and exercised marchants in their honest and lawfull trade and to establishe good order and governement in the said trade of our ample and abundant grace certaine knowledge and meere mocion have graunted and by these presents for us our heires and successors doe graunte unto the said Governor and companye of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors That they onelye which nowe are or hereafter shall be of this Incorporacion or free of this companie and none other shall have use and enjoye anie trade or traffique or anie libertie use or priviledge of trading or traffiquing and using the trade and seate of marchandize in or to the Signiorie of Venice the Gulfe of Venice the State of Ragousa or anie other state or Governement within the Gulf of Venice or in or to anie parte of them or anie of them or in or to anie the places of trade and traffique within anie the Domynions of the Graund

Signior or anie parte of them or in or to anie other parte of the levant or mediterranean seas or anie the Islands citties Townes Portes havens creekes or places of traffique within the said levant or mediterranean seas other then to these Islands citties Townes Portes havens creekes or places of traffique within the said levant or mediterranean seas hereafter pticulerlie mencioned which formerlie weare not pcell¹⁶ of the priviledges heretofore graunted to the former societie videlt¹⁷ Carthagea Allegant Denia Valencia Barcelona Marcelles Tolone Genua Legorne Naples Civita Vecha Palermo Mecena Malta Majorca Minorcha Corsica and all other ports and places of trade uppon the severall costs of Spaine ffrance and Tuscan or anie of them To all which severall Islandes citties Townes Portes havens creekes and places of traffique being not pcell of the priviledges graunted to the said former societie Our will and pleasure is that it shall and maye be lawfull to all or anie of our loving subjects trading marchandize albeit they be not free of this Incorporacion to use trade and traffique under the pay-

¹⁶ i.e. parcell.

¹⁷ i.e. videlicet.

ment and condicions hereafter expressed And therefore we will and by vertue of our prerogative royall do straightlie charge command and prohibite for us our heires and successors all the subjects of us our heires and successors of what degree or quallitie soever they be that none of them directly or indirectlie doe visitt haunt frequent or trade traffique or adventure by waye of marchandize into and from the said Signiory of Venice the Golfe of Venice the State of Ragousa or anie other state or gouvernement within the Golfe of Venice or into or from anie the places of trade and traffique within the Domynions of the graund Signior or anie parte thereof or in or to anie other parte of the levant or mediterranean Seas except before excepted other then the said Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors and such pticuler psons as nowe be or hereafter shall be of that company their ffactors agents servants and assignes upon payne not onelie to incurre our indignacion but alsoe to paye unto the said Governor and companie their Deputies consulls and officers employed eyther

within this our Realme of England or in anie the partes within the Domynions Signiories and places aforesaid by waye of fyne for such their contemptes consulage or impositions after the rate of Twentie uppon the hundred according to the valewe of their goodes soe traded into the places where their goodes or shippes shall be founde anie lawe statute custome or ordinance heretofore made or put in use to the contrarie thereof notwithstanding Provided alwaies and our expresse will and meaning is this priviledge notwithstanding that the Islands citties Townes havens Portes Creekes and other places of Traffique within the levant or mediterranean seas before these presents ptcularly mentioned and expressed which formerlie weare not pcell of the priviledges of the said former societie shall not be soe united and annexed to the present priviledge of this companie But that it shall be lawfull to all and everie pson and psons our naturall subjects trading marchandize to visite anie of those Islands havens portes creekes and places of trade albeit they be not free of this fellowshipe soe longe as they shall be willing to paye and doe paye

unto the said Governor and companie and to their successors consulls and other officers resident in those places such consulage as shall be by the general courte of the said companie reasonablye rated and assessed uppon such shippes and marchandize as shall from tyme to tyme be sent or traded into anie of the said Islands havens Portes creekes and places of traffique being noe other than such or the like rates which shall be assessed to be paide and borne aswell by the bretheren of the said companie for their trade in those places as by such as are not or shall not be free of the same. And further of our more especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere mo^ocon we will and by these presents for us our heires and successors graunte to the said Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governor and companie as alsoe the said consull consulls or vice consulls in the Domynions of Turkey the Signiorie of Venice and other places of traffique within the levant seas for the tyme being or the greater parte of them which shall be present at anie courte or assem-

bly all and singuler the subjects of us our heires and successors not being of the said companye of marchants of England trading into the levant seas within the Signiorie of Venice Ragousa the Gulfe of Venice and the Domynions of the graunde Signior which shall attempte to use marchandize in the said Signiories and Domynions aforesaid contrarie to the forme and tenor of these presents to punishe at their will and pleasure according to their statutes and ordinances []¹⁸ and free lie and lawfullie compell them and everie of them to desist their attemptes by fynes mulcts imprisonment and other paynes And that all and singuler paines forfeitures and amercements leavied and collected or to be levied and collected for the violation or not observing of anie acts lawes statutes or ordinances by the Governor or his Deputie and the said assistants and companie or the greater parte of them for the tyme being present or assembled made or to be made shall be leavied by distresse or by anie other lawfull way or meanes as the said Governor

¹⁸ The passage is difficult to decipher. It looks like "viz. of this —," the last word being illegible

and Assistants of the said Companie or the greater number of them for the tyme being present at anie courte or assembly shall thinke meete and shalbe ymployed to the use and behoofe of the said Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors. And further we straightlie charge comānde and by these presents prohibitt all and singuler Customers comptrollers and collectors of custome pondage and subsidies and all our ffermors of all our customes subsidies and impositions and all other officers aswell within the Porte of our cittie of London as in all other our Ports within our Realme of England to whom it shall appertaine and everie of them That they or anie of them by themselves their clarkes or substitutes shall not take entrie of anie goodes wares or marchandize to be transported into the Domynions of Turkey the Signiorie of Venice or anie other places of traffique within the levant seas aforesaid or make anie agreement for anie custome poundage or other subsidie for anie such goodes wares or marchandize to be transported into the Domynions of Turkey

the Signiorye of Venice or anie other place within the levant seas aforesaid But onely of such pson or psons as is or shall be free of the said companie by vertue of these our lres patents. And for the better and more suer observacion thereof we will and graunte for us our heires and successors by these presents That the lorde Treasurer of England Chancellor and Barons of the Exchequer of us our heires and successors for the tyme being or anie three or more of them whereof the said lord Treasurer for the tyme being to be one by force of these presents or thinrollment thereof in the saide courte of Exchequer at all and everie tyme and tymes hereafter at and uppon the request of the said Governor and companie for the tyme being their attorney or attorneys Deputie or assignes shall and maye make and directe under the seale of the said courte one or more sufficient writt or writts close or patent unto everie or anie our said customers or other officers unto whome it shall appertaine comāunding them and everie of them therebie that they nor anie of them at anie tyme or tymes hereafter shall take entrie of anie goodes wares or

marchandizes to be transported into the Domynions of Turkey the Signiorye of Venice or anie other places of traffique within the levant seas aforesaid with anie pson or psons whatsoever other then with or in the name of the said Governor and companie aforesaid or with or in the name of some pson or psons that is or shall be free of the said companie by vertue of these our lres patents Willing hereby and straitly charging and comāunding all and singuler Admiralls vice admiralls Justices mayors sheriffs Escheators constables Bayliffes and all and singuler other our officers ministers liegemen and subjects whatsoever to be ayding or favoring helping and assisting unto the said Governor and companie and to their officer and officers agents and ministers in the executing and enjoying the premisses. And further our will and pleasure is and we doe by these presents for us our heires and successors ordaine and appoynte that all and everie pson and psons which by vertue and force of these presents are and shall be admtyttd and made free of the said corporacōn of Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant

seas shall at the tyme of his and their admittance before the said Governor or his Deputie and flower of the assistants of the said companie for the tyme being take his and their corporall oathe and oathes for his and their good behaviour in the companie aforesaid And for the pformance of all the lawfull orders and ordinances made and to be made for the good government of the said companie. And that the said Governor or his Deputie shall have full power and auctoritie by these presents from tyme to tyme to geve and minister such oath to everie such pson and psons soe to be admytted and made free of the said companie. And moreover we will and for us our heires and successors doe graunte by these presents to the said Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors That the said Governor or his Deputie and the assistants of the said companie for the tyme being or the more parte of them being together with the assent of the greater parte of the companie present at anie generall courte shall and may from tyme to tyme remove expell and putt oute of the said com-

panie anie of the said companye which they shall knowe or by good testimonie made before them fynde to be Retaylers and not meere marchants or which shall fall into exercising or practizing of offences and practizes of evill demeanor for the breaking of anie acte statute or ordinance of the said company for their good government made or published or to be made or published and that all psons soe amoved or excluded from thenceforth shall by noe meanes intermeddle or use anie trade of marchandize or traffique with the said company of marchants of England trading into the levant seas. And furthermore of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere mocion we will and by these presents for us our heires and successors doe graunte unto the said Governor and companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors That the Governor or his Deputie or Assistants for the tyme being or the greater part of them together with the consent of the greater parte of the companie present at anie generall courte or assembly may and shall have full power and auctoritie

at their willes and pleasures from tyme to tyme to assign appointe create and ordaine such and soe manie officers and mynisters aswell within our cittie of London and in all other places of our Realme of England or other our Domynions alsoe in the said partes beyonde the seas and everie of them as to the said Governor or his Deputie and Assistants aforesaid for the tyme being or the greater parte of them shall seeme expedient for the doing and executing of the affaires and businesses appertayning to the said companie As alsoe to receave gather and leavy by distresse or other lawfull way or meanes all somes of money fynes forfeitures penalties and ameracements of all and everie psons as well of the said companie being as alsoe of all and everie other pson and psons which shall attempte to use and exercize anie trade of marchandizes in the said Domynions of Turkey Signiory of Venice and all or anie other places or place within the levant seas aforesaid and shall be condempned or found culpable for their evill government or offence againste these our lres patents or anie statute acte or ordinance by the said Governor or his

Deputie or Deputies and assistants for the tyme being or the greater parte of them as aforesaid made or to be made by vertue of these our lres patents. And¹⁹ further we will and by these presents for us our heires and successors doe charge and comāunde all and everie mayors sheriffes Justices Bayliffes constables Customers and all and everie other the officers and mynisters of us our heires and successors to supporte ayde assiste and helpe the said Governor or his Deputie or Deputies and the said Assistants of the said companye or marchants of England trading into the levant seas their successors offycers and mynisters and everie of them in executing the said statutes acts and ordinances and to punishe the offenders and transgressors untill they be fullye satisfied according to the penalties and fynes by the said statutes acts or ordinances constituted and appoynted or hereafter to be constituted and appoynted. And yf it happen that the said Governor or his Deputie or Deputies and the assistants

¹⁹ The fifth and last sheet of the MS. commences here. It is only about a quarter the length of the others.

of the said companie or their successors for the tyme being or the greater parte of them at anie courte or assembly uppon misbehaviour or contempt of anie the lawes and ordinances of the said companie do comytt any of the said companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas or anie other the subjects or leige people of us our heires or successors to anie Goale or Prison according to the authority hereby given to the said Governor and Companie for anie offence against the said statutes ordinances and lawes or anie of them doñe or comytted Then wee will and cōmaunde and for us our heires and successors by these presents doe graunte unto the said Governor and Companie of marchants of England trading into the levant seas and their successors that from tyme to tyme all and everie wardens and keepers of all such Goales and Prisons shall receive into their custodie and prison all and everie pson soe to hym sent by the Governor or his Deputie or Deputies and the said Assistants or the greater parte of them soe assembled and there safelie keepe them at the coste and charge of the said offendor or offenders with-

out anie enlargement without the consent and assent of the said Governor or his Deputie or Deputies or their successors for the tyme being untill he or they shall be dismissed released or enlarged. And that neyther we nor our heires or successors by anie meanes shall remytt or release such offendor or offendors out of prison under bayle or mayneprize without the assent of the said Governor his Deputie or Deputies for the tyme being and untill the said offendors and everie of them in all thinges shall obey and satisfie the said Governor or his Deputie or assistants or the greater parte of them present according to the statutes acts and ordinances aforesaid And shall paye such and soe manie ffynes penalties forfeitures and ameracements as by the said Governor or his Deputie Deputies or Assistants or their successors for the tyme being or the greater parte of them then present at anie courte or assembly as he or they for such offence and contempte shall be adjudged to paye All and everie which paynes ffynes forfeitures and americiaments shall be gathered received and leavied to the use of the said Governor and companie of marchants of

England trading into the levant seas and their successors for ever. And furthermore we will and by these presents for us our heirs and successors straightlie charge and comāunde all and everie officers mayors sheriffs Justices Bayliffes Customers Comptrollers searchers and all and everie other mynisters leige people and subjects of us our heirs and successors whatsoever which nowe are or hereafter shalbe That they from henceforth be helping favouring and assisting to the foresaid Governor and his Deputie or Deputies and Assistants of the companie aforesaid and their successors and alsoe to their ffactors substitutes Deputies Officers and servants and their assignes and everie of them in the executing and enjoying of the premisses aswell uppon the lande as uppon the sea from tyme to tyme whensoever they or anie of them shall be thereunto required Although expresse mention of the true yearelie valewe or certaintie of the premisses or of anie of them or of anie other giftes or grauntes by us or anie of our Progenitors to the aforesaid Governor and marchants of England trading into the levant seas heretofore made in these presents is not

made or anie statute Acte ordinance provision
or restraunte to the contrarie made ordayned
or provided or anie or anie other thinge cause
or matter to the contrarie in anie wise not-
withstanding. In witnes whereof we have
caused these our lres to be made patents
Witnes our selfe at Westmynster the ffower-
tenth daye of December in the thirde yeare
of our raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland
and of Scotland the nyne and Thirtith.

per breve de privato sigillo,

Clapham.

APPENDIX II

GOVERNORS OF THE COMPANY (of the reorganized company 1605)

1. 1605. Sir Thomas Lowe. Nominated in the charter of James I.
2. 1623. Sir Hugh Hammersley. Elected 8 May, 1623.
3. 1634. Sir Henry Garraway. Elected 3 Feb., 1634.
4. 1643. Alderman Penington.¹
5. 1653. Alderman Reccards.
6. 1672. John Joliffe.
7. 1672. George Lord Berkley.
8. 1695. Sir William Trumbull.
9. 1709. Right Honorable Sir Richard Onslow.

¹ Although my study in the first part of the *History of the Levant Company* goes down only to the year 1640, yet for the sake of completeness I give the list of all the Governors of the Company. For the names I am indebted to *A Short Account, etc.* See above, p. 4, note (10).

10. 1718. Rt. Hon. James Earl of Carnarvon.
11. 1735. John Lord Delawar.
12. 1766. Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury.
13. 1772. William Earl of Radnor.
14. 1776. Frederick Lord North.
15. 1792. The Duke of Leeds.
16. 1800. Rt. Hon. Lord Grenville.²

² The Government took over the company in 1821 (Act 6 George IV. ch. 33), and the charter was surrendered in 1825.

APPENDIX III

AMBASSADORS AT CONSTANTINOPLE (to 1640)

1. 1582. William Harborne.
2. 1588. Edward Barton.
3. 1597.¹
4. — Paul Pindar.
5. 1619. Sir John Eyre. Appointed 1 July, 1619.
6. 1621. Sir Thomas Rowe. Called "the now elect ambassador" in *Min.* 31 July, 1621.
7. 1626. Sir Peter Wiche. Chosen 6 March, 1626.
8. 1638. Sir Sackville Crow.

¹ Edward Barton remained ambassador until his death, January 1, 1597. I have been unable to discover whether he was succeeded by any one before Pindar, or whether Pindar was his direct successor. Pindar is first mentioned in the minutes under date November 4, 1614. But as the minutes of meetings before 1614 are lost, it is impossible to say when he was appointed.

APPENDIX IV

CONSULS AND VICE-CONSULS AND THEIR SEATS

I. There were consuls in the time of Elizabeth at the following places : Scio, Patras, Tripoli, Aleppo, Alexandria and Algiers.¹

	CONSUL :
2. Smyrna, 1611	Mr. Markham.
3. Aleppo, 30 Sept., 1614 ²	Mr. Bartholomew Haggatt.
4. Cio, 2 Sept., 1614	Mr. Markham.
5. Patras, 14 Feb., 1615	Mr. John Webb.
	VICE-CONSUL :
6. Aleppo, 14 Feb., 1615	Mr. Libby Chapman.
	CONSUL :
27 Mch., 1617	Mr. Libby Chapman.

¹ See document in *Turkey Papers, Bundle I*. The document has no date, but it speaks of the loss which "her majesty" would have if the Turkish trade were abandoned. Hence it is Elizabethan.

² The date following the name of the place is that of the minute where the appointment is made.

VICE-CONSUL :

7. Smyrna, 11 Sept., 1616 Mr. Richard
Milward.

CONSUL :

8. Naples, 26 March, 1617 Mr. William
Norton.

9. Aleppo, 31 July, 1621 Mr. Kirkham.

10. Leghorn, 19 Sept., 1621 Mr. Richard Al-
len.

11. Algiers, 27 Nov., 1621 Sir Thomas Glo-
ver.

12. Smyrna, 30 July, 1622 Mr. Markham.

13. Smyrna, 11 Nov., 1624 Mr. Salter.

14. Aleppo, 1 May, 1627 Mr. Potton.

"PUBLIC

MINISTER :"

15. Zant, 1 Oct., 1628 Mr. John Cow-
ley.

CONSUL :

16. Aleppo, 3 March, 1629 Mr. John Wain-
deford.

17. Patras, 3 March, 1629 Mr. Humphrey
Bunnington.

18. Smyrna, 29 July, 1630 Mr. Lawrence
Green.

19. Smyrna, 22 Feb., 1633 Mr. John Freeman.
20. Smyrna, 8 July, 1635 Mr. Edward Barnard.
VICE-CONSUL:
21. Cyprus,³ 2 June, 1636 Mr. Richard Glover.
CONSUL:
22. Zant & Cephalonia, 10 March, 1637 Mr. Thomas Symonds.
23. Aleppo, 25 Oct., 1638 Mr. Edward Barnard.⁴

³ At the Court of Assistants of May 19, 1636, a letter was read from Mr. Glover, "who hath taken upon himself the consulship of Cyprus," asking for the company's approbation. The court approved, holding "that it was very necessary to have a consul in that place." At the General Court held June 2, 1636, Glover was appointed vice-consul, with the consulage of his place towards his maintenance, and he was to be subordinate to the consul at Aleppo.

⁴ He had been consul at Smyrna since July 8, 1635 (see No. 20 in list). Evidently, then, the position at Aleppo was more important.

APPENDIX V

LIST OF SHIPS BELONGING TO THE COMPANY.¹

I. *Ships trading Zant and Candia in 1581.*²

	TONS BURDEN.	MEN.
(1) The Primrose	300	60
(2) The George Bonaven- ture	150	35
(3) The Ascension	180	35
(4) The Suzanne	300	50
(5) The Thomas Bonaven- ture	100	25
(6) The Charity	140	30
(7) The Toby, of Harwich	140	28
(8) The Royal Merchant	350	60
(9) The Edward Bonaven- ture	250	50

¹ Many of the ships are given in more than one list, but I have enumerated all the lists as they stand, for the freight and the sailors of the same ship appear to be different in different cases. Moreover, it is interesting to note when new ships appear and old ones disappear.

² *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 149, No. 58.

	TONS BURDEN.	MEN.
(10) The Harry, of London	120	26
(11) The Gift of God . . .	120	24
(12) The Christ	100	22
(13) The White Hind . . .	100	25
(14) The Providence . . .	200	40
2. <i>Ships in a list dated 1584.</i> ³		
(15) The Royal Merchant .	350	60
(16) The Suzanne	260	50
(17) The Edward Bonaven- ture	240	40
(18) The George Bonaven- ture	160	34
(19) The Thomas Bonaven- ture	100	25
(20) The Ascension	170	36
(21) The Samaritan	140	30
(22) The Mary Rose	130	28
(23) The Alice Thomas . . .	140	28
(24) The Gift of God	130	27
(25) The Margaret Bona- venture	120	26
(26) The Red Lion	150	30

³ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 177, No. 55.

	TONS BURDEN.	MEN.
(27) The Harry Bonaven- ture	120	27
(28) The Trinity Bear . .	140	30
3. <i>"The number of ships and mariners set on work by the Turkish Company, beginning in Anno 1583, ending 1588."</i> ⁴		
(29) The Charity	130	36
(30) The Barque Reynolds	150	40
(31) The Suzanne	250	60
(32) The Teagre (?) ⁵ . .	150	40
(33) The Emanuel	200	50
(34) The Bark Burre (Bear ?)	120	30
(35) The Golden Noble . .	140	40
(36) The Merchant Royall .	300	70
(37) The Toby	200	50
(38) The Mary Martin . .	160	40
(39) The Jesus	100	25
(40) The Solomon	130	36
(41) The Elizabeth Stoaks	120	30
(42) The Elizabeth Cocken .	120	30
(43) The Mary Rose . . .	130	40
(44) The Mayflower . . .	160	40

⁴ S. P. D. Eliz. vol. 233, No. 13 1.

⁵ I could not quite make out this name in the MS.

	TONS BURDEN.	MEN.
(45) The William & John .	120	30
(46) The Gift of God . . .	120	30
(47) The Hercules	300	70

4. "*Ships and mariners maintained and set to work by the merchants trading Turkey and the Dominions of the Seigniory of Venice by that trade,*"⁶ dated 20 May, 1590.

(48) The Royal Merchant .	350	70
(49) The Suzanne	300	60
(50) The Hercules	300	60
(51) The Edward Bonaven- ture	250	50
(52) The Toby	230	46
(53) The Cherubim	220	44
(54) The Ascension	200	38
(55) The George Bonaven- ture	180	37
(56) The Thomas Bonaven- ture	120	28
(57) The Centurion	200	44
(58) The Mignon	200	44

⁶ S. P. D. Eliz. vol. 232, No. 26.

	TONS BURDEN.	MEN.
(59) The Marget & John .	180	40
(60) The Solomon . . .	180	40
(61) The Red Lion . . .	160	38
(62) The Mayflower . . .	180	38
(63) The Samaritan . . .	140	34
(64) The Mary Rose . . .	140	34
(65) The Alice & Thomas .	140	34
(66) The Eagle	150	38

5. *Petition* ⁷ *from Thomas Cordell and others, merchants trading into the Levant Seas . . . that whereas they have laded the good ships following that they be allowed to let them sail.*

	TONS BURDEN.
(67) The Suzanne, of London .	200
(68) The Lion	140
(69) The Samaritan	120

6. *The names* ⁷ *of ships expected home from Venice, Zant and Candia.*

	MEN.
(70) The Thomas Bonaventure .	24
(71) The Margaret Bonaventure .	28
(72) The Mary Rose	30

⁷ S. P. D. Eliz. vol. 246, No. 57. No date.

	MEN.
(73) The Gift of God, of Harwich	25
(74) The Alice Thomas	30
(75) The George Bonaventure	30
(76) The Ascension	35
(77) The Phoenix	25

7. *List of ships.*⁸ *No date.*

(78) The Great Suzanne	}	of 350 tons each and 70 men.
(79) The Royal Exchange		
(80) The Hercules	}	of 300 tons each and 60 men.
(81) The Ascension		
(82) The Consent		
(83) The Mayflower		
(84) The Report	}	of 200 tons each and 50 men.
(85) The Cherubim		
(86) The Centurion		
(87) The Angel		
(88) The Mignon		
(89) The Merchant Bonaventure	}	of 100 tons each and 40 men.
(90) The George Bonaventure		
(91) The Jolian (? Julian)		
(92) The Charity		

⁸ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 253, No. 18.

8. "A content of such shipping as we the merchants trading Turkey⁹ do look daily for to come home out of the Straits be as follows"¹⁰ (1595):—

	TONS BURDEN.	MEN.
(93) The Jewell	130	30
(94) The Centurion . . .	200	44
(95) The Royal Exchange	250	60
(96) The Great Suzanne .	260	66
(97) The ——— ¹¹ & Eliza- beth	60	16
(98) The Merchant Bona- venture	150	35
(99) The Hercules . . .	250	60
(100) The George Bonaven- ture	140	35
(101) The Angel.	180	40
(102) The Gyllyon [? Julian cf. (91)]	130	30

⁹ i.e. Levant merchants. The first Levant Company was incorporated 1592.

¹⁰ *Turkey Papers, Bundle 3*. The documents in this (as in the previous) bundle are unnumbered. This particular one is dated 1595.

¹¹ I could not make out this part of the name in the MS.

	TONS BURDEN.	MEN.
(103) The Prosperous . . .	200	44
(104) The Recovery. . .	80	20
9. <i>Ships belonging to the Levant Company in</i> 1600. ¹²		
(105) The Hector . . .	350	70
(106) The Great Suzanne .	300	60
(107) The Royal Merchant.	300	60
(108) The Ascension . . .	300	60
(109) The Darling . . .	240	50
(110) The Cherubim . . .	220	50
(111) The Centurion . . .	180	40
(112) The Charity . . .	160	36
(113) The Saker . . .	140	36
(114) The Royal Defence .	140	36
(115) The Perigrine . . .	120	30
(116) The Lanavit (?) . . .	100	25
(117) The Little George .	100	25
(118) The Anne Frane ¹³ .	140	35

¹² *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 276, No. 60.

¹³ With regard to the ships numbered 105 to 118 the document says that those were ships "of the Levant Company which they be owners of." And as to the ships numbered 119 to 130, these are described as "ships freighted this year by them for the ports of the Venetians and Turkey"; while in the case of the last three the destination is given as Marseilles and Leghorn.

	TONS BURDEN.	MEN.
(119) The Phoenix . . .	300	50
(120) The Edward Bona- venture	160	40
(121) The Swallow . . .	150	35
(122) The Angel	140	35
(123) The Greyhound . .	140	35
(124) The John Francis .	130	35
(125) The Diamond . . .	140	35
(126) The Rebecca . . .	160	36
(127) The Elnathan . . .	80	20
(128) The Suzanne Parnell .	200	45
(129) The Royal Merchant	300	60
(130) The Desire	120	30
(131) The William Fortune	200	45
(132) The Guest, of Dart- mouth	120	35
(133) The Dragon	160	40

10. *Ships given in a document*¹⁴ *dated 8 July, 1605.*

	TONS BURDEN.
(134) The Royal Exchange . .	300
(135) The Royal Merchant . .	300

¹⁴ *S. P. D. James I. vol. 15, No. 14.*

	TONS BURDEN.
(136) The Alcede	300
(137) The Great Phoenix	300
(138) The Thomas & William	} 250
(139) The Darling	
(140) The Trinity	
(141) The Cherubin	220
(142) The Susan Parnell	} 200
(143) The Royal Defence	
(144) The Angel	
(145) The Roebuck	
(146) The Mary Anne.	180
(147) The Saker	180
(148) The Mary Coust	180
(149) The Triumph	} 160
(150) The Swallow	
(151) The Husband	
(152) The Alathia	
(153) The Centurion	
(154) The Edward Bonaventure	
(155) The Amity	150
(156) The Merchant Bonaventure	150
(157) The John Francis	140
(158) The Cosklett (?)	140
(159) The Greyhound	140

	TONS BURDEN.
(160) The Salamander	140
(161) The Samuel	120
(162) The Phönix	120
(163) The George Bonaventure .	120
(164) The Hope	120

II. *Ships mentioned in Minutes of the Court Meetings under various dates.*

(165) The Rainbow	23 Nov., 1625.
(166) The Sampson	1 Dec., 1625.
(167) The Clement	22 Dec., 1625.
(168) The Job	22 Dec., 1625.
(169) The William & Ralph	30 Jan., 1625.
(170) The Margaret	6 Feb., 1625.
(171) The Royal Exchange	} 2 Aug., 1627.
(172) The Royal Merchant	
(173) The George Bonaventure	
(174) The John Bonaventure	
(175) The Samuel	
(176) The Hercules	

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- (177) The Saphire . . . 18 March, 1627.
 (178) The Cock . . . 4 Nov., 1629.
 (179) The Marigold . . . 30 Nov., 1629.
 (180) The Jane . . . 3 Feb., 1629.
 (181) The Industry . . . 24 Oct., 1633.
 (182) The Unicorn . . . 8 Feb., 1629.
 (183) The London . . . 20 Oct., 1631.
 (184) The Paragon . . . 18 July, 1632.
 (185) The Salutation, of
 Yarmouth . . . 14 Nov., 1632.
 (186) The Mary . . . }
 (187) The Delight . . . } 24 Oct., 1633.
 (188) The William &
 Thomas . . . 30 Oct., 1633.
 (189) The Greenfield . . . 30 Oct., 1633.
 (190) The Merchant Bon-
 aventure . . . 30 Oct., 1633.
 (191) The Resolution . . . 30 Oct., 1633.
 (192) The Elizabeth &
 Dorcas . . . 9 Jan., 1633.
 (193) The Scipio . . . 10 Dec., 1634.
 (194) The Lewis . . . 24 July, 1635.
 (195) The Hector . . . 16 June, 1636.
 (196) The Ulysses . . . 21 Sept., 1637.
 (197) The Concord . . . 25 May, 1638.
 (198) The Freeman . . . 25 Oct., 1638.

- (199) The Jonas . . . 27 Nov., 1638.
- (200) The Aleppine or
 Aleppo Merchant 19 Feb., 1638.
- (201) The Thomasine . . 19 Feb., 1638.
- (202) The Society . . . 3 July, 1639.
- (203) The Diamond . . . 3 Aug., 1639.
- (204) The John 20 Dec., 1639.
- (205) The Experience . . 9 Nov., 1640.

APPENDIX VI

LIST OF PORTS ¹

I. The names of the Ports which the old company did enjoy in the Signiory of Venice and Turkey by virtue of their privilege :—

- | | | |
|--|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. The City of Venice | } | in the Signiory
of Venice. |
| 2. Zant | | |
| 3. Zephalonia | | |
| 4. Candia | | |
| 5. Scio | } | in Turkey. |
| 6. Constantinople | | |
| 7. Alexandretta, the port
of Aleppo | | |
| 8. Tripoli | | |
| 9. Alexandria | | |
| 10. Algiers | | |
| 11. Cyprus Island | | |

¹ *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 17, No. 36. There is no date.

II. Over and besides the Ports above mentioned the new company are promised the following ports :—

1. Juberalterra [Gibraltar].
2. Malaga.
3. Carthagena.
4. Allicant.
5. Denia [S.W. Spain].
6. Valentia.
7. Barcelona.
8. Marseilles.
9. Talone [Toulon].
10. The Isles of Eryes [? Hyers or Golden Isles, to S. of France].
11. Janna [Genoa].
12. Ligorno [Leghorn].
13. Civita Vechia, port of Rome.
14. Naples.
15. Messina.
16. Palermo.
17. Majorca } islands.
18. Minorca }
19. Malta.
20. Ancona.
21. Ragusa.

APPENDIX VII

IMPOSITIONS ¹

I. The following table gives the impositions on the goods named when exported from, or imported into Turkey. But if exported from or imported into Venice they were assessed at half the rate.

1. Assa Fetida, per bale, 2s. 2 pence.
2. Aloes epatica, per bale, 2s.
3. Aloes succatrina, per bale, 10 pence.
4. Broad cloths, per pair, 3 shillings.
5. Bridgwaters, per pair, 8 pence.
6. Benjamin,² per cwt, 5 shillings.
7. Balsatians, per bale, 2 shillings.
8. Botanos, per bale, 5 shillings.
9. Cony skins, per cent.,³ 8 pence.
10. Cochinelle,⁴ per pound, 3 pence.

¹ These lists, which are based on previous lists of the year 1608, were adopted in 1631. Cf. *Min.* February 4, 1631.

² Benjamin = Bensoin, a drug much used in perfumery.

³ i.e. for each 100 skins. Cf. hides.

⁴ Cochinelle = cochineal, a drug used in dyeing scarlet.

11. Copper, per cwt., 1 shilling.
12. Calicoes, per bale, 4 shillings.
13. Calico lawnes, per pair, 1 penny.
14. Cassia fistula, per cent., 1 shilling.
15. Cloves, per cwt., 4 shillings.
16. Chambletts,⁵ per bale of 40 pair, 10 shillings.
17. Calamus, per bale, 1 shilling.
18. Cardamoins, per bale, 5 shillings.
19. Comashes, per bale, 5 shillings.
20. Carpets, 50 single chest, per bale, 5 shillings.
21. Cordevants,⁶ per bale, 5 shillings.
22. Cotton wools of Smyrna, per bag, 1 shill. 6 pence.
23. Cotton wools of Cyprus, per bag, 2 shills.
24. Cotton yarn, per bag, 2 shills. 6 pence.
25. Campechia wood, per cwt., 6 pence.
26. Enforbium, per cwt., 8 pence.
27. Elephants' teeth, per cent., 2 shills.
28. Fitches,⁷ per timber,⁸ 2 pence.

⁵ Chambletts = chamblotts, a stuff mixed with camel's hair.

⁶ Cordevants = cordovan, a sort of goatskin leather made in Cordova.

⁷ Fitches = fur of the pole-cat (a kind of weasel).

⁸ A timber of skins = 40.

29. Farnando Buck, per cent., 1 shill.
30. Ginger, per cwt., 1 shill.
31. Grograines, per bale of 34 [? yards] ⁹ 8 shill.
32. Grograine yarn, per cwt., 2 shills.
33. Goats' wool or camel's hair, per cwt., 8 pence.
34. Gallingall, per bale, 2 shillings.
35. Galls, per cwt., 6 pence.
36. Gum arabic, per bale, 1 shilling.
37. Gum lac, per bale, 2 shillings.
38. Galbanum, per bale, 3 shillings.
39. Hides—Bulgazer red, per cent., 6 sh. 8 p.
40. Iron, per ton, 2 shill.
41. Indigo, per chest, 10 shill.
42. Kersies (north), per pair, 8 pence.
43. Kersies (Ham), per pair, 1 shill.
44. Latten,¹⁰ per cent., 4 pence.
45. Latten wire, per cent., 8 pence.
46. Lignum Aloes, per cent., 5 shills.
47. Lignum vitæ, per cent., 8 pence.
48. Lead, per fother,¹¹ 1 shill. 6 pence.
49. Logwood, per cent., 6 pence.

⁹ The word is badly written in the MS.

¹⁰ Latten = iron tinned over.

¹¹ A Fother of lead = 19½ cwt.

50. Long pepper, per bale, 5 shills.
51. Morses' ¹² teeth, per cent., 2 shill. 6 pence.
52. Martin skins, per timber, ⁸ 3 shills.
53. Maces, ¹³ per cwt., 5 shills.
54. Mastick, ¹⁴ per chest, 6 shill. 8 pence.
55. Mirabulanes, per bale, 1 shill.
56. Mirtha, per bale, 2 shill.
57. Nutmegs, per bale, 6 shill. 8 pence.
58. Nux de bene, per bale, 2 shills.
59. Olibanum, per bale, 1 shill.
60. Opium, per bale, 5 shill.
61. Pepper, per bag, 3 shill.
62. Pewter, per cwt., 1 shill.
63. Quilts, per bale, 5 shill.
64. Raisins, per bale, 3 pence
65. Rhubarb, per pound, 2 pence.
66. Red Lead, per cent., 3 pence.
67. Squirrel skins, per mill, 1 shill. 4 pence.
68. St. Martin's Wood, per cent., 8 pence.
69. Cinnamon, per bale, 6 shill. 8 pence.
70. Soap, per ton, 5 shill.
71. Sednary, per bale, 2 shill.
72. Sal ammoniac, per bale, 6 shill.

¹² A morse is a sea-ox.

¹³ Maces were a kind of spice.

¹⁴ Mastick = a kind of gum.

73. Storax,¹⁵ per bale, 8 shill.
 74. Sanguis draconis, per bale, 6 shill. 8 pence.
 75. Scamony,¹⁶ per bale, 10 shill.
 76. Seney, per bale, 3 shill. 4 pence.
 77. Sables, per timber,⁸ 3 shillings.
 78. Steel, per cwt., 4 pence.
 79. Tyncall, per cent., 4 shill. 8 pence.
 80. Terra Umbra, per cwt., 2 pence.
 81. Tobacco, per cwt., 5 shillings.
 82. Tallow, per ton, 1 shill. 8 pence.
 83. Tin, per cent., 1 shill.
 84. Turmerick,¹⁷ per bale, 2 shill.
 85. Turbith,¹⁸ per bale, 10 shill.
 86. Wire, per cwt., 8 pence.
 87. Wormseed, per bale, 6 shill. 8 pence.

II. The following goods have impositions at the same rate, whether it is Turkey or Venice that they are exported from or imported into :

1. Argall, per cent., 3 pence.
2. Almonds, per cent., 6 pence.

¹⁵ Storax = a gum.

¹⁶ Scamony = a gum.

¹⁷ Turmerick = the root of an Arabian herb.

¹⁸ Turbith = a herb of violent purging quality.

3. Allum, per ton, 5 shills.
4. Brimstone, per cent., 2 pence.
5. Caviare, per ton, 8 pence.
6. Calves' skins, per dozen, 2 pence.
7. Copper as,¹⁹ per cent., 1 penny.
8. Currants, per cent., 4 pence.
9. Comenseeds,²⁰ per cent., 3 pence.
10. Ebony, per cent., 6 pence.
11. Flax, per ton, 5 shills.
12. Gunpowder, per barrel, 8 pence.
13. Goatskins, per dozen, 2 pence.
14. Herring, per barrel, 1 penny.
15. Hides muscovia,²¹ per cent., 3 shill. 4 pence.
16. Hides, india, per cent., 6 shill. 8 pence.
17. Lanthorne horns, per —, ²² 2 shill.
18. Muscadelles,²³ per Butt, 2 shill.
19. Mohaires, per bale of 40 pair, 5 shill.
20. Oil, per ton of 252 gallons, 6 shill. 8 pence.
21. Silk, per bale, 6 shill. 8 pence.

¹⁹ Copper as = vitriol.

²⁰ Comenseeds = ? Cummin seed.

²¹ = ? Russian hides.

²² Cannot make out this word. It occurs again at sheepskins.

²³ Muscadelles = a kind of sweet wine.

22. Raw silk, per bale, 20 shill.
23. Mosea silk, per bale, 10 shill.
24. Swordblades, per dozen, 4 pence.
25. Sheepskins, per ———,²² 1 shill. 4 pence.
26. Sugar, per cent., 4 pence.
27. Wax, per cent., 8 pence.

APPENDIX VIII

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

I¹

§ I. IT may please your honours [to be]² advertized that William Harbronne being in Constantinople in 1578 procured of the Grand Signior for Mr. Edward Osborne, of London, alderman Richard Stapers, merchant, and himself (at our great charge) a peculiar license of free travel into all places of his dominions, as by the same appeareth, which by the said Grand Signior his letters signified to her majesty, and he desired the same might be general to all other her subjects, and by the like letters required Mustafa Beg his chief

¹ In *Turkey Papers, Bundle I.* There is no date. But the Sultan's charter is mentioned. This was granted in 1580, and Harborne's commission as ambassador was dated 1582. The document falls between these two dates.

² There is a piece here torn away. I suggest "to be" as the words missing.

interpreter of the Latin tongue to employ his service in furtherance thereof, as also the late Mr. Secretary Wilson commanded Harbronne in her majesty's name to perform his diligent endeavour in attaining the same, promising a due consideration to be had of the expense, by several letters extant is apparent.

§ 2. Whereupon according to our duty we procured the said general charter, with a safe conduct for her majesty's ambassador thither, the charges thereof cost your honours' suppliants about 600 pounds sterling, as by account ready to be seen is manifest.

§ 3. Since the receipt of which charter well accepted, her majesty promised by her letters to send thither her ambassador to gratify his good will and confirm the same, whose presence accordingly is hourly expected, which except it be speedily performed (for that the Grand Signior will otherwise think himself deluded) according as Mustafa his last letters did import, may offer him occasion to repeal the said charter and also make frustrate³ our private license, which both we

³ The MS. here was "fustrate."

have purchased, as above said, with great charge.

Of the premisses we thought it our bounden duty to put your honours in remembrance, especially considering the mighty power of this prince (in service to none) (said to be) a very friend of his friend, and the like heavy enemy to his contrary, whom, as also any other, although her majesty (God be praised) needeth not in any respect whatsoever, yet his uninvited amity tending (as hereunder mentioned) to the benefit of her people and country is not (under your honours' correction) to be refused.

1. First, her majesty pleasing to use of the Grand Signior in any matter of estate, having her agent there continually resident, the same may be readily effectuated.
2. Her majesty shall hereby preserve her subjects (given free by virtue of this license) from future captivity in his dominions, the redemption of which in these 20 years (no doubt) hath cost this realm four thousand pounds, and yet divers to this day remain there

unrescated⁴ of which some (the more be pitied) have turned Turks for avoiding the great extremities of most miserable barbarous cruelty.

3. Her majesty shall increase the navy of the realm, for that this trade must be followed with great and tall ships, and furthermore, all her subjects not using this trade, in the like vessels may boldly deal as accustomed within the straits at all times more freely than heretofore they have done, deprived of former fear of captivity.
4. Her majesty's customs hereby shall be increased, for that we shall not only bring into this realm commodities of Turkey needful to serve the same but also thereof to serve other countries near adjoining, which, landed here, payeth inwards and so her majesty's customs thereby advanced.
5. Also, her majesty shall do good to her country and people in that we having this trade, shall bring the commodities of Turkey directly hither, the abund-

⁴ I suppose this means "unrescued."

ance whereof shall procure the greater intercourse of strangers from the northern and eastern countries to buy the same here, which they were accustomed to fetch out of the Levant parts.

In consideration whereof a humble suit unto your honours to be a mean to her majesty to send over her ambassador or agent to the said Grand Signior to confirm and ratify the said general charter, whose charge if it please not her majesty to supply, then we humbly desire that her majesty of her most gracious liberality will vouchsafe to grant us towards the same as followeth :

1. Imprimis for so much as of necessity a present might be first given to the Grand Signior from her majesty, (according to usual customs of all other princes their ambassadors or agents at their first coming, in token of their masters' goodwill and friendship) that it would please her majesty to do the like for that the same must be presented as a gift sent him from her majesty, which in value may amount to one thousand pounds sterling.

2. And for the supporting by us (as above-said) of all charges to any such ambassador or agent incident, it may please her majesty to rent us the customs of our goods, in and out, for the same trade of Turkey only, at some reasonable rate for these seven years.
3. Otherwise, that for such goods as we shall bring into this realm out of Turkey, that if we transport and send any part out of this realm again, to be sold in any other country, that then for the same we may have the customs which we paid inwards returned and allowed to us again, for that thereby her majesty loseth nothing, the same growing of such things as cometh in more than the realm needeth, which now is not brought in at all.

Otherwise, that it may please her majesty to defer the payment of her customs for the said trade, in and out, into the end of the aforesaid seven years.

This amity begun (we suppose) is likely always to continue, her majesty sending over at the change of every Grand Signior a present as aforesaid.

Thus craving your honours' pardon of our presumption in the premises in what may be offensive referring the expedient to your honours' most grand and perfect wise judgment, to which we your humble suppliants wholly commit ourselves.

2

A consideration of the trade into Turkey, 1580,
by Mr. Secretary Walsingham.⁵

In all trades two things principally are to be considered, profit and surety ; for if they be not joined together they are in no wise to be attempted.

Touching the profit that may ensue by trade into the Turk's dominions, it may be comprehended in these points following :—

First, you shall set a great number of your greatest ships in work whereby your navy shall be maintained, one of the principallest strengths and defence of this realm, which otherwise were like to decay.

You shall vend your own commodities with most profit, which before did fall into strangers' hands.

You shall furnish not only this realm but

⁵ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 144, No. 70.

also the most part of the hitherpart of Europe with such commodities as are transported out of the said Turk's dominions to the great enriching of this realm.

Touching surety, which is the principal matter we ought to have care of, we are first to consider who will seek to impeach the traffic by reason of the incomodity they shall receive thereby.

The principal traders into his dominions are the Italians, especially the Venetians, and the French who do transport from Venice and Marseilles the most part of the Kersies made in this realm to his dominions, as also make return of such commodities as are brought from thence : somewhat also is done by those of Ragousa, who also, it is to be thought, will join with the other two in opposing themselves to our trade that way.

It is also to be looked for that the King of Spain who can never be long without wars with the Turk will seek also to impeach anything that may be to his benefit, being also not the best affected towards us.

The ways they will take to impeach us will be two—by fines and by force.

Touching the impeaching us by fines or art, it is to be looked for that the Venetians and the French King, having their ambassador at Constantinople will seek by some indirect practise to discountenance such of her majesty's subjects as shall trade thither.

Touching the impeaching us by force, the Venetians who always keep certain galleys upon the seas for the defence of their traffic against the corsairs will, no doubt of it, unless our ships go very strong, seek, by all the means that they may, to distress them, in which action the French will easily be drawn to concur with them; beside, the Italian merchants that have now the trade here will seek underhand to draw the King of Spain by some offer of contribution to join with the other two, who shall be able, after he is possessed of the Kingdom of Portugal, greatly to impeach us, having forts on both sides the Straits.

To meet with these inconveniences and to provide some probable way of surety, the first thing that is to be done to withstand their fines is to make choice of some apt man to be sent with her majesty's letters unto the Turks

to procure an ample safe-conduct, who is always to remain there at the charge of the merchants, as agent to impeach the indirect practices of the said ambassadors, whose repair ⁶ thither is to be handled with great secrecy, and his voyage to be performed rather by land than by sea, for that otherwise the Italians that are here will seek underhand that he may be disgraced at his repair thither, and therefore it shall be very well done to give out that in respect of the danger of the traffic her majesty cannot be induced that her subjects shall trade thither.

To withstand the force, great care is to be had in good choice of ships, to see that the same be well furnished both of men and munitions, and also it is to be thought that unless twenty sail may be set on work they shall not be of sufficient strength to withstand those that will seek to impeach them, wherein care would be had that they pass not the strait nor coast of France, Spain and Italy in time of calms, and therefore it would be ordered that the voyages might be so performed as that both in their going and return they might pass in the winter seas.

⁶ Cf. p. 9 above, note (26).

Now in this point of defence as also that the traffic may be beneficial, these things following are to be considered:

First, whether that the said twenty ships well furnished shall be able to pass without danger of those that shall seek to impeach them.

Secondly, whether that there be sufficient commodities within the realm to lade the said twenty ships, wherein care is to be had that no greater quantity be transported thither than the prices of our wares will be abased, which at the first selling of the trade may prove very prejudicial and therefore it were very good a calculation were made what Kersies have been transported yearly by the Italians and Ragousers out of this realm, whereof the greatest part hath been sent into Turkey, as also what Kersies are sold yearly by our merchants that trade into France to those of Marseilles.

Thirdly, if there be no sufficient commodities, whether the same may not be supplied sufficiently for the lading of the said

ships out of the countries next adjoining with vendible commodities in those parts.

Fourthly, whether the freight of the said ships being so thoroughly manned for defence will not be so chargeable to the merchant as it will discourage him.

Fifthly, whether there shall be that vent of our Kersies during the wars between the said Turks and the Sophy as was before the said wars. A matter to be enquired of by the party that is to be sent, before the voyage be attempted.

Sixthly, whether the said ships shall all go to Constantinople or whether some of them shall not go to Alexandria and to Tripoli, when it is likely they shall have good vent, for that both these two ports do serve well for Aleppo, being the staple towns for those Kersies that are dispersed into Persia. As also at Alexandria they shall be best furnished of spices and other commodities fit for those places.

Seventhly, how the said ships dividing themselves as is aforesaid, may meet

together in some convenient place, before they pass the Straits, whereby they may return with more safety.

Eighthly, to procure the Turk's letters to the King of Barbary and the rest of the princes of Africa that the ports there may be free for our merchants, as also in case of necessity to have a safe conduct of galleys from Algiers, to pass the Straits withal.

Divers other cautions may be added hereunto upon conference with skilful merchants and others acquainted with the Midland seas.

3

A ⁷—The Letter

Endorsed: The humble petition of the merchants trading Turkey and Venice for confirmation of their trade, uniting them in one patent.

Whereas we have been of long time humble suitors to your honour for uniting the Turkey and Venice Companys into one body politic

⁷ See above, p. 28, note (5). *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 239, No. 40.

for better supporting the great charge of her majesty's ambassador in Constantinople which otherwise (of our selves) cannot be, we . . . humbly crave of your honour to become our good mediator to her majesty to grant the same by letters patents, in such form and order mentioned in the annexed articles to us the undernamed of both companies, for otherwise the time of her agents' residence long since expired, if he be not confirmed ambassador or else some other sent for him with the accustomed presents according to order of that Court, the intercourse cannot longer be continued, and we your humble suppliants shall duly pray for your honour etc.

The Merchants trading Turkey and Venice.

B

Articles of the merchants trading Turkey and Venice to be incorporated into one body by the name of Merchants of Levant.⁸

1. That where Sir Edward Osborne, William Harbrown, Richard Staper and divers other merchants of London have made open the trade into all the Turk's dominions, whereby

⁸ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 151, No. 34. These articles have been slightly summarized.

divers privileges are there granted to her majesty's subjects trading those parts for the profitable vent of the commodities of this realm, the increase of her majesty's customs and the navy of the same,

2. Her majesty [tendering]⁹ the wealth of her people, for the better preservation of the said trade and privileges, doth grant the whole trade and traffic into and from this realm to all the Turk's dominions and into and from the dominions of the Signiory of Venice to Sir Richard Osborne, &etc. their children and their apprentices.

3. They to be one body politic, by the name of merchants of Levant, authorized to assemble themselves to choose a Governor and six assistants yearly and to make laws for their trade.

4. Liberty to trade with Turks, Jews, and all other persons, to carry over all lawful merchandize, paying her majesty's custom and to bring from those parts into this realm all manner of commodities paying only her majesty's customs for the same.

5. That her majesty for the said her customs

⁹ It is difficult to make out this word in the MS.

is pleased to forbear the said merchants six months upon their bond to the customer for the same.

6. That for such customs we shall be due to her majesty for goods shipped out of this realm, if the same miscarry by the way, her majesty is pleased to allow them custom again upon the next goods they shall ship forth.

7. Goods brought into the country and exported within 18 months are to be exempt from customs.

8. Her majesty doth prohibit all persons to bring into this realm any currants, [wines of Candy]¹⁰ or sweet Greekish oil, but the said company or their assignes upon payment. Provided always if the state of Venice do take away such new imposts as they have made upon her majesty's subjects there, that then the subjects of the said state of Venice shall also bring in their commodities here, paying only her majesty's duties, as in former times they had done.

9. A prohibition to all her majesty's sub-

¹⁰ The MS. is torn here. The expression is very probably "wines of candy," as it is in the parallel passage in paragraph 10.

jects and others to trade from this realm into and from any of the places granted as aforesaid upon pain of her majesty's high displeasure and loss of their ships and goods as adventured, and imprisonment for their contempt. The half to her majesty and the other to the said company, to be allowed them by virtue hereof.

10. A commandment to all customers not to take entry or make any agreement for the customs of any currants, wines of Candy, or Greekish oils without consent of the said merchants, and that the said merchants may have Writ out of the Exchequer to the said customers to the same effect.

11. That the said merchants may make and use a common seal and may wear in their flags and . . . in their ships her majesty's arms with the red cross and white over the same.

The names of the merchants to be inserted in the patent :—

Sir Edward Osborne,	Thomas Cordall,
Sir George Barn,	Edward Holmden,
Mr. Richard Martin,	William Garraway,
Mr. John Hart,	Paul Bayning,
Mr. William Masham,	Robert Sadler,

Mr. John Spencer,	Henry Anderson,
Mr. Thomas Smyth,	Henry Farington,
Mr. William Harborn,	Andrew Banynge,
Richard Staper ¹¹	Philip Erymes,
Thomas Lawrence,	Anthony Bate,
Robert Dowe,	William Freeman,
Roger Clark,	John Eldred,
Henry Hewitt,	John Bate,
Robert Bate,	Nicholas Cerd,
Leonard Poore,	Edmund Ansell,

C

“The Articles of the privileges desired of her majesty by the merchants for the trade into Turkey and the Signiory of Venice.” ¹²

The points 1 to 7 are the same as in document marked B. Point 8 is a new one in this document ; it is not found in B.

8. That for so much as their ships must take their due and proper times to — ¹³ those voyages which otherwise cannot be performed in the rest of the

¹¹ There is no “Mr.” prefixed to the rest of the names in the list. Perhaps this is because “Mr.” must in those days have implied seniority or worth.

¹² *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 231, No. 55.

¹³ It was impossible to make out this word in the MS.

year following her majesty is pleased that four¹⁴ ships and 200 mariners to sail in them shall not at any time be here stayed for any service, but by virtue hereof suffered to depart quickly and freely for the said voyages.

Then follow the other paragraphs as in document B.

The names of those to be admitted are given as follows :—

Sir John Harte, Lord Mayor,	James Staper,
Sir Edward Osborne,	Andrew Bayning,
Sir George Barne,	Robert Bate,
Sir Richard Martin,	Leonard Poore, ¹⁵
Mr. John Spencer, Alderman,	Phillip Grymes,
Mr. William Massam, Alderman,	Anthony Bate,
Mr. Thomas Smith, Esquire,	William Freeman,
Mr. William Harborn,	John Eldred,
Richard Staper,	John Bate,
Thomas Cordell,	Edmund Ancell,

¹⁴ I am rather doubtful about the number.

¹⁵ The name occurs in list B. Perhaps it is Roowe (= Rowe).

William Holmden,	Nicholas Hearde,
William Garraway,	John Doddington,
Paul Bayning,	Thomas Dawkes,
Thomas Lawrence,	Thomas Trent,
Robert Dowe,	Thomas, Wodey,
Robert Sadler,	Richard Dussell,
Henry Anderson,	George Salter,
Henry Farrington,	John Moone,
Roger Clarke,	Nicholas Leate,
Henry Hewitt,	William Smith.
Henry Passby, ¹⁶	

4¹⁷

Right honorable, the merchants trading Turkey and Venice do most humbly beseech the same to have consideration of the great charges they have sustained in discovering and upholding the said trade being no less than 40 thousand pounds as appeareth—

1. The maintenance of ambassador and agent at Constantinople at least £20,000.
2. The placing and maintaining of consuls

¹⁶ I am not sure about this name. The MS. was difficult to make out.

¹⁷ *S. P. D. Eliz.* vol. 239, No. 44.

in Scio, Tripoli, Alexandria, Patras and Algiers—£12,000.

3. Those trading Venice have paid in impost more than they have received, above £10,000.

So that no one of your suppliants who have used any ample trade thither but it hath cost him a thousand pounds in these behalf. Thus have your suppliants hazarded their estates in making trials and preferring unfrequented trades whereby many of the principalest and best merchant ships have been made and increased with mariners in this realm ; Kersies, cloths and other English commodities have been there vented and from thence many needful things hither directly returned for your suppliants and all in English shipping, greatly advancing her majesty's customs and setting many her subjects awork which else might have lived more idly. Wherefore, if your suppliants (who already are far too many for the trade) should receive the discouragement offered through the suits of some persons whose strange humours are never satisfied, having no regard how weighty a matter it is not to overcharge a trade, it must needs follow in

those trades and with your suppliants as of late it hath done with the trade of Barbary and those merchants which some persons of like disposition to these enforcing into that trade and so everlaying the same have brought our English cloth there into contempt and advanced their dross and base sugar to high price and so not only spoiled and overthrew that trade but have undone themselves and many an honest merchant, old traders, whose living before it was. Assuredly no better success is to be expected in this trade if more should be admitted, for in very truth, the one half of us already traders are too many and in number sufficient to maintain that trade with as much of the commodity of this realm as possibly can there be vented, as the present time proveth, having now at this instant in those parts of English commodities more than by any means sufficient vent can be found for the same. So if more or others should be permitted to deal in that trade an oppression and confusion of the same must needs follow. The damage whereof should specially redound to your suppliants who have been at so great a charge in preferring the

trade as aforesaid, and unto our servants who have adventured their lives in the same. Most humbly beseeching your honour (the premisses considered) to be a means that we may have the use of that trade without receiving in of any others for these certain years which her majesty did most graciously assent unto, whereby we may so trade with hope to recover our said charges, otherwise it will not only discourage us and others in like respect hereafter to attempt and go on with like charges and discoveries, but be utterly discouraged to enter into any new charge which is not —¹⁸ and so rather to withdraw ourselves, giving over the trade as soon as conveniently we may, with the loss of the great charges aforesaid, for that we are sure (the trade being so overcharged) loss and no gain is to be looked for therein.

(Signed)

Ed. Osborne,
John Leate,
William Massam,
John Spencer,
Richard Martin,

William Garraway,
Thomas Cordell,
Paul Bayning,
and others.

¹⁸ I cannot make out this word in the MS.

The ill-treatment of the English merchants at the hands of the Venetians was a great point for the former, and they sought to make it quite clear how much worse off the English trader was than the Venetian, by giving concrete examples. Thus, here is "a declaration¹⁹ of the difference of the custom and impost between Venetians and Englishmen, as well for Kersies and tin as for currants.

<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;"></td> <td style="text-align: right; width: 10%; font-weight: bold;">£</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Englishman buys</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> here 100 pair of</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> Kersies @ £4 a</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> pair</td> <td style="text-align: right;">=</td> <td style="text-align: right;">400</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Customs here . . .</td> <td style="text-align: right;">10</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>—</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">£</td> <td style="text-align: right;">410</td> </tr> </table>		£		Englishman buys			here 100 pair of			Kersies @ £4 a			pair	=	400	Customs here . . .	10		—				£	410		<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;"></td> <td style="text-align: right; width: 10%; font-weight: bold;">£</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Stranger buys here</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> 100 pair of Ker-</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> sies @ £4 a pair</td> <td style="text-align: right;">=</td> <td style="text-align: right;">400</td> </tr> <tr> <td>He pays double</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> customs</td> <td style="text-align: right;">=</td> <td style="text-align: right;">20</td> </tr> <tr> <td>He may pay in</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> packing and such</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> other duties as</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> the Englishman</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> may not</td> <td style="text-align: right;">=</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>—</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">£</td> <td style="text-align: right;">421</td> </tr> </table>		£		Stranger buys here			100 pair of Ker-			sies @ £4 a pair	=	400	He pays double			customs	=	20	He may pay in			packing and such			other duties as			the Englishman			may not	=	1	—				£	421
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<p><i>So the Englishman is better off than the stranger to the extent of £11.</i></p>																																																																	

¹⁹ S. P. D. James I. vol. 6, No. 67.

	£	
Englishman buyeth 10 thousand weight of tin @ £4 per cwt. .	= 400	
He payeth customs for the same @ 2 shillings a cwt. .	= 10	
	—	
	£410	

So the Englishman is better off than the stranger to the extent of £3 10s.

	£	s.	d.
Stranger buyeth 10 thousand weight of tin @ £4 per cwt. =	400	0	0
He pays in customs a quarter more than the Englishman . =	12	10	0
In other duties and charges . . =	1	0	0
	—	—	—
	£413	10	0

£ s. d.

Englishman bringeth the said 100 pairs of Kersies to Venice and there payeth more custom than the stranger 3 %, which Kersies being rated at 20 Ducats the pair, the said overplus customs amounted to 60 Ducats, which @ 5 shill. a ducat is 15 0 0

He bringeth the 10 thousand weight of tin thither for which he doth pay more customs than the stranger by 3 %, which is 60 dollars, and @ 5 shill. a dollar = 15 0 0

So that Englishman pays more in Venice for customs on his Kersies and his tin = 30 0 0

£ s. d.

The stranger hath paid in England more customs and charges on his 100 pair of Kersies than the English doth . 11 0 0

And on tin more than the English 3 10 0

i.e., £14 10 0

So the Englishman's charges in England and in Venice is more than the strangers (on both commodities) 15 10 0

£30 0 0

<p>£</p> <p>An Englishman buys 100 pairs of Kersies and 10 thousand weight of tin which he carries to Zant, and there he pays his ordinary cus- tom and charges as the Venetian doth. And be- sides we pay for impost of every pair of Kersies and every cwt. of tin 2 ducats, which the stran- ger payeth not, i.e., 400 ducats @ 5 shillings a ducat . . . =100</p> <hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: 0;"/>	<p>£ s. d.</p> <p>The stranger payeth in England for the charges on the like quan- tities of goods more than the Englishman doth (see pre- vious calcula- tion) . . . 14 10 0</p> <p>So the stranger hath more com- modities than the English- man hath by 85 10 0</p> <hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: 0;"/> <p>£100 0 0</p> <hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: 0;"/>
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	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
An Englishman buyeth at Venice or Zant 100 thousand weight of currants, for which he pays impost, which the stranger doth not, 10 ducats on every thousand weight, which is 1,000 ducats, and @ 5 shillings a ducat . . .	=250 0 0	The Venetian pays in Eng- land for cur- rants of like quantity one and a quarter as much as the Englishman pays, i.e., £67 10s. and £16 17s. 6d. . .	=84 7 6
More for customs in England of the said 100 thou- sand weight of currants, being 90 thousand weight @ 18 pence per cwt. =	67 10 0	In other duties which the Eng- lishman doth not pay the stranger may pay . . .	15 0 0
		Together	£99 7 6
		So the stranger shall rest in- debted to the Englishman which he shall have his cur- rants better cheap . . .	218 2 6
Together . . .	£317 10 0		£317 10 0

Here is another such estimation :²⁰

“ A computation made ye Englishman and

²⁰ S. P. D. *James I.* vol. 10, No. 25.

Venetian for 100 pair Kersies and 10 thousand weight of tin bought in London and carried to Venice ; as also upon 100 thousand weight of currants bought at Venice and brought to London, whereby it appears that the Venetian may get £267 2s. more by his adventure than the Englishman can do, buying and selling all at a price which is 5 shil. 11 pence upon every cwt. of currants."

	£ s. d.
Englishman buys	
in London 100	
pairs of Ker-	
sies which cost	
him £4 a pair=	400 0 0
Custom on same	10 0 0
He also buys	
10 thousand	
weight of tin	
@ £40 per	
thousand =	400 0 0
Custom on same	11 13 4
Together	£821 13 4

Englishman
buys at Ven-
ice with the
proceeds of his
goods above

	£ s. d.
Merchant stran-	
ger buys in	
London 100	
pairs of Ker-	
sies, costing	
him . . .	400 0 0
Custom on same	20 0 0
He also buys	
10 thousand	
weight of tin	
@ £40 per	
thousand =	400 0 0
Custom on same	14 11 4
Together	£834 11 4

The merchant
stranger buy-
eth at Venice
with the pro-
ceeds of his

£ s. d.	£ s. d.
said 100 thousand of currants, cost him there 5,000 ducats, which is sterling. 1,250 0 0	goods above-said 100 thousand weight of currants, costing there 5,000 ²¹ ducats, which is sterling .1,250 0 0
For Impositions he payeth 1,000 ducats, which is sterling . . .250 0 0	More, these currants are so much the dearer to the merchant stranger for that he pays more custom outwardly than the English merchant by 12 18 0
More, for forbearance and adventure of the said 1,000 ducats which he payeth for impost . . .30 0 0	More, at arrival of his goods here he pays impost . . .250 0 0
More, at his arrival here, he payeth impost . . .250 0 0	
Together £1,780 0 0	Together £1,512 18 0

On the whole it is clear from this estimate, that the Venetian may make his voyage better cheap than the English merchant by the sum of £267 2s.

Both these calculations are evidently from the side of the company, to show how badly

²¹ The MS. here has 500 ducats. But it is clearly a slip of the pen, since the £1,250 is the same as in the case of the Englishman.

off they were, compared to the Venetians. But I have been able to discover a similar calculation ²² which appears to be inspired by the opponents of the company, and, indeed, of the Turkey trade in general. It is there advocated that the trade should be given up altogether. Yet, if it is to go on, let it go on in a private way. The merchants need not complain of impositions, for the English merchant is on the whole better off than his Venetian rival. Here follow six reasons to prove the last statement—reasons which show a real comprehension of the principle of differential advantage.

1. The Venetian shipping is bad and their navigation worse.
2. They make their voyage twice as long as we do.
3. They rely on no return for their freight is double.
4. They come to another country and we to our home.
5. They have to bear the venture of their return, which we do not.

²² *S. P. D. James I.* vol. 10, No. 28.

6. They must sell presently, but we may wait our occasion.

Then comes the calculation :

£		£ s.
The Venetian buys currants in Venice and brings them to England to sell. They cost him per cwt. 30		The Englishman buys currants at Venice and brings them to England to sell. They cost him per cwt. . . 30 0
For whole freight he pays 7		Half freight . . . 3 0
Difference of assur- ance 1		Impost 20 ducats . 4 10
Interest of 3 months 1		
£39		£37 10

Therefore the Englishman is better off than the Venetian to the extent of £1 10s.

