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ANNALS  
OF  
COMMERCE,  
MANUFACTURES, FISHERIES, AND NAVIGATION,  
WITH  
BRIEF NOTICES OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES CONNECTED WITH THEM.

CONTAINING THE  
COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
BRITISH EMPIRE AND OTHER COUNTRIES,  
FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS TO THE MEETING OF THE UNION PARLIAMENT IN JANUARY 1801;  
AND COMPREHENDING THE MOST VALUABLE PART OF THE LATE MR. ANDERSON'S HISTORY OF COMMERCE, VIZ. FROM THE YEAR 1492  
TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE II, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

WITH A LARGE APPENDIX,

CONTAINING  
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE, | A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PRICES OF CORN, &c and  
TABLES OF THE ALTERATIONS OF MONEY IN ENGLAND AND | A COMMERCIAL AND MANUFACTURAL GAZETTEER OF THE  
SCOTLAND, | UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND;

WITH A GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

*The Antient Part composed from the most authentic Original Historians and Public Records, printed and in Manuscript; and the Modern Part from Materials of unquestionable Authenticity (mostly unpublished) extracted from the Records of Parliament, the Accounts of the Custom-house, the Mint, the Board of Trade, the Post-Office, the East-India Company, the Bank of England, &c. &c.*

By DAVID MACPHERSON.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

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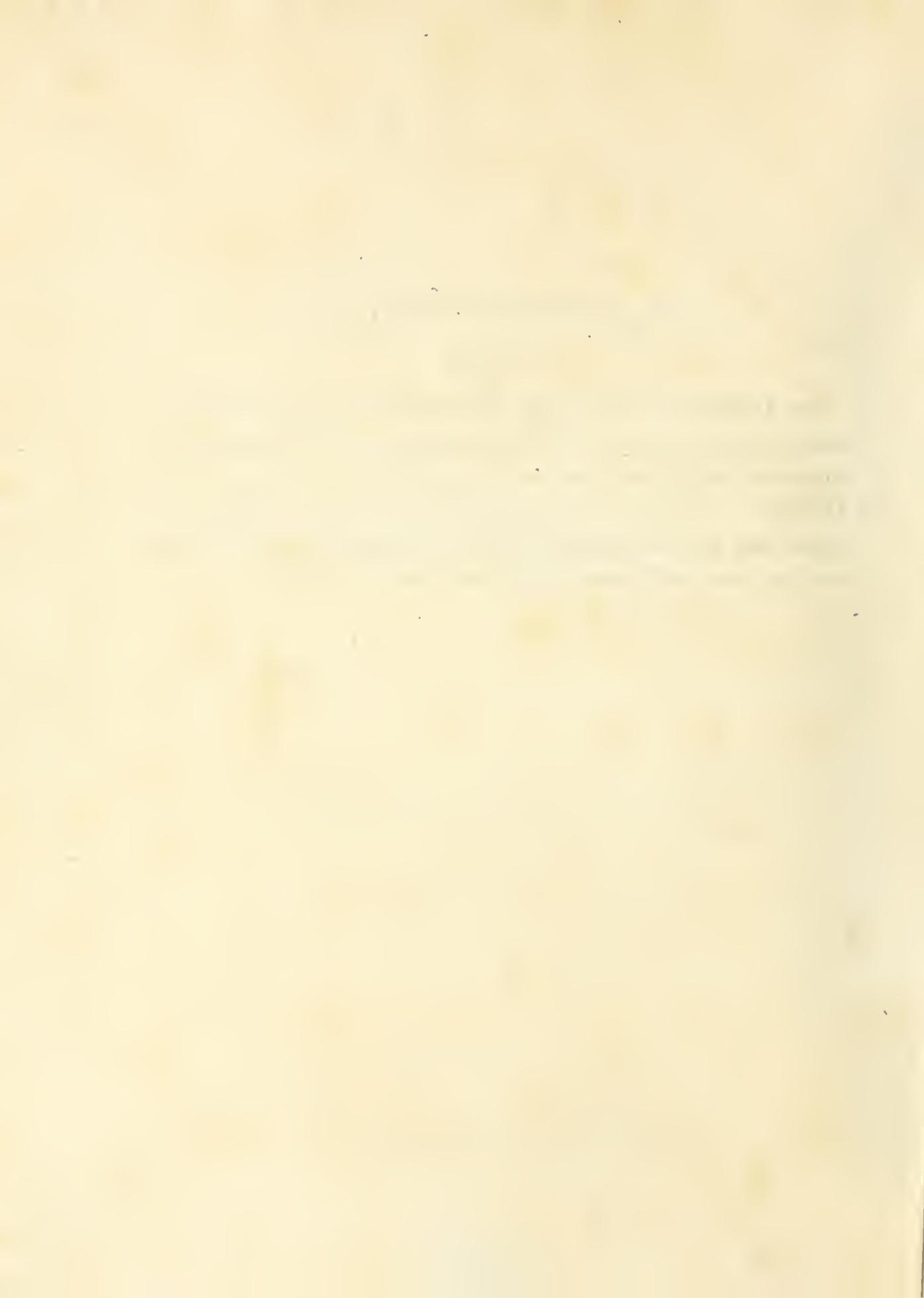


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THE FIRST VOLUME CONTAINS

(PART I)

The Commercial Transactions of the Antient Nations, and afterwards more particularly of the British Kingdoms, their Manufactures, Fisheries, Navigations, Arts, &c. from the earliest Accounts to the Discovery of America by Christopher Colon in the year 1492; composed from the most authentic Original Historians, and Parliamentary and other Public Records, published and in manuscript.



A N N A L S  
OF  
C O M M E R C E.

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COMMERCE exchanges what we have to spare for what we want, in whatever part of the world it is produced ; and it enables agricultors, labourers, manufacturers, seamen, and, in short, every description of industrious people, to live comfortably and independently upon their own acquisitions. The animation, which it gives to manufactures, brings on a division of labour, whereby they are carried to a degree of perfection, not otherways attainable, and makes the purchase of every article comparatively easy to the individual, for whom a hundred thousand hands, dispersed over the surface of the globe, are employed in providing food, lodging, clothing, and other necessaries, comforts, and enjoyments. Without commerce every family must be agricultors for themselves, and *for themselves only* : and they must also build their own houses, or rather huts, make their own furniture, their own clothes, and every article, they stand in need of. Some wretched nations in this most abject state of savage life exist, even at this time, in parts of the world hitherto scarcely ever visited by navigation. In a country destitute of commerce superior talents are of little value, and industry would toil in vain : a redundance of produce is useless ; a deficiency is death. But wherever commerce extends its beneficial influence, every country, which is accessible, is in some degree placed on a level with respect to the supply of provisions, the necessaries, the comforts, and the elegancies, of life.

The origin of commerce, if we comprehend under that name the simple exchanges, which took place, as soon as different tastes, or talents, directed people to employ their industry in different pursuits, must undoubtedly be nearly co-eval with the creation of the world. As pastur-

age and agriculture were the only employments of the first men, so cattle and flocks, and the fruits of the earth, were the only objects of the first commerce, or, more properly speaking, of that species of it known by the name of *barter*. The invention of manufactures enabled the more ingenious and industrious members of the community to add to their own comfort and convenience; and also, by disposing of the productions of their labour and ingenuity, to acquire an addition to the produce of their own fields, or their own flocks, which rendered them comparatively rich. We are not sufficiently informed of the state of mankind in the earliest ages to know, whether there were any, who bestowed their whole time and attention upon manufactures, or, in other words, followed trades or professions; whether their exchanges were extended beyond the near neighbourhood of the actual producers, and conducted by a class of people devoting their attention to such business, whom we call MERCHANTS; or whether any universal standard or medium, which we call MONEY, was then invented.

We find, however, in the very brief history, which we have, of the ages preceding the flood, a few short notices, which infer, that some progress had been made in manufactures during that period. The building of a city, or village, by Cain, however mean the houses may have been, supposes the existence of some mechanic knowledge. The musical instruments, as harps and organs, the works in brass and in iron (the most difficult of all metals in the application of it to the service of mankind) made by the following generations\*, shew, that the arts were considerably advanced: but above all the construction of Noah's ark, a ship of three decks, covered all-over with pitch, and vastly larger than any modern effort of naval architecture, proves, that many separate trades were then carried on; for it can by no means be supposed, that Noah and his three sons could collect and prepare the vast quantity and variety of materials, and also tools, necessary for carrying on so stupendous a fabric, had there not been people, who made a trade of supplying them in exchange for commodities, or perhaps for money.

The enormous pile of building, called the Tower of Babel, was constructed of bricks, the process of making which appears to have been very well understood †.

Some learned astronomers are persuaded that the celestial observations of the Chinese reach back to 2249 years before the commencement of the Christian æra ‡. And the celestial observations made at Babylon,

\* Naamah, the sister of Tubal-cain, is said by some authors to have invented, or practised, wool-carding, spinning, weaving, &c. but, I believe, without any sufficient authority.

† I say nothing of the wonderful buildings, *St. S.*, and *arnie*, ascribed to Semiramis, because it is impossible to know any thing certain concern-

ing that perhaps-imaginary princess, or goddesses. [See Lieutenant Wilford's *Dissertation on Semiramis*, from the Hindu sacred books, in the *Asiatic researches*, V. iv.]

‡ The arguments for and against the genuineness of these observations are given by *Montucla*, *Hist. de mathematiques*, V. i, p. 385.

and contained in a calendar of *above nineteen centuries*, which was transmitted to Greece by Alexander, reach back to within fifteen years of those ascribed to the Chinese. The discovery of this valuable science was attributed by European writers to a deified king of Babylon, whom they call Jupiter Belus. [*Aristot. de Cælo, c. 12.* \*—*Plin. Hist. nat. L. vi, c. 26.*]

The Indians appear to have had observations fully as early as the Babylonians. [*Bailly, Astronomie Indienne.—Robertson's Disquisition on India, p. 289, ed. 1794.*]

So very ancient among the oriental nations was the study of ASTRONOMY, a science so essentially necessary to navigation, that without it no voyages can be undertaken upon the ocean. Whether any of those nations learned astronomy from either of the others, is a question, which no man can presume to determine.

Such of the descendants of Noah as lived near the water, we may presume, made use of vessels built somewhat in imitation of the ark, (supposing it to have been the first floating vessel ever seen in the world) and on a smaller scale adapted to the purpose of crossing deep rivers. In process of time the posterity of his eldest son Japhet settled themselves in 'the isles of the Gentiles,' by which we must understand the islands at the east end of the Mediterranean sea, and those between Asia-minor and Greece, whence their colonies spread into Greece, Italy, and other western lands †. [*Genesis, c. 10.*] This is the earliest account of voyages performed upon the sea.

SIDON, which afterwards became so illustrious for the wonderful mercantile exertions of its inhabitants, was founded about 2,200 years before the Christian æra. Seated in a barren and narrow country, confined on one side by the sea, and on the other by the range of mountains called Lebanon, they had the sagacity to make these seemingly inhospitable boundaries the foundation of a naval power, which for ages stood unequalled, and gave them the unrivalled command of the whole commerce of the Mediterranean. The mountains being covered with excellent cedars, which furnish the very best and most durable ship timber and plank ‡, they built great numbers of ships, and exported the

\* Epigenes, Berofus, and Critodemus, as quoted by Pliny, [*Hist. nat. L. vii, c. 56*] do not allow half so much antiquity to the Babylonian observations. But, supposing the numbers in all to be equally genuine, the authority of Aristotle is vastly superior to all theirs.

† According to the tables calculated by Wallace, [*Dissertation on the numbers of mankind, p. 4.*] the posterity of Noah, if he had no children after the deluge, should at this time scarcely have amounted to 600 persons. But if we suppose a society of people exempted from the many clogs put upon matrimony in modern times, and enjoying the

full vigour of life for at least a century, we shall see reason to believe, that in about 200 years the posterity of three couples might have greatly exceeded a million of people.

‡ That the ships of this country were built of cedar in after ages also, appears from Pliny [*Hist. nat. L. xvi, c. 40*] who says, that it was used for want of fir, of which the Romans, from scarcity of better timber, or from ignorance, built their ships, though, in the same chapter, he remarks, that some beams of cedar in a temple at Utica had lasted 1188 years.

produce of the adjacent country, and the various articles produced by the labours of their own ingenious and industrious people, who excelled in the manufactures of fine linen, embroidery, tapestry, metals, glass, whereof they appear to have had almost as many varieties as our modern manufacturers furnish; such as coloured, figured by blowing, turned round by the lath, and cut or carved, and even mirrors. In short, they were unrivalled, at least by the inhabitants of the Mediterranean coasts, in works of taste, elegance, and luxury. Their great and universally-acknowledged pre-eminence procured to the Phœnicians, whose capital port was Sidon, the honour of being esteemed by the Greeks and others the inventors of commerce, ship-building, navigation, the application of astronomy to nautical purposes, and particularly the discovery of several stars nearer to the north pole than any that were known to the other nations, naval war, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, measures and weights; to all which it is very probable that they might have added money\*. Some of these sciences however, particularly astronomy and arithmetic, may be presumed to have been received by the Phœnicians from the Babylonians or Indians.

An observation of an eclipse, which happened 2155 years before the Christian æra, is supposed by some to be the most antient of the Chinese observations, which can be received as authentic: but others credit them for celestial observations three centuries earlier, as already observed. [*Montucla, Hist. de mathematiques, V. i. pp. 59, 385.*]

2000—It was probably about this time that the Titans made themselves masters of Greece and other parts of Europe. Their history is overwhelmed with fable: and they are noticed here merely as an early instance of a number of people, sufficient to overrun, and even to subdue and occupy a great extent of thinly-inhabited country, being transported by water; and as a proof, that the navigation of those remote ages was not quite so despicable, as some authors endeavour to make us believe †.

1920—Egypt appears to have surpassed all the neighbouring countries in agriculture, and particularly to have excelled in its plentiful crops of corn. The fame of its superior fertility induced Abraham to remove with his very numerous family into Egypt during a famine, which afflicted the land of Canaan, then the place of his residence. [*Genesis, c. 12.*]

1859—The earliest particular accounts of bargain and sale, which are recorded, reach no higher than the time of Abraham. In the accounts

\* See *Genesis, c. 10.*—*Homeri Il. l. xviii, v. 289; l. xxiii, v. 743; Odys. l. xv, v. 115.*—*Herodot. l. i, c. 1.*—*Mela, l. i, c. 6.*—*Strabo, l. xvi, p. 1097, ed. 1707.*—*Plinii Hist. nat. l. v, c. 19; l. xxxvi, c. 26.*

† The antient authors, who mention them, bring them from countries beyond the sea; and they extend their conquests, or colonies, to Italy, Spain, Africa, &c.

of two purchases of landed property by him we have the amount of the prices and the modes of the payments. The first may perhaps rather be called an acknowledgement made to Abimelech, as king of the country, for having dug a well in his territory, than a real purchase; and the payment was seven ewe-lambs, besides a present, far more valuable, of sheep and oxen. [*Genesis*, c. 21.] But the next is a fair and absolute purchase of a field or piece of land, in the narrative of which we have many circumstances well deserving our attention. Abraham, desirous of burying his deceased wife in ground which should be his own property, applied to the people of the country for their interest with Ephron, the proprietor of the field, to induce him to dispose of it. Ephron, in the hearing of the people, politely offered him a present of the piece of ground, and desired all the company to be witnesses of the donation. Abraham, bowing respectfully to all the people, declined the gift, but desired to purchase it at a fair price; whereupon, after some further compliments, the value was fixed at ‘four hundred shekels of silver, *current money with the MERCHANT* \*.’ The silver was immediately weighed (not counted), and paid to Ephron; and the property of the field of Machpela, with its cave or sepulchre, and all the trees belonging to it, was warranted to Abraham in the presence of all the people: The whole transaction appears to have been conducted with great candour and politeness on both sides. [*Genesis*, c. 23.] This contract for the regular transfer of landed property presupposes the various productions of the earth to have been for some time the objects of established traffic. We have reason, however, to believe, that only inclosed and planted fields were property; while the boundless common of the whole world was the unappropriated pasture ground of the patriarchs, who, with their armies of children and servants, and their innumerable herds of cattle, ranged from place to place in search of fresh pasture, as the pastoral tribes of the Scythians and Arabians have done in all ages. Abraham, who fed his flocks and herds at one time on the banks of the Euphrates, and at another on those of the Nile, said to his nephew Lot, ‘Let us separate in order to prevent strife among our herdsmen. If you chuse to go to the left, I will go to the right. Is not the whole land before you?’

From the history of Abraham we learn, that money of denominations and quality, fixed by public authority, or by the general consent of those who were most interested in the circulation of it, was then an established standard, or medium, in the transactions of mankind, and, together with

\* This important word *MERCHANT* implies, that the standard of money was fixed by usage among *merchants*, and consequently, that *merchants* constituted a numerous and respectable class of the community. St. Jerom’s, and some other translations of the Bible, omit the word *MERCHANT*, and only say, that the money was generally or publicly current, or approved: but in the original Hebrew the words, as literally translated for me by a learned orientalist, signify *four hundred shekels of silver current with the MERCHANTS*; so that our modern English translation is one of the truest.

cattle and slaves, constituted the principal wealth of individuals. Abraham had 'flocks and herds, and silver and gold, and men-servants and 'maid-servants', and camels and asses.' Abimelech gave to Abraham a thousand pieces of silver, besides cattle and slaves.

Manufactures were by this time so far advanced, that not only those more immediately connected with agriculture and pasturage, such as flour ground from corn, wine, oil, and butter, and also the most necessary articles of clothing and furniture, but even those of luxury and magnificence, were usual; as we learn by the ear-rings and bracelets, jewels of gold, jewels of silver, and other precious things, presented by Abraham's steward to Rebekah, the intended bride of his young master, and to her relations. [*Genesis*, cc. 9, 13, 18, 19, 20, 24.]

About this time Inachus, called by the Grecian poets of after ages the son of the Ocean, but probably a Phœnician †, arrived in Greece, and founded the kingdom of Argos in the peninsula afterwards called Peloponesus, and now the Morea. His daughter Io, while she was purchasing some goods from a Phœnician vessel, which had been five or six days trading in Egyptian and Assyrian merchandize at Argos, then the most flourishing city of Greece, was, together with some other young women her attendants, seized by the crew, and carried to Egypt. [*Herodot.* L. i, c. 1.]

It is the opinion of several learned commentators, that the conversations in the book of Job are translated from a work composed by Job himself, that his residence was in Arabia, and that he was contemporary with the sons of Abraham. That book throws a great deal of light upon the commerce, manufactures, and science, of the age and country wherein he lived. Gold, iron, brass, lead, chrysal, jewels, and other luxuries, together with the art of weaving, are mentioned in cc. 7, 19, 28, 42; merchants in c. 41; gold brought from Ophir (wherever that place was) which infers commerce with a country apparently remote, and topazes from Ethiopia, c. 38; ship-building, and that so far improved, that some vessels were constructed so as to be particularly distinguished for the velocity of their motion ‡, c. 9; writing in

\* These were not servants in the modern acceptation of the word, but slaves, his property, and bought with his money. See *Genesis*, c. 17.

† There can be little reason to doubt, that the name of *Inachus* (1222-c) is the same word with *Anak* or *Anak*, a Phœnician title of dignity. The learned Bochart seems with good reason to think, that the genuine name of the Phœnicians was *Ben Anak*, (the sons of Anak) of which the Greek word Φοινικες is a corrupted contraction. We learn from Plautus [*Pœnulus* act. 5, f. 2] that the Carthaginians, a Phœnician colony, called their city *Chalce-Anak*, the residence of the Anaks. [*Cumberland's Sanctionibus*, p. 271.—Bochart, *Chan.* L. i,

c. 1.] Josephus, who consulted many good authors, now lost, says, that in early times, the Phœnicians were the navigators who conveyed the first knowledge of the Egyptians and other nations to the Greeks. [*Contra Apionem*, L. 1.]

‡ The commentators are far from agreeing upon the meaning of the words, translated 'swift ships,' in the English Bible. Jerom translates them 'naves poma portantes,' ships carrying apples. The invention of rafts, the very first rude essay in navigation, was ascribed to Erythras, a (perhaps imaginary) king of some part of the coast of the Persian gulf. [*Strabo*, L. xvi, p. 1125.—*Plin. Hist. nat.* L. vii, c. 56.]

a book \*, and engraving letters, or writing on plates of lead, and on stone, with iron pens, and also seal-engraving, *cc.* 19, 31, 38; fishing with hooks, and nets, and spears †, *c.* 41; musical instruments, particularly the harp and organ, *c.* 30; astronomy, and names given to the constellations; which proves that they must have made great proficiency in arithmetic and geometry, the invention of which (long after this time) is ascribed to Myris king of Egypt ‡, *cc.* 9, 38. These various important notices prove, that, though the patriarchal system of making pasturage the principal object of attention was still kept up by many of the chiefs of the country §, where the author of the book of Job lived, the sciences were assiduously cultivated, the useful and ornamental arts were in a very advanced state, and commerce was prosecuted with vigour and effect, at a time, when, if the chronology of Job be rightly settled, the arts and sciences were scarcely so far advanced in Egypt, from which, and the other countries bordering upon the eastern part of the Mediterranean sea, they were afterwards slowly conveyed to Greece ||.

1739—Jacob, the grandson of Abraham, bought a piece of ground near Shalem in the land of Canaan, for which he paid an hundred *kesitas* ¶. He was invited by the people of the country to settle among them, and to trade, or negotiate with them. [*Genesis*, *cc.* 33, 34.]

1728—The inhabitants of Arabia, whose great advances in the arts and sciences have just been noticed, appear to have availed themselves in very early times of their most advantageous situation between the two fertile and opulent countries of Egypt and India, and to have got the entire and unrivaled possession of a very profitable carrying trade between those countries. In this commerce navigation and land carriage were combined: and we find a class of people, who gave their

\* The English translation has ‘printed in a book.’

† According to the English translation, ‘with barbed irons,’ or harpoons.

‡ The Greeks learned geometry from the Egyptians, and therefore gave them the credit of the invention. See *Strabo*, *L.* xvi, *p.* 1098.

§ Both the inventories of Job’s estate enumerate sheep, camels, oxen, and asses, together with a very great household: but there is not a word of horses, for which Arabia has long been famous, as composing a part of his property.

|| A very respectable author, to whose extensive researches history, and particularly oriental history, has been greatly indebted, has inadvertently ascribed the superior civilization of the Arabians to the occasional visits of Israelite, Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman, merchants. If so, the scholars have greatly surpassed all their masters. But an intercourse, sufficient to produce such an effect, must have commenced long before the book

of Job was written, long before the Israelites became a nation, very long before the Greeks were a civilized people, and many centuries indeed, before the name of Roman was heard of.

Quandoque Lotus dormitat Homerus:  
Vernum opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum.

¶ The translators of the English Bible have rendered *kesita* ‘pieces of money.’ Others have translated it by a word signifying *lambs*. According to the learned Bochart, [*Hierozoicon*, *L.* ii, *c.* 43.] it must have been a kind of money, so called as being genuine, or of a just standard fineness, *kesita* signifying *true or genuine*; and he thinks it had no connection whatever with *lambs*. Some suppose it a piece of money stamped with the figure of a lamb. If this opinion could be established, it would be the earliest notice of coined money in the world. But it is believed, that there was no coined money among the Israelites till after the extinction of their monarchy.

whole attention to merchandize as a regular and established profession, and travelled with caravans (as practised in those countries to this day) between Arabia and Egypt, carrying upon the backs of camels\* the spices of India, together with the balm of Canaan, and the myrrh produced in their own country, or perhaps imported of a superior quality from the opposite coast of Abyssinia; articles which were in great demand among the Egyptians for embalming the dead†, in the religious ceremonies, and for administering to the pleasures, of that superstitious, rich, and luxurious, people. The merchants of one of those caravans, consisting of Ishmaelites and Midianites‡, being also dealers in slaves, made a purchase of Joseph from his brothers for twenty pieces of silver, or £2 : 11 : 8 of modern sterling money§, and carried him with them to Egypt. [*Genesis*, c. 37.]

The extent of the Arabian commerce¶ in these ages further appears from the spices, which must have been got directly or circuitously from Arabia, being joined with balm and other productions of Canaan in the present destined by Jacob for Joseph. [*Genesis*, c. 43.] The Israelites during their peregrination in the wilderness possessed several oriental spices and aromatics in very considerable quantities, which, whether

\* The camel is wonderfully adapted by Nature for the transportation of merchandize across barren deserts. Very little food is sufficient for him, and his stomach is so formed that he can take in a supply of water, wherever it can be got, sufficient for the use of several days. He proceeds, under the load of a thousand pounds weight, with a slow, but uniform, pace, wherein he perseveres with unremitting patience to the end of a very long journey. These qualities render the camel so eminently useful in Arabia, Africa, and other arid countries, that he is emphatically called *the ship of the desert*.

† Pure myrrh, casia, and other odoriferous substances, excepting frankincense, were used in embalming the dead bodies of the rich in Egypt. [*Herodot. l. ii, c. 86.*]

‡ In a few ages after this time we find the Midianites so opulent, that the plunder of gold earrings taken from them by the Israelites in one battle, weighed 1,700 shekels, besides other ornaments and purple raiment, apparently from Sidon: and even their camels had chains of gold upon their necks. [*Judges*, c. 8.]

§ I thought it proper to give this first instance of the price of a slave in modern money, (as calculated in *Arluthnot's Tables of ancient coins*, p. 224) to enable the reader to compare it with the modern prices. We know of no prices of provisions equally ancient, whereby we might estimate the real value of the price paid for Joseph.

¶ The intercourse between Arabia and India in very early ages may be questioned, as all the articles carried by the caravan who bought Joseph,

are said by some authors to have been the produce of Arabia. Those authors, seeing such goods brought from Arabia, naturally supposed that they were produced there; and they neither knew nor inquired concerning the existence of any country beyond it. But it is known that some of the spices could have been brought only from India, with which the intercourse from Arabia was very easy by means of the monsoons, the periodical regularity of which must have been observed, and taken advantage of, many ages before the time of Hippalus, whom the Egyptian Greeks supposed the first discoverer of them. It may also be observed, as a strong presumption that the Arabs traded to more remote parts of India than the Persians or Assyrians, or any other nation with whom the western parts of the world had intercourse, that no such spices had ever been seen in Jerusalem as those which were presented to Solomon by the queen of Sheba, [*II Chronicles*, c. 9] who, if a native of Sabæa in Arabia Felix, received them from her own subjects; or, if a native of the country now called Abyssinia (as the modern Abyssinians allege) must have procured them from the merchants of Muza (Mocha, or a place near it) in Arabia, as we learn from the *Periplus of the Erythraean sea*. [See also *Strabo*, *l. xvii*, p. 1129] Theophrastus is, if I mistake not, the oldest author, who knew that cinnamon and other spices and aromatics were the produce of India. See *l. ix*, c. 7, and elsewhere: and Strabo, who wrote several centuries after him, had heard a report to the same purport. [*l. xvii*, p. 1129.]

they brought them out of Egypt, or procured them on their journey, must have been obtained from the southern Arabians, who imported some of them from India and Africa, and raised others of them in their own country. [*Exodus*, c. 30.]

From detached notices, collected at very distant intervals of time, it appears that the southern Arabs were eminent traders, and enjoyed at all times a very considerable proportion, but most generally the entire monopoly, of the trade between India and the western world from the earliest ages, till the antient system of that most important commerce was totally overturned, when the Europeans found a direct route to India by the Cape of Good Hope.

1715—Joseph, from being a slave and a prisoner, was advanced to be the prime minister of Pharaoh king of Egypt. Having laid up the redundant corn produced in seven years of plenty in the royal granaries, he afterwards sold it out to the people during seven years of famine, whereby the whole money of the nation, afterwards the cattle, then the lands, and at last even the people themselves, became the property of the king. The scarcity being general in all the neighbouring countries, Joseph brought the whole of his father's family with all their numerous retinue to settle in Egypt.

1707—About this time we find inns established for the accommodation of travelers in Egypt and in the northern parts of Arabia; and, we may presume, the more civilized southern part of the peninsula could not be destitute of the same accommodation. This supposes a considerable intercourse between distant countries: and it may be presumed, that a great proportion of the travelers were traders. The inn-keepers seem to have furnished only house-room, and perhaps beds; for we find, even long after this time, that travelers carried their own provisions with them, and also provender for their beasts. [*Genesis*, c. 42.—*Exodus*, c. 4.—*Judges*, c. 19.] Herodotus ascribes the first use of inns or taverns to the Lydians. But the Greeks, even after the age of that father of their history, knew very little of the affairs of any country at a considerable distance from their own.

1689—Jacob (or Israel) in his dying benediction to his sons mentions '*an haven of ships.*' [*Genesis*, c. 49.] The use of these words in metaphorical language, and by a person who passed his life at a distance from the sea, shews, that navigation was much practised, and familiarly known, in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean. Some Grecian poets in their inconsistent fables have, however, ascribed the honour of the invention of navigation to their own countrymen.

1706-1491—During the residence of the Israelites in Egypt, manufactures of almost every kind were carried on in that comparatively-pe-

lished country to great perfection. Flax, fine linen\*, garments of cotton, rings and jewels of gold and silver, works in all kinds of metals, iron, the most difficult of all metals in the process of preparing it for use. chariots for luxury, and chariots for war, occur in the history of this period, written by Moses. Having no vines in their country, they probably now, but certainly in the age of Herodotus, (*L. ii, c. 76*) made a liquor from barley, which the Greeks, having no appropriate name for it, called barley-wine. To these may be added the great manufactory of bricks, in which the Israelites are supposed to have been chiefly employed during their servitude in Egypt, and also their vast buildings, and gigantic statues, wherein stupendous bulk, rather than elegance of architecture or sculpture, seem to have been considered as the standard of perfection. [*Genesis, cc. 41, 44.—Exod. cc. 9, 11, 12, 14.—Num. c. 35.—Deut. cc. 4, 19.*] Literature also appears to have been in a very flourishing state among the Egyptians of these ages, at least when compared with some of the neighbouring nations: and hence, in order to give a high idea of the accomplishments of Moses, it is said, that he was ‘learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians †.’ [*Acts, c. 7.*]

1556—Cecrops, a native of Sais in Egypt, led a colony into Greece, and having married the daughter of Acteus king of Attica, he became his successor in the kingdom. He appears to have paid some attention to naval affairs, whereby he was enabled, when his subjects were distressed by famine, to import corn from Lydia, and also from Sicily, which has in all ages been distinguished for its extraordinary fertility, so as to be esteemed by the poets the native country of Ceres the goddess of corn. Cecrops founded twelve villages, which afterwards coalesced into the one city of Athens; and he persuaded his roving and indolent subjects to settle in and near them, in order to unite their forces against the Bœotian marauders and Carian pirates. He also pointed out to them the benefits of industry, and taught them the principles of agriculture. Such was the origin of the antient and illustrious city of Athens.

Cadmus arrived in Greece from Phœnicia, and is said to have taught the Greeks the use of letters ‡, and the art of working metals, both hi-

\* The superior quality of the Egyptian linen, which was universally allowed by all the antients, who saw it, and compared it with the manufactures of other countries, has been called in question in modern times; because the bandages of a crumby examined by Doctor Halley were found only equal to linen worth  $\frac{2}{4}$  a yard. So a philosopher of the thirtieth century, who shall stumble upon a bit of ozenburg of the eighteenth, may demonstrate that no better linen was then used in Britain.

† It must be admitted, however, that the learning and science of the Egyptians have in all ages

been extolled much beyond their real merit, because they appeared to great advantage in the eyes of the early Greeks and Israelites. Such monuments of their art, as still remain to be compared with those of later and modern times, oblige us to wonder what the antients found in them worthy of so much admiration.

‡ Several learned men are persuaded that the use of letters was at least in some degree known to the Greeks before the arrival of Cadmus. The earliest letters used in Greece were probably those, which Plato calls *Hyperborean* (i. e. northern) and describes as different from the letters of his own

therto unknown in that country. According to some accounts, Cadmus was sent by his father in quest of his sister Europa, stolen away by Cretan adventurers: others say, that he eloped from the court of the king of Sidon with Hermione, one of that king's female musicians. [*Athen. L. xiv.*]

In these ages also Danaus, another Egyptian adventurer, led a colony into Greece in a great ship with twenty-five oars on each side, and, expelling Gelanor the hereditary king of Argos, reigned in his place.

Some time after, Pelops arrived in Greece from Phrygia, and brought with him riches hitherto unknown in Europe\*.

The arrival of these adventurers in Greece merits notice in commercial history only as shewing, how common, and how easy, the migration of colonies by sea was in those ages, and how great an ascendant the possessors of shipping and maritime power had over the more ancient inhabitants of Greece. Many other instances might be added; but these may suffice.

1450—The Israelites under Joshua began to expell the Canaanites or Phœnicians from a great part of their territories; and their progress was attended with prodigious slaughter of that devoted people. One consequence of their irruption was, that Sidon and the other unconquered cities of Phœnicia not having room for all the refugees, who escaped the exterminating sword of the Israelites, many Phœnician colonies were sent out to establish settlements in various parts of the Mediterranean, who all keeping up a commercial intercourse with their mother country, the trade of the whole western world was carried on by Phœnician merchants acting as agents to each-other over all the extent of the Mediterranean, then the only sea known by the inhabitants of its shores.

Some Phœnician colonies in Greece have already been mentioned. They also established settlements in Cyprus, Rhodes, and several of the islands scattered in the Ægean sea: they penetrated into the Euxine or Black sea; and gradually spreading westward along the shores of Sicily, Sardinia, Gaul, Spain, and Africa, they everywhere established trading posts or factories, to which the wandering and savage inhabitants of the adjoining regions, allured by the prospect of advantage in trading with

age; and, according to Diodorus Siculus, Orpheus used Pelagic letters, which were older than the Greek. [*v. Plato in Cratylus.—Diod. Sic. L. iii.—Pausan. in Attic.—Ihre Gloss. Swio-Goth. pp. xxii, xxviii, and Origin and progress of writing, by Mr. Asple, p. 66, note.*] Joseph Scaliger has a long dissertation on the derivation of the ancient Ionic Greek letters from the Phœnician. [*Animadversiones in Eusebium, pp. 109, et seqq.*]

\* I have brought these several migrations together, though it is probable, that they happened at

times considerably distant from each other. The history of them is so obscured by fable, and perplexed by contradictions, that the learned have in vain attempted to reduce them to regular chronology, as is evident from numerous instances of impossible synchronisms; e. g. Perieres, the great-grandson of Deucalion, married a woman, the eleventh in descent from Inachus; and his brother Athamas married one, who is placed as the sixth from the same ancestor.

the new settlers, quickly repaired, and soon learned how to procure, in exchange for their hitherto-neglected and useless native commodities, articles of which nature or their own ignorance had denied them the use, and even the knowledge. It is probably impossible, and it is surely unnecessary, to particularize the names, and to reduce the dates of their several settlements to chronological order\*. Some of the later ones, whose beginnings are better known, will be noted in their proper places.

Here it is proper to observe, that TYRE, which will make such a distinguished figure in the history of ancient commerce, is now for the first time mentioned, and merely as a strong or fortified city, while Sidon is dignified with the appellation of *Great* †. [*Joshua*, c. 19.]

1350—About this time Egypt was governed by Myris, or Moëris, who is honoured with the title of the *Philosopher*. This philosophic king is said to have invented the principles of GEOMETRY, a science so essential to commerce, that no distant voyage can be undertaken without the assistance of charts, in the construction of which, as well as in the art of navigation, or the measurement of a ship's course upon the trackless ocean, it is almost needless to inform the reader, that the knowledge of geometry is the first and most indispensable requisite. Among the Egyptians, however, this art was entirely confined to the mensuration of the land, the boundaries of which were frequently destroyed or misplaced by the inundations of the Nile; and thence its name, importing in Greek *measurement of the earth*. But, as it appears that astronomy, which requires a previous knowledge of geometry, was well known several centuries before this time in the country where Job lived, in Babylon, China, and India, we must believe that Herodotus, from whom we derive almost all our knowledge of the early history of Egypt, has been imposed upon in this matter by the Egyptian priests, for the honour of their country, or that the science has been invented in several countries.

Myris also improved his country by forming canals, and an artificial lake of stupendous magnitude, calculated to receive the water of the

\* The reader, who is desirous to see all, that could be collected by vast erudition and indefatigable industry on the subject of the Phœnician colonies, may consult *Bochart's Chanaan*.

† There is great disagreement among authors concerning the time when Tyre was founded. Josephus dates it 240 years before Solomon's temple, or about 1,250 before the commencement of the Christian era; [*Antiq. L. viii, c. 2*] and others make it still later. This passage in Joshua appears sufficient to prove it entitled to a much higher antiquity; to which may be added the testimony of Saconiatro, a Phœnician, and one

of the most ancient historians in the world, who mentions it as a most ancient city, inhabited by the fifth generation of mankind. In order to account for the various dates, perhaps it is only necessary to remember, that there were in Phœnicia at least four cities of the name of Tyre, the most ancient of which was for many ages much inferior to Sidon in power and opulence. [*See Bochart, Chanaan, col. 776.*]

When Herodotus was at Tyre, the priests told him, that it was 2,300 years since the foundation of their city. [*Herodot. L. ii, c. 44.*]

Nile, whenever it rose too high, which bears his name. That his subjects, the farthest removed from the river, might partake of its benefits, as well as those living on its banks, he constantly employed great numbers of people in salting the fish caught in these waters. This is the first account of curing fish by salt; a business which has greatly enriched the naturally-poor country of Holland, and might also enrich the poorest regions of the British dominions.

Hitherto the Egyptians had avoided having any concern in maritime affairs, being prejudiced against the sea by their religious notions, and their policy; though they appear to have had a great passive commerce with the Arabians and Phœnicians, the latter being the constant carriers of their merchandize upon the Mediterranean sea.

1300—Egypt was now governed by Sesostris, a prince who forced political, and even religious, prejudices, to give way to his ambitious views of extending his dominions. Having built a fleet of four hundred ships on the Red sea\*, (probably by means of Phœnician workmen) he subdued some part of Arabia, some islands, by the Greek writers called Cyclades, and perhaps some of the neighbouring countries†. He after-

\* The name of the Red sea, or Erythræan sea, was given to the two gulfs on the east and west sides of Arabia, and was also extended to the ocean on its south side. In this work the name will be restricted to the gulf on the west side of Arabia.

† These four hundred vessels, such as they were, constituted the greatest fleet that ever was fitted out by the native kings of Egypt. But, as the event falls in the dark period of Egyptian history, and the number is not mentioned by Herodotus, considerable allowance must be made for exaggeration. Some modern writers, however, have amused themselves and their readers with a notion, that the Egyptians were the most ancient navigators; because a nation so wise could not be blind to the advantages of commerce. We are moreover told, upon the same authority of imagination, that the glory of the discoveries, hitherto ascribed to the Phœnicians, 'seems rather to belong to the Egyptians;' and also, that the Hebrews, who were so long among the Egyptians, could not be ignorant of their trade to all the countries of the East, and that, after they got themselves settled in the land of Canaan, they could not be supposed deficient in nautical and commercial knowledge, when the port of Sidon was so near to them. Such are the modern discoveries of the trade and navigation of the Egyptians and Hebrews, which were utterly unknown to the most ancient authors.—So very far were the Egyptians from being great navigators and discoverers, that they abhorred the sea, and all fish that were bred in it, because the dead body of their god Osiris was thrown into it; and they would not so much as speak to seamen, who were an abomination in their sight, because

they gained their bread upon the sea. [*Plutarchi Sympos. L. viii; De Iside et Osfr.*] All ancient authors agree, that the Phœnicians were the earliest and the greatest traders and navigators in the western world. [*Isaiab, c. 23—Ezekiel, cc. 26, 27, 28.—Herodot. L. i, c. 1; L. iii, c. 107.—Mela, L. i, c. 6.—Strabo, L. xvi, p. 1097.—Plin. Hist. nat. L. v, c. 12.—Joseph. contra Apion. L. i, &c. &c.*] But, for any merchant vessel belonging to the native Egyptians having ever sailed to any foreign port, I believe no ancient authority can be found. The trade of the Egyptians was evidently conducted by foreigners; and, if we may trust to Grecian writers, they were not very willing to admit them, upon any account whatever, to enter into their country. Before the reign of Psammitichus all strangers (excepting, however, the Arabians and Phœnicians—see *Genesis, c. 37—Herodot. L. i, c. 1.*) were prohibited from landing in Egypt: but the Greeks, being notorious for their piracies, were most rigorously debarred, (or were, perhaps in truth, the only nation excluded) and those, who had the misfortune to be driven by the winds upon the coast, were put to death, or made slaves; and from that savage cruelty, or severe justice, the Grecian poets fabricated their fable of a king of Egypt, called Busiris, sacrificing men upon his altars. [*Diod. Sicul. L. i, § 67—Strabo, L. xvii, pp. 1142, 1154.*] It may be objected to what I have said of the detestation of seamen among the Egyptians, that Herodotus [*L. ii, c. 164*] mentions managers of vessels as one of the orders, or casts, of that people. But from his description of their vessels, with hulls and masts made of thorn and sails made of paper, and of their navigation,

wards marched northward with his land forces, and conquered, or rather overran, the various nations in his way, till he crossed over into Europe, and terminated his expedition in Thrace, the hardy natives of which he was not able to bring under his yoke. In his return he settled a colony of his Egyptians at Colchis, the country which was afterwards rendered famous in poetry by the expedition of the Argonauts. This colony retained the swarthy complexion and crisped hair of the Egyptians, and also the language and customs, the arts and manufactures, of Egypt, in the days of Herodotus, who particularly notices their artful representation of the figures of animals upon their clothes, the colours of which remained as long as the stuff lasted; and linen, a manufacture almost peculiar to the Egyptians, retained its character among the Colchians even in the time of the emperor Tiberius. [*Herod. L. i, c. 203; ii, 103, 104.—Diod. Sic. L. i.—Strabo, L. xi, p. 762.*]

In every country which Sesostris subdued, he erected monuments, with inscriptions engraved upon them, relating his victories, some of which, remaining in Syria, were seen by Herodotus. He also set up other columns, which particularly deserve attention in the present work, because on them his artists, improving upon the geometrical knowledge introduced by Myris, engraved MAPS of the countries conquered by him. That which was at *Æa*, the capital of Colchis, is said to have exhibited not only the form of the land and the sea, but even the very roads\*. [*Appolon. Rhod. Argonaut. L. vi, v. 272.*]

[*L. ii, cc. 96, 175*] and from every passage wherein he has occasion to speak of their managers of vessels, it is sufficiently evident, that they were not seafaring men, but mere fresh-water sailors, or boatmen, employed in working the numerous river-raft upon the Nile. As to the supposed commerce of the Hebrews, Josephus, himself a Hebrew, plainly asserts, that the antient Hebrews, being remote from the sea, were content with the produce of their own fertile soil, and did not go from home in quest of riches or conquests. He adds, (in perfect agreement with the very first chapter of Herodotus) that in the early ages merchandize was carried to and from Egypt by the Phœnicians, who ploughed the vast seas in their trading voyages, and that it was by their means that the Egyptians, and other nations, became known to the Greeks. [*Jos. contra Apion. L. i.*]—These unquestionable antient authorities are surely sufficient to prove, that the Egyptians were not navigators, and still less the Hebrews, whose naval enterprises never went beyond fishing with a boat upon a lake, and who scarcely ever possessed a bit of sea-coast.

\* Chronologers differ many centuries in the æra of this renowned conqueror. The difficulty is increased by the prodigious liberty taken by antient writers in translating and perverting

names; whence this great king, who makes so conspicuous a figure in history, does not appear at all in the catalogue of Egyptian kings made up by Eratosthenes, which is with good reason esteemed the most correct with respect to the chronology of Egypt.

After carefully considering all that I could find upon the subject, and collecting materials almost sufficient for an antient history of Egypt, that I might come as near the truth as possible in the date of the first essays in geography, (a science in which I have taken pleasure almost from my infancy) I resolved to abide by the testimony of Herodotus, who says, [*L. ii, cc. 113—116*] that a king, whose name in Greek was Proteus, who reigned when Alexander (or Paris) carried off Helen from Sparta, and also when Menelaus arrived in Egypt after the destruction of Troy, was the immediate successor of Pheron, (called by Strabo Pсаммитихус) who was the son and immediate successor of Sesostris. Therefore Sesostris could not be much above a century before the fall of Troy, which is dated 1,184 years before Christ. According to Apollonius Rhodius, the expedition of Sesostris was prior of that of the Argonauts, the most probable æra of which is about 1,266. Sesostris was posterior to Myris, or Mæris, whose death was not quite 900 years before the journey

This is the earliest mention of GEOGRAPHY, a science which, as comprehending HYDROGRAPHY, is of such prodigious importance to commerce, that without it voyages on the ocean are utterly impracticable. And thus have the sciences, which enable the modern navigator to circumnavigate the globe, originally shone out among a people who scarcely ever used the sea.

After his return from his expedition, Sesostris became sensible of the deceitful splendour and vanity of conquest, and appears to have devoted the remainder of his life to the real duties of sovereignty in consulting the happiness of the people under his charge. He intersected the country with canals, which divided it into square portions, and extended the benefits of fisheries, inland navigation, and wholesome drink, through the whole of it. With the earth dug out of those canals he raised the surface of the towns, which, when the country was overwhelmed by the periodical inundation of the Nile, thereby became detached, islands, in which the people lived dry and comfortably. His vigorous mind, which had remarked the prodigious variety of productions in the many countries he had overrun, fully comprehended the great advantages which would arise from an active commerce, whereby the commodities of the most distant parts of the known world might be assembled in his own dominions, to employ the industry, and add to the happiness of his subjects. It was, perhaps, with this view that he established the distant colony of Colchis; it was certainly with this view that he conceived the great design of opening a navigable canal of communication from the Nile to the Red sea. The work was accordingly begun, but afterwards given up, from an apprehension that the surface of the sea was higher than the land, and the country would be drowned, if it was let in upon it. Whether the canal was begun by his son after his death, or by himself, for authors differ in their accounts, [See *Strabo*,

of Herodotus into Egypt. [L. ii, c. 13] Herodotus was born in 484, and in 446 he read his history to the Athenians. [Vossius de Hist. Græc. p. 14.] Thus the death of Myris may be dated about 1,340, or 1,330. The expedition of Sesostris, therefore, must have taken place between 1,340 and 1,226 years before Christ, which is a proper æra for him to be contemporary with the grandfather of Proteus, who seems to have been of a different race. It is to be observed, however, that Herodotus marks a difference in the authenticity of the history of Egypt, prior to the settlement of the Greeks at Naucratis in the reign of Amasis, (about 550 years before Christ) and what is posterior to that event, the later period being, as he says, much clearer.

It is true, that the arrival of Danaus, who is called the brother of Sesostris, in Greece is placed much earlier than the time here assigned to Sesostris.

But I do not know of any satisfactory proof of the identity of Egyptus, the brother of Danaus, with Sesostris, which seems to rest on no better authority than that of the fabulous Manetho. Herodotus, who has occasion pretty often to mention Danaus, proves him indeed to be an Egyptian, of the city of Chemmis; but, though he mentions the treachery of a nameless brother of Sesostris, he pretty plainly proves, that the crime, imputed to Danaus, of violating the chastity of the queen, while he was regent during the king's absence, could not be committed by a brother of Sesostris, whose wife appears to have accompanied him in his expedition. [L. ii, cc. 91, 107.] The common Grecian fable of the fifty sons-in-law of Danaus being all, except Lynceus, murdered by their wives, his fifty daughters, is also confuted by Herodotus, [L. ii, c. 98] who mentions Archander, a son-in-law of Danaus.

L. i, p. 65 ; L. xvii, p. 1156] the plan was pretty certainly his ; and to this royal father of geography the commercial world is also indebted for the first idea of INLAND NAVIGATION, which is now so highly improved by the great abilities of our engineers, that not only level countries like Egypt, but even such as have great declivities, and other obstacles, which not long ago were thought insuperable, are now traversed from sea to sea by vessels of considerable burthen.

1280—There is reason to believe, that about this time the spirit of trade had spread itself over the greatest part of Asia proper, now called the Lesser Asia. It has already been observed, that Pelops carried great riches with him into Greece from Phrygia. Another part of that country was governed by Midas, who is said by the poets to have turned every thing he touched into gold. The most rational explanation of this fable seems to be, that he encouraged his subjects to convert the produce of their agriculture, and other branches of industry, into money by commerce, whence considerable wealth flowed into his own treasury. [*Plin. Hist. nat. L. xxxiii, c. 3.*] This explanation will appear the more probable, when it is remembered, that the invention of anchors for ships is ascribed to this prince by Pausanias, and the invention of coining money to his queen, by Julius Pollux ; though it is more likely, that what the Greeks called the invention, was rather the introduction of the knowledge of them from countries more advanced in civilization. Strabo, however, ascribes the great wealth of Midas to mines\*.

1234—According to the authors followed by Appian, the first foundation of CARTHAGE by the Tyrians was fifty years before the destruction of Troy. It is probable that it was for several ages a place of little note †.

The extensive and fertile island of Crete, centrically situated between Europe, Asia, and Africa, and called by Aristotle *the empress of the sea*, was undoubtedly capable of commanding the commerce of the Mediterranean, and of course possessing the naval empire of that sea, had it been fully possessed by the Phœnicians, who seem not to have been very numerous in it. Of the commercial efforts of the Cretans little or nothing is known. Castor Rhodius, as copied by Eusebius, has ascribed to them the honour of being the first, who held the dominion of the sea. But we must be careful not to affix modern ideas to antient terms. This boasted dominion of the sea extended only to the suppression of the Carians and some other pirates, who infested the coasts, by a naval force fitted out by Minos, the second king of that name in Crete ; an expedition made by him to Athens in revenge for the murder of his son, on

\* Midas appears to have been a family name common to many of the Phrygian kings. There was one contemporary with Homer. I am not

certain if this one is placed in his proper time ; nor is it of much consequence.

† See the year 868 before Christ.

which occasion he subjected the Athenians to very humiliating conditions of peace; and another to Sicily, in which he lost his life.

1226—Hitherto the Grecian sailors had contented themselves with coasting along or crossing the numerous small bays of their own winding shore. But now a very long voyage was projected, to be carried on by the combined efforts of all Greece. The young chiefs united themselves with Jason, the son of Æson king of Thessaly, in the famous expedition to Colchis, the object of which was to obtain some desirable object, concealed by the poets under the fabulous or enigmatical name of *the golden fleece*. Ancæus, king of Samos, a Phœnician or of Phœnician parentage, was their astronomer. The Argo\*, according to the poets their only vessel, or, according to some other authors the admiral of the fleet, was the most capital ship, that had ever sailed, or rowed out of a Grecian port, in so much that the poets, not being able to find a station sufficiently honourable for her in this world, have transported her to the heavens, where they have made her a constellation. This voyage, when we make a due allowance for the comparatively-miserable condition of the vessel, or vessels, the want of instruments, and of the skill in pilotage so needful in a voyage of twelve or fourteen hundred miles, which may be the distance along the shores from Iolcos in Thessaly to Ææa at the east end of the Black sea, was a more arduous undertaking to the ignorant Grecian Argonauts (so these adventurers were called) than a voyage round the world, and even into the southern polar regions, is to our modern skilful navigators.

1194—In the following age the whole confederate force of Greece was engaged in a much greater maritime undertaking than that of the Argonauts, though not so distant. Paris, the son of Priam king of Troy, having carried off Helen, the wife of Menelaus king of Sparta, all the princes of Greece resolved to revenge the affront: and uniting their efforts, after ten years spent in preparation, they mustered a fleet of 1,186 vessels, onboard which they embarked an army of about 100,000 men, led by all the petty princes of Greece under the supreme command of Agamemnon king of Argos, the brother of the injured husband.

The Greeks, having effected their landing on the Trojan shore, spent ten years more in hostilities, though they never once attempted a regular siege. During this time, while their own ships, hauled up on the dry beach, must have been ready to fall in pieces from the repeated drenching of rains and parching of sunshine, their camp was supplied with provisions by the natives of Thrace and the islands. [*Hom. Il. vii, v. 467; ix, v. 71.*]

\* Much has been said about the name of this far-famed ship. If we advert that the Phœnicians called their warlike ships *arco*, to distinguish them from their ships of burthen, which were built much broader, and therefor were called *golin*, we need be at no loss to perceive, whence the Greeks borrow-

ed the model of her construction, as well as her name, which has sadly puzzled the modern Greek etymologists. [*See Bochart, Geog. sacr. col. 739—Festus, vo. Gaulus.*] Quere, if Noah's Ark and the Grecian Argo be not the same name?

1184—At length, having glutted their revenge by the destruction of Troy, and their avarice by the plunder of the wealth collected in it, the remains of the Greeks made the best of their way to their long-deserted homes, where, as might well be expected, they found the most dreadful disorders in their families, and their territories ravaged by enemies, or convulsed by intestine commotions.

Such was the conclusion of the Trojan war, the most celebrated event of antiquity, with which the real history of Greece, hitherto overwhelmed with fable, may, perhaps, be said to commence\*. It appears from many passages in Homer, that the Trojans were much superior to the Greeks in civilization, and that they lived in comfort and elegance, till they were disturbed by those invaders. Hence it is certain, that they had made considerable progress in the arts and sciences, and were possessed of some commerce, for which their situation on the strait between the Euxine and Ægean seas, was exceedingly commodious. We even find, that they had skilful ship-builders; and Homer has immortalized the name, real or fictitious, of Harmonides, the builder of the vessels, which carried off the beautiful Helen from Sparta.

The great fleet got together for the Trojan war, was not provided nor maintained by commerce, the only effectual support of a permanent naval power. It was the production of an extraordinary temporary exertion urged by the spirit of resentment and the hope of rich plunder, natural to savages sunk in sloth and indolence. But when the fervour of insanity, which incited the Greeks to ruin themselves in order to destroy the Trojans, was cooled by the disastrous consequences of their conquest, this mushroom navy was annihilated; and for several centuries we hear no more of any considerable naval expeditions undertaken by that people.

During those *heroic ages* of Greece, as they are called, the petty princes, who lived on the sea coasts, frequently fitted out vessels to go upon piratical cruises. We might thence suppose, that merchant ships were so numerous upon the seas, as to afford many captures to those robbers. But apparently that was not the case. They did not entirely depend upon what plunder they could find at sea: they often landed, and pillaged the defenceless villages, carrying off, not only all the goods and cattle they could find, but even the people themselves, whom they sold for slaves. Those pirates were sufficiently numerous to keep one-another in countenance; and their rank and power made the ignorant people consider their exploits as by no means disgraceful, but rather praise-worthy;

\* The Arundel, or Parian, marbles place the destruction of Troy twenty-five years earlier; an error, which they continue till the establishment of the annual magistracy at Athens.

Of late it has been questioned, whether there ever was a Trojan war, or a city called Troy, such as it is described by Homer. The laudable scepticism, or suspicious criticism, of modern times

may, in resentment of the innumerable impositions put upon us under the name of history, possibly go too far. It may, however, just be observed that Dion Chrysostom [*Orat.* xi] long ago denied the Trojan war.—The examination of such a question would be quite out of place in this work.

as similar practices were in later times esteemed honourable among the Scandinavian nations, and are in the present day among the inhabitants of the northern coast of Africa. It was therefore no affront, but a common question put to the commander of a vessel, whether he professed piracy or trade; as we find in Homer, that exact painter of manners, who even introduces Menelaus king of Sparta boasting of the wealth he had acquired by his piratical expeditions. [*Odyss.* L. iii, vv. 72, 301; xiv, v. 230.] Among the freebooters on the coasts of the Ægean sea the Carians were the most eminent, till they were suppressed by Minos, as already related\*.

After this sketch of the naval history of Greece in the early ages, it may be proper to give the reader some idea of their ships. That of Danaus, which was rowed by fifty oars, was a Phœnician vessel: and there is reason to believe that the Argo, thought built in Greece, was the work of Phœnician carpenters. She was a long slender open boat, which could carry fifty men, and could occasionally be carried by them upon their shoulders. Of the vessels, employed in transporting the Grecian army to Troy, the smallest carried 50 men, and the largest 120. They were very slightly built; and they were hauled on shore after finishing a voyage. Thucydides says, they were only large open boats; whereas Homer describes Ulysses as covering his ship with long planks †. [*Odyss.* L. v. v. 252.] It is probable, that some of the larger ones had at least half-decks in order to furnish some kind of lodging for the people, and that the space occupied by the rowers was open, the sides being connected by slender beams or planks, on which the rowers sat with their feet set against the bottom timbers, or transverse pieces of wood near the bottom. They had but little depth, and seem to have been very flat in the bottom, and consequently drew very little water; which is further probable from the lead-line being never mentioned by Homer, whence we may presume, that the oars were found sufficient to sound the depth of the water. They appear to have had only one mast, which was struck when they finished the voyage, and one sail-yard; though Homer mentions *sails* in the plural, which is perhaps a poetical licence, as it is not probable, that they understood the management of what are now called fore-and-aft sails. But their main dependence was upon their oars; and their only direction for their course was the knowledge, which some of the crew had previously acquired of the

\* It appears from Thucydides, that those ferocious and lawless depredations were still practised in his time (about eight centuries after the Trojan war) by the western tribes of Greece, who even then retained the character and condition of savages. And it must be acknowledged, that the more polished and commercial nations of later ages were

not exempted from those criminal practices, which continued to be too closely connected with commercial navigation; almost down to our own age, as will too plainly appear in the sequel of this work.

† But, quere, if those long planks formed the deck, or the bottom of the vessel?

appearance of the shore. When that failed them, they must have landed in order to obtain information\*.

Castor of Rhodes, a writer contemporary with Julius Cæsar, has made up a kind of catalogue of the nations, who successively attained, what he was pleased to call, the empire of the sea; by which is to be understood some degree of pre-eminence in naval power on a very confined scale in, or near, the Ægean sea. In partiality to the Greeks, whose maritime transactions, with a very few exceptions, were scarcely worthy of notice, he seems to have almost lost sight of the Phœnicians, the only people, at least on the coasts of the Mediterranean, who in the early ages knew any thing of extensive voyages and the art of navigation. As Eusebius has copied this catalogue from Castor, and several chronologists have done it the unmerited honour of transcribing it from him, some slight notice shall be taken of each of the nations mentioned in it, as they occur in order of time.

1179—The Lydians are the first people, after the Cretans under the reign of Minos, who are honoured by him with the title of *Masters of the sea*. They certainly had some claim to a commercial character, but not as navigators, unless the testimonies of Castor and Isidore are to be preferred to that of Herodotus, [*L. i, c. 27.*] The invention of merchandize and of coin is ascribed to them by some authors; and Isidore goes so far as to call them the first builders of ships, and inventors of navigation. The Mæonians, who may be considered as a part of the Lydians, and the Carians, their neighbours, were possessed of ivory, which must have been imported, and they understood the art of manufacturing it into toys and ornaments, and of staining them with colours, [*Hom. Il. L. iv, v. 141.—Herod. L. i, c. 94.*] The Lydians are said to have sent a colony into Italy, who settled on the west side of the Tiber among the Umbri and Pelasgi, and assumed the name of Tyrrheni, from Tyrrhenus their leader, [*Herodot. L. i, c. 94.*] But the date of the migration seems uncertain; nor is the fact itself uncontroverted. For several learned men are of opinion, that the Etrurians possessed all Italy many ages before the Trojan war; and that the arts, sciences, and commerce, were carried to great perfection among them

\* As Homer is generally believed to have been very correct in adapting his descriptions to the times of which he wrote, the following passage deserves our notice.

Agamemnon launched a fast-sailing ship to carry Chryseis home to her father. Besides Chryseis, Ulysses, and probably attendants, the vessel carried twenty chosen rowers, and a hecatomb for sacrifice. When they got to their port, they took in the sails, and stowed them away in the hold. Then, easing off the main stay, they lowered the mast into its crutch or rick. After this they rowed the vessel

into a good birth, or commodious situation, then let go the anchors, (or whatever else should be understood by *ἔρρας*) and carried out stern-falts or perhaps bent the cables to the stern; *πρὸς πρῶτης ἔδηςσαν*. [*Iliad, L. i, vv. 308, 430 et seqq.*]

The truth of the few notices I have here collected does not depend upon the reality or falsehood of the long-received history of the Trojan war. They at any rate shew the state of society and of nautical knowledge in the time of Homer, if not in that assigned to the war of Troy.

long before Greece or any other part of Europe emerged from barbarism\*.

About 1100—While the naval history of Greece, if it may be so called, presents nothing but petty piratical cruises, and innumerable emigrations and remigrations, occasioned partly by domestic commotions in the families of the chiefs, and partly by the hitherto-unsettled condition and restless disposition of the people, the Phœnicians, inspired by the active spirit of commerce, and that thirst of knowledge which distinguishes a cultivated people from a nation of savages, were extending their discoveries along the whole of the north coast of Africa and the opposite shore of Spain; and, no longer willing to let the inland or Mediterranean sea set bounds to their enterprising disposition, they launched into the vast Atlantic ocean, passing those famous head-lands, which the Greeks for many ages afterwards esteemed the utmost boundary of the world, and celebrated under the poetical name of the *Pillars of Hercules* †. Wherever they went, they appear to have established peaceful commercial settlements, mutually beneficial to themselves and the natives of the country. The inhabitants of Bætica (now Andalusia), when first visited by the Phœnicians, possessed abundance of gold, silver, iron, copper, lead, tin, honey, wax, pitch, &c. Like the Americans, when first discovered by the European adventurers, they made their most common utensils of the precious metals, which they esteemed so little, that they gave in exchange for some articles, of which novelty constituted the principal value, such a quantity of silver, that there is a story of one of the ships being absolutely so overburthened with it, that the Phœnicians were obliged to throw away the lead, with which their *wooden anchors* were loaded, to make room for a part of their silver, which they could not possibly carry in any other manner. Besides the abundance of metals of every kind, this highly-favoured region was blessed with a fertile soil, producing all the necessaries and comforts of life in abundance, a delicious climate, and serene air. In short, it was a country so delightful in every respect, that the accounts given of it by the Phœnician seamen are with good reason believed to have furnished Homer with his description of the Elysian fields. The Phœni-

\* Mazocchi makes the Etrurians, or Tyrrhenians, of Phœnician origin. [*Symmach. Diss. V. ii*] And Mr. Bourget, [*Saggi di Dissert. accadem. Diss. i*] on comparing the Etrurian and Phœnician alphabets, finds them nearly the same. [*Orbis eruditi literatura a charactere Samarit. deducta*] On the other hand, Bochart, the great investigator of Phœnician colonization, denies that the Etrurians had any connection with the Phœnicians. But his argument drawn from their not joining the Carthaginians against the Romans, and from Hannibal not alleging their common origin as an induce-

ment to co-operate with him, (which no man can pretend to say he did or did not) is of no weight. Neither is his proof from the dissimilarity of a few vocables very strong. In the course of so many ages the knowledge of a common origin would have little influence in opposition to political interests; and every one knows that language is continually changing.

† It is not certain whether the head-lands, some small islands, two mountains, or the brass columns in the temple of Hercules at Gadir (Cadiz), were the columns of Hercules. [*Strabo, L. iii, p. 258.*]

cians observing such a happy combination of advantageous circumstances for a trading settlement, and that the country was moreover intersected by two great navigable rivers, the Bætis and the Anas (now the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana), established the capital post for their western trade on a small island in the Atlantic, within a furlong of the main land, and at no great distance from the mouths of the two rivers, to which they gave the name of Gadir. The town, which they built there, has in all ages maintained a superior rank as a trading station; and it is even now (with its name somewhat varied by the Saracens to Cadiz) the principal port of Spain, and the station of the galleons, which import from America those precious metals, which were formerly exported from the same harbour to the eastern part of the Mediterranean sea.

Of the other early western settlements of the Phœnicians, the most celebrated were Carteia and Utica. The former, situated on the Bætic shore at the narrowest part of the strait, is by some authors esteemed more antient than Gadir, the foundation of it being ascribed to Melcartus (called also the Phœnician Hercules), whence the town was also called Melcarteia and Heraclea. The later was situated on the coast of Africa, in sight of Carthage, and built about eighty years after the destruction of Troy, according to Velleius Paterculus, who says, that Gadir was founded a few years earlier. Matters of such high antiquity are very uncertain; and it is very probable, that augmentations of the colonies were often taken for the original settlements of them by historians, (an example of which we seem to have in Carthage) and thence the contradictory æras may in some degree be reconciled\*.

1058—The dominion of the sea at this time is ascribed to the Pelasgi.

1046—David king of Israel, now in the height of his prosperity, having subdued several of the neighbouring princes, employed a part of the wealth acquired by his conquests in purchasing cedar timber

\* Not willing to lay hold of the highest antiquity, which is frequently carried far beyond the truth, I have assumed the year 1100, as being near the probable date of these antient Phœnician settlements, chiefly upon the authority of Strabo, [*L. i, p. 83*] Velleius Paterculus, [*L. i, c. 2*] and Pliny, [*Hist. nat. L. xvi, c. 40.*] I do not, however, mean to deny, that it is very probable that the Phœnicians may have entered the Ocean 350 years earlier, in the time of the invasion of their country by the Israelites. There is in favour of that date the testimony of Claudius Julius, an author indeed comparatively late, but who wrote expressly upon Phœnician affairs, and doubtless transcribed from ancient writers: and he ascribes the foundation of Gadir to Anibalca, the son of Phenix, who is placed about the time of Joshua the commander of the Israelites. There is also the testimony of

Timagenes, a Syrian Greek, [ap. *Ammian. Marcellin. L. xv*] for a colony of Dorians, (i. e. the people of Dor, a capital city on the Phœnician coast, and one of those which the Israelites were unable to reduce. *Joshua, c. 17—Judges, c. 1*) who were led by the antient Hercules several centuries before the birth of the Greek Hercules, as far as the Bay of Biscay, where they settled on the Gallic shore; and the names of some of the tribes there might warrant a supposition of their being descended of that Phœnician colony. To these may be added the story related by Procopius, [*Bell. Vandal. L. ii, c. 10*] of two pillars in the western extremity of Africa near the Strait, with Phœnician inscriptions upon them, importing that they were set up by a people who were driven from their native country by a plunderer called Joshua the son of Nau.

from Hiram king of Tyre, with whom he kept up a friendly correspondence as long as he lived; and he also hired Tyrian masons and carpenters for carrying on his works. Thus the wealth of a warlike nation must ever flow into the pockets of their more industrious commercial neighbours\*.

This prince collected for the building of the temple above eight hundred millions of our money, as it is calculated by Arbuthnot! [*Tables of ancient coins*, pp. 35, 208.]

1012-975—Solomon, the successor of David, cultivated the arts of peace, and he was thereby enabled to indulge his taste for magnificence and luxury more than his father could possibly do. Being a wise man, he knew, that, to preserve his kingdom in a secure and honourable peace, it was necessary to keep up a respectable military force, sufficient to repress any hostile invasion. But, without shewing that pusillanimous anxiety to preserve peace, which, while it dreads, invites, the insults of the neighbouring nations, he molested none of them, and thereby enjoyed a reign of almost uninterrupted tranquillity. He employed the vast wealth, amassed by his father, in works of architecture, and in strengthening and polishing his kingdom. The famous temple of Jerusalem, the fortifications of that capital, and many entire cities, among which was the celebrated Tadmor or Palmyra, were built by him. Finding his own subjects but little qualified for such undertakings, he applied to Hiram king of Tyre, the son of his father's friend Hiram †, who furnished him cedar and fir (or cypress) timbers, and large stones ‡, all properly cut and made ready for building, which the Tyrians carried by water to the most convenient landing-place in Solomon's dominions. Hiram also sent a great number of workmen to assist and instruct Solomon's people, none of whom had skill 'to hew timber like unto the Sidonians §.' Solomon in return furnished the Tyrians with corn, wine, and oil; and he even received a balance in gold. It is not improbable, however, that the gold was the stipulated price for the cession of twenty towns to the Tyrians by Solomon, which Hiram, not liking them, afterwards returned to him.

\* Eupolemus, an author quoted by Eusebius, [*Preparat. evangel. L. ix.*] says that David built ships in Arabia, wherein he sent men, skilled in mines and metals, to the island of Ophir. Modern authors, improving upon this rather-suspicious authority, have ascribed to David the honour of being the founder of a great East-India commerce.

† See the letter of Hiram (or Hiram) to Solomon, wherein he mentions his father of the same name. [*II Chron. c. 2.*] This clears up the difficulty, found by Petavius in the reign of Hiram, which he attempts to solve by assigning to it a duration of 56 years, apparently comprehending the reign of two kings of that name. Moreover, Josephus, though he has not duely discriminated

the two kings, says expressly, that the temple was begun in the *eleventh* year of Hiram, and that Hiram inherited the friendly disposition of his father. Now it was *thirty-four* years after the elder Hiram had supplied David with building materials, when the temple was begun. The confusion of kings of the same name is a frequent source of chronological embarrassment. [*Sec Joseph. Antiq. L. viii, c. 2; Contra Apion. L. i.*]

‡ According to Josephus, [*Antiq. L. xx, c. 8.*] the stones were thirty feet long and nine feet high a wonderful size.

§ So they still called the Tyrians, as being a colony from Sidon.

The great intercourse of trade and friendship, which Solomon had with the first commercial people in the western world, inspired him with a strong desire to participate in the advantages of trade. His father's conquests had extended his territories to the Red sea, and given him the possession of a good harbour, from which ships might be dispatched to the rich countries of the South and the East. But his own subjects being totally ignorant of the arts of building and navigating vessels \*, he again had recourse for advice and assistance to his friend Hiram. The king of Tyre, who wished for an opening to the oriental commerce, the articles of which his subjects were obliged to receive at second hand from the Arabians, as much as Solomon wanted nautical assistance, appears to have readily entered into his views, and to have proposed a trading adventure on a large scale to be carried on by the two kings in partnership, or at least in concert. Accordingly Tyrian carpenters were sent to build vessels for both kings at Eziongeber, Solomon's port on the Red sea, whither Solomon himself also went to animate the workmen by his presence.

Solomon's ships, conducted by Tyrian navigators, sailed in company with those of Hiram to some rich countries called Ophir and Tarshish, upon the position of which the learned have multiplied conjectures to very little purpose †. The voyage required three years to accomplish it; yet, notwithstanding the length of the time employed in it, the returns in this new-found trade were prodigiously great and profitable, consisting of gold, silver, precious stones, valuable woods, ivory, and some exotic animals, as apes and peacocks. We have no information concerning the articles exported in this trade: but it cannot be doubted that the manufactures of the Tyrians, and probably the goods imported by them from other countries, were assorted with the corn, wine, balm, and oil, of Solomon's own dominions, in making up the outward

\* See the note in pp. 13, 14.

† Ophir has been searched for in almost every part of Asia and Africa, and some have let their fancy run so wild as even to wander to Peru in South America, in the name of which they find a resemblance of Ophir! They might have found a much closer resemblance in that of Orphir in the Orkney islands. The word was probably not the proper name of any country, but an appellative signifying gold mines; and in that signification it is now used in Sumatra and Malacca, as we are told by the philosophic traveler Le Poivre. Many are quite certain, that the south part of Spain, then abounding in gold, was Tarshish; and they find their proof in the name of Tartessus or Tartessus, which properly belonged to the island formed by the two mouths of the Batis, and was improperly given by Grecian and Roman writers to Casteia and Galis. There, say they, Solomon's ships, having sailed round all Africa, took in their

gold, and returned home by the Mediterranean. But, as the ships appear to have been destined to continue in the same trade, like the modern East-India ships, those authors seem not to have well considered how they were to get them into the Red sea again, after finishing their voyage at the east end of the Mediterranean, in order to begin their next voyage. Bruce more rationally supposes Tarshish to have been on the east coast of Africa, where he says the name still remains; which, though true, is no proof of its being the place visited by those navigators. I say nothing of the improbability of the Tyrians, whatever friendship their king might have for Solomon, permitting him to get any footing in, or even knowledge of, their settlements in Spain. See Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, Part 1, Book 1, c. 1, § 8—12.—Bochart, *Chan.* col. 606.—*Mem. de litter.* V. xxx, p. 90.—*Bruce's Travels*, V. i, p. 433.

cargoes; and that his ships, like the Spanish galleons of the present day, imported the bullion, partly for the benefit of his industrious and commercial neighbours. [*I Kings*, cc. 7, 9, 10—*II Chron.* cc. 2, 8, 9.]

Solomon also established a commercial correspondence with Egypt, whence he received horses, chariots, and linen yarn. The chariots cost 600, and the horses 150, shekels of silver each. [*I Kings*, c. 10—*II Chron.* cc. 1, 9.]

1003—The Thracians at this time had the empire of the sea, as Castor alleges, and held it nineteen years. Of their power at sea, or of the commerce necessary to support it, we know little or nothing.

916—The Rhodians now, and probably long before, made a considerable figure as a commercial people; and it is probable that they had carried on a flourishing trade for some centuries, being noted by Homer as an opulent people in the time of the Trojan war. [*Iliad*, L. ii, v. 668.] They excelled in ship-building, and their voyages extended to the farthest limits of the Mediterranean sea, at the west end of which, according to Strabo, they established colonies. It was perhaps from this respectable appearance of their naval power that Castor has inserted them in his list of *sovereigns of the sea*: and we know from better authority that they retained a command of the sea many ages afterwards. [*Strabo*, L. i, p. 57. with *Juslin*, L. xxx, c. 4. for the date, 198 before Christ.] What is, however, infinitely more to their honour, is, that they cleared the sea of pirates, and composed a code of *maritime laws* for the regulation of trade and navigation, which were so judicious and equitable, that they were generally adopted by other nations, and held in the highest respect for many ages. The Rhodian regulations for the shares payable to the commander, officers, and seamen; the rules to be observed by freighters and passengers while onboard; the penalties on the commander or seamen for goods injured by their neglect, by the want of sufficient tarpawlines and pumps, or by their carelessness or absence from their ships; the penalties for barratry, for robbery of other ships, and for carelessly running foul of other ships; the punishment of the commander for running away with the ship; the punishment for plundering a wreck; the compensation payable to the heirs of seamen who lost their lives in the service of their ship; the regulations of charterparties, bills of lading, and contracts of partnership or joint adventures, the rules for bottomry, for average, salvage, the rates of salvage for recovering goods from the bottom in  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , 12, and  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet water; and the payment of demurrage, as enacted in the Rhodian laws, were all copied by the Roman emperors, and incorporated into the Roman law; and from it they were mostly assumed into the naval code, known by the name of the law of Oleron, which is in a great measure in force to this day. And thus the Rhodians have had the glory of regulating the mar-

itime and commercial transactions of many nations through a long succession of ages\*.

897—Jehosaphat king of Judah, in conjunction with Ahaziah king of Israel, made an attempt to revive the commerce, which had flourished so greatly in the reign of Solomon. But the ships, which they built at Eziongeber, being wrecked in the harbour, the undertaking was abandoned. We are not told, that they had any assistance from the Phœnicians in fitting out their fleet. [*I Kings*, c. 22—*II Chron.* c. 20.]

Thus it appears, that the commercial splendour of the Israelites was a blazing meteor, which shone out and passed away with the reign of Solomon.

890—At this time the dominion of the sea is ascribed to the Phrygians. The opulence of Pelops and Midas, princes of this country, several centuries before this time has already been observed.

880—It was probably about this time, that Homer flourished, whose inimitable poems laid the foundation of the literary pre-eminence universally allowed to the Greeks in all succeeding ages. But the present work is only concerned with the many notices respecting trade and manufactures to be found in his poems, some of which have been remarked in their proper places, and with his admirable geographical knowledge. The Ægean sea with its islands and both its shores, the neighbouring parts of the Mediterranean coasts, and Egypt, were well known to him from his own judicious observations made during his voyages and travels. He is said to have made voyages as far as Spain and Tuscany; [*Herodoti Vita Homeri*] and the other western parts of the Mediterranean sea were known to him by conversation with Phœnician seamen. He even knew, that the land is everywhere surrounded by the sea. In short, he is honoured with the title of *Prince of geographers* by Strabo, one of the greatest geographers of antiquity, from whose work, collated with Homer's own, the reader may obtain a proper idea of the knowledge of this wonderful man †. Such, however, was the tardy progress of information in those ages, that the great empires of the East, and even the commercial fame and opulence of Tyre, which had flou-

\* These laws may with great probability claim the honour of a still higher antiquity, as the Rhodians were partly of Phœnician origin; and no doubt the chief merchants were of the Phœnician race, and derived their customs and mercantile regulations from their mother country.

My respect for the learned President Goguet makes me wish that he had condescended to give his reasons for questioning the genuineness of the Rhodian laws, which have come down to us as incorporated in the Roman law, whence I have

taken the abstract given in the text. The high respect in which the Rhodian law was held in the most flourishing ages of the Roman empire is well illustrated by the emperor Antoninus, who, on a complaint against the plunderers of a wreck, answered, 'I indeed am sovereign of the world, but the Rhodian law is sovereign of the sea, and by it your cause must be determined.'

† The reader may also consult *Blackwell's Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer*, sect. 9. and 11.

rished in great splendour for at least two centuries, were utterly unknown to Homer, the most knowing of all the Greeks\*.

In the life of Homer, untruly ascribed to Herodotus the great father of history, but perhaps composed by another Herodotus of Halicarnassus, and undoubtedly a work of great antiquity, we are told, that Smyrna, though but lately built, was a place of considerable trade, and exported great quantities of corn. Phemius, the stepfather and preceptor of Homer, taught letters and music to the youth of Smyrna, and received wool in payment for his instruction.

868—It is apparently about this time, that we ought to date the arrival of Elissa † (whom Virgil has overwhelmed with fabulous fame under the name of Dido) at Carthage, which, if it was really built so early as 1,234 years before Christ, seems to have remained a place of but little consequence till now, that Elissa built the citadel of Bofra ‡ for her own residence, and enlarged the town with such a number of new buildings, that she has most generally been reputed the foundress of it; and it is at any rate from this time that the importance of Carthage in history, and more particularly in commercial history, is to be dated.

CARTHAGE was situated on a small peninsula projecting into a bay, which formed two excellent harbours. About equally distant from either end of the Mediterranean, and on that part of the African coast, which advances towards Sicily, Italy, and Greece, it might be said to be placed in the center of all the accessible shores of the then known world; while behind it lay an immense fertile continent, which furnished every thing necessary for the support of the citizens, and a great variety of valuable articles for exportation.

When we read the history of the Carthaginians, we ought ever to

\* Notwithstanding the unrivaled powers of his astonishing genius, Homer passed his life in such personal obscurity, that no circumstance of it, handed down to us, can connect him with any contemporary of sufficient eminence to have merited a place in history. It is therefore absolutely impossible to give a decided preference to any one of the many æras assigned to him. In this uncertainty the opinion of the great Herodotus seems the best deserving of credit, because he is the oldest author who mentions him; though his traditional account be confused (as all traditions are) by making him prior to Linus and Melampus, who are mentioned in Homer's own poems. He says [*L. ii. c. 53*] that Homer and Hesiod lived 400 years before himself; and he was born 484, and publicly read his history at Athens 446 years before Christ. Euthymenes (quoted by Clemens of Alexandria, *Strom. L. i*) says, that Homer was born in the island of Chios, and flourished 200 years after the Trojan war.

† After considering the great variety of discordant dates assigned to Elissa, I can see no rea-

son to prefer any of them to that which is handed down to us, from the national records of the Tyrians, by Josephus, viz. 143 years and 8 months after the foundation of Solomon's temple. [*Joseph. contra Apion. L. i.*]

No reader, whose judgement is above the standard of a school-boy's, needs be told, that the adventures of a queen of Carthage, called Dido, with an imaginary Trojan refugee, called Æneas, are entirely fabulous. Those, who wish to see all, that can be said for and against the pretended voyage of Æneas to Italy, may consult the Essay upon that subject by the learned Bochart.

‡ Bofra in the Phœnician language signifies the fortification. The Greeks changed it to *Buzza* (Byrsa) signifying in their language *a hide*; and thence a very silly fable was invented of a treacherous bargain with the natives for as much land as a bull's hide would inclose, which, by being cut into very narrow thongs, was made to inclose a large piece of ground. The same fable has been transplanted into the history of England.

bear in remembrance, that almost all, that we know of them, has come to us by the information of their Greek and Roman enemies \*. And, even through the medium of such malignant information, we feel ourselves irresistibly drawn to prefer them to those favourites of the historic muse in every pursuit of real utility. In spite of misrepresentation we are compelled to admire the greatness of their power, founded solely upon the basis of trade, and the general wisdom of their conduct, till, departing from the character of merchants, they were led away by the mad ambition of being warriors and conquerors, which brought on the ruin of their flourishing state. From the same sources of information, when properly examined, we can draw a comparison between the Phœnician colonies and those of other nations, which in the early ages were so frequently roving over the face of the earth. Almost every one of these colonies may be considered as a band of plunderers, consisting of one or more chiefs supported by a crowd of ignorant and miserable dependents, driven out from their native country by domestic convulsions, and in their turn driving out, exterminating, or reducing to slavery, those whom they could overpower, and, in short, spreading misery and desolation wherever they went †. On the contrary, a Phœnician colony was a society consisting of opulent and intelligent merchants, ingenious manufacturers, skilful artisans, and hardy seamen, leaving their native country, which was too narrow to contain their increasing population, with the blessings and good wishes of their parents and friends in order to settle in a distant land, where they maintained a correspondence of friendship and mutual advantage with those who remained at home, and with their brethren in the other colonies sprung from their parent state; where, by prosecuting their own interest, they effectually promoted the happiness of the parent state, of the people among whom they settled, and of all those with whom they had any intercourse; and where they formed the point of union, which connected the opposite ends of the earth in the strong band of mutual benefits. Such is the contrast between a colony of barbaric hunters, pastors, warriors, and robbers, and a colony of civilized and mercantile people.

Some Greek writers say, that Phidon king of Argos was the first who coined silver money, and invented weights and measures. As the Greeks had a good deal of intercourse with the more enlightened nations of Asia ‡, it is not probable that they could be without the use of money,

\* If the works of any of the Carthaginian writers had come down to us, we might, between them and those of their enemies, have come pretty near to the truth. Philinus a Sicilian Greek, who lived with the great Hannibal, and wrote a history of his wars, is mentioned respectfully by Polybius, who balances his partiality against the contrary partiality of the Roman historian Fabius Pictor.

† This description exactly agrees with the pic-

ture of the early state of Greece, as drawn by Thucydides in the beginning of his History.

‡ We may be pretty sure that measures, and scales and weights, were invented soon after the creation of the world. Abraham, who lived 1000 years before Phidon, had scales nice enough for weighing silver; and, no doubt, such were in use long before his time.

and more especially of weights and measures, till now : and we must suppose that Phidon rather introduced some improvements hitherto unknown in Greece, and has thence got the credit of being the inventor. [*Marmor Par.—Strabo, L. viii, p. 549.—Plin. Hist. nat. L. vii, c. 56.*]

The invention of coin is by others ascribed (and probably on no better foundation) to the people of Ægina, a small rocky island in the bay between Athens and Argos, who were among the first of the Greeks that applied to commerce and navigation, whereby they made their little territory the center of the trade of Greece.

825—Castor ascribes the sovereignty of the sea to the Phœnicians. He seems not to have known, that they really possessed it for ages before and after this time.

784—He next compliments the Egyptians with the same supremacy at sea ; and that at a time, when, there is good reason to believe, they did not possess a single vessel better than the miserable craft, which they used upon the river.

753—The Milesians are next represented as supreme in naval power ; and they seem to have had some title to commercial fame, if we may estimate their commerce by the number of their colonies, which, according to Pliny [*Hist. nat. L. v, c. 29*] were above eighty (i. e. eighty towns) chiefly on the shores of the Propontis and the Euxine sea.

According to Varro, the proclamations of the emperors, and most of the Roman writers, this year was distinguished by the foundation of Rome \*, which was destined by Providence to combine under one government, and unite in some kind of commercial intercourse, all the countries on the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, together with some of those on the Atlantic ocean.

750—Bochoris king of Egypt began to open his eyes to the mistaken policy of his predecessors in regard to commerce, for the encouragement of which he made some good regulations. One of the laws enacted by him, or by his successor Afychis (if he was his successor †) empowered his subjects to borrow money by giving as a security the

\* There is every reason to believe, that the date of the foundation of Rome is as little known as that of the other villages of Italy, which never emerged from their original obscurity ; and that most of the events, related in the first five or six centuries of its supposed history, have as little foundation in truth as the early history of some nations now existing, which have been falsified in humble imitation of it. Indeed the number of 244 years, ascribed to the reigns of seven kings of so small a territory in such times of rapine and violence, and those elective kings, none of whose reigns could commence in early youth, and of whom four are said to have been killed and one expelled, is alone sufficient to overthrow the whole traditional part of the Roman history. From the accession of Au-

gustus there were twenty emperors in 244 years ; and those emperors did not expose their sacred persons to the dangers of war, as the chief of a gang of robbers (for such was a king of Rome) must continually have done. Pliny makes Rome about half a century older than Varro does : and of the earlier authors, who mention the foundation of Rome, scarcely any two agree in the year, which is a clear proof that no one had ever thought of a date for it, till the splendour of their conquests, and consequent vanity, incited them to search into, and supply from invention, an origin and early history of their city.

† There is some reason to believe, that these are only two names of the same prince.

embalmed bodies of their deceased parents, the most sacred deposit that could be imagined : but he also decreed, that the debtor, neglecting to redeem this precious pledge, should himself be deprived of the high-prized honours bestowed in Egypt upon the meritorious dead. Still the Egyptians confined their ideas of commerce to home trade, or passive foreign trade.

734—The dominion of the sea is next assigned to the Carians, a people formerly noted for their piracies ; and there seems no good reason to believe, that their present power was of any other nature ; [*Herod. L. ii, c. 152*] or that it ever was near so great and extensive, as that of the buccaneers in later times was in the West-India seas.

717—The commercial city of Tyre was attacked by Salmanasar king of Assyria, who brought against it a fleet of sixty (or seventy) vessels, furnished and manned by some of the Phœnicians, who had submitted to his dominion. The Tyrians, then the only people of Phœnicia free from the Assyrian yoke, with twelve ships completely defeated his fleet, and took 500 prisoners. So vastly superior were free men fighting for themselves and their families to slaves fighting for a master. [*Annales Tyrîi in Menandri Chron. ap. Joseph. Antiq. L. ix, c. 14.*] This, if I mistake not, is the most antient naval battle, expressly recorded in any history.

713—The first sun-dial, mentioned in history, was in the palace of Hezekiah king of Judah, and it appears to have been erected by his predecessor, as it is called ‘ the sun-dial of Ahaz.’ [*Isaiab, c. 38.*] According to Herodotus, the Greeks learned the use of dials from the Babylonians \* ; and it is probable, that the Israelites had it from the same people, with whom they had frequent intercourse of friendship or hostility.

So defective is Castor’s list of rulers of the sea, that he has entirely overlooked the Corinthians, who, there is good reason to believe, were the first, and for a long time the only, nation of Greece, or indeed of all Europe, who made any considerable figure in naval transactions. The Greeks, in all ages timorous seamen, preferred land-carriage to the dangerous navigation (as they esteemed it) round the rocky and tempestuous head-lands of the Peloponnesus †, and thereby threw the whole trade of their country into the hands of the Corinthians, who, occupy-

\* Though Herodotus [*L. ii, c. 109*] says that the Greeks learned the pole, the gnomon, and the division of the day into twelve parts, from the Babylonians, the later Greek writers have assumed the honour of the invention of the gnomon in favour of Anaximander, who flourished about 170 years after Hezekiah, and who set up the first dial seen in Greece at Lacedæmon. [*Diog. Laert. L. ii.*] It is possible he might be an inventor of it ; but it is more probable, that, being a native of

Miletus, he had learned it from the Persians or Babylonians.

† About 1800 years after the time now under consideration, when the Romans had carried into Greece all the military and naval knowledge to be had in the Mediterranean, an imperial fleet was carried over-land across the Isthmus of Corinth to avoid the dreadful circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus. [*Gibbon’s Rom. hist. V. x, p. 138, ed. 1791.*] Q. How large were those imperial men-of-war ?



Fig. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



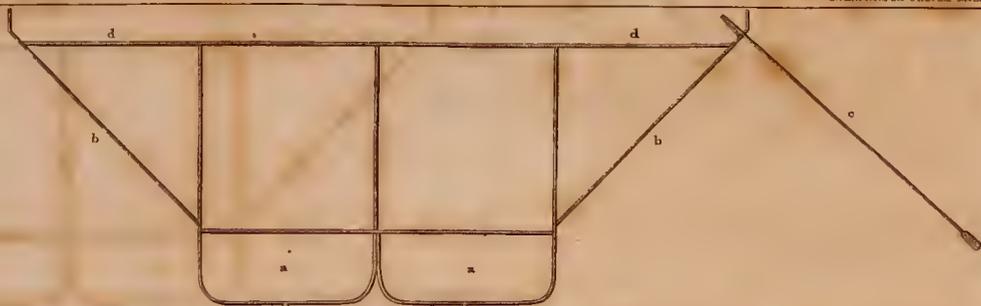
Fig. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



Fig. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



A perspective view of part of the waste of an ancient war Galley of five tires of oars, with a transverse section showing the position of the benches and oars, as explained by GENERAL MELVILLE, F.R.S. and A.S.  
 Drawn from the General's Model by M<sup>r</sup> Weddell



Scale of Feet.  
 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120

Drawn according to the description given by Athenæus by D. Matheron.

A transverse section of Ptolemy Philopator's double great ship with forty tires of oars. See p. 98.  
 a a The two bottoms. b b The sloping sides. See the note in p. 99. c c One of the uppermost oars scarcely dipping in the water. The other oars are omitted. d d Beams, or perhaps decks, not mentioned by Athenæus, but certainly necessary to prevent the sides from falling down by the weight of themselves, the benches, the men, and the oars.



Elevation, transverse section, and horizontal plane, of an ancient round ship. See p. 179.

Drawn from the model in the British Museum (copied from a marble Model in Rome) by W<sup>m</sup> Matheron

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ing the isthmus between two inlets of the sea, whereby Greece is almost cut asunder, possessed a most commanding situation for such a trade. Indeed the obvious advantage of having harbours in two seas, whereby Italy and Asia were equally accessible to them, appears to have induced the Corinthians in very early times to turn their attention to commerce and navigation; for we learn from Thucydides, that soon after the Trojan war they kept up some naval force for protecting their trade against pirates: and there is reason to believe, that they were distinguished by some degree of opulence, even in that age, or at least in Homer's time, as in his catalogue of the Grecian forces he bestows upon Corinth the epithet of *the wealthy*, which it retained through all the vicissitudes of its fortune, at least till the first century of the Christian æra. [*Strabo, L. viii, p. 586.*] Besides the profit of their own trade, the Corinthians had a very considerable advantage by landing goods in the one harbour and re-shipping them in the other, which, Strabo says, was a common practice: and they also levied a duty upon all goods carried by land through their territories.

700—The Corinthians have the credit of having introduced in Greece a most important improvement in the construction of ships or galleys of war, by substituting for the small, and very narrow vessels with one tire of oars on each side, hitherto used, a larger and loftier kind, called *trieres* or *triremes*, which were worked by three tires, or rows, of oars on each side\*. It cannot be doubted, that this improvement in their

\* The nature of the ancient ships or galleys, called *triremes*, *quadriremes*, *quinqueremes*, &c. has exercised the industry of many learned men, who, being generally unacquainted with naval affairs, have run into some very gross absurdities.

The literal meaning of *triremis* seems to be a vessel with three oars, or with three oars on each side: but no such interpretation is admissible; because it is known, that in very early times the Phœnicians had vessels of fifty oars, in one of which Inachus is said to have arrived in Greece; and because the *triremes*, now first constructed, or now first introduced in Greece, by the Corinthians, must have been vessels superior to all that had ever been seen hitherto.

The most general supposition has been, that the *triremes* had three tires of oars, the tires being perpendicularly above each other, like the three tires of guns in a modern ship of the first rate, the *quadriremes* four tires, and so on. But, admitting (what perhaps no seaman will admit) the possibility of working *three* tires of oars so placed, what shall we say of *forty* or *fifty* tires? And (to say nothing of Pollux's *hekatonteres*, or ship of a hundred tires, which is surely fabulous) there was certainly a *quadragintaremis*, and even, according to Pliny, [*L. vii, c. 56*] a *quinguintaremis*, or, agreeable to this supposition, vessels of *forty* and

*fifty* decks, of which, even the *middle* one, in order to allow sufficient room for the length and sweep or revolution of the enormous oars in the inside of the vessel, must have been vastly higher than the topgallant mast of a modern first-rate ship.

Another supposition has been, that the ancient galleys were called *triremes* from having three men to each oar, *quadriremes* from four, and so on to the highest rate. In support of this hypothesis it may be alleged, that the famous *quadragintaremis* of Ptolemy Philopator is thus accounted for by supposing fifty oars with 40 men to each, which thus require 2,000 men; and a second set, or watch, to relieve them, makes 4,000, the number of rowers, which, according to Athenæus, actually belonged to that great floating palace. The *ordines remorum* raised above each other, frequently mentioned by the Roman writers, are supposed to mean the raised benches, on which each rower, according to his distance from the side, was elevated above his next neighbour, agreeable to the angle formed by the oar with the surface of the water.

The solution of this Gordian knot appears to have been reserved for General Melville, governor-general of Grenada and the other ceded islands, a gentleman, who, by having frequent occasion to

marine, added to their former naval superiority, must have thrown into their hands a temporary dominion of the Grecian seas.

Aminocles, whose name is immortalized as the builder of the new ships, was also employed by the Samians, for whom he built four vessels. Eusebius [N<sup>o</sup>. 1255] seems also to say, that the Athenians had some of his ships. But it is obscurely expressed; and the time is too early by many years for the age of Aminocles, according to Thucydides.

Most of the maritime Grecian states soon adopted the use of *triremes*; and succeeding ages varied and increased the number of tires of oars, as ambition, or as vanity, prompted, the rates of the vessels being denominated from the number of tires, as modern ships of war are called two-deckers, three-deckers, &c. from their tires of guns.

It is proper to observe, that Damastes, an author contemporary with Herodotus, [*ap. Plin. Hist. nat. L. vii, c. 56*] says, that *biremes* (vessels with two tires of oars) were used by the Erythræans or Arabians: and

cross the ocean, was enabled to unite nautical knowledge with acuteness of research and great classical reading. He supposes, that the ancient gallees were very flat in the bottom, and that their sides were raised perpendicular to the height of only three or four feet from the surface of the water, above which they diverged with an angle of about 45 degrees. Upon this sloping wall he places the seats of the rowers, about two feet in length, the rows or tires of them being raised only about 15 inches in perpendicular height above each other\*, and the seats, as well as the row-ports, being arranged in quincunx or checker-wise, as the gun-ports of a modern first-rate ship. Thus the upper tire of oars in a *triremis* is only about 30 inches, in a *quadriremis* 45 inches, and in a *quinqueremis* 60 inches, in perpendicular height above the lower tire; while the combination of the quincunx arrangement and the oblique side gives every rower perfect liberty to act, no one being perpendicularly above his nearest neighbour in the tire below him. By thus applying a greater number of oars and the force of a greater number of men, than could possibly act in a vessel with upright sides, they greatly increased the velocity or impetus, upon which in naval engagements they placed their whole dependence for the successful performance of all their manœuvres, and for bilging their enemy's vessels with the iron or brazen *rostra* affixed to the heads of their own. But it must be acknowledged, that the uppermost oars in gallees of above five rows, though vastly short of the length necessary upon the supposition of the

sides being perpendicular, were still too long to be worked with much effect by one man, (nor does it appear that they ever employed more than one †) and that the angle they made with the water, being about 45 degrees, must have produced an effect somewhat between rowing and paddling, as these terms are understood by our modern seamen.

General Melville's ingenious discovery is not only clear of all the difficulties attending the other hypotheses, but it also illustrates, and is illustrated by, many passages in ancient writers, which are otherways inexplicable. It is further confirmed by ancient sculptures at Rome, by a medallion of Gordian at Naples, and by ancient paintings at Portici, some of which, presenting to view the ends of the gallees, exhibit their sloping sides with the oars issuing from them in exact correspondence with the general's idea.

For the most valuable part of this note I am indebted to the polite and liberal communications of General Melville; who for illustrating the principles, on which the gallees were constructed, has a model of the fifth part of the waste of a *quinqueremis*, which is a reduction, on the scale of about one inch to a foot, from one of the full size, formerly erected in the back-yard of his house in Great Pulteney street, whereon many gentlemen of classical and nautical knowledge saw the thirty oars (the fifth part of one hundred and fifty, which was the number of oars on one side) actually worked by thirty men, free of every impediment or interference, which might be apprehended from their crowded position.

\* If we could depend on the text of Orosius, [*L. v. c. 19*] where he says, that Antony's largest ships, many of which were, according to Florus, of *nine tires*, but according to Dion Cassius of *ten tires* of oars, were only *ten feet above the water*, we must believe, that the tires could not be more than eight or nine inches above each other in per-

pendicular height. But x feet must surely be an erroneous reading for xv or xx, the v or x being lost in transcribing.

† It is evident from the Tactics of Læo [*c. 19*] that there was but one man to an oar in his vessels, none of which, it is true, seem to have had more than two tires of oars.

Clemens of Alexandria [*Stromat. L. i, c. 16*] ascribes the invention of the *triremes* to the Sidonians. Indeed, it is not improbable, that an imitation of the Sidonian vessels, introduced in Greece by the Corinthians, may have procured them the credit of the invention among the Greeks, who were never very scrupulous of stealing the honour of science and invention from the *barbarians* \*. Unfortunately no Sidonian historian has reached our times, to the very great loss of history in general, and most especially of commercial history.

676—The Lesbians are said to have obtained the command of the sea, of which they kept possession no less than sixty-nine years.

670—Pflammitichus, whose father was slain by Sabacus, an Ethiopian invader of Egypt, had passed the early part of his life in Syria, probably among the Phœnicians, who were as yet the only foreigners permitted to land upon the Egyptian shore. After his return to his native country he became one of twelve kings, who all reigned co-ordinate at the same time. Being expelled by his brother kings he again lived in exile among the marshes at the mouth of the river, where he gave a kind reception to all traders, especially Greeks and Phœnicians, and by exchanging the produce of his territory for the goods imported by them, he acquired great riches. At length some Ionian and Carian pirates, accidentally landing on the coast, together with some forces levied in Arabia, enabled him to revenge the affront put upon him, and even to make himself sole king of Egypt. From this time he shewed favour to the Greeks, and as, by living among strangers in a private character, he had acquired more liberal ideas, than were usual among the Egyptians, of the advantages arising from a free intercourse with foreign nations, he encouraged them to trade, and even gave them settlements and a harbour † in his country. He also placed some Egyptian boys under their care to learn Greek, that they might act as interpreters. [*Herodot. L. ii, cc. 147-154—Diod. Sicul. L. i, § 66, 67*] But still the Egyptians persisted in neglecting the advantage bestowed upon them by Nature in giving them the command of two seas, and had no ships of their own, except the craft for navigating the river.

\* There is a kind of *triremis* (for I know of no Greek or Latin word for paddies) used now, and probably many centuries ago in the islands of the East Indies, which has a number of projecting cross bars or outriggers, supporting at proper distances two long seats on each side parallel to the gunnels: and the vessel is driven along with great velocity by six rows of paddlers, two of which sit within her sides, and four on the outside seats over the water. They have sometimes three rows on the outside of each gunnel; and these may be called *quadrيرهmes*.—Quere, if the Phœnicians, when in the Indian ocean in company with Solomon's fleet, may have seen these vessels, and, improving upon the multiplied force of the paddles, have con-

structed their *triremes*, some of which, going to Greece, might furnish a model to the Corinthians for, what they called, their invention. A description and view of the Indian vessels may be seen in *Steel's Elements of rigging and seamanship*. See also *Purchas's Pilgrimes, Book ii, p. 55*; and *Voyages to the East-Indies by Stavovinus, V. ii, pp. 306, 421, Note, in the English translation*, where the names of *quadrيرهmes* and *trيرهmes* are actually applied to the vessels called *corrocarvos* by the natives of the Oriental islands.

† When Herodotus was in Egypt the houses of the Greeks, and their harbour, or dock, were in ruins. [*Herodot. L. ii, c. 154.*]

664—The first naval battle known in *Grecian history* was fought between the Corinthians and their own colonists, who had settled in Corcyra. [*Thucyd. L. i.*]

641—Among the Greek traders, who availed themselves of the indulgence of Pſammitichus, was Colæus of Samos, who acquired a great fortune, and the preservation of his name in all succeeding ages, by an accident, which he must have considered at the time as the ruin of his voyage. On his way to Egypt he met with a gale of wind from the east, which continued so long, that he was carried quite through the passage, now called the Straits of Gibraltar, to Tartessus on the south-west coast of Spain; and thus he had the honour to be the first Greek, who ever saw the Atlantic ocean\*. In this market, so unexpectedly found, he united the profits, which had been divided between the Greeks and the Phœnicians; and the goods he purchased, having never before been directly imported into any Grecian country, yielded a profit far surpassing the most lucrative voyage ever made by any Grecian merchant, excepting Softrates of Ægina, of whom, I believe, nothing else is known, but that his prosperity in trade was unparalleled. From a tenth part being presented to Juno, we are luckily furnished with the knowledge of the profits made in this extraordinary fortunate adventure; and they amounted to sixty talents, which, if they were Euboic talents of silver, contained a quantity of that metal equal to £11,625 sterling. [*Herod. L. iv, c. 152*] From the curious history of this voyage we also know, what was reckoned a prodigious great fortune in the age of Herodotus. The Greeks, however, appear not to have availed themselves of this accidental discovery by continuing the trade †.

616—Pſammitichus king of Egypt was succeeded by his son Necos. This prince, inheriting his father's desire to increase the commerce of his subjects, in order to open a trade with the rich countries of the East, resumed the grand design (originally conceived by Sesostris, and actually put in execution by him or his son) of uniting the navigation of the two seas by a great navigable canal. The construction of canals, so familiar to the present age, was so little understood in the time of Necos, that the natural impediments were absolutely insuperable by the science of his engineers; so that the undertaking was abandoned, after 120,000 workmen had lost their lives by the intolerable labour. [*Herodot. L. ii, c. 158.*]

607—Necos, thus disappointed of effecting a junction between the two seas, established ports, and built a fleet of ships on each of them;

\* The expedition, ascribed to Hercules, belongs to Melcartus, who is also called the Tyrian Hercules. The Grecian fabulists availed themselves of this identity to rob him of his actions, wherewith

they have embellished the motley history of their own demigod.

† This will be explained in a note on the imaginary Greek trade to Britain, under the year 550 before Christ.

and thus he put his kingdom in a fair way of being the center of the trade of the world, if he could have subdued the hatred of his subjects to the sea. Having supposed the probability of Africa being surrounded by the sea, excepting the isthmus whereby it is joined to Asia, he projected a voyage of discovery to ascertain the truth, and to explore the coasts of that continent. For such an arduous naval undertaking he engaged Phœnician navigators, who sailed from the Red sea, and coasting along the shore of Africa, returned by the Mediterranean, and in the third year from their departure arrived in the Nile. During this voyage, when the proper season for sowing came on, they made a temporary settlement on the land, and sowed their corn. Then, after repairing their ships, and getting in their harvest, they proceeded on their voyage. This circumstance shows, that, though Egypt has in all ages been one of the finest corn countries in the world, neither the Egyptians nor the Phœnicians understood the method of preserving corn at sea, or of preparing bread for long keeping. Another most important circumstance is related by Herodotus, to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of this voyage. He says, that the seamen reported, they had seen the sun on their right hand, that is on the north side of them, when they were in the south parts of Africa. This, he very honestly tells us, he does not believe: and some succeeding writers, on the strength of his incredulity, which betrays the ignorance of one of the most knowing of the Greeks, have considered the voyage as entirely fabulous. But the very circumstance, urged against the veracity of the voyage, establishes it beyond the possibility of contradiction: for it may well be doubted, whether even the Phœnicians were then sufficiently acquainted with the system of the universe to know from theory the possibility of going to the southward of the sun, or to be able to invent such a story, had it not been true\*. [*Herodot. L. ii, c. 159; L. iv, c. 42*] And this was unquestionably the very first circumnavigation of Africa recorded in history, and the only well-authenticated one, till Gama, above 2,000 years after, again ascertained, that Africa is not joined to a supposed southern continent.

The brief narrative of this voyage leads to a conjecture, which may almost be received as a certain truth; that the trade between Arabia and Egypt was still carried on by caravans only, and that the Egyptians had no maritime intercourse, either active or passive, with the Arabians. If they had had any such intercourse, they could not have been entirely ignorant of their nautical science and voyages, and Necos would

\* As the truth of this voyage has been called in question in ancient and modern times, it may be proper to observe, that, besides the impossibility of its being fabricated, it was performed in the clear period of the Egyptian history, which be-

gins with the reign of Psammitichus. See *Herodot. L. ii, c. 154*. Some err as far on the other side, and suppose that Solomon's vessels were in the practice of circumnavigating Africa, and that it even became a common voyage.

have applied to them for navigators rather than to the Phœnicians, who could have no knowledge of the navigation of the east coast of Africa, except what they might perhaps derive from the journals of the navigators, who accompanied Solomon's vessels almost four centuries before. But the Phœnicians appear to have been the only people known to the Egyptians as navigators. To them, therefore, Neco applied, and they, mindful of the advantages reaped by their ancestors from a participation with Solomon of the use of a harbour in the Red sea, gladly engaged in an adventure, whereby they hoped to have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the rich countries, whence the Arabians obtained the precious commodities, which every year drew great sums of money from them. But we may be assured, that the Phœnician commander did not neglect to ship onboard each of his vessels at least two Arabian pilots, acquainted with the navigation of the Red sea and a considerable extent of the east coast of Africa, and with the nature of the tides (so dreadful to the Mediterranean navigators), the prevailing currents, and periodical winds.

The Greek colonies in Asia, by their intercourse with the Phrygians, Lydians, and other nations in their neighbourhood, who were in a more advanced state of society than themselves, but more particularly by their commercial intercourse with the Phœnicians and Egyptians, nations still more civilized and enlightened, emerged from barbarism long before the European Greeks, and greatly outstripped them in the career of literature and philosophy, as well as of commerce. And hence we find, that almost all the early poets, historians, and professors of natural and moral philosophy, whose great talents have raised a monument of everlasting fame to Greece, were in reality natives of the Asiatic coast, or of the adjacent islands\*. Among the earliest of the Greek philosophers was Thales of Miletus, descended of Phœnician parentage, who by travel and study among the Egyptians, and no doubt, among his Phœnician relations, acquired some knowledge of geometry and astronomy. He pointed out to the Greeks the constellation called *the lesser bear*, by which the Phœnicians steered their course in the night; and he imparted to them the knowledge of the rotundity of the earth, the division of it into five zones, and the Egyptian division of the year into 365 days; notwithstanding which they persisted for hundreds of years after his time in the erroneous calculation by 360 days. But, what chiefly commanded the admiration of an ignorant people, was his prediction of the *year* (601) in which a remarkable eclipse of the sun should happen, and the accidental circumstance of two armies, actually engaged in battle, separating on account of the unusual darkness. [*Herod. L. i, c. 74.*—*Diog. Laert. L. i*] His prediction of the eclipse, coming no nearer than

\* A great number of their names are collected by Blackwell in his *Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer*, pp. 12—15, fourth ed.

the *year* in which it should happen, seems to infer, that his Egyptian or Phœnician masters had but a dark conception of the theory of eclipses, by the accurate knowledge of which the modern geographer is enabled to delineate with precision the surface of the earth, and the navigator can ascertain his position, or direct his course through the boundless ocean with a much more assured confidence, than the antients could possibly have in their recollection of the appearance of the land, while directing their timid course along the winding shores of the Mediterranean.

594—Apries, who succeeded his father Psammis as king of Egypt, had a fleet upon the Mediterranean, with which he carried on a war against the maritime cities of Sidon and Tyre, and fought a naval battle with them, in which, if we may credit Diodorus Siculus, he obtained the victory \*. [*Herod. L. ii, c. 161.—Diod. Sicul. L. i, p. 79. ed. Amstel. 1746.*]

588—The very antient and long-flourishing commercial city of Sidon appears to have been now eclipsed by the prosperity of her most antient colony of Tyre, whose commercial splendour is thus delineated by the prophet Ezekiel, [*c. 27*] who thereby gives us a brief sketch of the state of commerce throughout a very considerable part of the then known world.

The people of all the neighbouring countries were employed by the Tyrians in building and navigating their ships, which were magnificently adorned with ivory, purple, and fine linen; and their naval commanders were among the most respectable of the citizens, every office, and every line of duty, in the commercial departments being esteemed honourable. On the other hand the universal predilection of the Tyrians for trade and navigation induced them to employ foreign mercenaries in their military establishment †, observing however the precaution to collect them from a variety of nations, Persians, Lydians, Africans, &c. whose diversity of languages and interests might render it difficult for them to conspire against the state. Though their own vessels were very numerous, and they were fully sensible of the great importance and value of the carrying trade, they gave free permission to ‘all the ships of the sea with their mariners’ to resort to their harbour, and to buy and sell in their city.

The imports from the various nations were as follows: fine linens ‡ from Egypt; blue, and purple, from the isles of Elisha; silver, iron,

\* Diodorus says he took Sidon, and reduced the other cities of Phœnicia by the terror of his arms. He beat the fleets of Phœnicia and Cyprus in a great naval battle, and returned, loaded with spoil, to Egypt.

† The republic of Venice, the Tyre of the mid-

dle ages, followed the same system of policy in their military establishment. But no government can ever be assured of the fidelity of such mercenaries.

‡ Or *byssus*, apparently fine flax, as a raw material. See the text of Ezekiel in Jerom's translation, and *Bochart, Geog. sacra. col. 155.*

tin, and lead, from Tarshish, brought by the Carthaginians \*; slaves and brazen vessels from Javan (or Greece), Tubal and Mesech; horses, slaves bred to horsemanship, and mules, from Togormah; emeralds, purple, embroidery, fine linen †, corals, agates, from Syria, in exchange for the manufactures of Tyre; corn, balsam, honey, oil, and gums, from the Israelites, who, we thus see, were farmers, but not manufacturers; excellent wines, and fine wool, from Damascus; polished iron ware, precious oils, and cinnamon, from Dan, Javan, and Mezo; magnificent carpets (such as are still used in the eastern countries for sitting upon) from Dedan; sheep and goats for slaughter from the pastoral tribes of Arabia; the most costly spices, some of them apparently the produce of India ‡, precious stones, and gold, from the merchants of Sheba (or Sabæa) and Raamah (or Regma), countries in the south part of Arabia; blue cloths, embroidered work, rich apparel, in corded cedar chests (perhaps original Indian packages) and other goods, from Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad, and from Haran, Canneh, and Eden, apparently trading ports on the south coast of Arabia §. And here it is proper to remind the reader, that the Arabians, who furnished the greatest and most valuable part of the articles enumerated ||, appear to have been the only traders from the West, whose voyages extended to India in the early ages ¶.

\* Tarshish appears here to be the fourth part of Spain. I have inserted the Carthaginians on the authority of Jerom's translation.

† Jerom's translation has also silk ('fericum').

‡ The Greeks believed, that Arabia was the only country which produced frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, and ledanum, which were carried to Greece by the Phœnicians. [*Herodot. L. iii, c. 107.*]

§ In the enumeration of places the first Javan, the name of Greece in the Bible, appears to be different from the second Javan, which was probably in the south part of Arabia. And all the places mentioned after it, except the pastoral part of Arabia and Ashur, may be presumed to have been situated in the same commercial country, whose extensive commerce with India and the other oriental regions is described by Aristobulus, Agatharchides, and the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, many ages after, in a manner perfectly agreeing with the present account. It is, moreover, worthy of remark, how well Ezekiel's account of the trade corresponds with the observation of Agatharchides, that the Sabæans, the chief people of the south coast of Arabia, supplied the Phœnicians with the most profitable articles of their trade.

The reader, desirous of information respecting the several countries mentioned by Ezekiel, may consult Bochart, with the commentators on this portion of the Bible, and on the tenth chapter of Genesis.

|| Strabo, [*L. xvi, p. 1128*] gives us the route between Arabia and Phœnicia, as it was before the oriental trade was in a great measure engrossed by the Greeks of Alexandria, viz. from Leukè komè, (White town), an emporium near the head of the Red sea, to Petra the capital of the Nabatæan tribe, and thence to Rhinocolura (or Rhinocorura) a port of the Mediterranean sea on the border of Phœnicia adjoining to Egypt. And this appears to have been the route by which the Tyrians received the goods mentioned in the text, and the greatest part of their India goods, which they bought of the Arabians: for however high our opinion may be of the mercantile and adventurous spirit of the Phœnicians, it is evident, that they themselves could not sail to India (unless as passengers or charterers, which the Arabs probably did not permit) as they do not appear, from any sufficient authority, to have ever possessed a single harbour on the coast of the Ocean or any of its gulfs, except the temporary conjunct use of one in the reign of Solomon king of Israel.

¶ It would by no means be extravagant to suppose that they traded to Ceylon, or even to the countries and islands far beyond it (as it seems doubtful if the best cinnamon has been in all ages a native of Ceylon) as early as the days of Solomon; for no such spices were known (in Jerusalem) as those, which the queen of Sheba presented to Solomon. [*II Chron. c. 9.*] It was not possible, that a people of such commercial and nauti-

In this lively picture we see Tyre the center and the enlivening soul of a commerce, not less extensive than the utmost limits of the then known world, directing and animating the operations of the merchants and manufacturers in the most distant regions, and through their hands dispensing to the industrious, in every business and profession throughout the world, the blessings of a comfortable and independent subsistence for themselves and their families; or in a word, enriching all the world by enriching herself, which is the grand and characteristical difference between the acquisition of wealth by commerce, and the seizure of it by conquest.

Unhappily the vast wealth, which thus flowed into Tyre from all quarters, brought along with it its too general consequence of extravagant dissipation and dissoluteness of morals.

585—The commercial prosperity of the Tyrians, hitherto almost uninterrupted, now suffered a short eclipse. Nebuchadnezzar, the mighty king of Babylon, sat down before the city with an innumerable army. Though deprived of all supplies from the adjacent country by the enemy, the command of the sea enabled the Tyrians to stand out no less than thirteen years against a monarch, whose territories were at least a thousand times as extensive as theirs. But seeing that it would be impossible to repel such an unequal landed force from their walls, they wisely availed themselves of the superior value, which moveable property in such an emergency has in the hands of a people possessing the command of the sea: and they came to the resolution of totally abandoning their city and territory on the continent, and establishing themselves on a small island near the shore. For this purpose they kept up the defence for many years, during which the new city was built, and every valuable article removed to it. Then, after baffling the power of the great conqueror of the East during thirteen years, was the shell, or carcase, of old Tyre abandoned to his exhausted and disappointed army. And from her ashes sprung up a new Tyre, which, like the imaginary bird bearing her national name of *Phoenix*, was in all things the perfect resemblance of her parent, and with little or no interruption continued in nearly the same career of commercial prosperity, till she in her turn was subjected by the irresistible power of Alexander.

573—The Egyptians displeased with the conduct of their king Apries, appointed Amasis to be king instead of him. In his time Egypt is said to have contained 1,020 inhabited towns. Having more enlightened ideas of commerce and maritime affairs than any of his predecessors, he established an emporium at Naucratis, a town on the western or Canopic mouth of the Nile, to which he made traders of all nations welcome, as the Chinese do now at Canton; but, like his predecessor

real knowledge and enterprise should see the regular periodical changing of the monsoons without availing themselves of the advantages offered by them to their navigation.

Pſammitichus, he ſhewed eſpecial favour to the Greeks, whom he allowed to ſettle in ſome other parts of his kingdom, while the veſſels of other nations, though driven by contrary winds into any of the prohibited mouths of the Nile, were compelled to go to Naucratis, in which alone they were permitted to tranſact any buſineſs. His fleet was ſufficiently ſtrong to extort a tribute from the Cyprians, though a maritime and commercial people. But as Egypt afforded no timber proper for building any veſſels better than thoſe uſed in the inland navigation of the Nile and the canals, the royal fleets of this king and his predeceſſors muſt have been built of imported timber, or more probably bought ready-built from the Phœnicians. No efforts, however, of the moſt enlightened of their kings could ever prevail upon the Egyptians to ſubdue their innate deteſtation of the ſea, and to take into their own hands the full poſſeſſion of the commercial benefits, to which they were invited by their natural advantages, but which their unconquerable prejudices threw into the hands of their wiſer neighbours. Perhaps if they had continued under their native kings, they would have ſeen the folly of confining themſelves to a paſſive commerce, when a moſt extenſive active commerce was ſo very much in their power. But it was only in the laſt ſtage of their exiſtence as an independent nation, that they began to extend their views beyond their own country; for ſoon after the death of Amafiſ, Egypt became a province of the Perſian empire; and from that time to the preſent day it has continued moſtly under the dominion of foreigners.

In this age there flouriſhed ſeveral philoſophers, who eſtabliſhed regulations which had an influence on the commerce, as well as on the policy, of Greece, or who communicated to the Greeks, (from whom the other nations of Europe received it) the firſt knowlege of arts, which by the improvements of later ages have facilitated navigation, and thereby rendered eſſential ſervice to commerce.

The firſt of theſe was Solon, the celebrated legiſlator of Athens. That commonwealth was brought to the verge of ruin by the boundleſs rapacity and cruelty of creditors, and the deſperation of debtors. By the exiſting laws of Athens the former had a right to compel the ſervices of the later, and even to deprive them of their children, whom they exported as ſlaves. To theſe groſs enormities Solon put a ſtop by more equitable laws, and he reduced the intereſt of money to *twelve per cent*\*. In conſideration of the ſuperior intereſt, which men of property have in the national welfare, he decreed that the members of the ſenate and the areopagus ſhould be choſen from among ſuch citizens as had eſtates ſufficient to make them independent, thus holding out to the induſtrious

\* It is ſaid that he alſo relieved the debtors by raiſing the nominal value of the mina from 73 to 100 drachmas, by which meaſure, it is added, the

creditors ſuſtained no loſs. If Solon was ſo imprudent, it ſhows that the principles of money and commerce were totally unknown.

the prospect of obtaining honours above their present condition. The value of trade began now to be known in Athens, as appears by one of Solon's laws, whereby a son, whose father had neglected to teach him any useful branch of industry, was exempted from the obligation of maintaining him when superannuated. Solon also introduced the Egyptian law, which obliged all persons to give an account every year, how they acquired their livelihood, and he established regulations against prodigality and idleness\*.

Pythagoras, a native of the flourishing island of Samos, passed the early part of his life in traveling for improvement. From the Chaldæans he learned astronomy, from the Phœnicians arithmetic, and from the Egyptians geometry. He taught the rotundity of the earth, and the existence of the antipodes: and from some hints, to be collected from Philolaus and some others of his disciples, there is reason to believe, that he had obtained some confused idea of the real motion of the planets in our solar system, as it was demonstrated in later ages by Copernicus. But these notions of Pythagoras, or of his teachers, were only the conjectures of ingenious men upon a subject which engaged much of their attention: they were far short of science founded upon experiment and demonstration. Destitute of these only supports of science, and apparently contradicted by the testimony of the eyes, the true system of the universe, if it was indeed known, and faintly hinted to the Greeks, by the Pythagorean philosophers, lay hid for many dark centuries, during which, if any heaven-born genius happened to obtain a glimpse of the truth, the popes, who took upon themselves to be the infallible directors of science as well as of religion, generally took care to crush in the bud every attempt to enlighten the human mind.

Anaximander, a Milesian and a disciple of Thales, first showed the Greeks the use of the dial, and taught the declination of the ecliptic. He exhibited in maps the form of the sea and the land; and he even constructed a globe. Though these were great advances in the science of geography, yet still the progress of it among the Greeks was wonderfully slow.

Nearly contemporary with these was Anacharsis, the celebrated Scythian philosopher. Some authors ascribe to him the invention of the potter's wheel, and of a second fluke for the anchor, hitherto made with only one †. But the potter's wheel is mentioned long before this time by Homer, and it is utterly incredible, that nautical improvements should be invented by a man, who, from his sayings, recorded by Dio-

\* How different was the anticommercial system of Sparta, which confined every man to the profession of his father, and consigned agriculture, trade, and the useful arts, to the hands of slaves.

† Pliny [*L. vii, c. 56*] ascribes to Eupalamus

the two-fluked anchor, (*bid. item*) and to Anacharsis the *barpagona*, which is a hooked instrument of some kind, but whether it may mean the grappling, which boats have for an anchor, is uncertain.

genes Laertius, professed a great aversion to the sea; or that the Phœnicians should not many ages ago have found out, that an anchor with only one fluke had scarcely a chance of taking hold of the ground.

### 550—THE BRITISH COMMERCE,

which in the present day animates the most distant quarters of the globe by the vast extent of its operations, and covers the Ocean with the innumerable multitude of its ships, begins now to emerge from the thick darkness which had hitherto overwhelmed the transactions of the Phœnicians and their colonists with our islands, by means of a faint ray of light, proceeding from a poem upon the Argonautic expedition, written by Onomacritus in the character of Orpheus. This Grecian poet leads his heroes over every part of the world known to him; and, in the course of their adventures in the Atlantic ocean, he makes them pass an island called *Iernè*, which is apparently *Ireland*. The story, though ridiculously absurd, is a valuable document of the most ancient commercial history of Britain; as it affords a strong presumption, that Phœnician traders must have resorted to the British islands for a very considerable time, seeing that even the Greeks had obtained some confused idea of the existence of the most remote of the two principal British islands, which had transpired from some of the Phœnicians of Gadir, or the Carthaginians, the only Mediterranean navigators, by whom our islands could be visited in early times\*.

\* The notion of an extensive trade carried on with Britain by the Greeks in a very early age, and of the British language being composed in a great measure of words learned from transient Grecian seamen, (as if the Britons had till then been destitute of words to express the most common objects of nature) though taken up by several authors of respectable abilities, in grateful partiality to the Greeks, as the authors of science and literature to the other parts of Europe, appears to be contradicted by Herodotus; who, though he was the best Grecian geographer of his age, and had made every inquiry in his power, acknowledged, that he knew nothing of the Cassiterides, (generally agreed to have been the Silley isles, or the south-west part of Britain) further than that tin was brought from them; a clear proof that no Greeks had any direct intercourse with them. Moreover he tells us, that Tartessus, in the south part of Spain, near the west entry of the Straits, was an untried and unknown emporium, when Colæus arrived at it by accident 641 years before Christ, which it could scarcely have been, if any Grecian vessels had ever passed it in the way to the Cassiterides, which, by every hypothesis, were situated beyond the Straits. [*Herod. l. iii, c. 115; l. iv, c. 152.*] Polybius observes, [*l. xvi, c. 14*] that,

even in his time, (three centuries after Herodotus) though there was a considerable trading intercourse with the people living on both sides of the Straits of Abydos, (now the Dardanelles) there were very few who passed the Straits of Hercules; there was little intercourse with the nations living in the extremities of Europe and Libya (or Africa); and the outer sea (the Atlantic ocean) was unknown, that is to say, unknown to the Greeks, who knew the Straits of Abydos, for surely it was well known to the Phœnicians of Gadir. And this observation of so judicious and faithful an author is a decisive proof, that the trade to Tartessus, so accidentally stumbled upon by Colæus, was not kept up by the Greeks, and that *there was no Grecian commerce with Britain*. Strabo also says expressly, [*l. iii, p. 265*] that the Phœnicians of Gadir monopolized the trade to the Cassiterides, even after the Romans had vessels on the Ocean; though he seems therein to have lost sight of the trade carried on across the Channel, which will be noticed in due time.

Were it necessary to add any further proof, it might be observed, that Timosthenes, Eratosthenes, and the writers before them, knew very little of Spanish or Gallic affairs, and still less of Germany, Britain, and the Getic and Bastarnic na-

It is impossible to assign a date to the commencement of the British commerce; but the well-known adventurous spirit of the Phœnicians may warrant a conjecture, that they made voyages to our islands soon after their settlement at Gadir. As there was apparently no other country lying north or west from Spain but the British islands, which produced tin, it has been generally allowed, that those which the Greeks, in imitation of the Phœnicians, called the *Kassiterides*, or *Kattiterides*, (*islands of tin*) were the islands of Silley, or the south-west extremity of Britain. And these were first discovered by Midacritus\*, a Phœnician navigator, apparently of Gadir, whose name this important discovery has immortalized. He found the islands abounding in tin, an article then so very valuable, that his countrymen most anxiously concealed the route to this new-found mine of wealth from all others; and, for many ages, they enjoyed the unrivaled and unknown monopoly of a very lucrative trade with the natives of the Tin-islands, from whom they received tin, lead, and hides, in exchange for earthen ware, brazen ware, and salt †. [*Plin. L. vii, c. 56—Strabo, L. iii, p. 265.*] From the cautious secrecy of the Phœnicians, it is very probable that the trade was carried on for several centuries, before the most distant hint of the existence of such a country could have reached any of the Greeks, who, with their Roman transcribers, are unfortunately the only authors now remaining to conduct us through the deep obscurity of ancient British history ‡.

tions, as is observed by Strabo. [*L. ii, p. 149*] Timosthenes was the commander of Ptolemy's fleet, and wrote a book upon harbours; and, it may be supposed, he could know very little of those in the Atlantic ocean. But Eratosthenes was a man of extensive learning and great industry; and being librarian to Ptolemy Euergetes, he had the command of the greatest library in the world, which may well be presumed to have contained every Greek book worth transcribing. We may, therefore, be assured, that, if any knowledge of the British islands could have been found in the whole circle of Grecian literature, Eratosthenes would neither have let it escape him, nor neglected to make a proper use of it in a work professedly geographical.

\* Bochart observes, that Midacritus is a Greek name; and he substitutes for it the Phœnician name of Melcartus: [*Geog. sacra, L. i, c. 39*] but, granting this, the most sanguine advocate for British antiquity cannot presume to carry up the discovery of the Cassiterides to the age of that Melcartus, or Hercules, who, according to the most ancient Phœnician writer, Sanconiatho, lived in the earliest ages of the world.

† Strabo mentions these exchanges in the present tense. But, I believe, he copies from ancient

authors, as the state of the trade was much altered before his time.

‡ In the early history of Britain two propositions have been assumed as historic truths, which ought previously to have been proved:—1) that the tin used in all the countries adjacent to the Mediterranean, was brought *from no other part of the world* but the Cassiterides, which seems not to be true:—and, 2d) that the Cassiterides were the islands now called Silley, which, though much more probable than any other hypothesis concerning those islands, still is not absolutely uncontrovertible.

The authority of Herodotus has been very unfairly, or at least very inadvertently, adduced, as proving that *all* the tin used in the eastern countries was carried from the Cassiterides. This misinterpretation of the words of Herodotus carries the commencement of the trade beyond the æra of Moses, by whom tin is mentioned, [*Numb. c. 31*] as it is also repeatedly by Homer. But such a supposition, totally unsupported by Herodotus, (See p. 42 note) is proved to be erroneous by several authors of good credit. Several parts of Spain produced tin and lead. [*Strabo, L. iii, pp. 219, 22c—Plin. L. xxxiii, c. 16—Stephan. de urb. vo. Tartessus.*] Tin was found among the Drangæ, a people near

548—The Lydians have already been remarked as a civilized people, who paid some attention to commerce; but it was chiefly of that passive kind which prevails in countries possessing rich mines, where the

the head of the Indus, and in the province of Nankin in China. [*Strabo*, L. xv, p. 1055—*Diod. Sic.* L. ii, § 36—*Thevenot*, V. ii, p. 127.] There was also an island in the Indian sea, called Cassitera, for its abundance of tin. [*Stephan. de urb.*] The island of Banca, on the east side of Sumatra, produces great quantities of excellent tin, which affords a considerable revenue to the Dutch. [*Staunton's Account of an embassy to China*, V. i, p. 305.] *Query*, If it is the Cassitera of Stephanus?

The opinions respecting the position of the Cassiterides, may be reduced to three:—1) that they were some small islands adjacent to Spain:—2) that they were those now called the Azores, or Western islands:—3) that they were the Shilly islands, or the south-west extremity of Britain, or perhaps both of these.—But, 1) no islands near the west coast of Spain, (which includes the modern Portugal) are of any consequence; nor is there the slightest authority for supposing, that any of them ever produced tin: though Don Joseph Cornide, and some other Spanish writers, have, with great labour and ingenuity, but in direct contradiction to Pofidonius, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, endeavoured to prove, that the Cassiterides were the small islands on the west coast of Spain, which seem to be those called by Pliny [*L. iv, c. 22*] the six islands of the gods, and distinguished from the Cassiterides.—2) The Azores being situated in the middle of the Atlantic ocean, above 600 geographical miles from Spain without any intervening land, it was absolutely impossible for the best of the ancient Mediterranean navigators to find the way to or from them: and no one, who adverts to the timid creeping courses of the ancients in the Mediterranean, (see *Antonini Itinerarium*) where, if they ventured to stand across of sight of land, they were sure of falling in with *some land* on the opposite continent, will suppose they would venture to launch out in the boundless ocean in search of *islands*, which if they missed, they would most probably have been swept away by the trade-winds to the West-Indies. Even modern navigators, with all their superior advantages of excellent instruments, accurate calculations, correct charts, and improved knowledge, besides lofty masts which enable them to see distant lands, sometimes miss islands. How, then, can we suppose it possible, that the Azores could be discovered by the Romans, the most ignorant and awkward sailors in the Mediterranean; and they were still more ignorant and awkward in the Ocean, as appears by their mismanagement of Cæsar's ships on the coast of Kent. Yet we know for certain from Strabo [*L. i, p. 275*] that the Romans, by persisting in repeated trials, which could

only be repeated coasting voyages in various directions, actually discovered the Cassiterides: and there needs no better proof against the identity of the Cassiterides and the Azores, which, moreover, produce no tin, nor have the smallest appearance of having ever produced any.—3) Though Herodotus [*L. iii, c. 115*] acknowledges his ignorance of the situation of the Cassiterides, yet he pretty evidently classes them with the unknown countries in the northern parts of Europe. Pofidonius, an author copied by Strabo, [*L. iii, p. 219*] and apparently also by Diodorus Siculus, [*L. v, § 38*] says, that tin is produced in a country north of Lusitania (Portugal), and in the Cassiterides, and is also brought from the British islands to Massilia.—Diodorus [*L. v, § 22*] also describes the people near Belerium (Cape Cornwall) as the miners and sellers of the tin, wherein he exactly agrees with the description of the natives of the Cassiterides in other authors. It is also worthy of remark, that he gives them the character of being more civilized than the other Britons, in consequence of their intercourse with foreign merchants.—Dionysius Periegetes says, [*v. 561*] the wealthy sons of the illustrious Iberians, dwell in the Hesperides, the native country of tin, (Hesperides, Oestrymnides, and Cassiterides, appear to have been sometimes used synonymously. See *Eustathii Comment. in Dionys.*) and he immediately passes to Britain and Ireland.—Strabo [*L. ii, p. 181; L. iii, p. 265*] describes the Cassiterides as producing cattle, tin, and lead; and he places them in the great ocean, to the northward of the Artabrians, who occupied the north-west part of Spain (now Galicia), and in the same climate, or latitude, with Britain.—All these authors wrote before the Romans began to make any conquests in Britain.—Pomponius Mela [*L. iii, c. 2*] places the Cassiterides in the Celtic sea, which name can only apply to the sea adjacent to Gaul, Britain, and the north part of Spain, the countries occupied by the Celtic nations.—Festus Rufus Avienus, in an account of the Oestrymnides, professedly taken from Himilco, the Carthaginian discoverer, is so confused and ungeographical, that it is impossible to fix their situation. But the mention of the islands of the Hiberni, and Albionis, (apparently Ireland and Britain) as being near them, their mines of tin and lead, their leather boats, the commercial spirit of the people, and the resort of the Tartessians, (Phœnicians of Gadir) and of the Carthaginians, answer so well to the descriptions of the Cassiterides by other authors, and also to the Shilly islands, that we may believe Richard of Cirencester, (who, though a late author, yet, writing from Roman materials, may be ranked among the ancients) when he says,

sovereign and the nobles, or proprietors of the mines, are enormously rich, and the people in general miserably poor. Though the riches of Cræsus, king of Lydia, have become proverbial, his subjects were content with very simple houses; for, in the royal city of Sardis, the few which had brick walls were thatched with reeds, and the great bulk of the houses were built of them entirely. This ancient and opulent kingdom, was now reduced by Cyrus, king of Persia, to be a province of his growing empire. But still the great nobles were allowed to retain their wealth; and we find mention of a Lydian in the following age, called Pythius, who was esteemed the richest man in the world, next to the king of Persia. [*Herod. L. i, c. 84; L. v, c. 101; L. vii, c. 27.*]

543—The inhabitants of Phocæa, a Grecian city on the Asiatic coast, were a commercial people, and the first of the Greeks who traded to remote countries, performing their voyages in long vessels of fifty

[*L. i, c. 6*] that the Sygdiles (Silly islands) were called also Oceltrymnides, and Cassiterides. Moreover, in Richard's map the Pyrenean mountains run far into the sea, (as described by Mela in his account of Spain) extending to within about 100 miles of the south-west part of Britain, and only about 60 from the south part of Ireland; and the Cassiterides are scattered at about equal distances from all the three.

From an attentive consideration of all circumstances, I believe, it will appear most probable, that the Tin-islands, or Cassiterides, of the ancients were the islands of Silley, or the south-west part of Britain, which, being deeply indented by arms of the sea, must have appeared like islands to the first discoverers: or, perhaps, both these were included under the same general name. The Cassiterides being described by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, and Solinus, as appendages of Spain, or opposite to it, need not surprize or stagger any one who is accustomed to the irregularity of the ancient geographers, though Ptolemy even goes so far as to fix them by their precise latitude and longitude within a small distance of the north-west part of Spain, when we consider that the same great geographer describes the Ebudæ (Western islands of Scotland) as appendages of Ireland, and very far distant from that part of Scotland, from which they are separated only by narrow sounds; that Pomponius Mela places Thulè (Shetland) close upon the coast of the Belgæ, or near the mouths of the Rhine; and that Strabo, the best of the ancient geographers, describes Britain, Ireland, and Thulè, as appendages of Gaul, to say nothing of greater errors in his geography of countries nearer to his own. Neither is it a very material objection, that some authors mention both the Cassiterides and Britain, as producing tin, and as unconnected with each other. For it is reasonable to suppose, that the name of Cassiterides (or Tin-islands) became obsolete when the real name of

the islands was known, and when the Cassiterides, after the destruction of Carthage and the conquest of Spain by the Romans, being no longer the great emporium of the tin trade, were lost sight of by writers; though they still retained their supposed place in geographical descriptions, and were copied by every succeeding geographer; as Frizeland, another island of disputable position, has been in later times. The position of the Cassiterides by Posidonius, Diodorus, and Strabo, answers to no other place so well as the south-west part of Britain, or Silley; for there is no other land producing tin and lead, situated in the latitude of Britain, and to the northward of the north-west part of Spain, and divided from it by the Ocean, a name not to be applied to the channels between the main land of Spain and the petty islands adjacent to it. For these reasons, though the accounts of the Cassiterides be obscure, as may be expected of a relation coming down to us from hand to hand by means of the later Greek writers, subjects of Rome, wherein the only people qualified to give information had found an interest in withholding or perverting it, I venture to consider it as almost certain, that the modern Cornwall, and the Silley islands were the staple of the first foreign trade of the British islands, and were called by the Phœnicians, the Tin-islands; and by the Greeks, as soon as they heard of them, Cassiterides, or rather Kassiterides, and Kattiterides; and it may be observed, that the word is not genuine Greek, but Phœnician. See *Bochart, Geog. sacr. col. 650.*

We need not suppose it impossible, that Cornwall should be called by a name inferring it to be an island, or islands, when we recollect the name of Peloponnesus, (the island of Pelops) in ancient Greece, and the islands of Thanet, Purbeck, Portland, and Dogs, in modern England, none of which are, strictly speaking, islands.

oars, in the management of which they were very expert. Before this time they had made voyages to both the coasts of Italy, to Kyrnos, (called by the natives, as now, *Corfica*) where they had lately fettled a colony, to the south part of Gaul, and even to Spain. Encouraged by the wonderfully-prosperous voyage of Colæus, they had even passed the Pillars of Hercules, and traded to Tartessus, where they were received very favourably by the king of the country, who, being desirous of bringing a competition of traders to his dominions, and apprehending no danger from strangers whose only object was commerce, endeavoured to attach the Phocæans by the offer of a tract of land in his country. This, however, they declined; but, by the very advantageous trade, which they carried on with the Tartessians, their city flourished exceedingly, till it was destroyed by the army of Cyrus.

So determined were the Phocæans against living under subjection to a foreign prince, that in the course of a day, which was granted them by Harpagus, the Persian general, to consider of a surrender, they embarked the whole of their families and all their property that was moveable onboard their vessels, and left their empty city to be taken possession of by the Persians. Being disappointed by the jealousy of the Chians of a settlement in some small islands in the neighbourhood, they again put to sea, and bound themselves by an oath never to return to their native country, till a large stone, which they threw into the water, should rise up and swim upon the surface. In this spirit they launched out in the Mediterranean, and arrived at Corfica, where they fettled among their countrymen, who had been established there about twenty years before. [*Herodot. L. i, cc. 163, 164, 165.—Justin. L. xliii, c. 3.*]

538—For above three centuries after the increase of their population by the arrival of Elissa, the Carthaginians had advanced in a steady, quiet, and progressive, augmentation of their commercial prosperity, and in that happy historical obscurity, which infers, that they were not disturbed by wars of any consequence. The redundance of their population during this period pushed abroad in peaceable commercial settlements\*; and the islands of the Mediterranean, the north and south shores of all the west part of that sea, and even the shores of the Ocean, were overspread and enlivened by Carthaginian colonies. From the total destruction of the Carthaginian records we are deprived of all knowledge of the history of those colonies, excepting such of them as happened to come in collision with those of the Greeks: and an instance of that kind now attracts the notice of historians. The Phocæans, who had lately arrived in Corfica, became very troublesome neighbours to the former

\* The invitation of the Phocæans by the Tartessian king to settle in his dominions seems to infer, that the Carthaginians had not begun to make any hostile encroachments on the natives of Spain: if

they had, he would have thereby been warned of the danger to be apprehended from allowing foreigners to establish themselves too near him.

inhabitants, among whom there was a colony of Carthaginians, and another of Tyrrhenians. In order to suppress the piracies of the Phocæans, the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians provided a fleet, each of the allies furnishing sixty vessels. The Phocæans with a fleet, *also of sixty vessels*, met them in the Sardinian sea. In the engagement forty of the Phocæans vessels were destroyed or taken, and the remaining twenty had their rostra, or beaks, shattered, and were rendered useless. Notwithstanding the original inferiority, and the almost-total destruction of the Phocæan fleet, the victory is ascribed to them by Herodotus, (who indeed calls it a Cadmean victory) [*L. i, cc. 163-167*] and seemingly also by Thucydides. [*L. i.*] But with all our veneration for the two oldest and most respectable of the Grecian historians, it is impossible for the most inattentive reader not to be struck with the gross inconsistencies of this narrative. We are not told of any loss sustained by the allied fleet; and yet one hundred and twenty vessels were vanquished by the remaining twenty Phocæan wrecks! I say nothing of the superiority, which every thinking person will suppose, that the Carthaginians especially must have possessed in the construction of their vessels, and in their naval tactics, nor of the utter improbability of their being so shamefully vanquished on their own element: neither do I lay any stress upon the suspicious circumstance of three fleets, of sixty vessels each, being fitted out at the same time, as if by a general agreement\*; but proceed to consider the consequence of the battle, which was, that the surviving Phocæans and their families with their remaining vessels abandoned the island entirely, and found settlements near the south end of Italy. This is an incontestible proof that the Phocæans were completely defeated; which, if it needs any corroboration, has the testimony of Diodorus Siculus, who says expressly, [*L. v, § 13*] that the Phocæans, after occupying the island for some time, were expelled by the Tyrrhenians.

A colony of Phocæans, who, according to some authors, were a detachment of those who were expelled from Corsica, sailed to the south coast of Gaul, where they founded Massilia (*Marseille*), a city, which has in all ages kept up a high character as the seat of science, commerce, and naval power †. [*Strabo, L. iv, p. 270—Mela, L. ii, c. 3—Justin L. xliii, c. 3.*]

The Tyrrhenians, Etrurians, Etruscans, or Tuscans, appear, from the hints to be found in ancient authors, to have possessed the greatest part, if

\* Neither have I troubled the reader with the miracle, which followed as a suitable appendage to this wonderful *victory*, which in its circumstances is very like a story extracted from Philinus by Polybius as a glaring instance of partiality.

† Eusebius, probably following Timæus, dates the foundation of this flourishing commercial city in the forty-fifth olympiad, or, about 600 years before the Christian æra. It is indeed probable

that it was built by a Phocæan colony in more ancient times, as related by Justin, and that the refugees from Corsica made so considerable an addition to the original colony, that their arrival was afterwards considered as the commencement of the state, which appears to have been also the case with some other communities. Herodotus, though willing to do all the honour in his power to the Phocæans, has not a word of Massilia.

not the whole, of Italy before the Trojan war. They sent colonies into the neighbouring islands, and were sovereigns of the sea in a very early age. [*Diod. Sicul. L. i, § 68—Liv. Hist. L. v, c. 33.*] The cities of Pisa, and Labron or Liburnum, which retain their original names, with little or no variation, to the present day, the later being now called Livorno (and by us Leghorn) and which were among the most prosperous trading communities in the middle ages, were two of the many flourishing cities founded by them in very remote times. Their alphabet is thought by some learned men to be the most antient of all those whereof specimens have come down to us. The arts and sciences were cultivated to an astonishing degree of perfection among them, as appears by innumerable specimens, still remaining in many cabinets in Italy and elsewhere\*. And as it is known that they were powerful at sea and had many colonies, it is at least probable that they carried on a considerable commerce †. It was from them that the Romans learned the art of war, and, in short, all the knowledge that they acquired previous to their conquest of Greece.

The kingdom of Babylon had flourished for some centuries in great splendour and opulence; but, from want of records, the sources of its wealth are unknown to us. It was now subjected by Cyrus, whose dominions were more extensive, and his power much greater, than those of any monarch who had ever lived before him. The only action of his life, falling within the plan of this work, was an establishment similar to the modern post, whereby the most speedy intelligence was conveyed throughout the whole extent of his vast empire. It is probable, that the goodness of the roads, and the houses of accommodation for travelers at convenient distances, were owing to this institution of Cyrus. Of these houses, which are, perhaps, the same which are now called *caravanferais*, there were one hundred and eleven between Sardis, the capital of Lydia, and Susa, the residence of the Persian kings, on a road of 450 parasangs, or 13,400 Greek stadia ‡, which are nearly equal to 1,340 geographical miles. [*Herod. L. v, c. 52.*]

\* A very great variety of specimens of their sculpture and pottery may be seen in the numerous plates of Dempster's *Etruria regalis* and Gori's *Museum Etruscum*. A most magnificent display of the Etruscan arts from the museum of Sir William Hamilton has since been published by Mr. D'Hancarville. And improved copies of many Etruscan vases, &c. have lately been made in England by Mr. Wedgwood.

† The very remarkable proficiency of the Etrurians in almost all the arts at a time when the light of science was but dawning in Greece, and every other part of Europe was sunk in barbarism, gives considerable probability to the opinion of their Asiatic origin, whether the Lydians, or the Phœnicians, or both, were their ancestors. As their empire declined long before the age of any of the

Roman writers, who have transmitted to us a few fragments of their history, taken from Etrurian authors or from tradition, what little we know of it is totally destitute of chronology. Every thing that could be collected concerning this extraordinary people may be found in Dempster's elaborate work *De Etruria regali*.

‡ Homer is said to have visited the coasts of Spain and Etruria in a Grecian trading vessel. [*Herodoti Vita Homeri.*] It was a custom in Etruria to subject bankrupts to the scorn of the boys, who, ran after them with empty purses in their hands. [*Heraclid. Pont. ap. Athen.*] Such a custom must have been an excellent remedy against voluntary bankruptcy.

§ These numbers are the totals as given by Herodotus. Owing to errors of transcribers there is

524—The conquests of Cyrus having reduced Tyre and the neighbouring Phœnician communities to a state of vassalage, the whole of their shipping was thenceforth liable to be pressed into the service of the Persians, who had no naval force, but what they obtained from their vassals and allies. Cambyfes, the son and successor of Cyrus, having conquered Egypt, and thinking himself capable of governing the whole world, ordered the Phœnicians to proceed to Carthage, and to reduce it under his obedience. But they, though his vassals and tributaries, had the courage to refuse obedience to his order, alleging how impious it would be in them to attack their own colony: and Cambyfes did not venture to provoke the resentment of those in whose hands his only naval strength lay, by insisting upon their compliance. Thus were the Carthaginians rescued from the calamities of war, perhaps from ruin, by the only considerable naval force in the world, besides their own, being in the hands of their friends. Happy would it have been for the Persian land forces, if they also had been incapacitated from undertaking the expeditions commanded by their frantic sovereign. The main division of his army, with a most astonishing perseverance of obedience, attended him in an expedition against Ethiopia, till they were driven to the dreadful necessity of devouring a tenth part of their own number. The other part of the army, being ordered to destroy the temple of Jupiter Ammon, penetrated into the desert on the west side of Egypt, and were never more heard of; the probable supposition being, that they were all, to the number of fifty thousand men, buried alive under the drifting sands.

The Carthaginians, happily situated beyond the reach of the desolating swords of the conquerors, who successively overturned the empires of Asia, had probably, during some ages, enjoyed a state of general tranquillity and commercial prosperity\*. Here, therefore, I propose to collect such notices of their manufactures, commerce, and nautical discoveries, as I have been able to glean from the authors of antiquity, though I cannot pretend to place them in chronological order.

It is reasonable to believe, that most, if not all, of the manufactures of Sidon and Tyre were transplanted to Carthage: and even the scanty and malicious notices of their enemies universally acknowledge the superiority of the Carthaginians in works of taste and elegance. Their coins, some of which are preserved in cabinets and copied in engravings, are the only specimens of their workmanship, which the present age can

a disagreement between them and the particulars, which has puzzled the commentators. Some of the stages are evidently omitted.

\* At least so we may infer from the silence of the Greek and Roman authors, who thought nothing worthy of being recorded but war and slaughter. Justin, indeed, says [*L. xviii, c. 7*] that the Carthaginians were afflicted with the pestilence and

civil wars, and that, to appease the offended deities, they had recourse to the abominable wickedness of offering human sacrifices, not sparing even their own children. But all Roman calumnies upon Carthage must be read with distrust: and Justin's civil wars are apparently contradicted by the superior authority of Aristotle. [*De repub. L. ii, c. 11.*]

possibly see; and they are equal to be the best productions of the Greek and Roman mints, when they had attained the highest degree of perfection in sculpture and picturesque representation.

The women of that part of the Carthaginian territory, which was near the lake Tritonis, wore goat-skins stained red. Perhaps the beautiful leather, which we call Morocco, is a continuation of the same manufacture\*. The Zygantes, another African nation, besides having plenty of the honey prepared by bees, had a much greater quantity made by the hands of men, which must have been sugar (perhaps not brought to a grain) prepared from the liquor of the sugar-cane; [*Herod. L. iv, cc. 189, 194*] and this is, I believe, the very first notice of sugar to be found in history †.

We know few particulars of the ships of the Carthaginians, which, we may, however, be assured, could be nothing inferior to the very best then in the Mediterranean sea; as they were acknowledged by Polybius [*L. i, cc. 7, 16, 20*] to be possessed of hereditary pre-eminence in nautical science, and the undisputed dominion of the sea. Their ships carried carved figures on their heads or their sterns, as ships do now, and as probably the ships of other nations did then. According to Aristotle, they were the first who raised their ships of war from three to four rows of oars.

They appointed two commanders to every ship, the second being to succeed the principal in case of death. This second officer seems answerable to the mates in our merchant ships, or the second captains of the French. The appointment being noted as a singularity of the Carthaginians by Ælian, [*Var. hist. L. ix, c. 40*] it may be presumed, that other nations had no such establishment for securing a succession of command, and, indeed, there is no such second officer mentioned in that part of the Rhodian law (even when assumed in later times into the Roman code) which assigns the share, or pay, of each man onboard a ship, the pilot being therein rated next after the commander.

The Carthaginians were well acquainted with the advantages of constructing harbours, or wet docks, completely sheltered from the violence and ravages of the sea, by digging them entirely out of the main land,

\* The manufacture of Morocco leather in those parts of Africa was noticed in the early part of the fourteenth century by Abulfeda, and in the commencement of the sixteenth by Leo Africanus; and also in modern times in the *Proceedings of the African Association*, and in *Park's Travels*.

† This information, being undoubtedly derived to Herodotus from the Carthaginians, may be fairly presumed to carry the fact to at least 500 years before the Christian era, and is therefore above 200 years older than the mention of sugar by Nearchus, or that by Theophrastus, which is sometimes adduced as the earliest notice of it.

That the substance, mentioned by Herodotus,

was no other than sugar, is pretty certain from the uniform practice of the Greek and Roman writers, who had no other word than honey to express sugar, till they got the genuine name of *sacchar* from the East. The learned Casaubon, in his note on the passage of Strabo, [*L. xv, p. 1016*] where Nearchus is quoted, has collected a variety of instances of the name of honey being applied to sugar, when it is expressly said to be made from canes: and the canes themselves were called honey canes ('*canne mellis*') by the writers of the middle ages, when they were beginning to be cultivated in Europe. See *Falcandi Hist. Sicul. col. 258, ap. Muratori Script. I. vii.*

and securing them by walls, quays, or keys, for their vessels to lie at when loading and discharging: and they called such harbours by an appellation, which has come down to us under the hellenized name of Kothon or Cothon \*. [*Strabo, L. xvii, p. 1190, ed. 1707—Servius in Virg. Æn. L. i, v. 431.*]

We are told by the orator Aristides, who lived so late as the second century of the Christian æra, that the Carthaginians had a kind of money made of leather. As they surely were not in want of the precious metals, such leather money must have been a kind of promissory tickets or notes, somewhat of the nature of modern bank notes.

The Carthaginian territory, which comprehended the north front of Africa from the Straits to the border of Cyrenaica, a province of the Macedonian kingdom of Egypt, was remarkably fertile; and we may be sure that the cultivation of it was not neglected †. The produce of some parts of this extensive coast was so luxuriant, that the Carthaginians jealously prohibited strangers from landing, lest the sight of so delightful a country should allure them to attempt making settlements on it. Besides furnishing corn and other provisions for the capital city of Carthage, and many other great towns on or near the coast, this rich country supplied corn and other articles in great abundance for exportation. South from it lay the boundless interior country of Africa, which appears to have been better known to the Carthaginians, than it is now to us amidst the blaze of discoveries, of written and of printed information: and there can be little doubt, that they carried on an extensive, and mutually-beneficial, trade with the swarthy inhabitants of those vast regions ‡.

\* The construction of wet docks has been revived in the present age; and it is one of the antient arts, of which the moderns have assumed the honour of being the original inventors. It is, however, very probable, that the method of locking in the water by gates is a modern improvement, and a very capital one, on the Carthaginian wet dock.

† Mago, a Carthaginian author, wrote a treatise on agriculture, which was thought worthy of being preserved, when all the other books found in the libraries of Carthage were presented to the African princes, and being translated into Latin under the authority of the Roman senate. He is quoted by Varro, Columella, and Pliny. Leo Africanus describes a book, extant in his time (A. D. 1506) in Barbary, called the *Treasure of agriculture*, which had been translated from the Latin when Mansur was king of Granata. [*Leo Africanus, p. 80, ed. Elz. 1632.*] Quere, if this might be the work of Mago, returned to Africa, where it would be more useful than in Italy?

Some of the other Carthaginian writers, whose names only have escaped the wreck of time, were, besides Hanno and Himilco of whose works we

have some mutilated translations or fragments, Philinus, Clitomachus, Eumachus, Procles, and the great Hannibal. The works of Charon, a Carthaginian historian, who, we are told by Suidas, described the tyrants of Europe and Asia, and wrote the lives of illustrious men and women, if they had come down to us, would have been a most valuable addition to our stock of antient history, especially as an antidote to Grecian and Roman misrepresentation. The excellent comic poet Terence, though ranked among Roman writers, was a native of Carthage.

It cannot be thought foreign to the plan of this work just barely to observe here, that the constitution of Carthage was esteemed one of the most perfect in the world by so great a master in the science of politics as Aristotle; who remarks, that there had never been any commotion so violent as materially to disturb the public tranquillity, or to enable any tyrant to suppress the liberty of the people, and establish arbitrary power. [*Arist. de repub. L. ii, c. 11.*]

‡ We may presume, that they had commercial intercourse with the Negroes, before they employed

With respect to the commerce of the Mediterranean, which the other Phœnician communities, the Greeks and their colonies, the Tyrrhenians, and the rest of the inferior trading nations, shared with them, we know few or no particulars, further than that after the decline of Tyre the greatest part of it was in the hands of the Carthaginians. The shores and islands of the western half of that sea had been in a great measure settled by their own colonies, or those of their Tyrian ancestors, before the Greeks began to extend their navigation and colonies to Sicily and the south part of Italy.

We learn from Strabo, [*L. iii, p. 265*] that the Phœnicians of Gadir were the first who traded to the Cassiterides, and that they carefully concealed the route to them from all other navigators. It follows of course, that those islands were unknown to the Carthaginians for at least some time. The Carthaginians, vexed to see themselves outdone in any point of commercial knowledge or enterprise, desirous of sharing in the advantageous trade of the Cassiterides, and eager to discover the whole extent of the world, ordered two voyages of discovery to be undertaken at the same time. They seem to have known nothing of the situation of the country they wished to find, except that it was beyond the Straits in the Ocean; but as all islands, accessible to the ancient navigators, must have been in sight of other lands, they concluded, that by exploring the coast of the Ocean both northward and southward, it must certainly be discovered. Therefor they ordered Himilco to direct his course northward from the Straits, and Hanno to pursue the opposite course along the western shore of Africa. Both commanders executed their orders; and both published accounts of their discoveries. That of Himilco was extant in the fifth century, when some extracts of it were inserted in a geographical poem by Rufus Festus Avienus, from which we learn that he arrived in rather less than four months at the islands of the Oestrymnides (which were two days sail from the large sacred island inhabited by the *Hibernians*, near to which was the island of the

them as mercenary soldiers; and they had them in that capacity in their army in Sicily about 480 years before Christ. [*Frontini Strat. L. i, c. 11.*]

Herodotus [*L. ii, c. 32*] describes a great river on the south side of the African desert, running from west to east, and a city on its banks inhabited by Negroes. This river we now know to be the Niger. But its course was reversed by succeeding writers, who affirmed that it ran west to the Atlantic ocean; and it remained a subject of doubt and dispute, till the late laborious and dangerous journey of Mr. Park added a new proof of the superiority of the information conveyed to us by the venerable father of history, which, there can be little doubt, came to him from the Carthaginians: for the story, received by him through a long series of relators of various nations and languages, of five restless young men having set out from the country of the Nafamones, they knew not whither

nor wherefor, to explore the desert, is quite improbable; whereas, if we compare it with the knowledge, which, it appears from Herodotus and other ancient authors, the Carthaginians had of the continent of Africa, we need not hesitate to ascribe the discovery of the River Niger to their trading caravans. It must be observed, that this great river is called Nil-il-abeed, and that the Mauritanian prince Juba, as quoted by Ammianus Marcellinus, fixes the head of the Nile on the authority of Phœnician information, in the west part of Africa, as Ptolemy also does those of two rivers, which he calls Gu and Nigir. The Gu, he observes, is said to be absorbed at the eastern extremity of its course; but he says nothing of the termination of the Nigir. His two rivers running to the east are apparently taken from different accounts of the one great inland river of Africa.

*Albions*) where they found copious mines of tin and lead, and an high-spirited and commercial people, who used boats covered with leather. This description, though the position of the islands is described in a manner remarkably obscure, answers to no other country so well as our *British islands*; and it is extremely probable, that Himilco established a Carthaginian colony, and settled the first commercial intercourse between Britain and Carthage\*.

The object of Hanno's voyage being to make discoveries, and establish colonies, on the west coast of Africa, 30,000 people embarked with him in 60 ships of 50 oars each †. On various parts of the coast he founded at least seven towns, or trading posts, whereof the farthest, reckoned as many days' course beyond the Straits as Carthage was within them, was on a small island lying in a bay, to which he gave the name of Kerné (or Cerné), and apparently that which is now called Mogadore ‡. From

\* Dionysius Periegetes [*v.* 563] describes the islands of the Hesperides (which he seemingly places near to Britain) as 'the native country of tin, inhabited by the wealthy sons (or descendants) of the illustrious Iberians,' who were apparently the people described by Skylax and Avienus, as living near Gadir, beside the lesser river Iberus, now Rio Tinto in Andalusia. From the antient Iberians Tacitus conjectures the Silures (the old inhabitants of South Wales) to be descended. [*Vit. Agric. c.* 11.] The chief island of the cluster near the south-west extremity of Britain is called Sigdelis in Antonine's Maritime Itinerary, Silura by Solinus, [*c.* 24] Sillinae by Sulpicius Severus, [*L.* ii] and is now called Silley. Avienus says, [*Ora maritima, v.* 113] that the Tartessians (so he calls the people of Gadir) were accustomed to trade to the Oestrymnides, and he then adds, that the husbandmen or planters ('*coloni*') and people of Carthage also went to them, which seems to infer the establishment of a permanent colony. It appears extremely probable, that Hesperides, Oestrymnides, and Cassiterides, are but different names of the same cluster of islands, the chief one of which got the name of Silura, Silleni, or Silley, which name now comprehends the whole: and, if so, Avienus perfectly agrees with Strabo, who says that the first voyages were made to these islands from Gadir.

The settlement of a colony of farmers must have required a more extensive territory than the Silley islands, though they may perhaps have been much larger formerly than now. [See *Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester*, pp. 385, et seqq. where in p. 392 by 'one fadum water' we must understand one fathom of depth, and not of breadth.] The probability of such a settlement corroborates the supposition, that the Phœnicians of Gadir and Carthage considered the extremity of the main land of Britain as a part of the islands. [See above, p. 45, Note.]

Ocampo, a Spanish author, has composed a

Routiere of Himilco's voyage: but, as his only foundation is the obscure and mutilated work of Avienus, it is almost needless to say, that it can only contain ingenious conjecture in place of satisfactory elucidation.

† Of Hanno's voyage we have only a Greek translation, or rather abridgement. We may therefore suspect the number of people to be erroneous, as it is not probable that so many would embark before the coast was explored, the stations for the new colonists chosen, and the plan of the emigration and settlement duly arranged. As the numbers stand, the vessels must have carried 500 persons each, besides provisions, materials for building, and other bulky stores. Mr. Le Roy endeavours to account for the great number of passengers in each ship by observing, that not many days elapsed before the number was lessened by the settlement of Thymiatierium, that in a short time all the proposed settlers were landed, and that, as they undoubtedly sailed in the finest season of the year, the people would find no inconvenience in living upon deck. [*Navires des anciens, p.* 192.]

‡ Polybius, who sailed along the coast, describes Kerné [*ap. Plin. L. vi, c.* 31] as opposite to Mount Atlas, and about a mile from the main land; and with him Ptolemy nearly agrees, who plainly places Kerné north from the Fortunate islands or Canaries. These marks, and the consideration, that the Carthaginians would probably not make as much *real* distance on an unknown, as on a known, coast, may almost fix the much-contested position of Kerné, which can answer to no other place so well as the little island of Mogadore, the harbour of which is a small bay between it and the coast of Morocco. It is wonderful, that men of learning, with the clear evidence of Polybius and Ptolemy, and some other antient authors, before their eyes, should let their fancy run so wild, as to take the considerable island of St. Thomas, almost under the equinoctial line, or Madeira, also

Kerné Hanno proceeded southward along the coast inhabited by the Negroes for twenty-six days, during which, according to the computation of a day's course by Herodotus, he may have run 1,820 miles, or 1,300, as Skylax calculates the course. In his way he discovered some islands, two days' course from the continent, called Gorillas by Hanno's interpreters, and by later writers Gorgades, and apparently the same which have been also called the Hesperides, the Fortunate islands, and Canaries \*, being the only islands of any consequence visible from the main land of Africa †.

an island of some extent and too far from the coast to be reached by the ancient navigators, or even the vast island of Madagascar on the *east* side of Africa, for Kerné, a small island of a few furlongs in circumference on the *west* side of that continent. But, unfortunately men of great learning are sometimes very bad geographers.—In the year 1765 the emperor of Morocco appointed Mogadore to be the port for the foreign trade of his dominions.

\* Some modern authors suppose the Bissago, or Bissao, islands near the Rio Grande, and others, the island of St. Thomas, to be the Gorillas.

† Several attempts have been made to fix the æra of the voyages of Himilco and Hanno, which, proceeding upon erroneous principles, must have erroneous conclusions. Because Hanno and Himilco are mentioned together as Carthaginian generals in the time of Agathocles, a Sicilian king about 320 years before Christ, these naval commanders must be the same. Because Pliny has said, that these voyages were performed, when the Carthaginians were in great prosperity, and the Carthaginians had some success in a war against Agathocles, that must surely be the time. The obvious objection to the first argument is, that Hanno and Himilco were names as common in Carthage as John and Thomas are in this country; and to the second, that the Carthaginians enjoyed great prosperity for several centuries, before they were known to the writers of Rome, in whose ideas prosperity consisted in working the misery of millions.

The account of Hanno's voyage is quoted in the work upon *marvellous things*, ascribed to Aristotle, but with more probability believed to be the composition of his pupil Theophrastus, who flourished about 300 years before the Christian æra.—From Herodotus we learn, that the Carthaginians carried on a trade with the natives of the west coast of Africa (which will be noticed presently) apparently founded upon the discoveries of Hanno, which must have thus been before the age of Herodotus.—Several of the towns built by Hanno, and some particulars of the trade carried on with the Negroes, apparently at those towns, are mentioned in the geographical work, which we have under the name of Skylax. If it were certain that those parts of the work were the genuine composition of that Skylax, who was in the service of Darius Hystaspes,

the voyages of Hanno and Himilco must have been performed at least 500 years before Christ.—It is very probable, that the name of Iernè, mentioned by Onomacritus about 550 years before Christ, (see above, p. 42) was derived from an account of Himilco's voyage; as we may believe, that the Carthaginians were more frequently in the harbours of Greece and the Grecian part of Sicily than any other Phœnician navigators, to whom the British islands were known. A passage of Strabo [*L. i. p. 83*] seems to carry Hanno's discovery several centuries higher, for, says he, 'People talk of Minos's command of the sea, and the navigation of the Phœnicians, who *soon after the Trojan war* proceeded even beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and built towns there and on the middle of the coast of Africa.' As he classes these voyages with those of Bacchus, Hercules, Jason, &c. for antiquity and distance, the towns must apparently be understood to have been on the exterior (or oceanic) coast of Africa, whereof Hanno was certainly *the first discoverer by navigation from the Mediterranean*; and thence it follows, that he must have flourished at least 1,000 years before the Christian æra. And, if there be any truth in the story of the Atlantic island having been heard of in Egypt several centuries before the age of Solon, the discovery of it, or the idea of its existence, real or fabulous, must apparently have been posterior to Hanno's voyage, which is thus carried up to an antiquity fully equal to that inferred from Strabo. Notwithstanding all the absurdities in the story of that island, it may have been one of the islands on the west coast of Africa, perhaps one of the Canaries, or Madeira. Neither is it impossible, that a storm might have carried a vessel far out of sight of land, and thrown her upon an unknown part of some of our British islands, from which she could return home by coasting along the shores of Gaul, Spain, &c. The story of its immense extent, greater than Asia and Africa together, is not to be mused; for the magnitude of a country cannot be known from a transient visit. They, who suppose it to have been some part of America, are not aware of the impossibility of returning across the great ocean without a compass, and sailing in direct opposition to the perpetual trade winds.

Velasquez, a Spanish author, fixes the voyage of

According to authors quoted by Strabo, [*L. xvii, pp. 1182, 1185*] the Tyrians (i. e. Carthaginians) had planted colonies along the western shore of Africa to the extent of thirty days' course; and there were 300 of their towns on that coast, a definite number being used for an indefinite one, which infers that there were very many; though 100 trading posts would be abundantly sufficient for such an extent of coast\*.

When the Carthaginians arrived at Kerné, their custom was to land their goods, and store them in tents on the beach, whence they carried them over to the African shore in boats or small craft. They exchanged wine, the ointments of Egypt, the earthen ware and tiles of Athens, and other manufactures, for hides of cattle, deer, lions, elephants, and other wild animals, which abound in that country, for ivory, and probably, though not mentioned, for gold or gold dust. A part at least of this trade was carried on at a great city of the Africans, to which the Carthaginians navigated. [*Skylax.*]

There was another branch of the African trade, apparently more remote, which I shall relate in the words of the father of history.—‘The Carthaginians report, that there is a country in Africa beyond the Pillars of Hercules, in which, when they arrive, they land their merchandise, and range it along the shore. Then returning onboard their ships, they announce their arrival to the natives by making a smoke. These immediately repair to the beach, and having laid down a quantity of gold beside the goods, they retire a little way back from the shore. The Carthaginians then land, and examining the gold, if they think it a satisfactory price, they carry it off: if not, they return onboard, and the natives add to the gold, till the sellers are satisfied. Neither party offers the least injury to the other, nor will the Africans touch the goods, till the Carthaginians declare their satisfaction in the price by receiving the gold.’ [*Herod. L. iv, c. 196.*] This narrative of so honourable a commercial intercourse, which seems to be continued down to the present age †, from an author, far superior for

Hanno 400 years before Christ. The opinions of several other Spanish writers are collected by Campomanes in the prologue to his *Antigüedad marítima de Cartago*. Mr. de Bougainville is of opinion that the voyage was performed 703, 570, or 510, years before Christ; and of the three dates he thinks 570 the most probable. [*Mémoires de l'Académie des inscript. v. xxvii, § 4.*] Mr. Le Roy dates it 610 years before Christ. [*Marine des anciens peuples, p. 201.*] Such minute accuracy is evidently unattainable.

\* In the time of Strabo (at the commencement of the Christian æra) almost the whole of those settlements were destroyed, and the celebrated island of Kerné was forgotten, or at least unknown to him. Some of the trading posts on the African coast near the Straits, however, were still in exist-

ence. [*Strabo, L. i, p. 82; L. xvii, pp. 1181, 1182.*]

† The same silent trade is still carried on by the Moors of the west coast of Africa with the Negroes on the River Niger, perhaps the descendants of those with whom the Carthaginians traded; and the same commercial honour and strict integrity on both sides still regulate their intercourse. At a fixed time a large caravan of Moors arrive at the appointed place of the trade, where they find gold dust laid down in separate heaps. Beside each of these they lay down such quantities of cutlery and trinkets as they think equivalent, and next morning they find their goods carried off, if approved, or else a diminution of the quantity of gold dust. [*Shaw's Travels, p. 302.—Cadamosto in Purchas's Pilgrimage, p. 810.*] The relations

authenticity and impartiality to any of the Roman writers, may serve as an antidote against their wretched calumnies of Carthaginian perfidy, Carthaginian falsehood, treachery, &c. continually repeated by them, and inconsiderately echoed by many modern writers.

The trade carried on upon the west coast of Africa, of which we can only glean these few hints, was undoubtedly the fruit of Hanno's discovery. We must regret, that the intercourse with the countries discovered by Himilco, with which the most antient history of our own island is apparently very closely connected, is buried in still deeper obscurity. But it is very evident, that these two voyages on the Atlantic ocean added almost a new world to the commerce of the Carthaginians, which was the more lucrative, that they had the trade almost free from foreign competition: and the southern branch of it, which may be presumed to have been entirely without a rival, appears to have been assiduously cultivated, and long persevered in\*.

Such is the poor account, which I have been able to collect from antient authors of the greatest commerce, that ever was carried on by any nation of the western world from the dawn of history till times comparatively modern; a commerce, which, by the unrivaled extent, and the judicious management, of it, relieved all nations of their superfluities, supplied all their wants, and everywhere dispensed plenty and comfort; whereby, through the good offices of those universal agents and carriers, the Indian, the Ethiopian, the Negro, the Briton, and the Scythian, living in the extremities of the world, and ignorant of each-other's existence, contributed to each-other's felicity by increasing their own †.

524—At this time commerce with its usual supporters, the arts and sciences, appears to have made considerable progress among the Greeks, and particularly among those of Asia and the islands, who were in general opulent and powerful at sea; at least, we may consider them as such, if compared with their ancestors. Polycrates, who, from a private station, had raised himself, by means of the wealth inherited from his father, to the sovereignty of Samos, a considerable island near the coast of Asia, possessed such a naval force, that, besides his usual fleet of one hundred vessels of fifty oars each, he fitted out forty triremes, which he sent to assist Cambyfes in his expedition against Egypt, not as a vassal,

of these authors afford a noble confirmation of the veracity of Herodotus and his Carthaginian informers. Another similar trade carried on in Æthiopia is mentioned by Cosmas Indicoplestes.

\* It is remarkable that Ptolemy's latitudes of places on that part of the west coast of Africa, to which the Carthaginians traded, are more correct than in most other parts of his work; a proof, among others, of the superiority of the nautical science of the Carthaginians.

† Christopher Hendreich, in a work entitled *Carthago*, wherein he professes to collect what an-

tient authors have written upon Carthage, has next to nothing upon the most important subjects of the manufactures and commerce of the Carthaginians; and nothing upon their navigation and colonies, except a promise (not performed) of *proving, that America was mostly peopled from Carthage*. Hanno is only named; Himilco not at all; and not a word of the trade at Kerné.—Campomanes, a Spanish writer, has collected several detached incidental notices of particular articles of the Carthaginian commerce in a work entitled *Antigüedad marítima de Cartago*, p. 40. et seqq.

but as an independent ally. Herodotus, whose testimony, in all matters wherein only Greeks are concerned, outweighs an hundred of such authors as Castor Rhodius, says expressly, [*L. iii, c. 39*] that, to the best of his knowledge, Polycrates was the first of the Greeks, after Minos, who conceived the design of establishing a naval force, sufficiently respectable to command the sea, by which the Ægæan sea must undoubtedly be understood \*: and the sovereignty must as certainly be restricted to a superiority over the other Grecian states; for he could never pretend to come in competition with the Phœnicians, who, though depressed by their subjection to the Persian empire, possessed more commerce and shipping than all the Greeks taken together.

The Samians were famous for their manufactures of gold and silver ware †, and fine earthen-ware, which, like the china or porcelain of modern times, was in high request for the service of the table many ages after this time at Rome ‡. A particular earth of Samos, supposed to possess some medicinal virtues, was also exported. [*Plin. L. xxxv, cc. 12, 16.*] These, with their corn and fruit, which were abundant, formed the cargoes, which the Samian merchants exported as far as Egypt, and, at least once, even as far as Tartessus. (See above, p. 34.) With respect to the progress of the mechanic arts in this island, it will scarcely appear credible, that the engineers of Samos were capable of perforating a high mountain with a tunnel of eight feet in height, and as much in breadth, and of the length of seven furlongs, containing an aqueduct, which supplied the town with excellent water. They also constructed a mole of great height, which ran out a quarter of a mile in the sea, to protect their harbour ||. In such works the Samian artists, whom I shall have further occasion to mention, excelled all the rest of the Greeks. [*Herod. L. iii, c. 60.*]

The people of Chios had some trade and shipping; and it was the apprehension of suffering by the too near neighbourhood of rival traders, which made them reject the proposal of the Phocæans, when they abandoned their own city, for the purchase of some small islands belonging to them. The art of inlaying iron was invented by Glaucus an artist of this island.

The natives of Ægina had been a commercial people some centuries ago, as has been already observed; and they still retained that character. According to Castor they became sovereigns of the sea

\* If the testimony of Herodotus needs to be supported against Castor, Thucydides and Strabo may be adduced.

† Theodorus, a Samian goldsmith, was so famous, that a golden goblet, made by him, was reckoned one of the most precious articles in the palace of the kings of Persia. [*Chares, ap. Athenæum, L. xii.*]

‡ Pliny [*L. xxxv, c. 12*] ascribes to Euchir and Eugrammus, two Samian artists, the honour of introducing in Etruria the manufacture of the beautiful earthen-ware, for which that country was so famous.

|| The remains of those wonders of ancient art are still visible, and agree with the description of them by Herodotus.

509 years before the Christian æra. Most of the other islands had at this time some shipping and trade.

514—Darius king of Persia, desirous of an opportunity to display his warlike prowess, resolved to invade the Scythians of Europe, in order, as the Greeks tell the story, to revenge upon them an invasion of Asia by their ancestors about *one hundred and twenty years before*. For this purpose he collected a fleet of six hundred vessels, furnished by his maritime vassals of Phœnicia, Ionia, and the islands: but the transportation of his army was effected by the ingenuity of Mandrocles, a Samian engineer, who constructed a bridge connecting the European and Asiatic shores of the Thracian Bosphorus. The wise conduct of the Scythians, who defeated Darius without fighting him, made him next look to the eastward for an extension of his empire. Previous to his expedition he fitted out some vessels at Caspatyrus (a town on the River Indus, or Sind) under the command of Skylax of Caryandia, whom he directed to explore the banks of that river and the maritime country westward from its mouth. He performed his voyage in two years and a half, and concluded it (a°. 506) in that part of the Red sea, whence the Phœnicians in the service of Necos king of Egypt had set out in the circumnavigation of Africa. This Skylax is believed to have been the original author of a geographical work, still extant, which if really his, is older by some centuries than any other work professedly upon geography, which has come down to our times\*. The report made by Skylax stimulated the ambition and the avarice of Darius, who made himself master of the whole fertile and populous country south-east of Persia to the Ocean, and apparently as far as the Indus. The territory acquired in this expedition constituted the richest province of the Persian empire. [*Herod. L. iv, c. 44, 84, 87; L. iii, c. 94.*]

Darius seems to have undertaken the conquest of the Indian territories adjacent to Persia, partly with a view to promote the commerce of his subjects, and to facilitate their intercourse with a country, which has in all ages been a principal object of commercial attention, as well as of military depredation. This appears the more probable from his resuming the undertaking of a navigable canal between the Nile and the Red sea, The canal, originally planned by Sesostris or his son, was afterwards carried on by Necos, but abandoned, as already related. It branched off from the eastern mouth of the Nile a little below the separation of its stream, and following the level of the country, terminated in the Red sea about forty miles below the head of its western branch.

\* This work, which is quoted with the name of Skylax by Aristotle, [*Polit. L. vii, c. 14*] has had the misfortune to be so much corrupted by the interpolations of transcribers, that its authenticity has been questioned by some critics; and

others have ascribed it to another Skylax of Caryandia who lived about 350 years later: but this opinion rests chiefly upon the lateness of some passages, which are probably interpolations.

Its breadth permitted two triremes to pass each other, and its length required four days to navigate it\*.

If the Phœnicians ever had any colonies in the islands of the Persian gulf, as is supposed by some authors, the settlement of them may be perhaps placed about this time, when Darius king of Persia, who was sovereign of Phœnicia, and the north coast of that gulf, with the adjacent coast as far as the Indus, appears to have been desirous of establishing an extensive commerce in his dominions, for the management of which he could find none so proper as the Phœnician merchants. The existence of Phœnician colonies in the Persian gulf appears to be founded chiefly upon two islands in it being called Tyrus or Tylus, and Aradus, as is supposed, from Tyrus and Aradus on the Phœnician coast, and upon the ruins of some temples, said to be built in the Phœnician manner, being found upon them. Strabo, however, says, the people of those islands reversed the story, and claimed the honour of being the ancestors of the Tyrians and Aradians of the Mediterranean coast. [*Strabo, L. xvi, p. 1110—and see Bochart, Geog. sacr. col. 689*]. But it must be acknowledged, that there is no very good authority for any connection between the Phœnicians and any people in the Persian gulf.

Tylus appears to have been rather occupied by the Arabians, as it is called an Arabian island by an antient author; and its inhabitants were a commercial, or at least a maritime, people, who built vessels of a kind of wood (perhaps the teak of India) so durable, that, after remaining above two hundred years in the water, they were perfectly found and undecayed. [*Theophrastus, L. v, c. 6.*]

Some idea of the value of money in those days may be obtained from the amount of the revenue of the Persian empire under Darius. It was then almost at the zenith of its power. It extended from the Ocean on the south to the Scythian deserts on the north; and from the banks of the Indus it stretched west to the Ægean and Euxine seas, and to the confines of the Carthaginian territories in Africa. The twenty dependent satrapies or governments, into which the countries conquered by the Persians were divided, yielded a revenue amounting to 14,560 Euboic talents of silver, which, together with some payments in kind, scarcely exceeded three millions of our money; a sum not equal to the annual subsidy, which in our own times has been given to a foreign prince for the pay of his mercenary troops by an island, inferior in population and extent to some of the satrapies of the Persian empire. It is evident, that the necessaries of life could be purchased for a very small

\* Such is the account of this famous canal, as described by Herodotus, [*L. ii, c. 158; L. iv, c. 39*] who very probably saw it, with vessels going from sea to sea upon it. But Diodorus Siculus and Strabo affirm, that Darius did not complete the work, being terrified by some, who told

him, that the water of the Red sea was higher than the land of Egypt; and they give the honour of completing the work to the Ptolemys, who probably cleared out the soil deposited in it by the Nile.

quantity of silver, when such a revenue not only sufficed to the sovereign of one of the greatest empires known in antient history for the purposes of government, the maintenance of a standing army, the indulgence of luxury, and the display of unrivaled magnificence, but also enabled him to lay up vast treasures. This account is furnished by Herodotus, [*L. iii, c. 89*] apparently from an authentic record. He also informs us, that the proportional value of gold and silver was as one to thirteen.

508—From the affairs of the East our attention is now called to the West by the first intercourse recorded in history between the Romans and Carthaginians. A treaty of friendship, or, as far as a covenant with such a people, as the Romans then were, could be so called, a *commercial treaty*, was concluded in the time of Brutus and Horatius\*, whose names stand in the first year of the Roman list of consuls. As it is the most antient commercial treaty now extant, and also the most antient authentic monument of Roman or Carthaginian history, and is not a hundredth part of the length of a modern treaty, it undoubtedly merits to be inserted entire in commercial history. Polybius has given us the words of it, which he copied, as exactly as the then obsolete state of the language would permit, from the plate of brass, on which it was preserved in the Capitol. In English it is as follows :

‘ Let there be friendship between the Romans together with their  
‘ allies and the Carthaginians together with their allies, on the follow-  
‘ ing terms and conditions. Let not the Romans nor their allies navi-  
‘ gate beyond the Fair promontory †. If they be driven by storms, or

\* According to Livy, Horatius was the *successor* of Spurius Lucretius, who succeeded Brutus, or of Brutus himself; for he leaves it uncertain. Unless we will charge a wilful falsehood upon Polybius, who flourished about 150 years before Livy, and is beyond comparison more authentic, we must believe, that Brutus and Horatius were in *joint* authority at the conclusion of the treaty with the Carthaginians, and at the consecration of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Yet Livy, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a writer even more romantic than Livy, are the authors generally followed by later compilers of Roman history. On such authority we are told, that Collatinus was rewarded for his voluntary resignation of the consulship with a present of twenty talents out of the public treasury and five talents out of the private purse of Brutus, being together near *five thousand pounds* of our money; a greater sum than the whole Roman treasury of that time can be rationally supposed to have contained. If this story were credible, it would deserve a place in the text, as throwing some light on the value of money. But it is utterly inconsistent with the simplicity of life and general poverty ascribed to the most distinguisht

ed characters of the early Roman history. (See a collection of instances of laudable poverty by Valerius Maximus, *L. iv, c. 4.*) About fifty years after this time, when the Romans had collected the plunder of several of the neighbouring towns, we are told, that the senate in a consultation fixed the bail to be given by the son of the famous Cincinnatus, when accused of no less a crime than murder, at 3,000 asses of brass, and obliged ten of his friends to be securities for the payment of so large a sum, which, taking it at the highest calculation, was but a few pounds over a tun of brass. [*Liv. L. iii, c. 13.*] Innumerable instances of such inconsistencies might be pointed out in the romantic part of the Roman history.

† The point of Africa nearest to Sicily, called also the Promontory of Mercury, and now Cape Bon, as is evident from the remark of Polybius upon this treaty. Doctor Shaw, if he had consulted Polybius instead of Livy, need not have been misled by the supposed identity of *Candidum* and *Καλλο* to place this promontory on the west, instead of the east, side of the bay of Carthage. [*Travels in Barbary, &c. p. 142.*]

‘ chafed by enemies; beyond it, let them not buy or receive any thing,  
 ‘ but what is necessary for repairing their vessels, and for sacrifice; and  
 ‘ let them depart within five days from the time of their landing. Who-  
 ‘ ever shall come on the business of merchandize, let him pay no duties  
 ‘ but the fees of the broker and clerk. Let the public faith be secu-  
 ‘ rity to the seller for whatever is sold in presence of those officers; that  
 ‘ is to say, whatever is sold in Africa or Sardinia. If any Romans come  
 ‘ to that part of Sicily, which is subject to Carthage, let them have im-  
 ‘ partial justice. Let not the Carthaginians do any injury to the people  
 ‘ of Ardea, Antium, Laurentum, Circæium, Tarracina, nor any of the  
 ‘ Latins who shall be subject to Rome. Let them not attack the free  
 ‘ towns of the Latins. If they shall take any of them, let them de-  
 ‘ liver it to the Romans free of any damage. Let them build no fort  
 ‘ in the land of the Latins. If they make a hostile landing in the  
 ‘ country, let them not remain all night in it.’ [*Polyb. L. iii, c. 22.*]

It appears from this treaty, that the Carthaginians, as the superior people, had dictated the terms of it; and it is probable, that it was merely their mercantile jealousy, which prompted them to prohibit the Romans from trading to the rich countries lying around the bay of the Lesser Syrtis, which for their extraordinary fertility were called the *Emporia*, or the markets, though the Romans may not then have had any notion of attempting such distant voyages\*. This genuine monument of antiquity also informs us, that the Carthaginians had some time before departed from the simplicity of their commercial system, and converted their mercantile posts into military garrisons for enslaving the people with whom they traded; and that Sardinia (of which Corsica, or a part of it, seems to have been an appendage) and also a part of Sicily, were reduced under their dominion. Their success in those encroachments brought on a thirst for conquest; and that brought on their ruin. But these matters will be more properly introduced afterwards. I now return to the East †.

At this time the attention of the Grecian historians is engrossed by the war between the Greeks and Persians, which continued, with intervals of insincere pacification, till the Persian empire was entirely sub-

\* About a dozen of years after this treaty a college of merchants is mentioned, as then established at Rome: but we have no other authority for it than Livy, [*L. ii, c. 27*] who has perhaps antedated an institution esteemed ancient in his own time.

On similar authority we are told, that a great quantity of corn, bought with money drawn from the Roman treasury, was imported from Sicily, on which occasion the celebrated general Coriolanus and some others proposed holding up the price

of bread, in order to keep the populace in subjection.

Both these events are placed in an age wherein Rome knew nothing of trade, had no historian of her own, and had not attracted the notice of any foreign writer, at least, not of any one who has come down to our times, for her most important events.

† At this time according to Plutarch, in his life of Valerius Poplicola, in Rome a sheep was worth ten oboli, and an ox an hundred oboli, which last sum is equal to about half a guinea.

verted by the astonishing success of Alexander. The torch of war was kindled by the revolt of the Ionians, who dispatched Aristagoras as their ambassador to solicit the assistance of the European Greeks.

502—The wonderful proficiency of the Babylonians in astronomy in a very early age has already been noticed. The application of the same principles to the surface of the earth constitutes the science of geography, which describes the figure and extent of the various countries, islands, rivers, seas, &c. The artists of Babylon were probably those, whom the Persian monarchs employed to construct the maps engraved on plates of brass, which the governors or satraps appear to have received along with their commissions, and which contained the Persian dominions, or, as Herodotus expresses it, [*L. v, c. 49*] all the lands, seas, and rivers, in the world. Aristagoras, who before the revolt was vassal king or governor of Miletus, carried his brazen map with him to Sparta in order to explain the facility with which the Greeks might make themselves masters of the Persian empire. But the Spartans, whose singular constitution rejected what they esteemed superfluous knowledge, as well as superfluous wealth and luxury, paid no attention to his geographical demonstration, nor would they listen to a proposal, which was to carry them a three-months journey from home\*. Aristagoras had better success with the other states of Greece, and the Athenians in particular determined to assist the Ionians with twenty ships; and those ships, Herodotus observes, proved the source of the calamities, which afterwards fell upon both Greeks and Persians.

500—In a naval engagement on the coast of Cyprus, we are told, that the Phœnician fleet was defeated by that of the Ionians, among whom the Samians made the most distinguished figure. Nor need we wonder, that the Phœnicians, no longer the invincible sovereigns of the sea, but degraded to the condition of vassals of Persia, should be found inferior, even on their own element, to the Greeks, now fast rising to the character of an enlightened, free, and commercial, people.

497—The Ionians and their allies of the islands directed all their exertions to the improvement of their maritime power, on which they placed their principal dependence in their attempt to shake off the Persian yoke. They accordingly collected a fleet of 353 warlike vessels, whereof 100 were furnished by the island of Chios, 70 by Lesbos, and 60 by Samos. These were opposed by 600 ships belonging to the maritime vassals of Persia, and chiefly under the direction of the Phœnicians. It is probable, that, if the commanders of the Grecian fleet

\* When Herodotus [*L. viii, c. 132*] represents the Greeks a few years after this time as ignorant of every country beyond Delos, and believing that Samos was as distant as the Pillars of Hercules, the reflection must surely be confined to the Spar-

tans, whose king Leutyehides was then commander of the Grecian fleet. It could not apply to the rest of the Greeks, who were in general acquainted with the sea; and it is difficult to conceive that even the Spartans could be so excessively ignorant.

had acted with unanimity, they would have been victorious. But corruption and discord ruined their fleet. The Greeks were defeated (a° 496), chiefly by means of the Phœnician naval forces; and the Persian fetters were riveted upon the Ionian states more firmly than before. [*Herod. L. vi, cc. 6-42.*]

Darius, having suppressed the Ionian rebellion, determined to take vengeance upon the Greeks, and particularly the Athenians for their interference. The expedition conducted by his son-in-law Mardonius was defeated by a storm, which dashed 300 of his ships and 20,000 of his soldiers against the rocks of Mount Athos (a° 494). The next attempt was still more unfortunate. The battle of Marathon (a° 490), which raised the glory of Athens to the skies, and rendered the power of Persia contemptible in the eyes of Greece, is known to every reader of history.

The Athenians are now entitled by their attention to commerce and navigation to be considered as a naval power. By the advice of Themistocles, who used to say, that the war with Persia was not ended, but only beginning, they applied the produce of their silver mines to the improvement of their marine establishment. Being more desirous of military, than of commercial, pre-eminence, they took upon them to revenge the cause of Greece upon such of the islands as had yielded to the Persians. Ægina, though but a small rocky island, had long maintained a commercial and naval superiority over the other states of Greece. It had submitted to the Persians; and being thus obnoxious to the Athenians as an enemy as well as a rival, it was subdued by their fleet. They next suppressed the Corcyreans, a people, who, uniting merchandize with piracy, had long insulted the neighbouring shores of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, with impunity. [*Plutarch. in Themist.—Corn. Nep. in Themist.*]

The Athenians, in expectation of the storm which was to burst upon them from the East, persevered in the improvement of their fleet. They built two hundred vessels of a burthen superior to any hitherto ever seen in Greece; and their ships, and the valour of their soldiers and sailors, were, humanly speaking, the preservation of Greece from Persian slavery.

481—Xerxes, the mighty monarch of Persia and of a great part of Asia, the heir of his father's revenge as well as of his crown, could not enjoy his felicity, while he saw the small states of Greece independent of his overgrown empire. Having spent some years in preparation, he led several millions\* of his devoted subjects of all ranks, sexes, and

\* Herodotus [*L. vii, cc. 186, 187*] calculates the whole number of the men whom Xerxes dragged along with him to be 5,283,220, besides women, and eunuchs, of whose numbers no calcula-

tion could be made. Perhaps a large allowance ought to be made for Grecian exaggeration in this account.

ages, to take possession of that country. His navy consisted of 1,207 *triremes*, or ships of war carrying three tiers of oars, and 3,000 transports, which were all furnished by the nations bordering on the east part of the Mediterranean and Ægæan seas and the south shore of the Euxine sea, all of whom were subject to him. Of the triremes the Phœnicians furnished 300, distinguished from the rest of the fleet by their velocity; and among them the Sidonian vessels were the best. Five vessels, furnished, and commanded in person, by Artemisia queen of Caria, were esteemed next to those of the Sidonians. The quota of the Egyptians was 200 ships; but it is reasonable to believe, that, on being taxed with that number, their money was employed in procuring them from the commercial people of Phœnicia or Carthage. Smaller numbers were provided by the other subject states according to their abilities. [*Herodot. L. vii, cc. 89-99, and 23.*] The innumerable multitudes dragged after the standard of the Persian monarch, better calculated to settle an hundred populous colonies than to effect one conquest, were almost totally destroyed by famine, by the rigour of the seasons, by the winds, by their ignorance of the country which they invaded, and partly by the wise conduct and wonderful valour of the Greeks. About one third of the formidable armada, which the Ægæan sea was scarcely spacious enough to contain, was wrecked on the coast of Thessaly; and most of the remaining ships were destroyed or taken in repeated engagements with the Greeks, among whom the chief praise was due to the Athenians, who on this occasion placed their whole dependence on their WOODEN WALLS\*, and, as their city was destroyed, were very properly considered by Themistocles their general, as a floating nation.

480—The event of this memorable expedition was the very reverse of what Xerxes and his venal flatterers predicted. Greece remained free; and the empire, which he sought to extend, after being devoured by his innumerable army, and debilitated throughout its vast extent by the loss of its best men, was curtailed by the independence of the Grecian colonies in Asia.

This was incomparably the most brilliant period of the Grecian history, and the time, when the Greeks might with considerable propriety have ascribed to themselves the dominion of the sea. About this time also they attained, and for a considerable time supported, that high rank in literature, that superiority in the fine arts, and that ardent love of liberty, which have ennobled the Grecian character, and rendered it the object of respect and admiration in all succeeding ages.

\* The Athenians, having consulted the oracle at Delphi, were told, that they must fly from their houses, and seek refuge within their *wooden walls*. They were much puzzled about the meaning of the response, till Themistocles (whose money had, no doubt, procured the imaginary-divine approba-

tion of his own opinion) convinced them, that their ships were the *wooden walls*, to which they were to owe their preservation. [*Herod. L. vii, cc. 140-143.*] This was apparently the first occasion on which our favourite metaphorical appellation for a naval force was used.

At the same time that Xerxes with the collected force of Asia suffered such ignominious defeats from the valour of Greece, the Carthaginians were seduced from their proper sphere of mercantile activity, and tempted to enter into plans of conquest, either by the entreaties of a fugitive prince expelled from one of the small Sicilian territories, as stated by Herodotus, or by a treaty with Xerxes, as asserted by Diodorus Siculus, or by the co-operation of both causes. According to Herodotus, Amilcar, the Carthaginian general, invaded Sicily with an army of 300,000 men collected from the various nations of Africa, Iberia (or Spain), Liguria, Sardinia and Corsica (or Kyrnos), with a proportional fleet. The Grecian accounts, (and unfortunately we have no other) though differing widely in the particulars, agree in asserting that the Carthaginians were as unsuccessful as the Persians; that their whole fleet was burnt by a stratagem of Gelon king of Syracuse; and every man of them either killed, or reserved to be the slaves of the Sicilian Greeks.

According to the speech which Herodotus puts into the mouth of Gelon, he possessed a very considerable maritime power; and he offered, on condition of being invested with the supreme command of the allied forces, or at least of the combined fleet, to join the Greeks with two hundred triremes and a great land army, and also to supply the whole united armies with corn during the Persian war. He at the same time referred to some advantages he had obtained in a former war against the Carthaginians. This must give us a high idea of the fertility and resources of the Syracusan territories. [*Herod. L. vii, cc. 158, 160.*]

477—The Athenians, whose maritime gallantry and conduct had been the chief cause of the defeat of Xerxes, still persevered in their attention to their marine. They improved their harbour called the Piræus, so as to be capable of containing a large fleet within its fortifications; and they were henceforth regarded as the most powerful state in Greece. But it must be acknowledged, that their views were more directed to naval pre-eminence for the sake of conquests, than for the extension of commerce.

474—The confederated Greeks of Europe, Asia or Ionia, and the Islands, seeing the necessity of a joint stock to be employed for the general service in providing, victualling, and arming, their fleets, resolved that a contribution should be levied from each community. To adjust the due proportion, payable by every state, they unanimously chose Aristides, an Athenian general, who for his integrity was honoured with the title of the *Just*; a title infinitely more glorious than the frequently-prostituted one of *Great*: and he, with the satisfaction of all concerned, fixed the whole sum at 460 talents, which is somewhat less than

£90,000 sterling\*. [*Thucyd. L. i.—Corn. Nep* in *Arist.*] Such was the sum which the free states of Greece found sufficient, under the prudent and economical direction of Aristides †, to defray the annual expense of a successful war against the sovereign of the greatest empire in the world.

Some time in the reign of Xerxes (who was murdered by one of his courtiers) a voyage of discovery was undertaken, to the command of which Sataſpes, a noble Persian, was appointed, as a punishment for a crime committed by him. The voyage being intended to reverse the route of that performed by order of Necos, king of Egypt, Sataſpes departed from the Nile, and passing the Pillars of Hercules, coasted along the shore of Africa, till he came to a people, whom he described as of very diminutive stature, and clothed in red garments, or Phœnician garments, or garments made from the palm tree ‡. But Sataſpes, disliking his employment, returned home by the same way he had gone out, and was crucified for his reward. No better event could be expected of an enterprise, the command of which was esteemed, not an honour, but a disgrace. How very opposite were the Persian and the Phœnician ideas of naval command! [*Herod. L. iv, c. 43.*]

471—Cimon, the Athenian commander, with the confederate fleet of Greece, was everywhere victorious. He expelled the Persian garrisons from all the maritime towns of the Ægæan sea. Extending his victorious progress along the south shore of the Asiatic peninsula beyond the settlements of the Grecian colonies, he with 250 ships belonging to the Athenians and their allies encountered the Persian fleet, and took or destroyed almost the whole of them, whereby he made a prodigious addition to his fleet. On the very same day by a successful stratagem, wherein he employed his prize ships, he also defeated the land army of the Persians at the mouth of the river Eurymedon (a°. 470.)

449—The Athenians continued to be in general successful in many naval battles with the Persians: and at last that triumphant republic dictated to the ambassadors of Artaxerxes, the no-longer-haughty monarch of Persia, the terms of a pacification, whereby he became bound never to send a vessel into the Ægæan sea, and to acknowledge the independence of the Greek colonies in Asia.

446—The Athenians having become the greatest maritime power of

\* This sum did not, as some suppose, include pay for the Grecian allied army. 'Pay was not yet introduced into the Grecian service, because the character of *ſoldier* was not separated from that of citizen.' [*Gillies's Hist. of Greece, V. ii, p. 63. ed. 1792.*] But very soon after this war it was introduced.

† This honest statesman, who for some years managed the joint treasury of the whole Grecian confederacy, left not wherewith to bury himself:

and the Athenians bestowed 3,000 drachms (£96 : 17 : 2) on his two daughters for their portions. [*Plut. in Arist.*]

‡ The Greek word *φοινικίνη* bears all these meanings. The natives of Congo on the west coast of Africa use cloth made of the palm tree. [*Purcbas's Pilgrimes, L. vii, c. 4, § 7.*] And Captain Cook found some nations in the South sea dressed with cloth made of palm-leaf leaves.

Greece, and, if we may trust the uncontradicted evidence of Greek writers, of the whole world, without neglecting their warlike establishment, now turned their attention to commerce. Their merchant ships are said to have covered the sea, and traded to every port, while their ships of war rode triumphant in the Ægæan and neighbouring seas. The voluntary contribution, which the allies had charged upon themselves for supporting the Persian war, was still kept up, and even augmented, though the original cause no longer existed, and was paid to Athens, as a consideration for her protection, by the states of Ionia, and the islands, which were now rather the subjects than the allies of the Athenians. The tribute thus extorted, and the produce of their silver mines, together with the spoils of the unfortunate vassals of Persia, may be fairly presumed to have been the chief sources of the luxury, which from this time prevailed among them. For, as their narrow territory could not possibly produce many articles for exportation, and we have no authority to say that they were manufacturers, or that they understood the business of carrying the redundant productions of one country to supply the defects of another, they could not be much enriched by their commerce, which seems to have consisted of little more than the importation of luxuries from the different ports of the Mediterranean. One article of Grecian exportation, and apparently the principal one, was wine, of which they carried great quantities, put up in earthen jars, twice a year to Egypt. [*Herod. L. iii, c. 6.*]

445—Herodotus, the father of Grecian history, read his work, or some part of it, to a public assembly of the Athenians, who were so delighted with it, that they conferred on him a gift of ten talents (£1,937 : 10 sterling) out of the public treasury; [*Plut. de Herodoti malignitate, in Opp. ed. Xylandri, 1599, p. 862*] a prodigious fortune, when about twopence of our money was sufficient for a person's daily support, and sevenpence was an ample and honourable allowance for the expenses of those of superior rank. [*Wallace on the numbers of mankind, p. 125.*] Herodotus is not only valuable as the oldest Grecian historian extant, but also as a geographer, his work containing an account of all the countries then known by any of the Greeks. In his geography he is frequently more accurate than writers, who lived in times vastly more enlightened, and wrote expressly upon geography\*. He saw with his

\* The description of the Caspian sea by Herodotus is a remarkable instance of his geographical superiority. He says, that it is an inland sea or lake, which has no communication with any other; that its length would require fifteen days, and its greatest breadth eight days for a vessel with oars to traverse it; each day's course being 700 stadia, or about 70 geographical miles. [*Herodot. L. i, c. 203, L. iv, c. 86.*] Strabo, Mela, Dionysius, Pliny, and Arrian, all assert, that it has a com-

munication with the Northern ocean: Ptolemy, though he misplaces it, yet truly calls it a lake. Herodotus had some knowledge of the black natives in the south parts of Hindoostan, and of their manufactures from cotton which he truly describes as growing upon trees. He also describes, from information obtained from natives of Africa, a great river in the heart of that continent, flowing from west to east, on the banks of which there was a city inhabited by black people. This

own eyes many of the countries, which he describes; and he was at great pains to obtain the best information: yet he acknowledges, that he could not discover the situation of the islands called Cassiterides from which tin was brought, nor that of the country, which produced the amber: a pretty clear proof, that the Greeks had no commerce, or intercourse with either of them. The censure thrown upon Herodotus as a fabulist proceeds only from superficiality and ignorance; and his general veracity is acknowledged and respected by the most judicious and critical writers.

431—An interval of petty hostilities among the Greeks was succeeded by the Peloponnesian war, wherein the Lacedæmonians and their allies, supported by the wealth of the Persian empire\*, exerted themselves to wrest from the Athenians the sovereignty, which they had assumed over the maritime states of Ionia, the islands, and the whole of the neighbouring coasts. This was mostly a naval war; yet the events of it had no other connection with commerce, than the usual consequence of interrupting and distressing it. It pressed with particular hardship upon the Phœnicians, who, as the principal maritime subjects of Persia, were obliged to furnish most of the naval armaments, whereby their shipping was in a great measure drawn off from its own proper destination to be subservient to the ambition of Persia and Lacedæmon. The war, after raging for twenty-seven years, was concluded (a. 404) by the destruction of Athens. The Lacedæmonians immediately assumed the same power over the maritime states, the abuse of which by the Athenians had been the pretence for the war: and they exercised it with such rigour, that the governments of the Persians and of the Athenians were thought very mild by those, who now groaned under their tyranny.

From the very imperfect knowlege, we have of the more valuable pacific and commercial transactions of the Carthaginians, we may venture to assign the present time as the æra of their greatest commercial splendour. Their mother country was depressed by its subjection to Persia. The Athenians, after having expelled the Persians, and the Phœnicians as being their subjects, from the Grecian seas, and having reigned triumphant for seventy-two years, during which they engrossed the commerce of the Ægæan sea, but with a more anxious solicitude

important geographical fact, wherein he is supported by the testimony of Pliny and Ptolemy, has been contradicted in later ages, even down to the very time that Mr. Park was absolutely engaged in exploring the course of this famous river, the Nil-il-abeed, Joliba, or Niger, who has unquestionably ascertained the correctness of the information given us by Herodotus. [L. ii, c. 32, 33. — *Plini Hist. nat. L. v, c. 9; L. viii, c. 21.*—See

*the account of Mr. Park's travels in Africa, pp. 25, 53.]*

\* The Lacedæmonians raised the pay of their sailors from three oboli (not quite 4d) to four oboli (about 5½d). But this was not considered as necessary for their support, or as an equivalent compensation for their service: it was a mere waste of the Persian treasure, calculated to corrupt the sailors of their Athenian rivals, and to entice them to desert.

exercised a dominion of avaricious tyranny over the nations bordering on it, were now humbled by the numerous enemies, whom the insolence and tyranny of their prosperity had raised up against them. The Spartans, who had succeeded to the dominion of the Ægæan sea on the downfall of the Athenians, were ignorant of the commercial advantages, which a more enlightened people might have derived from it. Therefor now the Carthaginians seem to have had no rivals in the Mediterranean, and their ships might sail without interruption, or even competition, to every port in it.

394—The naval battle at Cnidos deprived the Spartans of the sovereignty of the Grecian seas: and, if we consider the obstinacy of their anticommercial prejudices, and their late ignorance of every branch of nautical knowlege, we must think it wonderful, that their valour could maintain the superiority so long.

370—About this time flourished Plato, one of the most celebrated of the Grecian philosophers. Like other Greeks desirous of knowlege, he traveled into Egypt \*; where he and Eudoxus, who became a famous astronomer, having by an initiation of thirteen years acquired the confidence and goodwill of the priests of On, or Heliopolis, they imparted to them, as a special favour and a great mystery, the discovery, (apparently new to themselves †, though long before known to the Babylonians) that the true period of the annual revolution was about six hours more than 365 days. Dionysius king of Syracuse invited Plato to his court; but soon after, being offended that he did not flatter him, he sold him for a slave at the price of five minæ, or about sixteen pounds sterling. Notwithstanding this rough treatment, Plato ventured to accept an invitation from Dionysius the younger, who received him on his landing with the most distinguished honours, and for some time regulated his conduct by his advice. So highly sensible was he of his happiness in having such a counsellor, that, according to Diogenes Laertius, he presented him with a sum of money exceeding eighty talents (about £15,500 sterling). Thus we see, how very differently the same man was valued as a slave and as a philosopher. But some authors say, that Plato refused to accept the gift.

\* Plutarch in the Life of Solon relates a report, that Plato's chief errand to Egypt was to dispose of a quantity of oil. But that story does not very well correspond with a residence of thirteen years; and still worse with his plan of a well-regulated commonwealth, from which he excluded commercial pursuits and maritime power. [*Plato de leg. L. iv.*]

† The Egyptians, from whom Herodotus learned what he knew of astronomy, had in his time apparently come no nearer to the exact length of the year than 365 days. The Greeks in general did not come so near: most of them, notwithstand-

ing the improvements ascribed to Cleostratus and Meton, persisted for ages in a calculation of years, which required the frequent interposition of intercalary months to bring them near to the true course of the sun and the moon. [*Herod. L. i, c. 32*, (in which the numerals are corrupted) *L. ii, c. 4*.—*Sirabo, L. xvii, p. 1160*.] It is also worthy of remark, that the Greek language in the time of Herodotus had not a word to express an eclipse; or he would not have been obliged to describe it [*L. i, c. 74*] by saying, that the day became night.

About the same time Eudoxus, the fellow traveler and fellow student of Plato, improved science in Greece by the introduction of the celestial sphere, by a reformation of the erroneous calculation of the year, (which however seems to have been little attended to) and by his writings upon astronomy, geometry, and geography.

351—The Sidonians, provoked by the intolerable tyranny of the Persian governors, conspired with the Egyptians to throw off the yoke. Their defection drew upon them the innumerable army of Persia, led on by the great king in person, to whom the city was betrayed by the treachery of one of the commanders of their mercenary allies, and, what is more surprising, by their own king. The conduct of the Sidonians on this occasion was the very reverse of the wisdom of the Tyrians when besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, and the determined resolution of the Phœceans when they found themselves unable to resist the army of Cyrus. In order to prevent any person from withdrawing from the defence of the city, they burnt the whole of their ships, (an action scarcely credible of a maritime and commercial people) by which rash conduct, and their insuperable aversion to Persian slavery, they were driven to the desperate resolution of setting fire to their own houses, and sacrificing themselves, their wives, and their children on the great altar of liberty composed of their whole city. Thus fell the great Sidon, after it had been, during a long succession of ages, the commercial capital of the East: and even its ashes, which contained great quantities of melted gold and silver, afforded a valuable prize to the enemy. It was afterwards rebuilt by such of its citizens as, by being absent on voyages, happened to escape the self-devoted extermination. But it never recovered its former splendour, and was more celebrated in after ages for its manufactures of glass, than for commercial enterprise or prosperity.

348—The Romans and their allies, who are not named, entered into a second treaty with the Carthaginians and their allies, of whom the Tyrians and Uticans are named. In this the navigation of the Romans was restricted to more confined limits than in the former treaty, they being only permitted to trade to the port of Carthage and the Carthaginian territories in Sicily, and prohibited from landing in any other part of Africa, or in Sardinia, unless compelled by necessity, in which case their stay was not to exceed five days. The Carthaginians were to enjoy an equal liberty of trade in Rome; and if they should take any Latin city, not subject to Rome, they were not to keep possession of it, but rest satisfied with the plunder and prisoners\*.

\* Polybius, [*L.* iii, c. 24] gives the words of this treaty, but without the date. It must be the same which Livy [*L.* vii, c. 27] dates 348 before Christ. Livy says, that the Carthaginians sent ambassadors to Rome to petition the friendship

and alliance of the Romans; a mode of application rather at variance with the tenor of the treaty. Orosius [*L.* iii, c. 7] erroneously calls it the first treaty.

338—The Romans, having subdued the Latins, got possession of six warlike galleys, which formed the navy of Antium\*, a maritime town, and the capital of that people. Part of them they carried into their own harbour; and part they burnt, and with their armed beaks, or rostra, they adorned their tribunal in the forum. So little did they know what to do with ships! This circumstance, if truly related, might induce us to believe, that the Carthaginians had not yet seen any reason to be very jealous of the maritime power of the Romans. [*Liv. L. viii, c. 14.—Flor. L. i, c. 11.*]

333—The commerce of the east end of the Mediterranean, after flourishing for ages in the hands of the Phœnicians and their colonists, had suffered for two centuries under the tyranny and commercial ignorance of the Persian satraps, when Alexander arose, whose immoderate ambition and astonishing success were destined to change the face of the eastern world. That conqueror, sensible, that if he left the maritime provinces in the allegiance of Persia, he should run a risk of his communication with Greece being intercepted, his army and himself being cut off, or the war being transferred to his own country, instead of pushing forward after the battle of Issus for the capital of Persia, turned his march southward along the shore of Phœnicia. The poor remains of the Sidonians and the other towns on the coast submitted without resistance, and even joined his forces against their own countrymen. But he met with a very different reception from the Tyrians, who offered to be his friends, but firmly refused to be his subjects. Alexander, astonished at such boldness in a community of merchants, threatened to destroy their city. The Tyrians on the other hand made every preparation for a brave defence, and shipped off great numbers of their women and children, consigning them to the care of the Carthaginians, who were prevented by some domestic commotions from furnishing assistance to their parent state. In order to get at the seagirt city, Alexander, effected what none but Alexander would have conceived the idea of undertaking. With the ruins of old Tyre and the timber of Lebanon he constructed a causeway, or mole, across the rapid strait of half a mile in breadth, which divided the island from the continent, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Tyrians, who omitted nothing, that valour, assisted by science and ingenuity, could perform. They employed divers to cut the cables of Alexander's ships; and they destroyed his works and his people by a fire-ship †, by flaming arrows, by balls of red-hot iron, by hooked poles, by nets, and by three-forked spears with lines, such as are used for striking fish: and,

\* Antium appears from the first treaty between Carthage and Rome to have been subject to the later 170 years before this time. See above, p. 61.

† This, if I mistake not, is the earliest notice of that engine of destruction. For a particular description of it see *Arrian, L. ii.*

when the Macedonians scaled the walls, they poured down upon them showers of burning sand, which penetrated to the bone with excruciating torture. But after a gallant defence of seven months Tyre sunk under the collected maritime power of the East, and the attack of an enemy, who aspired to the conquest of the world: the city was destroyed, and the citizens were butchered or enslaved, except a few, who took refuge in a temple, and, according to Curtius, fifteen thousand, who were carried off by the Sidonians, repenting, but too late, of the part they had taken in the destruction of their friends (a°. 332).

Thus fell Tyre, 'the renowned city, which was strong in the sea,' 'whose merchants were princes, whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth,' after opposing to the conqueror of the East, a more vigorous resistance than he experienced from the whole power of Persia. And it must be allowed, that her fall was more glorious to the vanquished than to the conquerors; and that Alexander, with all his military conduct, and persevering valour, could scarcely have accomplished the destruction of Tyre, if the other maritime states, instead of conspiring against her, and depriving her of the dominion of the sea, had united to repel the invader, and secure their own independence.

332--From Phœnicia Alexander marched into Egypt, which submitted to him without a blow. Though then but a very young man, his judgement perceived at once, what the highly-extolled wisdom of Egypt had for so many years been blind to, that that country was formed by nature to command and unite the commerce of the whole world. No one of the many mouths of the Nile \* was capable of being formed into a harbour, fit to receive the shipping expected to frequent the destined port. But on a part of the shore, west of all the mouths, and almost uninhabited, where the Egyptian kings had built a fort to repel the pirates of ancient Greece, he found a harbour, protected by the island of Pharos, and formed by nature for the situation of the commercial capital of the world. On this spot he immediately erected a city, which was carried on with a regularity of plan, and beauty of execution, hitherto unequalled, under the direction of Dinocrates, a mathematician and architect, who had been employed to rebuild the temple of Diana at Ephesus. Canals connected it with the Nile, and with the lake of Marœa, or Marcotis, which afforded inland navigation to so great an extent of country, that Strabo thought the port on this inland sea more wealthy than that on the great one. Though the new city, which was called Alexandria, was soon deprived of the advantages flowing from the favour of its founder by his death; yet, by the fostering care of his suc-

\* The general depth of the main channel of the Nile, is only from three to eight cubits. The boats of Ptolemy Lagus crossed the Pelusiac branch, by setting with poles against the bottom, which, in many places, has not three feet of water. Even the Canopic mouth, the largest of the whole, is remarkably encumbered with shoals. [*Diod. Sicul. Olymp.* 118.—*Shaw's Travels*, p. 435; and *supplement*, p. 47.—*Purchas's Pilgrimes*, L. vi, p. 902.]

cessors, but much more by the advantages inseparable from its situation, it became, in time, the principal mart of the East. And it continued, notwithstanding the convulsions of empire, to be for many centuries the point of union between the remotest regions of the eastern and western worlds.

331—Alexander, freed of all apprehension from maritime enemies, by the desolation of Tyre, and the submission of the other Phœnician communities, together with Cyprus, Rhodes, and the neighbouring states, met with scarcely any opposition in his great design of subverting the Persian empire, which the decisive battle of Gaugamela effected. In the capital cities he found gold and silver to the value of thirty millions of pounds sterling. This sum, amounting to the revenue of many years, shows, that the Persian monarchs, with all their magnificence and profusion, were really economists, and that their expenditure was greatly within their income\*.

327—Alexander, having overrun almost the whole extent of the Persian empire, attacked and ravaged the country watered by the branches of the Indus, which is called the Panjab. Having defeated some of the Indian kings in battle, he displayed his *generosity*, by permitting them to retain their own dominions, which he probably saw the impossibility of keeping in subjection to himself. Such conduct, however criminal in the eye of reason, was productive of some advantage, by conveying to the western world, in the works of several writers who attended Alexander, the earliest knowledge of many particulars of the state of that rich and populous country, wherein the arts and sciences had flourished for many centuries before they began to dawn upon Europe.

326—It was probably with a view to commerce, as well as to conquest, that Alexander undertook in person a voyage of discovery down the great river Indus. At the head of the Delta of that river, he built a fort at Pattala, and also constructed a harbour, or naval arsenal. [*Arrian, L. vii*;—*Agatharchides, L. v, c. 51.*] This place was apparently the modern Tatta, four miles below the head of the Delta; and having the advantage of a vast inland navigation through a rich and populous country, together with easy access to the Ocean, and thereby to In-

\* Having now gone through the history of the Persian race of kings, it is proper to observe, that I have been obliged to follow the Grecian writers, the account given by the modern Persian historians being so totally different, that it is utterly impossible to connect any event in it with the received histories of other nations, if we only except the conquest of the country by Escander, for so they call Alexander. The incidental notices of Persian affairs in the Bible, have terribly distressed the critics and chronologers, in attempting to reconcile them with Grecian history. The generally-re-

ceived identity of Coresh, the great friend of the Jews, with Kyros or Cyrus, the great hero of Grecian history, and of Grecian and modern romance, is attended with great difficulties. The name of Ahafuerus has been given to at least three of the Persian kings of Grecian history. Neither have the names or actions mentioned in the Bible any greater agreement with those related by the Persian historians. The supposition of Mr. Richardson, that titles have been sometimes substituted for names, seems the only possible way to get out of the labyrinth.

dia, Persia, and Arabia, it became a celebrated emporium, and remained a place of considerable commerce, till the modern compendious voyages to the further parts of India carried most of the trade away from it.

When Alexander arrived at the Ocean, he ordered Nearchus, a Cretan officer, to take the command of the fleet, and proceed westward, along the shore, to the head of the Persian gulf. The voyage was accordingly performed, and accounts of it, and of the countries and people discovered in it, were written by Nearchus, and by Onesicritus, also an officer in the fleet.

Alexander proposed to dispatch Nearchus on a second voyage round the coast of Arabia and up the Red sea, that he might obtain more ample knowledge of the coasts of the Indian, or Erythræan, sea, for the purposes of commerce and government. But that expedition, together with all the ambitious projects, and also, as there is good reason to believe, the many commercial schemes of Alexander, were interrupted by his death, in the thirty-third year of his age (a°. 324)\*. This extraordinary man, who was neither so perfect a character as his panegyrists make him, nor such a mere madman as others have rashly called him, appears to have been sensible of the great importance of commerce. It was impossible for him not reflect, that the vast and populous empire of Persia, and all the nations he had ever attacked, either in Europe or in Asia, had sunk under his power with less opposition than he had met with from the single mercantile city of Tyre. The reflection could not fail to impress him with a very high idea of the resources to be derived from a flourishing and well-directed commerce; and of the great exertions, even of military force, which a community of merchants were capable of making, when compelled to employ their money, the sinews of trade, and also of war, in the defence of their native country. The foundation of Alexandria has been already related: and many others of his actions show, that, amidst all his plans of war and conquest, he never lost sight of a grand design of making the commerce of his subjects still more extensive than his empire. With this view he built about seventy towns in situations well adapted for commercial intercourse. With this view he opened the navigation of the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Euxæus, which were said to have been obstructed by the blind policy of pre-

\* Among the western nations who sent congratulatory, or adulatory, addresses to Alexander, were the Romans, according to Clitarchus, an historian who attended him in his expedition, and, by Pliny's account, the second Greek writer who mentioned the Romans; the first being Theopompus, who only recorded the capture of Rome by the Gauls. [*Plin. L. iii. c. 5.*] Neither of these notices was very flattering to the pride of the conquerors of the world, whose romantic historian,

Livy, has amused himself [*L. ix. c. 17*] with making up a list of Roman heroes contemporary with Alexander, who would have conquered him, if he had presumed to come in their way. Livy did not know, or was willing to forget, that the Romans were repeatedly defeated, not by Alexander, but by Alexander's veteran warriors, 7,000 of whom were in the army of Pyrrhus king of Epirus.

ceding sovereigns, in order to prevent the arrival of foreign vessels\*. He had two vessels of five tiers of oars, three of four, twelve of three, and thirty vessels of thirty oars each, built by the Phœnicians, and afterwards taken asunder, carried over-land to Thapsacus on the Euphrates, there set up, launched on the river, and floated down to Babylon: and he built a fleet of vessels of the cypress wood of Babylonia, having procured carpenters, seafaring people, and people acquainted with the capture of the purple shell-fish, from Phœnicia and Syria. He also constructed a harbour, capable of containing a thousand vessels, at the inland city of Babylon. He moreover ordered by his will, that harbours, and yards for ship-building, should be made in proper places throughout his empire; and that a great road should be extended along the north shore of Africa from Egypt to the Ocean, in which plan the conquest of the Carthaginian territories was to be included.

Alexander's voyages, the mensuration of all his marches made by the best artists he could procure, and the information obtained by the men of science in his army, were the foundation of what knowledge the Greeks had of the geography of Asia, and probably also of general geography. His preceptor, Aristotle, in his work upon the heavens, [*L. ii, c. 14*] proves the earth, which we inhabit, to be a globe, the circumference of which was reckoned by mathematicians 400,000 stadia (about 40,000 miles). He also says, there is nothing improbable in the opinion of those who believe, that there is only one ocean, and that the Columns of Hercules (or the Straits of Gibraltar) are very near to India. —Behold the earliest dawn, at least the earliest known to us, of that geographical science which, after a lapse of about eighteen centuries, stirred up in Christopher Colon the ambition of being the leader of European navigators to India by a western course †.

In the important science of astronomy Alexander poured a copious stream of new light upon Greece by transmitting to Aristotle an exact copy of the celestial observations, which had been made at Babylon during the course of *above nineteen centuries*.

From the knowledge conveyed to Europe by the historians and artists in the service of himself and his successors, corrected and assisted by some very antient monuments of the literature and science of India, which have lately been acquired, we are enabled to form some idea of the antient state of that country.

\* Such is the motive assigned for the obstruction of the streams by the historians of Alexander. [*Arrian, L. vii—Strabo, L. xvi, p. 1078.*] But, as such obstructions are still kept up on the Euphrates and Tigris for the purpose of spreading the water over the adjacent level country, it is reasonable to suppose, that the antient dikes were constructed for the same useful purpose. [See *Ta-*

*verrier, V. i, p. 227—Voyages de Niebuhr, V. ii, pp. 198, 307.*]

† The passage of Aristotle here quoted, which shows that some others had also turned their attention to such subjects, is assigned as one of the chief foundations of Colon's belief of the practicability of a western voyage to India, in the seventh chapter of his history, written by his son.

At the time of Alexander's invasion the jurisprudence and police of India were regulated with admirable wisdom, matured by the accumulated experience of many centuries of civilization and established government. The large extent of the states or kingdoms, the perfection of their agriculture and manufactures, and the very flourishing state of the arts and sciences, afford evident proofs of this truth\*. Their fertile fields, and their judicious cultivation, produced annually two crops of grain of various sorts, whereof rice constituted the chief article of their subsistence. From rice they extracted a spiritous liquor, as well as from the sugar-cane; from which they also made sugar, which Nearchus [*ap. Strab. L. xv, p. 1016*] calls honey of canes, its proper Indian name of sacchar (*σακχαρ*) being yet unknown to the Greeks. The rent of land was generally one fourth part of the produce. The cultivators of the earth, together with their lands and their productions, were exempted from the toils, the dangers, and the ravages, of war. The valuable cotton shrub supplied them with clothing, which was chiefly calico, either pure white, or adorned with figures of various colours, such as is now worn by women of all ranks in this country, in imitation of the productions of the Indian looms. Their dress was also ornamented with gold and jewels. They used umbrellas, a simple and elegant defence from the sun and the rain, which we have just begun to enjoy, after it has been some thousands of years common in the East. Their roads were carefully kept in repair, and regularly furnished with mile-stones. Houses of reception for travelers (called *choultries* at present, and probably then also) were established at proper distances. The interest of money was regulated by law, as was also the rate, or premium, due for the advance of money upon bottomry; circumstances which show, that commerce was well understood, and had long flourished †. Their sculptures on the hardest gems, many of which are of very high antiquity and great elegance, and their ingenious works in various metals, and in ivory, were admired by the Greeks ‡. Their architecture, military and religious, was on such a large scale, as could only be executed by great communities, living under regular governments. Their literary compositions, in the earliest ages to which our imperfect information extends, but many centuries prior to the irruption of Alexander, appear, by the specimens we have lately been favoured with, to be such as could only be produced among

\* Doctor Robertson also considers the distribution of the people into distinct hereditary casts, who were bound by their religion invariably to follow the professions or trades of their ancestors, as a proof of very ancient civilization; [*Historical dissertation, p. 230, ed. 1794*] though the wisdom of such a policy seems at least very doubtful.

† In this commercial nation contracts for bottomry were not regularly legal till the reign of

Charles I. How many centuries we were behind the Indians in commercial policy!

‡ The present age may also see and admire the gems in the great treasury of them, collected by Mr. Tassie of Leicester square. The legends on them are in the Sanskreet, which, though antiently the universal language of a great part of Asia, has long been known only to the most learned of the Brahmins.

a people of elegant manners, and cultivated taste, improved by ages of refinement. In moral and natural philosophy they are acknowledged to have been the masters of the Grecian sages, the greatest of whom, notwithstanding the vast length and labour of the journey, traveled to India, that they might drink the streams of wisdom and learning pure at the fountain. In the eminently-useful and most perfect science of ARITHMETIC they used the simple and comprehensive system of nine figures and a cypher, now common among us, which is so infinitely superior to the tedious and clumsy numerical notation of the Greeks and Romans by letters\*. They also understood that more abstruse species of arithmetic, called algebra, which they appear to have communicated to the rest of the world. The rotundity of the earth was known to them. Their astronomical calculations, which include the most profound knowledge of arithmetic and trigonometry, rise up to a height of antiquity, which may stagger credibility, and which, if infallibly proved to be genuine, (and they have stood the test of very strict examination by some great astronomers) go far to overturn the authenticity of our generally-received most antient chronology; for they exceed the antiquity of the Babylonian calculations by almost *nine centuries*. (See above, page 3.) And here it is proper to observe, that the fanciful figures, assigned to the twelve divisions of the zodiak, appear, from recent discoveries of very antient monuments, to have been copied by the Greeks, or their authors, from the Indian astronomers; though we have all along supposed them sprung from the fabulous mythology of Greece †.

\* 'According to a new though probable notion, maintained by M. de Villoison, (*Anecdota Græca*, tom. ii, p. 152—157) our cyphers are not of Indian or Arabic invention. They were used by the Greek and Latin arithmeticians long before the age of Boethius. After the extinction of science in the West, they were adopted by the Arabic versions from the original MSS. and restored to the Latins about the xith century.' [*Gibbon's History of the Roman empire*, ed. 1791, V. x, p. 8, note.]

The celebrated Huet had nearly the same notion with Villoison. He says, that, though it is the opinion of all learned men, that the numeral figures now in use were brought into Spain by the Moors, who had them from the Arabs, who had them from the Indians; and, though he agrees that the Spaniards learned them from the Moors, and they from the Arabs, he maintains, that the Indians learned them from the Arabs, and the Arabs from the Greeks, from whom they also derived all their learning: but they had so much altered the forms of the figures from those of the Greek numeral letters, that they can scarcely be recognized in their imitations of them (which, to be sure, is no wonder, for there is no likeness). And for all this he adduces the authority of Theophanes, a Constantinopolitan writer of the

ninth century, who says, that the Arabs have retained the Greek numerals, *having no characters in their own language for marking numbers*. [*Huetiana*, art. 48.] And so we are to believe, on the authority of Theophanes, ('the father of many a lie,' *Gibbon*, V. ix, p. 253) that the Arabian merchants, who appear from the books of Genesis and Job, from Agatharchides, the Periplus of the Erythraean sea, Strabo, Pliny, &c. to have been the first, and, for several thousands of years, the greatest importers of Indian goods, and the band of connection between the eastern and western parts of the world, were destitute of figures to keep their accounts, till they learned them from the Greeks!

'The Arabians, not long after their settlement in Spain, introduced this mode of notation into Europe, and were candid enough to acknowledge, that they derived the knowledge of it from the Indians.' [*Robertson's Disquisition*, p. 288, ed. 1794—and see *Montucla, Hist. de mathematiques*, V. i, p. 360.]

† There is a curious passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, [*L. xxiii*] wherein he says, that Hytaspes, the father of Darius, traveled into India, and was instructed by the Brachmans (or Bramins) in the knowledge of the mundane system and the motions of the stars, as well as the pure rites of religion.

With all these high acquisitions in philosophy, literature, arts, sciences, and manufactures; in short, with every requisite of national grandeur and felicity, they carried the pacific virtues to such an excess, and consequently were so ignorant of the art of war, that in all ages every adventurous plunderer, who could collect fifty or a hundred thousand robbers under his command, and could surmount the natural obstructions of rugged mountains and great rivers, has found it an easy matter to seize the wealth of an industrious and gentle, but effeminate, people. Yet, notwithstanding the frequent repetition of those robberies, the Indians, by the fertility of their soil, the frugality of their expenses, particularly in their subsistence, and above all, by the unrivaled excellence of their manufactures, and the greatness of their trade, though generally a passive one, have in all ages quickly recovered from the effects of the depredations, and soon become more wealthy than their plunderers\*.

Such were the people, whom the comparatively rude and ignorant Greeks insolently termed *barbarians*; in which they are followed by too many of the Europeans, even of the present day, who consider, as creatures of an inferior species, the descendants of artists and sages, who were unquestionably the teachers of those, from whom we derive our first knowledge of arts, science, philosophy, and letters.

Though the Greeks cannot stand a comparison with the people of the East in the depth of science, and far less in the perfection of manufactures, yet, till the reduction of their country by the Romans, they preserved a distinguished pre-eminence above all the nations of Europe, (unless the Etrurians ought to be excepted) in literature and science; while in the fine arts, and in most works of taste, they attained a degree of excellence, surpassing that of the oriental nations †.

At this time, and probably for many centuries before ‡, the southern

\* National industry is a gentle, regular, and never-failing stream, producing a gradual and certain accumulation of wealth, whereas the horridly-splendid acquisition of conquest, is an inundation, which, after suddenly creating an ocean of superabundance, leaves behind it a ruined and barren desert.

† It cannot, however, be denied, that the Greeks of Alexander's age were wonderfully ignorant of many things, which they might have known from Herodotus. Had they attended to the information transmitted by him, they need not have supposed, that Alexander was the first, who, after their fabulous Bucebus and Hercules, reached the River Indus: they need not have supposed that river to be the Nile, because they saw crocodiles in it, nor have been terrified by the tides at the mouth of it; nor would Alexander have been in doubt, whether the Caspian sea was an inland

lake, or a branch of the ocean. [See *Herod. L. i, c. 203*; *L. ii, c. 11*; *L. iv, c. 44.*]

For the history of Alexander, I have mostly followed Arrian. The sketch of the antient state of India is chiefly compiled from Arrian, Strabo, Pliny, &c. who have preserved fragments of the works of Nearchus, Onesicritus, Megasthenes, and other writers of Alexander's age; and I am indebted for the most of the recently-obtained information, to Doctor Robertson's elaborate appendix to his *Disquisition on ancient India*, to which the reader may apply for more ample information, and for the authorities.

‡ 'The labour of Egypt, and merchandize of Ethiopia, and the Sabeans, men of stature,' were noted by Isaiah, [*c. 45*] who lived 800 years before the Christian era; and Agatharchides, 650 years after him, described the Sabeans as remarkably stout men, and the greatest merchants in the world.

Arabians, whose great proficiency in manufactures, science, and commerce, in the early ages has been already noticed, were the merchants who managed the commercial intercourse between the western parts of the world and India. 'Hitherto no one had ever sailed from India to Egypt, neither had any person from Egypt ever ventured as far as India,' the utmost extent of their navigation being the port called Arabia the Blessed, or the Happy, in the country of the Sabeans, a little way beyond the strait or mouth of the Red sea, wherein all the rich productions and manufactures of India, and all those which were carried from Egypt, as well as the spices, aromatics, and other produce of the adjacent country, were collected and exchanged; that port being then, what Alexandria became in after ages, the commercial center of the eastern and western worlds\*. [*Periplus Maris Erythraei*, p. 156, ed. Blancardi.]

The Gerrhæans, a Babylonian colony settled in that part of Arabia which lies on the south coast of the Persian gulf, were engaged in the same trade, and carried their merchandize in boats up the Euphrates to Babylon, and also as far as Thapsacus, 240 miles higher up the river in the Palmyrenian territory, where they were landed, and thence dispensed by land carriage through all the neighbouring countries, [*Aristobulus ap. Strabo*, L. xvi, p. 1110—*Agatharchides*, L. v, c. 50, ap. Photium] and probably, by means of the Palmyrenian merchants, into Europe.

The foundation of the commercial city of Massilia by a colony of Asiatic Greeks from Phocæa in the time of Cyrus has already been noticed. There is little or no mention of the early commercial transactions of the Massilians in any history now extant; but it is probable that they went on in a peaceful career of commercial prosperity. It was about this time, or perhaps before it, that, emulous of the fame, and desirous of participating in the advantageous trade, of the Phœnicians of Gadir, and perhaps of the Carthaginians, in the remote countries unknown to the other Mediterranean nations, they determined, with a spirit worthy of a great commercial state, to send persons properly qualified to make discoveries in the Ocean to the southward and northward of the Straits. Of the southern voyage we know nothing but the name of Euthymenes † the commander. The conduct of the more arduous northern expedition was committed to their illustrious citizen, Pytheas, a philosopher and discoverer, whose works, if extant, would throw great

\* I have placed this important notice of the commercial pre-eminence of Arabia Felix only coeval with the infancy of Alexandria. It unquestionably includes the time preceding the establishment of that city; and the modern fancies of great commercial intercourse between ancient Egypt and India vanish before it. The judicious reader will perhaps think that it might with propriety have been carried some centuries higher, on the authority of Isaiah; and we shall soon see reason to believe that

the boasted oriental trade of Egypt under the Ptolemies extended no farther than Arabia about 170 years after the foundation of Alexandria, and that there is even no good historic proof of any direct intercourse between Egypt and India prior to the subjection of the former to the Romans.

† This is probably the same Euthymenes who is mentioned by Plutarch, Seneca, and Artemidorus of Ephesus, as a geographical writer.

light on the early history of British commerce\*. From the imperfect, disguised, and misrepresented, quotations of them to be found in several antient authors †, we learn, that he coasted along the whole of the shore of Britain, where he remarked the extraordinary rise of the flood tides ‡. From Britain he passed in six days to Thulé, which is evidently Shetland; and there he observed the great length of the days in summer, when the sun rose in three hours after his setting, as he actually does in the north part of Shetland §. He even penetrated into the Baltic sea to the country of the Guttones, now called Guddai, and the island called Abalus and Baltia, (apparently the peninsula now called Samland) the shores of which produced amber, an article of luxury highly esteemed by the antients, among whom many fables were current concerning the country where it was found, and the mode of obtaining it. He also described the abundance of honey, for which that country is still remarkable, and the practice, still common in it, of making drink from honey and from corn. He was the first man of Grecian origin who could nearly ascertain the place of the north pole in the heavens: and such was his astronomical accuracy, that his observation of the latitude of Massilia was proved, by that of the great philosopher Cassendi in 1636, to be *within one mile of the truth*; a difference which might be effected by the change of the buildings of the city in the course of ages. His theory of the tides, the very existence of which was scarcely known to any of the Greeks, appears, through the

\* Pytheas could not well be later than he is here placed, because his work was quoted by Dicaearchus, who flourished about 310 years before Christ. [*Strabo*, L. ii, p. 163.] He might be earlier, for the account of the Northern ocean by Hecataeus of Abdera, a writer contemporary with Alexander, is probably copied from him. The confused story of an island north of Gaul, *not less than Sicily*, (the greatest of all the islands known to the Greeks) might perhaps be an embellishment by Hecataeus of the account of Britain by Pytheas. [*Plin. Hist. nat. L. iv, c. 13.*—*Æliani Hist. anim. L. xi, c. 1.*—*Diod. Sicul. L. ii.*] See also Bougainville, [*Mem. de littérature, V. xix, p. 148*] who thinks he must have lived before Aristotle.

† *Eratosthenes, Polybius, Strabo, Pliny, Plutarch, Cleomedes, Hipparchus ad Aratum, Athenæus, Geminius, Apollonius scholiastes, Artemidorus, &c.*

‡ Eighty cubits, as copied from Pytheas by Pliny, according to the editions. [*Hist. nat. L. ii, c. 97.*] This being evidently erroneous, Doctor Foster, with great probability, supposes, that instead of *octogenis cubitis* (eighty cubits), the true reading ought to be *cto vicenis cubitis* (twenty-eight cubits), or 42 feet, the height to which the spring tides actually rise at Bristol.

§ The voyage of Pytheas has been misrepres-

ented by antient ignorance in detracting from the extent of it, and by modern ignorance in enlarging it beyond the bounds of possibility. Because he said that he sailed in six days from Britain to Thulé, it has been supposed in later times that Thulé must have been Iceland; to which a modern navigator, furnished with a compass and other instruments, and having a previous knowledge of the course and distance, may sail from the north part of Britain in about six days and nights. Those critics did not consider, how many days would be necessary to creep through the utterly-unknown and dangerous channels of the Orkneys, and from thence to Fare isle and Shetland. They did not consider, that, though he could proceed from Massilia to the northern extremity of Shetland with land constantly in sight, he could not possibly go any farther. They were not aware, that a voyage to Iceland, which is several hundreds of miles from the nearest European land, was an *absolute impossibility* to a Mediterranean navigator before the invention of the compass. And, what was, if possible, a greater neglect than all these, they did not attend to what is said by Pytheas himself, who, in one of the plainest quotations given from him by Strabo, [*L. ii, p. 175*] calls '*Thulé the most northerly of the British islands.*'

disfigured accounts of it transmitted to us by the ignorance of succeeding writers, to have been perfectly just.

Such were the philosophical, geographical, and commercial, discoveries of Pytheas, whose voyage, even when divested of the imaginary extension of it to Iceland by modern authors, if we duly consider the state of geography, astronomy, and navigation, in that age, may without hesitation be pronounced equal for enterprise and conduct to any of the circumnavigations of our own age, not even excepting the voyage of Captain Cook into the inhospitable and forbidding regions of the Antarctic ocean\*.

We know little or nothing of the advantages derived from the discoveries of Pytheas by the Massilians. It is, however, very probable, that they were the foundation of the great trade in tin, which they afterwards carried on with Britain.

314—Tyre, notwithstanding the ruin brought upon her by Alexander, again lifted up her head: again the little island was covered with buildings, which, to accommodate the crowded population, were reared aloft in the air to a prodigious height †. The merchants, who in their childhood had been saved from the butchery of Alexander's army at Carthage and Sidon, recovered the commerce of their fathers, and Tyre resumed its rank as the first mercantile city in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. It had recovered such a share of the Oriental trade, (or rather the trade with the south part of Arabia) which was conducted by means of land carriage from Rhinocorura on the confines of Egypt and Phœnicia to the Elanitic branch of the Red sea, and thence by a navigation of seventy days to the mouth of that sea, that it actually supported a competition with Alexandria, though reared and nourished by the fostering hands of victorious sovereigns, and fed with the plunder of the East: so difficult is it to turn aside the stream of com-

\* This great philosopher and discoverer has born an ample share of the malevolence and detraction usually attendant on real merit. He has been accused of gross and intentional falsification by Strabo and some other ancient writers of great abilities, merely because the facts, which he truly related, were incomprehensible to their very limited knowledge of the laws of nature and the universe. But, on the other hand, Eratosthenes, one of the most judicious and accurate writers of antiquity, considered the work of Pytheas as an oracle: and even Strabo reluctantly does him the justice to credit his account of the northern nations, of the truth of which, by the bye, he was no competent judge. It is little to the credit of some modern writers that they have implicitly followed those ancient authors in abusing the *Captain Cook* of antiquity. His character, and the mercantile enterprising spirit of his countrymen, are worthy of a restoration to due honour by the historical criti-

cism and philosophical scrutiny of the present age. And it will not be thought out of place to observe here, that 'the academy of Marseille, deriving a worthy pride from this spirit of enterprise in their ancestors, animated with a liberality and nobleness of sentiment which nothing but an inward consciousness of kindred merit could give, have this year, (1787) in a manner that does them great honour, proposed, as a subject for a prize, the euloge of the British navigator Cook.' [*Governor Pownall's Notices of the Provincia Romana of Gaul, 1787.*]

The best account of Pytheas that I have seen is in *Foster's Voyages in the North, B. i, c. 2.*

† According to Strabo, [*L. xvi, p. 1098*] the houses of Tyre were said to be higher in his time than those of Rome; and there it was necessary to restrain builders by law from exceeding the height of seventy feet. See *Gibbon, V. v, p. 287, ed. 1792.*

merce from the channel in which it has been accustomed to flow. But now the fresh calamity of another siege by Antigonus, one of the most powerful of Alexander's successors, again reduced the queen of the sea almost to ruin; and the Tyrians, after sustaining a siege of fifteen months, were obliged to submit to the controul and insult of a garrison placed in their city by Antigonus (a°. 313). [*Diod. Sicul. L. xix—Strabo, L. xvi, pp. 1098, 1113, 1128.*]

304—Antigonus was not equally successful in his attempt to subjugate the Rhodians. Those commercial people, who were famous for the wisdom of their laws and police, the strength, beauty, and convenience, of their city and harbour, the extent of their trade, and the greatness of their naval power, had preserved a strict neutrality with all the contending princes, who were then tearing the empire of Alexander in pieces, and employed their ships of war only against pirates, the general enemies of all mankind. Antigonus, having demanded their assistance against Ptolemy king of Egypt, was so incensed at their refusal, that he immediately sent a fleet to block up their harbour, and to seize all vessels bound to Egypt. This did not, however, prevent the Rhodians from dispatching their vessels for Egypt as usual; but they had the precaution to send a sufficient convoy of warlike ships, which beat off the hostile fleet, and saw their merchant vessels safe into Egypt. Antigonus now sent against the Rhodians a more formidable fleet and a great army, under the command of his warlike son Demetrius, who was renowned for his ingenuity in constructing vessels of war, and engines for the destruction of fortifications. The naval forces of Demetrius were augmented by the accession of most of the pirates of the Mediterranean sea, eager to revenge upon the Rhodians the severe restraint they had suffered from their fleets, and also longing to share the plunder of a community, whose industry, prudence, and commercial spirit, had enabled them to amass great wealth during a long continuance of tranquillity. But, notwithstanding his great military talents, Demetrius was completely baffled by the Rhodians, who bravely repulsed him in every attempt he made to enter their city, and destroyed several of the most formidable of his engines, the construction of which had cost him incredible labour and expense. At last, after an unavailing siege of a whole year, Antigonus directed his son to make peace with the Rhodians: and on this occasion Demetrius made them a present of all the stupendous engines he had used for their destruction. The materials of them sold for three hundred talents (£58,125 of modern sterling money); and with that money, and some addition to it, they made their famous brazen statue of Apollo, 70 cubits (105 feet) in height, which they set up at the entrance of their harbour, where it was so placed, that vessels passed between the legs of it in coming in or going out. [*Diod. Sicul. L. xx—Plut. in Demetr.—Strabo, L. xiv, p. 964—Plin. L. xxxiv, c. 7.*]

311—According to Livy [*L. ix, c. 30*] the Romans appointed two new officers, called *duumviri navales*, (or lords of the admiralty) whose duty it was to superintend the equipment and repair of their fleets\*.

302—Seleucus, one of Alexander's officers, who obtained Syria, Babylonia, and Persia, as his share of the empire, had some intercourse with India. He sent Megasthenes as his ambassador to Chandragupta, called by the Greeks Sandracottus, king of the Prasii, whose capital was Pataliputra, which the Greeks call Palibothra, on the Ganges †. Megasthenes appears to have penetrated farther into the East than any European ever did before him; and he published an account of his travels and discoveries, which, containing many things incomprehensible to the Europeans, and being afterwards vitiated by transcribers, met with severer treatment from Strabo and some other learned men than it probably deserved; for in his geography of India he was much more accurate than the succeeding geographers, except those who copied from him; and it is chiefly to the fragments of his work, transcribed by later writers, that we are indebted for what little we know of the antient state of India. Allitrochadas, the son of Chandragupta, (or Sandracottus) received another ambassador, called Daimachus, from Seleucus, or his son Antiochus, who also sent Patrocles on a voyage of discovery to the eastward. Both these travelers wrote accounts of their discoveries, of which we know next to nothing. After this the intercourse between

\* It is evident that Livy has antedated the creation of an office supposed antient in his own time; for Polybius, the earliest and most impartial writer of Roman history now extant, says very expressly and repeatedly, that the Romans had no fleet before their first war with Carthage. It may be inferred, however, from their treaties with the Carthaginians, that they, or rather their conquered subjects, had some trading vessels; but their traders, as we shall frequently have occasion to observe, attracted very little of the attention of government.

It is proper, however, here to introduce a story from a respectable author, which, if it were given by him as authentic, might infer that the Romans had probably some vessels about this time: I say *probably*, because they might have borrowed vessels then, as we know for certain they did long after, when they wanted to ferry their army over to Sicily. Theophrastus, who was a pupil of Aristotle, and died 288 years before Christ, relates in his History of plants, [*L. v, c. 9*] that, 'though the largest and most beautiful of the Italian pines and firs grow in Latium, they are nothing in comparison with those of Corsica. For the Romans, when they went with twenty-five vessels in order to build a town in that island, *are said* to have fallen in with a place where the trees were so prodigiously large, and their branches so close together, that the masts of the vessels were broken

'to pieces by them in some bays and harbours; and, as they saw that the whole island was thick set, and quite wild and crowded with trees, they *are said* to have desisted from their purpose of building a town; but some of them going ashore, cut down in a small space of ground timber sufficient to build a ship which was to carry fifty sails, which, *they moreover say*, perished in the sea.' They were certainly very right to put it out of sight. A vessel with *fifty sails* indeed! (not a numeral letter N for 50, but πεντηκοντα ιστιοις in plain words). Who ever saw or heard of a ship carrying fifty sails, even in the modern system of masts over masts, studding-sail booms added to the yards, and stay-sails extended between the masts? Perhaps the reporters of the story mistook *sails* for *oars*; and, if the Romans in that age built a vessel of fifty oars, it might certainly have been something to boast of. It is scarcely worth while to notice the lesser absurdity of the bays and harbours being so narrow, that ships were obliged to brush through the trees. It appears, however, from this *bersay* story, that the Romans had made an attempt upon Corsica, which is unknown to their own writers, and also to those modern writers who have corrected the faithful Polybius from the romantic Livy.

† See the *Asiatic researches*, V. iv, p. 10. But the position of this famous city is not unquestionably ascertained.

Syria and India was almost entirely given up, though the Syrian kings possessed the shores of the Persian gulf, famous for the fishery of pearls, with the island of Maceta at the mouth of it, and Diridotis at the mouth of the Euphrates, which were two established emporia for the spice trade. [*Arriani Indica.*] From these they could very conveniently have dispatched ships to India, the cargoes of which could be carried into the heart of their dominions by the two great navigable rivers, the Euphrates and Tigris, especially by the former, which has a longer course and a more gentle stream than the later: and they could be dispersed through the western and northern regions by the Euxine and the Caspian seas with their great tributary rivers, by the help of short carriages over land. It is proper, however, to observe, that Seleucus appears to have conceived the design of such an extensive inland trade, as he intended to open a navigable communication between the Cimmerian Bosphorus and the Caspian sea\*. And he is probably the same King Seleucus who brought plants of the amomum and nard, or spikenard, from India by sea, in hopes to cultivate them in his own dominions, wherein, however, he was disappointed, as they could not bear the change. [*Plin. L. xvi, c. 32.*]

Ptolemy, who in the partition of Alexander's empire had obtained Egypt for his share, fixed his residence at the new city of Alexandria, and carefully followed the plans laid down by Alexander for attracting the commerce of the world to that favoured port. Partly by force, partly by persuasion and encouragement, but principally by the justice of his government, he drew great numbers of people to settle in his capital. For the benefit of navigation, the first Ptolemy, or his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, (for authors vary) erected a light-house on a small island, called Pharos, before the harbour, which was built of white marble in a most magnificent manner at the expense of 800 talents, (about £15,500 of modern British money) under the direction of Softratus, an architect of Cnidos (a<sup>o</sup>. 284.) It was esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world; and its name of Pharos has been extended to all succeeding light-houses. Its light was seen at the distance of 300 stadia, or about 30 geographical miles.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, in pursuance of his father's commercial plans, restored, or completed, the canal between the Nile and the western branch of the Red sea, and thereby effected a navigable communication between his capital and the Indian ocean, of which the native and Persian sovereigns of Egypt seem scarcely ever to have conceived an idea for any commercial purpose. The canal was one hundred cubits in

\* So we are told on the authority of the emperor Claudius by Pliny. [*Hist. nat. L. vi, c. 11.*] Pliny has been misled by some preceding writer to say, [*L. ii, c. 67*] that the Indian sea stretching

to the Caspian was navigated by the orders of Seleucus and Antigonus, which, being impossible, must be false.

breadth, and had sufficient depth for what were then esteemed large vessels. There was a lock constructed upon it, which, the ancient writers say, was intended to prevent the salt water of the Red sea from spoiling the water of the river, or to prevent the Red sea from overflowing the land, which, they strangely thought, was lower than the surface of that sea \*. [*Strabo*, L. xvii, p. 1156—*Plin.* L. vi, c. 29.]

In this infant state of the trade of Egypt, Heroopolis at the head of the western branch of the Red sea was the port from which vessels sailed, and Sabæa was the country to which they went to procure frankincense, myrh, casia, cinnamon, &c. [*Theophrasti Hist. plant.* L. ix, c. 4.]

Owing to the dangerous and difficult navigation of the Red sea, or to some other causes unknown to us, the canal, the work of so many ages, was found not so useful or advantageous as was expected. Ptolemy therefor founded a town called Berenicè, about 300 miles lower on the Red sea, to which the staple of the eastern trade was removed. The Egyptian, or, to speak more correctly, the Grecian, merchants, sailed from Berenicè down the Red sea, near the mouth of which, in the country of the Sabæans, there were several good trading ports, and particularly that called Arabia Felix, about 120 miles beyond the Straits, where they found a general assortment of the spices, aromatics, and other productions, of Arabia and Ethiopia, and also those of India, which the long experience of the Sabæans in the nature of the periodical winds called monsoons, of the seas, and of the various ports of India, enabled them to furnish to the merchants of Egypt cheaper than they could have procured them themselves, if they had coasted the whole way to India in their own small vessels †. On their return they

\* The obvious reason was to preserve the water upon a level at the lower end of the canal, and to let the vessels down to, or raise them up from, the sea. I do not, however, mean to say, that the head of the Red sea, which has a tide, may not be higher at high water than the Mediterranean, which never rises more than nine or ten inches above its usual level. But the canal was drawn off from the river at the head of the Delta, where its water was probably 30 or 40 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. Indeed the country must have been very near level, if, allowing for a very gentle declivity from the head to the mouth of the canal, a single lock was sufficient to shift the vessels out of, or into, the sea.—Quere, if this was the first lock ever constructed upon a canal?

† It has lately been supposed, that voyages were made direct from Egypt to India from the commencement of the Macedonian dominion in Egypt; but there does not appear to be any sufficient foundation for such a supposition. Theophrastus, an author contemporary with Alexander and the first of the Ptolemies, has not a word of voyages to India, though he mentions voyages to

Sabæa, as just noticed.—No Indian voyages from Egypt are mentioned by Agatharchides when describing the oriental commerce about 170 years after the establishment of the Ptolemies in Egypt.—And Strabo, besides relating the story of a voyage from Egypt to India by Eudoxus, [*L.* ii, p. 155] which, whether true or false, clearly proves that the Greeks of Egypt had not then attempted any voyages to India, says, [*L.* xvii, p. 1149] that the trade of Egypt with India and the country of the Troglodytes was new in his own time.—It is true that Pliny [*L.* vi, c. 23] expresses his intention of describing the passage of Alexander's fleet from the Indus to the head of the Persian gulf, 'and afterwards that navigation, which, being discovered at that time, is kept up to this day.' But it is not too presumptuous to say, that the authority of Pliny, who wrote from the works or reports of others, and was particularly defective in oriental affairs, if it were even expressed and pointed, as it is not, ought not to be set against the assertion, or even the silence, of Theophrastus, Agatharchides, or Strabo, who wrote from their own personal knowledge. The

landed their goods at Berenicè, whence they were carried over land upon a road, which Philadelphus opened with his army, and provided with water and houses of refreshment, to Coptos, and thence by inland navigation to Alexandria. [*Strabo, L. xvii, p. 1169—Periplus Maris Erythræi.*]

With a view to engross the whole of this very lucrative trade to his own subjects, Ptolemy maintained a powerful fleet in the Red sea, and another in the Mediterranean. No naval force had ever yet appeared in the world equal to his navy, in which there were two vessels of thirty tiers of oars, and one hundred and ten from twenty to five tiers, besides quadriremes, triremes, and inferior rates, almost innumerable. [*Athenæus, L. v.*] These prodigious fleets of observation, or of jealousy, being vastly beyond any force that might have been necessary to overawe the pirates of Arabia Petræa and those of the Mediterranean, appear to have been chiefly intended to crush the competition of the still-surviving, but almost-expiring, commerce of Tyre on both seas.

The decided superiority which the merchants of Alexandria thus obtained over the Tyrians, added to the distresses brought upon them by Antigonus, when they were just recovering from the destruction of their city by Alexander, was more than sufficient to overwhelm a community so circumstanced. And in truth we after this hear but little of Tyre as a capital commercial city, though it long retained some little portion of the Arabian commerce, and continued to have a considerable trade in the celebrated purple known by its name, some manufactures of silk and other fine goods, and a profitable fishery. [*Strabo, L. xvi, p. 1098.*]

It was probably with a view to establish a direct intercourse with India that Ptolemy sent Dionysius as his ambassador to that country; but we know nothing of any consequences produced by that embassy. [*Plin. L. vi, c. 17.*]

Ptolemy Philadelphus has been deservedly praised as a patron of science and literature; and his library, which contained all that was valuable in Grecian literature, and also a translation of the books of Moses, or the whole of the Old testament, (for authors differ as to the number of the books), has been famous in all ages.

A great proportion of the most civilized parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, being now by conquest or colonization subject to the Greeks, there was a freer communication of knowledge and the arts than could

The judicious Danish traveller Niebuhr has steered clear of the error into which some of our modern great authors have fallen. He informs us, that, though the discovery of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope has deprived the South Arabians of that monopoly of the Indian trade which their ancestors enjoyed, they still preserve the command of it with respect to Egypt, so far as to pro-

hibit any vessel from India from proceeding beyond Jidda, an Arabian port about half way up the Red sea, and that vessels go between the Arabian ports and Egypt with Indian merchandize even now, as they did in the remotest ages. [*Voyages de Niebuhr, V. i, p. 224; V. ii, passim.*] Purchas [*B. iii, pp. 230, 261*] also describes Mocha, an Arabian port, as a principal entrepot between India and Egypt.

be obtained in former times ; and thence this age was peculiarly distinguished by eminent writers and philosophers, among whom there were several who improved geography and the other sciences connected with commerce, particularly Timocharis and Dionysius, eminent astronomers, whose observations on the stars have been preserved in the works of Ptolemy the astronomer and geographer ; Timosthenes, Ptolemy's admiral, who wrote a description of harbours ; Euclid, who even now retains the first rank among the writers on geometry ; Dicearchus, (perhaps dead before this reign) a natural philosopher, geographer, and historian, who was a follower of Pytheas in his description of Britain ; and, contemporary with these philosophers, (though perhaps younger than them) Cleanthes of Samos, who was accused by Aristarchus of violating the religious creed of the age, and overturning the whole system of the universe, because he taught that the heavens remained immoveable, and that the earth was carried round in an oblique orbit, revolving in the meantime round its own axis. [*Plut. de facie in orbe lunæ.*] Thus Cleanthes had the honour, of all who lived in the western world after Pythagoras, and before Cardinal Cusa \*, to approach the nearest to the true system of the universe, as it was explained in later times by Copernicus, and afterwards demonstrated by the use of the telescope.

Besides Dicearchus, some other writers of this age have thrown some faint glimmerings of light upon the history of *British commerce*, particularly Timæus, a Sicilian, and a follower of Pytheas, whose account of the tin trade will be presently noticed ; and Isidorus, who seems also to have derived his information from the same great discoverer. Our island was also noticed in the work upon the world, ascribed to Aristotle, but more probably of this age, and by Sotacus, an author seemingly as early as the others, who thought amber a distillation from trees growing in Britain †. [*Plin. L. iv, c. 16 ; L. xxxvii, c. 2.*]

The British commerce, hitherto engrossed by the Phœnicians of

\* Aristarchus flourished about 260 years before the commencement of the Christian æra, and Cusa in the middle of the fifteenth century.

† These were all Greeks, and they were some of the writers who induced Pliny to say in his very brief description of Britain, [*L. iv, c. 16*] that it was renowned in Grecian and Roman records, ('*clara Græcis nostrisque monumentis.*') And this clause is with some modern writers a sufficient proof that the Greeks had so great an intercourse with this island as to introduce their language and manners.

It is natural to suppose that the remote and almost-unknown island of Britain would be frequently mentioned, after the discovery of it by Pytheas, by the Grecian writers, ever fond of the marvelous : and as Pliny probably had not read, or perhaps could not read, any of the Phœnician writers

of Gadir or Carthage, the Grecian authors were, till a late period, the only ones from whom he could possibly obtain any account of Britain ; for Rome does not appear to have had any writers in the times now under our consideration. But I know of no warrant in history for a belief that any native of Greece ever lauded on the coast of Britain before the Roman invasion, far less carried on a long-continued intercourse, sufficient, *if any such intercourse could ever be sufficient*, to change the language and manners of the people, as has been supposed. Pytheas, a Massilian, was of very remote Greek ancestry ; but his intercourse with Britain was not near so much as that of Captain Cook with Otaheitè in his repeated visits to that island ; and yet the people of Otaheitè do not speak English.

Gadir, (unless their brethren of Carthage participated in it) and carried on at the western extremity of the country, or the Silley islands, seems now to have been also shared by some other people settled on the north coast of Gaul, who, we may presume, were connected with, or agents of, the Massilians. The staple of this new commerce was thereupon established at Miētis \*, (one of the islands on the south coast) to which the tin was carried by the Britons in their leather boats, as we learn from the contemporary testimony of Timæus. [*ap. Plin. L. v, c. 16—Diod. Sicul. L. v, § 22.*] And the change of the staple, and preference of inland navigation by the principal rivers of Gaul, or of land carriage, appear to have been owing to the apprehension of meeting with the ships of the Phœnicians, whose naval superiority was universally acknowledged, if they should venture to coast along the shores of Gaul and Spain, or perhaps merely to the aversion of the Massilian navigators to so long a circuit by sea. It is reasonable to suppose that these new arrangements were effected by the negotiations of Pytheas with the Britons.

The repeated calamities of Tyre, among which may be reckoned the establishment of Alexandria, must have greatly deranged the commerce of the Phœnicians. The oriental trade, which, by the assistance of land carriage across the isthmus between Africa and Asia, they had enjoyed exclusively during many centuries, (for the transient participation of it by the Israelites was only for their own consumption, and lasted but a few years) was in a great measure transferred to that new emporium, where it could not fail to take root and flourish by the favour and protection of the Macedonian kings of Egypt, who had powerful fleets in

\* There can be little doubt that Miētis was the same island which was afterwards called Iētis by Diodorus Siculus. [*L. v, § 21. ed. Amstel. 1746.*] By the moderns it has been supposed Silley, or Wight: the former, because Timæus, as copied by Pliny, represents it as producing tin; and the later, apparently for no better reason than the supposed resemblance of the name, which is further said to remain with little variation to this day among the Welsh, who call it Guith; and perhaps also because it is the principal island on the south coast, and most conspicuous on the map. But Timæus must have had his information from seamen, with whom it is usual to call every article the production of the place where they take it in: and Diodorus, from later, and apparently better, information, describes Iētis as the port to which the tin was brought from the place of its production in order to be shipped.—Iētis was separated from the main by a channel fordable at low water; but the channel between Wight and the main has a depth of above thirty fathom where it is narrowest at Hurst castle, and, where it is shallowest between Beaulieu river in Hampshire and Gurnard

bay in Wight, it has seven fathom and a half at low water. Though the many changes made by the sea on this part of the coast render it *not impossible* that the ancient Miētis or Iētis and the modern Wight may be the same, yet the islands of Portland and Purbeck, which, though now peninsulas, are constantly called islands, probably in memory of having formerly been such, (as Thanet on the coast of Kent also is) the small islands in Poole bay, and also Portsey and Haling, may all compete for the name of Miētis or Iētis with more probability than Silley or Wight. But of the whole Portland answers best to the description of Diodorus.

The error of placing Miētis at the distance of six days' sail from Britain need not be wondered at in Timæus, a Sicilian Greek, who wrote of this trade when it was in its infancy. Perhaps the author of his information understood it to be six days' sail from that part of Britain which was nearest to the continent; and that is the only explanation which can make it apply to any island connected with Britain, or indeed to any island whatever.

the Mediterranean and Red seas. The universal use of the Greek language among the superior people of almost every part of the Mediterranean coast, as far west as Sicily on the one hand and Cyrenaica on the other, also contributed to give the merchants of Alexandria a very great advantage over the Phœnicians in every port throughout those rich and extensive tracts of coast. These great discouragements, cooperating with the insults of the soldiers placed among them by Antigonus, must have compelled many of the merchants, manufacturers, and other inhabitants, of Tyre and the neighbouring towns, to remove their families, their capitals, and as much as possible of their commerce, to Carthage, where they could enjoy liberty among a free people of kindred manners and speech. Such an accession of wealthy and industrious inhabitants was sufficient to raise Carthage in the scale of commercial prosperity and naval superiority beyond any degree of competition which could be attempted (except in the one branch of trade with Arabia) by the new-established port of Alexandria, by Syracuse, by Corinth, or by any other port in the Mediterranean sea. And this reasoning, highly probable from the natural consequence of known historic events, receives clear confirmation from the positive and unquestionable testimony of Polybius, who repeatedly informs us that the Carthaginians were at this time the acknowledged sovereigns of the sea, and in every respect at the zenith of their prosperity.

280—At this time the invasion of Italy by Pyrrhus, a valiant and turbulent king of Epirus, obliged the Romans to court the friendship of the Carthaginians, to secure their powerful assistance, if necessary, against the most formidable enemy they had ever encountered. A third treaty between the two republics was accordingly concluded, wherein they contracted, that each should assist the other, if invaded; the ships in either case to be furnished by the Carthaginians, and the troops to be paid by the state requiring their assistance. [*Polyb. L. iii, c. 25.*]

271—When the Carthaginians, by an unremitting attention to commerce, had raised themselves, with the general good will of the neighbouring nations, to a height of wealth and prosperity, which Appian compares to the empire of the Macedonians for power, and to that of the Persians for opulence, the Romans, by an equally-unremitting attention to war and plunder, had now extended their dominion over almost all the peninsular part of Italy; and their ambition now aspired to the empire of the world.

A band of Campanian banditti had treacherously got into the city of Messana in Sicily, where they murdered the citizens, ravished their wives, and seized their property. They afterwards infested the Carthaginian and Grecian colonies in Sicily with frequent plundering excursions, wherein they were assisted by a similar gang of ruffians, who, by a similar villany, had seized on Rhegium upon the opposite side of the

strait in Italy, till they were exterminated by the Romans, who were at that time desirous of showing to the world their great abhorrence of treachery.

The Campanian robbers of Massana, who assumed the name of Marmertini (Warriors, or sons of Mars) were thereupon obliged to surrender their citadel to a Carthaginian garrison. Some of them, however, who were discontented with this measure, applied to the Romans for assistance: and in favour of allies, so worthy of their protection, the Romans, who were exceedingly glad of any pretence for interfering in the affairs of Sicily, engaged in a war against the Carthaginians and Syracusians; but they soon concluded a separate peace with the latter, that they might have only one enemy to contend with.

264—In order to transport their army to Sicily, the Romans borrowed vessels from the Tarentines, Eleates, Locrians, and Neapolitans; for their republic did not possess a single vessel of any kind, even for so trifling a navigation as to ferry their troops over the strait of Messana\*.

At the beginning of the war the Carthaginians, who were absolute masters of the sea, distressed the whole coast of Italy with prædatory incursions, while their own country, inaccessible to the Romans, almost enjoyed the comforts of peace. The Romans therefor resolved to establish a naval force, though they had neither ship-carpenters to build, nor seamen to man, a fleet: and this is one of many instances of the persevering intrepidity and resolution by which they obtained the empire of the world. In passing the Strait of Messana they had got possession of a Carthaginian *quinqueremes*, which was stranded. In imitation of this vessel their carpenters constructed 100 *quinqueremes*; and they also built 20 *triremes*, of which kind they had already seen some in Italy. This fleet, if Pliny [*Hist. nat. L. xvi, c. 39*] was truly informed, was ready for sea in sixty days, reckoning from the time of cutting down the trees †.

260—The first naval essay of the Romans, as might be expected, was

\* The ten Roman ships of war at Tarentum a few years before this time, and also the Roman *duumviri navales*, or lords of the admiralty, in an earlier age, must vanish before this unquestionable truth, which is expressly, formally, and repeatedly, affirmed by Polybius, one of the best informed and most impartial writers of antiquity. [*L. i, c. 20.*]

† Florus [*L. ii, c. 2*] feels this marvelous dispatch rather too strong an embellishment, even for his florid history, and seems desirous to escape from the absurdity under the shelter of a miraculous metamorphosis of trees into ships. Polybius says nothing of the time employed in getting ready this first of the Roman fleets: but, when he tells us [*L. i, c. 38*] that another fleet built by the Romans, after their carpenters had got six years' experience, was ready for sea in three months, he remarks,

that such dispatch was scarcely credible. We must remember, that Polybius received the materials for the early part of his history from the Romans; and indeed he remarks [*L. i, c. 64*] from his own observation, that the Romans though much more powerful after the destruction of Carthage, could fit out no such fleets in his time.

When the experience of almost six centuries, and the collected science of the whole western world, had greatly improved the Roman marine, several years were employed in getting ready a fleet against the British emperor Carausius. And this unquestionable fact renders such wonderful dispatch in the very infancy of the Roman navigation utterly incredible to every person who chuses to examine what he reads.

unfortunate. Seventeen ships were blocked up in the harbour of Lipara by the Carthaginians, whereupon the Roman sailors fled to the land, and left their consul and their ships a prey to the enemy. Soon after fifty Carthaginian ships unexpectedly found themselves in the midst of the whole Roman fleet, and a considerable part of them were taken. The next engagement was a general one, wherein the Romans were for the first time to have a fair trial of their valour upon an unknown element. The anxiety, inseparable from the novelty of the danger, put their invention on the rack to discover some means of making up for the great superiority of their enemies in the construction of their ships, their marine discipline, and naval tactics. The mind, unfettered by precedents, often strikes out new thoughts, which the experienced veterans do not venture to conceive, but endeavour to conceal the sterility of their own brains under an affected contempt of the untaught genius of others. So it happened with the Carthaginian lords of the sea: they laughed to scorn the grappling crows and boarding stages erected upon the clumsy ships of the Roman landsmen, and the natural consequence of despising an enemy necessarily followed. They were defeated by Duilius, a commander ignorant of the sea, whose name is immortalized by the action, while that of the inventor of the crows, which effected the victory, is unknown\*. [*Polyb. L. i, cc. 21-23.*]

In the course of this war the Romans, notwithstanding the vast inferiority of their vessels and of their seamanship, which subjected them to prodigious losses by storms †, as well as by battles, were several times victorious at sea; and by the general superiority of their military discipline they got possession of the greatest part of the Carthaginian territory in Sicily. They even carried the war into Africa (a°. 256), where the savage and arrogant consul Regulus, after ravaging the country almost to the gates of Carthage, was made prisoner; an event, which has furnished a foundation for ample fictitious embellishments. A remarkably swift galley, having got aground in the night, fell into the hands of the Romans, who, by means of her, got possession of another very fast-going vessel, which had repeatedly run through the Roman fleet in defiance. The Roman treasury was now exhausted; but the citizens at their own expense furnished two hundred *quinqueremes*, built in exact imitation of the two swift Carthaginian vessels (a°. 242): and with them the Romans, now considerably improved in nautical knowledge, gained a complete victory

\* Grappling irons, invented by Nicias, were used by the Athenians in their engagements with the Syracusians 413 years before Christ. But the Romans cannot be supposed to have known any thing of that invention.

† In one storm 384 of their ships were wrecked or foundered, and almost every soul onboard perished,

through the obstinate ignorance of the consuls, who despised the advice of their pilots. Another storm made a total destruction of the Roman fleet, leaving not so much as a plank of it unbroken. The Carthaginian fleet, which was at sea at the same time, got into a good harbour, and was perfectly safe.

over the Carthaginians, who were obliged to sue for peace, which they obtained on the hard terms of resigning all their territory in Sicily and the islands on the north side of it, and paying to the Romans three thousand two hundred Euboic talents, which contained as much silver as would make six hundred and twenty thousand pounds of modern British silver money. And such, notwithstanding the acknowledged superior talents of the Carthaginian commanders by land as well as by sea, was the end of the Sicilian war, called by later writers the first Punic war.

At this time the *modius* (a small fraction more than a peck) of corn (*far*) was sold at Rome for an *as*, which then contained two ounces of brass. The same money might purchase a *congius* ( $7\frac{1}{8}$  pints) of wine, thirty *pondo* of dried figs, ten *pondo* of oil, or twelve *pondo* of butcher meat. [*Varro, ap Plin. Hist. nat. L. xviii, c. 3.*] N. B. The *pondo* is somewhat less than our pound troy.—If such were the prices in the time of an exhausting war, what might they have been, had the Romans ever been at peace?

Immediately after the peace the Carthaginians experienced the dreadful consequences of trusting their arms (agreeable to the erroneous maxims of their Tyrian ancestors) almost entirely in the hands of mercenaries. Those soldiers, who had no regard for Carthage, offended at some imprudent, or inevitable, delay in discharging their pay, took advantage of the reduced state of the republic, and drew in almost all the neighbouring states of Africa to assist them to ruin Carthage. The dreadful atrocities of this war, which are unparalleled in the history of human crimes and calamities, were at last terminated (a<sup>o</sup>. 238) by the conduct of Amilcar.

During this war Italian merchants supplied Carthage with necessaries, by permission of the Romans, who prohibited them from carrying any to the revolted mercenaries.

The Sardinians had taken the opportunity of the troubles of Carthage to shake off their dependence upon that republic; and the Romans, though for some time they had shewn an appearance of adhering with the strictest honour to the treaty of peace, made themselves masters of the noble island of Sardinia in a manner, which even Livy [*L. xxi, c. 1*] acknowledges to be fraudulent, and Polybius [*L. iii, c. 28*] execrates with the warm resentment, which an honest man feels at the perpetration of a base fraud. Not contented with robbing the Carthaginians of the island, they even presumed so far on their distressed situation as to extort twelve hundred talents in name of re-imbursment for the expense of the robbery.

About this time a *banker* (*τραπεζίτης*) of Sicyon, a city of Peloponnesus, is mentioned by Plutarch in his Life of Aratus. His business seems to have consisted in exchanging one species of money for another.

240—Aradus, or Arvad, was a small rocky island, which the Sidonians

had occupied in former ages. It became a little independent kingdom or community of merchants and seamen; and it was so populous, that the houses covered the whole of the rock, and were raised aloft in the air to the height of several stories, each a separate habitation. About this time, in consideration of assistance given to Seleucus Callinicus king of Syria, they got an assurance from him, that he would never attempt to force any person from them who should take refuge in their city, in consequence of which much treasure was poured in upon them by wealthy criminals flying from justice, as we learn from Strabo. [*L. xvii, p. 1094.*] He also remarks, what is much more to their honour, that, being merchants and navigators, they never concerned themselves with piracy, like their neighbours the Cilicians.

At this time Ptolemy Euergetes was king of Egypt. He imitated his father and grandfather in their attention to the commerce and prosperity of the country, and in their taste for literature and collecting books, which he used to procure at a vast expense from all countries, in order to be transcribed for his library. Having borrowed the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æschylus, from the Athenians, with whom he deposited fifteen talents (£2,906 : 5 sterling) as a security for their safe return, he sent them, instead of the old books, new copies of them magnificently executed, and at the same time requested their acceptance of the fifteen talents. Such was the premium which he gave for the loan of three books\*.

Euergetes was so happy as to have his library under the care of Era-

\* Varro, as quoted by Pliny, says, that the most valuable and important art of making paper from an aquatic plant, produced in the lower part of Egypt, was not invented till after the foundation of Alexandria; and he ascribes the invention of parchment or vellum for writing upon to an emulation between Ptolemy and Eumenes king of Pergamus about their libraries, the former of whom having invidiously prohibited the exportation of paper, the later had recourse to the skins of animals as a substitute for it.

Pliny, not satisfied with the æra assigned to the invention of paper by Varro, quotes an historian called Hemina for a story of some paper books found (181 years before Christ) in a coffin with the body of King Numa, wherein they had lain uncorrupted 535 years, as he reckons, thereby adding about half a century to the Roman chronology of later times. According to Hemina those books contained the philosophy of Pythagoras, (*who flourished about two centuries after the supposed age of Numa*) and they were burnt by the prætor, *because they contained philosophy*. Pliny then quotes some other authors, who relate the story with many variations; and Livy differs from all of them. [*Plin. Hist. nat. L. xiii, cc. 11, 13.—Livy. Hist. L. xl,*

*c. 29.*] The variations, and the gross absurdities, prove the whole of them to be bungling fictions.

These are some of the many instances of the ancients falling into gross blunders from not consulting Herodotus, who would have let them know, [*L. v, c. 58*] that in times, which he thought ancient, both paper and skins were commonly used for writing upon.

A fiction is often of some use, though generally very different from the intention of the contriver of it. The fable of Numa's books demonstrates, that Hemina and the other Roman writers quoted by Pliny and Livy, were totally ignorant of history, and that the Romans of their times had not yet determined what duration they should assign to their city. It is also worthy of observation, that Pliny calls Hemina, who could not be above two centuries older than himself, a most ancient annalist ('*vetustissimus autor annalium*'): and the same Pliny in the preceding chapter talks of manuscripts 200 years old as monuments of very remote antiquity ('*longinqua monumenta*'). Do not these circumstances afford rather more than a strong presumption, that the generally-received pompous history of the Roman republic for the first six supposed centuries is mere romance?

tothnes, a man of an almost universal genius, of vast erudition and indefatigable industry. The accuracy of his historical and chronological researches have entitled him to the appellation of *father of chronology*. But he chiefly excelled in astronomy and geography; and in his geographical writings and his maps he followed Pytheas in describing our British islands; but the most of the exterior coast of Europe, from Spain northward, was then but very imperfectly known to the greatest geographer that had ever yet appeared in the world. He observed the obliquity of the ecliptic to be  $23^{\circ}, 51', 20''$ : and from his observations on the projection of shadows he calculated the equatorial circumference of the earth to be 252,000 stadia, equal to about 24,990 geographical miles; which, being only about 3,390 too much, if we consider the imperfection of instruments in his age, must be allowed to be wonderfully near the truth\*. From his knowledge of the nature of the globe, he declared that the vast expanse of the Atlantic ocean was the only obstacle to the navigation between Spain and India by going due west: the very same idea, which with the help of the compass set Christopher Columbus on the scheme of searching for India by the same course †. [*Strabo, L. i, p. 113 et passim—Plin. Hist. nat. L. ii, c. 18; L. vi, c. 29 et passim.*]

Some ships belonging to Italian merchants had been taken by the pirates of Illyria, a country on the east side of the Adriatic sea. It is probable that these merchants, as well as those who had supplied Carthage with necessaries during the revolt of the mercenaries, were of Etruria or Campania, the later of whom, Polybius [*L. iii, c. 91*] says, had commerce with almost every part of the world (by which may be understood the greatest part of the Mediterranean sea); and, as a consequence of their commerce, their towns were handsomer than any others in Italy.

229—The Romans paid little attention to the complaints of the merchants, a class of people, who were in no great estimation in their eyes, till now that they wanted a pretence for making war upon the Illyrians. They accordingly demanded satisfaction, which being refused, they fitted out a fleet of two hundred galleys, wherewith they subdued the country. [*Polyb. L. ii, c. 2. et seqq.*]

The Carthaginians were compelled by the Roman lust of universal dominion to deviate from their peaceful commercial system, and in emulation of that republic to establish a regular and permanent military force, which might oppose the Romans in their evident desire to enslave the world. But the condition of the republics differed widely.

\* Hipparchus, endeavouring to correct Eratosthenes, added about 25,000 stadia to his error. [*Plin. Hist. nat. L. ii, c. 18.*]

† In this idea, as well as in the measure of the circumference of the globe, he improved very much upon the geography of Aristotle, who contracted the bounds of the ocean so much as to represent In-

dia almost close upon Spain. See above, p. 75, where, however, I have not used language quite so strong as that of Aristotle, who says, that some philosophers thought the Columns of Hercules (in Spain and Africa) joined to those places which are near to India.

The sole business of the Romans was war : by war they could not originally lose any thing ; and by war they had acquired every thing they possessed. By a successful war the Carthaginians could scarcely gain any thing, their trade must be distressed, and the attention of their people drawn off from its proper object : and from an unsuccessful war they might dread absolute ruin. Instigated however by resentment against Rome, and goaded on by the eagerness of the generals, whom the late wars had formed to military science, and raised to power and popularity, the Carthaginian senate resolved, that their ships, instead of carrying goods to Spain for sale, should transport an army to that country to effect the conquest of it. The intention of the senate, or, to speak more correctly, of Amilcar their general, was to get possession of the rich mines and other wealth of Spain, in order to recruit and support the armies necessary to carry on the contest with the Romans, and to make amends for the loss of Sicily, out of which the Romans had beaten them, and Sardinia, which they had treacherously robbed them of.

Amilcar, after having reduced a great part of Spain to the Carthaginian yoke, fell in battle, and was succeeded in the command by his son-in-law Asdrubal, who immediately built a new capital city, which, perhaps from the resemblance of its situation and its harbour, obtained the name of New Carthage, or Carthagenæ. This general is accused of corrupting the morals of the Carthaginians by introducing bribery among them : [*G. Nep. Vit. Hamilc. c. 3*] and he was suspected of a design to make himself sovereign of Spain. When he had commanded eight years, and greatly extended the dominion of Carthage in Spain, he was murdered by a Gaul, whom he had offended (a. 222). The supreme command was then conferred upon Hannibal, the son of Amilcar, the greatest general that ever was opposed to the Romans, and who never for a moment lost sight of his father's injunction, to keep up an invincible enmity to Rome, and to make it the business of his life.

The Carthaginians had now assumed the character of a warlike nation. A great part of the citizens had exchanged agriculture, manufactures, and commercial pursuits, for a military life. The gradual acquisition of wealth by patient industry appeared contemptible, when compared with the seizure of it by war and plunder. The people became intoxicated by conquest; their judgement was perverted, and their avarice excited, by the example of the Romans, whom they saw prospering by a perpetual violation of justice. The national virtue was relaxed ; and the military successes, which filled the city with exultation, laid the foundation of its ruin.

The Romans, who thought all acquisitions of territory by other nations encroachments upon what they already considered as their own, could not fail to look upon the warlike progress of the Carthaginians

with an evil eye: but being at present threatened with an invasion from the Gauls, the descendents of their antient conquerors, they were obliged to dissemble, and to propose a treaty, whereby the river Iberus in the north-east part of Spain was agreed to be the frontier of the Carthaginian territories, exempting however from their dominion the city of Saguntum, which being on the Carthaginian side of that river, would easily furnish either of the parties with a pretence for war, when they should find it convenient to engage in it.

About this time, we are told, a law was passed at Rome, prohibiting the senators from being owners of any vessels exceeding the burthen of 300 amphoræ (about 2,000 gallons). Such boats were thought sufficient to bring home the produce of their farms: and all kind of trade was thought unbecoming the higher ranks. Many of the senators however allowed their avarice so far to get the better of their pride, that they wished to partake of the profits of trade, and were much enraged at the promoters of the law. [*Liv. Hist. L. xxi, c. 63.*] Hence it appears, that some trade was now carried on by the Romans, but that the exercise of it was rather disreputable; a clear proof that the Roman trade was on a very trifling scale.

The distinction between soldiers and seamen was another proof of the low estimation in which commerce was held among the Romans. While the military service was the road to every preferment, seamen were despised, and drawn from the meanest class of the populace, consisting of men whose whole property did not amount to 400 Grecian drachmæ, (about £7: 10 sterling) and who were therefor supposed not sufficiently interested in the prosperity of the commonwealth to be intruded with arms. [*Polyb. L. vi, c. 17.*] The same notions were retained in the most flourishing ages of Rome, as we shall have occasion to observe in due time. How widely different from Tyre and Carthage, where navigators and seamen were held in deserved esteem!

About this time a great earthquake threw down the famous colossus of Rhodes, and destroyed the naval arsenals, with a great part of the city. The general good will of the other states of Grecian origin, with all of whom the Rhodians were connected in the friendly band of commercial intercourse, turned this accident much to their advantage: for the Grecian kings and states of Europe, Asia, and Egypt, strove who should be most liberal in contributing corn and other provisions, ships, timber, and naval stores, and also money to a great amount, for repairing their damages, and particularly for renewing their colossus\*. On this occasion Hiero, king of Syracuse, and some other princes, moreover exempted the Rhodians from paying any duties in their ports. And

\* The Rhodians, probably thinking the colossus an idle expense, got the oracle of Delphi to provide for the restoration of it, and applied the ample funds, destined for that purpose by the liberality of their friends, to other uses.

thus a calamity, which would have encouraged the neighbouring states to complete the ruin of a turbulent and warlike community, was the means of raising the Rhodians to greater prosperity, than they had ever enjoyed before: and we find them immediately after this event the predominant power in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. [*Polyb. L. v. cc. 88 et seqq.*]

Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt, in the later part of his reign over-ran a great part of the Macedonian empire in Asia, and on his return subdued many African tribes in the neighbourhood of Egypt. Of this expedition he is himself almost the only historian, having inscribed a pompous narrative of his conquests upon a marble chair dedicated to Mars, which was remaining at Aduli on the coast of the Red sea in the sixth century, when Cosmas Indicopleustes copied the inscription, which has thereby come down to us. The only notice concerning commerce, to be found in it, is, that, having by his fleet reduced some tribes of the Arabs on the east side of the Red sea \*, he charged them to guard the roads from robbers and the seas from pirates.

Byzantium (afterwards called Constantinople) was a city founded by a Grecian colony on the European side of the strait, which separates Europe from Asia. The Byzantines imported from the countries lying around the Pontus, or Euxine sea, slaves, hides, salted provisions, honey, wax, and corn, which, with vast quantities of tunnies caught and cured by themselves, they exported to every part of Greece. Their territory was very fertile, but very small; and they found it necessary to purchase the friendship, or rather the forbearance, of their neighbours by a heavy annual tribute of eighty talents (£15,500 sterling). - Unable or unwilling to raise so large a sum among themselves, and being absolute masters of the strait, not only by its small breadth of half a mile, but also by the nature of the current, which sets in upon their shore, and forces every vessel close under their walls, they thought of renewing an impost, formerly exacted by the Athenians, when they were masters of Byzantium, in the time of Alcibiades; and they accordingly compelled all strangers, whom they perhaps considered as interlopers, to pay a toll for permission to pass into the Euxine (a°. 219). The trade must have been very great indeed, if a moderate sum from each ship belonging to strangers could be equal to such a subsidy; or the sum extorted from each vessel must have been intolerably great.

The later seems to have been the case; for, though a similar demand is complied with by the most powerful of the maritime and commercial

\* He says, he subdued the whole coast from Leukè komè to Sabæa. It may be presumed, that he does not include the opulent and commercial nation of the Sabæans in the number of his conquests; as we know from Agatharchides, that they

were independent, when Ptolemy Philometor was king of Egypt; and Diodorus Siculus, a later author, adds [*L. iii. § 47*] that they had preserved that happiness unimpaired during many ages.

nations of modern Europe, the impost was loudly complained of by all the states who traded to the Euxine. The Rhodians, as the people principally aggrieved, (for the Grecian voyages, as we learn from Polybius, seldom extended so far) and as the first maritime power of the East, after ineffectual negotiation, made war upon the Byzantines, who were soon obliged to allow the passage of the strait to be free to all nations \*. [*Polyb. L. iv, cc. 38 et seqq.*]

A kind of rage for building ships, vastly exceeding every purpose of utility in enormous bulk and extravagant ornament, infected some of the opulent kings of this age. One of these was Hiero, king of Syracuse, whom the Romans, not yet ready for the reduction of his kingdom, had detached from his alliance with Carthage, and permitted to pass a long life in a kind of dependent and tributary alliance with them. His subjects were thereby almost exempted from war; and their mercantile industry, wherein they were perhaps next to the Carthaginians, together with the great fertility of the country, made the people, and consequently the king, very wealthy. By the assistance of the famous mechanic philosopher Archimedes, Hiero constructed a galley of twenty tiers of oars, sheathed with lead, and carrying three masts †, which no vessel had hitherto done; and she is said to have had all the accommodations and embellishments of a palace, together with the fortifications and warlike stores of a castle. Though she was launched before her upperworks were built, it was necessary, in order to get her into the water, for Archimedes to invent a machine called a helice, which seems to have been a large jack-screw.

Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt, built two huge ships. One of them, said to be intended for the sea, was 420 feet long, and only 57 feet broad, furnished with two heads and two sterns, whence we may suppose, that the lower part consisted of two long flat vessels united by one deck, like the warlike canoes of the South-sea islands. She carried 4,000 oars disposed in 40 tiers. Besides 4,000 rowers, she carried 2,850 soldiers, and an innumerable mob of cooks, servants, &c. This ship could not be launched, owing to her prodigious bulk; and she must have remained, a monument of folly, upon the dry land, if a Phœni-

\* According to Herodian [*L. iii*] the impost was again exacted by the Byzantines in his own time, before their city was destroyed by the army of Severus.

† The learned and judicious Camden has been misled in one place by an error proceeding from the similarity of *Bparrta* (Brutium in the southern extremity of Italy) and *Bpirtavux* (Britain) to suppose, that the main mast for Hiero's stupendous ship was carried from Britain: and Speed [*Historie of Britaine, p. 9*] has so far improved upon the idea, as almost to condescend upon the very spot where the tree grew, viz. the banks of Loch Ar-

keg in Inverness-shire. There can be little reason to doubt, that the mast was cut in the celebrated fir wood extending 700 stadia in Brettia or Brutium, [*Strabo, L. vi, p. 400*] whence it could be very easily towed across the strait, and along the shore to Syracuse; whereas to transport so large a tree from Britain would scarcely have been possible. [*Britannia, ed. 1607, p. 21; and see p. 24, where he is almost inclined to give the mast to its own native country.*] Even a mistake of such an author as Camden is entitled to notice, and to a candid examination.

cian had not taught them to dig a canal to bring the water to her \*. The other one, intended only for the river, was about 300 feet long, and above 45 feet broad, and had also a double bottom. But this was not properly a ship, of which it had not even the form, but rather a floating island, or pleasure palace, constructed upon two very large scows, probably such as the coal-barges on the Thames, which was conceived by luxurious idleness, and executed by superabundant wealth.

Though a peace had been concluded between Rome and Carthage, it was not the intention of either party to keep it any longer than till it should be convenient to renew the war. The Carthaginians were instigated by revenge for the unfair advantages taken of them. It was a maxim of the Romans never to be truly at peace with any nation, who did not become subject to them, even though poor; and of all nations the Carthaginians could best pay for the labour of destroying them. The Romans, in short, were a people, whom it was necessary to exterminate, or to submit to. But this alternative, the only one they allowed to the nations of the earth, though so evident to every attentive reader of history, does not appear to have been sufficiently attended to by any of the nations of antiquity, nor even by any individual whose name is recorded in history, except the great Carthaginian general Amilcar, and his son, the greater Hannibal †.

Since the conclusion of the first war with Rome, the armies of Carthage had been constantly exercised for above twenty years in all the duties and hardships of war; and were in all respects superior to those of Rome. Their dominions at this time extended along the shores of the Mediterranean from the confines of Cyrenaica, subject to the kings of Egypt, westward to the Straits, and thence northward almost to the Pyrenæan mountains, and comprehended the islands between Spain and Africa, and those between Sicily and Africa. Now therefore Hannibal thought it was the proper time to be revenged of the Romans; and having taken Saguntum in order to begin the quarrel, he immediately

\* According to the allowance made by General Melville for the perpendicular height between the tires of oars, the uppermost row-ports of this enormous ship could not be less than 52 feet from the water. But with such a height the length of the uppermost oars, being only  $55\frac{1}{2}$  feet, allows nothing either for immersion in the water, or for the necessary angle with the surface of it. It is therefore pretty certain, that the great number of the tires was intended merely for idle parade, and that it was effected, as the great length of the ship would easily permit, by placing them not quite ten inches in perpendicular height above each other. And even with that height, and the uppermost oars scarcely dipping in the water, the gunnels, as I find by a drawing made from a scale, must have been about 38 feet above the water, and al-

most 120 feet asunder; a prodigious breadth aloft, to be supported upon only 57 feet of breadth at the water-line. [See above, p. 31, Note, and the plate.]

Pliny raises Philopator's ship to fifty tires of oars; and he ascribes one of forty to his grandfather Philadelphus. But the authority of Callicenus and Mosepion, as handed down to us by Athenæus, from whom I have taken the account of these three ships, appears to be preferable.

† To these might be added Herennius, who sagaciously advised his son Pontius, the general of the Samnites, either to massacre a Roman army, who were totally in his power, or generously to set them at liberty; if the story were within the limits of authentic history. [*Liv. Hist. L. ix, c. 3.*]

made his famous passage over the Alps, and rushed like a torrent upon Italy with an army of only twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse (a°. 218); but they were mostly approved veterans, trained to war under three successive great generals. Army after army of the Romans was defeated, and almost all Italy was delivered from the Roman yoke by Hannibal, who if envy had not prevented him from being properly supported from Carthage, would probably, in spite of the determined perseverance of the Romans, have extinguished their power, and prevented their eagles from taking the wide flights over the world, which they did, as soon as they were delivered from the opposition of Carthage. But in the course of fifteen years the vigour of his army, he having almost no resources for recruiting or supporting it, but what he drew from his conquests in Italy, was exhausted, while that of the Romans was daily improving. By the influence of the same envious faction the Carthaginian army in Spain was left to struggle against the power of the Romans and the fluctuating disaffection of the natives. New Carthage, Saguntum, and every other post in that extensive country, fell under the Roman dominion. Emboldened by these successes, the Romans carried the war into Africa (a°. 204), and Hannibal was obliged to abandon Italy in order to defend Carthage\* (a°. 203). At Zama that great general was defeated by the great Roman general Scipio (a°. 202): and that battle, which, Polybius says, conferred upon the Romans the sovereignty of the world, compelled the Carthaginians to sue for peace (a°. 201). One of the articles of the peace obliged them to pay to the Romans ten thousand Euboic talents (£1,937,500 sterling) in fifty years. But perhaps the most mortifying article was that, which obliged them to reserve only ten triremes, and to deliver the rest of their ships of war to the Romans, all which, to the number of five hundred as we are told, Scipio burnt in their fight; a conduct not very easily to be accounted for, (as the Romans might now be supposed to know the value of ships) and which seems even to go beyond the madness of Alexander in burning his own palace at Persepolis. The Carthaginians are said to have been in great distress on seeing the destruction of their fleet; but they would have had much more cause for lamentation, if Scipio had made a more rational use of them by carrying them home and stationing them in the ports of Italy. Some other articles were contrived by the Romans to afford a subject of perpetual quarrels between the princes of Africa in dependent alliance with them and the Carthaginians, in order to furnish a pretence for re-

\* If Hanno's party had been defeated in their envious obstructions of Hannibal's measures, it is more than probable, that the Roman republic would have been extinguished: that portion of the inhabitants of the earth, which was afterwards exultingly called *the Roman world*, instead of a society composed of one tyrant and many millions of slaves, would have constituted many communities

of industrious farmers, manufacturers, merchants, and navigators, conferring mutual benefits upon each-other, while they were enriching and polishing the world: many centuries would have been added to the authentic history of active commerce, which would have been illustrated by the genuine records of the Carthaginians, and also of their Phœnician ancestors.

newing the war : so that this treaty of peace was in all respects worse than a total subjugation.

Such was the calamitous termination of the war of Hannibal, which later writers, willing to forget the fraudulent declaration of war and actual hostilities of the Romans soon after the first peace, call the *second*\* Punic war ; a war, which being carried on mostly by land, would be quite foreign to the plan of this work, if any other but the greatest commercial community of the antient world had been engaged in it †.

At the commencement of Hannibal's war his brother Mago made himself master of Genua. [*Liv. L. xxxviii, c. 46.*] This, if I mistake not, is the earliest notice of this famous city, which Strabo, whenever he has occasion to mention it, calls the emporium of the Ligurians, and which afterwards rose to such distinguished commercial pre-eminence in the middle ages.

In the scale of commercial dignity Syracuse might perhaps contend with Corinth or Alexandria for the rank next to Carthage. This opulent city, which, during the life of its obsequious king, Hiero, had been spared by the Romans, was reduced during the war of Hannibal. What is deserving of notice in the history of its siege, is the defence made by the wonderful abilities of Archimedes, who, himself, more powerful than an army, baffled every attempt of the Roman fleet and army. He dashed their ships and most formidable engines in pieces by discharging from the lofty walls stones of between 500 and 600 pounds weight upon them. Some he lifted by their heads, keeping their sterns dipping in the water, and, after suspending them for some time, suddenly let them go, whereby they were filled with water, over-set, or destroyed. On the land side he overwhelmed the Roman army with showers of stones and darts, and seizing the soldiers with hooks, hoisted them aloft in the air, as a terror to their astonished companions, who were more dismayed by the science of this one man than by the force of great armies. [*Polyb. L. viii, cc. 5 et seqq.*] After a siege of eight months; Syracuse, wasted by plague and famine, and betrayed by one of its own governors, was taken by the Romans (a°. 211). Though Marcellus, who happened to be a man of some humanity, as well as policy, had given strict orders to preserve Archimedes, he was massacred by a soldier, who mistook his box of instruments for a golden treasure.

Archimedes did not confine the benefit of his inventions to Sicily : the screw-pump, known by his name, wherein water rises by descend-

\* It was the third war between the Romans and Carthaginians.

† For the wars of the Carthaginians with the Romans I have generally followed Polybius, who is much older than any other writer upon the subject now extant, and as faithful as a writer, receiving his materials from the Romans, can possibly

be : but unfortunately we are deprived of the most valuable part of his works, the thirty-five books, which contained the history of his own times, of which we possess only a few detached fragments, which are, however, of very great use in confirming or correcting the accounts of later writers.

ing, was contrived by him for draining the hollow grounds of Egypt after the recess of the Nile. He was apparently the first who discovered the propriety of balancing the action of the wind upon a ship by three masts. The combination of pulleys is also believed to be an invention of his. These improvements, though the least noticed by historians, are alone sufficient to immortalize his name in commercial and nautical history. (See above, p. 98.) He gave a sublime idea of his confidence in the powers of mechanics, when he said to King Hiero, 'Give me but a place to stand upon, and I will remove the world.' His great knowledge of astronomy appeared in the construction of a sphere of glass, which by means of machinery exhibited the motions of the planets; and seems by the descriptions of it to have come very near to what is now called the orrery. [*Cic. Tuscul. quæst. L. i.—Claudian Epigr. 10.*] He composed many geometrical and astronomical works, of which, to the great loss of science, only a few are now extant\*.

203—We are told, that during these wars gold was for the first time coined at Rome, which had not even any silver coin till a little before the commencement of the Sicilian war (a<sup>o</sup>. 265). The gold coin was called simply *aureus* (golden), and was nearly of the same weight with our guinea. The silver coins were the *denarius*, *victoriatas* †, and *sestertius*. The denarius passed for ten *asses* of brass, till the Roman government, being greatly distressed for money in the war of Hannibal, gave it the nominal value of sixteen *asses*, whereby they defrauded their creditors of six in every sixteen. But the pay was still issued at the old currency to the army, whom they did not dare to offend. [*Plin. Hist. nat. L. xxxiii, c. 3.*]

Previous to the introduction of silver coin the current money of the Romans was brass reckoned by the *as*, which, from containing originally a pound of brass, was by several stages of depreciation reduced to half an ounce. As soon as they got acquainted with the Greeks settled in Italy, they reckoned large sums in Grecian money of account.

The long continuance of brass money, the gross violation of the proportion between the *denarius* and the *as*, and the adoption of foreign denominations for large sums, afford a clear demonstration, that hitherto the Romans had scarcely had any intercourse with the more enlightened nations, and that their dealings were on too trifling a scale to be dignified with the name of commerce.

\* The mirrors, wherewith Archimedes is said to have burnt the Roman fleet, have employed the speculations of many of the philosophers of modern times. The story probably sprung from the exaggeration, which usually follows what is in itself surprising and extraordinary. Polybius has not a word of it, though pretty full in his description of the artillery of Archimedes; nor even Livy or Plutarch, though both rather fond of the marvelous. But they are mentioned by Diodorus, as quoted by Tzetzes, and by Dion, as quoted by Zonaras.

† According to Pliny the *victoriatas* was first brought from Illyricum, which might thus be supposed to have paid a balance in trade to the merchants of Italy.

The frequent variations in the value of the Roman money form a very intricate, and a most unsatisfactory, study. The best guide to it is probably the elaborate work of Dr. Arbutnot, entitled *Tables of ancient coins, weights, and measures.*

200 to 149—The Romans, no longer apprehending any opposition from Carthage, set no bounds to their ambition, cruelty, and contempt of national faith. They interfered in the most insolent and arbitrary manner in the affairs of all nations, and took upon them to regulate, or rather to pervert, the succession of kings. Perseus king of Macedonia, Antiochus king of Syria, and a multitude of smaller kings and states, including all the Gallic part of Italy and almost the whole peninsula of Spain, were subjected to the dominion of Rome. Antiochus, and several others of the Asiatic princes, were permitted to retain a nominal royalty. But they were merely deputed magistrates, effectually deprived of sovereign power, and particularly of their naval force: and, after assisting in the reduction of their neighbours, wherein they gratified their resentments without considering that they were thereby accelerating their own destruction, they were stripped of their tolerated shadow of power, and had only the comfort, which, according to the fable, Polyphemus promised to Ulysses, of being last devoured. Such is the brief history of the Romans for about half a century, as collected from their own writers and the romanized Greeks.—What would it be, if the historians of other nations were also extant to tell the tale?

According to Appian, the commerce of the Carthaginians began to spring up with renewed vigour almost immediately after the conclusion of the disastrous war with Rome, notwithstanding their loss of territory, the destruction of their warlike ships, and the heavy burthen of two hundred talents paid every year to the Romans. A clear proof, that commerce needs not the support of power or of laws to bind markets to it, and that the mercantile spirit of Carthage was capable of rising superior to every difficulty. And such is the vigorous nature of a judiciously-conducted trade, that they would have surmounted all their hardships, and long continued to flourish, had it been possible for any mercantile nation to flourish within the grasp of Rome.

About 170—Secure as yet beyond the farthest reach of Roman invasion, commerce flourished in tranquillity among the inhabitants of the south coast of Arabia\*. We are indebted to Agatharchides, an author who flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, for a splendid and interesting description of their commercial prosperity, and of their trade with India and other oriental countries, which I give, as nearly as a translated abridgement can be, in his own words.

The Sabæans, who possess the southern extremity of Arabia, are the

\* It does not appear that the Romans ever made any considerable or lasting acquisitions in the south part of Arabia. When Pliny was employed upon his Natural history (about the 75th year of the Christian æra) no Roman general had ever led an army into Arabia, except Ælius Gallus, whose farthest progress was two day's journey short

of this land of frankincense and perfumes. [*Plin. L. vi, c. 28—Strabo, L. xvi, p. 1128.*] The complete conquest of Arabia, and particularly the destruction of the noble commercial city of Arabia Felix, has been ascribed to Trajan, but contrary to authority.

greatest of the Arabian nations, and enjoy every kind of felicity. Their herds of cattle are innumerable. Their country produces, in the most luxuriant abundance, myrh, frankincense, balsam, cinnamon, and casia. They have also an odoriferous fruit, called in their own language larymna, and a fragrant incense, by which the vigour of the body is restored. The whole country abounds with every thing delightful; and the very ocean is perfumed by the fragrance of their spices and odours\*.

Near the main land there are some islands, where their vessels are stationed. Most of them trade to the port, which Alexander established at the mouth of the Indus †; and many also trade to Persia, Carmania, and all other parts of the adjoining continent. Their coasting trade is partly conducted upon large rafts ‡, by which they bring in the larymna and other aromatic fruits from distant parts of the country: and they also use boats made of leather.

No people in the world have acquired greater opulence by commerce than the Sabæans, and Gerrhæans: for, being in possession of the carrying-trade between the east and west parts of the world ('Asia and Europe') they command the commerce of both. They convey their pretious merchandize by land carriage || as far as Syria and Mesopotamia: they have filled the dominions of Ptolemy with gold; and they have provided the most profitable employment, and a thousand other advantages, to the industry of the Phœnicians. They have also established several colonies in other countries §.

Thus enriched by their prosperous commerce, they are profuse in their expenses for ornamental plate, and admirable sculptures, a variety of cups and vases of gold and silver, and sumptuous beds and tripods. The columns of their houses are covered with gold, or made entirely of silver; and even the doors and ceilings are adorned with gold, silver, ivory, gems, and pretious stones. In short, whatever is to be seen of rich or elegant furniture, dispersed in other countries, is here assembled in the greatest abundance and variety in the magnificent houses of the Sabæans, many of whom rival kings in their expenditure.

It is happy for these opulent people, that they are far removed from

\* Agatharchides probably visited this delightful country. He is quite in raptures in his description of the luxuries produced in it. His description seems to have suggested to Milton the following beautiful simile.

‘As when to them who sail  
 ‘ Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past  
 ‘ Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow  
 ‘ Sabean odours from the spicy shore  
 ‘ Of Araby the Blest: with such delay  
 ‘ Well pleas’d they slack their course, and many  
 ‘ a league,  
 ‘ Chear’d with the grateful smell, old Ocean  
 ‘ smiles.’

† See *Arrian*, *L. vi.* Diodorus Siculus calls the port Potana.

‡ Strabo, [*L. xvi.*, *p.* 1114] also notices the carriage by rafts ('σχεδιαίς') among the islands in the Straits.

|| Strabo, [*L. xvi.*, *p.* 1127] compares the great multitude of men and camels in a caravan, travelling securely from stone to stone across the desert, to an army.

§ A curious and interesting instance of their colonization, confirming the account of Agatharchides, will be given from the Periplus of the Erythrean sea. See below at A. D. 73.

those sovereigns, who constantly keep on foot great armies ready to invade every country; or, instead of being the principals, and having the command of the commerce between the eastern and western worlds, they would soon be reduced to the condition of agents, and be compelled to conduct the trade for the emolument of others. [*Agatharchides*, L. v, cc. 50, 51, *ap. Photii Bibl.*—See also *Diod. Sic.* L. iii, § 46, 47—*Strabo*, L. xvi, p. 1124.]

This description of the happy condition of the Sabæans, which is much more copious than those usually given by antient writers upon similar subjects (and it is even prolix in some parts of the original) does not appear to give any support to the supposition of an active trade from Egypt to India. Surely an author, who was in the service of the king of Egypt, would not have neglected to mention such a trade, if it had at all existed, when he particularizes the various countries, to which the Sabæan vessels made their voyages. It seems even probable, that the Sabæans sailed to the ports of Egypt, and that it was by the agency and duties paid on their trade there, that the merchants of Egypt and their sovereign were enriched. And it is certain, that the Sabæans, and the Gerrhæans, who seem to have been connected with them in commerce, enjoyed a monopoly of the commerce with India, and thereby acquired the opulence which has ever attended those who have obtained the command of that universally-coveted trade.

168—Sulpicius Gallus was the first of the Romans who could foretell an eclipse. Previous to a lunar one he made a speech to the army, assuring them that it was a natural event, and noway portentous. [*Plin. Hist. nat.* L. i, c. 12.—*Frontini Stratag.* L. i, c. 12.]

161—Some years afterwards they got the first sun-dial constructed for the latitude of Rome, after having for about a century had nothing better than a dial, made for the latitude of Sicily, to regulate their time. A few years after (a<sup>o</sup>. 158) Scipio Nasica, observing the defectiveness of the dial in cloudy weather and in the night-time, introduced the clepsydra, an instrument for measuring time by the running of water. [*Plin. Hist. nat.* L. vii, c. 40.]

Such, by the account of one of the best of their own writers, was the tardy progress of science among the Romans, whom many suppose to have been at this time a very polished and enlightened people.

149—Fifty years were required to pay up the whole of the tribute exacted from Carthage by the Romans: and that time being now elapsed, they were desirous of renewing the operations of plunder. With that view they had encouraged Masinissa, a king of Numidia, whom they kept in a state of dependent alliance, to harass the Carthaginians with perpetual quarrels, which they carefully prevented from ever being fully accommodated, and in which they continually interfered with the

most glaring partiality in favour of their tool, Mafiniffa \*: and at length, with scarcely the shadow of a pretence, they declared war against Carthage.

The Carthaginians, now convinced that war must be the ruin of commerce, made great concessions to avert it. They even offered to become subjects to the Romans. But those relentless barbarians, whom nothing could satisfy but their destruction, after many gross and perfidious abuses of their patience, had the insolence to propose as the conditions of peace, (or, more truly speaking, of a precarious temporary forbearance) that they should give up their city to destruction, abandon their maritime situation, and remove to a new and defenceless city to be built at a distance from the sea. Such conditions it was impossible for a mercantile people to comply with: and the consequences were what the Romans had foreseen, and desired. The Carthaginians were driven to desperation, and though previously deprived of all their arms and engines of defence by a base trick of the Roman consuls, yet, by the astonishing exertion and perseverance of all the men, women, and bigger children, in the city, they instantaneously provided new arms and engines, and made a noble stand against their inveterate enemies, whom they several times defeated with considerable slaughter. When even shut up within their city by lines drawn across the neck of land behind it, when the one harbour was completely blocked up by the Roman fleet, and the other was rendered useless by a mole formed with prodigious labour by the enemy, they in a few days created a new harbour, and a new fleet of fifty triremes, with which they engaged their enemies. At another time they destroyed their engines, and put them to flight, though armed only with lighted torches. But it was impossible for an exhausted and diminished community, however courageous, to resist the fresh and vigorous armies of Rome. The city, when it had held out four years after the time that the Romans thought they had only to take possession of it, was utterly destroyed; the inhabitants of both sexes and all ages, excepting a few, who were reserved for the more bitter death of slavery, were butchered; and Rome triumphed over the ashes of Carthage (a°. 146) †.

Thus, after having for many ages animated and civilized the western parts of the world by the vast extent of her commerce, and by her science, after having eclipsed the most brilliant period in the history of

\* 'Huic bono socioque regi savebatur.' *Flor.*  
*L.* ii, c. 15.

† The account of this war, or rather carnage, is chiefly from Appian, with some assistance from the fragments of Polybius, who was present at the destruction of Carthage, and contributed to it by his advice: for he was a warrior and a consummate politician in the rational-selish sense of the word

(and he was then romanized) as well as a very faithful historian.

The most genuine remains of the Carthaginian people and language now existing are supposed to be in Malta. [*Skylax, Stephanus, &c. ap. Bochart. Chaman, L. i, c. 26.—Purchas, B. vi, p. 916.*] Mr. Eton, who has lived at Malta, told me that the Maltese call their language Punic, and he finds it much akin to the Arabic.

Tyre, her mother country, and after having rivaled even in military prowess the haughty Roman republic, whose sole and unremitting pursuit was the aggrandizement of her dominions by war and conquest, and whom she brought to tremble on the brink of destruction, fell the most illustrious of the republics of antiquity. In her fall commerce received a wound, under which it languished (at least in the western world) during many dark centuries of Roman oppression, and of subsequent ignorance, brought upon the civilized part of the world by the nations, whom Providence in due time raised up to revenge upon Rome the injuries of Carthage, of commerce, and of mankind.

The Romans, as if determined upon the total abolition of commerce, in this same year also destroyed the mercantile city of Corinth, which till now had retained the epithet of *wealthy*, bestowed upon it so many ages before by the father of Grecian poetry. In consequence of its opulence and taste it had long been the repository of the most admired productions of Grecian art. But now the most capital paintings were made tables for the Roman savages to play at dice upon: and so utterly ignorant was the consul Mummius, that, when a picture of Bacchus by Aristides, (said to be the first painter who represented the passions of the soul in his figures) which had been got out of the hands of the soldiers by giving them a more convenient table, was bought by Attalus king of Pergamus at the price of six thousand sesterium, he, astonished at the greatness of the sum, and concluding that the picture must possess some mysterious or magic virtue, refused to let him have it, and sent it to Rome. He gave another specimen of his gross ignorance, when he shipped the most capital statues of the Grecian sculptors, by threatening to make the masters of the vessels, if they lost any of them, find *others* at their own cost. This importation introduced the first rudiments of taste for the fine arts among the Romans, who had hitherto seen nothing superior to the paltry performance of their own imitators of the Etruscan painters and statuaries. [*Polyb.* \* *ap. Strabo*, L. viii, p. 584—*Vel. Paterc.* L. i, c. 13—*Plin. Hist. nat.* L. xxxv, c. 4.]

The few merchants, who were now left alive in the countries liable to be infested by the Romans, fled for refuge from the sword of oppression or extermination to the shelter of superstition. They established themselves at Delos, a small island of the Ægæan sea, which, with every person and thing in it being under the protection of Apollo, was esteemed so sacred, that hitherto it had never been violated either by Greeks or foreigners; and it soon became a noted emporium, where merchants of various nations met in tranquillity, even when their countries were engaged in hostilities. But it is a melancholy consideration,

\* Polybius went from the ruins of Carthage to Corinth, and thus in a few months witnessed the total destruction of two of the most flourishing cities in the western world: and he saw with his own eyes the profanation of Aristides's picture by the dice-players.

that human creatures formed the principal article of sale, of whom sometimes ten thousand were brought in, or shipped off, in one day. [*Strabo*, *L. x*, *p.* 744; *L. xiv*, *p.* 985.] The trade of Delos, however, had it been for commodities or manufactures prepared by industry, instead of slaves procured by the desolations of war, was not capable of making amends to the world for that of Corinth, and was a mere nothing if compared to the commerce of Carthage.

The destruction at the same time of these two mercantile republics made a complete revolution in the affairs of every part of the world, which had any connection with the Mediterranean sea. General industry, plenty, tranquillity, and felicity, no longer blessed the nations; but rapine, want, tumults, and misery everywhere prevailed. The millions of industrious people, who had been set to work, in every country they traded with, by the merchants of Carthage and Corinth, deprived of their accustomed sources of honourable and independent subsistence, were compelled to look for other resources, generally difficult to be found, often not to be found at all. Those who had been bred to the sea, no longer employed in carrying on the beneficial intercourse, which binds distant nations together by the strong ties of friendship and interest, no longer permitted to be the useful servants, were driven by desperation to become the enemies, of mankind in the character of pirates. Neither were the Romans themselves exempted from feeling a share of the distress they brought upon the world. The sudden accession of so many hundred thousands of indignant slaves (as in those times to be a prisoner of war was to be a slave) was a matter of most formidable apprehension to the conquerors: for the right of one man to the unrequited services of another, being founded only in power, must of necessity be reversed the moment the slave becomes sensible that the balance of power is in his own hands.

The people of Spain, who perhaps of all others most severely suffered by the abolition of the Carthaginian trade, flew to arms under the conduct of Viriathus, who for thirteen years (152—140) supported the independence of his country, and showed the world, that the Roman armies could be defeated by inferior numbers fighting for their liberty. The Romans at last submitted to acknowledge the great superiority of his military talents by bribing traitors to murder him (a. 140). Such, and so disgraceful to his enemies, was the end of this true patriot hero, whom Florus, thinking to do him honour, calls the Romulus of Spain, but worthy to be compared to the great Hannibal. The army, of which he was the soul, after a noble struggle, in which even the women fought bravely for their liberty, was transplanted to Valentia (a. 138), where they became a colony of farmers, subject to the power of Rome. The desperately-brave citizens of Numantia, after displaying their own generosity and Roman perfidy in the most striking colours, and after

sending many thousands of their enemies out of the world before them, at last reduced their city, and every thing dear to them, together with themselves, to a heap of ashes (a°. 133). Their destruction was effected by the same Scipio, who had completed the ruin of Carthage, and who, for the butchery of two communities, infinitely more valuable than the den of robbers from which he sprung, has been the theme of much prostituted praise to the writers of succeeding ages.

While the Spanish wars were drawing to a conclusion, several insurrections of the slaves broke out in Sicily. Under the command of their elected king Eunus, or Antiochus, they frequently defeated the Roman armies with great slaughter. But all their attempts to emancipate themselves were finally frustrated. In the course of six years many thousands of those unfortunate people, and a proportional number of their oppressors, were slain, before they were finally suppressed, or exterminated (a°. 132). Similar commotions of the slaves took place about this time, and afterwards, in Sicily and other countries, and particularly in Delos, which has just been noted as a great slave-market.

134 or 133—It was apparently when Scipio passed through Gaul in going to, or returning from, Spain, that he had some conferences with the merchants of Massilia, Narbo, and Corbilo, then the principal cities of Gaul, wherein he endeavoured to draw from them some account of BRITAIN. But they, knowing that no good could arise to their commerce from the interference of the Romans, prudently declined giving him any information. We hereby learn from the most respectable authority, [*Polyb. ap. Strab. L. iv, p. 289*] that a part, perhaps the greatest part, of the British trade was now in the hands of the Gallic merchants, and also (from this notice of Polybius compared with subsequent authorities to be produced in their proper time) that it was carried on over land by inland navigation and land carriage, for which mode of conveyance the large rivers in Gaul are remarkably convenient. The ruin of Carthage and the subjection of Gadir to the Romans about seventy years before this time, were circumstances exceedingly favourable to the commerce of the Gallic merchants\*.

\* Polybius in his History [*L. iii, c. 57*] expresses an intention of describing the ocean beyond the Straits, the BRITISH ISLANDS with the manner of preparing tin, the Spanish mines, &c. in a separate work; which he appears to have accomplished, as may be inferred from a passage of Strabo, [*L. ii, p. 163*] apparently taken from it, wherein Polybius criticizes the accounts of Britain by Dicearchus, Eratosthenes, and Pytheas. It is thus evident, that Polybius has made mention of Britain in at least two places, which had escaped the research of the industrious Camden, or he would not have said, that this part of the world was not at all known to that great historian. The

meaning of the passage [*Polyb. L. iii, c. 38*] quoted by Camden, as appears from the context, is, that, as it was unknown, whether Ethiopia was surrounded by the sea on the south, or joined to a southern continent; so that part of Europe lying to the northward of Narbo (*Narbonne*) and the Tanais, was hitherto unexplored. That is to say, he knew not, whether it had sea to the northward or not. Any other interpretation makes Polybius inconsistent with himself; for he not only knew of the existence of Britain, which is far to the northward of Narbo, but he also clearly knew, that it was an island, and had other islands adjacent to it. The

130—Velleius Paterculus [*L. ii, c. 1*] remarks, that the first Scipio shewed the Romans the way to power, and the second, to luxury. But, however rich the public treasury might be with the spoils of industrious nations, individuals were not yet arrived at any great degree of opulence: and the houses of the greatest of the Romans at this time, though substantial, were by no means elegant. They were all eclipsed by a house built by Lepidus about fifty years after, which, in the progress of luxury, was exceeded in magnificence by above a hundred houses in thirty-five years more. [*Plin. L. xvii, c. 1; L. xxxvi, c. 15.*]

The marriage portions of women may be reckoned a pretty good standard of the general wealth of a nation. The senate of Rome, as a mark of their respect for Scipio, then commanding their army in Spain, gave his daughter a portion of 11,000 asses (£35 : 10 : 5) sterling: and it was a greater fortune than that of Tatia the daughter of Cæso, whose portion of 10,000 asses (£32 : 5 : 10) was esteemed very great. Megullia, indeed, greatly exceeded both of them, for she had 50,000 asses (£322 : 18 : 4), and in consideration of such extraordinary wealth she was surnamed the Fortune ('Dotata'). [*Valer. Max. L. iv, c. 4.*]

The second Scipio does not appear to have been luxurious, avaricious, nor rich; for at his death he left only 32 pounds of silver and 2½ pounds of gold\*; a small fortune for one who had commanded at the destruction and plunder of the richest city in the western world. [*Sext. Aurel. Victor de viris illustr.*]

About this time the pay of the Roman soldiers was two oboli (about 2½d) a day, of the centurions four oboli, and of the horsemen a drachma or six oboli (7½d). In the north part of Italy, afterwards called Lombardy, the medimnus (about a bushel and a half) of wheat was sold for four oboli; barley at half that price; and wine was exchanged for barley, measure for measure. Polybius, [*L. ii, c. 15; L. vi, c. 37*] to whom we are indebted for these rates of pay and prices, by remarking the extraordinary cheapness in the north part of Italy, shows us, that provisions were then higher in Rome. But though they had cost there even the double of these prices, a soldier could still purchase a peck and a half of wheat with his day's pay, which of course must be considered as very high: or, in other words, the Romans paid the destroyers of mankind at a much higher rate than their feeders.

The 127th year before the Christian æra is distinguished by the last observation made by Hipparchus, a Bithynian Greek, who is with reason called the prince of astronomers. He calculated the eclipses of the

The oversight of the prince of British geographers and antiquaries is kept in countenance by an oversight of Polybius himself in the very passage quoted; who might have learned from Herodotus that the circumnavigation of Africa in the reign of

Necos king of Egypt had demonstrated, that the south part of it was surrounded by the ocean.— See above, p. 35.

\* The Roman pound was equal to twelve ounces of our avoirdupois weight.

sun and the moon for six hundred years, 'as if he had assisted at the councils of Nature,' says Pliny, who adds, that his predictions were verified by time. He undertook the arduous task of making a catalogue of the stars, and describing the position and magnitude of each. He also wrote several astronomical treatises; and he was the first, who applied the principles of astronomy to geography. In his geography he often differed from Eratosthenes, for which he is reprehended by Strabo. Instead of correcting the error of Eratosthenes in the circumference of the earth, he augmented it by about 25,000 stadia. Indeed the geographical knowledge of Eratosthenes was such, that his calculations could not well be corrected without the aid of instruments of superior accuracy. [*Plin. Hist. nat. L. ii, cc. 18, 32, 26.—Ptolem. Ll. iii, v.*]

118—A Roman colony was settled at Narbo in Gaul; [*Vel. Paterc. L. i, c. 15*] whence it has been supposed that it was only founded now. We have just seen, from Polybius; that it was a trading town in his time, and apparently engaged in the British trade.

105—Jugurtha king of Numidia, who had learned the arts of war and perfidy in the camp of the Romans at Numantia, was now conquered by them after a resistance of about seven years. 3,700 pounds of gold, 5,775 pounds of silver in bars, and a great quantity in coin, constituted part of the plunder carried to Rome. Numidia must have been a very opulent country to afford so much wealth, after being drained by the war, and by very great bribes profusely scattered among the Romans and Mauritians by Jugurtha.

100—About this time flourished Artemidorus, an Ephesian Greek, who is quoted by Strabo, [*L. iv, p. 304*] as mentioning an island near Britain, wherein the same religious ceremonies were performed, which were established in Samothrace. It is very probable, that in both islands the same ceremonies were introduced by the Phœnicians. [*See Bochart. Chanaan, coll. 394, 650.*]

Strabo repeats a story of a vessel being found in the Red sea with only one man, almost dead, onboard, who reported, that he was from India, and that all his shipmates had died of famine. He undertook to pilot a vessel to India; and Ptolemy Euergetes II, king of Egypt, thereupon sent Eudoxus, who made the voyage, and returned with aromatics and precious stones. This is, I believe, the only antient account of a voyage made to India from Egypt during the Macedonian dominion in that country: and the fabrication of such a story (for it has every appearance of a fiction) is of itself a strong presumption against the previous existence of an India trade. The same Eudoxus is also said to have afterwards explored the coast of Africa, which he pretended that he circumnavigated, though not in one voyage. His first departure was from the Red sea; and his second was from Gadir, whence he stretched along the west coast, till he reached, or supposed, or pretended, he reached,

the farthest nation he had visited in his former voyage \*. [*Strabo, L. ii, p. 155—Plin. L. ii, c. 67.*]

The celebrated Mithridates, king of Pontus, built a palace, a water-mill, and some other conveniencies, in his city of Cabira. This, I believe, is the earliest notice we have of a water-mill, an engine so useful in preparing the most valuable article of our daily subsistence; and from its being mentioned along with the palace, it may be presumed to have been then a recent discovery †. [*Strabo, L. xii, p. 834.*]

After the depression of Tyre, and the destruction of Carthage, the only trading community of the Phœnicians, remaining in any degree of prosperity, seems to have been that of Gadir. They have already been noted as the original discoverers of the Cassiterides. They also carried on a great fishery on the west coast of Africa, at a place which has been long after noted for the great abundance of fish: and they appear to have traded to the two Fortunate islands, which are described as separated from each other by a narrow channel, and as blessed with a delightful climate and a fertile soil, yielding spontaneously every thing necessary to the subsistence of mankind ‡.

I have already observed, that after the destruction of Carthage the seafaring people were driven by necessity or despair, to become freebooters and pirates. But as the languishing state, to which commerce was now reduced, afforded them few prizes upon the sea, their plunder was chiefly collected by ravaging the coasts; and they had every reason to make the Romans the principal objects of their hostility and revenge. In time they became masters of the Mediterranean sea from end to end, and also of several hundreds of towns upon its coasts: but Cilicia, the Balearic islands, and Crete, were their principal stations. Mithridates king of Pontus, being at war with the Romans (a. 87), was sensible how much it was his interest to cultivate the friendship of those masters of the sea, who possessed a thousand warlike vessels, and scarcely permitted a cargo of corn to proceed to Rome, or a Roman governor to go by water to his province. Long they rode triumphant in the Mediterran-

\* Strabo, after relating the voyages of Eudoxus gives several arguments proving the whole to be fabulous, which, however, are more captious than solid.

† Pappirollus, who seems not to have read Strabo or Vitruvius, supposes, that Belisarius constructed the first water-mill, when he was besieged in Rome by the Goths. The mills he means were constructed in barges moored in the Tiber, and were devised by that great general as *substitutes for the usual water-mill*, because the small streams were then in the power of the enemy.

‡ So these islands are described by Plutarch in the Life of Sertorius. He adds, that they were ten thousand stadia from Libya, which must be understood as meaning from the Straits: for they

could be no other than the Canaries, the only considerable islands visible from the coast of Africa. The inaccuracy in the number of the islands is easily explained from the account being given by seamen to Sertorius, who, Plutarch says, had some thoughts of retiring to those happy islands to pass the remainder of his life in blissful ease, free from the alarms and the fatigues of war. Florus goes so far as to say, that he actually arrived at them: but from the relation of Plutarch, and from the very busy life of that commander, there is reason to believe, that he never put his design in execution, so far as even to visit them. If he had, we should probably have known more of them than we do.

ean, and still rose superior to every attack, till the Romans, who thought themselves entitled to the exclusive privilege of plundering the world, at last determined to exert their utmost force against this formidable association of enemies, or rivals. Pompey, whose warlike achievements had already procured him a great name, was appointed to conduct the war, and invested with unlimited power to command all the kings and states within 400 stadia of the whole Mediterranean shore; and 120,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and 500 ships, with a treasury of 6,000 Attic talents, were put under his command. The Rhodians also, a mercantile people, and consequently no friends to freebooters, joined their forces with the Romans.

67—Pompey distributed his fleet in thirteen divisions, to each of which he appointed a portion of the sea as a station. In consequence of this disposition the exiles were everywhere attacked at once, and had no place of safety to retire to. Pompey himself attacked them in their head-quarters in Cilicia, beat the principal division of their forces in a naval battle, and assaulted the castles, in which they had shut themselves up. Having in a short time taken 400\* of their ships, with 120 of their towns, and (if it can be believed) not losing a single ship of his own, he put an end to the war. Then, in order to detach them from a maritime life, and remove them from all temptation to resume their former occupation, he imposed upon them the terms which had been prescribed to the Carthaginians, and obliged them to occupy towns and lands which he assigned to them at a distance from the sea.

The victory having put Pompey in possession of the wealth accumulated by the independent corsairs, he bestowed upon every one of his soldiers a sum equal to £48 : 8 : 9 of our money †, and brought into the public treasury £193,750. Among the wonders of eastern magnificence carried in Pompey's triumphal procession, there was a museum of pearls, on the top of which was a horologium, [*Plin. L. xxxvii, c. 2.*] which appears, from the description of such instruments by Vitruvius, to have been merely a dial embellished by oriental ingenuity and opulence. It was a singularity in his triumph, that none of the captives were put to death at it.

The Romans being now masters of the sovereignty of the sea without a competitor, and having destroyed almost all the mercantile nations, were under a necessity to bestow at least so much attention upon commerce, as to provide for the importation of the articles, necessary for the consumption of their crowded metropolis, from their distant provinces.

\* 846 according to Pliny. [*Hist. nat. L. vii, cc. 25, 26.*]

† This sum, when compared with the price of food, the only real standard of the value of money, was at least equal to £1,500 at this time.

It was resolved that the business of providing corn should be put under the direction of some man of high rank, who might be called in modern language *commissary-general*: and we find Pompey himself soon after the reduction of the maritime community appointed to that office. The Romans having adorned their city with the works of the Grecian artists, they henceforth began to cultivate a taste for the fine arts; and from this time they began to be a civilized, but at the same time, a very corrupted, people, even those of the first rank being ready to commit every crime for money. That extended selfishness which they called patriotism or love of their country, but which was merely a lust of domineering over other nations, became in the minds of their great men secondary to the ambition of domineering over their countrymen. And this ambitious spirit, which broke out soon after the destruction of Carthage, never was extinguished, till it finally abolished the republican form of government.

66—Lucullus returning from Asia, brought with him a number of books (part of his plunder), the use of which he allowed to the public. This was the second library in Rome, the first being brought by Paulus Æmilius from the plunder of Perseus king of Macedonia. [*Plut. in Lucullo.—Isidori Orig. L. vi, c. 5.*] Lucullus is also considered as the author of luxury in buildings, furniture, and entertainments, among the Romans. [*Vel. Patere. L. ii, c. 33.*] He introduced the culture of cherry trees in Italy from Pontus. And many other fruits were also introduced from the East, e. g. quinces from Crete; damsons from Damascus; peaches from Persia; lemons from Media; figs from Egypt and Cyprus; walnuts from Pontus and Persia; chestnuts from Sardes: but most of them were imported immediately from Greece, which had got them from their native countries. The particular time, when each of these were first planted in Italy is not accurately known. [*Plin. Hist. nat. L. xv, passim.*]

57—Ptolemy king of Cyprus was very rich. He had also affronted a profligate Roman patrician called Clodius, by offering only two talents (£387 : 10) to ransom him from the Cilician corsairs. The Roman treasury at this time was poor. For all these reasons a decree was passed at Rome, declaring that he had forfeited his kingdom. Florus [*L. iii, c. 9*] says, ‘So great was the fame of his riches, (nor was it groundless) that that people, who were the conquerors of nations and accustomed to give away kingdoms, at the infligation of Publius Clodius, a tribune, commanded the confiscation of an allied king in his lifetime. And he truly on hearing of it anticipated his fate by poison. Moreover Porcius Cato [that model of virtue] brought the wealth of Cyprus in Liburnian galleys into the mouth of the Tiber. This transaction enriched the treasury of the Romans more than any of their triumphs.’ The

amount of the plunder, so honourably obtained, was near 7,000 talents, or £1,356,250 sterling\*.

The Veneti, said by Strabo [*L. iv, p. 297*] to be a Belgic nation settled near the north-west extremity of Gaul, were distinguished by their nautical science and experience. They had great numbers of vessels, and carried on a considerable trade with Britain, though we are not informed of any particulars of it, unless that brass was then an article imported into Britain. Their dominion extended over a considerable part of the coast; and they even levied a custom, or transit duty, upon strangers using their seas; a circumstance which infers the possession of a warlike fleet. Their vessels were built entirely of oak, strongly bolted, and their seams calked with sea-weed. They were so substantially built, that their sides were impenetrable by the rostra, or beaks, of the Roman galleys. They were calculated to take the ground, were high fore and aft, and were upon the whole excellent sea-boats. Their sails were made of leather; and, their shore being very rocky, they used iron chains instead of cables†. With a fleet of about 220 of such vessels they encountered the Roman fleet of twice or thrice that number; and in the engagement they had greatly the advantage of the Romans, by pouring down upon them a shower of missile weapons from their lofty sterns, which were higher than the towers raised upon the decks of the Roman galleys. But the Veneti, notwithstanding their acknowledged superiority, were defeated by a contrivance of the Romans, who observing the advantage they had over them in manœuvring (as it is now called) with their sails, fixed scythes upon long poles, with which, attacking each ship with two or three of their own, they cut the haulyards of the Venetic vessels, whereupon the sails came down upon the decks, and their fleet was rendered unmanageable. The loss of time occasioned by this disaster was irretrievable, for, though they might have slung their yards anew, a dead calm, which ensued immediately after, threw the balance of nautical activity entirely into the hands of the Romans: for the Veneti seem to have despised the fresh-water sailors' expedient of oars; and per-

\* Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote above four centuries after this time, acknowledges, that avarice prevailed over justice in the seizure of Cyprus.

† I have been thus ample in describing the ships of the Veneti,—1) because they are the first vessels, of which we have any knowledge, built and navigated by the hardy sons of the North, who have in all ages been remarkable as intrepid and skilful seamen:—2) because, from the surprise of the Romans at their volta making no impression upon the sides of their ships, they appear to have been superior in strength to any vessels ever encountered by them in the Mediterranean, even those of the Carthaginians not excepted:—3) because the los-

tings of their decks, which gave them such an advantage over the low galleys of the Romans, affords a clear proof, that the Mediterranean galleys of several rows of oars, were not, as most people have supposed, of so many stories or decks in height.

It is worthy of remark, that the description of these antient Belgic ships applies in some respects tolerably well to those of the modern Belgium, the natives of which are remarkable for their attachment to the manners and customs of their ancestors.

Some account of the shipping and naval affairs of the Roman empire will be found under the year 73 of the Christian æra.

haps, like the Carthaginians in their first naval battle against the Romans, they allowed a confidence in their own naval superiority to throw them too much off their guard. The consequence was, that almost the whole fleet, containing all the fighting men of the country, fell into the hands of the Romans; the Veneti, deprived of every means of defence by one decisive battle, surrendered themselves and all their property to the mercy of Cæsar, who massacred the whole senate, and sold all the people for slaves. And thus a nation, who, of all those on the west coast of Europe, appear to have been next to the citizens of Gadir in commercial importance, were totally swept away from the face of the earth. Such was the revenge taken by Cæsar for the detention of his commissaries of provisions, whom he pretends to dignify with the name and inviolability of ambassadors. [*Cæs. Bell. Gall. L. iii, cc. 7-16; L. v, c. 12.*]

55—The commerce of the Britons must have suffered greatly by the destruction of the Veneti. But Cæsar was preparing to bring greater calamities upon them: for, on pretence that they had assisted the Veneti, he resolved to invade this island, the very existence of which was hitherto scarcely heard of at Rome. The Gallic merchants, whom he examined, in order to procure intelligence of the country, and particularly of the harbours, professed total ignorance. Notwithstanding, after sending one of his officers to explore the coast, he embarked his army and landed in Kent, where he met with a warm reception from the Britons. From the slight notices of other writers, compared with his own, when duely considered, it is evident that he added nothing to his military fame by the trial he made of the British valour; and, indeed, he himself acknowledges, that he retreated to the continent in the night time.

54—Next year, in order to wipe off the discredit brought upon his arms by the former repulse, he collected above eight hundred ships, in which he embarked no less than five legions\*, besides a supernumerary body of horse. In this expedition, he says, he subdued a great many kings, four of whom were in Kent; and, having ordered them to pay a tribute to the Romans, he departed, without leaving either an army, or a fort, to maintain the conquests he alleges he had made.

In each of his expeditions, Cæsar lost a great many of his ships, owing to his seamen being totally ignorant of the nature of the tides in the Ocean.

We may more safely trust to Cæsar, in his account of the state of Britain, which is very valuable, as being more particular and accurate than any preceding account which has come down to our times.

He distinguishes an original, and an adventitious, people in Britain.

\* In the time of Polybius, each legion consisted of 4,200 foot, and 300 horse, at the lowest establishment: and they were sometimes 5,000 foot. The numbers were afterwards increased; and a body of auxiliaries, as numerous as itself, was generally attached to each of the legions.

The former he places in the interior part of the country, (whereby we must understand the part most distant from his landing place) and he describes them as in a pastoral state, living on flesh and milk, clothed with the skins of their beasts, and generally neglectful of agriculture. The later people, who occupied the maritime parts, (or rather those nearest to Kent) were of the Belgic race, who, having first invaded the country for the sake of plunder, (which shows, that the aboriginal Britons, in their simplest state, possessed something to invite the depredations of foreigners) had, in process of time, made themselves masters of part of it. They were in a more advanced state of society than the original inhabitants: they cultivated the ground, had great abundance of corn, as well as cattle, and built houses like those of their brethren on the opposite coast of Gaul. Their money was paid by weight, and consisted of brass and iron, the former of which was imported, and the latter found in their own mines: and it argues no small degree of knowledge in metallurgy, that they understood the process of making iron, which is at once the most valuable, and the most difficult of all metals in preparing it for use. Cæsar says, that there was an infinite multitude of the people: but this part of his information is very suspicious, even with respect to the Belgic colonies; and, if applied to the aborigines, it is manifestly contradicted by his description of their manner of living. He adds, that the people of the maritime county of Kent, (those whom he knew best) very much resembled those of Gaul in their manners, and were far more civilized than any of the other communities. Tin, the great staple of Britain, was, according to his account, produced in the inland part of the country\*: but most of the ships from Gaul arrived in Kent; which, perhaps, he erroneously extends as far west as the island, which, from the account of Timæus, compared with that of Diodorus Siculus, seems at this time to have been the station of the tin trade. [*Cæs. Bel. Gal. L. iii, cc. 8, 9; L. iv, cc. 28, et seqq.—Strabo, L. iv, p. 305.—Diod. Sic. L. v.—Timæus ap. Plin. Hist. nat. L. iv, c. 16.—Tac. Ann. L. xii, c. 34; Vit. Agric. c. 13.—Dion. Cass. Ll. xxxix, xl †.*]

It does not appear, that the Romans ever got one penny of the tribute, which, Cæsar says, he ordered the Britains to pay; unless the duties levied in Gaul upon their imports and exports, which any nation may levy in their own ports upon the subjects of any other nation, can be called a tribute: for after this time the Romans, or rather their Gallic subjects, had some commercial intercourse with Britain, [*Strabo, L. iv, p. 306*] which will be more fully narrated in the general view to be taken of the state of trade under the Roman empire.

\* This is another instance of calling the most distant parts of the island the interior parts of it. Cornwall, the tin country, is even more maritime than Kent.

† To these may be added the poetical authority of Propertius, Horace, Lucan, &c. and the somewhat-suspicious authority of Nennius.

Contemporary with Cæsar was Diodorus, a Sicilian Greek, who wrote a general history. In a short description which he gives of Britain, [L. v, § 21] it is remarkable that he mentions the name of Orkas, the headland, which, he says, forms the northern extremity of the island. Thus the most remote corner of the country, now called Scotland, is the very first part of it mentioned by any antient author now extant. As there is no reason to believe, that ever any Greek navigator went so far north, except Pytheas, it is almost certain, that the information concerning Orkas, transmitted to us by Diodorus, is extracted from the works of that great Massilian discoverer, and is of course some centuries older than Diodorus.

At this time Lutecia, the capital of a Gallic nation called the Parisii, was entirely contained in the little island of the River Sequana, (*Seine*) which is now so small a part of the great city of Paris\*. [*Cæsar. Bell. Gall. L. vi, c. 3; L. vii, c. 57.*]

Crassus, a Roman general, plundered the temple of Jerusalem of gold to the value, as we are told, of ten thousand talents. Josephus, [*Antiq. L. xiv, c. 12*] aware of being doubted on account of the greatness of the sum, produces the authority of Strabo, in an historical work of his, now lost †.

Cæsar is chiefly indebted for his fame to his extraordinary military talents, his numerous victories, wherein the cut-throats under his command butchered above a million of their fellow creatures, and his being the first of the Roman emperors. But Cæsar was also a man of science; and that less renowned, but more meritorious, part of his character is what alone concerns this work. He observed, that the year had run totally into confusion, (the first day of the month called January, being in reality that which ought to have been the thirteenth of October) and, with the help of Sosigenes, a celebrated Grecian astronomer of Alexandria, he corrected the calendar. Letting the current year run on, till it had 445 days, he instituted a year of 365 days, to commence on the first day of the ensuing January; and he ordered, that every fourth year should consist of 366 days, which came very near to the truth ‡. But the stupidity of those, whose business it was to regu-

\* I have inserted this earliest notice of Paris, though its inland situation on a river, not capable of carrying large vessels up to it, prevents it from being a city of great foreign trade, partly because it has become the capital of a great nation; but, chiefly, that I might not seem to detract from its antiquity, as some writers have done, who, by a strange inadvertency, have supposed the first notice of it to be, when Julian fixed his residence in it above four hundred years afterwards. Its original name is variously written; Lukotokia by Strabo; Lutecia, and Luticia, in Antonine's Itinerary; and Leuketia by the emperor Julian, in

whose time, however, agreeable to the custom of that age, the national name of Parisii, had almost superseded the old name, which is afterwards only used, I believe, by writers who affect classic names.

† Surely Josephus ought to have known more of the matter himself than Strabo. So, in modern times, De Witt, a Dutch author, quotes Raleigh, an Englishman, for a splendid account of the Dutch fishery.

‡ Their calculation exceeded the truth by 11 minutes and 14½ seconds in a year, which make a day in 333 years. The accumulation of this error gave occasion to Pope Gregory, in the year 1582,

late the intercalary days, repeated the leap-years every third year; and the error ran on after the death of Cæsar, till it was reformed in the reign of Augustus. [*Plin. Hist. nat. L. xviii, c. 25.*—*Sueton. in Jul. c. 40; Octav. c. 31.*—*Dion Cass. L. xliii.*—*Genforin. c. 8.*] Cæsar first planned a general survey of the whole empire, and committed the execution of it to three Grecian geographers, to each of whom was assigned a portion of the Roman world: and 25 years 1 month and 10 days elapsed before the last part of this vast survey was completed, which, with the supplementary surveys of new provinces, when they were conquered, formed the chief ground-work of Ptolemy's system, which was till lately the universal standard of geographical science. [*Æthici Cosmographia.*—*Veget. de re milit. L. iii, c. 6.*] In one year (44) he restored the two commercial cities of Carthage\* and Corinth, which had been destroyed in one year by his predecessors. Both recovered some share of their antient importance; and in about half a century Carthage became as populous as any city on the north coast of Africa. [*Strabo, L. viii, p. 585; L. xvii, p. 1190.*] These actions show, that Cæsar, like Alexander, had a soul capable of the useful virtues, and might have been as beneficent as illustrious, if the folly of mankind did not bestow greater applause upon their destroyers than their benefactors.

43—Cicero, who at this time fell a sacrifice to the rage of civil war, observes, that those, who ascribe the creation of the world to the fortuitous concurrence of matter, might as well suppose, that innumerable forms of the twenty-one letters, made of gold or any other material, if jumbled together, and then shaken out upon the ground, could produce a copy of the Annals of Ennius. And he elsewhere talks of imprinting the notes, or marks, of letters upon wax †. [*De nat. deor. L. ii; Part. orat. †.*] From these notices it seems probable, that the antients knew how to print letters: but we may be assured, that they knew nothing of a permanent colouring matter, or ink, nor of a press, as their forms (or types) do not appear to have been ever applied to the valuable purpose of multiplying the copies of books.

Luxury, or rather profusion, being introduced in Rome by the conquest of the wealthy and enervated kingdoms of Asia, had now made such progress, that there were this year above an hundred houses, more

to make a new regulation, which is now adopted in every part of Europe, and the European colonies, excepting Russia and Turkey.

\* Græchus attempted to rebuild Carthage soon after its destruction; but the enterprise seems to have been soon abandoned.

† Quintilian [*De inst. grat. L. i, c. 11*] mentions ivory letters, as commonly put into the hands of children to assist them in learning to read. But those letters, wherewith impressions were made upon tables or plates covered with wax, must evi-

dently have approached to the nature of modern types. For several passages of antient authors, concerning their letters, writing, &c. see *Hugo de feribendi orig. c. 10.*

‡ The chapters, or sections, in the various editions of Cicero are very discordantly numbered. That containing the passage here quoted from *Natura deorum* is numbered 20, 37, and 93. The other from the *Partitiones* I have found numbered 7 and 26 in two editions I have examined.

magnificent than that of M. Æmilius Lepidus, which, in his consulate, thirty-five years before, was the finest house in Rome\*. [*Plin. Hist. nat. L. xxxvi, c. 15.*]

31—The naval battle of Actium gave the last blow to the republican form of government in Rome by throwing the whole undivided power into the hands of Octavianus, the grandson of Cæsar's sister, who afterwards assumed the surname, or title, of Augustus.

29—The great influx of money from the conquered provinces reduced the rate of interest at Rome from *ten* to *four* per cent.

25—Ambassadors are said to have been sent from India, and, according to Florus, also from the Scythians, Sarmatians, and even the Seres, to court the friendship of Augustus, who was then in Spain. We are told, that those of India were four years upon their journey; and if so, they set out two years after the battle of Actium, which scarcely allows sufficient time for those very distant nations to have received intelligence of the good fortune and established power of Augustus †. [*Florus, L. iv, c. 12.—Sueton in Octav.*]

23—Augustus, having reduced Egypt to the condition of a province of Rome, and being informed of the great opulence of the Arabians, wished either to make use of them as wealthy friends, or to levy heavy tributes from them as rich subjects. The army he sent into their country was wasted by famine, thirst, and disease, more than by battle: and, after having penetrated within two days journey, as they were told, of the land of aromatics and frankincense, the rich object of their expedition, the remainder of them were glad to get back to Egypt. [*Strabo, L. xvi, p. 1128.*] That this invasion did not affect the tranquillity, or the commerce, of the Sabæans, is evident from Diodorus Siculus, (who wrote after this time) who says, [*L. iii, § 47*] that they had preserved their liberty unimpaired by any conquest during many ages; and, from Pliny [*L. vi, c. 28*] we know, that no other Roman army had ever marched into Arabia, when he wrote, about the 75th year of the Christian æra.

The Romans at the same time made an expedition against the Ethiopians above Egypt, and reduced them to the necessity of begging for

\* It may as justly be said of the city of Edinburgh, that many, which might be esteemed capital houses in it in the year 1760, were eclipsed by above an hundred better ones in 1790; a still shorter period for so great a change in the stile of building. It is still more to the honour of our Scottish metropolis, that the wealth, by which 'the poor are cloath'd, the hungry fed, Health to himself, and 'to his infants bread, The lab'rer bears,' in the construction of those beautiful and durable edifices, was not acquired, like that of the Romans, by the plunder of the world.

† Mr. Freret (in a dissertation on the eastern

expedition of Trajan, *Hist. de l'academie royale, V. xxii*) suspects, that such embassies were sometimes mere farces, performed by some foreign merchants, who wanted to obtain favours from the emperors. It is also probable, that the Romans of that age had not any very accurate idea of what part of the world was to be understood by the name of India, and that such stories were mere puffs. In modern times, and in the clear light spread over the world by the art of printing, we are told, that ambassadors from Japan arrived in Holland in the year 1609, in order to negotiate a treaty of commerce with the Dutch.

peace. The Ethiopian ambassadors were sent by Petronius, the Roman general, to Augustus, then in the island of Samos, who remitted the tribute demanded by his general, the collection of which he probably thought impracticable: but he seems to have retained some kind of superiority, at least upon the coast, as we not only find that the merchants of Egypt immediately opened a new trade with the Troglodytes, an Ethiopian nation, occupying the west coast of the Red sea; [*Strabo*, L. xvii, pp. 1149, 1176] but also, that the Romans, at least soon after this time, levied a custom duty on the coast of the Red sea, as far as the Ocean, [*Plin. L. vi, c. 22*] which may be presumed to be on the west side of it, in consequence of the treaty concluded with the Ethiopian ambassadors at Samos, as the frustrated expedition against the rich commercial part of Arabia shows, that it could not be (as some have supposed) on the shore of that country.

20—An Indian prince, called Porus, is said to have sent ambassadors to Augustus, who received them in the island of Samos. This is supposed to be a second embassy from the same prince, who had sent those who traveled to Spain. [*Nicol. Damascen ap. Strab. L. xv, p. 1047*; and see p. 1006.]

19—Virgil, the chief of the Roman poets, had flattered Augustus so successfully, that, according to his commentator and biographer, Servius, he died worth £80,729 of our modern sterling money. Was there ever any other poet half as rich?

13—Augustus raised the daily pay of the Roman soldiers to five pence of our modern money: but those who guarded the sacred person of the emperor were rewarded with twelve pence. About the same time wheat cost from 1/11 to 2/6 a bushel, as appears from one of Cicero's speeches against Verres.

A. D. 14—The remarkably-long reign of Augustus was terminated by a natural death; a termination which fell to the lot of scarcely any other emperor before the elevation of the Flavian family. After he found himself established sole monarch of the Roman empire by the destruction of all his competitors and their adherents, he endeavoured to make the people forget his usurpation by an affected moderation in the use of his power, and by a specious appearance of attention to their happiness in every thing which did not interfere with his own supremacy. The embellishment of Rome in his reign is expressed by a well known saying of his, that 'he found it a city of brick, and should leave it a city of marble.' He may be called the father of the Roman imperial navy; for which he appointed Ravenna, in the Adriatic sea, as the principal station of the eastern squadron, and Misenum, in the Gulf of Naples, of the western. Some smaller divisions were also stationed in the Euxine sea, on the south coast of Gaul, and between the north coast of Gaul and Britain. It must be acknowledged, that his navy was

not very formidable, either for the number or strength of the vessels : but then he had not one enemy in the whole extent of the Mediterranean to contend with. Having observed the disadvantage of Antony's unweildy ships at the battle of Actium, he built no very large vessels : and, after this time, we hear no more of ships with very numerous tires of oars\*.

In the reign of Augustus, some Roman navigators explored the coast of the North sea, as far as the promontory of the Cimbri (the north point of Denmark, called the Scaw). [*Plin. Hist. nat. L. ii, c. 67.*] The voyage, however, was not intended to be subservient to trade, but to conquest; for the emperor then flattered himself, that all Germany was to be reduced under his yoke by Tiberius, who succeeded him in the empire. But, to the Romans, the Ocean was still an object of terror, which they endeavoured to disguise, under the pretence of religious awe †, and it was seldom encountered by any vessels from the Roman dominions ‡. The Mediterranean sea was the proper sphere of their navigation; and the whole extent of its shores, with all its islands, the most insignificant not excepted, being now subject to their dominion, there was no receptacle for pirates. Had there been any considerable mercantile community remaining among the subjects of Rome, there was now a fair opportunity of carrying on an extensive and undisturbed commerce among the great variety of nations, who enjoyed a slavish tranquillity from foreign wars, under the oppression of the governors appointed by one sovereign. And during the reign of an emperor, who was convinced, that his dominions needed no extension, and that he had more to fear than to hope from war, commerce must have been as flourishing as it could be, in the situation to which the world was reduced by the destruction of the commercial states. This, therefore, is the time which I think most proper for laying before the reader a concise account of the Roman trade, or rather importation, together with some commercial notices of the various countries, which could not so conveniently be introduced elsewhere §.

\* About the year 390 Vegetius was almost apprehensive that he should not be believed, when he said, that some vessels had carried five tires of oars. [*Veget. L. iv, c. 37*] And Zosimus, a few years later than Vegetius, talks of vessels of six, and even of three, tires of oars, as the works of ancient times, of which he seems to have had no clear idea. [*L. v, p. 319, ed. Oxon. 1679*]

† For this remark I am indebted to Mr. Gibbon. [*V. i, p. 29.*]

‡ 'Adversus oceanus raro ab orbe nostro navigabundus aditur.' [*Taciti Germ. c. 1.*] If I may presume to say so of so great a critic, Lipsius has found a difficulty in the word *adversus*, where there seems to be none, the plain meaning being, that the Ocean was hostile, or *adverse*, the very same word naturalized in English.

§ To prevent the insertion of quotations at every clause, and almost at every word, the reader will please to observe, that the following account is collected and digested, from notices dispersed through the great geographical work of Strabo, the works of Cicero, and the Universal historical library of Diodorus Siculus, who were all contemporary with Augustus : and it is supplied and corrected from the historians, poets, and other authors, nearly contemporary, especially from the vast store of Pliny's Natural history.

The reader will not expect, that every article imported from every country should be inserted. It is sufficient to mention those which were distinguished for their excellence, or, as being the staple, being remarkably plenty, or being peculiar to the countries from which they were imported.

The principal trade of the Roman world, was the conveyance of corn, and other provisions, to the all-devouring capital; and this most important concern was under the immediate direction of the emperor himself, one of his many titles or offices, being that of commissary-general of corn.

ITALY, cultivated to the highest degree of perfection, produced abundance of corn and cattle to supply itself, if Rome had been the capital of Italy only.

The northern part of Italy, called Cisalpine Gaul, furnished a quantity of salt pork almost sufficient for the whole consumption of Rome; magnificent tapestry, and woollen drapery, the manufacture of Patavia (*Padua*); and wools of various qualities, whereof those of Mutina (*Modena*) and Altinum, were remarked as the best; many species of marbles, the produce of the Alps, for the conveyance of which vessels were constructed on purpose; good steel, made at Comum (*Como*), where the water was of such a quality, as to give a peculiar hardness to the metal; excellent chrystal; ice, the use of which in the burning summers of Italy, could scarcely be called an extravagant luxury; and cheese, for which those mountainous regions still preserve their reputation, by their *parmefan*.

Liguria sent from its port of Genua large wood, some trees being eight feet in diameter; ship timber; wood, nothing inferior to the thya wood for making tables; cattle; hides; honey; and a coarse kind of wool, which served to make clothing for the slaves. Etruria produced large timber; marble, esteemed not inferior to the Parian; and huge blocks of stone, for capital buildings, shipped at the ports of Pisa and Luna, which later was remarkable for its cheese, of the astonishing weight of a thousand pondo, and for its wines, esteemed the best in Etruria. The Sabine country sent in excellent oil and wine. Latium, and Campania, where Bacchus and Ceres are poetically said to have striven which of them should be most profuse in their favours to the happy soil, furnished the best wheat, rice, barley, and wines, of which several particular growths were in high request with the epicures of Rome, especially the Falernian, which has been rendered famous by the immortal lines of Horace. Apulia excelled in the quality of its wool; and Brutium abounded in fir trees of great size, together with pitch and tar, the produce of them.

In Rome itself, several manufactures were carried on, chiefly by the knowledge and industry of the slaves, the captives, or descendents of the captives, carried off by the Romans from all the industrious nations with whom they had been at war. But manufactures are scarcely seen or heard of in the bustle of a great capital; and they are totally overlooked by historians, only concerned with the destruction of mankind, and the succession of their destroyers.

CORSICA supplied timber for ship-building.

SARDINIA had some mines of silver; and it had corn and cattle to spare for the use of the capital.

SICILY, which the poets thought proper to make the birth-place and residence of Ceres, their goddess of agriculture, and which Cicero calls the granary and treasury of the empire, furnished Rome with vast quantities of wine, honey, whereof that of Hybla was eminently famous, salt, saffron, cheese, cattle, hides, pigeons, (for the Romans were great pigeon-fanciers \*) corals, and emeralds. But all these were trifling, if compared to the prodigious quantities of wheat exported from this noble island, which, before it fell under the dominion of Rome, has, upon some occasions, even supplied the temporary deficiency of corn, in so fertile a country as Egypt.

The inhabitants of MELITA, (*Malta*) who were a Carthaginian colony, carried on a considerable manufacture of very fine white cloth, called linen, by some authors, and woollen, by others. As the Romans called cotton the wool of trees, and the island produces cotton of a most excellent quality in the present day, there can be little doubt that these fine cloths were calicos, or muslins. The houses of Melita were distinguished by their elegance, the comfortable fruits of successful industry.

GREECE furnished honey, and particularly a remarkably fine kind from Attica. Lacedæmon sent its beautiful green marble, and the dye of the purple shell-fish; and Elis furnished its fine stuff called byssinus, probably of the nature of cambric, which used to sell for its weight in gold †.

Many of the GRECIAN ISLANDS produced excellent marble: Paros was particularly celebrated for the kind so well known by its name, and so valuable to statuaries, for its pure and uniform white colour, and its exemption from the sparkles, which, by giving a false light, injure the effect in statues made of other marbles. Samos still excelled in manufactures of fine earthen-ware. Lemnos furnished the best vermilion, (*sinopis*) which sold at Rome for thirteen denarii ( $8/4\frac{3}{4}$  sterling) a pound. Cos manufactured an inferior kind of silk, said to be produced by worms of a species different from the genuine silk-worms, which, from the censures on its indecent transparency, seems to have been like the modern farcenets, or persians.

From THRACE were imported great quantities of corn, and salted tunnies, which abound in the Euxine sea.

COLCHIS produced wool of an excellent quality, and far more valuable than the golden fleece, which Jason and his companions are said to have

\* Axius, a Roman knight, sold a pair of pigeons for four hundred denarii, equal to £12 : 18 : 4 sterling. [*Arbutnot's Tables of ancient coins, &c.* p. 129.]

† See an attempt to explain the nature of byssinus, sericum, &c. under the year 73.

carried off from that country ; also hemp, wax, and pitch ; and it still kept up its credit for the manufacture of fine linens of the Egyptian fabric, such as were adduced by Herodotus as an argument for the truth of an Egyptian colony having settled there. Goods, brought over-land from India, were shipped at Phasis for the ports of Europe.

The article chiefly noted as imported from GALATIA and CAPPADOCIA \*, was vermilion, called *Sinopis*, from the port at which it was shipped.

Of the cheese, brought to Rome from any considerable distance, the best was from BITHYNIA.

PHRYGIA furnished large columns and slabs of a beautiful stone like alabaster, dug in the quarries of Synnada, an inland town, about two hundred miles from the Euxine, and as many from the Mediterranean. The country about Laodicea produced excellent wool, some of which was naturally as black as jet.

Clazomenè in IONIA furnished the best of all the foreign wines which were carried to Rome.

Miletus in CARIA possessed a breed of sheep, the wool of which was very generally preferred to all others. There was also a considerable manufacture of woollen goods, of which those dyed with Tyrian purple were highly esteemed.

The most remarkable productions of CYPRUS were precious stones, among which there was an inferior kind of diamonds. Copper was imported from this island in considerable quantities ; and also the best resin, and a sweet oil, made from a shrub called by the name of the island.

SYRIA, PHOENICIA, and PALESTINE, furnished cedar, gums, balsam, and alabaster. Sidon and Tyre, names so illustrious in the earliest history of commerce, were now chiefly noted for the glass manufactures and embroidery of the former, and for the purple dye and fishery of the later †. The goods, brought from India, over-land, by the merchants of Palmyra, were shipped for Rome from the ports of Syria : and some were probably still brought from Arabia by the way of the Red sea by some few merchants remaining in Tyre.

EGYPT was called by the antients the granary of the world ; and it supplied Rome with corn sufficient, if we can credit Josephus, for one third of its whole consumption. Its other exports were flax ; linens of all qualities, for which it was famous from the earliest ages ; cotton

\* In order to save trouble to the critics, if any of them shall condescend to examine the body of this work, I acknowledge, that I do not profess to be minutely accurate in the chronology of the provincialion of each country, and that several dependent nominal kingdoms, e. g. Cappadocia, Judea, Mauritania, &c. are here considered as parts of the empire.

† In nautical knowlege the Phœnicians were still acknowledged superior to all the seamen of the Mediterranean, after the extermination of the Carthaginians. It was to them that the great Mithridates applied for seamen proper to command and navigate the fleet he fitted out against the Romans.

goods, made from cotton produced in the upper Egypt; costly ointments; marble; alabaster; salt; alum of the very best quality; gums; paper, the general use of which, Pliny finely remarks, polishes and immortalizes man; also the rush called papyrus, from which paper was likewise manufactured at Rome. Paper varied in its qualities and sizes, from the wrapping Emporetica for the shops, of six inches in breadth, to the Augusta, Liviana, and Hieratica, as they were called at Rome, which were of thirteen inches\*. Glass ware was also shipped from Alexandria, which rivaled Sidon in that manufacture†. The Egyptians had a process, which, as described by Pliny, [L. xxxv, c. 11] had, at least in its effect, some resemblance to the modern art of printing upon cotton, linen, &c. They drew figures upon cloth with various colourless materials, which, when the cloth was plunged into a cauldron of hot dye-stuff, in a moment assumed various colours suitable to the figures, which were so strongly fixed, that no washing could efface them.

Egypt was also the entrepot of the principal trade carried on between the Oriental countries and Rome, which will be described under the head of India.

Alexandria, the port at which all the produce and manufactures of Egypt, and all the goods carried through it, were shipped, was a large and beautiful city, when it was the capital of the Macedonian kings of Egypt, and the seat of the Egyptian commerce. Being now not only the seat of the Roman government, but also of a commerce greatly extended by the consumption of the Roman world, and protected by the Roman power, it almost instantaneously increased to an extent and population, which yielded only to the imperial city itself, containing, according to Diodorus Siculus, three hundred thousand free people, whence its whole population may be fairly supposed above a million. It is, therefore, chiefly from the reign of Augustus, that Alexandria is entitled to the rank of the commercial capital of the Mediterranean, or, as Strabo expresses it, the greatest emporium of the whole world.

Though Egypt was a Roman province, the whole of the commerce continued now, and afterwards in its more extended state, in the hands of the Greeks, the haughty Romans, thinking commercial concerns

\* The Augusta proving too transparent, a paper of a thicker quality, and greater breadth, being eighteen inches, was introduced in the reign of Claudius, which of course was called Claudia. Each sheet of the antient paper was double, the principal side being the largest slice that could be got, of uniform breadth, in the whole length of the papyrus, which was covered, or lined, with shorter pieces, fastened on with the glutinous water of the Nile, or with paste. The longitudinal fibres of the plant, crossing each other, gave the paper the appearance of linen. [Plin. *Hijl. nat. L. xiii, cc. 11, 12*; whence the information concerning

the paper is taken.] A specimen, which is in the Museum, is about nine feet long, and twelve or thirteen inches broad. It contains a donation by a pious lady, dated in the twenty-seventh year of Justinian, i. e. A. D. 553.

† The Ethiopians to the southward of Egypt preserved their dead beside them in transparent coffins, made of fossile glass, or chrystal. [Herod. *L. iii, c. 24.*] Such a coffin Ptolemy Coccus substituted for the golden one, wherein the body of Alexander the Great had been preserved at Alexandria.

beneath their dignity, and the aboriginal Egyptians, a poor depressed race, not being admitted to a participation of it, and, probably, still restricted by their superstitious prejudices from going upon salt water in any capacity\*.

AFRICA PROPER, the antient territory of the Carthaginians, was a country remarkably fertile. It furnished Rome with great quantities of corn; honey; drugs of various sorts; marble; the feathers and eggs of the ostrich; also living ostriches, elephants, and lions, for the sanguinary sports of the Romans, whose game laws did not permit the poor African to kill a lion, even in his own defence. But such a preposterous law may be presumed to have been enacted by one of the less prudent tyrants, who came after Augustus.

MAURITANIA furnished fine, and very large, timber, called cedar, but, by its characteristics, apparently mahogany, whereof very large tables were made, which sold for such enormous prices, that the Roman ladies thought their extravagance in pearls fully kept in countenance by the rage of their husbands for purchasing those tables. Some trading settlements, in the west part of this country upon the Ocean, appear to have been still inhabited by Phœnicians.

The natural advantages of SPAIN were so great and so various, that Pliny reckons it next to Italy; which, from an Italian, may be considered as an acknowledgement, that it was esteemed for soil, climate, and productions of every kind, the very first country in Europe. The whole country abounded with mines of lead, iron, copper, silver, and gold, and also with marble. But each province had peculiar advantages; and they must, therefor, be considered distinctly.

The south part of Spain, called Bætica or Turdetania, had the appearance of a vast garden, intersected with many navigable rivers, the very islands of which were highly cultivated, and adorned with buildings. This delightful region, apparently the Elysian fields of antient fable, and comprehending Andalusia and most of Granada with part of Portugal in modern geography, was occupied by the Turdetani, Turtutani, or Turtuli, who were probably the descendents, or mixed with the descendents, of some very antient colonies of the Phœnicians. They were distinguished from the other nations of Spain by superior civilization and learning; and they boasted of possessing records and poems of prodigious antiquity. Their numerous population, besides fully cultivating the rich fields, working the mines, and attending the fisheries, had filled two hundred opulent trading towns spread along the sea coast and the

\* In the Periplus of the Erythræan sea, and in the works of Ptolemy, especially in the later, the names of many merchants and navigators occur; and they are all Greek—no Roman—no Egyptian. The same may be observed in the sixth century from the work of Cosmas Indicopleustes. The only exception I have found is Firmus, a merchant of Egypt, who set up for an emperor in the third century.

banks of the navigable rivers. The chief of these were Corduba (*Cordova*), Malaca (*Malaga*), Ilipa (*Penafior*), Hispaliſ (*Seville*), with many others, which after being colonized by the Romans, who thereupon frequently assumed the credit of being their founders, retain to this day some share of splendour, and even, when compared with some parts of modern Spain, a portion of the industry, derived from their Phœnician founders through the revolutions of thirty centuries. But the chief of the whole for commercial dignity, as already observed, was Gadir (called by the Romans Gades, and at this day *Cadiz*), which was now become the greatest emporium in the western world, the rival of Alexandria in commerce, and by some supposed inferior only to Rome in the number of its inhabitants, many of whom, not able to find house-room on the small island whereon the town was built, lived entirely upon the water. The Turtuli exported great quantities of corn, and wine; excellent oil, but in small quantity; honey, and wax; pitch; much scarlet dye (*ζοκκος*), and vermilion (*μίλτος*), which the Romans obliged them to bring in a rude state, to be refined at Rome; salt; salted provisions of a superior quality; wool of so excellent a kind, that a talent (£193 : 15/ sterling) was an usual price for a good breeding ram. They had formerly exported considerable quantities of woollen drapery; but they were now apparently obliged to give up that manufacture, and to carry their raw wool to the Romans, who probably put the manufacture into the hands of their own domestic slaves. Besides their agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, they were enriched by a great fishery, which they carried on, not only in the seas adjacent to their own coast, which swarmed with great variety of useful fish of a superior quality and size, but also on the coast of Africa to a considerable distance: and before they fell under a foreign dominion, they had had the produce of their own very rich mines, which were now the property of the conquerors. So extensive a commerce and fishery employed a quantity of shipping scarcely inferior to that employed in the whole of the African trade; and all their vessels were built of timber produced in the country. The merchants of Gadir in particular had ships of very great burthen, wherewith they traded in the Mediterranean and also in the Ocean, as far at least as the Fortunate islands (*the Canaries*), and probably also to the remote settlements and trading posts, which the Carthaginians had established on the west coast of Africa. There is also reason to believe, that they still possessed a share of the British tin trade in the antient channel of direct importation from the Cassiterides.

The east coast of the northern province of Spain, called *Tarraconensis*, also contained many good trading towns. The first and the best of these was New Carthage, called also Carthago spartaria from the great abundance of spartum produced in the fields adjacent to it, (and now Carthagenæ), which still retained some of the mercantile genius of its

Carthaginian founders, and furnished the commodities of distant lands to an extensive back country in return for salted provisions, and cordage made of the plant called spartum, which were carried chiefly to Rome, along with the silver of the mines. Saguntum (*Morviedro*), was celebrated for its manufacture of earthen-ware: and Tarracon (*Tarragona*), for its linens, remarkable for their shining whiteness and the wonderful thinness of their fabric. Some of the best steel in Europe was made at Bilbilis (*Xiloca*), and in its neighbourhood, the waters in that part of the country having a peculiar virtue in hardening the metal.

Strabo remarks, that the people of the mountainous country in the west part of this province, bordering on the Ocean, were homely and uncultivated by reason of their remote situation, and little commerce or intercourse with strangers. The trade among themselves was nothing but barter, and they adjusted their bargain by paying the balance with a piece cut off from a sheet of silver. They had also some little intercourse with foreigners, who purchased their lead and tin. Their boats were made of leather, a very few excepted, which they had lately learned to build of wood. The men were all dressed in black clothes, and most of them wore mantles or plaids, in which they also slept upon beds made of herbs. The dress of the women was adorned with figures of flowers. They had plenty of cattle and goats; and they made much butter, which, Strabo says, they used as a *substitute* for oil. Though far from being wealthy, they were very hospitable, and delighted in making entertainments for their friends, assigning the most honourable seats to age and dignity. On these occasions they treated with ale, their usual beverage, and with the little wine they had, the whole vintage being usually exhausted at one feast. The entertainments were accompanied with dancing to the music of the pipe and trumpet. Their other amusements were manly and warlike exercises. Their agility, their martial temper, and their talent for stratagem, had made them in past times very formidable neighbours to the subjects of the Romans: but they were now enlisted in their legions.—Is this the picture of the mountaineers in the north-west part of Spain, or of those in the north-west part of Scotland in the last age, which Strabo has been drawing? The striking likenesses will, I presume, apologize with a British reader for inserting some traits of it, which may belong more properly to the history of manners than to that of commerce.

The west coast of Spain appears to have been but little known to the Romans.

The BALEARIC ISLANDS furnished some wine, esteemed equal to any of the growth of Italy.

GAUL was also a very opulent province, the government of which was esteemed by the Romans as profitable as that of Syria. That part of the coast, which bordered upon the Mediterranean, contained the only ports, with which Rome had any direct intercourse.

The chief of these were Massilia (*Marseille*), Arelate (*Arles*), and Narbo (*Narbonne*), from which last, being a Roman colony, the name of Narbonensis was extended to a large province, including the modern divisions of *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphinè*. By the favour of the Romans Narbo became the most populous city in Gaul, and it also had the greatest trade, which, according to the poetical authority of Aufonius, extended to the eastern sea, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the whole world. The antient Phocæan colony of Massilia had now declined very much from its former opulence in consequence of the partiality of the Romans to Narbo, which was at this time esteemed the chief emporium of the whole country. The Romans received from Gaul, besides the tributary metals of gold, silver, iron, &c. dug from the mines of the province, linens, which were made in every part of the country, corn; cheese; excellent salted pork, and plaids, which two articles Belgic Gaul supplied in great quantities. Great flocks of geese from the country of the Morini opposite to Britain formed an article of importation; if they could be said to be imported, which required no carriage, but performed the long journey of 1,254 miles to Rome upon their own feet. But our information concerning the imports from Gaul is very defective, though there is good reason to believe, that they were very considerable.

The chief trading ports of Gaul upon the Ocean were Burdigala (*Bordeaux*), situated on a noble æstuary or firth at the mouth of the Garumna (*Garonne*), in the country of the Bituriges, a Gallic or Celtic nation (occupying the modern Guienne proper) among the Aquitani, who were of Spanish origin; Corbilo upon the Ligeris (*Loire*), which in the time of Polybius had been a considerable emporium, and one of the three best towns then in Gaul, (the others being Massilia and Narbo) but now declined; the port of the Veneti, if not deserted after the ruin of the people by Cæsar; a port of the *Lexobii* at the mouth of the Sequana (*Seine*); and the Portus Itius, concerning the position of which the learned differ in their opinions. All these seem to have had some intercourse with Britain, and probably with other countries, of which we have no information.

Gaul was a country peculiarly favoured in the convenience of inland navigation, being everywhere intersected by navigable rivers running in very opposite directions; so that goods could be carried between the Mediterranean and the Ocean with very little assistance of land carriage. From Narbo, above which the Atax (*Aude*) was seldom navigable, they were carried a few miles over-land, and reshipped on the Garumna, which carried them to Burdigala. The Ligeris, the Sequana, and the Rhenus (*Rhine*) afforded water carriage to the very heart of the country, and all of them to the neighbourhood of the Rhodanus (*Rhone*) or its great navigable branches, which completed the inland water carriage

between the Mediterranean and the whole of the west and north shores of Gaul; while almost every other part of the country was accessible by the navigable branches of those great rivers, to the great advantage of the community, as well as the emolument of the proprietors of the lands adjacent to the rivers before the Roman conquest, who used to levy a toll or transit duty on the boats passing through their territories. In the very center of all this inland conveyance, at the junction of the Rhodanus with the Arar (*Soane*), a river of a longer course and gentler current than itself, and within an easy distance of the other navigable rivers which flowed in the opposite direction, stood the great inland emporium of Lugdunum (*Lions*), a Gallic city, so greatly augmented by a Roman colony, the residence of a Roman governor, and the establishment of a mint for gold and silver money, that for population it exceeded every other city in Gaul except Narbo. With these advantages it necessarily became the general deposit of all the inland trade of the country, and the great thoroughfare of the inland navigation; for even those, who, on account of the rapidity of the Rhodanus, preferred land carriage for the space between Lugdunum and the coast, brought their goods to that city to be further forwarded by water or by land. [*Strabo*, L. iv, pp. 268, 288, 292, 294, 295, 318.] Even before the settlement of the Romans in it, it must have been a place of great trade and intercourse, enlivening the whole of the river below it, which was covered with canoes and small vessels, employed in the carrying trade, as early as the famous passage of the great Hannibal over the Alps. [*Polyb.* L. iii, c. 42.]

The only vines in Gaul were on the south coast: but so fond were the inland people of wine, that the Italian merchants, who carried it up the Rhodanus, frequently exchanged a vessel of it containing about eighteen gallons for a young slave. Their usual liquor was extracted from barley, or prepared by mixing honey with water.

Having now completed the circuit of the Roman provinces, as they lay extended on both sides of the Mediterranean, it only remains to observe that almost all those countries poured their wines into the capital; which also received corn from every province, that had any to spare, besides the more regular supplies from those, which were peculiarly noted for their abundance.

But all this importation was merely for supplying the vast consumption of an all-devouring capital. There was scarcely any exportation; there was no reciprocation of good offices; their was no commerce\*.

\* The carriage of necessaries and luxuries for the use of the Roman governors and their retinues settled in the provinces does not come under the description of commercial exportation. But as the provincials, in imitation of the Romans, would be-

come desirous of partaking of the same comforts and luxuries, what was at first the carriage of private baggage, would gradually swell into commercial importation.

The payments were made with the tributes extorted from the conquered provinces; and thus the money given for produce and manufactures preserved some degree of balance between industry and rapine, without which the later must in a short time have drained the springs, from which its insatiable appetite was fed: or in other words, the farmers and manufacturers were paid with their own money. But let us hear from a Roman author, what Rome bestowed upon the world. ‘Italy  
 ‘ [or rather Rome] is the nurse and mother of all countries, chosen by  
 ‘ divine providence to make the heavens themselves more bright, to col-  
 ‘ lect into one point the scattered jurisdictions, and to polish the rude  
 ‘ customs of other countries, to unite by intercourse and conversation  
 ‘ the discordant and savage languages of so many nations, to civilize  
 ‘ mankind, and, in a word, is destined to become the one mother-coun-  
 ‘ try of all the nations upon the face of the earth.’ [*Plin. Hist. nat. L.*  
*iii, c. 5.*]

But luxury and superabundant wealth could not be satisfied with the productions of nature and art within the Roman empire, however plentiful and various, while there were other gratifications to be found in remoter countries. In order to relieve the wealthy Roman from the load of his superfluous riches, the industrious natives of the most distant parts of the world were employed in preparing and transmitting articles, which were of no real utility, and which, for that very reason, are most eagerly sought after by those who want nothing.

In the review of what may be called the foreign trade of Rome, our own island of BRITAIN presents itself first to our notice, as being connected by vicinity and intercourse with Gaul, the country which concluded the survey of the home trade of that great empire. We luckily possess the materials for a more ample detail of the British trade; and in a work intended for British readers, a more particular attention to the antient commerce of our own island, will not, I presume, need any apology.

The commercial and friendly intercourse between the Britons and Gauls, which had subsisted before the invasion of Julius Cæsar, still continued, and was probably increased in consequence of the greater assortment of goods now in the hands of the Romanized Gallic merchants. But the trade appears to have been entirely passive on the part of the Britons. No antient author has mentioned any other kind of vessels belonging to them than boats, of which the keel and principal timbers were made of light wood, and the bottom and sides of a kind of basket work of osiers, the whole being covered with hides. [*Timæus ap. Plin. L. iv, c. 16.*—*Cæf. Bell. civ. L. i, c. 54.*—*Solin. c. 24.*—and apparently *Ruf. Fest. Avien. Ora mar. v. 105*] At this time the southern mouth of the Rhenus, or, more properly speaking, the shore of the Morini (antient inhabitants of Picardy and Flanders) in whose terri-

tory was the celebrated Portus Itius, the mouths of the Sequana, the Ligeris, and the Garumna, were the principal ports for the communication and trade between Britain and Gaul, after the Veneti were destroyed by Cæsar. [*Strabo*, L. iv, p. 305.]

The tin, which was still the chief article of British commerce, after being cast into cubic masses, was carried in carts at the time of low water across the narrow channel between the main land and the island of Ictis (apparently the same with the Mictis of Timæus already mentioned, p. 88.) That island still remained the general staple of the British trade; and there the Gallic merchants met the British traders and miners or their agents, from whom they received the tin; and along with it also lead; some corn; cattle; hides, under the description of which perhaps wool is included; gold; silver; iron; ornaments for bridles, and other toys, made of a substance, which the Romans called ivory, but more probably the bone of some large fish\*; ornamental chains; vessels made of amber and of glass†; with some other trifling articles: also precious stones and pearls‡; slaves, who were captives taken in the wars carried on by the tribes against each other; dogs of various species, all excellent in their kinds, which were highly valued by the Roman connoisseurs in hunting, and by the Gauls, who used them, not only against wild animals in the chase, but also against their enemies in the field of battle; and bears§ for the sanguinary sports of the Roman circus, though probably not so early as the age of Augustus. [*Diod. Sicul. L. v*, § 21.—*Strabo*, L. iv, pp. 305, 307.—*Mela*, L. iii, c. 3.—*Martialis Spect.* 9.]

Of the goods imported into Britain we know but very little. Brasses, brazen utensils, earthen-ware, and salt, are all that we find any mention of: neither is it certain, that they belong to so late a period of our history, as that now under consideration. [*Strabo*, L. iv, pp. 305-307.]

\* Solinus says, that in his time the fine gentlemen in Ireland had their sword-handles adorned with the teeth of fishes polished as bright as ivory: and the same kind of ornament continued in request at least till the sixth century, as appears from the biographers of some of the Irish saints.

† The bridle ornaments, chains, amber, and glass ware, are mentioned by Strabo [L. iv, p. 307] in a manner which leaves it almost doubtful, whether they were imported into Britain, or exported from it. That they were imported, is the opinion of the annotator on the passage, and of Doctor Henry. [*Hist. of Brit. V. ii*, p. 227, ed. 1788.] But the contrary opinion is held by almost all others, who have had occasion to consider the subject.

‡ Julius Cæsar is said to have been stimulated to the invasion of Britain by the sight of the pearls brought from it. These he probably saw in Gaul;

and they thence appear to have been an object of commerce. If it be true, that none of the rivers farther south than the Solway firth produced any, and that they were only found in considerable quantities in those north of the Firth of Forth, we must believe, that the commercial intercourse of the British nations with each other was much more considerable than has been supposed. Cæsar collected a large quantity of British pearls, and dedicated a breast-plate composed of them to the goddess Venus. [*Sueton. in Jul. c. 47*.—*Plin. L. ix*, c. 35.]

§ The existence of bears in Britain has been questioned, because there are none now: but we know from the undoubted testimony of Domesday book, that the city of Norwich was bound to furnish one bear, and six dogs for baiting him, to King Edward the Confessor.

From this enumeration of the exports and imports of the Britons, and from the notices to be found in antient authors, it appears, that, besides pasturage and agriculture, they understood the arts of extracting tin and lead, and even gold, silver, and iron, from their mines \*, the manufacture of glass and amber, and also some works merely ornamental. For their own use they had manufactures of arms, the object of the first attention to every warlike people, and which were by no means so contemptible, as some modern writers have represented them. Besides carts for carrying their tin and other heavy burthens, they had chariots †, sometimes armed with scythes for mowing down the enemy, which were used in battle, from the coast of Kent in the south to the Grampian mountain in the north. [*Cæs. Bell. Gall. L. iv, c. 33.—Tac. Vit. Agric. cc. 12, 35.*] Their chief drink was ale, which they made from barley and sometimes from wheat. [*Dioscorides, L. ii, c. 76.*] They had a manufacture of some kind of drapery, as appears from Cæsar's observation, that the distant and less civilized Britons were clothed in skins, which proves, that the nearer and more civilized Britons had clothing of a better and more comfortable kind; and that could scarcely be any other than woollen cloth, which in its improved state has long been the great and favourite staple manufacture of England ‡.

The British goods, destined for Rome or any part of the Mediterranean coasts, after their arrival in Gaul were put into river-craft and conveyed to Narbo and Massilia by the inland navigation, which I have already described, chiefly on account of its great connection with the

\* Mr. Whitaker supposes, that coal was used as fuel by the Britons before the arrival of the Romans: and Mr. Pennant says, that a flint axe, an instrument of the aboriginal Britons, was found sticking in a vein of coal, exposed to day, at Craig-y-park in Monmouth-shire. But it does not clearly appear, that the coal was used as fuel. Nor can the coal cinders, found among the ruins of the Roman station at Caerborran in Northumberland, be admitted as a proof, that the Romans used coal for fuel. That town may have had many revolutions unnoted in history; and many fires of coal may have been in houses now buried in ruins, though built many centuries after the departure of the Romans. [*See Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, p. 302.—Pennant's Tour in Wales, p. 16.—Wallis's Hist. of Northumberland, V. i, p. 119.—also Arnot's Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 82.*] The supposed notice of coal in the year 852 will be considered in its proper time.

† Such war-chariots were used by the Parthians, and by the Persians in the time of Alexander the Great, and also in the time of Alexander Severus emperor of Rome.

‡ I have here presumed, that at least the more polished Britons had sheep; though the great naturalist, Mr. Pennant, thinks they had not those

useful animals, because no antient author has mentioned them. [*British zoology, V. i, p. 23, ed. 1768.*] But against this negative argument may we not set the question, What author has mentioned the first importation of them? Is it not reasonable to suppose, that, if the primitive or inland Britons were destitute of sheep, they would be imported along with the Belgic colonies? Nay, it is most probable, that even among the inland inhabitants sheep were a part of the animals, on the flesh and milk of which they subsisted, as we are told by Cæsar, who expressly mentions flocks ('pecoris') in Cassivellaun's (or Cassibelin's) town: [*Bell. Gall. L. v, c. 21*] and βοσκηματα (a word including flocks and herds, and apparently rather appropriated to the former) are repeatedly mentioned by Strabo in his description of Britain. But no antient author mentions woollen cloths among the articles imported into Britain. Besides, the panegyric upon Constantius expressly mentions flocks loaded with wool ('pecora onusta vellerebus') as natives of Britain: and the British names of the animal, as given by Mr. Pennant, have no resemblance to the Latin, to warrant even a suspicion, that they were introduced by the Romans.

British trade, pretty fully, in the account of the commerce of Gaul; or they were carried quite across the country in carts or upon the backs of horses, which mode of conveyance required thirty days to traverse the country from the Ocean to the mouth of the Rhodanus\*, where Arelate stood on the main channel of the river, with which Massilia was connected by a canal, made in the preceding age by Marius. [*Diod. Sic. L. v, § 22.—Posidonius ap. Strab. L. iii, p. 119.—Strab. L. ii, p. 190; L. iv, pp. 279, 318.*] With the charge of such a multiplicity of carriages the British tin cost in Rome four shillings and ten pence of our money a pound. [*Plin. L. xxxiv, c. 17.*]

The duties paid in Gaul upon the imports and exports of Britain constituted the only species of revenue derived from it by the Romans, according to the express testimony of Strabo; [*L. ii, p. 176; L. iv, p. 306*] who thus proves, that the tribute, which Cæsar alleges he ordered the Britons to pay, was a mere flourish. Strabo indeed affects to say, that any tribute, which could be levied on the island, would be too trifling to bear the expense of the garrisons necessary to enforce it, which would require at least one legion and some additional cavalry. But the Roman emperors of succeeding ages thought very differently from him in that respect, when they employed four, or more, legions in the conquest of this country, and to garrison it after it was subdued †.

\* Diodorus, to whom we are indebted for this information, leaves us ignorant, whether the journey of thirty days was from Burdigala across the narrow part of Gaul; from the mouth of the Ligeris; or from the coast opposite to Britain, and through the whole extent of the country. Mr. Melot has endeavoured to supply that defect in an elaborate essay on the antient commerce of Britain in the *Memoires de l'Academie royale, V. xvi*, intended chiefly to confute the fancy of a very early intercourse of the Greeks with this country: but as he has not made the journey commence from any of the four ports noted by Strabo as the stations for passing over to Britain, I doubt we are still as much to seek as ever.

† Some have supposed, that this country was kept in subjection by a smaller force than four legions. But Agrippa in a speech to the Jews, wherein he magnifies the Roman valour, and shows, that the very reputation of it was sufficient to keep the world in awe, tells them, that all Spain was commanded by only one legion, Egypt by two, and all the rest of Africa by one; and that Britain, almost as large as all the rest of the world, whose walls were the Ocean, yet was kept by only four legions. [*Joseph. Bell. Jud. L. ii, c. 16.*] This speech has been often quoted; but it has not been sufficiently observed, that the aim of the speaker was to extenuate the force necessary to keep greater provinces than Judæa in subjection.

It ought therefore to be received as proof, that the number of legions in Britain was at least four. But to leave flowers of rhetoric, we have the clear historical evidence of Tacitus for the second, ninth, fourteenth, and twentieth, legions being in Britain under Paulinus in the reign of Nero; and there may have been more. [*Tac. Annal. L. xiv, cc. 32, 34, 37; Hist. L. iii, c. 45.*] There is also the authority of Ptolemy, the Itinerary, and Dion Cassius, for the residence of the sixth victorious, and apparently good authority for that of the seventh Claudian, the ninth, and the tenth legions in Britain. But it does not follow, that there were eight legions in it at once; and we know, that the fourteenth was for some time drawn off by Vitellius, and that during his reign one of the sixth legions (for there were often severals of the same number) and the seventh Claudian were also upon the continent. It is, however, probable, that there were generally more than four; for Agricola had three, if not four, legions with him at the battle of the Grampian hill; and the slenderest garrisons, he could leave in the conquered country, would require at least two legions. There was also a fleet of armed vessels with a proper establishment of marine forces constantly kept up in the different ports. So important in the eyes of the Roman emperors was Britain: and its importance is, I hope, a sufficient apology for this rather uncommercial note.

During the long and peaceful reign of Augustus the British princes courted his friendship by embassies and presents: and the Britons by their long-continued friendly intercourse with the Romanized Gauls became acquainted with the Romans, and in some degree with their arts and sciences. Even before Cæsar visited this island, their own knowledge of agriculture was by no means contemptible, as appears from their long experience in the use of a variety of marles enumerated by Pliny \*, [L. xvii, cc. 6, 7, 8] and their plentiful crops, which now (and perhaps before now) enabled them to spare some corn for exportation. They had now also adopted many improvements from their Gallic neighbours, and were so generally industrious, that a negligent management of the dairy, or the want of a garden, came to be noted as marks of inferior talents or slothfulness in some few individuals. [Strabo, L. iv, p. 305.]

It was, no doubt, in this interval of tranquillity and advancing prosperity, that Cunobelin, king of the countries lying between the Thames and the Nen, established his mint at Camulodunum (*Colchester*), and coined money of gold, silver, and brass; of all which at least forty different specimens † have reached our times. And thus, instead of dwelling some centuries upon brazen money, and then slowly creeping to silver, and at last to gold, like the Romans, did the first effort of the British coinage at once comprehend all the useful varieties of current money ‡. Camulodunum by means of its mint has the advantage of being the first British town, which is authentically known by its genuine antient name; as it is also the very first that is mentioned by any

\* Pliny [L. xvii, c. 8] observes, that the strength of the British chalk marle (the pits of which he describes exactly as they are now to be seen in Kent) lasted eighty years, and that there was no instance of any man using it twice in his life time on the same land. See this subject more largely handled in *Whitaker's History of Manchester*, B. i, ch. 7, § 3.

It appears from an inscription found in Zealand, that the British chalk was exported to improve the marshy grounds of that country by people, who were called British chalk-merchants, and the polytheistic spirit of the Romans created a new gods to preside over this new trade, the date of which is unknown, but is apparently older than Varro (who died A. D. 27) as he was in some districts on the banks of the Rhine, where the lands were manured with chalk ('candida fossilia creta'). [Varro de re rustica, L. i, c. 9.—Gale's *Antonine*, p. 43, for the inscription.]

† Prints of them may be seen in *Speed's Historie*, *Camden's Britannia*, *Pegge's Coins of Cunobelin*, *Whitaker's History of Manchester*, &c. Mr. Whitaker, in his second edition, has apparently given the true explanation of the word *Tase*, occurring,

with some variations of spelling, on many of those coins, which most of our antiquaries (though Doctor Pettingall almost stumbled upon the truth in a Dissertation written expressly on the sense of that word) have strangely interpreted tax, or tribute, payable to the Romans, at a time when they had no dominion in this island; but which, according to his interpretation, signifies leader or king, as, indeed, variations of the word do in the Gaelic languages to this day.—That the Britons possessed and wrought mines of gold and silver before the Roman conquest, appears unquestionably from Strabo, and may be inferred from Tacitus; though Cicero, writing when Julius Cæsar was in Britain, and scarcely any thing was known of it in Rome, had said, that there was no gold or silver in the island. [Strabo, L. iv, p. 305.—Tac. *Vit. Agric.* c. 12.—Cic. *ad famul.* L. vii, ep. 7; *ad Attic.* L. iv, ep. 15.]

‡ Some have supposed, that the Britons had the use of money before Cæsar's invasion. But the supposition is founded on an explanation, apparently erroneous, of a passage of Cæsar, [Bell. Gall. L. v, c. 12] which is contested, and seems to be corrupted.

writer now extant. [*Plin. Hist. nat. L. ii, c. 75.*] It is reasonable to suppose that this town, the residence of Cunobelin, was better built than the fenced collections of huts, described by Cæsar as the towns of the Britons: for we find, that their architectural skill was even equal to the task of building a bridge over the Thames. [*Dion. L. lx.*] But the improvements, which the Britons may be supposed to have made in building, were unknown to Strabo, the geographer of this age, whose description of their houses appears to be copied from Cæsar's.

Ireland was sometimes visited by navigators from Gaul, and they knew, that there were other islands adjacent to Britain; but we have no account of their transactions or dealings. Strabo acknowledges his ignorance of Ireland, the people of which, *he had heard*, were very savage, ate human flesh, &c. the character usually given to the most remote and unknown nations, which he judiciously censures as unworthy of credit\*. [*Strabo, L. iv, p. 307.*]

The nations to the northward of Gaul were as yet but little known to the Romans. The Bruæteri were defeated by Drusus in a naval battle on the River Amasia (*Ems*), whence it appears that the people of those coasts possessed some kind of vessels, probably no other than the long canoes made of single trees, and capable of carrying thirty men each, described by Pliny [*L. xvi, c. 40*] as used by the pirates of Germany. In the following age the Suiones, a nation occupying an island in the Baltic sea, according to Tacitus, [*Germania*] were powerful by their fleets, and sensible of the advantages of opulence. He adds, that the use of arms was not general among them, as among the other German nations, *because they were defended from sudden invasions by the surrounding ocean*. It is probable, that at this time their circumstances were nearly the same, and that their opulence was as much the produce of rapine as of industry. We have very little positive authority for any commercial transactions of the GERMANS, except in two articles. The feathers of the German geese were preferred to all others at Rome: and amber was bought up for the Romans with such avidity from the Æstii, a nation in the modern Prussia, whose language resembled that of the Britons, that they were utterly astonished at the prices, which they received for an article of no real utility, which they had been accustomed to leave unnoticed on the beach, where the sea threw it up on the coast of Austravia, an island (or perhaps now a peninsula, the Abalus or Baltia of Pytheas) called Glessarium by the Romans from the great abundance of amber, the genuine name of which, according to Pliny

\* The character of the natives of Ireland, given by Strabo as a story unworthy of credit, has been carelessly or maliciously brought forward by some modern writers, in order to prove that the ancestors of the Irish were the vilest savages in the world; whereas it only proves, that the Gallic strangers had so little intercourse with the country,

that the manners of the people were totally unknown to them. For cannibalism, promiscuous concubinage, and such enormities, have in all ages been the characteristics ascribed by ignorance to unknown nations; and they have been gradually removed farther and farther, as discovery advanced.

and Tacitus, was *gleffum* or *glesum*. Unless when the Romans sent messengers on purpose to procure the amber, it was carried across the continent through Pannonia, where it was received by the Veneti (the ancestors of the Venetians), who forwarded it to Rome; and thence arose the fable of its being produced on the banks of the Padus or Eridanus (*Po*).

SCYTHIA the vast unknown country beyond Germany, supplied some valuable furs.

MEDIA, PARTHIA, and BACTRIA, were too remote, or too far inland, to furnish Rome with any articles, but such as were of great value and little bulk; and we accordingly hear of little else but precious stones brought from those countries.

The SERES, the most remote people of Asia known even by report to the Europeans, were, according to Florus, among the nations, who sent ambassadors to Augustus. But the Romans do not appear to have learned any thing from the ambassadors concerning the situation, the produce, or the trade, of the nation. Strabo [*L. xv, p. 1028*] knew only their name, and a report that the people lived to the age of 200 years; and he mentions, I think only once, [*L. xv, p. 1016*] the *sericum*, or silk, (and that from so old an author as Nearchus the admiral of Alexander's fleet) which he confounds with cotton. Dionysius the geographer, whom Augustus had sent to compile an account of the oriental regions, about this time informed the people of Europe, that precious garments were manufactured by the Seres from threads, finer than those of the spider, which they combed from flowers. [*Perieges. v. 752.*] This precious manufacture found its way to Rome: but coming from a people who had the monopoly of it in their own hands, by a long succession of tedious and dangerous carriages by land and water, through the territories of various nations, and perhaps through the hands of some monopolists, and moreover in very small quantities\*, it was sold at a most enormous price, so that the use of it was restricted to a few women of the greatest fortunes †. [*Seneca de beneficiis, L. vii.*]

PERSIA and BABYLONIA also furnished precious stones and pearls. The

\* We are told by Dion Cassius [*L. xliii*] that Julius Cæsar, when he treated the Romans with magnificent spectacles, covered the amphitheatre with awnings of *sericum* to shelter them from the sun. But it may well be doubted, if a quantity of silk, sufficient for such a purpose, could have been collected in all the countries to the westward of India in the age of Julius: and Pliny, [*L. xix, c. 1*] describing apparently the same awning, says, it was of linen (*carbafus*); and he is surely an evidence preferable to Dion, who lived so many ages later. Silk could not be plenty in Rome, when the ladies were obliged to content themselves with a flimsy stuff made by undoing the substantial Oriental silks, and re-weaving them again, as we

learn from Publius Syrus, an author contemporary with Cæsar, and many others after him.

† What the price of silk was on its first appearance in Rome, we are not informed. But it must have been enormously high; for, even in the later part of the third century, the emperor Aurelian, when his wife begged of him to let her have but one single gown of purple silk, refused it, saying, he would not buy it at the price of gold. [*Epiphanius in Aurel. c. 45.*] And we find by the Rhodian naval laws, preserved in the eleventh book of the *Digests*, that unmixed silk goods, when shipwrecked, if they were saved free from wet, were to pay a salvage of ten per cent, as being equal to gold in value.

Babylonian *triclinaria* or *tricliniaria* (costly furniture of the eating room, variously translated, quilts, carpets, and curtains), and the incense of Persia, were highly esteemed.

But the most important of all the foreign trades was that which was carried on with the ORIENTAL COUNTRIES by the way of Egypt and the Red sea. The commencement of this trade in the reign of the first, or rather the second, Ptolemy, and the removal of it from Heroopolis at the end of the canal to Berenicè, are already related. The trade does not appear to have ever increased, and there is reason to believe, that after the reigns of the three first Ptolemies it was rather in a progressive decay, till the extinction of the Macedonian sovereignty in Egypt, when it had dwindled down to scarcely twenty small vessels in a year\*: and they seldom went beyond the mouth of the Red sea, where, on the Arabian coast, they found assortments of merchandize fully sufficient for their demand. But when Strabo was in Egypt, very soon after the subjugation of the kingdom by the Romans, he learned that fleets of one hundred and twenty vessels went from Myos Hormos (then the chief port of the Egyptian trade in the Red sea, which he calls a great port, protected by islands before it, and a winding entrance through them) and proceeded as far as India and the most remote known parts of Ethiopia, from which they imported into Egypt the most precious merchandize. But the vessels were small, and their timid coasting voyages seem as yet to have extended no farther than Pattala †, a port in the delta, or island, formed by the branches of the river Sind, or Indus: and there is reason to believe, that many of them completed their cargoes at the port of Arabia Felix. A few of the traders from Egypt appear, however, to have penetrated into India as far as the Ganges: but it is most probable, that they traveled over-land upon the magnificent royal high way extending across the country from the Indus to the Ganges ‡.

\* Mr. Browne says, that only thirty-seven vessels are now (1792) employed in the Red sea by persons residing in Egypt; and that the seamen are so unskilful, that continual building barely keeps up the number. [*Travels in Egypt, &c.* p. 75.]

† Strabo does not inform us what port or ports they failed to: and, indeed, he appears not to have known a single sea port of India; for though he describes Pattalena as a delta of the Indus, containing the famous city of Pattala, he does not call that city an emporium or port: and he immediately takes a prodigious skip from it to Taprobanè. In short, his knowledge of India is founded entirely upon the information of Alexander's officers. [*L. xv, pp. 1011, 1012, 1026.*] Pliny, who wrote, when the Oriental trade had been carried on a whole century by the Egyptian-Greek subjects of Rome, seems to make Pattala the only port resorted to by them, even after the discovery of the monsoon, which will be noticed afterwards: and when he

gives the names of two ports and two or three nations beyond it on the west coast, he does it with some degree of exultation, that they were not to be found in any preceding author. It is true, he mentions a more distant port called Perimula as the most famous emporium of India, situated on the east coast and near the southern extremity of it, and he notes the abundance of pearls found there. [*L. ii, c. 73; L. vi, cc. 20, 23; L. ix, c. 35.*] But as no such place is mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, and as Ptolemy, from later information, which in geographical matters is preferable, places Perimula in India beyond the Ganges, we have reason to suspect Pliny's information concerning it, as well as other parts of India, to be confused and erroneous, and also to believe that the merchants of Egypt were not willing to impart their knowledge to their Roman masters.

‡ The navigation of the Ganges from the sea up to Palibothra, as noticed by Strabo, [*L. xv, p. 1010*] appears pretty clearly to have been per-

Strabo gives us incidentally the important information, that the trade to India and Ethiopia (or the country of the Troglodytes) was a new accession to the commerce of Egypt, which took place after the commencement of the Roman dominion in that country. [*Strabo*, L. ii, p. 179; L. xv, pp. 1006, 1010; L. xvi, p. 1114; L. xvii, p. 1149.—*Periplus Maris Erythræi*, p. 174, ed. Blancard.]

The commodities imported from Arabia, India, and Ethiopia, were landed at Myos Hormos, and thence carried by camels upon the road made across the desert by Ptolemy Philadelphus to Coptos, a town jointly occupied by Egyptian and Arabian inhabitants, which was the general emporium of the upper part of Egypt. From Coptos the goods were conveyed by a canal of three miles to the Nile, the stream of which floated them down to the canal leading into the Lake of Maræa, whence they proceeded by another canal to the interior harbour of Alexandria; and from the exterior or sea harbour they were reshipped for every part of the Mediterranean by the merchants of that city, who had almost the whole of the trade in their own hands, and thereby acquired prodigious great fortunes. [*Strabo*, L. xvi, p. 1128; L. xvii, pp. 1169, 1170.]

The revenue of Egypt was now also raised far beyond what it had ever been in the days of the Macedonian sovereigns\*, partly by a more strict and vigorous management, but chiefly by the vast increase of the commerce of the country, the exports from Egypt being enlarged by the great and increasing demand of almost the whole Roman empire for Oriental luxuries, all which paid duties, both upon importation and exportation, and the duties were particularly heavy upon the precious articles. [*Strabo*, L. ii, p. 179; L. xvii, p. 1149.]

The precious articles of India were also brought, partly by sea and river navigation, and partly over land, to PALMYRA, a flourishing commercial republic, seated in a fertile spot surrounded by a sandy desert, which, being found beneficial to the world in general by its spirited active commerce, had the singular good fortune to remain independent of the great empires of Rome and Parthia, though situated on the confines of both. The goods from Palmyra were forwarded to Rome and other western countries by the ports of Syria or Phœnicia. [*Appiani Bell. civ. L. v.*—*Plin. L. v, c. 25.*]

formed by the natives of India: and even in a later age the *Periplus* of the Erythrean sea gives us reason to believe, that the voyages of the Greeks of Egypt had not extended to any part of the east coast of India.

\* The accounts of the wealth and revenue of the Ptolemies seem to be much exaggerated. We are told by Appian, that Ptolemy Philadelphus at his death left in his treasury 740,000 talents, equal in weight of metal to £191,166,666: 13:4 of modern sterling money, (as reckoned by Arbutnot, p. 192) which, though we should suppose most of

it derived from his father's share of the plunder of the Persian empire, is beyond all bounds of credibility. According to a lost speech of Cicero, (quoted by Strabo, L. xvii, p. 1149) Ptolemy Auletes, one of the most dissolute of the degenerate Ptolemies, had an annual revenue of 12,500 talents (equal to £2,421,875 sterling). But whatever the revenue of Egypt may have been, it is not fair to derive it entirely from commerce. There can be no doubt, that a great part, perhaps the most of it, arose from the very productive agriculture of the fertile soil.

Indian goods were also conveyed from a district in the north part of India, within seven days' journey of Bactria, through that country, and thence down the River Oxus, and across the Caspian sea, whence they were carried up the River Cyrus, and, after a land carriage of five days, reshipped on the Phasis, a river of COLCHIS, running into the east end of the Euxine sea, at the mouth of which there was a town of the same name, whence they were dispersed to the western countries. [*Plin. L. vi, c. 17.*] We may be pretty certain, that the valuable merchandize of the Seres was also conveyed by the same route.

ARABIA furnished the traders from Egypt with various aromatics; pretious ointments; small diamonds and other gems; pearls; frankincense; the best myrh, and other pretious drugs; and sugar of a quality inferior to that of India. The Arabs also re-exported, or sold to foreign traders, the goods they imported from the East, among which were some aromatics superior in quality to any produced in their own country: and they took in exchange some European goods, one article of which was tin, *probably the produce of the British mines* and destined for India; but they were chiefly paid in money. Thus, participating largely in the increased commerce of Egypt, and having the balance of a brisk, constant, and well-conducted, active trade greatly in their favour, they abounded in riches and plenty of all things. [*Strabo, L. i, p. 67.*] Pliny says [*L. vi, c. 28*] that they took no goods in exchange, and that they sold their plunder (for some of the nations comprehended under the extensive name of Arabia acquired goods by piracy and robbery) to the Romans and Parthians for money only, whereby a great part of the cash of both empires rested with them. It is almost needless to observe, that the commercial nations of Arabia were not the perpetrators, but the victims, of the depredations committed by the roving Arabs. [See *Strabo L. xvi, p. 1097.*]

From ETHIOPIA were imported cinnamon; marble; gems; ivory; the horns of the rhinoceros; turtle, and turtle-shell\*.

GETULIA, the country on the south side of Mauritania, furnished nothing, that I can discover, except the dye-stuff extracted from the purple shell-fish, found in great abundance on the shore of the Atlantic ocean.

After this second circuit of the Roman trade it is proper to observe, as an exception from the general terror of the Ocean among the Romans, that some vessels of theirs had before this time ventured to navigate the Atlantic. The first we know of was one, which, we are told, followed the track of a Phœnician bound to the Cassiterides, in order to discover the secret, where that mine of wealth was situated. The Phœnician

\* As the several branches of trade carried on from the Red sea were apparently much increased after this time, the consideration of them will be resumed with more ample, and better authenticated, materials than could be obtained in the hitherto-infant state of the trade.

commander (whom modern writers generally suppose to have been of Carthage, but who, I think, must rather have been of Gadir, and posterior to the destruction of Carthage) led his follower into destruction by running his own vessel upon a shoal. The skilful Phœnician, who knew the nature of the ground and of the tides, got off by throwing part of his cargo overboard, and was recompensed by the public for the damage, which he had so patriotically incurred. The Romans, however, still persisted in their trials, and at last P. Crassus discovered the place, and showed the way to others. [*Strabo*, L. iii, p. 265.] We have no knowledge of the time, when any of these voyages were made: nor is there any particular account, I believe, of any other Roman vessels upon the Atlantic ocean, except on the business of war, whereof we have an instance in the voyages of Polybius the historian along the coasts of Africa, Spain, and Gaul, till Britain became a Roman province; though Pliny says in general that in his time the western coasts of Spain and Gaul were navigated, but without telling by what nation, or for what purpose. [*Hist. nat.* L. ii, c. 67.]

After much investigation I must acknowledge, that I can find nothing satisfactory concerning the rate of the customs paid at the Roman ports upon the importation of goods in the reign of Augustus\*; nor upon the proportion of the value of gold to silver †.

Notwithstanding the pompous, but superficial and unfounded, accounts, given by some modern writers, of a flourishing commerce carried on by the Romans, it is evident that the trade was entirely conducted by their subjects. It is not proper, says Cicero, that the same people should be the commanders, and the carriers, of the world. Accordingly we find, that among the Romans the character of a merchant, instead of being esteemed honourable, as it was among the wise Phœnicians, was held in contempt, and classed in their estimation with buffoons, gladiators, slaves, and strumpets. And certainly no profession, that is disreputable, can ever be in a flourishing or prosperous condition.

Cicero, writing to his son upon the subject of professions, condemns all retail trade as vile and sordid, which can thrive only by means of

\* A French treatise on the Roman revenue, written at the desire of Mr. Colbert, has nothing to the purpose: neither has Burman, in his work *De vestigalibus populi Romani*, been able to ascertain the rate of the duty upon any particular articles of merchandize. Arbuthnot (apparently from a passage of Velleius Paterculus, but without any chronology) rates the duties from 2 to 50 per cent. And even Gibbon, whose researches are generally so accurate, has contented himself with stating them widely at from 2½ to 12½ per cent. [*Decline of the Roman empire*, V. i, p. 261.] The duty taken by the Romans at their port of Leukè komè (White town) near the head of the Red sea,

was, according to the *Periplus of the Erythrean sea*, one quarter of the cargo: but that was after the age of Augustus. When Cappadocia was made a Roman province, Tiberius reduced the inland duty, or excise, levied upon all sales, from one to one half per cent, but it was soon raised again to one. [*Dio Cassius*, L. lix.]

† The great quantity of plundered gold brought in by Julius Cæsar is said to have lowered the value of it to nine times its weight in silver. *Sueton. in Julio*, c. 54, with *Arbuthnot's Tables*, p. 43.] But that price was only temporary; and one to ten seems rather to have been the usual proportion in this age.

much lying. Merchandize, if not carried to a great extent, is, in his opinion, no better. But the merchant, who *imports* from every quarter great quantities of goods, and distributes them to the public without falsehood, is not very much to be blamed: and if, after making a fortune, he retires from trade to the country, he may with great propriety even be praised\*. Such were the sentiments of one of the most enlightened of the Romans upon the merit and dignity of commerce: and no evidence of an author, writing expressly for the public, can be compared with this work of Cicero, addressed to his own son, for a genuine representation of the low estimation, in which trade was held by the Romans. It may also be observed, that Pliny, who in his universal work expatiates in the just praises of agriculture and gardening, of medicine, painting, and statuary; and also pays due attention to works in gold, silver, brass, jewels, wood, &c. yet has not a word upon merchandize, except just observing, that it was invented by the Phœnicians. The proud senators, however, with all their contempt for fair trade, had from the earliest ages of their republic made a practice of increasing their wealth by a base and extortionate trade of usury.

The citizens of Rome thought themselves superior to all kings †; and several commanders of armies and governors of provinces, whose rank entitled them to large dividends of the plunder of the world, possessed greater quantities of gold and silver, than some sovereign princes can command, even in the present depreciated state of the precious metals.

The Romans, glutted with the spoils of the earth, set no bounds to their extravagance. Whatever was very expensive became the object of their desire; and the most enormous (or even incredible) prices were given for things of little or no real use. Silk, and a fine species of linen called byssinus, sold for their weight in gold. The value of precious stones and pearls, being merely imaginary, can be rated only by the redundant wealth, or folly, of the buyer. We are told by Pliny, that he

\* 'Sordidi enim putandi, qui mercantur a mercatoribus quod statim vendunt: nihil enim proficiunt, nisi admodum mentiantur: nec vero quidquam est turpius vanitate.——Mercatura autem, si tenuis est, fordida putanda est. Sin magna et copiosa, multa undique *apportans*, multisque sine vanitate impartiens, *non est admodum vituperanda*: atque etiam, si satiata quæstu, vel contenta potius, ut sepe ex alto in portum, ex ipso portu se in agros possessionesque contulerit, videtur jure optimo posse laudari.' *Cicero de offic. L. i, cæ. 150, 151.*

In this passage there is not a word of exportation: and indeed it is evident, that the Romans had little or no idea of any thing in the character of a merchant beyond that of a purveyor of subsistence and luxuries. But some modern writers, in

order to prove the Romans to have been a commercial people, have elevated the associations of river boatmen, and the sutlers of the Roman camps, into the character of mercantile companies.

† The noble Romans were prohibited from *degrading* themselves by marrying into royal families: and thence Berenice, a Jewish princess, was obliged to be content with the rank of concubine to the emperor Titus; and even Cleopatra, the sovereign queen of the rich and populous kingdom of Egypt, was only the concubine of Antony. But Felix, the procurator of Judæa, Samaria, and Gallilee, mentioned in the Acts of the apostles, who had been a slave, was of sufficient quality to be the husband of three successive queens, [*Sueton in Claud. c. 28*] or rather princesses, one of whom was a granddaughter of the celebrated Cleopatra.

saw Lollia Paulina at a moderate entertainment (not a solemn occasion) dressed in jewels which cost £322,916:13:4 of our modern sterling money\*. [*Hist. nat. L. ix, c. 35.*—*Arriani Indica, p. 525, ed. Blancard.*—*Arbutnot's Tables, p. 141.*] No antient author, I believe, says any thing of the price of diamonds at Rome; but Julius Cæsar gave £48,437:10 for a pearl, which he presented to one of his mistresses: and he gave £15,500 for a picture. A statue of Apollo sold for above £29,000. For the kinds of fish, which happened to be in fashion (for one kind frequently drove out another) they gave the most extravagant prices; £64 was the price of a mullet ('mullus'); and the muræna (supposed to be the lamprey) was too pretious in the estimation of some epicures to be sold for money. The price of fat thrushes was about two shillings each; and a white nightingale sold for £48:8:9. [See *Arbutnot's Tables.*]

But, though the Romans went so prodigiously beyond the moderns in extravagant expenses, they appear to have had much less taste; or rather, instead of taste, they had only a rage for luxuries, many of which had nothing but their monstrous expense to recommend them. Indeed, from Pliny it is evident, that, even in his time, when a succession of three or four mad emperors had given the imperial sanction to the excess of profusion, luxury was new, and, as we may say, unformed, in Rome.

While the rich Romans were giving the wealth of a province for a single article of frantic luxury, bread and butcher meat appear to have been sold as low, as their most moderate prices have been with us in times of peace for forty or fifty years past: so that the luxury of the rich was hitherto harmless to the great body of the people, at least with respect to those essentially-necessary articles of daily consumption. But it was very different with respect to house rent. The ample spaces occupied by the pleasure grounds, attached to the spacious palaces of the rich †, left very little room within the walls for houses to accommodate people of middling or small incomes. Hence they were obliged to raise them aloft in the air to the inconvenient height of above seventy feet ‡; and each floor was let to a separate family at annual rents equal to the complete purchase of a moderate house and garden in other towns of Italy, if we may trust to the poetical and satyrical information

\* Pliny adds that her grandfather M. Lollius, from whom she inherited her fortune, became so infamous for his extortions, that he withdrew from the disgrace by poisoning himself. But, in the progress of corruption, extortion was no longer branded with infamy; and even the manumitted slaves of the emperors amassed fortunes of some millions of sterling money.

† 'They nowadays complain that they have not

sufficient lodging room in houses, which occupy more ground than the Dictator Cincinnatus had in his whole estate.' [*Valer. Max. L. iv, c. 4.*]

‡ Augustus made a law that houses should not exceed seventy feet in height. But the law was eluded, or overlooked, as appears by its being repeated by succeeding emperors. [See *Lipsius de magnitudine Rom. L. iii, c. 4.*]

of Juvenal. [*Sat. iii.*] The rent of an *insula* or house so divided, was in the age of Augustus forty thousand sesterces, or £322 : 18 : 4 sterling.

An inquiry, whether the antients possessed the most useful art of BOOK-KEEPING as now practised, may be properly connected with the general view of the trade of the antient world. Upon this occasion we must again regret the total loss of the literary monuments of all the antient mercantile communities, which obliges us to seek our information from the writings of one of the most uncommercial nations of antiquity.

It is plain from the works of Cicero and some other authors, that the Romans kept their accounts (*rationes*) in a book, which they called *Codex accepti et expensi* (the book of received and paid away), which appears to me to have contained the various accounts titled with each person's name, called *tabulæ accepti et expensi*, into which were posted (*relata*) from the *adversaria*, at least once a month, the various transactions of debit and credit, which it was incumbent on every upright accountant to state fairly and punctually, for 'as it was base to charge what was not justly due, so was it villainous to omit entering what was owing to others.' It was also a suspicious circumstance, if any article was allowed to lie in the *adversaria* unposted beyond a proper time. The *Codex* (book) containing, as I think, the various *tabulæ* or *rationes* (accounts) with their proper names or titles, was carefully prepared, and accurately written; and every transaction was duely transferred (or posted) in it for perpetual preservation, that it might be produced upon occasions of dispute; and it was admitted as evidence in courts of justice, where the accounts (*tabulæ*) were publicly read. In each *tabula* there were apparently two columns or pages; one for the *acceptum* (debit), and the other for the *expensum* (credit), as in our modern ledgers.

The *Adversaria* were only temporary notes, hastily written, with alterations or blottings; and they were thrown away or destroyed, and new ones were begun every month. They were not admitted as evidence in the courts\*.

\* 'Quemadmodum turpe est scribere, quod non debeat; sic improbum est non referre quod debeat: æque enim tabulæ condemnantur ejus, qui verum non retulit, et ejus, qui falsum perscripsit.'— 'Quid est quod negligenter scribamus adversaria? quid est, quod diligenter consiciamus tabulas? qua de causa? Quia hæc sunt menstrua; illæ sunt sanctæ: hæc parvi temporis memoriam; illæ perpetuæ exstimationis fidem et religionem amplectuntur: hæc sunt dejectæ; illæ in ordinem consistunt. Itaque adversaria in judicium protulit nemo: codicem protulit; tabulas recitavit.'— 'Cur tamdiu jacet hoc nomen in adversariis? Quid si tandem amplius triennium est? Quomodo, cum

'omnes, qui tabulas consiciunt, menstruas pene rationes in tabulas transferant, tu hoc nomen triennium amplius in adversariis jacere pateris? Utrum cetera nomina in codicem accepti et expensi digesta habes, an non? Si non, quomodo tabulas consicis? si etiam, quamobrem, cum cetera nomina in ordinem referebas, hoc nomen triennio amplius, quod erat in primis magnum, in adversariis relinquebas?' [*Ciceronis Orat. iii, cc. 1, 2, 3.*] The whole of the oration ought to be perused, being in defence of Roscius, (the celebrated actor) for money claimed by Fannius, for which he had not even raised an account in his *codex accepti et expensi*, but pretended, that he ought to recover it upon the authority of a note in his *adversaria*;

From these descriptions we may almost presume to say, that the *Adversaria* were what the Romans had in place of our WASTE-BOOK, or Blotter, as some call it. But they were far inferior to it in accuracy and authenticity; and they differed very materially from it in not being thought worthy of preservation.—They seem to have had nothing equivalent to our JOURNAL, which is only a different modification of the Waste-book, and is even omitted by some book-keepers.—The *Codex accepti et expensi* answers to our LEDGER, and the *Tabulæ*, with their two pages or columns \* to the particular accounts.

I believe, there is nothing extant, which can inform us, whether they raised accounts for the several articles of merchandize in their books, or whether each transaction was entered in two accounts; or, in other words, whether they understood any thing of double entry.

As book-keeping is an art so essentially necessary to commerce, and so simple in its principles, it cannot be supposed, that the Phœnicians, or indeed any nation carrying on trade, and understanding arithmetic, could be destitute of it. With the Phœnician colonies it may have spread into Rhodes, Crete, Thebes in Greece, and other places, where they were mixed with the Greeks: and from the Greeks, it is most probable, that the Romans received it along with the other branches of their knowlege.

20—Soon after the death of Augustus Strabo finished his great and valuable geographical work; wherein he lays down the globosity, and

\* *Adversaria*; ‘non habere se hoc nomen in codice accepti et expensi relatum constat; sed in adversariis patere contendit.’—The learned Fr. Hotman, in his Commentary on this oration, has never once conceived an idea of any resemblance to the modern books of accounts.

Aulus Gellius [*L. xiv, c. 2*] gives an account of a cause tried before himself for money said to be owing, but ‘neque tabulis neque testibus;’ and he also notices the want of the *chirograph* or hand writing and signing of the *tabulæ*. This seems to lead to an inquiry, whether the debtor signed the account in the creditor’s books; or whether the *tabulæ* in this case may mean a bond: for the poverty of the Latin language, wherein many very different meanings are expressed by the one word *tabula*, leaves us in obscurity.

\* We might almost take it for granted from the reason of the thing, that every *tabula* or account had two pages, or rather columns; for the books of the ancients were not like ours, which are bound together by the inner sides of the leaves, but were long rolls containing divisions called *paginae*, which we call columns. But we have apparently the authority of Pliny, [*L. ii, c. 7*] who says allegorically of Fortune, ‘Huic omnia *expensa*, huic omnia *se-runtur accepta*; et in tota ratione mortalium sola *utranque paginam* facit.’ I must therefore pre-

sume to differ from the learned Scaliger, who, having occasion incidentally to touch upon *adversaria*, &c. supposes the account of what is given or paid away to have been on the face of the paper, and that of what is received, on the back of it; which would be a very awkward and inconvenient arrangement. [*Scaliger in Guilandinum, Opusc. p. 48.*]

In these two notes I have given the quotations thus at large, contrary to my usual custom, in order to save trouble to the reader, and because they are particularly useful in illustrating a very curious point of commercial antiquity: and they are selected, as most to the purpose, from a large collection of passages of Cicero and other authors. To do justice to the subject, an ample dissertation, or rather a whole volume, ought to be devoted to it. And such a work, entitled, *Livre de compte de prince a la maniere d’Italie en domaine et finance ordinaire.—contenant ce en quoi s’exerce le tres-illustre et tres-excellent prince et seigneur Maurice prince d’Orange, &c. par Simon Stevin, Leyden, 1602, folio*, is quoted by Mr. Anderson [*V. i, p. 409*] as being in his own possession. I have never been able to obtain a sight of this system of princely book-keeping, though I have applied at every place, where there seemed to be any probability of finding it.

the centripetal force or gravitation, of the earth, as fundamental principles of geography; and he gives rules for constructing globes, which, he says, ought not to be less than ten feet in diameter, and also for maps. But he has injudiciously neglected the great and important improvement of fixing the positions of places by their latitude and longitude, which was introduced by Hipparchus. Strabo traveled over most of the countries between Armenia in the east and Etruria in the west, and from the shore of the Euxine sea (near which at Amasia he was born) as far south as the borders of Ethiopia. In describing the countries which he had seen, he is generally very accurate; but in those beyond his own knowledge he is frequently very erroneous. And it must be acknowledged, that he is too conceited of his own opinions; whence he is betrayed into frequent and even indecent abuse of some authors, who appear to have been at least not inferior to himself in accuracy of information, particularly Herodotus, Pytheas, Megasthenes, and Eratosthenes; wherein he has been implicitly followed by many, who lived in later ages, when the veracity of those great men, and the errors of Strabo, have been demonstrated by experimental philosophy and new discoveries. But, setting aside these defects, his work, upon the whole, as it is one of the oldest, is also in many respects the best, general system of ancient geography, which has come down to our times\*: and I have to acknowledge many and great obligations to it in the course of this work.

30—There were bankers or exchangers in Judæa, who made a trade of receiving money in deposit, and paying interest for it. [*Matthew, c. 25.*] I have not discovered any instance of such a profession in Greece or Rome, where the borrowers upon interest were apparently only those who wanted money for their own occasions. The Roman nummularii seem to have been only exchangers of one species of money for another, and perhaps they were employed to pay the public money. [*See Sueton. in Galba, c. 9.*]

41—The first knowledge of the existence of the island of Taprobanè (Seylan or Ceylon) was conveyed to Europe by the writings of Onesicritus, one of the commanders of Alexander's fleet; and his account of its magnitude was not near so much exaggerated as those of succeeding writers, who even made it a separate world. It was known before this time, that ivory, turtle-shell, and other merchandize, were carried from it to the ports of India; that the navigators of those seas ventured to go out of sight of land, and, like the northern Europeans in the middle ages, used birds to point out the land they wanted to go to, whereby they in some measure made up for the want of a compass; and that

\* The works of Pytheas, Megasthenes, Eratosthenes, and many other antient geographers, are only known to us by quotations from them preserved by Strabo, Pliny, and some other writers.

their vessels were alike at both ends, and could change their course without going about, being probably the same which are now called proas. [*Strabo*, *L. ii*, *p. 124*; *L. xv*, *p. 1012*.—*Plin. L. vi*, *c. 22*.] But in the reign of the emperor Claudius the Europeans, by means of an accident, acquired some further knowledge of that celebrated island\*. A vessel belonging to Plocamus, the Roman farmer of the customs in the Red sea, being blown off the coast of Arabia by strong north-east winds, ('aquilonibus:' quere, if not rather north-west?) and being driven by them in the Ocean for fifteen days, was carried beyond Carmania, and arrived at the port of Hippuros in Taprobanè †. The king of that part of the island entertained the officer hospitably during six months, (being probably the time necessary to wait for the commencement of the monsoon proper for his return) and being informed of the greatness and power of the Roman emperor, he sent ambassadors to him. As it cannot be supposed, that the custom-farmer's seamen were capable of finding their way back to the Red sea through the Ocean, we must believe, that the ambassadors sailed, either in a vessel belonging to their own country, or in a foreign trading vessel, which would most likely be an Arabian one ‡. They informed the emperor, that their country con-

\* Diodorus Siculus, who wrote in the reign of Augustus, relates a strange story [*L. ii*, § 55-60] of one Iambulus being turned adrift in a boat, with only one companion, by the people of Ethiopia, with orders, dictated by an oracle, to steer *due south*, and of his arrival in four months at a large island, not named by him, but supposed by most modern writers to be Taprobanè, though Madagascar answers better to the course steered. He wrote an account of his voyages and discoveries, containing some probabilities mixed with many falsehoods. It appears from Strabo, [*L. xv*, *p. 1012*] that this pretended discoverer, or romancer, was unknown to, or disregarded by, him.

† To reach the south part of Ceylon in fifteen days the vessel must have drifted about 140 geographical miles every day, even if she kept in a straight course for it, which, after making every allowance for the strong current generally running to the eastward in that sea, is a very great drift. Yet some people endeavour to persuade us that Taprobanè was not Ceylon, but Sumatra, which is about 700 miles farther. If the wind which blew her off was really north-east, or north-north-east, (*aquilo*; but it is impossible to adjust the *twelve*, or *eight*, winds of the antients, concerning the direction of which they do not agree among themselves, to the modern points of the compass) she could never have got near the coast of Carmania, and must have made good a course within eight points of the wind, allowing it to be north-north-east, which is fully as much as most modern vessels can do in a hard gale of wind. It might

therefor be supposed, that she would rather have gone to Madagascar, or some of the other islands on the east side of Africa. But the name of Taprobanè, unquestionably proved by the Periplus of the Erythræan sea and Cosmas Indicopleustes, and also by its position near the south part of India, to be the same with the modern Ceylon, will by no means admit of such a supposition; and we must suppose, that Pliny, in the ambiguity of the Latin names of the winds, has applied *aquilo* to any of the northerly winds.

‡ The ambassadors are said to have described the religious worship of their country as resembling that of the Arabs, while their king worshipped Bacchus the Greek god of wine, not one drop of which was produced in his dominions. If the information could be depended upon, it would infer a very strong connection indeed between Arabia and Taprobanè, and also present a very curious coincidence in the antient and modern history of religion in Ceylon, the present principal king of the island being of the Hindu religion, while the bulk of his subjects are worshippers of Boodh, as we learn from Captain Mackenzie's *Antiquities of Ceylon* in the sixth volume of the *Asiatic researches*. But the relation of such abstruse matters, received through the medium of several interpreters scarcely knowing each-other's languages and the reports of others after the first hearers, has very probably been misrepresented to Pliny; and therefor no estimate of the Arabian commercial intercourse with Taprobanè can safely be founded upon it.

tained five hundred towns, was very opulent, and abounded with gold, silver, and pearls; a piece of intelligence, which, if it had been within the reach of a Roman invasion, might have proved fatal to it. The nation they belonged to used to trade with a neighbouring nation, whom they called the Seres, without the use of speech, each party laying down their wares, and making the exchange, when the quantities were adjusted to mutual satisfaction \*. They are also said to have related many things very wonderful, and some absolutely impossible, if they were not rather misrepresented by the hearers or reporters. [*Plin. L. vi, c. 22.*] It is worthy of remark, that all the writers of antiquity, and among the rest Cosmas Indicopleustes, who professes to write chiefly from his own knowledge, appear not to have known any thing of cinnamon being produced in that island, though it is the most remarkable and valuable of its productions †.

42—We are not informed, that the embassy from Taprobanè gave birth to any commercial intercourse between that island and the Roman subjects in Egypt. But it seems very probable, that the involuntary drift of the custom-farmer's vessel *across the Ocean* led the way to the important discovery, or application, of the regular winds called the monsoons, by the Greek navigators of Egypt, which took place very soon, or more probably immediately, after the return of Plocamus's officer with the ambassadors of Taprobanè. The first Grecian commander, who availed himself of the periodical regularity of the winds in the Indian ocean, was Hippalus; and he was therefor, according to the

\* The Seres are generally supposed the ancestors of the people now called by us the Chinese. But Pliny says, that these Seres were in sight of the country, from which the ambassadors came, and he appears even to infer that they were divided from it only by a river. Moreover they are described as men of large stature, with reddish hair and blue eyes, and speaking a language unintelligible to the people of Hippuros. These characteristics answer to a Scythian or Gothic people. Quere, if a colony of the Scythians, who occupied the banks of the Indus, have made a settlement on the island, and if it was from them that it has received the name of Seren-dib, the last part of which differs nothing from *div*, the usual termination of the names of islands in that part of the Indian ocean. It was also called Selan-div, which, when divested of the termination, is the modern name, by which we call it.—China, so far from being visible in Ceylon, as the country of the Seres was, is by coasting navigation at least five thousand miles from it; so that it is rather improbable, that there was any intercourse at all between them in those days. Some learned men, however, on the strength of this passage of Pliny, and another in the 17th

chapter of the same book, have persuaded themselves, that they have found the same cautious or jealous policy among them, which regulates the conduct of their supposed descendants, the Chinese, in their intercourse with the Europeans. But the Seres of the 17th chapter are evidently a continental people; though Pliny himself seems in some respects to confound them with the Seres mentioned in the description of Taprobanè.

† Quere, if the cinnamon has been imported into and naturalized in Ceylon, as cloves were in Amboyna. See *Stavorinus's Voyages*, V. ii, p. 330, *English translation*.

Linchoten [*Voyages*, p. 112] names several places in India producing cinnamon, but none equal to that of Ceylon, which, he says, is thrice the value of any other. Since his time the Dutch are said to have extirpated the best cinnamon in all parts of India subject to their power, except Ceylon, that they might there enjoy a monopoly of it. But some assert that the real genuine cinnamon never grew in any other part of the world than Ceylon. See *Boyd's embassy to Ceylon in the Asiatic Annual register for 1799*.

usual practice of the Greeks, called the discoverer of it \*. This judicious navigator, having a good idea (and perhaps a rude kind of chart) of the form of the coast, and situation of the ports, instead of going up the south side of the entry of the Persian gulf till he could see the opposite shore, then going down it, and coasting along Carmania and Gadoria, and every bay and creek of the coast, as all his predecessors had done, observed the proper season of the monsoon, launched out at once in the Ocean, and committing his vessel to the sure and regular impulse of the south-west wind (Libonotus) steered as straight a course as he could for his port. And in commemoration of this grand improvement, which forms a new and very important æra in the history of the commercial intercourse between India and Europe, the Greeks immortalized the name of Hippalus by conferring it upon the south-west monsoon, which he first taught them to avail themselves of in their voyages to India †. [*Periplus Maris Erythraei*.—*Plin. L. vi, c. 23.*]

Previous to the new system of navigation introduced by Hippalus, the traders from Egypt coasted in small vessels to the mouth of the Indus, and also to Barygaza, Musiris, and Barakè, seemingly in about 12 degrees north latitude ‡, the trade of all which will be afterwards given more at large. [*Periplus Maris Erythraei*.]

Hitherto the corn ships from Alexandria and elsewhere appear to have discharged their cargoes at Puteoli, a port about seventy-five miles from Rome, which being found very inconvenient, the emperor Claudius, in pursuance of a plan projected by Julius Cæsar, made an artificial harbour in the mouth of the Tiber at Ostia, by digging a spacious basin in the main land, which was defended by a pier on each side, and

\* I have all along presumed, that the monsoons were known, and applied to the purposes of navigation, by the Oriental nations, and especially by the Arabs. As we know, that they were navigators in the earliest ages, and we are sure they must have observed the periodical regularity and steady continuation of those winds, we may be equally sure, that they were not so mad as to attempt sailing in opposition to them, or to neglect the obvious advantage of sailing before them, and that they made their voyages accordingly.

† Unfortunately the date of Hippalus's first voyage to India by the monsoons cannot be ascertained with the precision due to its importance. It was certainly not so early as Strabo's visit to Egypt about 28 years before Christ: and, as it was unknown to that author, it was apparently not before he finished his great work, which was about the 20th year of the Christian æra. Pliny [*L. vi, c. 23*] mentions the course for Patala by the wind Hippalus, and a nearer and safer course steered in the age which followed ('secuta ætas') which was long used, and afterwards still shorter routes were

found. This series of improvements infers a considerable length of time between the first use of the wind Hippalus and the composition of Pliny's work, which he finished in the year 77. Therefore, in order to allow for all those improvements as much time as possible, consistent with the presumption that the use of the monsoons in navigation was unknown to the Egyptian Greeks till the arrival of the Taprobanian ambassadors, we must believe that they arrived in the very beginning of the reign of Claudius, which commenced in January 41, the custom-farmer's vessel having drifted to Taprobanè in that of his predecessor, and that the first oceanic voyage of Hippalus took place with the return of the proper monsoon in the year 42.

‡ Pliny makes Patala at the mouth of the Indus the farthest extent of their voyages for a considerable time after they began to sail with the wind Hippalus. But Pliny's information was exceedingly defective in Oriental affairs, as I have already had occasion to observe, and is nothing when set against the Periplus of the Erythrean sea.

a mole or little island before it, on which was erected a light house in imitation of the Pharos at Alexandria.

The importation of corn being the branch of trade which engaged the most general attention among the Romans, Claudius, during a time of scarcity, did every thing in his power to persuade the merchants to import it even in the winter, when it was customary to lay up the ships. He took upon himself all losses and accidents which might arise from the inclemency of the season, and he also made the importers sure of a certain rate of profit\*. He moreover gave large premiums for building ships. [*Sueton. in Claud. cc. 18, 20.—Dion. Cass. L. lx.*]

43—The tranquillity of the Britons, and their friendly intercourse with the Romans and their Gallic subjects, were now interrupted. Claudius the Roman emperor, on pretence of reinstating a British refugee prince called Beric, sent an army into our island; and Plautius the Roman commander, having conquered some of the south part of the country, sent notice of it to the emperor, that he might by his presence assume the honour of the conquest. In the mean time he posted his army on the south bank of the Thames in a station, which Gale [*Antonini Iter Britanniarum, p. 64*] supposes to have been near the Horse-ferry at Lambeth; and he thinks, that thence the great and flourishing city of LONDON had its commencement †. The Roman army, with the em-

\* It was an improvement upon the premium of two nummi (almost four pence sterling) upon the modius (about a peck) of corn, allowed to the merchants by Tiberius. [*Taciti Annales, L. ii, c. 87.*] And this seems the only foundation for an assertion, that Claudius was the inventor of insurance upon ships.

N. B. These regulations did not take place till the year 51. But I have introduced them here as somewhat connected with the preceding paragraph, and to avoid breaking the connection of British affairs in the subsequent years.

† The arguments of Gale, Salmon, and some others, for London being originally on the south side of the river, are, 1) The Roman road from Verulam is said by Ralph Higden [*Polychronicon, p. 196, ed. Gale*] to have passed to the westward of the present city, and to have crossed the river at the Horse-ferry near Lambeth, where there are some remains of Roman works; and another road, of which Oxford street and Old street are parts, stretched from east to west, also quite away from the present city, into which it was afterwards bent. —2) Ptolemy long after this time positively places London in the province of Kent, which he extends farther west than its modern limits. The people of Kent, being comparatively an enlightened and commercial nation, established an emporium at the extremity of their country in order to enjoy the trade of the inland tribes by the navigation of the Thames. When both sides of the river fell under

the Roman dominion, an appendage of the town was built on the north bank of the river, which by its more healthy and pleasant situation attracted the Roman magistrates, merchants, and principal people, and in process of time eclipsed the original town. Now, Ptolemy, who accuses Marinus of Tyre of placing London erroneously, must have surely been very careful not to fall into an error himself.—3) The monk of Ravenna, who lived several centuries after Ptolemy, has Londini along with some places on the south side of the Thames; and he afterwards has Londinium Augusta along with others on the north side of that river: and, as it is not to be supposed, that he mentions the same place twice, there must have been then a London on each side of the river.

To these it may be answered,—1) There is reason to believe that the Roman road, which is said to have crossed the river at the Horse-ferry, is imaginary; the works, which are adduced to support the confused account of Higden, being not Roman, nor even antient, but raised by the parliament in the year 1643. And it is as probable that Stane street (or Stone street) in Southwark is the road connected with the Roman ferry. [See *Maitland's History of London, pp. 10, 11.*]—2) It must be remembered, that, when the country was in a state of nature, the low grounds on the banks of the Thames were overflowed every tide to a great extent; and indeed it is doubtful, if there was any part of its banks opposite to the modern

London

peror at their head, crossed the Thames, and took the city of Camulodunum. And Claudius, having reinstated Plautius in the supreme command, after a stay of sixteen days in Britain, returned to Rome.

52—The noble British prince Caractacus, Caradauc, or Cearatic\*, after a gallant opposition during nine years, which rendered his name famous throughout the Roman empire, at last sunk under the superior discipline of the invaders, and the treachery of his stepmother, the queen of the Brigantes, and was carried prisoner to Rome.

Camulodunum (Colchester), apparently the principal city at this time in Britain, was made a Roman colony; as appears by a coin of Claudius, dated in the twelfth year of his reign: and Verulam (near St. Albans) was made a municipium†. It is highly probable that the Romans also began to inhabit London about this time.

54—‘Wherever the Roman conquers, he inhabits.’ [*Seneca Consol. ad Helviam, c. 6.*] The security of the government and the interest of individuals co-operated in seizing on the strongest, or the most fertile, situations for the establishment of colonies to be occupied by Romans or their conciliated subjects, who, in the capacities of soldiers, farmers, and traders, reaped the greatest advantages, which could be derived from the property of the soil in the conquered territories, while the original proprietors were compelled to cultivate their own lands for the emolument of their new lords. As soon as the colonists were established in their new settlements, they immediately introduced a new system of agriculture, building, and other arts and manufactures; one instance of which is, that we find cherries were cultivated in this country in eleven years after their first landing in it: [*Plin. Hist. nat. L. xv, c. 25*] and Kent, which being their first conquest, was probably first planted with cherry-trees, retains a character for that fruit to this day‡.

London or Westminster fit for the habitation of man. The surface of the ground, even on the north side of the river, was then about twenty feet lower, than it is now, as appears by Roman streets and buildings having been discovered at that depth. The argument for Ptolemy’s accuracy from his censure of Marius is of no weight: for we have often seen those, who are the sharpest in reprehending others, the readiest to fall into mistakes.—3) The monk of Ravenna, who has been most undeservedly honoured with the appellation of the *geographer* of Ravenna, is so irregular and erroneous, that it is really a shame to quote him. His unconnected catalogue of blundered names, if it can prove any thing, proves too much; for he has three, if not four, names, which may all be taken for London, viz. Londinis, Londini, Londinium Augusta, and Lugundino.

Some antiquaries think they have found London before the reign of Claudius in the inscriptions on some British coins, and, what is wonderful indeed, on a Roman-Grecian one. The first notion is

founded on the word NOVANE or NOVANIT; but the connection between it and London can only be suggested by Geoffrey’s vile fable of his Troy-novantum or New Troy. The Grecian coin has not the shadow of a connection with British affairs.

\* The name of Cearatic (pronounced Keartic) appears on a British coin, probably of this prince.

† A brief explanation of the nature of colonies, municipia, and other Roman distinctions of towns, will be given along with an account of Roman Britain in its most flourishing state about the year 170.

‡ Many other fruits, trees, &c. were introduced by the Roman settlers, several species of which are pointed out by Mr. Whitaker, their Roman-like names being his chief guide; in which kind of proof, though often very fallacious, I believe, he is generally right. [*Hist. of Manchester, p. 312.*]

61—In the reign of Nero we have the first undoubted mention of LONDON, which had for some time been a Roman settlement. It was at this time very much celebrated as the residence of a great number of such dealers, as the Romans called merchants; and it contained great stores of provisions. We cannot doubt that the sagacity of the Romans soon marked its convenient situation for water carriage, and established a military magazine of provisions and stores in it. Tacitus, the author who first mentions this city, adds, that it was not distinguished by the name of a colony; a Roman honour, which, however, was afterwards conferred upon it\*.

\* ‘Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem colonie non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et ‘commeatum maxime celebre.’ [*Taciti Annal. L. xiv, c. 33.*] These few plain words have been varnished over with false glosses, in order to make a great and magnificent city of London at the very commencement of its history. [See in particular *Burton’s Comment. on Antonine, p. 154.*] But London, like most communities or individuals, who owe their dignity to intrinsic merit, has the real honour to be indebted to no splendid origin or adventitious helps, (except being the seat of government) but has risen to the first rank among the commercial cities of the world, by the advantage of its situation, and the indefatigable industry and commercial spirit of its inhabitants.

Much study has been employed in tracing the origin of the name of London. Though this is not a work proper for the discussion of etymological or antiquarian subjects, and though I am fully aware, that etymology is a source of information so fallacious, that those, who are best qualified to judge of it, will place the smallest dependence upon it; yet, as such a city deserves the most careful research into its antiquity, and as I think, that some degree of light upon the origin of London may be struck out of what seems to me to be the genuine name of it, I beg leave for this once to submit to the reader some etymological observations.

The name, being evidently not Roman, affords a presumption, that, before the Romans took possession of this spot, there existed upon it a town, village, or collection of houses, known to the inhabitants and neighbouring people by a name, which the Romans, adapting it to the genius of their own language, have called *Londinium*, and *Lundonium*, or *Lundinium*. It was in the country of the Belgic Britons, and most probably first built by them on an elevated spot, which on account of its being almost surrounded every tide by the river, (not then, as now, confined by artificial banks and the elevation of the soil) had been neglected by them, when they first cleared and cultivated the adjacent country. [‘*Agros colere coeperunt.*’ *Cæs. Bell. Gall. L. v, c. 12.*] The Belgic Britons were a colony of the Belgic Gauls, who were a mixed race

of Germans and Gauls, the greatest number of them, however, being of German descent: consequently in their language the German was predominant. [‘*Reperiebat, plerosque Belgas esse ortos ‘ab Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus transductos, ‘propter loci fertilitatem ibi confedisse; Gallosque, ‘quie ea loca incolerent, expulisse.*’ That is to say, they expelled those Gauls, who would not be subject to them: for if all were expelled, then not the most (*plerosque*) but the *whole* of the inhabitants of that part of the country must thenceforth have been Germans. *Cæs. Bell. Gall. L. ii, c. 4.*] Cæsar tells us, that the towns of the Belgic Britons (the only Britons known to him) were built in the midst of thick woods, and fortified with ramparts and ditches. [‘*Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, ‘quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munie- ‘runt.*’ *Bell. Gall. L. v, c. 21.*] The ground, where St. Paul’s church stands, (even now higher than most of the adjacent grounds, though they have acquired in some places about twenty feet of adventitious height) was probably called *Lund*, or the *wood*, as still retaining its native trees, when the rest of the country was tolerably well cleared. Such an elevated spot would be preferred to the adjacent marshy or slimy grounds for the situation of a new village or town, which would naturally get the name of *Lund-duyn* or *Lund-dun*, the hill, or fortified hill, of the wood, or *Lund-tun*, the inclosure, or town of the wood, as the names of new foundations must undoubtedly be in the language of the predominant people, and their language must have continued for some time distinct from that of the aboriginal Britons. See the Dictionaries of the Icelandic, Saxon, German, and Dutch, languages, which are all kindred branches of the Gothic; and also of the Welsh language, wherein, if I mistake not, the name of the Belgic is preserved.

To this supposition, or hypothesis, it will be objected, that the name is not *Lundun* but *London*. But the objection will not be made by any, who have read the Saxon and old English authors, or even all the Roman writers who have mentioned the place: and some of these I shall lay before the reader for his satisfaction.

Tacitus, the father of the history of London,

Establishments founded in rapine and injustice must be in constant dread from the revenge of the oppressed. During the reign of Nero the insolence of the soldiery, and the extortions of the procurator and his subordinate tax-gatherers, were carried to a pitch beyond all possibility of endurance. Prasutag, king of the Iceni, an opulent prince, endeavoured to purchase the forbearance and protection of the Roman government, with the safe possession of a moderate fortune, for his two daughters, by the sacrifice of one half of his kingdom and property, which he left by his will to the emperor. But he had not read the history of Egypt or Asia, to know what kind of guardians the Romans were to princes in their minority. Immediately after his death, instead of the protection his family hoped for, his kingdom, and even his house, were seized upon, his relations were treated like slaves, the virgin princesses were made the victims of brutal lust, and Boadicia, the queen, was ignominiously scourged like the vilest criminal. Such atrocities excited the warmest resentment in a people not inured to slavery: the British spirit was roused: and a great army was soon in the field under the command of the injured queen, who, taking advantage of the absence of the Roman governor in the west, immediately burnt Camulodunum and Verulam, and sacrificed to her revenge every Roman in them, and all those who had not abandoned London. She also engaged, and cut to pieces the most of, the ninth legion; a legion destined to suffer by British valour in both ends of the island. But at last the spirit of this noble heroine, and the undisciplined valour of her army, were found unable to contend with two other Roman legions under the command of the experienced Paulinus. Her death soon after put an end to the war, in which near two hundred thousand of British and Roman

calls it *Londinium*, as does also the Itinerary of Antoninus. Ptolemy has *Londinion*, wherein the only difference is the Greek termination. Heddius and Bede (in some editions, for others have *Lundonia*) the oldest of the Anglo-Saxon writers, in their Latin works call it *Londonia*, in imitation of the Romans, most of whom followed Tacitus. And a few of the coins of the Anglo-Saxon kings have *Lond* for the initial part of the name.—On the other hand, Ammianus Marcellinus, a Roman author, writes *Lundonium* and *Lundinium*. The greatest part of the Anglo-Saxon coins (prints of which may be seen in Hicckes's Thesaurus) and some editions of Bede have *Lund* for the initial. The Saxon Chronicle, written by different hands in successive ages, has *Lundene*, *Lundone*, *Lundunc*, *Lunden-byrig*, *Lunden-burb*, and *Lunden-wic*. King Alfred writes it *Lunden-cestre*. Neenius, an ancient Welsh writer, has *Cair-Lunden*; and the present Welsh write *Llundain*. Ethelwerd, Florence, Eadmer, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntington, Simeon of Durham (who also some-

times writes it with *o*) William of Newburgh, Roger Hoveden, Ralph Diceto (who was dean of London), and several other English historians who wrote in Latin, all have *Lund* in the beginning of the name. And the old Scottish writers also wrote it in the same manner, as appears in the Chronicle of Melros and Wyntown's Chronicle. Since the revival of literature the spelling of London has been supported by the great classical authority of Tacitus, and by Bede, also and deservedly a great authority; though every body pronounces *Lundun*, in perfect conformity to what I conceive to be the genuine original name.

As to the fabulous name of *Troynovantum*, if it had any foundation at all, it may have been *Tre Novant*, signifying in Welsh *the town of the Novantes*, whose capital it may have become after the destruction of Camulodunum: for there is no sufficient authority for the assertion of some modern writers, that London was destroyed or burnt by Boadicia.

lives were sacrificed to the rapine, lust, and extortion, of the Roman oppressors. And this was the last considerable struggle made by the Britons of the south for their independence, of which we have any particular account. [*Tac. Annal. L. xiv, cc. 31-37.*—*Dion. Cass. L. lxii.*]

The portrait of the British heroine, as drawn by Dion Cassius, serves to give us some idea of the manufactures and dress of the Britons. Boudicca (so he calls her) was tall and elegantly formed, with a modest countenance, a clear voice, and long yellow hair. She wore a large gold chain, and a flowing party-coloured robe, which was covered with a thick cloak: and in her hand she bore a spear, the emblem of her command. He also says, that the war was entirely conducted by her, and that she supported her authority with great dignity and with masculine valour\*.

72—The Romans, who conquered many other countries almost as soon as they marched into them, gained their ground in Britain by inches. For though Vespasian, who was afterwards emperor, had been engaged in thirty battles, while he was a subordinate officer in Britain, and subdued two great nations with above twenty towns, together with the island of Vecta (*Wight*), and though the spirit of liberty, roused by Boadicia, seems to have been completely crushed; yet they had about this time established their dominion no farther north than the neighbourhood of Northampton, or the banks of the Severn and the Nen †:

\* Gildas, who seems to regret, that he was born too late to be a slave of Rome, execrates the noble struggle made by Boadicia in defence of British liberty and the rights of human nature, and from his ample store of bombast and foul language he abuses, or dignifies, her with the epithet of a treacherous lioness.

† We have the authority of Pliny to say, that in almost thirty years from the first invasion the Roman arms had penetrated no farther than the neighbourhood of the Calidonian (or Caledonian) wood. [*Hist. nat. L. iv, c. 16.*] But where was it? Some pretend to say, that there was no Caledonian wood, but in the Highlands of Scotland; and Richard of Cirencester, a writer whose name, notwithstanding some specks of the darkness of the age he lived in, will ever be respected by all who study the antient history and geography of Britain, has been abused for *ignorantly* planting a Caledonian wood in Kent, and another in Lincolnshire. But his Caledonian wood in Kent, and the adjacent country, has the authority of Florus, [*L. iii, c. 10*] and apparently that of Lucan. [*L. vi.*] The next Caledonian wood, which has probably left its name in Caledon near Coventry, and overspread not only Lincolnshire, but the whole of the wide-extended nation of the Coritani or Coitani (i. e. woodlandmen, a name afterwards exactly translated by the Saxons to Myrce, Myrcas, and Myrewara) was that, which now bounded the Roman conquests,

according to Pliny. And here must have been the Calydonian fields, where Vettius Bolanus gave laws, and in sight of which were the watch-towers and castles, which he fortified with ditches, being apparently those originally built by Ostorius Scapula along the Severn and the Antona or Aufona (probably the *Nen*), and the boundary now alluded to by Pliny. [*Tac. Annal. L. xii, c. 31*, with *Ric. Corin. L. i, §§ 8, 30, 52.*—*Statii Silv. L. v.*] Nay, so widely extended was the Caledonian name, that the sea between Gaul and Britain was called the Caledonian ocean by Valerius Flaccus, and the Caledonian sea by Aufonius. Now, Lucan and Pliny were dead, and Vettius Bolanus was superseded in his command in Britain, before any Roman army had approached the Scottish Caledonian wood, and before any Roman writer can be rationally supposed to know of its existence. Hector Boyse, indeed, in his romance, which he presumes to call *The History of the Scots*, pretends to quote some national records, wherein Julius Cæsar, as if he had not done himself sufficient honour, is said to have penetrated to the Caledonian wood, and destroyed Camelodunum, which he has transported from Essex to the banks of the Carron: for inventors of history find no difficulty in removing mountains, towns, and whole nations. There is some nonsense of the same sort also in Fordun, though not so circumstantial. But such ignorance

was

for the island of Mon (*Anglesey*), and the country of the Ordovices (*North Wales*), though over-run by Paulinus, retained their liberty, till they were reduced by Agricola several years after.

The south-east part of the country seems to have now sunk into a contented subjection to the Roman yoke: and the trade, formerly carried on between Britain and Rome by the way of Gaul, may be presumed to have gradually increased. But the only additional articles, that I find any account of, were very trifling in a commercial view, viz. a kind of fowl called cheneros, supposed by Mr. Whitaker to have been the goofander; and oysters from the coast of Kent, which, though after so long a carriage they must have been in a very bad condition, were admired by the epicures of Rome. [*Plin. L. ix. c. 54; L. x, c. 22.—Juvenal. Sat. 4.*]

73—There is reason to believe, that Hippalus, who taught the Greek traders of Egypt to abridge the navigation to India by trusting their vessels in some degree to the guidance of the monsoons, stretched no farther to sea in his first voyage out of sight of land than just crossing the widest part of the entry of the Persian gulf\*. But improvements of real utility are generally carried far beyond the first views of the projector. Succeeding Grecian navigators, having their eyes opened to the many advantages of a speedy passage, ventured to take their departure from Canè, on the coast of Arabia, or the promontory of Aromata (*Cape Gardafui*) the easternmost point of Africa, and steer a direct course for the more distant ports on the west coast of India. The improvement in their course, which exempted them in a great measure from the danger of rocks and shoals, and the still-increasing demand for Oriental luxuries in the Roman empire, encouraged the merchants to enlarge the size of their vessels, which, by carrying cargoes of greater value, enabled them to ship a band of archers in each vessel to beat off the pirates †, who infested several parts of the coast of India, and to bear the expense of the presents, which the supercargo of every vessel was obliged to make to the sovereigns, in order to bribe them to permit their subjects to enjoy the advantages of trade. [*Periplus Maris Erythraei.—Plin. L. vi, c. 23.*]

Though almost all the ports on the west coast of India had been resorted to by vessels from Egypt, even before the improvement introduc-

was much more excusable in their ages than in ours.

The authorities adduced in this note might be greatly enlarged and reinforced: but I wish to be as brief as possible, whenever it is necessary to introduce any antiquarian discussion.

\* So we may infer from Pliny, who says, [*L. vi, c. 23.*] that the course steered at first by the wind Hippalus (the south-west monsoon) was from the Promontory of Syagros (apparently Ras-al-

Gat, the eastern extremity of Arabia) to Patala at the mouth of the Indus.

† The descendants of those ancient pirates still continue to infest the navigation on the west coast of India; and other piratical tribes, called Sangarians or Sangaries, and the Kulis, and some Arab tribes, commit depredations at the mouths of the Indus, and other parts of the coast. [*Niebuhr, V. ii, p. 5.—Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, p. 293.*]

ed by Hippalus, [*Periplus*, p. 174] yet till about this time Patala was the only Indian port heard of at Rome; and now the names of two or three ports beyond it were for the first time announced to the Romans by Pliny [*L. vi, c. 23.*] The same author has given us the following circumstantial account of the inland navigation and land carriage in Egypt, by which the adventure from Alexandria commenced.

From Juliopolis, a kind of suburb of Alexandria, they sailed 303 Roman miles up the Nile to Coptos, the emporium of the trade in Upper Egypt, by favour of the etesian winds in twelve days\*. From Coptos the goods were carried by camels 258 miles across the desert to Berenicè upon a road which had been furnished with proper resting places by the attention of the Ptolemies: and this journey performed, according to the custom of those climates, mostly in the night-time on account of the heat, took up other twelve days†. At Berenicè or Myos Hormos, a port farther up the coast, they embarked with their goods for their various voyages. Those bound for India took their departure (in modern nautical language) from Okelis on the south coast of Arabia, and arrived in forty days at Muziris on the west coast of India. The homeward passage was begun in December, or early in January, with the north-east monsoon (which Pliny erroneously calls Vulturnus, a wind about east-south-east) by which they were carried to the entrance of the Red sea, where they generally met with southerly winds, which carried them up to their port. Of their various voyages, and the outward and homeward cargoes, I shall now have an opportunity of giving an account from better materials than were known to Pliny.

Very unfortunately the age of the author of the PERIPLUS ‡ OF THE ERYTHRÆAN SEA, a work, which, for approved accuracy of geographical, nautical, and commercial, information, stands unrivaled by any production of antiquity which has come down to our times, cannot be settled so near as, whether he lived about the middle of the first, or the middle of the second, century§. In this uncertainty I here introduce an extract of the commercial information contained in this precious relique.

\* Agatharchides [*L. v, c. 32*] says, that vessels could easily sail in ten days from Alexandria to Ethiopia, the nearest part of which is far above Coptos.

† In Strabo's time they went from Coptos to Myos Hormos, a journey of six or seven days. [*Strabo, L. xvii, p. 1170.*]

‡ Periplus, sailing round, or circumnavigation.

§ The Periplus not being quoted or mentioned by any antient writer, we can have no knowledge of the author, but what we can derive from himself. And from himself we know, that he was an Egyptian Greek, a merchant, and a navigator upon the Erythræan sea; and, indeed, it is easy to see, that all the very accurate descriptions of the coasts,

harbours, and trade, as far as Nelkynda near the southern extremity of India, are given from his own judicious observations, the plain narrative of a honest man, telling what he saw and knew. His account of the east side of India, though far inferior indeed, is the narrative of the same honest man, using his best endeavour to convey instruction to his countrymen, but frequently misled by the ignorance or roguery of those, whom his thirst of knowledge urged him to apply to in every port for information respecting their native countries, or those they had traveled to. He mentions the names of several kings reigning when he wrote, and embassies sent by Charibael, king of the Homerites and Sabæans, to the Roman emperors. Some of the same king:

Under the name of the *Erythræan sea* the author comprehends that part of the Ocean, which is between Africa and India, and apparently also the Gulf of Bengal. He observes, that *the unexplored ocean extends to the southward till it joins the Atlantic*; a most capital and important piece of geographical and commercial knowlege, which had lain concealed from almost the whole world from the age of Necos king of Egypt (about six hundred years before the Christian æra) till the re-discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese: for Herodotus, though he recorded the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians in the reign of Necos, appears not to have believed it himself: and no other Greek or Roman writer, to the best of my knowlege, unless the Mauritanian prince Juba \* may be reckoned among them, had the smallest idea of the true

are mentioned by Pliny as *his* contemporaries; and he also notices ambassadors from Arabia, evidently from the south part of it (perhaps those sent by Charibael) who were in Rome in his time. [*Plin. L. vi, c. 23; L. xii, c. 14.*] It is thence not improbable, that our author and Pliny lived at the same time. But it must be acknowledged, that some kings of the same names are also mentioned by Ptolemy, who was near a century later than Pliny; though he might copy them from older documents, or the names might be preserved in the families, or be permanent titles rather than names of individuals. Our author also says that the city of Arabia Felix was destroyed a little before his own time by Cæsar, that is, the Roman emperor. But the destruction of the city not being mentioned by any other author extant, it affords us no assistance in finding his age. It has been ascribed to Trajan, for no other reason than because that emperor was in Arabia, and did a great deal of mischief in his progress: for the assertions of Eutropius and Rufus Festus, that Trajan reduced Arabia to the condition of a province, are contradicted by the subsequent history of Adrian; and a hyperbolic passage in the Philopatris, a dialogue ascribed to Lucian, is mere rodomontade and prophecy. Trajan marched, indeed, from Ctesiphon against the Agarenes, an Arabian nation bordering upon Judæa, and above a thousand miles from the city of Arabia Felix, from whom he was obliged to retreat with great loss. But a proper chronological attention to all the circumstances of his eastern expedition might show, that he could not possibly have ever gone near the south part of Arabia, and consequently could not be the destroyer of the city of Arabia Felix; though the most learned Dodwell, who might be supposed to have examined the history of the later years of Trajan with the most scrupulous attention, when composing his lectures on the life of Adrian the successor of Trajan, has ascribed the destruction of it to him, and has made our author contemporary with the joint emperors Marcus Antoninus and Verus, because he says that

Charibael 'sends frequent embassies and presents to our emperors,' by which plural word, he thinks, we must understand a conjunction of emperors, though there seems no reason why the embassies, being *frequent*, might not be to a succession of emperors: or, if there must be a conjunction of emperors, let us not forget, that Titus was associated with his father in the imperial dignity long before the age of Antoninus. But it is very clear, that the destruction of that city was neither the work of Trajan, nor of any other Roman emperor in person. If we could tell exactly, when anchors began to be made of iron, it might perhaps help to fix our author's æra, which was prior to that most important improvement. (See below in the nautical notices under this same year.) But, after much research, I am inclined to believe, that neither the date of the destruction of Arabia Felix, nor that of the introduction of iron anchors, can be ascertained, however desirable they may be, as helping to fix the chronology of the Periplus, and also on account of their own importance in commercial history.

The name of this valuable author, and his country, are also misrepresented. The work is commonly ascribed to Arrian, a Bithynian Greek, and governor of Cappadocia under the emperor Adrian, who wrote the History of Alexander the Great; though it is not in the list of his works given by Photius, who flourished in the ninth century, and though it contains some mistakes concerning Alexander, which Arrian could not possibly have fallen into. The only reason seems to be, that Arrian also wrote a Periplus, which, notwithstanding his acknowledged superior literary merit, is as far inferior in interesting information to our author's Periplus, as the Euxine sea, Arrian's subject, is inferior to the Indian ocean.

\* Juba, as quoted by Pliny, [*L. vi, c. 29*] had some idea of the communication of the Indian and Atlantic oceans; for he extends the later as far as the Mossyllite promontory (Cape Guardafui), which other writers call the Aromatic promontory.

geography of the south part of Africa, though severals of them have fabulous stories of wonderful adventures on some of its coasts. He alone, of all the writers of antiquity, truly describes the coast of India as trending from north to south as far as Colchos (*Travancore*), where, he says, the shore bends to the east, and afterwards to the north, and then more easterly to the Ganges, the greatest river of India, which increases and decreases like the Nile. He is also, if I mistake not, the only extant antient writer, who knew the true name of the great southern division of India, which he calls *Dachinabades*, because 'the South is there called *Dachan-os*,' a word differing only by the adjunct Greek termination from *Deccan*, still the general name of all the country south from Baroach, the very limit stated by our accurate author.

He describes Myos Hormos as the first port of Egypt on the Red sea \*: and from it and Berenicè the Grecian traders sailed down for their various destinations. Those who were only bound to the ports within the Red sea sailed any time from January to September, though most seasonably in September: but July was the time for commencing voyages to all parts beyond the Straits, whether to the east coast of Africa, the south coast of Arabia, or the west coast of India.

The first considerable trading port on the west side of the Red sea was Aduli in the country now called Abyssinia, subject to Zoscales, a prince distinguished as superior to his neighbours in probity and liberality, and also acquainted with the Greek language, a circumstance seemingly inferring a considerable resort of the Grecian traders to his dominions. This was an established port, to which were brought from the inland markets of Coloè and Axomitè (or Axuma) all the ivory collected in the interior country on both sides of the Nile, and the turtle-shell from a neighbouring nation, called by the Greeks Ichthyophagi (eaters of fish).

Into this port the Greeks imported

Coarse cloths unmilled, manufactured in Egypt for this market ; Robes, made at Arsinoè ; Abollas † (cloaks) of counterfeit or bastard colour ; Linens ; Fringed mantles ; Glass, and murrhine ‡ vessels of all sorts, made at Diospolis ;	Orichalcum, a kind of metal, of which the natives of the country made ornamental trinkets, and also coined money ; Brass vessels for cooking, which the women of the place sometimes broke into small pieces to make bracelets, and ornaments for their legs ;
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\* Heroopolis, at the very head of the gulf, was now apparently deserted.

† The best abollas were dyed with the Tyrian purple. The rich colour of one worn by Ptolemy, the son of the learned African prince Juba, cost

him his life, the tyrant Caligula, perhaps, thinking it an affectation of sovereignty. [*Martial. L. viii, ep. 46.—Suet. Calig. c. 35*]

‡ The murrhine vessels were in such esteem in Rome

Iron, to make spears for hunting,  
and for war ;  
Swords, edge-tools, and other iron-  
mongery ;  
Large round cups or bowls of brass ;  
Wine of Laodicea and Italy in  
small quantities ;  
Oil, also in small quantities ; and  
Roman coins (denarii) for the use

of the foreigners, whom com-  
merce brought together in the  
port :  
and also, as a tribute to the king,  
Vessels of gold and silver made af-  
ter the fashion of the country ;  
Abollas ; and  
A few plain coverlets.

There were likeways imported from Arabia

Indian iron and steel ;  
Indian calicoes, and other cotton  
goods, of a variety of kinds ;

Sashes ;  
Coverlets ; and  
Lack for colouring \*.

From this port the only exports noted are

Ivory ;

The horns of the rhinoceros.

On the south shore of the Straits of Babelmandeb (or Babelmandel)  
was the small port of Avalites, into which they went with rafts and boats.  
To this place the Greeks imported

Vessels of glass and stone, assorted ;  
Unripe grapes from Diospolis ;  
Cloths, milled and finished for this  
particular market, assorted ;

Corn ;  
Wine ; and  
Tin in small quantities.

The natives, a rude and savage race, traded with their rafts to Okelis  
and Muza on the coast of Arabia, to which they carried aromatics, a

Rome, that two of them were bought by a consul  
and an emperor at the price of 300 sesterrium  
(£2,421 : 17 : 6 sterling) for each. [*Plin. L. xxxvii,*  
*c. 2, with Arbutnot's Tables of ancient coins, &c.*]  
The nature of them is much contested, some assert-  
ing that they were the porcelain of China, and  
others maintaining that they were made of a fossile  
substance ; and the later opinion seems supported  
by Pliny. [*L. xxxiii, proam ; L. xxxv, c. 12 ; L.*  
*xxxvii, c. 2.*] It is certain from the Periplus,  
that they were made at Diospolis in Egypt : and  
there is no unquestionable authority for the real  
porcelain of China being heard of in Europe till  
many centuries after this time.—Qu. What might  
be the nature of the three *martine*, or perhaps ra-  
ther *murrine*, cups belonging to Roger archbishop  
of York in the twelfth century ? [*M. Paris, p.*  
*140, ed. 1640.*]

\* All these articles, imported from Arabia, are  
Indian manufactures : and they furnish an addition-  
al proof of the extent of the Indian commerce in the  
hands of the Southern Arabians, who still retained

their trade with their old customers, who were in-  
dependent of the Roman empire.

The steel was probably what Pliny [*L. xxxiv,*  
*c. 14*] calls iron from the country of the Seres of a  
quality much superior to all other kinds (he has  
not throughout his whole work any word equiva-  
lent to the English word steel) ; and he adds, that  
the Parthian (probably that called here Indian)  
iron was next to it. The country at the mouth of  
the Indus was now subject to Parthia : and there  
probably both the Seric and Parthian metals were  
shipped for Arabia, from which, or from Aduli, by  
the agency of the merchants of Alexandria, they  
found their way to Rome, as appears by Pliny's  
knowledge of them ; and they must have been ex-  
cellent indeed to bear the expense of such a succe-  
sion of land and water carriages. It is worthy of  
remark, that Marco Polo, many centuries after our  
author and Pliny, mentions *andanicum*, a most ex-  
cellent kind of steel, the produce of a country in  
the east part of Asia. See *Forster's Voyages and dis-*  
*coveries, pp. 135, 242, English transl.*

small quantity of ivory, turtle-shell, and myrh in very small quantities, but of the very best quality\*.

Eastward from Avalites there was a better emporium, though a very indifferent harbour, called Malao, and inhabited by a more civilized people.

The imports to this place were

All the articles carried to Avalites;	Drinking cups or bowls;
Tunics, or jackets, in great quantities;	Meliophtha, an unknown article;
Cloaks (faga) of Arsinoë, milled and dyed;	Iron;
	Gold and silver Roman coins in small quantities.

The exports, which seem to have been to Arabia, were

Myrh;	Cancamus, supposed a kind of gum;
Peratic frankincense in small quantities;	Makeir ‡, supposed mace;
Cinnamon of several sorts, and of inferior qualities †;	Slaves, but very few.

Farther along the coast was Mundus, an emporium with a better harbour, the imports and exports of which were the same with those of Malao, with the addition to the later of thymiama mokroton §, believed to be a kind of incense. The people of Mundus, though rude and uncultivated, were attentive to commerce.

The next emporium to the eastward was Mofyllon, to which were carried

All the articles noted as carried to the others;	Iron in small quantities;
Silver vessels;	Precious stones.

The exports were

Casia, or bastard cinnamon    in such abundance, that larger vessels were employed in the trade of this port;	
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\* The same primitive rude floating craft are mentioned in the same place by Agatharchides and Strabo. See above, p. 104. Pliny [*L. xii, cc. 15, 19*] also notices the trade by rafts from this shore to Okelis (which he calls Oeila) whence the Africans carried home utensils of glass and brass, and clothing, together with buckles or clasps, bracelets, and necklaces; trinkets, which have in all ages been acceptable to nations in a savage state.

† These were the productions of that part of the country.

‡ Pliny [*L. xii, c. 8*] says, macis comes from India; and he presently adds, that the nature of it is unknown to him. He knows nothing of an

African species, which, however, is known to Dioscorides an earlier author: and macis is mentioned by Plautus, long before either of them.

§ See Salmalius in *Solin. p. 500*.

|| Strabo [*L. xvi, p. 1119*] notes the growth of pseudo-casia (bastard casia) as well as cinnamon, frankincense, and myrh, in this country. The abundance of these productions gave the name of Aromatic, with the Greeks, to the whole country, and particularly to the town and promontory at the eastern extremity of it.—Pliny [*L. vi, c. 29*] marks Mofyllon as the market to which cinnamon was brought, which may infer, that it was imported thither from India; and such inference seems supported

Other odoriferous and aromatic articles ;	Peratic frankincense ;
Mokroton, inferior to the Munditic growth ;	Ivory ;
	Myrh, a scarce article here.

At the most easterly point of Africa there was an emporium with a very open, and sometimes dangerous, anchorage, of which we know no other name than the Greek word Aromata, by which the adjacent point or promontory (Cape Guardafui) was also called ; and south from it was another promontory, and also a trading port, both called Tabæ. To these the articles, carried to the other ports on this coast, were also carried. The produce of this part of the country consisted of casia, gizir, asyphè, magla, moto, all apparently of the cinnamon species ; also frankincense, and several kinds of aromatics.

South from Tabæ lay Oponè, the trade of which included all the articles of import and export in the preceding ports. And from it there were also exported some of the best slaves, who were mostly carried to Egypt, and turtle-shell of the very best quality in great abundance.

The ports beyond the Red sea had an *established* trade with Ariakè and Barygaza, both on the west coast of India, from which they received

Corn ;	Cotton goods of various kinds ;
Rice ;	Saffes ;
Butter ;	Cane honey, called fugar *
Oil of sesame ;	

Some of the vessels from India failed for those ports on purpose ; and others only called at them, and, after taking onboard such articles as they found ready, proceeded to their destined ports. This trade appears to have been entirely unconnected with that of the Egyptian Greeks, except as it may have supplied them with Indian goods in those ports ;

ported by Dioscorides, who [*L. i, c. 13*] distinguishes the cinnamon of Mofyllon as of the best quality. He adds, that the best casia is called Daphnitic at Alexandria (from Daphnon a place on this coast noted by our author), and that zigir, asyphenon, citto, and dacar, are inferior species of it. I would not, however, be positive that Pliny did not mean merely that the produce of the adjacent country was carried to Mofyllon to be shipped, as myrh is said, three lines higher in the same chapter, to be carried to a port called Isis.

\* Our word *fugar* is from the Greek *σακχαρ*, which is exactly the Indian word *sacar*. [*Linschoten's Voyages, p. 104.*] The Periplus gives a clear proof, of what I have said already, that sugar was called honey by the Greeks, till they got the genuine name of it from the East : and that the genuine name was but very lately known, may be inferred from the author thinking it necessary to preserve the old name (cane honey) as an explanation.

It is rather surprising, that sugar does not ap-

pear in the Periplus among the direct imports from any part of India to Egypt. We know that Indian sugar found its way to Rome at this time, apparently through the hands of the merchants on the east coast of Africa, as Pliny [*L. xii, c. 8*] distinguishes it from Arabian sugar by its superior quality. He says, it was scarce, being used only in medicine ; and he describes it as a white gum, brittle, and in pieces not larger than a filbert nut. This description answers to the Indian, or perhaps rather Chinese, white sugar-candy, which is compared to diamonds for clearness and hardness. And I suppose, the Indian stone, described by Megasthenes [*ap. Strab. L. xv, p. 1028*] as sweeter than figs and honey, was the same hard sugar-candy. [See also *Doctor Mosely's Treatise on Sugar, p. 71, second ed.*] The spiritous or inebriating liquor, made from the fugar-bearing cane, mentioned by Nearchus, [*ap. Strab. L. xv, p. 1016*] was probably also carried to Rome, though there is no mention of it in Pliny or the Periplus.

and it seems to have commenced before they began to make any voyages out of the Red sea, but how long before, nobody can presume to conjecture, as the east coast of Africa was totally unknown to the Greeks and Romans, and most probably also to the Egyptians, till a little before this time\*.

Though our author has many nautical and topographical remarks on the coast of Africa beyond Oponè, he has not one trading port till he comes to Rhapta, so called by the Greeks, because the natives used canoes with raised sides, which were not nailed, but sewed to the bottom †. The natives are said to be very tall, but he says not a word of their colour, which must have been black. Though every district had its own chief, all of them had long been subject to the king of Mapharitis in the south part of Arabia. The country was also tributary to the merchants of Muza who sent their vessels thither under the care of Arabian commanders and supercargoes, connected with the natives by intercourse and affinity, and well acquainted with their language, and with the navigation of the coast ‡.

The imports at Rhapta consisted of

Lances, or spears, made at Muza ;		Awls ;
Axes ;		Glass vessels of all sorts ;
Cutlasses, or knives ;		

and also corn and wine, not for sale, but for treating the uncivilized natives of some parts of the coast.

The exports were

Ivory in great abundance, but inferior to that of Aduli ;		Turtle-shell, the best of any, next to that of India ;
The horns of the rhinoceros ;		Nauplius §, a small quantity.

\* The same trade has been kept up ever since ; and the same kind of cargoes have been carried from the neighbourhood of the Zinde, or Indus, to those parts of Africa. [See *Purchas*, B. iii, p. 307 ; B. iv, pp. 347, 350, 351, 352.]

† *Ραπρω*, to sew, or join together. The Greeks surely could not be ignorant of the indigenous name of the place, to which they traded. But this is one of the innumerable instances of the licence they took in perverting the names of places, whereby they have introduced much confusion and uncertainty in geography. Ptolemy places Rhapta between eight and nine degrees south of the line, which answers pretty well to the situation of Quiloa, which the Portuguese discoverers supposed Rhapta : and there the same sewed boats are still used.

‡ If the merchants were so powerful as to exercise such an act of sovereignty as the exaction of a

tribute, they must have been associated in a great body, like a modern East-India company. But perhaps the tribute, for which the Greeks saw them send their vessels, was the produce of plantations settled on that coast by the merchants of Muza, as many West-India plantations are now settled and owned by British merchants.

Agatharchides, at least two hundred years older than our author, informs us, that the commercial Arabians established colonies in foreign countries : (see above, p. 104) and the coast on which Rhapta was situated is occupied to this day by Arabians, who still retain the mercantile spirit of the antient founders of their colony. When the Portuguese arrived on this coast in their first voyages of discovery, they found it frequented by vessels of various nations.

§ Nauplius, an article unknown. Pliny [*L. ix, c. 30*] has a description of a shell-fish of that name, which

Beyond Rhapsa the coast was unknown in the days of our author. He therefor returns to the Red sea, and goes down the east shore of it, beginning at Leukè komè (or White town) a port and castle in the possession of the Romans, which was frequented by small vessels from the considerable trading ports in the south, loaded with merchandize for the supply of the neighbouring country and for the merchants of Tyre, upon which a duty of twenty-five per cent was exacted by a Roman centurion, stationed there with a competent military force for that purpose.

From Leukè komè down as far as the Burnt island the navigation was very dangerous, and the coast beset with rocks and without any harbours\*; and therefor the navigators were very careful never to approach it. This inhospitable coast was occupied by various barbarous tribes, differing in manners and in language, of whom some subsisted by fishing and others by pasturage: but they were all pirates, and plundered the vessels which came near their coast, or were wrecked, and made slaves of the people. The kings of the neighbouring industrious nations were therefor continually exerting themselves to suppress those general enemies, and carry them into captivity.

The country below the Burnt island was possessed by a more civilized people, employed in breeding cattle and camels, the later, no doubt, for the service of the caravans.

In the farthest bay of the east coast of the Red sea, about thirty miles from the Straits, stood Muza †, an established emporium, inhabited by experienced seamen, and numerous capital merchants, who, besides dealing in the native commodities, traded to Barygaza and other foreign countries ‡.

The articles imported from Egypt were

<p>The finest purple cloths in great quantities;          Arabian garments with and without sleeves, adorned with gold in various manners;          Saffron;</p>	<p>Cyperus, or galingal;          Muslins (or perhaps rather fine cotton stuffs of Egyptian manufacture);          Abollas or cloaks;          Coverlets, a few;</p>
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which answers so well to the nautilus, described by him in the preceding chapter, that it seems the same animal, taken from a different author. But the shell of it, though very beautiful, seems rather too trifling to be ranked among established articles of trade.

\* If this coast had been occupied by a commercial people, there would have been no want of harbours. It would be easy to enumerate many: but Jidda, about mid-way between the two ends of the Red sea, is at present the principal port, beyond which vessels from India are not allowed to pass; and it is capable of receiving large vessels, which resort to it from our East-India settlements. [*Niebuhr*, V. i, p. 224.]

† Muza is described in the *Periplus* as having no harbour, but only a sandy shore, near which the vessels lay at anchor in the bay. There is now a poor village called Muza, with good water, a great object in those countries, which is four miles from the shore at Mokha, apparently the same place, though now become inland in consequence of the constant gradual recession of the water, by which the whole of the flat border called the Tehama seems to have been formed. Mokha, built about four centuries ago, may be presumed to have arisen on the decline of Muza. See *Niebuhr*, V. i, p. 297.

‡ Pliny was misinformed in respect to Muza, which, he says [*L. vi, c. 23*] had no India trade.

Saffes;  
Ointment of a middling quality;  
Corn and wine in small quantities,  
some of both being produced in  
the country;  
Money sufficient to settle the bal-  
ances.

The exports, consisting of native productions, were

Myrh of the choicest quality;  
Stactè, or tears of myrh, of the  
most excellent quality; †

The merchants also presented to  
the king  
Horses; \*  
Mules for burthen;  
Vessels of gold and silver plate and  
of brass;  
Magnificent dresses.

Lygdus, a fine kind of alabaster,  
of which boxes were made;  
Also all the articles exported from  
Aduli.

At no great distance from Muza resided Colæbus king of Mapharitis, and, as already observed, sovereign of the distant country adjacent to Rhapta on the African coast; and somewhat farther inland was the seat of Charibael king of the Homerites and Sabæans, who also extended his sway over a part of Azania on the east coast of Africa. This prince cultivated the friendship of the Roman emperors by sending frequent embassies and gifts to them.

Passing Okelis, which was just without the Straits, and only a watering place and harbour for inward-bound vessels, our author proceeds about 120 miles eastward along the shore to the port of Arabia Felix. This city long flourished the greatest emporium on all the shores of the Erythræan sea (or Indian ocean) westward from the River Indus. From it Egypt and the other countries of Africa, the merchants of Phœnicia and Carthage, and through them all the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean, and even those on the Atlantic ocean, including perhaps our own British islands, and, by the caravans, all the western countries of Asia, were supplied with Oriental produce and manufactures in exchange for their own commodities. And in this happy state of apparently-uninterrupted commercial prosperity it continued till the

\* Horses imported from Egypt into Arabia, and into that part of it which is most celebrated for the superiority of its horses! Is it certain that Arabia has been famous for its breed of horses ever since the days of Ishmael, as alleged by historians quoted by Leo Africanus? Or have horses, as well as coffee, (another article mentioned by no antient Greek or Roman author, and believed to be a native of Abyssinia) been introduced into Arabia in the darkness of the middle ages?—Horses are not mentioned in either of the two enumerations of Job's property, though camels and other animals are.—Solomon imported horses from Egypt and from other countries, but Arabia is not particularized.—In Ezekiel's account of the commerce

of Tyre, horses are brought from Togormah, (Cappadocia, the country which supplied the Persian kings with horses, a breed celebrated by many antient authors) but only sheep and goats from Arabia, which also furnished the same kinds of animals, as we find by *II Chron. c. 17*, to Jehosaphat king of Judah.—The learned and indefatigable Bochart has not a word of an Arabian breed in all the passages concerning horses which he has collected in his *Hierozoicon*.—This subject will be touched upon again under the year 345.

† Στακτή μυρρινάια, or perhaps rather Στακτή ἀδουμινάια, myrh of the best quality produced in the country of the Minæi. See *Bochart, Geog. sacr. col. 119*.

Greeks of Egypt, supported and encouraged by the power and wealth of the Roman empire, began to repair to India for the goods they had hitherto received from the Arabian merchants. But the Romans, perhaps not content with what their subjects could abstract from the commerce of Arabia Felix by a fair competition, supposed, that, if they could destroy the commerce of an independent people, whom they had in vain attempted to subdue, (see above, p. 120) it would devolve upon their own subjects. Whether in consequence of such a system of oppressive confidence in their own superior power, which they might pretend to call a patriotic attention to the commercial rights of their subjects, (for sovereigns in all ages have too often made power the standard of right) or in consequence of any quarrel, for which they were never at a loss to find a pretence, this most flourishing commercial city was destroyed by the Romans a short time before our author was born. We may, however, be assured, that the consequence would not be what the Romans may be supposed to have expected. The merchants would transfer their commerce, with whatever they could save of their property, to other ports of Arabia more remote from the Roman dominions, and to the Arabian colonies on the distant coasts of Africa, which would thereby be strengthened and enriched. And to such a forced emigration was probably owing a great part of the trade between Africa and India, noted by our author.

Arabia Felix was now so far recovered from its ashes as to have the appearance of a village, but we do not find that it had any commerce; and it was only resorted to on account of having a more convenient harbour and better water than Okelis.

The next emporium was Canè, about 200 miles east from Arabia Felix, in the territory of Eleazus, the country producing frankincense, which was brought to this emporium, some by land carriage upon camels, and some by water in vessels and upon rafts made of hides filled with air. The merchants of this port traded to Barygaza, Scythia (the country of the Indo-Scythians at the mouth of the Indus), Omana, and other places in the neighbourhood of Persia.

The merchants of Egypt imported thither

Corn and wine, in small quantities,		Brass;
as in Muza;		Tin; *
Arabian clothing, common and		Coral; †
plain, and mostly counterfeit;		Styrax, or storax, an odoriferous gum;

\* It is very probable, that all the tin mentioned here and in other ports, was the produce of the British mines, and destined for India. The merchants of Gadir (or Cadiz), I presume, supplied those of Alexandria with it.

† As the Arabs had corals in great abundance on the shores of their own country, that which was carried from Europe must have been the superior sort found on the Gallic coast near Massilia, and in the sea adjacent to Sicily. It was appar-

And all the articles carried to Muza:	Statues ; Horfes ; Magnificent and plain dreffes.
They alfo carried for the king	
Silver veffels engraved or chafed ;	
Money ;	

The exports were

Frankincenfe } native commodi-	The merchandize imported into Muza from other ports.
Alocs } ties ;	

Between Arabia and Africa, but nearer to the former, and fubject to the fame king Eleazus, was Diofcorides, a large, défert, marfhy ifland, with many rivers, and abounding with crocodiles, vipers, and very large lizards, the flefh of which was good to eat, and the fat for making oil \*. It alfo produced turtle of the genuine, the land fpecies, the white, and the mountain, kind. They were remarkable for the largenefs of their fhell, but efppecially the mountain kind, the fhell of which was of prodigious fize and thicknefs. Of thefe fhells were made chefts, caskets, writing tables, and other ornamental articles †. The land produced neither corn nor wine, and nothing of value, except cinnabar of the Indian fpecies, a gum dropping from trees. A few Arabians and Indians, and fome Greek merchants, fettled there for the fake of trade, who lived on the north fhore facing the continent. The merchants of Muza had fome dealings with it, and veffels in the India trade fometimes called at it, and fupplied the inhabitants with rice, corn, Indian linen, and fometimes female flaves, in exchange for turtle-shell, (or turtle) of which they got enough to load their veffels ‡.

Beyond the vaft promontory of Syagros (apparently Ras al Gat §) was the port of Mofcha (*Mafkut*), a great emporium for the frankincenfe produced in the adjacent Sachalitic country. Veffels from Canè traded to this port: and thofe from Limyrica and Barygaza in India, when

ently deftined by the Arabian merchants for India, where, Pliny fays, the men were as fond of the berries of coral as the women of Rome were of the Indian pearls; and thence the demand for India made them fo fcarce in the place of their growth, that the Gauls could not now, as formerly, indulge in the luxury of adorning their fwords, fhields, and helmets, with them. [*Plin. L. xxxii, c. 2.*]

\* This appears to be the animal called the *guana* in the Weft-Indies.

† The Romans were exceedingly fond of turtle-shell. Befides the ufes of it mentioned in the Periplus, they adorned their bedfteads, and vaneered wood, with it. [*Plin. L. ix, c. 11; L. xvi, c. 43.*]

‡ It is generally agreed that Socotora is the Diofcorides of the antients. As our author's defcription of it by no means answers to Socotora, which is rocky and dry, I have been fomewhat fuller in extracting it, that thofe who are better informed of the nature of the ifland may afcertain

whether Socotora, or fome of the iflands nearer the Arabian fhore, has been the antient Diofcorides. Neither our author, nor Pliny in his account of Diofcorides, mentions aloes as the produce of it, which are now the ftaple of Socotora: and as they were an eftablifhed article in the commerce of the Egyptian Greeks, our author's filence may be admitted as a full proof that none grew on the ifland of Diofcorides in his time. Diofcorides [*L. iii, c. 23*] fays the Indian aloe is the beft, but has not a word of any coming from the ifland of his own name.

§ Syagros is laid by Harris [*Collection of voyages, V. i, p. 431, ed. 1744*] to be beyond controverfy Cape Fartack; but that does not correpond with our author's geography, nor with Pliny's. I obferve, that even in Ptolemy's time it was difputed which headland was Syagros. Our author's defcription of it, 'the greateft promontory in the world,' may help to decide the queftion.

too late for accomplishing their voyages, used to pass the winter here, and exchange their calicoes, corn, and oil, for frankincense; the sale of which the king most rigorously monopolized in his own hands\*.

Apologus, an established and celebrated emporium at the mouth of the River Euphrates, and Omana on the coast of Persia, (or rather of Carmania) were frequented by large vessels from Barygaza with cargoes of brass and woods of various kinds, and they received frankincense from Canè. The exports from them to Barygaza and Arabia were

Pearls, found near the mouth of the Persian gulf, inferior in quality to the Indian, in great quantities;	Wine;
Purple drapery, manufactured in Persia;	Palm, or perhaps palm wine, (φοῖνιξ) in great quantities;
	Gold;
	Slaves.

And boats, called *madaratæ*, joined together by sewing, were carried from Omana to Arabia.

The first trading port in INDIA is called in the Periplus the Barbaric emporium †, situated on the principal stream of the Sinthus, (Sindi,

\* This monopolizing spirit is general among the sovereigns of many of the Oriental countries to this day.

All the antient authors, from Herodotus downward, who have had occasion to treat of Arabia, have given us a number of fabulous stories of wonderful hardships and dangers incurred in collecting frankincense, cinnamon, &c. from the mortal bite of flying serpents, which infested the frankincense groves, terrible bats which flew at the eyes of those who gathered calia, and cinnamon only to be obtained from the nests of birds, which brought it from the country where Bæhus was born. According to Theophrastus, [*Hist. plant. L. ix, c. 4*] there was a report, that all the myrrh and frankincense produced in Sabæa was deposited in the temple of the Sun, each proprietor placing a note of the quantity and price upon his own parcel. The merchants, having chosen their parcels, carried them away, leaving the specified sums of money in their places. Then came the priest, who took a third part of the money for the god, and the remainder was sacredly preserved for the proprietor. Perhaps this is a mythological way of telling us that there was a public hall, where the cultivators consigned their produce to proper agents to be sold for them, and paid a heavy duty to the priests. The author of the Periplus has no flying serpents, no bats, no birds importing cinnamon; but he says, that the frankincense trees infested the air with pestilential vapours, and that the gathering was a task imposed upon condemned criminals, to whom it was certain death. He adds, that it needed nobody to guard it, the gods taking that charge upon themselves, so that if any person carried a

single grain of it onboard his vessel *without the king's permission*, it would be impossible for her to get out of the harbour *unless by the particular intervention of the deity*. We find by Pliny [*L. xii, c. 14*] that those very vigilant gods were quite neglectful of the frankincense after it was out of their own country; for in Alexandria the most severe restrictions were not sufficient to prevent the embezzlement of it. Pliny says, that the Arabian ambassadors who were at Rome gave such answers to those who made inquiries concerning the nature of frankincense, as left them more at a loss than ever respecting it; and he very justly remarks, that the wonderful stories were circulated in order to raise the prices. [*L. xii, cc. 14, 19.*] They also served to prevent the Phœnicians and other foreigners from attempting to discover the places where some of those precious articles, which were not natives of Arabia, were produced. Just so the Portuguese in the sixteenth century spread terrible reports of the wonderful dangers and hardships of navigating the Indian ocean.

† It is not improbable that this emporium, affectedly called *Barbaric* by the Greeks, was that to which the Arabians traded in the time of Agatharchides, and the Greeks at the commencement of their India trade, (see above, pp. 104, 157) which Pliny calls Patala, a name which appears from Dionysius Periegetes and Arrian to be indigenous. Ptolemy, indeed, has both Barbari and Patala on branches of the Indus: but his Minagara is on a river far distant from the Indus, in direct contradiction to the Periplus, which is surely superior authority.

Zind, or Indus) in the country occupied by a Scythian nation \*, and at this time subject to the Parthian empire. All the commodities brought into this port by the vessels of various countries were sent up the river to the king at Minnagara. The imports consisted of

Drapery, mostly plain, some counterfeit ;	Frankincense ;
Chrysolithes ;	Glass vessels ;
Corals ;	Silver plate ;
Storax ;	Money ;
	Wine in small quantities.

The exports were

Costus, an aromatic root ;	Skins from the country of the Seres ;
Bdellium, a fragrant gum ;	Silk thread, or raw silk †, from the same ;
Lycium, a drug or dye stuff ;	Calicoes ;
Callien stone (perhaps found in the River Callien at Goa) ;	Indigo. ‡
Sapphires ;	

The next, and a much greater, emporium, was Barygaza, which by many marks appears to be the modern Baroach, Broatch, or Brootchia, on the Nerbuddah. On account of the great trade of this port, the extraordinary tides, the danger attending the spring tides, the bore, and the difficult pilotage of the river, are described with the most minute attention ; though the native fishermen were accustomed to cruise a good way off in their long vessels, called in their own language *trappaga* and *kotymba*, in order to meet vessels, and carry them up to the city. The sovereign of the country, resolving to concentrate all the foreign trade in this favourite port, shut his ports of Acabarus, Uppara, and Calliena, against the Greek traders from Egypt, who, if they happened to put into any of them, were sent with a guard to Barygaza. There the merchants found all the various productions of a very extensive inland country, inhabited by a variety of industrious manufacturing nations, together with the merchandize of Bengal, and even of the country of the Seres,

\* These were the people called Indo-Scythæ by other authors. We learn from Herodotus [*L. vii, c. 64*] that the Persians gave all the Scythians the name of *Sal-ai*, or *Saks* : and *Seiks*, the modern name of the people who occupy the country adjacent to the Indus, and bordering on the east side of Persia, is probably a very slight variation of the same word.

† ‘ *Νῆμα σερικόν,*’ strictly *seric thread or yarn* (*νήμα*, from *νιω*, *to spin*). But a Greek could find no better name for raw silk spun only by the silkworm ; and, notwithstanding the confusion of ancient authors upon the subject of *sericum*, there appears to be no doubt that it was silk.

‡ ‘ *Ἰνδικόν μελαν,*’ which I have translated *indigo*,

because there is a great exportation of that article from the country near the mouths of the Indus. The *indicum* of Pliay, [*L. xxxv, c. 6*] however, which he classes with ivory black, &c. among painters’ colours, seems to be the Indian ink, which we use in drawing ; and the addition of *μέλαν*, *black*, might seem to infer that the *Ἰνδικόν* of the Periplus was the same, but for the consideration that indigo must have become an article of great importance in commerce as soon as it was known, and that Indian ink must have been too trifling to be enumerated among established articles. The authority of Iiidore, such as it is, is also in favour of *indicum* being indigo.

brought by land carriage over the Bala-gaut mountains \*, and also the produce of every coast, from Africa to the farthest East, imported by the vessels of the country. And such was the dispatch in transacting business in this great mart, that a vessel's cargo could be sold, and a new cargo put onboard in three days; whereby we learn that the merchants of Barygaza were numerous, and that they had large capitals, and were extensive dealers †.

The imports from Egypt were

Wine of Italy, Laodicea, and Arabia;  
 Brass;  
 Tin;  
 Lead;  
 Coral;  
 Chrysolithes;  
 Garments, plain and counterfeit, of all kinds;  
 Sashes made of many threads, perhaps net-work;  
 Storax;  
 Melilot;  
 White glass;  
 Sandarak;  
 Stimmi, or stibium, (perhaps black lead);

The exports were

Spikenard of various kinds, brought from Proclais;  
 Costus;  
 Bdellium;  
 Ivory; §  
 Onyx stones from Plithana and Ozenè (believed to be Ougein);

Ointment of ordinary quality, and in small quantity;  
 Money of gold and silver, in exchanging which with the money of the country there was a considerable profit; ‡

And there were presented to the king, in name of tribute or custom,

Precious silver vessels;  
 Musical instruments;  
 Beautiful virgins for the seraglio;  
 Wine of the first quality;  
 Plain dresses of the finest fabric;  
 The most precious ointments.

Murrhine stones from Ozenè;  
 Myrrh;  
 Lycium;  
 Muslins (Σινδόνες Ἰνδικαί) from Tagara and Ozenè;  
 Calicoes of all sorts (or perhaps figured);

\* See Lieutenant Wilford in the *Asiatic researches*, V. i, p. 370.

† It is very common for the native merchants of India to buy whole cargoes by the invoice: and that there were many merchants at Barygaza who did the same in those days, and also had stocks of goods ready in their warehouses sufficient to load the vessels immediately with the articles wanted, is evident from the dispatch. The author adds, that the same dispatch was given in Scythia, meaning, I suppose, the Barbaric emporium: but as the goods were to be sent up the river to the king, it is not clear from what time the three days could be reckoned there.

‡ Roman coins, probably those carried from

Egypt in this trade, and also Greek coins, are still met with at Surat, about thirty miles south from Baroach, where some of both kinds were collected by the Dutch navigator Stavorinus. (See his *Voyages*, V. ii, p. 11, *English transl.*) The Greek ones were perhaps those of Apollodotus and Menander, sovereigns of some of the eastern part of Alexander's conquests, which were current at Barygaza in our author's time. We may observe, that every writer of veracity, who has gone over the same ground with the author of the *Periplus*, illustrates the accuracy of his statements.

§ Pliny repeatedly observes that the largest ivory was got from India. [*L. viii, cc. 3, 11.*]

Silk stuffs ;		Long pepper ;
Molochinum (supposed cotton cloth of the colour of mallows) from Ozenè ;		Calicoes of inferior quality *, brought in great quantities from Minnagara and Tagara ;
Silk thread, or raw filk ;		with many other articles.

To the southward of Barygaza there were Acabarus, Uppara, and Calliena, already mentioned, and also Semylla, Mandagora, Palæpatma, Melizigara, Byzantium Toparon, and Tyrannoboas, ports only frequented by the vessels of the country. Beyond these were some islands occupied by pirates, probably the ancestors of those by whom the same part of the coast is infested in the present day. Then followed Naura and Tyndis, situated on the Ocean, and Muziris on a river, which were all ports of Limyrica, the kingdom of Cebrotois, used by the country traders ; but Muziris only is noted as resorted to by Grecian vessels ; and we are not informed of the particular articles of its trade.

Pandion was sovereign of the next kingdom, comprehending the south point of India, wherein the first port was Nelkynda, about twelve miles up a river, at the mouth of which was Barakè †, where the vessels, whereof there were very great numbers, attracted by the superior quality and abundance of the pepper and malabathrum, lay at anchor to receive their cargoes.

The goods imported by the Grecian traders were

Chrysolithes ;		Lead ;
Plain clothing in small quantities ;		Wine in small quantities ;
Stimmi ;		Sandarac ;
Corals ;		Arsenic ;
White glafs ;		Considerable sums of money to make up the purchase of their homeward cargoes.
Brass ;		
Tin ;		

There were carried thither from the other ports of India

Pepper of Cottonara ‡ in very great abundance ;		Ivory ;
Excellent pearls in great numbers ;		Silk stuffs ;
		Spikenard from the Ganges ;

\* Coarse *dungarees*, as translated by Mr. Wilford. [p. 369.] But, to most readers out of India, *dungarees* needs to be translated at least as much as ἰδιόιον χυδαῖον. If we are uncertain of the application of these genuine Greek words to Indian manufactures, we must be still more at a loss with several names of articles in the Periplus, which are apparently Indian words imported with the goods, just as we now use *jacanet*, *coffae*, *mulumul*, for denominations of Indian fabrics. There-

for some of them, which were apparently used only in mercantile language, and are found nowhere but in the Periplus, may perhaps be improperly translated, notwithstanding all my endeavours to get at their real meaning.

† Pliny calls it Becarè ; and he seems also to write Necanidon instead of Nelkynda.

‡ This is the black pepper of Malabar, reckoned the best in India. White pepper was also imported, as we learn from Pliny. [L. xii, c. 7.]

Malabathrum from the interior country;  
 Diamonds \*, hyacinths, and a variety of other pellucid gems;

Turtle-shell, of a kind called Chrysonetic (from a golden island), and also from the islands opposite to Limyrica.

The investments of the Grecian traders, which our author has not specified, undoubtedly consisted of all the articles, native and imported, found in the place.

Balita, Comar, Colchi, (near which was the principal fishery for pearls, performed entirely by condemned criminals) Camara, Podukè, and Sopatma, were ports in the south part of India which do not appear to have been frequented by the Egyptian Greeks. But a great coasting trade was carried on in them, partly by vessels belonging to other parts of India, and partly by their own. From Limyrica, and other northern parts of India, they received the various articles imported from Egypt, together with the native productions and manufactures. Some of their vessels, consisting of large canoes joined together, were called *sangara*; and others, called *kolandiophonta*, which were of the largest size, were used in the trade with the River Ganges and the countries beyond it †.

The productions of the large island near the south end of India, formerly called Taprobanè, but at this time Palæsimundi, were pearls, gems, turtle-shell, and muslins ‡.

On the continent opposite to this island was Argali, a country producing a kind of muslin called ebargaritid, and possessing a pearl fishery; Masalia, stretching into the interior, where much muslin was manufactured; and, adjacent to it, Desarenè, a country abounding with elephants of the species called bosarè.

Though our author's account of the countries beyond the south point of India, being all from report, is much inferior to the rest of his work,

\* Pliny says [L. xxxvii, c. 4] that the *antients* knew of no diamonds larger than cucumber seeds, but in his time there were some even as large as the kernel of a filbert nut; a proof that no very large diamonds had yet been carried to Rome. Arbutnot, by a curious oversight, translates *avelana* walnut, instead of filbert.

† I here recapitulate the names of the several kinds of Oriental vessels noted by our author, viz. *madarats*, small vessels joined together by sewing, in the Persian gulf; *trappaga* and *kotymba*, long vessels, used by the fishermen and pilots of Barygaza; *sangara*, (whence the pirates called Sangarians perhaps took their name) seemingly like the double canoes of the South-sea islands described by Captain Cook; and *kolandiophonta*, of which there is no other description than their great burthen, and capacity to perform distant voyages; in hopes that those who are acquainted with the Eastern seas may perhaps be able to trace the names in the language of the present race of a

people, among whom manners, laws, religion, and language, have ever been, in spite of conquests, persecutions, and devastations, so much more stationary than in our quarter of the world.

‡ Not a word of cinnamon (see above, p. 149) as a production of this island. The name of it, if we may trust entirely to Grecian information, was remarkably fluctuating. *Taprobanè*, the name under which it was first announced to the western world by Onesicritus, had now given place to Palæsimundi, which in Ptolemy's time was superseded by *Salikè*, and by *Seria*, the name given to it by Pausanias, an author of the same age. [*Eliac. L. ii.*] But about the beginning of the sixth century *Taprobanè* was again restored, at least among the Greeks, as we learn from Cosmas Indicopleustes, who adds, that the genuine name was *Siele-diba*, (*Siele-diva*, the island of *Selè*) a slight perversion of which produced the *Salikè* of Ptolemy, and also *Ceylan*, *Ceylon*, &c. the names now given to it by the Europeans.

and even wanders into the marvelous, which has in all ages vitiated and characterized the descriptions of unknown parts of the world, he has obtained a pretty accurate account of the nature of the famous River Ganges, as already observed : and so well was he informed of the trade and manufactures of that distant region, that he remarks the superior excellence of the Bengal muslins \*, which took their name, at least among the Grecian traders, from the river, or a town of the same name on its banks. From that port were also shipped malabathrum, Gangetic spikenard, and pearls. Near the mouth of the Ganges he places an island called Chryfè, the eastern extremity of the world, and producing the best turtle-shell in all the Indian ocean. And farther north, where the sea terminates in the country of the Sinæ †, he has a very great inland city called Thina, from which wool, (perhaps the remarkably-fine wool of Thibet) thread (which must be silk in a raw or spun state) and silk stuffs ‡, were carried over land through Bactria as far as Barygaza. But in his attempt to describe the situation of Thina, the route of the trade from it, the inhabitants, and their manner of obtaining three kinds of malabathrum from offal leaves left behind them by a neighbouring savage nation, he is confused and embarrassed, at which we need not wonder, considering how very far it was beyond the utmost limits of Grecian voyages or travels.

I have now finished my extracts from the very valuable *Periplus of the Erythraean sea*, which has never yet received the fame due to its singular merit : a neglect perhaps owing in some degree to the small size of the book, but probably more to the absence of battles and slaughters in it §.

It is worthy of remark, that the subjects of Rome, in all their eagerness for purchasing spices and other luxuries, appear to have known nothing as yet of nutmegs and cloves ¶, and scarcely any thing of mace ¶¶ ; and that cinnamon and sugar were hitherto imported by the Greek

\* ‘ Σινδώνες αἱ διαφοράταται, αἱ Γαγγητικαὶ λεγόμεναι ;’ at once a noble testimony of the long-established character of the Bengal muslins, and of the veracity of the *Periplus*.

† Quere, if the Chinese?—or Siam?—or Pegu, antiently called Cheen, as we learn from the *Ayeen Akbery*, V. i, p. 7. The editions of Blancard and Stuckius, and the Italian translation of Ramusio, vary in the names of this nation or city ; and unfortunately we know of no manuscript to appeal to.

‡ ‘ Ὀθονιον τὸ σηρικόν.’—Ὀθονιον is properly linen cloth, but I have translated it calico, when applied to Indian manufactures ; and with the addition of σηρικόν (silken) we can scarcely conceive it to be any other than silken stuff.

§ If an edition of the *Periplus*, with proper illustrative accompaniments, were executed by a gen-

tleman possessing, along with classical learning, a competent knowledge of the languages, topography, navigation, and trade, of the countries between the Red sea and Ceylon, assisted by a good manuscript to correct some errors of transcribers in numbers, points of the compass, and omissions, it would be a very great acquisition to literature in general. The edition of the *Periplus* by Stuckius, with a multitude of pedantic and trifling notes, is no exception to what I have said in the text : neither does Dodwell’s profusion of erudition throw much light even upon the æra of it, the principal object of his dissertation.

¶ Pliny [*L. xii, c. 7*] has an Indian fruit called *gariophyllon*, like a pepper-corn, but larger and more brittle, which was imported for the sake of the scent. This description is very unlike cloves.

¶¶ See above, p. 161, note †.

traders, not directly from India, but through the medium of the merchants of Arabia or the east coast of Africa. Could the Greek merchants, who frequented the ports of India, possibly be ignorant that those articles were to be had in the greatest perfection in that country, when Alexander's officers knew that cinnamon, spikenard, and other aromatics, were produced in the south parts of it? [*Strabo*, L. xv, p. 1018.]

We may be well assured that the demand throughout the wide extent of the Roman empire, and, what was in a great measure a consequence of that, the demand in the Oriental regions, made the manufactures of Egypt more flourishing at this time than they ever were in any former age, and that they continued to prosper while the Oriental commerce continued to flow in a full tide, which it probably did as long as the empire retained its vigour\*.

Of all the merchandize imported into Egypt by the Red sea, the greatest part was re-shipped at the busy port of Alexandria for the various shores of the Mediterranean; and a great proportion of the whole, as they consisted mostly of articles of luxury, went to the imperial city, where, for one instance, cinnamon and casia were to be found in such abundance, that Nero is said to have consumed more than a whole year's growth of them at the funeral of his wife Poppæa, or in embalming her †. [*Plin. L. xii, c. 18.*—*Tac. Ann. L. xvi, c. 6.*]

The natives of India, deriving all the necessaries and enjoyments of life from their fertile soil and their own industry, cared very little for the productions of the West. The Grecian merchants were therefore obliged to lay in their cargoes chiefly with money; and we are told by Pliny, [*L. vi, c. 23*] that, at the lowest computation, five hundred sestertertia (reckoned by Arbuthnot [*p. 193*] equal to £403,645 : 16 : 8 of modern sterling money) were every year sent out of the Roman empire to India in payment for goods, which were sold in Rome at an advance of an hundred for one ‡. But that must surely be a mistake, as we have no reason to believe that there was any monopoly in Alexandria or Rome, or that there could be a combination of the sellers in either place sufficiently powerful to command sale at such enormous prices.

Nor were the natives of India the only foreigners, who received a

\* We shall have an opportunity of seeing the declining state of the Oriental trade in the sixth century, when the Roman world was reduced to the empire of Constantinople.

† Before the Romans had obtained the sovereignty of Egypt, and when the commerce of that country with Arabia may be supposed to have been in a declining state, prodigious quantities of frankincense, cinnamon, and other spices, were consumed at the funeral of Sylla, [*Plut. in Vita Syllæ*] about a century and a half before that of Poppæa.

And we even find many kinds of Oriental spices and perfumes mentioned in the comedies of Plautus, who died above a century before Sylla.

‡ 'Merces [Indiæ] quæ apud nos centuplicato veniant.'—In the improved edition of *Harris's Voyages*, V. i, p. 431, the author has reduced this monstrous and incredible advance to cent per cent, which I suppose would not be sufficient to cover the heavy charges upon the complex conveyance from India to Rome.

large balance in money from the Roman empire. The southern Arabians, notwithstanding the destruction of the city of Arabia Felix, apparently the principal seat of their commerce, still preserved a commercial rank, wherein, if they were in any respect inferior to the merchants of Alexandria \*, it was entirely owing to the treasure of so large a portion of the world being in the hands of the Romans, and so considerable a part of it being conveyed to that city to pay for the corn and other productions of the fertile soil of Egypt, and the luxuries of the East, for the later of which a considerable part of the Roman wealth found its way into the hands of the Arabian merchants, the money annually paid to them and the Seres † being together estimated equal to that remitted to India. Pliny severely reprehends so vast an expenditure (the whole amounting to £807,291 : 13 : 4 of our money) for articles of mere luxury and female vanity : [*Plin. L. xii, c. 18*,—and see *Tac. Ann. L. iii, c. 53*] and it must be acknowledged, that, as most of the merchandize imported from the East very justly came under that description, as there were no raw materials for manufactures, except some iron and steel, and a small quantity of the very extravagant article of raw silk, and as there could scarcely be any re-exportation to foreign territories, the trade was undoubtedly prejudicial not only in a moral view, but also upon the principle of gold and silver being the most valuable possessions.

But gold and silver being valuable to their possessors, merely as they enable them to obtain whatever they need or desire, those, who possessed redundant masses of the precious metals, might think diamonds and pearls more valuable, and therefore desire to have them in exchange for their superfluous money. Those trinkets, though of no real value, were very durable, and nothing the worse for being used, or exhibited. But silk, though liable to be destroyed by accident, and certain to be worn out by using, being supplied very sparingly from the East, still kept up so extravagant a price, that it was customary to decompose the most expensive kind, called the Assyrian *bombycina* ‡, untwist the threads, thereby reducing the stuff to a raw material, and then re-spin it very small and re-weave it of so thin a fabric (probably like the modern slight silks called persians) that it was too transparent to conceal what was under it.

\* The judicious reader, who has attended to the articles of import and export in the trade of the Egyptian Greeks with Arabia, Africa, and India, must have observed several instances of the superior commercial knowledge of the Arabian merchants. But the Greeks were probably superior to them in the extent of their dealings.

† Perhaps the money paid to the Seres, in Pliny's estimate, was distinct from that paid for Seric merchandize in the ports of India, and was the cost of the goods carried through the heart of Asia by caravans and inland navigation to the Euxine sea. See above, p. 141.

‡ Pliny says, [*L. xi, c. 22*] that it was made of silk produced by silk-worms (*bombyces*) natives of Assyria. But he must assuredly have been misinformed; and his Assyrian *bombycina* must have been the manufacture of a more distant country, procured by the agency of the Assyrians: for we shall afterwards see, that two Persian monks clandestinely brought the eggs of the silk-worm from the country of the Seres to the Roman emperor at Constantinople, which would not have been necessary, if the genuine silk-worms had already been in Assyria, a province on the confines of the Roman and Persian empires.

[*Plin. L. vi, c. 17; L. xi, c. 22.*] For upwards of a century the moralists and satyrists of Rome had execrated and ridiculed the indecent exposure of the person by such gowns of glass, such transparent clothing, 'if indeed it might be called clothing,' says Seneca, 'when a woman dressed 'in it could scarcely swear that she was not naked;' and yet it still kept its ground\*.

There was another kind of silk of an inferior quality, said to be produced by a species of silk worms in the island of Cos, which some of the fine gentlemen of Rome wore in summer, though the use of such effeminate dress was disapproved by the graver people, and had actually been forbidden by the senate in the reign of Tiberius. [*Plin. L. xi, c. 23.—Tac. Ann. L. ii, c. 32,* where, however it is called *sericum*.] But the Assyrian *bombycina* was resigned to those ladies, who could afford to purchase it: and those, whose fortunes were not equal to their vanity, wore *subsericum*, a fabric of silk with a mixture of cheaper materials †, in the use of which the men afterwards began to indulge ‡.

\* If we may trust to the testimony of Publius Syrus, a dramatic writer contemporary with Julius Cæsar, and after him Varro, Tibullus, Propertius, Horace, Seneca, Pliny, and Juvenal, some of the Roman ladies really did wear dresses so excessively thin, that their skins actually appeared through them: and that could scarcely be an idle groundless tale, (like the modern news-paper stories of naked ladies in the streets of London) which was kept up 130 years. We must suppose from those authors, that the Roman ladies had no other clothing under their thin silks. Certainly a modern lady, dressed in a gown of muslin, which is sufficiently transparent, would abstract little or nothing, either from the warmth or the chastity of her dress, by divesting herself entirely of her gown.

† I am not certain, that the *subsericum* was in use so early as this time.

‡ Commentators have frequently confounded the *byssinum*, the *bombycina*, and the *sericum*, of the ancients. Some have supposed the *byssinum* a cotton stuff; some make it the same with the *sericum*; and others, a very fine linen. It was made from a plant called *byssus*, which grew in Egypt, Judæa, India, and Elis, the only district of Greece which produced it. [*Ezekiel. c. 27 in Jerom's translation.—Pausanias in Eliacis L. i.*] From the several descriptions of *byssus* by Pausanias, [*in Eliac. et in Achaic.*] from its growing in Egypt, which has in all ages been famous for the superior quality of its flax, and from the certainty that the Greeks had neither cotton nor silk, we may be almost assured that it was a very fine kind of flax; and, if necessary, we may add the positive assertion of Isidore, [*Orig. L. six, c. 27*] that it was an exceeding white and soft kind of flax; though, like a careless compiler, he elsewhere calls *byssus* coarse flax. Consequently the *byssinum* must have been

a very fine flaxen fabric, probably like the modern cambric. Herodotus [*L. ii, c. 86*] says, the dead bodies of the rich in Egypt, after being embalmed, were wrapt in bandages of *byssine sindon* ('*σινδώνος βύσσινος*'), which could scarcely be any other than fine linen made of *byssus*, and the same with the fine Egyptian *sindon* mentioned by Julius Pollux [*L. vii, c. 17*] and Clemens of Alexandria. [*Strom. i.*] Of the *byssus* there was also made a fine kind of net-work, perhaps like the modern lace, by the manufacture of which, and of the fine byssine cloth, many women in Achaia, the district next to Elis, supported themselves. [*Pausan. in Achaic.*] Pliny says, [*L. xix, c. 1*] that the ladies were very fond of *byssinum*, and used to buy it for its weight in gold, which, I believe, would not even now be a very extravagant price for lace or the finest cambric. The strange description of *byssus* produced from trees, and worn by the superior ranks on the banks of the River Indus, while the rest of the people wore linen, given by Philostratus in his *Life of Apollonius*, need not be minded, as his work is not history but romance.—There was another plant called *amorgis* (from Amorgus, an island of the Ægean sea, where it grew) apparently a species of flax still finer than the *byssus*, for which, and the stuff made of it, with the authorities, see Bockart, *Geog. sacr. col. 414*.

The *bombycina* was generally understood to be made from the threads spun by an insect called *bombyx*. The *sericum* was supposed to be made from wool, or from a woolly or downy substance found upon the leaves of trees, and it was also confounded with the *bombycina*, which came nearer to the truth, the name of *bombycina* being evidently derived from the animal of whose spoils the stuff was made, and *sericum*, unquestionably silken stuff, from the Seres, the people from whom it was got

As a proper appendage to what has been said of the commerce, produce, and manufactures, of the Oriental countries, I annex a specimen

in a finished state, who long enjoyed a monopoly of the pretious insect producing the silk, and who even now, by possessing a better kind of silk-worms, or of the mulberry trees wherewith they are fed, or by better management, and the experience of thousands of years, command the market for the most brilliant silk.

Silk does not appear to have been known to Homer, nor even to Herodotus, though he himself, and the Greeks of his age, had much intercourse with the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Persians, opulent and luxurious nations, but who, perhaps had not obtained any knowledge of it in his time. Aristotle, though the most ancient naturalist extant, gives the best account of the silk-worm to be found in antiquity. He describes it as a horned worm, which he calls *bombyx*, (a name given by him to other insects) and says, that it passes through several transformations in the course of six months, and that *bombykia* is produced from it. He adds, that some women decomposed the *bombykia* and re-spun and re-wove it, Paniphila, a woman of Cos (an island near the coast of Caria) being said to have first practised that kind of weaving. [*Hist. anim. L. v. c. 19.*] He says nothing of the native country of the *bombyx*.—Pliny, though he makes Assyria the native country of the *bombyx*, from the *wob* of which the *bombycina* was made, transplants Pamphila, and her manufacture of a delicate clothing for women, to Ceos, an island on the opposite side of the Ægean sea near the coast of Attica, being apparently misled by Varro; and he immediately adds, that the *bombyx* was also reported to be a native of the island of Cos. He elsewhere says, that the stuff (he never uses the word *sericum*) which the women of Rome undid and wove anew, was made from a white woolly or downy substance, combed by the Seres from the leaves of trees, which were different from the wool-bearing trees (cotton) of the island of Tylos in the Persian gulf, and that the drapery (of that kind) was imported from the Seres, along with their excellent iron, and furs or skins. I have now extracted the substance of all that Pliny has throughout his great work [*L. iv. c. 12; vi. 17; xi. 22, 23; xii. 10; xxxiv. 14*] any way connected with silk-worms or silk.—Most of the other writers after Aristotle, particularly Nearchus, Aristobulus, Theophrastus, Virgil, (who has misled his commentator Servius, and others) Dionysius Periegetes, Mela, Seneca, Arrian, Solinus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Claudian, Jerom, &c. including a period of nine centuries, supposed that *sericum* was made from fleeces growing upon trees, from the barks of trees, or from flowers, and, with the confusion of ideas, which is a necessary consequence of attempting to describe what they did not know, mingling what they had heard of silk-worms feeding on the

leaves of trees, of cotton growing on trees, of flax, and of the coir, or inner rind, of the coco-nut, in an unintelligible jumble. And Isidorus bishop of Hispalis in Spain, though he lived a century after the introduction of silk-worms and the manufacture of silk in Greece, was as ignorant as any of them, and fervently copied Pliny. [*Orig. L. xix. c. 17, 22, 27.*] So tardy was the progress of information, even to learned men in public stations, in those ages. But, what is more surprising, Harrison, who may be called a modern author, has perverted the words of Dionysius Periegetes, describing the manufacture of the Seres, which, he says was spun finer than the work of the spider, to yarn made of the wool of Britain, a country at the opposite extremity of the earth. [*Dionys. v. 757.*—*Description of Britain prefixed to Holingshed's Chronicle, V. i. p. 221, ed. 1586.*]

But whatever doubts or errors the authors, who wrote before silk-worms were brought to Europe, might fall into, it was clearly ascertained that silk, sericum, or Median drapery, was made of the slender threads (*μεταξα*) spun by worms in the country of the Seres, by Procopius, Gothic. *L. iv. c. 17*—Theophylacti Simocatta *Hist. L. viii. c. 9*, and the extract in Photii. *Bibl. p. 93*—Theophanes in Photii *Bibl. p. 79*—Suidas, *vo. Σηες, Σηεων*—Zonaras, *V. iii. p. 50, ed. Basil. 1557*—And by all the writers of the middle ages, who have occasion to mention silk, and especially Otho Frisingensis [*Gest. Friderici I. ap. Muratori Script. V. vi. col. 668*] when relating the transportation of the silk-weavers ('*opifices qui sericos pannos texere solent*') from Greece, the only Christian country where the manufacture was known, to Sicily. Suidas, in particular, says expressly, that *sericum*, called by some *metaxa*, is produced by a worm in the country of the Seres, and therefor the stuff made of the *metaxa* which was formerly called *Median*, was afterwards called *sericum*.—With so many positive evidences before them, it is really surprising, that any doubt concerning the application of those names should have existed among the learned of modern times.

With respect to the silk reported to have been produced in Cos, not Ceos, it must have been of a very bad quality, or in very minute quantities, if the women, possessing it, would submit to the tedious and laborious operation of making raw materials out of foreign finished goods for their own manufacture. But it seems to be a mistake to say, that there were any silk-worms, or bombyces, in that island: and it may be presumed, that whatever manufacture of silk-goods was carried on there, was, like those of Tyre and Berytus (to be mentioned afterwards), supplied with raw-silk imported from the East, which may be supposed of a quality inferior to that retained by the original proprietors for their own manufacture, and thence the different

of the prices of several Oriental commodities in Roman *denarii* and their tenth parts, called *asses*, and also in modern pounds, shillings, and pence, sterling \*, as they were sold about this time in Rome by the Roman pound, equal to twelve ounces of our avoirdupois weight †.

	Roman.		British.				Roman.		British.		
	d.	a.	£.	s.	d.		d.	a.	£.	s.	d.
Sandarak -	0	5	0	0	4	Long pepper	15	0	0	9	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Cinnabar -	12	5	0	8	1	White pepper	7	0	0	4	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ladanum, the best -	4	0	0	2	7	Black pepper	4	0	0	2	7
Bdellium, ge- nuine -	3	0	0	1	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	Costus -	16	0	0	10	4
Myrh, from	13	0	0	8	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	Indian spike- nard from	30	0	0	19	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
to	22	0	0	14	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	to	100	0	3	4	7
Stactè, tears of myrh, from	6	0	0	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	Cinnamon wood -	20	0	0	12	11
to	50	0	1	12	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Cinnamon oil, formerly	1,000	0	32	5	10
Frankincense, from -	14	0	0	9	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	now †	1,500	0	48	8	9
to	16	0	0	10	4	Malabathrum, from -	1	0	0	0	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ginger, -	6	0	0	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	to -	300	0	9	13	9
Cardamomum,	12	0	0	7	9	Malabathrum oil -	60	0	1	18	9
Myrobalans,	2	0	0	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$						
Storax, the best	19	0	0	12	3 $\frac{1}{4}$						

As the nautical science of the Greeks and Romans, or, to speak more correctly, of the Egyptian Greeks subject to Rome, was probably now brought to its highest degree of improvement, I have thought this a proper place to throw together a few detached hints of the naval affairs of the Roman empire in these ages.

The Romans were apparently the most awkward seamen in their own empire; and they knew nothing of the tides, or of the management of vessels in the Ocean, as is evident from the damage suffered by Cæsar's

different estimation of the Coan and Oriental fabrics at Rome: for we are assured by Theophrastus and Zonaras, that, before silk-worms were brought to Constantinople in the middle of the sixth century, no person in that capital knew that silk was produced by a worm; a pretty strong evidence that there were no silk worms of any kind in an island so near to Constantinople as Cos is.

\* The Roman *denarius* is rated at seven pence three farthings sterling, reckoning the ounce of standard silver at five shillings. See *Arbuthnot's Tables*, p. 15.

† All the articles are extracted from the great thesaurus of Pliny; and all, except the two last,

from his twelfth book. Most of them are also inserted in Arbuthnot's ninth chapter. But the doctor's copy of Pliny must have differed very much from my two, which I find agree exactly in all the numbers.

‡ The price was so high as 1,000 denarii in consequence of the article being monopolized by the king of the Gebanites (or Catabeni); and the still higher price was occasioned by the trees being willfully burnt down. Pliny has nowhere given us the price of the bark of cinnamon, the most precious part; but we may judge of it from the price of the wood: or Qu. did he call the bark wood?

fleet on the coast of Britain, and the wreck of that of Drusus on the coast of Germany. What little nautical knowlege they had was merely subservient to the purposes of war: for commerce, as beneath the dignity of the conquerors of the world, was abandoned to their subjects of Gadir, New Carthage, Massilia, Rhodes, Phœnicia, Egypt, &c. Their own vessels were of two kinds, the one adapted for battle, and the other for transporting their armies. Their ships intended for battle, though they carried several tires of oars, drew very little water\*. They were very long in proportion to their breadth; and probably their bottoms were flat, or so nearly so, that they could be conveniently hauled up upon the beach †, and their sides parallel to each other, being according to the best judgement I can form of them, in the construction of their bodies, much more like the coal barges on the River Thames than ships fit to go upon salt water. They were called *long ships* to distinguish them from others, which, having their bottom timbers somewhat rounded, and their sides bending in to the stem and stern-post, were called *round ships* ‡. Their transports, or ships of burthen, which Cæsar calls great ships, and says, they required (comparatively) deep water, drew in fact so little water, that the soldiers leaped over their sides, and walked onshore, as sailors do from a ship's long-boat.

The natives of Greece appear to have been even now but very indifferent seamen. Polybius, about a century and a half before the Christian æra, had observed, that in his time very few of them ventured so far from home as Byzantium; a voyage not half so long as that ascribed to the Argonauts in the fabulous ages. If we may trust to the poetical authority of Ovid, they still persisted in the gross stupidity of preferring the greater bear to the lesser one as their mark for the north pole in the enlightened age of Augustus. And Lucian, contemporary with the emperor Antoninus the Philosopher and his son Commodus, represents the whole city of Athens as struck with astonishment at the sight of a very large ship. It may be observed, however, that most of the names used by the Roman writers to distinguish the different kind of vessels, were received by them from the Greeks §.

\* The Liburnians decoyed their enemies, probably Romans, who were onboard a *triremis*, into shallow water, which, by crouching down in it, they made to have the appearance of a deep sea ('*alti maris*'), wherein men's heads only could be seen above the water. The *triremis* got aground, and was taken. [*Frontini Stratagemata*, L. ii, c. 5.] How many feet, or rather how many inches, of water did this ship of war require to float her? —Paulus Æmilius went up the Tiber (which, if I am rightly informed, has scarcely four feet of water) to Rome in a vessel of sixteen tires of oars, taken from the king of Macedonia. [*Livii Hist.* L. xlv, c. 35.]

† The common practice of hauling their vessels

out of the water required flat bottoms: and Lucian's fiction (in his *True history*) of his vessel going upon the ice infers, that she could stand upright without being supported by the water, and without the additional keels given to the ice boats in America.

‡ Some have supposed, that those vessels were literally *circular*, or, in other words, that people went to sea in tubs. See a representation of a round vessel in the plate at p. 31.

§ A list of the various kinds of vessels may be found in Aulus Gellius. [*Noct. Att. L. x, c. 25.*] But as it only contains bare names, it would be useless to transcribe it.

The Greeks of Egypt were now by far the best navigators of the Roman empire, having apparently succeeded to the nautical knowledge, as well as to the commerce, of the Phœnicians: and they possessed the important advantages, which the others scarcely ever had, of a free navigation in the Oriental seas as well as in the Mediterranean, and of having a constant, great, and ready, market for their merchandize in the wealthy capital of the Roman world. Their industry and ingenuity, thus cherished and encouraged, were further stimulated by the example of the Arabians, as far as we know, the oldest, and apparently the best, navigators upon the Indian ocean, or Erythræan sea, with whom they had much intercourse. And we may presume, that they had acquired a considerable degree of proficiency in the theory and practice of navigation by the association of great numbers of Phœnician seamen, who, on the decline of trade in their own ports, would undoubtedly resort to Alexandria: for seamen are a class of people, who feel less inconvenience in expatriating themselves than those of any other profession; and they must ever follow the footsteps of commerce, with which they are so closely and so inseparably connected. As to the natives of the old Egyptian race, they do not appear in any age to have had the smallest concern in maritime affairs or active foreign commerce.

The antient seamen trusted chiefly to their oars for making way, neither the hulls of their vessels nor their sails being calculated for going to windward: and thence, as the motion of the vessel through the water was pretty uniform, we find the distances of places generally noted by so many days' courses, a kind of mensuration, which, however preposterous it would be in modern times, was then tolerably accurate, especially when applied to passages which had been often repeated. When the wind was fair, they hoisted their sails, which appear from medals and sculptures, the only kinds of information we possess, to have been very small, and went before it. And they also knew how to trim their sails by ropes answering apparently to the sheets and tacks, and perhaps also to the braces, in modern vessels, so as to avail themselves of any wind, which was not before the beam, as we find antient authors mention vessels going opposite courses with the same wind when moderate\*, or, in modern sea language, sailing with the wind upon the beam†. In the runs between the Red sea and the coast of India they never had the

\* 'The wind Argestes (about west-north-west) is gentle, and equally convenient for going and returning.' [*Senec. Quæst. nat. L. v. c. 16.*]

† Compare Pliny, *L. ii. c. 47*, where 'prolatis pedibus' seems to mean *hauling forward the tacks*, with Virgil, *Æneid. L. v. v. 16*, where the wind being northerly when the Trojans are bound from Carthage to Italy, but first to make Sicily, the sails are trimmed to the wind, and helped by the

oars; and also with *v. 289*, where the sail is squared by the tacks or sheets, ('Una omnes fere pedem' which word Servius explains as meaning the rope, by which the sail is stretched out) and one of the *lusty* yard-arms is hauled in, while the other is eased off, which could only be done by braces; the oars are laid in; the rowers gone to sleep on their benches; and the fleet is gliding through the water before a pleasant breeze.

monsoons right aft; and sometimes they must have had them almost barely upon the beam.

The maritime part of the Itinerary of Antoninus, which was compiled by imperial authority, seemingly not long after this time, gives us a good picture of the timid practice of the Mediterranean seamen in creeping into almost every bay on the coast. It begins with directing what ports are to be touched at in making a passage from Achaia in Greece to Africa, of which there are no fewer than twenty, and some of them *at the heads of bays* on the coasts of Greece, Epirus, Italy, *within the Sicilian straits as far as Messina*, then along the east and south sides of Sicily to the west point of it, whence to the Maritime island, and from it a long run, rated at nine hundred stadia (about ninety miles) to the coast of Africa.

Though the general practice was to keep close to the shore, or at least to have it constantly in sight, yet, as they were sure of an extensive range of coast for their land-fall, they sometimes ventured to depart from that dilatory and dangerous timidity, when they could depend upon a fair wind by the regular return of the etesians in the Mediterranean, or the monsoons in the Indian ocean. We have several instances of what they called the *compendious passage*, among which I shall instance the following runs to Alexandria. Agrippa went from Rome to Puteoli, where he found a vessel belonging to Alexandria ready to sail, and he arrived in that port in a few days. [*Joseph. Antiq. L. xviii, c. 8.*] Galerius was conveyed to Alexandria in the seventh, and Babilius in the sixth, day from the Sicilian straits. [*Plin. L. xix, proœm.*] These might be reckoned pretty good passages even in modern times\*.

In the Mediterranean, during the winter, mild as it is in that sea, and short as the nights are, compared with those of our more northern climate, all navigation was suspended, as well now as in the age of the antient Greek poet Hesiod, unless upon some very extraordinary and urgent occasions, or when avarice, as Pliny says, overcame that cautious regulation. Even the Phœnicians usually finished their voyages for the year about the end of autumn, and laid up their vessels during the winter. [*Acts of the apostles, cc. 27, 28.—Plin. L. ii, c. 47.—Sueton. in Claud. c. 18.—Veget. L. iv, c. 39.—Luciani Dial. Toxaris.*] We must, however, remember, that the owners of vessels or goods had not the opportunity of guarding against the ruinous consequences of shipwreck, by paying a moderate premium of insurance †: and, indeed, the same

\* Pliny [*L. xv, c. 18*] tells a story of the fire-brand Cato, ‘burning with deadly hatred to Carthage,’ showing a fig to the Roman senate, which, he said, had been pulled only three days before at Carthage, as an argument against permitting a powerful city so near them to exist; and he adds, with some flowers of rhetoric, that that single apple (he makes figs a species of apple) was the cause of the destruction of Carthage. But

Cato’s assertion must have been false with respect to the time, the passage to Rome being at least 500 miles, which alone was more than sufficient to take up three days.

† It has been supposed, that insurance upon vessels was introduced by the emperor Claudius, but without any authority, as I have already observed. p. 151 note.

caution, and even legal restrictions against winter navigations, have continued in late ages.

As their coasting navigation necessarily brought them among shoals and rocks, it was often necessary to pass the whole night lying at anchor. But in crossing well-known bays, or in making a run to the opposite side of the Mediterranean, they often ventured to proceed in the night-time, steering their course by the stars, of which they had more knowledge than is to be found among the untaught part of our modern seamen, whose compass directs their course in the darkest nights with certainty and confidence.

The navigators of the Erythræan sea were probably superior to those, who confined their practice to the Mediterranean. We know that they sailed in the night, even in their coasting voyages along the African shore\*: and we have at least one instance of great knowledge of the theory of the tides, of the knowledge of the polar star, of the nature of the spring tides, and even the difference of night tides, of the indications of the approach to land, and of the pilotage of the various harbours, in that judicious merchant and navigator, who wrote the Periplus of the Erythræan sea.

They still preferred fir, and other timber of a similar nature, as the Greeks did in the age of Theophrastus, for building their vessels, which they bolted with brass in preference to iron. They covered the bottoms with wax, which was at least sometimes mixed with pitch. [*Theophrast. L. v, c. 8.*—*Plin. L. xvi, cc. 10, 12.*—*Arriani Periplus Pont. Eux. p. 117, ed. Blancardi.*—*Veget. de re mil. L. iv, c. 34.*] An instance of extraordinary attention to the preservation of the bottom appeared in a vessel, said to have belonged to Trajan, which was dug up in the fifteenth century from the Lake Nemorese, or Lake of Aricia. It was doubly planked with pine and cypress, over which there was a coat of pitch, to which a covering of linen was fastened, and over all a sheathing of sheet lead ('chartam plumbeam') fastened with nails of brass †. [*Leonis Bapt. Alberti de re ædificatoria L. v, c, 12.*]

The masts and yards were made of fir on account of its lightness. [*Plin. L. xvi, c. 39.*] The use of three masts, introduced by Archimedes in Hiero's great ship, [see above, p. 98] does not appear to have become general; for I find but one instance (in Julius Pollux) of a ship of three

\* Marinus, as quoted by Ptolemy [*L. i, c. 7*] quotes Diodorus Samius, as saying, that the navigators in the Indian ocean, when going from India to Limyrica (which, however, is a part of India) kept the constellation called the Bull in the middle of the sky, and the Pleiades upon the middle of the yards; and those who sailed from Arabia for Azania on the east coast of Africa steered by the star Canopus. This account may

be admitted as very sufficient evidence of their nocturnal navigation, though it is blundered in passing through so many hands; for no seaman could be so ignorant as to think, that the stars would bear on the same part of his vessel through the whole night.

† The French Encyclopedie [*art. Deublage des vaisseaux*] has Greek pitch, and nails of copper, instead of black pitch and nails of brass.

masts, belonging to Antigonus, which was remarkable on that account; a pretty good evidence that such vessels were uncommon. Even the largest vessels seem to have had but one mast, and that scarcely so lofty as the lower masts of modern ships, with the addition of poles set up at the head and stern to carry small sails. Most of the masts were raised and lowered occasionally, like those of modern small craft, which go under bridges. [*Virg. Æn. L. v, v. 287.*—*Frontini Stratag. L. ii, c. 5.*] But the Alexandrian ships appear to have had proper standing masts.

Pliny says [*L. xix, proœm.*] that in addition to the larger sails, of which each vessel appears to have carried but one, and that, according to our modern ideas of sails, a very small one, they had lately introduced others above them, besides sails in the prow and others in the stern\*; 'and by so many ways did they challenge death.' The sails were made of flax, and of a fabric much too slight for standing a gale of wind, if we may judge from the same names being applied to them, which expressed the kind of linen used for clothing. But we know, that the large ships of Alexandria (to be described presently) and also those of the Veneti in Gaul (already described, p. 115) carried sails made of leather †.

The sails, besides their principal use in impelling the vessel by the force of the wind, served also for signals, and for distinguishing the vessels of a fleet, by means of the colours wherewith they were stained. The story of the fatal mistake in the colour of Theseus's sail is known to every school-boy. Various colours of the sails for distinguishing the divisions of the fleet seem to have been introduced by Alexander the Great: and we find Cleopatra's royal galley distinguished by a purple sail in the famous battle of Actium. In the night time the vessels were distinguished by lights: Scipio's own galley carried three lights, each transport, two, and every warlike vessel in his fleet, one. [*Plin. Hist. L. xix, c. 1.*—*Flori Hist. L. iv, c. 11.*—*Livii Hist. L. xxix, c. 25.*—and see *Polyæni Stratag. L. vi, c. 11.*] We learn from Procopius, that the same distinctions by sails and lights were used in the fleet of Belisarius in the sixth century, and they appear to have continued through the middle ages, till the distinguishing colour was removed from the sails to the flags fixed more conspicuously on the heads of the masts, or the stern.

The *gubernacula* ‡, or steering paddles, of which each vessel carried two §, had palms, or blades, much broader than those of the oars; and

\* There is an incredible story of a Roman ship intended to carry fifty sails, already noticed, p. 83 note.

† Pliny has not a word of any kind of cloth being made of hemp, which, he only says, [*L. xix, c. 9*] is useful for making cordage; though the Thracians, as we learn from Herodotus, had made cloth of hemp many ages before his time.

‡ These are usually translated *rudders*. But we may be satisfied from coins and other antient re-

presentations, that they bore no resemblance to modern rudders.

§ A learned commentator recommends the use of two rudders on the *quarters* of modern ships—because the stream of water passing the ship must be stronger there than at the stern-post.—Did he suppose a ship formed like a chest? The vessels of his country, to-be-sure, come nearer to that form than those of any other in Europe.

they seem to have been worked on the quarters much in the same manner that sailors sometimes steer a small boat with an oar\*, except that the handles were brought within-board through little ports or pigeon-holes, and that they were fixed by ropes, which during engagements were sometimes cut asunder, or rendered unmanageable, by skilful divers going under the quarters. Besides the people of Taprobanè, already mentioned, [p. 148] the Suiones a German nation, the Byzantines, and upon some occasions the Romans, had vessels, which steered at both ends, so that, either end being the head, they never needed to go about. [*Æliani Hist. var. L. ix, c. 40.*—*Tac. Ann. L. ii, c. 6*; *Germ.—Veget. L. iv, c. 46.*—*Dion. Cass. L. lxxiv.*]

Each vessel carried two or more anchors, the largest of which was called the sacred anchor, and, like the sheet anchor of modern seamen, was reserved for the greatest necessity. Though the propriety of making anchors of iron seems to be obvious, yet the old practice of making them of some weaker substance seems still to have been kept up. But in the following age iron anchors became general †.

The vessels employed in the corn trade between Egypt and Rome were apparently the largest of any upon the Mediterranean sea, which was perhaps a consequence of the corn bounty given by Tiberius. Two of the three ships, in which the apostle Paul made his passage from Judæa to Italy, were of Alexandria; and one of them carried two hundred and seventy-six people, besides her cargo of corn. It is probable, that the vessel, wherein Josephus, the Jewish historian, was cast away on his passage to Rome, which carried six hundred people, was also of Alexandria. But these are nothing to the astonishing magnitude of the Isis of Alexandria, which, if the dimensions of her, as described by Lucian ‡, in his dialogue called *the Ship*, be correct, must have measured *about four*

\* The corocoros of India, which were perhaps, through the medium of the Arabians or Tyrians, the models of the naval construction of the Greeks, are to this day steered by two broad paddles; [*Stavorinus's Voyages, V. ii, p. 306 of English translation*] as was also the galley wherein Captain Forrest made his voyage of discovery to New-Guinea, though he generally found one sufficient.

† I believe, no antient author has told us, when anchors were first made of iron. In the early ages of Mediterranean navigation the Phœnicians had anchors of wood loaded with lead. And in the ages now under consideration the Phœnicians, and also the Arabians, navigators at least not inferior to the Phœnicians, may be presumed to have still had their anchors of no better materials; seeing that the Egyptian Greeks, who had the example of both those maritime nations before their eyes, had anchors, which, as we learn from the Periplus of the Erythræan sea, were cut to pieces and ground away by the sharp points of the rocky bottom in the bays of

Barakè and Barygaza. But in the reign of Adrian we find, that the anchors were made of iron; for Arrian, in his Periplus of the Euxine sea addressed to that emperor, [*p. 120, ed. Blancardi*] says, that the people of Colchis pretended to possess an anchor belonging to the ship Argo, which, says he, 'cannot be genuine, because it is made of iron, though otherways somewhat different from the anchors of our times.' He also saw at the same place the fragments of a very antient anchor made of stone.—Now, of what material were the anchors of the Grecian vessels in the Indian ocean composed? Were they of wood loaded with stones, such as are still used instead of grapplings for small craft and boats in some remote places? And were anchors of iron introduced so late as between the age of the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan sea and that of Arrian, and the pretendedly-antient one shewn to Arrian, one of the first rude essays?

‡ Though Lucian flourished in the later part of the second century, his description of the Isis is inserted here for the sake of connection.

*thousand tons*, or about twice the burthen of one of our first-rate ships of war. As there is nowhere else so complete a picture of an antient merchant ship, I have extracted the following description of this stupendous vessel, with an account of her tedious passage, wherein we have a good view of the navigation of the best of the Mediterranean seamen of those days.

Heron, the commander of the *Isis*, sailed from the Pharos of Alexandria with a moderate breeze, and on the seventh day got sight of Acamas, the west point of Cyprus, where he met with a gale of wind from the west, which drove him out of his course as far as Sidon. Thence he proceeded with a heavy gale through the channel between Cyprus and the continent, and in ten days reached the Chelidonian islands on the coast of Pamphylia, where there never fails to be a heavy sea when the wind is at south-south-west. There they were in great danger of being lost, till seeing a light upon the coast of Lycia, they thereby knew where they were: and at the same time a bright star, one of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), settling upon the top (or mast-head) pointed the way out to sea, when they were almost aground. Thence sailing through the Ægæan sea, they put into the Piræus, the port of Athens, on the seventieth day after their departure from Egypt. Had they been able to keep their proper course to the southward of Crete and the Peloponnesus, they should have been in Italy long before that time.

One of the many Athenians, who went to gaze upon this wonderful ship, got the following account of her from her carpenter. She was one hundred and twenty cubits (180 feet) long, her breadth above the fourth part of her length, and her depth from the upper deck to the lowest part of the hold at the pump-well, twenty-nine cubits\*. The rest of the description, which is without measurement, is all in the language of admiration at the prodigious mast and yard (no mention of more than one of either) the number of hides over one another in the sail, a sailer going up the ropes and running out to the yard-arm. Upon the upper part of the stern there was a golden figure of a goose; and where the prow (or head) stretched out, there was on each side a figure of the goddess *Isis*. The ornaments, the paintings, the flame-coloured *parafion* of the sail, the anchors, the engines for turning round (seemingly answerable to the winlafs and capstan in modern ships) and the lodging rooms, or cabins, at the stern, all struck the visitors with astonishment, who compared the number of people onboard her to an army. They were moreover told, that her cargo of wheat would be sufficient to feed all the people of Attica for a whole year, (but that must be merely sailer's rodomontade) and that the annual profit made by her owner was about twelve Attic talents, or £2,325 sterling †.

\* Here the carpenter has exaggerated in what the strangers could not see, for the honour of his ship: and it is from this exaggerated dimension that her burthen comes to be about 4,000 tons.

† Some farther notices concerning the shipping of the antient Greeks and Romans may be found in *Isidori Orig. L. xix. cc. 1, 2, 3.*—*Non. Marcel. de proprietate sermonum, c. 13.*—*Fulgentius de prisco sermone.*

If from the subjects of the Roman empire we pass to the free nations of the northern parts of Europe, we shall find, indeed, very few materials for naval history, but those few very honourable to their nautical knowledge and enterprise. Without the aid of assured periodical fair winds and smooth water, without the certainty of a nightly anchorage, or of a land-fall on the opposite coast of an inland sea, but trusting to the appearance of the stars, with probably the assistance derived from the flight of birds carried with them for the purpose\*, they committed themselves to the boundless and stormy Northern ocean, and held their fearless course from Nerigon (supposed to be Norway) to Thulé; [*Plin. L. iv, c. 16*] which by the most moderate and probable hypothesis was Shetland. Those who insist upon making it Iceland, lengthen the voyage, and exalt without, however, exaggerating, the science and intrepidity, of the navigators of the North. The Suiones, a people of the Baltic sea, are said by Tacitus [*Germania*] to have had powerful fleets. Their vessels, as already observed, were constructed so as to reverse their course without the operation of going about; and their oars were not fixed to the row-ports, like those of the Mediterranean vessels, but loose, and ready to be shifted or laid in, like those of modern boats. They made no use of sails. - (See above, pp. 137, 184.)

77—Pliny finished his great work, entitled *Natural history*, in thirty-seven books †. The first six, after the preliminary one, contain, in very compressed language, a complete system of cosmography and geography, as they were then understood; and the remaining thirty contain descriptions of every article in the animal, vegetable, and mineral, classes, or kingdoms, and also all the works of art, together with systems of agriculture and medicine; the whole work containing, according to his own prefatory, or dedicatory, letter to the emperor Titus Vespasian, twenty thousand things worthy of observation, extracted from about two thousand volumes, many of which were scarcely ever read, even by the studious, and exhibiting a copious picture of the universal science of the age. This work, which has furnished about half of the materials for the view of the trade of the Roman world, and to which I have on so many other occasions been indebted, fully deserves the character, given of it by his nephew, of being ‘copious, learned, and no less diversified than ‘Nature herself:’ and it is undoubtedly one of the most signal monuments of indefatigable industry and universal knowledge that was ever

*sermone.* But they were all mere grammarians, who knew no more of the subject, upon which they have undertaken to instruct others, than what they collected from the old Roman poets and historians, who lived many centuries before them, and were perhaps almost as ignorant as themselves. Marcellus says, the yards are held fast by the anchors!

\* For the method of steering by the flight of birds see below under the year 890.

† Though they are numbered, and quoted, as thirty-seven books, they are in truth only thirty-six, what is called the first book being merely a table of contents, with catalogues of the authors quoted or followed, who are mostly Greeks. Pliny himself calls them thirty-six books. His nephew however, in the enumeration of his finished works, makes them thirty-seven.

produced by one man, and can be equaled by no other work, that ever was produced in the world before the Encyclopædias of modern times, which are compiled by the united labours of many collectors: and, what is still more surprising, it was but a part of many works composed by him \* before he completed the fifty-sixth year of a life, devoted not only to literature, but also to public business and official duties †.

When Pliny wrote, Rome was in its most flourishing state under the prudent and vigorous government of Vespasian. Grecian literature was highly esteemed, the sciences were assiduously cultivated, and the arts were encouraged by men of liberal education and ample fortune. The periods of the revolutions of the planets were known; and the theory of eclipses was understood, or at least received from the tables constructed by Hipparchus. The earth was known to be of a spherical form; though its position was erroneously fixed in the center of the universe. But even professed geographers, Hipparchus alone excepted, had not yet discovered, that the application of latitude and longitude to the position of places was the very life and soul of their science. [*Strabo*, L. ii, p. 194 B.] And the following surprising instance of ignorance in one of the best-informed of the Romans gives room for a suspicion, that what they knew of the system of the universe was implicitly received from more enlightened nations; and not real science deduced from experiments, and founded upon rational principles. An Egyptian obelisk had been set up at Rome by Augustus, with tables engraved on brass, affixed to it, containing rules for knowing the hours by the length of the shadow. For about thirty years before Pliny wrote, these rules had been found erroneous; which he, as great a philosopher as he was, endeavoured to account for by earthquakes, inundations of the river, the earth having moved from its center, or even the sun itself having wandered out of its place; in short, by any thing rather than by the obvious reflection, that there might have been an error in the original calculation of the tables. [*Hist. nat. L. xxxvi, c. 10.*]

\* Besides his finished works in one hundred and two books, there were one hundred and sixty commonplace books of selections, which he left to his nephew. They were written upon both sides of the paper, and very small and close, so that they were not handsome library books, nor, indeed, books at all, but materials for composing from. Before they became so numerous, he was offered 4,000 nummi (L. 3,220 : 3 : 4) for them. [*Plinii Epistole*, L. iii, ep. 5.] Such was the value, even of collections of materials judiciously chosen, in those days, when, for want of printing, learning was confined to the few, whom heaven had blessed with a taste for it, along with the enjoyment of a plentiful fortune.

Selections from Pliny's Natural history, especially if they were accompanied with the judicious remarks of an enlightened teacher, would form a

study for youth, not less pleasant, and infinitely more useful, than the absurdities, to call them no worse, of Ovid and Virgil.

† The first eruption of Vesuvius, recorded in history, which destroyed the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, was also fatal to Pliny, whose curiosity to examine the nature of that awful phenomenon carried him so near to it, that he was found dead, suffocated, as was supposed, by the sulphur: and so his valuable life fell a sacrifice to that ardent thirst of knowledge, which has rendered his name immortal. [*Plinii Epist. L. vi, ep. 16.*] It appears from Condamine's *Tour in Italy*, that the foundations of the houses in Herculaneum consist of volcanic lava, which proves, that the eruption of Vesuvius, which overwhelmed that city, was not, as is usually supposed, the first.

Their knowledge of the surface of the earth was more defective than could be supposed possible, if we had not the most convincing proofs of it. Even Strabo and Pliny believed, that the two temperate zones were the only habitable portions of the earth; and Pliny, like the poets, asserts, that there can be no communication between them on account of the intolerable scorching heat of the intermediate torrid zone. Notwithstanding this assertion he names several places within the tropic, where he observes that the sun for some time projects shadows southward; and he even mentions a mountain of India called Maleus, which, as he describes it, having the sun for six months on its north, and other six on its south side, ought to be on the equinoctial line\*. [*Strabo. L. ii, p. 171.—Plin. L. ii, cc. 68, 73, L. vi, cc. 19, 29 et passim.*] The ancient geographers, however, allowed less than its true breadth to the torrid zone. They were still ignorant of the Caspian sea being an inland lake. Pliny says, that Arabia is of the same figure, and size, and precisely in the same latitude as Italy; with which it has nothing in common, except being a peninsula and stretching to the south-east. After examining the accounts of Polybius, Agrippa and Artemidorus, he gives the following comparative view of the magnitude of the great divisions of the earth, viz. Europe somewhat above a third, Asia about a fourth, and Africa about a fifth, of the whole. [*Hist. nat. L. ii, 67; L. vi, cc. 13, 28, 33.*] Such was the knowledge obtained of the distant parts of the world by the best-informed of the Romans, in the extended state of the Roman empire, and the sun-shine of Roman science!

79—Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus the historian, was now the Roman commander in Britain. Having already served in it under Suetonius Paulinus, he was acquainted with the nature of the country, and of the people; and he employed soothing arts, as much as force, to establish the Roman authority: for, at the same time that he was erecting forts, and extending military ways, through the country, he enticed the Britons to assemble in towns, and to adopt the arts and the luxuries of the Romans. After reducing the Ordovices and Mona (*North-Wales and Anglesey*), he marched northward, along the western shore, and led the first Roman army into that part of the island now called Scotland (a°. 80), subduing the tribes who lay in the line of his march, and making an excursion as far as the river Tay, whence he returned (a°. 81) to the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde, which he guarded with a chain of forts: and next year he reduced the south-west part of the country, afterwards called Galloway.

83—British liberty survived now only on the north side of the Forth;

\* For this Pliny quotes Beton, an artist employed by Alexander the Great as a surveyor, who most certainly never saw, and can scarcely be supposed to have heard of, any place on the equinoctial line.

Surely, the ancients, when they spoke of southerly shadows, must have only meant shadows not projecting so far north at noon as those in their own countries.

and there Agricola determined utterly to extirpate it. He crossed the Forth, and marched along the coast of Fife, his fleet attending and supporting him all the way; a measure which the event shewed to be absolutely necessary; for the Caledonians watched him closely, attacked his forts, and almost drove him to the resolution of repassing the Forth. The ninth legion, recruited, after being nearly exterminated by Boadicia, was again almost totally cut to pieces by the Caledonians, who were, however, afterwards repelled by the rest of the Roman army.

84—The Caledonians, next spring, raised an army, consisting, by Agricola's account, of above thirty thousand men, under the command of the brave Galgacus, who, we are told, were utterly defeated at the Grampian mountain, and the Roman allies (for the legions were not engaged) lost only three hundred and forty men. The consequence of this victory was, that Agricola abandoned the ground for which he fought, and retreated into the country of the Horesti, a tribe on the south side of the Tay, who had submitted to him; so that it very much resembled the victory pretended to have been gained by the Phocæans, over the united fleets of the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, after which Corsica, the object of their contention, was totally abandoned by the pretended conquerors. (See above, p. 47.)

Agricola, having received hostages from the nations who had submitted to him, ordered his fleet to sail round the whole country, though the summer was far spent: and such a voyage of discovery and danger, would need the whole of a summer, even if conducted by the ablest seamen. These navigators alleged, that they first discovered the Orkneys, and that they first made it certain that Britain was an island; discoveries, which were made by Pytheas many centuries before, and noticed by many authors after him, of whom I shall mention only Cæsar and Pliny, whose writings ought at this time to have been well known in Rome\*. [*Taciti Vita Agricolaë.*]

Tacitus also informs us, that at this time the harbours of Ireland, which, he says, lies half way between Britain and Spain, were better known to

\* Every unprejudiced, or unromanized, reader, who peruses the Life of Agricola by Tacitus with due attention, must perceive, that it is not so much history, as poetical paegyric (*'liber honori Agricolaë facti mei desinatus'*). It may be proved, that the Roman army was not outnumbered by the Caledonian, even if it did consist of 30,000 men, which however is utterly improbable. King David I, when possessed of all Scotland and Cumberland, could not raise 27,000 men, though he had English, Normans, and Germans, besides his own subjects, in his army. King Robert I, when his crown and life depended on the event of a single battle, could not, with the exertion of seven months, collect 31,000 fighting men. How then

shall we believe, that above 30,000 warriors could be raised in Caledonia only? for all the fourth part of modern Scotland, as far as the Tay, was subject to the Romans: and it is very probable, that the western tribes of Caledonia were not concerned in this war.

It is worthy of observation, that Agricola, who makes so great a figure in the works of modern writers, is not so much as mentioned by any writer of general Roman history now extant, except once, very slightly, by Dion Cassius. Nor does his name appear in ten familiar letters from the younger Pliny to Tacitus, though the subjects of some of them seem to give a fair opportunity of introducing it.

the merchants, by means of their commerce, than those of Britain. [*Vita Agric. c. 24.*] Whether his geographical and his commercial informations were equally correct, I shall not pretend to judge.

98-117—The emperor Trajan was a great conqueror. He added Dacia, a large province beyond the Danube, to the Roman empire. He undertook an expedition into the East, and there also he carried the Roman arms far beyond the limits of the empire, into Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, which he reduced to the condition of provinces. But his conquests, rapid and destructive as a whirlwind, served no purpose, but to exhaust the blood of his subjects, and of the nations who had the misfortune to lie in the track of his career: for, as soon as the storm was past, they resumed their independence\*. Trajan also possessed several of the more valuable qualifications of a sovereign. He adorned Rome with elegant buildings, and brought water to those parts of it, which were destitute of that accommodation; he established great libraries; he encouraged learning by protecting learned men; he made good roads from one end of the empire to the other; he constructed a convenient harbour at Centum cellæ, (now Civita vecchia) and another at Ancona, on the Adriatic sea; and he apparently repaired, or renewed, the Egyptian canal between the Nile and the Red sea †.

Adrian, the next emperor, adorned not only Rome, but the whole empire, with magnificent buildings, which were executed under his own eye; for his whole reign was a continual peregrination. As the Britons were not yet reconciled to the Roman yoke, he visited this island in one of his journies, and reformed several abuses in it (a°. 121). Giving up all thoughts of completing the conquest of it, he constructed a wall of about eighty miles in length, between the rivers Tine and Eden, in order to cut off all communication between the *Barbarians* and the Romans, or rather the Romanized Britons. And this kind of fortification by a continued wall, of which he set the first example, was repeatedly used in the succeeding ages of the Roman domination in this island. Adrian, for these actions, obtained the title of Restorer of Britain.

In the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius the Roman territories in Britain were under the government of Lollius Urbicus, who has not obtained his due share of the fame usually bestowed upon conquerors. He quelled some commotions in the conquered country (a°. 140), and built a second wall, which extended between the Firths of Forth and Clyde; the same which in later times has been called Gramis dyke, i. e. warriors dyke. He also carried the Roman eagles as far as the æstuary of the river Varar, (now called the Farar, or Beulie) founded

\* Modern commentators have extended his ravages to the south coast of Arabia, and made him the destroyer of the city of Arabia Felix, but without any authority. See above, p. 157, Note 5.

† I believe Ptolemy's mention of the *Trajanian river* in his description of Egypt, is the only ancient authority we have for this work of Trajan.

Roman towns \*, which he connected by military roads; and, in short, provinciated a tract of country, mostly unknown to former Roman commanders, extending from the wall and the Firth of Forth northward to the Moray Firth; and from the Ocean westward to Loch Long, or, perhaps, Loch Fyne, the great ridge of mountains called Drumalban, and Loch Ness. The new province was called Vespasiana, a name given, or continued, by the modesty of Antoninus, in honour of Vespasian, in whose reign the command of the Roman forces in Britain was delegated to Agricola, who, under the two succeeding emperors, brought a small portion of this province, on the south side of the Tay, under a momentary subjection to Rome. [*Jul. Capitolin. Ant. Pii Vit.—Ricard. Corinens. L. i, c. 6, § 2, 43, 50.*]

It was apparently during the administration of Lollius, and probably under the direction of Seius Saturninus, who, as Jabolenus and Richard of Cirencester inform us, was then commander of a fleet stationed on the coast of Britain, that the maritime survey, or rather two partial surveys, of the north part of Britain, were performed, from which the geography of that part of the island was compiled by Ptolemy. The more accurate surveys of the southern part of the island, must be presumed to have kept pace with the gradual extension of the Roman conquests.

137-160—The emperor Antoninus, adorned Rome and many other cities with public buildings, and repaired or renewed harbours, lighthouses, bridges, and aqueducts. He favoured virtuous and learned men. He sold some of the superfluous property, attached to the imperial office, for the benefit of the public, and defrayed many public expenses out of his private fortune. Under his administration all the provinces of the empire flourished. His virtues deserved the surname of Pius, which, though it was afterwards prostituted to many imperial monsters, was truly honourable to him, because it was given by the unanimous consent of his contemporaries, and confirmed to him by the impartial suffrage of posterity.

161—The worthy emperor, Antoninus Pius, was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, usually called the PHILOSOPHER, who was nothing inferior to him in every virtue. The reigns of these two excellent princes gave the Roman world above forty years of the felicity flowing from a government, whose only object was the good of the subjects; a period not to be equaled in the history of the Romans; and, indeed, not frequently occurring in that of any other people.

He was the author of many good laws, one of which directed, that shipwrecked merchandize should belong entirely to the lawful owners,

\* The names and positions of the towns, or stations, as given by Ptolemy, who wrote soon after the conquests of Urbicus, and the more copious enumeration of them, with the intermediate distances, compiled by Richard of Cirencester from ancient Roman authorities, contain all the information we possess respecting this farthest acquisition of the Romans in Britain.

without any interference of the officers of the exchequer: and he ordered, that those who were guilty of plundering wrecks should be severely punished. These laws he borrowed from the Rhodian code, which he made the standard of his conduct in maritime affairs. When Eudæmon, a merchant of Nicomedia, complained to him, that, after suffering shipwreck, he had been plundered in the Cyclades by the imperial officers, he replied, that he indeed was lord of the earth, but that the sea was governed by the Rhodian laws, and that his cause should be determined by them.

The emperor Antoninus also attended carefully to the reparation of the roads; and thence it is exceedingly probable, that the work describing all the roads with their stages, and intermediate distances, and also the maritime stations for vessels, throughout the Roman empire, which is so well known to the learned, under the name of the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, and is so useful in illustrating antient geography, was compiled under his authority, if not under that of his predecessor, and has been occasionally renewed, with alterations adapted to the times, though still bearing the original name of Antoninus, just as almanacks, and other modern periodical compilations, retain the names of the original undertakers of them through all their renovations\*.

From this Itinerary, and also from the more copious Itinerary of Britain, drawn up by a Roman commander in this island, and happily rescued from oblivion by Richard of Cirencester, London appears to have been already the most important city in the island, as it is the center of a greater number of roads than any other.

In the reign of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, flourished Ptolemy, a Grecian native of Egypt, the most celebrated astronomer and geographer of antiquity, and, after Hipparchus, whose works are lost, the first who applied graduation to maps, and reduced geography to some degree of regularity: so that his works were deservedly entitled to the pre-eminent rank they held for fourteen centuries as the standard in those sciences. The copies of them abound in errors, as may be expected from the frequent transcription of a work much in request, consisting almost entirely of tables of names and numbers. But, if examined with due care, and proper allowances, they will be found not so inaccurate or destitute of information, as some have rather rashly pronounced them. The most conspicuous of his errors are in the Brit-

\* It was a part of the duty of a Roman general to have accurate surveys made of all the roads in the country under his command, with particular descriptions and maps. [*Veget. de re militari*, l. iii, c. 6.] As a thing done of course, it is only mentioned by historians, when an uncommonly great, or universal, survey or reparation of the roads was made: and such a great work was

undertaken by Trajan; [*Aurel. Victor de Cas. — Galen. L. ix, c. 8*] and it is probable, that the finishing hand was put to it in the reign of Marcus. [*See Jul. Capitol. in M. Anton.*] Another measurement of the provinces of the world was made by order of Theodosius. [*Dicuil*, quoted in *Ware's Hibernia*, p. 101.]

ish islands, with which he begins his geographical tables, and in India. In joining the several British surveys, which must have been in a great measure, if not wholly, destitute of celestial observations, he has made the north part of Britain project to the east, instead of the north; and he has ranged the Western islands east and west, along the north shore of Ireland, instead of north and south, along the west coast of the north part of Britain, the west being the true north point in them, as the east is in his north part of the main land. Instead of delineating India as a triangular figure, projecting from the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges, he makes it almost a right line, running from west to east, and but a little to the southward of a line drawn between those rivers. He had some information of the names of places beyond the Bay of Bengal, but excessively confused and erroneous; and he makes the Indian ocean a vast lake\*, though he must have possessed the better information of Herodotus and Megasthenes, sanctioned by the correct judgement of Eratosthenes †. The total ignorance of the antients respecting the northern parts of Europe, which no Grecian or Roman navigator, and perhaps no one from any of the Phœnician ports had ever visited, is almost as little to be wondered at as their total ignorance of America ‡.

The geographical knowlege of the Roman subjects in Egypt appears to have advanced between the age of the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan sea and that of Ptolemy. The later, I have just observed, had obtained the names of some places beyond India, and he had also the names of some of the Oriental islands with their positions, though excessively erroneous. Marinus, a geographer of Tyre, who wrote a little while before Ptolemy, and is frequently quoted by him, was acquainted with at least the name of Prasum, a place on the African coast several degrees beyond Rhapta, the farthest place known to the author of the Periplus. These circumstances give reason to believe, that their commerce was also increasing.

It is due to the antient commercial pre-eminence of the city of Arabia Felix, to observe, that, though it was reduced to the condition of a

\* The notion of a vast continent, the southern boundary of Ptolemy's great lake, was kept up, after voyages quite round the globe destroyed the belief of the lake, every island seen in a southern latitude being supposed a part of the *Terra australis*. Even in the eighteenth century, men of the first geographical abilities, maintained the *physical necessity* of a corresponding mass of earth near the south pole, to balance the great proportion of land in the northern hemisphere. The supposed southern continent has been gradually abridged in its extent by the discoveries of modern navigators; and, at length, it is totally annihilated by those of Captain Cook.

† To these might be added the author of the

Periplus of the Erythræan sea, but that his age is disputed.

‡ Egypt, which in the reign of Sesostris produced the very first geographical maps known in history, also in after ages produced four of the greatest geographers of antiquity, Agatharchides, Eratosthenes, the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan sea, and Ptolemy. But our veneration for the wisdom of Egypt must not make us forget, that these great men were all Greeks, and that Agatharchides, Eratosthenes, and Ptolemy, acquired the most of their knowlege in the celebrated academy of Alexandria, founded and supported by the Grecian sovereigns of Egypt.

village, and a mere watering place for shipping, in the time of the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan sea, it had already so far recovered from the ruin brought upon it by the Romans, as to be again a trading emporium; and it is described under that character by Ptolemy.

The natives of India now extended their voyages beyond their former limits, and took an active share in the trade with Egypt. As it appears probable from Agatharchides, and certain from the Periplus, that they traded to Arabia, probably from the most remote ages; so we know from Ptolemy [*L. i, c. 17*] that they now sailed up the Red sea as far as Egypt, where he conversed with some of them, who were from Timula, an emporium on the west side of India, called Symylla by the Greeks\*.

166—The Parthians, in consequence of an embassy to Chang-ti, emperor of China (who died a. 88) had carried on a commercial intercourse with that empire, of which (according to the Chinese writers) they were so jealous, that they would never permit any foreigners to pass through their territories to China. The Roman emperor, Marcus Antoninus, considering the demand for silk, which was produced in no other part of the world than China, and the exorbitant price of it in Rome, determined to send ambassadors to negotiate a more direct commercial intercourse with that country than the subjects of Rome had yet been able to accomplish. His ambassadors proceeded by the way of Egypt and India, arrived in China, and presented some ivory, rhinoceros's horns, and precious stones, to the emperor Ouon-ti, who, being, perhaps, informed of the general character of the Romans, received them very coolly. After this first known communication of any European government with that of China, the Romans began, according to the Chinese historians, to have a more direct intercourse with that empire †. But, if their intercourse was by sea, there is not the smallest hint of it in any Greek or Roman author now extant. It is more probable, that it was effected by caravans, who traversed the continent of Asia beyond the northern boundary of the Parthian empire; and perhaps the station in 43° north latitude, noted by Ptolemy [*Asia, tab. vii*] as a resting place for the merchants who traveled to the Seres (as those merchants may be presumed to have been subjects of Rome) was established on that occasion: and caravans may also have traveled to China from the west coast of India.

\* It was probably the port called Semylla in the Periplus, and noted as having only a coasting trade. It now sent vessels to Egypt, and received Egyptian vessels.

† We are indebted to the Chinese historian, Ven-hien-tong Kao, and to the Oriental literature and research of Mr. de Guignes, [*Reflexions sur les liaisons des Romains avec les Tartares et les Chinois, in Mémoires de littérature, V. xxxii, p. 355*] for these facts respecting the embassy from Au-

toun, the king of the people of the Western ocean. The reception of the Roman ambassadors at the Chinese court obliges us to suppose, either that the Seres, who are said to have sent embassies to solicit the favour of Augustus, and other Roman emperors, and even of this same emperor Antoninus, were a people totally different from the Chinese, or that the Roman writers sometimes spoke at random of the distant countries from which they received embassies.

170—The Roman empire in Britain having been carried by the conquests of Lollius Urbicus in the north to a height which it never exceeded, but from which about this time it declined, never again to recover, it seems proper here to take a view of the principal Roman towns now in this island, which, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus, the geography of Ptolemy, and the valuable and curious geographical commentaries of Richard of Cirencester, were the following\*.

DUROBROVÆ, S	now	<i>Rof-chester</i> or <i>Rocheſter</i> .
DUROVERNUM OF CANTIOPOLIS, } B M, S		<i>Canterbury</i> .
RHUTUPIS, C, the ſtation of that division of the Roman fleet, } which guarded the North ſea, }		<i>Richburgh</i> near <i>Sandwich</i> .
NOVIOMAGUS, B M		ſome place in <i>Surry</i> .
CALEBA, B M		<i>Silcheſter</i> in <i>Hampſhire</i> .
VINDOMUM, B M, S		uncertain.
CLAUSENTUM,		<i>Southampton</i> .
VENTA BELGARUM, B M, S		<i>Wint-cheſter</i> .
SORBIODUNUM, L		<i>Old Sarum</i> .
THERMÆ, OF AQUÆ SOLIS, C		<i>Bath</i> .
DURINUM OF DURNOVARIA, } B M, S		<i>Dor-cheſter</i> .
ISCA DAMNONIORUM, B M, S		<i>Ex-ceſter</i> , or <i>Exeter</i> .
VENTA SILURUM, B M, S		<i>Caer-Went</i> .
ISCA SILURUM, C, the quarters of } the ſecond Auguſtan legion, }		<i>Caer-Leion</i> .
MURIDUNUM, B M, S		<i>Caer-Marthen</i> .
SEGONTIUM, S		<i>Caer-Segont</i> near <i>Carnarvon</i> .
URICONIUM, B M		<i>Wreken-caſter</i> , or <i>Wroxeter</i> .
DEVA, C, the quarters of the } twentieth victorious legion, }		<i>Cheſter</i> .
CORINIUM, B M, L		<i>Ciren-ceſter</i> .
GLEVUM CLAUDIA, C		<i>Glo-ceſter</i> .
VERULAMIUM, M		<i>St. Albans</i> .
LUNDINUM, B M, C †		<i>London</i> .
CAMULODUNUM, C, the quarters of } the twin Martian legion, }		<i>Col-cheſter</i> .

\* The Britiſh part of the Itinerary of Antoninus, has been illuſtrated by the labours of Talbot, Camden, Burton, Gale, Horſeley, Stukeley, and the topographical hiſtorians of almoſt every ſhire. Even the incoherent and blundering catalogue of ſtations in Britain, aſcribed to a monk of Ravenna, has been laboured upon by Horſeley and Baxter.

But no commentary has yet been published upon the more valuable Itinerary contained in the work of Richard.

† Lundinum was made a colony, with the name of Auguſta, after the time of the hiſtorian Tacitus; but the exact time is unknown. See below A. D. 360, 368.

DURNOMAGUS, L	probably the town on the Nen, called <i>Kair-Dorm</i> , and noted, as totally ruined, by Henry of Huntingdon, f. 171 b.
VENTA ICENORUM, B M, S	seems <i>Caster</i> near Norwich.
CAMBORICUM, C	seems <i>Attleburgh</i> in Norfolk.
RAGÆ, or rather RATÆ, B M, S	<i>Leicester</i> .
LINDUM COLONIA, C	<i>Lind-coln</i> , or <i>Lincoln</i> .
ISURIUM, B M	<i>Auld-burgh</i> in York-shire.
CAMBODUNUM, L	<i>Slack</i> near Huddersfield.
CATARACTON, L	<i>Thornhaugh</i> at Catterick.
EBORACUM, C, afterwards M, the quarters of the sixth victorious legion,	<i>York</i> .
COCCIUM, L	<i>Blackrode</i> in Lancashire.
MANCUNIAM, L	<i>Manchester</i> .
LUGUBALLIUM, L	<i>Car-lile</i> .
CURIA OTADINORUM, B M	<i>Melros</i> on the Tweed.
BREMENIUM, S	probably <i>Rifingham</i> on the Reed.
TRIMONTIUM, L	perhaps <i>Middleby</i> in Anandale.
LUCOPIBIA, B M	some place on the east side of Wigton bay*.
VANDUARA, L	perhaps <i>Pasley</i> .
VICTORIA, L	perhaps <i>the ruins</i> at the mouth of the Earn; perhaps <i>Abernetby</i> .
ORREA, B M	<i>Scone</i> , or near it.
DEVANA, B M	<i>Aber-deen</i> .
PTOROTON, L	perhaps the old castle of <i>Nairn</i> , now overwhelmed by the sea; perhaps <i>Inverness</i> .
ALCLUTH (afterwards THEODOSIA, and L)	<i>Dunbarton</i> .

Besides Rhutupis, noted as a station for the government vessels, and Lundinum, a considerable trading port, there were several other ports of some note, viz.

\* Camden, the prince of British geographers, possessed no surveys, and had very little topographical information, of the northern parts of the island; and he has been obliged to depend too often upon a supposed resemblance of names. Thence the first part of the name of Lucopibia is supposed to be the Greek word λευκος, white (as if British towns could have Greek names) and to be the same with the first part of the name of White-hern; and, in consequence of this imagin-

ary identity he is obliged to remove Lucopibia from the *east* side of Wigton bay, where Ptolemy placed it, to the *west* side. Trimontium is in like manner removed from the west, to the east, side of the country, because a hill near Melros has three summits. As Camden has been implicitly followed by most of our great antiquaries, to whom increasing knowledge offered better lights, I have thought it necessary in these two instances to hint my reasons for presuming to differ from them.

PORTUS FELIX, the prosperous harbour, or bay of the Gabran-tuiki,	}	{	seems <i>Filey bay</i> in York-shire, near
			which is <i>Flix-town</i> , apparently preserving the Roman name.
DUBRÆ,			<i>Dover</i> .
PORTUS LEMANUS,			apparently <i>Lime</i> , though now inland.
NEW HARBOUR, seemingly afterwards called ANDERIDA,	}	}	<i>Pevensey</i>
			the mouth of the <i>Adur</i>
PORTUS ADURNI,			<i>Port-cheester</i> .
MAGNUS PORTUS, or Great harbour,			<i>St. Davids</i> .
MENAPIA, the port for Ireland,			
PORTUS SETANTIURUM, or SISTUN-TIORUM,	}	}	on the coast of Lancashire ;

besides some noted only as ferrying places.

There were also about one hundred and forty more towns or places, the names of which are mentioned in geographical lists and itineraries ; but we know nothing further of their condition. Some of them undoubtedly were considerable, and others appear to have been noted merely as being stages or resting places for the army or travelers, as single inns appear along with towns in modern books of the roads.

Of the above towns the two marked M were *Municipia*. In virtue of that distinction they were invested with the privilege of enacting laws for the regulation of their own affairs, and they were exempted from being subject to those of the empire. The inhabitants, without being divested of the citizenship of their native towns, were also citizens of Rome.

The ten marked C were *Colonies*. Towns of this class were occupied by Romans, and mostly by the legionary soldiers, who received portions of land in the neighbourhood as a reward for their services, and as an encouragement to be vigilant in suppressing any attempts of the natives to recover their liberty. Their constitutions, their courts of justice, and all their offices were copied from Rome ; and the inhabitants were Roman citizens, and governed by Roman laws.

The ten marked L were invested with *Latian privileges*. They were exempted from the ordinary jurisdiction of the prætor, and were permitted to chuse their magistrates among themselves ; and those magistrates were invested with the rank and privileges of Roman citizens.

The twelve *Stipendiary* towns marked S were governed by officers deputed by the prætor\*.

B M affixed to a town mark it as the metropolis of a British nation.

Several towns in Ireland were now known to geographers, which infers, that there was some trading intercourse with that island, though

\* In this brief account of the nature of *municipia*, &c. I have followed Mr. Whitaker, [*Hist. of Manchester*, B. i, c. 8] who may be consulted for the authorities. †

the nature of it is unknown. The following seem to have been the most considerable of them.

NAGNATA, distinguished by Pto-	} on the west coast.
lemy as a famous town,	
MANAPIA, opposite to, and pro-	}
bably a colony from, Menapia	
in Britain.	

EBLANA,

*Dublin.*

and seven inland towns, noted by Ptolemy, and by Richard, who has also several others unknown to Ptolemy.

Some commotions broke out in Britain; and Calphurnius Agricola was sent to suppress them: but of his success the Roman writers are entirely silent\*. [*Capitolini M. Ant. Philos.*]

175—The Romans being again threatened with war by the Britons, or, to speak more correctly, the Caledonians, the emperor sent over a large body of Iazygian horsemen to reinforce his legions.

183—The war with the Britons of Caledonia was the most formidable of all those in which the Romans were now engaged. The Caledonians, not satisfied with the recovery of that part of their own country, which had for some years been a Roman province under the name of Vespasiana, broke down the wall erected by Lollius Urbicus, ravaged the country, slew the Roman general, and cut his army in pieces. Marcellus, the next Roman commander, repulsed them with some loss: but the Romans never recovered their lost province of Vespasiana. This, if I mistake not, is the very first province of their empire, from which the Romans were driven out by the natives †. [*Dion. Cass. L. lxxii.—Lamprid. in Commod.*]

193—It is perhaps rather beneath the dignity of commercial history to relate, that the ruffians of the prætorian guard, whose duty it was to defend the person of the emperor, after murdering Pertinax, because he was too virtuous to tolerate their abuses, had the insolence to proclaim an auction of the imperial title to the highest bidder. Didius Julian became the purchaser at the price of above two hundred pounds sterling to each man, the total sum being between three and four millions sterling; probably the largest purchase ever made by an individual. In return for such an enormous sum of money he enjoyed the

\* Cicero observes, that it was a common practice with the Roman writers to pass over their defeats in silence. [*Orat. pro lege Manil.*]

† Richard of Cirencester [*p. 52*] dates the expulsion of the Romans from Vespasiana in the year of the world 4170 or A. D. 170; and the short hints we have of two wars in Britain during the reign of Antoninus the Philosopher favour his chronology. However, as in adapting the Ro-

man chronology to the years of the world he has neglected the names of the consuls, and as in events of known date he sometimes differs a few years from the truth, I would not be positive, that the expulsion from that part of the country took place so early. At any rate we are certain, that it was now (183) entirely delivered from the Roman yoke.

ignominious and dangerous elevation sixty-six days, and then was executed as a criminal in his own palace.

198—The Romans began now to employ their money, the sinews of war as well as of trade, in purchasing from the braver *barbarians*, as their arrogance stiled all the free nations in the world, a temporary forbearance of hostilities, thereby enabling, as well as alluring, them to renew their invasions with augmented vigour: and henceforth this humiliating mode of making peace was often resorted to by the masters of the world. Such a tribute was now paid by Lupus, the governor of the north part of Roman Britain, to the Caledonians. [*Digest. L. xxviii, tit. 6.*]

208—Severus, now sole master of the Roman empire, could not rest satisfied with having conquered three rival emperors, destroyed the uncommonly strong and commercial city of Byzantium, and subdued several eastern nations, unless by the total conquest of Britain he could add to his other titles that of *Britannicus*. He therefore transported himself and his two sons with a prodigious army into Britain, and next year marched against the Caledonians and Mæatæ, who wisely avoided coming to a pitched battle, but led him into so many snares and difficulties, that fifty, or according to others seventy, thousand of his men perished in ambuscades and skirmishes, and by the multiplied hardships of their march to some part of the country, which the writers of that age call the extremity of Britain. The Caledonians, however, to get rid of the enemy, consented to yield to him some part, either of their own country, or of their conquests. Severus thereupon returned to Eboracum (*York*), now apparently the chief city of Britain, and there fixed his residence, while his army was employed in building a new wall across the island (a°. 210).

The Caledonians soon after resumed the possession of the district, which had been extorted from them; whereupon Severus was so provoked, that he ordered Bassianus Antoninus, his oldest son, to march into their country, and to slaughter every man, woman, and child in it. But the emperor dying soon after, his son, more intent upon destroying his hated brother than the Caledonians, purchased a peace from them with the resignation of the lands in dispute. Bremenium (apparently *Risingham* in Northumberland) on the east, and Blatum Bulgium, twelve \* miles beyond Luguballium (*Carlisle*) on the west, side of the country, appear to have been fixed upon on this occasion as the frontier posts of the Roman empire in this island.

It is very surprising, that the knowledge of the Romans concerning Britain seems to have diminished in proportion as their opportunities of knowing it increased. Although it was assuredly known to be an island

\* Twenty-four, according to some copies; which add to the difficulties attending one of the obscurest parts of the Itinerary, so far as it concerns Britain.

ever since the discoveries of Pytheas; though Aristotle, or the author of the book upon the world ascribed to him, Cæsar, who was a man of science as well as a soldier, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo a professed geographer, Pliny, &c. had expressly and repeatedly called it an island; though Tacitus had said, that his father-in-law's fleet had confirmed (what they pretended was doubtful) its being an island; and though Ptolemy the geographer, who flourished only about forty years before the invasion of Severus, had described the whole circuit of the coast, and also a number of islands beyond it; we are informed by Dion Cassius, that a question, whether the north part of it was joined to the continent, was now agitated, and became a frequent subject of disquisition, among their philosophers, who in the thick mist of their ignorance wrote many volumes on both sides of the question, which have all had the good fortune to sink into the quiet grave of due oblivion. Even after the expedition of Severus had in some measure cleared up this almost incredible doubt, it was believed in Rome, that the unconquered part of the island, which furnished such armies as could baffle the most strenuous exertions of the conquerors of the world, must be more extensive than the part subject to them; though it was in truth not equal to one third of it in extent, and still more inferior to it in fertility and population. Can we believe from these symptoms of a retrogradation of knowledge among the Romans, that the works of the celebrated authors above mentioned were unknown to them, or are we to suppose, that their government, for some reasons of state, thought proper to spread a veil of ignorance and mystery over the geography of the UNCONQUERABLE ISLAND?

211—It is worthy of observation, that the great abundance of fish, which swarmed on the northern shores of Britain, was known to Dion Cassius, who also remarks the neglect of that blessing by the natives, who, perhaps from motives of superstition, even abstained from tasting fish. This is the earliest notice of the superior advantage, which Scotland might in all ages have enjoyed in carrying on a most extensive fishery. But Solinus who lived at the same time with, or immediately after, Dion\*, says, that the people of the Hæbudes (*Western islands of Scotland*) derived a principal part of their subsistence from fishing. Both accounts may be true: the fishery might be neglected on the east coast, which was best known to the Romans; and it might be attended to by the natives of the west coast and the islands.

214—The Romans again had recourse to the wretched expedient of purchasing treaties of peace; and the Catti, Alemanni, and other nations of Germany, who had much valour and little money, were induced by all-powerful gold to permit the Roman emperor to retire from

\* See Dodwell on the æra of Isidorus Characenus, ap. *Hudsoni Geograph. vet. Græc.*

their country, and to make peace with him. Such tributes soon exhausted his ill-managed treasury; and he was driven to the tyrannical shift of creating a fictitious kind of money, made of gilded copper and lead plated with silver, which, as he could not pay his allies in such coin, he compelled his unhappy subjects to receive and circulate among themselves. [*Dion. Cass. L. lxxvii.*]

216—The sanguinary monster, to whose frantic and arbitrary commands the many millions of people composing the Roman empire tamely submitted the disposal of their lives and fortunes, thought proper to amuse himself with the spectacle of a general massacre of the citizens and strangers in Alexandria, whereby he very nearly depopulated that hitherto flourishing city, almost the only seat of commerce within the grasp of their power, which had been preserved from destruction by the Romans.

The ruin of almost every commercial state, which fell under the dominion of Rome, necessarily reduces the materials for commercial history in these ages to a very narrow compass, and in a manner obliges me, in order to preserve some degree of chronological connection, to deviate a little into the general history of our own island, destined to make so important a figure in the commercial history of succeeding ages.

230—The emperor Alexander Severus made some regulations in the customs, which, being still extant, shew that the Oriental trade was then nearly in the same state as it is described by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean sea*. In order to induce merchants to resort to Rome, he favoured them with several immunities. He reduced the rate of interest to four per cent ('*ad trientes pensiones*'). And he encouraged literature and learned men.

272—The commercial republic of Palmyra, after maintaining its independence for ages, had been swallowed up in the vastness of the Roman empire. The merchants of Palmyra being found useful as competitors with those of Alexandria for conveying the rich merchandize of the east to Rome, their commerce was not crushed, but appears even to have increased during their subjection to Rome. In the confusions, which now announced the approaching downfall of the Roman empire, the citizens of Palmyra, under the sovereignty of Odenathus and his heroic widow Zenobia, aspired to conquest and dominion, and actually formed a new empire consisting of most of the Asiatic provinces and Egypt, all which they had rent from the dominions of Rome. But merchants never prosper as conquerors; nor do the imaginary advantages of victory by any means compensate the real calamities of even a successful war, which at the expense of the blood and treasure of the community only elevates individuals to a supremacy over their fellow

citizens, and often to be their scourge, while the splendid delusion of their conquests seduces their minds, and abstracts their capitals from their proper objects of laudable commercial activity; whereas the whole community is overwhelmed in irretrievable ruin upon a reverse of fortune. Such was the fate of the illustrious commercial republic of Carthage; and such was the more sudden fate of Palmyra: for Aurelian, who during a short reign revived the military superiority of Rome, eager to wipe off the disgrace of a captive emperor languishing in Persian chains, and of the finest provinces of the empire being withheld from Rome by a woman, led his forces into the East, and speedily recovered the provinces which formed the Palmyrene empire. The city of Palmyra, after a resistance, which does great honour to the military science of its defenders, who assailed the Romans with every engine then known in the art of war, some of which darted artificial fire, being betrayed by their mercenary allies, surrendered to the Roman emperor, who was so merciful as only to plunder the inhabitants of all their property, including, besides gold and silver, great stores of jewels, silk, and other rich merchandize of Arabia and India (a°. 273).

The citizens of Palmyra having made an attempt to recover their liberty, their city was destroyed, and all the people found in it, not excepting helpless age and infancy, were massacred by Aurelian; who soon after, regretting the loss of the trade of Palmyra, gave permission to some few of the inhabitants, who had escaped the general slaughter, to rebuild their city, and restore their commerce. But commerce does not start into existence at the command of a tyrant, though any savage, invested with power, may destroy in one day the accumulated labours of ages of science and industry. The desolation of Palmyra was complete and irretrievable: and, though it was afterwards made the station of a band of Roman soldiers, and even fortified and supplied with water by the emperor Justinian, it has in all succeeding ages been only the retreat of a few miserable families, whose wretched huts deform the still-splendid remains of antient magnificence.

Firmus, an opulent merchant of Egypt, was largely concerned in trade with India, with the Blemyes an Ethiopian nation, and with the Saracens of Arabia, and seems to have also carried on very extensive manufactures of paper and glue, since he boasted, that he could maintain an army with the produce of those articles. Unfortunately for himself he preferred the perilous situation of a pretender to sovereign power to the calm felicity of a prosperous merchant. Persuading the people of Egypt, that he was able, by his wealth and his foreign connections, to deliver them from the dominion of Rome, he assumed the title of emperor, stiled himself the ally of Zenobia, made himself master of Alexandria, and prevented the usual supplies of corn from being

shipped for Rome. His destruction was the consequence of his mistaken ambition\*.

282—The emperor Probus is said to have granted permission to the people of Gaul and Pannonia, and also, according to Vopiscus, to the Britons, to cultivate vines and make wine, which had been prohibited by a decree of Domitian.

284—The Persians, who had recovered the sovereignty of their country from the Parthians, were no less careful than they had been to exclude the Romans from a participation in the trade with Serica, or China. There was moreover at this time a war between the two empires; and the Romans, finding the intercourse with China by the way of India too tedious and expensive, had allowed the trade to fall off almost to nothing. For these reasons a second embassy was dispatched from Rome to China †; and probably some new arrangements were then settled, which may have produced the caravan trade, whereof the route by the way of the Stone tower will be noticed under the year 353.

285—The Franks and other German nations, situated near the mouth of the Rhine, used to infest the adjacent coasts with piratical incursions. In order to repress those sea rovers, the emperor Maximian built a fleet of ships, the command of which he gave to Carausius, an officer of great experience in naval and military affairs, appointing Gesoriacum (*Boulogne*) in Gaul for their principal station. The new admiral was soon accused of retaining for himself the prizes he retook, instead of delivering them to the owners, or to the imperial treasury; and orders were already given to put him to death. But Carausius, having the people in the fleet strongly attached to him, prevented his fate by sailing over to Britain, where he persuaded the military forces also to join his standard, and assumed the title of emperor (a°. 286), his dominions

\* As an instance of the opulence and luxury of Firmus, it is said that he had squares of glass fixed with bitumen in his house; and, though Vopiscus, the author who mentions the circumstance, [*Vita Firmi*, c. 3] has not a word of windows, this has been supposed the earliest instance of windows furnished with glass. However, Lactantius, an author contemporary with Firmus, speaks of glass in a manner that infers, that it and the more ancient thin plates of an almost-transparent kind of stone were both used in windows in his time; ‘*per fenestras lucente vitro aut speculari lapide.*’ [*De opificio Dei*, c. 5.]

Pliny, who describes the manufacture and the various uses of glass, [*L.* xxxvi, c. 26] appears to have been ignorant of the most valuable application of it in admitting the light into, and excluding the cold and the rain from, our houses. And Polydore Vergil, in his compilation upon Inventions, by merely transcribing the most common

of the ancient authors, gives room to suppose him equally ignorant of the use of window glass, though common in most parts of Europe in his time.

In the *Philosophical transactions*, V. 1, part 2, and V. lii, part 1, there are two papers by Mr. Nixon on the use of plate glass among the antients, occasioned by a piece of plate glass being found in the ruins of Herculaneum, which was overwhelmed by the lava from Mount Vesuvius in the year 79.

Mr. Valois [*Hist. de l'acad. des inscript. V. 1*] supposes the *lapis specularis* of the antients the same with the modern tale of Russia. This later is a fossile substance called *manienglas*: it splits into laminæ like sheets of paper, quite transparent, and is used for windows and lanterns all over Russia, having this advantage over glass, that it is not liable to break by the explosion of cannon.

† For the knowledge of the second embassy, as well as the first, we are indebted to the Chinese historians and Mr. de Guignes. See above, p. 194.

comprehending the Roman part of Britain, with a considerable district on the opposite coast of Gaul.

Carausius knew, that a naval force, which had conferred the sovereignty upon him, could alone maintain him in it against the power of the Roman emperors. He therefore bestowed the greatest attention on that most important object: and he encouraged foreign seamen and artists of every description to resort to his dominions. A fleet, which Maximian, after long preparation, had fitted out against him, was completely defeated by his experienced seamen; and the joint emperors of Rome found themselves under the necessity of acknowledging the independent sovereignty of the British emperor (a°. 289).

Britain seems to have flourished under the government of Carausius. The general opulence, and the flourishing state of the arts are attested by the number and elegance of his coins, three hundred of which, all different, have been published by his biographer, Doctor Stukely. He first repelled, and then lived in friendship with, the Caledonians. His fleets for several years rode triumphant in the narrow seas, and even gave laws to the Atlantic ocean as far as the African shore: and now for the first time BRITANNIA RULED THE WAVES.

The Roman emperors could not sit down contented with the deprivation of Britain, the value of which they seem to have been more sensible of from the want of it. In order to depose Carausius, a great naval and military force was collected under the command of Constantius Cæsar, whose first attempt was against Gesloriacum, which after an obstinate defence fell into his hands, together with a part of the fleet (a°. 292).

294—While the Romans were carrying on their preparations for invading the British emperor, he was treacherously murdered by Aleetus, one of his officers, who immediately usurped the dangerous pre-eminence, and, with very inferior talents, exposed himself to be the first object of the vengeance of the Roman empire.

296—At length Constantius put to sea with the fleet, which he had been about four years \* employed in getting ready; and the wonderful courage of the Romans, who ventured out with a side wind, and in weather somewhat boisterous, was thought worthy of panegyric celebration. They surely had no Phœnician or Alexandrian navigators in their fleet. Constantius effected his landing in two divisions; and Aleetus, hated and deserted by his involuntary subjects, who were moreover harassed with a long march from London, was slain in battle on the south coast near the isle of Wight.

\* These several Roman fleets, and the time employed in preparing them, may be compared with those, which the Romans, when masters of only the peninsular part of Italy, are said to have fitted out completely in a few days, in the very infancy

of their naval undertakings, and without the assistance of any people experienced in maritime affairs. See the judicious remark of Gibbon, *Vol. vi, p. 179. Note, ed. 1792.*

A body of Franks, who had escaped, or withdrawn, from the battle, hastened to London, intending to pillage it, and then to retreat to their own country with the plunder by seizing the vessels in the Thames. But a part of the Roman fleet, which had been driven into the river, came very opportunely to protect the city, and drove off the intended plunderers with great slaughter.

Thus a single battle, similar in several of its circumstances, and in its decisive consequence, to that which was fought near the same place between Harold king of England and William duke of Normandy seven hundred and seventy years afterwards, reunited the British dominions of Carausius to the Roman empire, after a separation of about ten years.

It is remarked by Eumenius in his panegyric upon Constantius, that Britain produced such abundance of corn, that it was sufficient to supply not only bread, but also a drink which was comparable to wine\*. He also remarks the innumerable multitude of tame animals, some with their udders distended with milk, and others loaded with fleeces of wool. From him also we learn, that the artificers of Britain in the reign of Carausius were esteemed excellent in their professions, and were therefor employed by Constantius, in preference to those on the continent, in rebuilding the city of Augustodunum in Gaul.

At the same time Diocletian re-annexed Egypt to the empire, and we may believe, that the commerce of that country with India must have suffered upon the occasion; for he almost depopulated Alexandria, which stood a siege of eight months; and he totally destroyed Coptos, the town at which the Oriental goods were unloaded from the backs of the camels, and shipped in boats on the Nile for Alexandria.

The Egyptian expedition of Diocletian furnishes the earliest notice of the pretended science of alchymy. He found in Egypt books, said to be antient, which professed to teach the wonderful art of making gold and silver. The emperor, who appears to have formed a very proper judgement of the delusion and its dangerous consequence, committed the whole of them to the flames.

306.—The emperor Constantius, having made an expedition against the Caledonians, took up his residence, and soon after died, in the imperial palace at Eboracum (*York*); which was thus a second time distinguished by the residence, death, and deification of a Roman emperor. His son Constantine there also took upon him the title of emperor as colleague with Galerius. He afterwards became sole emperor, made Christianity the established religion of the Roman empire, and removed the seat of the imperial government from Rome to Constantinople.

314—York, London, and Colchester, were apparently the principal cities

\* ‘ Segetum tanta fecunditas, ut muneribus utrisque sufficiat, et Cereris et Liberi.’

of Roman Britain at this time: for we find three bishops taking their titles from them at the council, or synod, of bishops held at Arelatè in Gaul. On this, as on former occasions, York (or Eboracum) appears to have had the first rank among the Roman-British cities, and London had, probably by means of its advantageous situation for trade, now risen to the second rank, Colchester, which seems to have been once the most considerable, as the earliest Roman colony, having sunk to the third place\*.

323—The fleets collected by Constantine and Licinius, when they contended for the monarchy of the Roman world, furnish a pretty just comparative estimate of the opulence, commerce, and shipping, of the several countries bordering on the Mediterranean sea at this time. Constantine, emperor of the West, appears to have got no ships of war from Italy. The fleets appointed by the policy of Augustus to be permanent and stationary at Misenum and Ravenna, had gone to ruin for want of commerce to support and man them. His force consisted of only two hundred small warlike vessels, furnished by Greece, which, according to Zosimus, carried only thirty oars each, and above two thousand transports, of the size of which we have no information. Licinius, the sovereign of the East, issued his orders to his subjects to provide vessels proper for war; and they amounted to three hundred and fifty, as enumerated by Zosimus, viz. eighty *triremes* furnished by Egypt, eighty by Phœnicia, sixty by Ionia and Doria, thirty by Cyprus, twenty by Caria, thirty by Bithynia, and fifty by Africa. Though these seem to be all ranked as *triremes*, yet from a subsequent passage of Zosimus it appears, that some of them were only vessels of fifty oars in single tiers. [*Zosim. L. ii, pp. 94, 95, 98, ed. Oxon. 1679.*] *Quinqueremes* and other larger ships were now unknown; and soon after this time they were almost forgotten among the Romans. [*Veget. L. iv, c. 37.*]

If from this view of the naval power of the Mediterranean countries we turn the slightest glance to their prosperous state, before the Roman empire arose, what a prodigious difference shall we find! Phœnicia alone, when even reduced to a province of Persia, furnished three hun-

\* In the list of ecclesiastics, who attended the synod of Arelatè, the three British bishops are placed after the eight bishops of Gaul, and before the one bishop and several presbyters of Spain, as follows.

Eborius episcopus, de civitate Eboracensi, provincia Britannia.

Restitutus episcopus, de civitate Londinensi, provincia supra-scripta.

Adelfius episcopus, de civitate Colonia Londinensium.

The last word is erroneously written. It ought to be Camulodunensium (*the inhabitants of Col-*

*chester*); or perhaps Lindensium (*the inhabitants of Lincoln*); and the former seems the most probable. The corrupted name has no resemblance to any other of the Roman colonies. [*Usserii Britann. eccles. antiq. pp. 98, 195 and 6c, ed. 1639.—Spelman's Concil. Britann. p. 42, ed. 1639.*]

The critics in ecclesiastical history differ widely in the date of this synod. The profound researches and erudition of the two authors, I have quoted, warrant me in following them in what appears to be the earliest genuine notice of British bishops, as denoting the pre-eminence of British cities.

dred warlike ships; about one quarter of the armada, with which Xerxes invaded Greece. The island of Samos, without drawing any from its own fleet, could spare forty triremes as a gratuitous assistance to Cambyfes. But now the fleets of both the rival emperors, who had the absolute command of the wealth of the Roman world, though they had been joined together, were far from being equal to some of those, which were equipped by the single city of Athens, when in its free and flourishing state: nor have we any reason to believe that the inferiority in number was compensated by any improvement, either in the size or force of the vessels.

324-334 \*—The imperial residence and seat of the Roman government, which for about forty years had fluctuated between Rome, Mediolanum (*Milan*), and Nicomedia (*Comidia*), was finally fixed by Constantine at Byzantium, which thenceforth obtained the name of Constantinopolis. It is almost unnecessary to add, that the favoured capital, though it had repeatedly been besieged and ruined, soon grew up to be a large and beautiful city.

Before the invention of the compass rendered the most distant parts of the Ocean pervious to the skilful navigator, no spot in the western world could be more happily chosen for the capital of a great commercial people than that, which was chosen by Constantine for the capital of a military government. Situated on a peninsula projecting into the narrow channel, which divides Europe from Asia, and the Mediterranean from the Euxine sea, it invited, and could almost command, the trade of every country bordering on the Mediterranean. A branch from the main channel, of seven miles in length, and only five hundred yards in breadth at the entrance, formed its harbour, and had water sufficient to enable large ships to lay their sides to the quays: and besides affording such convenience for shipping, it moreover fed and enriched the inhabitants with innumerable annual shoals of a kind of fish called pelamides (or tunnies), the copious captures of which had for many ages enriched the Byzantines.

It is well known to every reader of history, that the new arrangements, which took place in consequence of the removal of the imperial residence, accelerated the fall of the western division of the declining empire of Rome: but then it may with justice be called the principal support of the eastern empire.

306-337—Since the reign of Severus the Roman part of Britain had been divided into two provinces, SUPERIOR and INFERIOR. The further

\* The building and dedication of Constantinople, so important in the history of the empire, cannot be reduced to certain chronology, though they have employed the acute investigations of several historical critics. In such an uncertainty I may

content myself with following the learned and indefatigable Gibbon, who dates the first design of the new capital in 324, and the completion of it about ten years after.

division into four provinces is believed to have taken place in the reign of Constantine; and they were as follows. BRITANNIA PRIMA comprehended the country south of the Thamesis (*Thames*) and the Sabrina (*Severn*); and Rhutupis (*Richburgh* in Kent) was the capital. BRITANNIA SECUNDA was bounded by the Sabrina and the Deva (*Dee*) on the east, and on the other sides by the Irish sea, Isca Silurum (*Caerleion*) being the capital. FLAVIA CÆSARIENSIS \* was bounded on the south by the Thamesis; on the west by the Sabrina, the Deva, and the Irish sea; on the north by the Seteia (*Mersea*), the Danus (*Don*), and the Abus (*Humber*); and on the east by the German sea. The capital is not certainly known, but may be presumed to have been the ancient colony of Camulodunum (*Colchester*), or perhaps rather the now more flourishing city of Lundinum (*London*). MAXIMA † comprehended all the remaining part of the conquered country, which, while the Romans were able to preserve the limits fixed by the treaty between the emperor Antoninus Bassianus (or Caracalla) and the Caledonians, seems to have extended as far north as the Cheviot hills and the range of mountains dividing Galloway (in its largest extent) from Tiviotdale, Tweeddale, and Clydesdale. Eboracum (*York*) was the capital of this province, and, at least occasionally, of the whole of the Roman dominions in Britain: and all these capital cities were Roman colonies. [*Sexti Rufi Breviarium*.—*Ric. Corin. l. i, c. 6.*]

About this time the Romans, perhaps dropping the use of their own money of account called *sestertium*, and of the Greek or Oriental talent, seem to have reckoned their large sums by pounds of gold; at least we find the salaries of their great officers of state, bishops, &c. so reckoned ‡.

The Roman pound of gold, which may be reckoned equal to forty pounds of our modern sterling money, was exchanged at this time for fourteen pounds eight ounces of silver.

About 345—From the circumstance of an embassy being sent by the emperor Constantius to the king of the Homerites, (formerly called Sabæans) in order to convert him to the Christian religion, and probably also to engage him to harass the coast of Persia with naval invasions §, we learn that that king now extended his sway over all the south coast of Arabia, which the Greeks called the *Great Arabia* and the *Happy*

\* Apparently so called from the prænomen of *Flavius*, assumed by Constantine, and after him by many of the succeeding emperors.

† Perhaps so called, as being erroneously supposed the largest of the whole (whereas it was not near so extensive as Flavia); or as pretending that the unconquered country was a part of it.

‡ Probably the numeration of money by pounds, which became general among all the nations of Europe, was copied from them; but the other na-

tions, being less opulent, counted pounds of *silver* instead of pounds of gold.

§ That the Roman emperors kept up alliances with the Homerites and the Axumites, a people on the west coast of the Red sea, in the year 356, and also in the reigns of Justin and Justinian, appears from an order concerning the expenses of those who were sent to them, from Nonnosus, ambassador to Axuma, [*ap. Photii Bibliothec. cod. iii*] and from Procopius, [*Persic. l. i, c. 19, 20.*]

*Arabia*; and that one of his sea ports, situated in the district of Adané on the Ocean, was called the *Roman emporium*\*, and another, at the mouth of the Persian gulf, the *Persian emporium*, from the subjects of the Roman and Persian empires trading to them. Among the presents sent by the Roman emperor to the king of the Homerites there were two hundred horses of the noblest breed of Cappadocia, conveyed in vessels constructed for the purpose †. [*Philostorgii Hist. eccles. L. iii, c. 4.*]

353—It was customary now (and how long before we know not) to hold an annual fair about the beginning of September at Batnæ, a town of Macedonian origin, lying east from Antioch, and near the banks of the Euphrates. It was attended by great multitudes, for the purpose of dealing with the opulent merchants of the place, and others assembled from all quarters, in goods brought from India and other countries by land and by water ‡, as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus, [*L. xiv*] who mentions an attempt of the Persians to plunder it.

That diligent and judicious writer, who deserves to be called a geographer as well as an historian, gives a description of the countries beyond the eastern limits of the Roman empire in his twenty-third book, wherein he informs us, that the long route of the merchants trading to the famous nation of the Seres lay through a village called Lithinos-Pyrgos (the tower of stone), and along the ranges of mountains called Ascanimia and Comedus §. He does not tell us of what country these merchants were, but it is probable that they were subjects of the Roman empire. East from the River Iaxartes (*Sibon*), says Ammianus, and surrounded by a vast circuit of lofty mountains, lies the extensive and fertile country of the Seres, bounded on the west by the Scythians, on the north and east by deserts covered with snow, and on the south by India and the Ganges ||. He proceeds to describe the Seres as a sedate

\* This is supposed the emporium called Arabia Felix in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, but I know not whether the identity is sufficiently established.

† It may be an inquiry worth the investigation of the naturalist, whether these Cappadocian horses were the progenitors of the famous Arabian breed. It is pretty evident that Arabia was not distinguished for the quality of its horses in early times. See above, p. 165 note, where I have observed that the horses of Cappadocia were highly esteemed in Tyre and Persia. They were no less precious in the eyes of the Roman emperors, who did not permit even consuls to possess 'the divine animals' of the first quality, or purest breed, of Cappadocia. In short, they were then, what the Arabian horses of the *monaki sbadubi* breed, purer than milk, are in the present day, the very best of their kind. The many quotations in support of the superior excellence of the ancient Cappadocian horses, which it would be improper to introduce here, may be seen in *Bo-*

*chart's Geog. sacr. col. 175, and Hierozoicon, col. 109, and in Gothofred's Dissertation on Philostorgius.*

‡ 'Terra marique,' by land and by sea. But the town is far from the Mediterranean, the nearest sea: nor is it close upon the Euphrates, which, however, is the only navigable channel by which Indian goods could be conveyed to it. The land conveyance was probably by the caravans of merchants, of whose route in the central part of Asia he gives us a slight notice in his geography of that continent.

§ These seem the ranges now called Hindookho and Cuttore. See *Rennell's Map of the countries between the Ganges and the Caspian sea.*

|| This description answers that part of Tartary containing the country now called Little Bucharía or Mogulistán. [See *Rennell's Map* as above, and the third section of his *Memoir*, p. 198.] The situation also agrees tolerably well, making due allowance for the imperfection of ancient geography, with the great city of Thina in the Petiplus of the Erythrean

and gentle people, who never quarrel with their neighbours, are exempted from the alarms of war, and are even without the use of arms. Blessed with a fertile soil, and a delicious and salubrious climate, they pass their happy days in perfect tranquillity amid shady groves, which are fanned by gentle breezes, and produce fleeces of wool, which, after being sprinkled with water, is combed off in the finest threads, and woven into *sericum* \*. The Seres, satisfied with the happiness of their own condition, are very shy of having any intercourse with the rest of mankind; and when foreigners have passed a river to buy thread (seemingly raw silk) or other goods, they consider the price offered in silence, and transact their business without exchanging a word. And as the productions of their own country are sufficient to supply all their wants, and satisfy all their wishes, they receive nothing in exchange from the strangers but hard money. Such is the best account which Ammianus could obtain of the country, from which, through the agency of a great many hands, the Romans obtained the luxurious dress called *sericum*, which, though formerly confined to the nobles, was now indiscriminately used by all classes of people, not only in clothing, but also in coverlets for their beds †.

357—Paris, first mentioned by Julius Cæsar under the name of Lutecia or Lutetia, was now the residence of Julian, who, with the rank of Cæsar, governed the western provinces of the empire. It appears to have been still confined within the small island in the river, and to have been considered rather as a fortified post or castle than as a town.

359—When Julian was occupied in constructing a chain of fortified towns on the banks of the Rhine, he found that the adjacent country, neglected and exhausted by the calamities of war, was incapable of supporting the garrisons and inhabitants of his new settlements. He immediately constructed six hundred ‡ vessels with the wood growing on

Erythræan sea, and the Sera metropolis of Ptolemy, which the learned geographer D'Anville makes the same with the modern city of Kan-tcheu-foo, situated in that division of Tangut, which is included in the province of Shen-see, in the north-west part of the empire. [*Recherches sur la Serique des anciens*, in *Mém. de littérature*, V. xxxii, p. 579.] This position of the Seres agrees pretty well with the history, or tradition, of the origin of the Chinese, supposing them the descendents of the Seres, that their first settlements were in the north-west parts of the present empire of China, as it was pointed out by a well-informed Pandit to Sir William Jones. [See his *Discourse on the origin of the Chinese*, in the *Asiatic researches*, V. ii.]

\* Perhaps the Seres were themselves the inventors of this story, which seemed to render it impossible for any other nation to obtain a participation in the silk harvest, just as similar fables were propagated respecting the production of spices.

† Some parts of this description may seem to be copied from Pliny. [*Hist. nat. L. vi, cc. 17, 22.*] Three or four centuries had not made the smallest addition to the knowledge of the nature of *sericum* among the Romans, beyond what they possessed in the days of Virgil or Pliny.

‡ Such is the number by Julian's own account in his *Letter to the Athenians*. Zosimus says, there were eight hundred ships larger than lembi (‘πλοῖα μείζονα λεμβῶν’); and he has been often referred to, not quoted, to prove that Britain exported every year corn sufficient to load eight hundred large ships; whereas, without affirming or denying that Britain could spare an equal quantity every year, he only says that such an exportation took place on that occasion. Of the burthen of the vessels we can form no accurate judgment, unless we knew the ordinary size of lembi, which, if we may trust to such guides as Isidore, Nonius Marcellus, and Fulgentius, were small vessels or fishing boats; and

the banks of the river, and sent them to Britain, whence each of them carried several cargoes of corn, which supplied the wants of the settlers till their own lands were capable of supporting them with corn raised from the British seed: and he also erected granaries in place of those which had been burnt down, for the reception of the corn usually imported from Britain. [*Juliani Orat. ad Athen.*—*Amm. Marcellin. L. xviii.*—*Zosimus, L. iii.*] This authentic fact furnishes an unquestionable proof of the fertility of Britain, and also of the flourishing state of agriculture in it. And the vast sums paid by the Anglo-Saxons in after ages to the northern invaders, afford a strong presumption, that Britain, while under the Roman government, was enriched by a great and long-continued favourable balance of trade, and thereby possessed a very great quantity of money at the final abdication of the Romans.

360—The Roman subjects in Britain were miserably harassed by the incursions of the Scots and Picts\*, two fierce nations, ‘who, breaking the terms of the pacification, ravaged the frontiers, and spread terror through the Roman provinces, still exhausted by the calamities of their former invasions.’ Julian dispatched Lupicinus against them with an army from Gaul, who landed at Rhotupia, and marched to Londinium (*London*), whence he was to proceed against the invaders. What his success was, we are not told; but his stay in the island was not above three or four months. Rhotupia or Rhotupis (*Richburgh* on the east coast of Kent) was now the principal landing place from the continent; and Londinium may be presumed to be a place of considerable importance, where the Roman general was to concert the operations of the campaign with the provincial governor. [*Amm. Marcell. L. xx.*]

364—The Saxons, a nation of Germany, who astonished and terrified the Romans and their subjects by the daring intrepidity with which they

Procopius tells us, [*Gothic. L. ii, c. 12*] that the *lembi* belonging to a Roman fleet were carried upon carts from Genoa to the River Po. Perhaps we shall not greatly err, if we estimate Julian’s river-built vessels rather under than above fifty tuns, which, instead of being called *large ships*, would not now be honoured with the name of *ships*. But our antiquaries, if they had duely attended to Zosimus, who says, that the vessels made several voyages, and to Marcellinus, who has ‘*annona a Britanis suevia transferri*,’ might have very fairly credited Britain for at least two thousand cargoes of corn. Part of the corn carried from Gaul to Rome in the year 398, when Gildo withheld the African supplies, may with great probability be presumed to have been the produce of Britain.

\* This is the earliest unquestionable extant authority for these new names of the invaders of the Romanized part of Britain, but they were apparently known by the same name before Constant

undertook an expedition against them in the year 343, referred to by Ammianus Marcellinus, as related in the early part of his work, which is unfortunately lost. If we could trust to rhetorical flourish, both those nations might be said to have frequently fought against the Britons of the south in the age of Julius Cæsar; but we cannot with any degree of propriety venture to extract historical facts from the hyperbolic adulation of panegyric, especially in this age, when the emperors used to arrogate to themselves the actual merit of victories in battles which they never saw, and even had the preposterous impudence to assume the titles of conquerors of nations who had in reality defeated their armies. The name of the Scots occurs in a quotation from Porphyry, who lived about a century before Ammianus; but it is doubted by some, whether Jerom, who makes the quotation, be not himself the original author of it.

skimmed over the roughest seas in boats made of leather, and by the suddenness of their plundering incursions, now invaded the Roman provinces in Britain, (wherein their grandsons were to obtain such ample possessions) in conjunction with the Picts, the Scots, and the Attacots, a warlike nation, who now for the first time start into historic notice. [*Amm. Marcell. L. xxvi.*]

365-366—The provincials of Britain, accustomed to look for protection from their Roman sovereigns, and not daring, perhaps not being permitted, to take arms in their own defence, were ruined by the continual irruptions of these tremendous enemies, and by the gangs of soldiers, cheated of their pay by their officers, who infested the highways as robbers, and extorted provisions from the natives. The count of the sea coast, an officer appointed to repel the piracies of the Saxons, was slain in battle; and the duke of Britain, to whom the defence of the northern frontier was committed, was outgeneraled by the military policy of the *barbarians*. The succeeding Roman commanders appear to have had no better success, till Theodosius was sent with a powerful reinforcement.

367—That general, when he landed at Rhotupiaë, found that the Picts, the Attacots, and the Scots, were roving at large through the whole country, and that some parties of them, almost close upon him, were driving before them the captive people with their cattle and other property. But the undisciplined valour of the invaders was unable to contend with the military science of the Roman general and the tried courage of his numerous veteran troops. Theodosius, having recovered all the plunder, made a triumphal entry into Londinium (now called Augusta, and a colony, as all towns of that name were \*), which was saved from ruin or pillage by his seasonable arrival. [*Amm. Marcell. L. xxvii.—Liban. Orat. parent. c. 39.*]

369—Theodosius, having reformed the abuses in the army, and restored the cities and frontier posts in Britain, reconquered all the country occupied by the northern nations as far as the wall between the Forth and the Clyde, which he erected into a fifth province, bounded by the north and south walls, and gave it the name of VALENTIA in honour of the reigning emperors. [*Amm. Marcell. L. xxvii.*]

383—The most of the Roman forces, and a very great part of the British youth, being carried over to the continent by Maximus to support his pretensions to the empire, the defenceless provinces were every

† Stillingsfleet [*Orig. Britan. p. 196*] supposes that Augusta was the capital of all Roman Britain, and he quotes the opinion of Velferus, [*Rer. Vin- del. L. v*] that all towns dignified with that appellation 'were *capita gentium*, the chief metropolises

'of the provinces.' Perhaps a better argument for its supremacy may be derived from the treasure of the province being deposited in it, as we learn from the *Notitia imperii*.

year overrun by the two cruel transmarine nations, the Scots from the north-west, and the Pichts from the north\*. [*Gildas de excidio Britanniae*, c. xi.]

388—The west coasts of Britain were also insulted with frequent prædatory incursions by the Scots of Ireland, probably accompanied by the aboriginal Irish. One of the best attested of the expeditions of these corsairs was that in which they sailed up the Clyde as high as Dunbarton (apparently then called Theodosia), and carried off a great number of prisoners, whom they sold for slaves. Among their captives was Patric, a youth in his sixteenth year, the son of Calpornius, a deacon of the church, and apparently a Roman, who afterwards became so very famous as the patron saint of Ireland. This fact we learn from the works of Patric himself, the oldest native or inhabitant of the British islands, whose writings have come down to our times †.

396—An army, sent into Britain by Stilico the regent of the western empire, repressed the invaders; and a legion was quartered on the north frontier of the empire in Britain: but it was recalled very soon after. [*Claudian. Laud. Stilic. L. ii; Bell. Get.*]

400—About this time the *Notitia*, or Court calendar ‡, of the two Roman empires, seems to have been compiled. Among the great officers upon the British establishment the following appear to have been the principal.

The VICARIUS BRITANNIARUM, who was so called, as being the immediate deputy of the PRÆFECTUS PRÆTORIO of Gaul, whose almost-imperial sway extended over Gaul, Spain, and Britain. The vicarius had under him

the CONSULAR GOVERNORS of *Maxima Cæsariensis*,  
and of *Valentia*;  
and the PRESIDENTS of *Britannia prima*,  
*Britannia secunda*,  
and *Flavia Cæsariensis*.

These great officers, who in modern language might be called the governor-general and lieutenant-governors, had in their hands the civil

\* Bede, after transcribing these words from Gildas, in order to prevent his readers from being misled, immediately adds, 'Now, we call these nations *transmarine*, not as being situated out of Britain, but as being divided from the country of the [Romanized] Britons by the intervention of two arms of the sea, which run far into the land on the east and west sides of Britain. In the middle of the eastern one is the town of Guidi (on *Insb-Kieth*, or perhaps *Insb-Garvy*). On the right side of the western one is the town of Alcluith (*Dunbarton*), the name of which signifies in their language *the rock of Cluith (Clyde)*; for it stands

'close upon a river of that name.' [*Hist. eccles. L. i, c. 12.*]

† Of late the very existence of Patric, and consequently of the work which goes under his name, has been denied. I cannot at present enter into the merits of such a question, nor would, perhaps, any reader of this work thank me for attempting it. I may, however, observe, that the narrative of Patric throws light upon, and is itself supported by, the poetical flourishes of Claudian, and also illustrates the obscurity of Nennius.

‡ It differs from a court calendar in having only the names of the offices without those of the persons who held them.

administration of the five provinces. The military force was under the command of three great officers, viz.

COMES LIMITUM BRITANNIARUM, whose district is not expressed ;

COMES LITTORIS SAXONICI \*, who had under his command nine maritime garrisons on the east and south coasts, his particular duty being the defence of the country against the Saxon freebooters ;

DUX LIMITUM BRITANNIARUM, who commanded the garrisons of fourteen towns in the province of Maxima, and twenty-three parties of soldiers, stationed at fortified posts on, or near, the south wall.

These three military commanders had under them 19,200 foot and 1,700 horse ; a great reduction from the army stationed in Britain in former ages. But the Romans, whose wars were now not for conquest, but for defence, found it necessary to draw their forces homeward ; and the provincial Britons were fully reconciled to the Roman dominion, and the towns were in a great measure peopled by the descendants of Roman soldiers and colonists.

There were also the following revenue officers, who in modern language may be called

the receiver-general of the British revenue ;

the receiver of the emperor's private demesne rents ;

the commissioner of the treasury at Augusta † (London) ;

and the superintendant of a public manufacture carried on by women at Venta ‡ (*Winchester*, or perhaps *Caster* near *Norwich*).

About this time an episcopal church built of stone, a kind of structure unusual among the Britons, was erected by Ninian, a British priest, in a small island on the coast of the Novantes (*Galloway*), which, from the white appearance of the building, obtained the name of Whit-hern (or in Latin *Candida casa*) §.

Bells are said by some to have been invented by Paulinus, bishop of

\* He is called by Ammianus *comes* of the sea coast ; and the warden of the Cinque ports is supposed to have been appointed in imitation of his office.

I have given these titles in the original Latin, because we have not strictly any corresponding terms in English. The reader may consult *Selden's Titles of honour*, part ii, c. 1.

† The office of the treasury was probably in the same spot where the Tower stands, and it is likely that there was also a mint in the same place. An ingot of silver, inscribed 'Ex officio Honorii,' was found, with some gold coins of Arcadius and Honorius, in the old foundation of the ordnance office in the Tower in the year 1777. [*Archæologia*, T. v, p. 291.]

‡ Though Camden has fixed this manufacture at Winchester, as being the most considerable of the three towns in Britain called Venta, we have no certain knowledge of the place, nor can we even

be positive of the existence of the manufacture ; for various readings have *Ventensis* (belonging to, or at, Venta), and *Bentensis* (meaning unknown, if any) ; *gynæcii* (manufactory conducted by women), and *cynegii* (dog-kennel). Therefore they have gone much too far who have adduced these words as a proof of the ancient superiority of British wool.

§ This was by far the most ancient bishoprick in the country since called Scotland : but York, and the other old British bishopricks in the Roman part of the island, if the notice concerning them be assuredly authentic, were about a century earlier, which I did not advert to, when, trusting too implicitly to Bede and William of Malmshury, who have totally omitted the British bishops of York, &c. I said [*in Geographical illustrations of Scottish history*, vo. *Whit-hern*] that this was the most ancient bishoprick on the north side of the Humber.

Nola in Campania\*: but it could only be an improvement upon the bells adapted to churches; for bells of gold, which sounded, are mentioned in the book of Exodus [c. 28.] Every classical reader knows, that instruments of brass, which seem to have been bells, were founded in Rome, to give notice to the people, when the public baths were ready †.

409—The Britons, abandoned to the ravages of the Saxons, Picts, Scots, and Attacots, by the degenerate emperor Honorius, who did not dare to venture his person on the outside of the walls of Ravenna, resumed their independence; and, trusting to their own courage and exertions, they found that these were sufficient, without any foreign aid, to deliver their country from the invaders. If their secession could derive any validity from the consent or approbation of such a sovereign as Honorius, that was also bestowed in letters which he addressed to the cities or states of Britain, wherein he exhorted them to take the management of their affairs into their own hands. The example of the Britons was soon followed by their neighbours on the nearest coast of Gaul, who also withdrew their allegiance from a master incapable of affording them any protection. [*Zofimi Hist. L. iv.*]

410—Alaric, the great king of the Goths, after having humbled Rome by exacting a tribute of 5,000 pounds of gold, 30,000 pounds of silver, 4,000 garments of silk (or sericum), 3,000 skins, or fleeces, of a purple, scarlet, or crimson, colour, and 3,000 pounds of pepper ‡, by three sieges, and the creation and degradation of a vassal emperor, took possession of the no-longer-proud and insulting capital, gave his soldiers permission to seize the accumulated plunder of eight hundred years (for so long was it since the city had been taken by the Gauls), and in some degree avenged upon Rome the cause of mankind. [*Zofimi Hist. L. v.*]

419—Theodosius, the emperor of the East, was so sensible of the importance of a naval force, that he prohibited his subjects, under pain of death, from teaching the art of ship-building to the barbarians, i. e. nations not subject to the Roman empire. [*Cod. Theod. L. ii, tit. 40.*]

422—It might be supposed, that the Britons, possessed of independence, and improved in agriculture, arts, science, and manufactures, by

\* These bells are called *nola* and *campana* in the Latin of the succeeding ages.

† Bells (*tintinabula*) are mentioned by Plautus, [*Trinum. act. iv, sc. 3*] and by Varro, as quoted by Pliny, [*L. xxxvi, c. 13*] authors who lived about five hundred years before Paulinus. Josephus [*Antiq. L. iii, c. 11, 12, or 13, as numbered in the various editions*] says, that the wide end of the trumpets, made in the camp of Moses, was in the form of a bell, which infers that the form of them was the same in his days as at present.

‡ Rome, now a subordinate city, could not raise

the money without melting down the statues of several gold and silver deities, among which Zosimus particularly regrets the goddess Virtus or Valour, the destruction of which, he says, was the extinction of the last spark of fortitude and virtue among the Romans.—The meaning of the words *ποικίλα φη δέματι* is uncertain: the first was a very expensive colour, but whether purple, scarlet, or crimson, is unknown: the second is translated by Mr. Gibbon *pieces of fine cloth*. It appears from Pliny [*L. viii, c. 48*] that they had a method of dyeing the wool upon the living sheep.

almost four centuries of Roman instruction, would immediately have shone out a great and flourishing people; that the abundance of their produce and manufactures would have supplied the materials of a very extensive commerce; and that they would have availed themselves of their insular situation, and their knowledge of the Latin language, (then generally understood in the western parts of Europe) to carry on a great active trade to at least all the neighbouring countries\*. The very reverse was the truth. Weakened by many and great levies of British foldiers repeatedly drawn off, not only by the pretenders to the empire, but also for regular garrisons in distant provinces †; accustomed to look up to Rome for protection as well as government; and probably deprived by death, or envy, of the superior talents which had given life to their spirited conduct in the year 410, they sunk into dejection and inactivity. Finding themselves incapable of conducting their own affairs, they dispatched ambassadors to the Roman court, begging permission to return to their former allegiance, and imploring assistance against their enemies. A legion was accordingly sent to their relief, the whole Roman part of the island was recovered, and the wall of Lollius Urbicus was rebuilt, though in a very imperfect manner. [*Gild. c. 12.—Bed. Hist. eccles. L. i, c. 12.—Paul. Diacon. L. xiv.*]

The Roman legion being again withdrawn, the northern invaders, without taking the trouble of attacking the useless wall, crossed the firths in their boats, and repeated their customary ravages. A Roman legion was again granted to the prayers of the Britons, and the invaders, who were driving off their annual prey, were attacked, and repelled beyond the firths (a<sup>o</sup>. 426). But the Roman commander, exhorting the Britons to apply to the art of war, and depend on their own valour for their protection, gave them notice that no more assistance could be afforded them in future. Before leaving them he gave them directions and assistance in rebuilding the south wall in a substantial manner, whereby the province of Valentia was abandoned, and it was immediately occupied by the Picts. The Romans also assisted in erecting watch-towers along the south coast of the island, to give notice of, and afford some defence against, the incursions of the Saxon rovers; and having accomplished these works, they took leave of Britain for ever. [*Gild. c. 14.—Sigeberti Chron. ad an. 426.*]

441—The attention of Theodosius to his marine has been already observed. In order to prevent the destruction of the western empire, threatened by the formidable fleets of Genferic, the Vandal sovereign

\* Gildas, in his florid description of Britain, says that the luxuries (delitiae) of foreign countries were imported into the mouths of the Thames and the Severn in times preceding his own. [*Gilde Hist. c. 1.*]

† See the Notitia imperii for the stationary troops, or Camden [*Britann. p. 60, ed. 1607*] for the whole of them collected in one view.

of Africa, he equipped eleven hundred large ships, with a proportional army, to act in conjunction with the western forces. But this prodigious armament only proceeded as far as Sicily, and performed nothing.

446—Though the unfortunate Britons had almost a certainty of being refused, they were again driven by the cruel oppression of their northern neighbours to implore the protection of Ætius, who then governed the western empire in the name of Valentinian. But the Romans, who at this time dreaded the loss of Italy itself, had given up all pretensions to the protection of distant subjects or allies.

449—In a few years (for the precise date is uncertain \*) the assistance, which the Romans were incapable of giving, was afforded by a party of Yutes, or Geats, who, arriving on the coast of Kent in a fleet consisting of only three long ships, under the command of two brothers called Hengist and Horfa, and immediately joining the Britons, marched against the invaders, whom they encountered and defeated (according to the old English authors, at Stanford in the south corner of Lincolnshire). The seasonable relief was rewarded with a grant of the island of Thanet, wherein the Yutes settled. They immediately transmitted a flattering account of their success to their friends on the continent, which procured a reinforcement of five thousand men in seventeen ships †.

So great an accession of followers enabled Hengist to become the master, instead of the mercenary ally, of the unhappy Britons. He soon found an opportunity of quarreling with them, and, striking up a peace with the Picts, bent his whole force against his late friends. He and his successors, and the chiefs of the numerous swarms of the Saxons, whom Zosimus distinguishes as the bravest of the Germans, with other bold adventurers from the continent, who, with their wives and children, crowded over to share the fertile lands of Britain, in the course of about a century and a half made themselves masters of the best part of the country from the Channel on the south to the Firth of Forth on the north. Such of the surviving natives of the conquered country as did not submit to live under them, were obliged to retire before them to the west side of the island, of which, from the Lands-end to the Firths of Clyde and Forth, they maintained the possession for many ages, till they were gradually subdued, and annexed to the more powerful monarchies of England and Scotland.

\* It is impossible to fix the precise date of the memorable arrival of Hengist and Horfa. Bede assumes the year 449, as appears by King Alfred's Saxon translation, as well as the Latin original; and he is followed by the Saxon Chronicle and the succeeding writers. But the various dates and facts stated by Camden [*Britannia*, p. 94, ed. 1607] deserve the attention of the critical reader.

† If these numbers are nearly accurate, (for the different accounts vary from sixteen to eighteen ships) the German rovers, besides their leather boats and large canoes, must have had very respectable vessels, properly and strongly constructed, to be capable of carrying about three hundred men each, besides women and children, even for a short passage.

450—If we may trust to Joceline, one of the many biographers of St. Patric, the Irish town called Eblana by the geographers of the Roman empire, called at this time Ath-eliath by the Irish, and afterwards Diffin, Dufelin, Duvelin, and Dublin, was ‘ a noble city, famous for its commerce, and surrounded by woods of oaks and dens of wild beasts.’ But the later part of this description does not very well agree with a populous or commercial city.

452—The invasion of Italy by Attila, king of the Huns, with his tremendous army, consisting of a vast number of nations assembled under his victorious standard, gave birth to a new city, which in time rose to such commercial eminence, as to rival the antient fame of Tyre and Carthage, and the more recent pre-eminence of Alexandria. The VENETI, a very antient nation, resembling the Gauls in their manners, but of a different language, possessed the fertile country watered by the Padus (*Po*), from the confines of the Kenomani (or Cenomani) down to the head of the Adriatic gulf. Their name was famous in the tragic, and in the fabulous, poetry of antiquity: but the first historic notice of them, according to Livy, [*L. v. c. 33*] is their maintaining their possessions, when all the neighbouring country was over-run by the Tyrrhenians, or Tuscans. Many ages afterwards, in the absence of their neighbours the Gauls on their expedition against the Romans, wherein, after defeating them and their allies, and chasing them for three days together, they followed them into Rome, which they took possession of, (390 years before the Christian æra) the Veneti made an irruption into their country, which was a happy circumstance to the Romans, as it obliged the Gauls to abandon Rome, in order to march to the defence of their own territories. [*Polyb. Hist. L. ii, cc. 17, 18.*] The Veneti, being afterwards swallowed up in the Roman empire, had a subordinate share of its prosperity; and they had now an abundant share of its misery. Their property was pillaged, their towns were leveled with the ground, and those who escaped from the sword were compelled to fly from their native country. Most of them fled to a numerous cluster of small muddy islands, separated from each other only by narrow channels, wherein they found an obscure and safe retreat, protected from the attacks of land forces by a sea, probably then about ten miles broad\*, too shallow and intricate to be navigated by vessels of any force, but too deep to be forded, and secured against naval attacks by a chain of long narrow islands, which line the coast for many miles, and render the approach of a hostile fleet almost impossible. There the

\* It is not near so broad now. Everywhere upon this coast the sea has retired considerably from the land. Ravenna is now four miles from the sea, and its harbour, in which Augustus kept two hundred and fifty ships of war, has for many

centuries been covered with trees, and is called *Chiassi*, a corruption of the Latin word *Cliffes*, the name of the suburb adjacent to the harbour, so called as being the station of the fleets, *cliffes*.

miserable remains of the Veneti, the noble and the plebeian reduced to the common level of poverty, constructed some poor huts, and supported themselves by fishing, and by making salt, the first article of their trade, which they carried in their boats to the neighbouring coasts, and even into the interior regions, by means of the rivers; and they received in exchange corn and other necessaries; for their own islands afforded them nothing at all but room for their huts. Such was the humble and distressful origin of the illustrious commercial city of VENICE.

455—Carthage, after being rebuilt by the Romans, was considered as the first city of Africa \*. But in every respect it was far inferior to its antient condition; and in a commercial view the Roman Carthage scarcely deserved to be called the shadow of the Phœnician Carthage. Of its manufactures we know no more than that one of the *gynæcia*, or factories wherein women were employed, had been established in it [*Notitia imperii*, § 42]; and that its trade consisted in collecting the corn from the industrious farmers of Africa, and transporting it for the support of their idle Roman masters. Genseric, the king of the Vandals, was now master of Africa and Carthage; and a numerous and powerful fleet was once more conducted out of its harbour to strike terror into Rome. Whatever the citizens of Rome had acquired during a repose of forty-five years, whatever the piety, the mercy, or the haste, of Alaric had spared, was deliberately collected in a search of fourteen days by the Vandals, and, together with many thousands of the wretched Romans, was conveyed onboard the fleet, and landed in Carthage, the streets of which exhibited on this occasion the spoils of the heathen and Christian temples of Rome, and those of the temple of Jerusalem, which had been carried off by Titus Vespasian. Thus did Genseric in a small measure revenge the destruction of Carthage upon Rome.

468—Leo, the emperor of the East, fitted out a fleet of eleven hundred and thirteen ships †, carrying above one hundred thousand men. The expense of the expedition, which was no less than one hundred and thirty thousand pounds of gold, (above five millions sterling) exhausted the revenue, and ruined many of the cities. It was an effort disproportioned to the weak state of the empire, not yet recovered from the heavy expense of the useless fleet of Theodosius; and it ended in ruin and disgrace. Genseric became the sovereign of the Mediterranean sea, and as the possession of the islands must ever follow the dominion of the sea, Sicily, Sardinia, &c. were added to the African dominions of Genseric, and the western Roman empire was almost shrunk to Italy.

472—Rome was taken and sacked by the Gothic chief Ricomer, the mighty maker and destroyer of many emperors of the West; and in a

\* In those days the name of Africa did not extend to Egypt.

† This number, which is surely not too small, is enlarged by some writers to a hundred thousand ships.

few years it was taken possession of by Odoacer, who finally extinguished the western Roman empire, which had for so many ages given laws to a great portion of mankind. Odoacer, in contemptuous mercy, permitted Romulus, who was the last nominally-Roman emperor of Rome, to retire to a delightful and magnificent villa in Campania, and even allowed him an annual pension of six thousand pieces of gold. Italy (for the other provinces were all by this time alienated from it) now became subject to a sovereign who scorned to assume the name of Roman or emperor, or to permit an useless and expensive phantom to convey his commands to his subjects, as the masters of the nominal emperors for some time had done.

493—By the defeat and death of Odoacer the sovereignty of Italy was transferred to Theodoric, the chief or king of the Ostro-Goths. Under the peaceable reign of this benevolent conqueror Italy again began to flourish. A fleet of a thousand armed boats was established to protect the coasts from the piratical invasions of the African Vandals and the eastern Romans. Large tracts of marshy land, which had become useless by neglect, were reclaimed and cultivated; the exertions of protected industry restored the country to its natural fertility; and Rome no longer depended for subsistence upon Carthage or Alexandria. As a proof of the abundance of the harvests, we are told that wheat was sold at the rate of five shillings and sixpence of sterling money a quarter, and wine at less than three farthings a gallon. [*Fragm. Valesian.*] By the munificent attention of Theodoric, an ample fund in money and materials, under the care of a professed architect and proper guardians, was assigned for the preservation of the public buildings and other monuments of ancient art\*, and new buildings for use or embellishment were erected. The Italians (or Romans, as they chose to call themselves) recovered from the desolation of the preceding ages. They acquired wealth, and they were not afraid to enjoy it. Italy, which in its most savage state before the age of Homer had furnished some commodities which attracted the visits of the industrious Phœnicians, was again resorted to by foreign merchants; and several fairs were appointed for exchanging its redundant produce with the merchandize of other countries. About this time (a. 500) many rich Jews, attracted by the flattering prospect of commerce in a country apparently rising into prosperity, and where religious persecution was prohibited by the wisdom and the power of the sovereign, established themselves in the principal cities of Italy; and it is very probable that the most of the trade of it passed through their hands. But it was a trade more resembling the first efforts of an infant colony, or of a nation just emerging from barbarism, than what might have been expected from a great country, which by

\* And yet the destruction of the monuments of ancient art is generally, but most ignorantly, imputed to the Goths.

its advantages of climate, soil, and situation, to say nothing of its ancient military superiority, might have commanded at least the commerce of every coast of the Mediterranean sea, if it had been in the hands of an industrious and mercantile people.

At the conclusion of the fifth century of the Christian æra the western Roman empire, which had included the most temperate and fertile, the most populous, and the best cultivated, regions of Europe, and at least an equal share of the most fertile part of Africa, was divided as follows. Theodoric, king of the Goths and of Italy, possessed, along with it and Sicily, that part of Gaul which lies east of the Rhone, the provinces of Rætia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, the Danube forming the northern boundary of his ample dominions, which comprehended the most valuable part of the late Western empire. The African provinces were subject to the Vandals. Spain was divided between the Goths and Svevians. Gaul, except what lay east from the Rhone, was occupied by the Franks, the Burgundians, and a colony of Britons.

The Eastern empire was still entire, if it could properly be called so, when not only the frontier provinces on the lower Danube, but even the whole country to the very gates of Constantinople, and to the southern extremity of Greece, were frequently pillaged with impunity, and sometimes taken possession of, by roving nations, who, whether they professed hostility or subjection to the empire, were almost equally dreadful to the unhappy subjects, whom they swept before them in war, or exhausted by heavy tributes in peace. Such was generally the condition of the Eastern, Roman, Constantinopolitan, or Greek, empire, which dragged out a feeble existence of many centuries, till it was finally subdued by the Turks, in whose hands it continues to this day.

It must be evident to every attentive reader of the preceding pages, that, if we except the Oriental regions, the transactions of which are unfortunately almost unknown to us, there was very little of real commerce in the world after the destruction of the illustrious commercial city of Carthage. The conveyance to Rome, and afterwards to Constantinople, of the corn and other provisions, the manufactures of all parts of the empire, and the luxuries of the East by the agency of the merchants of Alexandria and those concerned in the over-land trade, was all that remained to the subjects of the Roman empire in place of the active commerce by which INDUSTRY had been created, animated, and supported, in every country which had the happiness of being connected with the MERCHANTS of SIDON, of TYRE, and of CARTHAGE.

The Britons, who had long ago been left to themselves by the Romans, were struggling for their lives and liberties against fierce invaders on every side. The Yutes, who showed the way to the other German nations, had established themselves in their small kingdom of Kent, un-

der the sovereignty of Hengist and his family. The kingdom of the South-Saxons, comprehending the modern shires of Surrey and Suffex, was also established. And Cerdic, whose posterity were destined to sway the sceptre of all the British islands, had just laid the foundation of his more extensive kingdom of the West-Saxons. As yet no Angles (or English) had arrived, at least not in such numbers as to form establishments in their own name. All these nations, together with the lesser bands of Frisians, Rugians, Danes, &c. have in succeeding ages been known under the general names of Saxons\*, Anglo-Saxon, Angles, and English.

The northern part of the late Roman provinces in Britain, except a small kingdom of the Britons in the south-west part of Scotland, was occupied by the Picts, who extended their dominion at least as far south as the wall between the Tine and the Solway firth.

A colony of Scots (or Dalreudini, as Bede calls them from their leader Reuda, or Riada) had passed over from Ireland, probably in the third century, and occupied Argyle-shire, with some of the adjacent lands, and, apparently, the neighbouring islands. About the end of the fifth century, they were reinforced by another colony of the same race, under the command of three brothers, called Lorn, Ængus, and Fergus, the later of whom appears to have succeeded to the dominions of one or both of his brothers (a<sup>o</sup>. 503); and he is generally reckoned the first of the Scottish kings, and the ancestor of the kings of Scotland, and of those of Great Britain.

Ireland at this time contained, besides the tribes enumerated by Ptolemy, a colony of the Picts, and a nation called Scots, who appear from the works of St. Patric to have been the ruling people. It is is probable, and we can have nothing better than probability, that all the tribes, or nations of Ireland, migrated at different times from the western shores of Britain †.

Such were about this time the nations, whose posterity, with a mixture of Norwegians, Danes, and Norman-French, constitute the population of the British islands. And, though migrations and conquests do not in strict propriety belong to commercial history, I have thought it incumbent upon me to give at least a very brief account of events, which gave almost an entire new population to these islands, which were destined by Providence to surpass the commercial fame of all the nations of antiquity, to extend their commercial enterprises to every port upon the surface of the globe, and to cover the ocean with their innumerable sails.

\* The Welsh and the Highlanders of Scotland to this day scarcely know the English by any other name than *Saffanach*.

† Ireland is visible in clear weather from St.

David's in Wales; and it is but sixteen miles from the Mull of Galloway, and only ten from the Mull of Kentire, in Scotland.

The Romanized Britons were much superior to all their invaders in the arts and sciences, except the art of war. But the faint light of learning and knowledge remaining in the island, was almost extinguished by the long continued and bloody wars, which during several dark centuries depopulated the country, and desolated the cities of Britain.

The following particulars of the manners, manufactures, &c. of the inhabitants of the British islands beyond the limits of the Roman conquests (to whom I have scarcely had an opportunity of paying any attention hitherto), are chiefly collected from the ancient biographers of the saints, almost the only writers of the western world in the dark ages, and brought together as throwing some glimmering of light upon the small portion of arts, manufactures, trade, and navigation, existing in these remote regions about this time\*.

The Irish still retained the custom, noted by Solinus, of adorning their swords and daggers with the polished teeth of animals. [*Adamnani Vita Columbæ*, MS. Bib. Reg. 8, D, ix. L. iii, c. 39.] The manufacture of swords and other weapons was in very early times practised in every part of the British islands.

The luxury of riding in chariots was common in Britain and Ireland. [*Patricii Synod. can. 9.—Cogitosi Vita Brigitæ*, ap. *Messingham*, cc. 6, 7, 11.—*Adamn. L. i, c. 99; L. ii, c. 43.*]

A common article of dress was a cloak or plaid (peplum, pallium, fagum) adorned with a variety of colours, which was probably of home manufacture. [*Adamn. L. iii, c. 1.*] They had fine linen, which, with other articles of sumptuous dress, may be presumed to have been imported. The bodies of the dead, at least those of eminent rank, were wrapped in fine linen. [*Patricii Synod. can. 9.—Cogitos. c. 11.—Adamn. L. iii, c. 26.*] Decency of dress was recommended to all, but particularly to clergymen and their wives. [*Patricii Synod. can. 6.*]

In the churches and abbays there were bells, which the pious and industrious abbats sometimes made with their own hands. [*Vita Gildæ* quoted in *Usserii Brit. eccles. antiq. p. 905, ed. 1639.—Adamn. L. i, c. 11; L. iii, c. 23.*]

Water mills were introduced in Britain by the Romans, as appears by the remains of a Roman mill lately discovered at Manchester: [*Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester*, p. 315] and as they are frequently mentioned during the Saxon period, we may be assured, that an engine so very useful, and also of such simple construction, was never allowed to go out of use. About this time they were also used in Ireland. [*Cogitos. c. 13.*]

Vessels made of glass for drinking out of were used even in the ex-

\* Patric flourished from A. D. 432, the year of his mission, to 493: Brigit, about 500: and Columba, from 522 to 597. The lives here quoted were written very soon after their own time, and may be trusted to in every thing but the miracles.

tremity of Britain by the northern Picts\* ; but whether they were manufactured by themselves, or imported, we are not told. [*Adamn. L. ii, c. 32.*] We have reason to believe that the art of manufacturing glass was known to the southern Britons before the invasion of the Romans.

Ale was a common drink, and made at home. Wine was also used upon some occasions, and most probably imported. [*Cogitos. c. 4.—Adamn. L. ii, c. 1.*]

The natives of Ireland, and the north-west coast of Britain, and the adjacent islands, caught salmon, and other fish with nets. [*Adamn. L. ii, cc. 17, 18; L. iii, c. 25.*] So it appears that they had no aversion to fish, whatever their ancestors may have had. (See above, p. 200.) But they knew nothing of the vast advantage to be derived from an extensive fishery, and only caught fish for their own use.

Though the leather boats of the Britons chiefly attracted the attention of foreigners, as being unusual with them, we must not suppose they had no others. They certainly learned to build vessels of wood while under the Roman dominion, if they had them not before. About this time, even in the remote Western islands, they had long vessels built of oak planks ; and they all carried at least one sail. Some of the vessels covered with leather, were sufficient to go long voyages ; at least as far as from Ireland to Orkney, and even to advance as far into the Northern ocean as a run of fourteen days with full sail before a south wind †. [*Adamn. L. i, c. F; L. ii, cc. 42, 45.*]

I may here also observe, that instruments and trinkets made of gold, some of them of considerable weight, were by no means uncommon in Ireland, as appears from the great numbers of them found in various parts of the country, though they probably belong to ages prior to any authentic history ‡. As civilized nations do not carry the precious metals to countries in an inferior state of civilization, it seems more probable that the gold was found in mines, of which there are still some vestiges in Ireland, than that it was imported, though we should even suppose with Tacitus (see above, p. 189), that Ireland had a greater foreign trade than Britain.

\* It is proper to observe, that Cummin, who died in the year 669, and was the original writer of the Life of Columba, has not a word of the story containing the notice of the drinking glass. It is not known in what year Adamnan wrote his greatly-alarmed copy of Cummin's Life of Columba. The manufacture of glass was introduced among the English of Northumberland in the year 674.

† It appears, that some wrong-headed monks, either by acts of weather, or by design, (for the purpose of religion was supposed to consist in rendering themselves useless by withdrawing from

society) had actually sailed to Iceland, where they settled, it being most probably impossible for them to find their way back again ; and their books in the Irish language, bells, &c. were found there by the first colonists from Norway. [*Arii Scheide de Islandia, c. 2.*]

‡ See *Archæologia Britannica* V. ii, n<sup>o</sup>. 3 ; V. iii, p. 555 — *Vallancey's Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, n<sup>o</sup>. xiii. One gold fibula of ten ounces (represented in plate vi, n<sup>o</sup>. 2) was sold to a goldsmith, who informed Colonel Vallancey, that he had melted down several of that form, one of which weighed sixteen ounces.

517—The Danes made their first appearance under that name in history, when an army of them landed in Gaul, and ravaged the country between the Mæse and the Rhine. In their retreat they were attacked by the Franks, who recovered all the plunder from them. [*Gregor. Turon. L. iii, c. 3.*]

522—The Oriental commerce of the Red sea appears to have made a regular progress down the west coast of it. The earliest port I find mentioned is Heroopolis, at the very head of the west branch, or on a canal drawn from the Nile to it\*. Myos-hormos and Berenicè, afterwards became the seats of the trade. And we find, from the works of Cosmas Indicopleustes †, that it had now quite deserted the Roman dominions, probably in consequence of the calamities brought upon Egypt by Caracalla and Diocletian, and settled at Aduli, a port of Ethiopia, (or Abyssinia) near the mouth of the Red sea, and far beyond the utmost limits of the empire. That port was now frequented by the merchants of Alexandria, by Cosmas, and his neighbours (who resided in some other part of Egypt), and by the merchants of Aela, an Arabian port belonging to the Roman at the head of the eastern branch, where, in an earlier age, Solomon had his harbour of Eziongeber; and from it such of the Egyptian Greeks, as desired to adventure upon the Ocean, embarked, apparently as charterers or freighters, onboard the vessels of the port. The aromatics, incense, and spices, the ivory, and the emeralds, of Ethiopia, were collected in the port of Aduli, and shipped by the merchants of the place onboard their own vessels, which they sent to India, Persia, South Arabia, and the Roman empire, the only parts of which, accessible by their vessels, were Egypt and the north part of Arabia.

The great island of Siale-div (or Ceylon), again called Taprobanè by the Greeks ‡, was now the chief seat of the commerce of the Indian ocean. Its ports were frequented by vessels from India, Persia, Ethiopia, South Arabia, Tzinitza § (or China), and other eastern countries; and the merchants of Siale-div carried on a great active trade in their

\* The position of it cannot be precisely ascertained.

† Indicopleustes signifies *navigator of India*. He was a merchant; and he founds his narrative, he tells us, upon his own knowledge, assisted by inquiries made in every place to which he traded. In his old age he became a monk, as did also another Greek merchant of his acquaintance. ‘Egypt, the fruitful parent of superstition, afforded the first example of the monastic life,’ in the early part of the fourth century.

A passage of Cosmas may through some light on the question respecting the dolphin of the ancients. He says, ‘the flesh of the turtle is like mutton: that of the dolphin is like pork, tender, and nearly as agreeable to the taste as the turtle.’

—This description makes it clear, that the dolphin of the ancients is very different from the modern dolphin: and it answers very well to the porpus, the form of which also comes near to the ancient representations of the dolphin. But his comparison of turtle to mutton must be allowed to be inaccurate; and the connoisseurs in eating will think meanly of his taste, in putting the dolphin (or porpus) on a level with the turtle.

‡ See above, p. 132, note for the revolutions of names of this island.

§ Whether the Sinæ, mentioned at the end of the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, (see above, p. 133), were the Chinese or not, there can be little doubt that the Tzinitza of Cosmas is the empire of China.

own vessels to all those countries. They received from Tzinitza silk, now called by the new name of *metaxa*, aloes, cloves, the wood of cloves, sandal wood, and other articles; from Malè (*Malabar*) they imported pepper; from Calliena\*, now a place of great trade, copper, wood of sesame like ebony, and a variety of stuffs; and from Sindu, musk, castoreum, and spikenard. All these articles, together with some spices †, and the hyacinths, for which the island was famous, were exported to every shore of the Indian ocean.

The Persian traders to Siele-div appear to have been very numerous, since there was a church erected for them, the clergy of which received ordination in Persia. A principal part of their cargoes consisted of Persian horses for the use of the king.

The chief ports of the mainland of India at this time were Sindu ‡ on the River Sind or Indus, Orotha, Calliena, Sibor, Malè famous for pepper, as were also the five ports of Parti, Mangaruth, Salopatana, Nalopatana, and Pudapatana §.

Tzinitza, which is expressly noted as the country producing the silk, is, according to Cosmas, as far beyond Siele-div, as Siele-div is from the head of the Persian gulf; and it is bounded by the Ocean, there being no inhabited country beyond it. The short land carriage between Tzinitza and Persia, (which, however, he elsewhere calls a journey of a hundred and fifty days) is assigned as the reason of the great abundance of silk in the later.

Cosmas also describes a trade conducted by caravans, sent by Elefbaan ||, the king of the Axumites on the east coast of Africa, who exchanged iron, salt, and cattle, for pieces of gold, with an inland nation in the same silent manner that the Carthaginians carried on a trade on the west coast of Africa, described by Herodotus many centuries before Cosmas, and by Cadamosto and Doctor Shaw, many centuries after him ¶.

From the view of the Oriental trade given by Cosmas, we see that the Roman province of Egypt had now the smallest concern in it, and that only by the medium of a foreign port; and the Persians and Ethiopians of this age appear to have been more largely engaged in it than

\* Calliena was one of the ports formerly shut against the Egyptian Greeks, in order to force all the trade to go to Barygaza. See above, p. 169.

† Cosmas has not a word of cinnamon as the produce of Siele-div, or indeed of any of the Oriental countries. He seems to confine the growth of it to Ethiopia, in a country near the ocean of Zingion, which is probably the name now called Zangue-bar.

‡ Perhaps Patala, or the Barbaric emporium of the Periplus.

§ The names of places found somewhat more Indian-like in Cosmas than in the Periplus. The Greeks were very tardy in adopting the genuine names of the foreign places they had occasion to mention.

|| When Cosmas was at Aduli, Elefbaan, called also Helliithæus and Caled, was preparing to make an expedition against the Homerites of Arabia Felix, which is mentioned by several other authors.

¶ See above, p. 55.

the Arabians, unless the later, in consequence of his having no transactions with them, have been neglected in his narrative.

From the writings of Cosmas we may also learn the deplorable decay of science since the age of Pliny. The chief intent of his work, which he calls *Christian topography*, was to confute the heretical opinion of the earth being a globe, together with the pagan assertion that there was a temperate zone on the south side of the torrid zone; and to inform his readers, that, according to the true orthodox system of cosmography, it was a quadrangular plane, extending four hundred courses, or days journeys, from east to west, and exactly half as much from north to south\*, inclosed by lofty walls, upon which the canopy or vault of the firmament rested; that a huge mountain on the north side of the earth, by intercepting the light of the sun, produced the vicissitudes of day and night; and that the plane of the earth had a declivity from north to south, by reason of which the Euphrates, Tigris, and other rivers running south, are rapid, whereas the Nile, having to run *up hill*, has necessarily a very slow current. [*Cosmas, Topog. Christ.—Procop. Persic. L. i, c. 20.*]

523—The Venetians, who escaped the destroying sword of Attila in the year 452, appear to have now established a regular internal government or police. Their boats were enlarged to vessels capable of visiting every part of the Adriatic gulf, and worthy of the attention of the supreme government, now in the hands of the Gothic king of Italy, whose minister, Cassiodorus, addressed a letter to the maritime tribunes of Venice, requiring them to transport the public stores of wine and oil from Istria to Ravenna †.

After dispatching his official business, Cassiodorus, very fortunately for the cause of genuine history, runs out in a kind of poetical, but apparently a true, description of the *celebrated city of Venice*, ('*Venetiae prædicabiles*') which he compares to the Cyclades, as he does their houses to the nests of aquatic fowls, set upon ground not provided by nature, but made by human industry, and consolidated by means of slender fences made of twisted osiers (such as the Dutch call *staeck* and *rijs*). The distinction of rich and poor was still unknown in Venice: all the houses were alike: all the citizens lived on the same fish diet. Their only emulation was in the manufacture of salt, an article, which, as he observes to the comfort of the Venetians, is more indispensibly

\* The antient Chinese believed the earth to be a perfect square. [*Staunton's Embassy, V. ii, p. 324. second ed.*]

† When individuals or communities become prosperous, their vanity requires to be flattered with the imaginary dignity of their ancestors. The Venetians have accordingly pretended, that their state is the only true and legitimate offspring of the Roman republic, the freedom and independ-

ance of which has remained entire in Venice. The requisition of Theodoric, by the letter of his minister, shows that he at least thought otherwise, and reckoned them in the number of his subjects: and it is not likely, that they ventured to dispute his claim to their allegiance. It is also certain, that they afterwards acknowledged themselves vassals of both the Eastern and Western empires for some ages.

necessary than gold. Cassiodorus remarks their custom of tying their boats to their walls, as people tie their horses and cows in other places; their navigation through their country, or city; their safe and pleasant voyages upon the rivers of the adjacent continent, wherein their vessels appear to a spectator, who does not see the water, to be gliding through the meadows, and the mariner, exempted from all danger of shipwreck, instead of being carried by his vessel, drags it along with a rope, while he walks upon the dry land. [*Cassiodori Var. L. xii, epist. 24.*]

533—The prosperity of Europe and Africa was interrupted by the weak ambition, or avarice, of Justinian, who, being desirous to recover the Western empire from the *barbarians*, sent against Africa a fleet consisting of five hundred transports, from thirty to five hundred tuns, which carried thirty-five thousand men, five thousand horses, warlike stores, provisions, &c. and these were protected by ninety-two *dromones*, or warlike ships. This fleet, not half so numerous as those which had been fitted out by the preceding emperors for the same purpose, completely broke the power of the Vandals, and added the African provinces, Sardinia, and Corsica, to the eastern Roman empire. But it was conducted by Belisarius: and such was the effect of the superior talents of one man.

535—The same victorious general was employed to wrest Sicily from the Goths: and their government being at this time in some confusion, that fertile island submitted to Belisarius, almost without opposition. He next attacked Italy, and he even got possession of Rome, (a<sup>o</sup>. 536), the inhabitants of which rejoiced in being again subject to a sovereign, who had the name of a *Roman* emperor. The great talents of Belisarius, who, though a native of Thrace, and living in a degenerate age, may justly be called one of the best, and the last, of the Roman generals, were eminently displayed in sustaining a siege of above a year by a very great, but ill-conducted, army of the Goths.

537—Rome being in want of flour during the siege, and the small streams, by which the mills were turned, being in the possession of the Goths, the provident genius of Belisarius contrived to moor barges in the stream of the Tiber, and on them he constructed mills, which ground corn for the support of the people, as long as the siege continued. [*Procop. Gothic. L. i, c. 19.*]

538—Belisarius, having repelled the enemy from Rome, pursued his advantages, till he brought the kingdom of the Goths in Italy to the brink of ruin, and sent their king Vitiges a prisoner to Constantinople.

At the commencement of this war the Goths ceded the cities of Arlatè (Arles), and Massilia (Marseille) the ancient colony of the Phocæans, with the adjacent territories, to the Franks, who were already masters of almost all the rest of Gaul and a considerable part of Germany, and now by the possession of the south coast of Gaul acquired the command of

the adjacent sea. Upon this occasion the sovereign of the Franks accepted from Justinian a resignation of the right, which he, as emperor of Rome, might claim to those territories, and to the allegiance of the subjects. The Roman, or rather Grecian, historian adds, that the kings of the Franks were *permitted* to coin money made of Gallic gold, and to mark it with their own portrait instead of the emperor's; a privilege denied even to the kings of Persia, who could put their own heads only upon silver coins, as gold coins with any other head than the emperor's would not be accepted even among the barbarous nations, that is to say, nations not subject to the Roman, or Constantinopolitan, empire\*.

[*Procop. Gothic. L. iii, c. 33.*]

539—The folly of Justinian, who now flattered himself, that he was master of the Roman empire in its antient greatest extent, while he was in fact, in spite of his long wall and other vain fortifications, a tributary to all the nations bordering on the Danube, to the Persians, and to the Turks (who in his reign first appear in European history) accelerated the ruin of his own empire by calling off the Goths from the Danube to the defence of Italy, and plunged that country again into the misery and oppression from which it had been rescued by the prudent and beneficent government of Theodoric.

546—From the oppression and misconduct of Justinian's officers and tax-gatherers Italy was delivered by the valour and virtue of Totila the king of the Goths, who punished the defection of Rome by banishing the senators, and giving the city to be plundered by his army; after which he abandoned the antient capital of the world, as unworthy of his attention. It was immediately taken possession of by Belisarius. But that great general was drawn off by the imprudence, or the envy, of Justinian (a°. 548); and the fluctuating dominion of Italy and the adjacent islands was restored to the Goths, and soon torn from them again (a°. 553) by the military conduct of Narfes, who, though an eunuch, was more worthy than any other subject of Justinian to be the successor of Belisarius. The Gothic empire in Italy was now finally extinguished: and Narfes was appointed, with the title of exarch, to govern the miserable country, depopulated and ravaged by a war of twenty years. The seat of government was hereupon fixed at Ravenna; and Rome became the *second* city of Italy (a°. 554).

\* How the powerful sovereigns of Persia, to whom the emperors of Constantinople were frequently tributary, should be prohibited from coining whatever kind of money they might think proper, it is not very easy to conceive. Yet there is a story told by Cosmas Indicopleustes, of a contest for the dignity of the Persian and Roman empires, in the presence of the king of Sise-div, being decided by the superiority of the Roman coin, which was of gold, with the emperor's head hand-

somely engraved; whereas the Persian was only of silver, and of inferior execution.—Was there really a general consent of nations to prefer the gold coins bearing the heads of the Roman emperors, and has it escaped the attention of the learned?—Or are we to understand the emperor's permission to signify a stipulation, that the Frankish gold coins should be received as current money in the dominions of the emperor?

529—The incomprehensible mass of the innumerable Roman laws was in some degree methodized, and abridged in twelve books, called the *Code of Justinian*. The opinions and comments of the most celebrated lawyers, contained in two thousand treatises, were compressed into fifty, which were called the *Pandects* (a<sup>o</sup>. 533). Another collection was made of the *Institutes* of the Roman law. And these compilations, sanctioned by the authority and the signature of the emperor, were ordained to be the standard for all legal proceedings in succeeding ages. Though a *corrected* edition of the *Code* was published soon after by Justinian, and many new and contradictory laws were added during his long reign, the collection of which was called the *Novels* (a<sup>o</sup>. 565), his system of law has been in a great measure adopted in the jurisprudence of several nations of Europe, and has consequently had great influence in the regulation of commercial contracts, and the decision of commercial disputes, long after the total extinction of the empire for which they were enacted.

527-565—Justinian delighted much in building; and during his long reign innumerable forts were erected to protect, or confess the weakness of, the frontiers. The most capital of all his edifices was the cathedral of Saint Sophia, which remains to this day, a superb monument of the best taste of an age, in which all the fine arts were rapidly declining.

But the interests of commerce were sacrificed to his rage for conquests and exhausting wars. He stationed an officer at the port of Constantinople, who compelled the commanders of vessels to pay enormous duties, or to commute them by the carriage of cargoes for the emperor to Africa or Italy, which exactions were found so intolerable, that many vessels were actually burnt, or abandoned, by their owners: and those merchants, who did pay the duties, were obliged to advance the prices of their goods in a proportion, that was ruinous to themselves and to the consumers. His money-changers, instead of giving 210 sokes for the golden stater, gave only 180. And every branch of commerce, except the clothing trades, was fettered and oppressed by monopolies. [*Procop. Anecd. c. 25.*]

The legal rate of interest was established at *six* per cent; but persons of rank were not *permitted* to take more than *four*; while *eight* was allowed for the convenience of merchants and manufacturers, and *twelve* upon the risk of bottomry. [*Pandect. L. xxii, tit. 1, 2; Cod. L. iv, tit. 32, 33.*]

The merchants of Egypt were no longer capable of conducting the Oriental trade, as their predecessors had done. Their voyages did not often extend beyond Aduli or the port of Aden in Arabia Felix. Many of them removed their residence to Aduli, and consequently transferred their allegiance to the sovereign of Axuma (or Abyssinia), and if some

of them traded to Siele-div or any other part of India, they sailed in vessels belonging to the port of Aduli; and thus the commerce, which for several centuries rendered Egypt the repository of the wealth of the western world, was lost to that country and to the Roman empire. [*Philostorgii Hist. eccl. L. iii, c. 4.—Cosm. Indicopl.—Procop. Persic. L. i, cc. 19, 20.*]

Silk, which had never been worn by any Roman man before the reign of the worthless and effeminate Elagabalus, had now come into general use among the rich; and, notwithstanding the very high price of it, it was sought after with astonishing eagerness by the opulent and luxurious inhabitants of Constantinople. Consequently it formed at all times a very considerable part, at least in value, of the imports from the East.

The manufacture of silk goods from raw silk imported from the East had long been carried on in the ancient Phœnician cities of Tyre and Berytus, whence the western world used to be supplied. But the enhanced prices the manufacturers were obliged to pay to the Persians (the cause of which will presently be explained) made it impossible for them to furnish their goods at the former prices, especially in the Roman territories, where they were subject to a duty of ten per cent. The emperor, however, ordered that silk should be sold at the rate of eight pieces of gold \* for the pound (twelve ounces of our avoirdupois weight) on penalty of the forfeiture of the whole property of the offender. The dealers immediately gave up their business, and clandestinely disposed of their stock on hand in the best way they could; whereupon Theodora, whom, from a common prostitute, Justinian had made his concubine, his wife, and at last his associated partner in the imperial power, seized all the silks, and fined the proprietors a hundred pieces of gold. By these tyrannical proceedings the scarcity was immediately converted to absolute want.

Justinian, despairing, or careless, of the re-establishment of the commerce of Egypt, sent Julian as his ambassador to Elaſbaan (or Hellisthæus) king of Axuma, requesting that, for the sake of their communion in religion, he would assist him in his war against Persia, and direct his subjects to purchase silks † in India, in order to sell them to the Romans, whereby the Axumites would acquire great wealth, and the Romans would have the satisfaction of paying their gold into the hands of their friends instead of enriching their Persian enemies. Julian also proceeded on the same errand to Eſimiphæus, who was king of the Ho-

\* Alemanus, in his notes on this passage of Procopius, makes a pound of gold contain a hundred aurei; and at that rate eight aurei amounted to about £3 : 4 : 0 of our modern money.

† Procopius, or the emperor, remarks, that the stuff now called *Serie* (silk) had formerly been

called *Median* among the Greeks; and the same remark is made by Suidas, (vo. Σαρδην) who adds, that the emperor wished the Axumites to import the silk in a raw state, (μεταξεν), whence it appears, that he was sensible of the benefit of having the manufacture in his own dominions.

merites in Arabia Felix, now under vassalage to the sovereign of Axuma\*. Both kings promised to comply with Justinian's request; but neither of them was able to perform what he promised.

I have observed, that about the commencement of the Christian æra, if not earlier, the merchants of India had taken a share of the carrying trade to the westward into their own hands †; and they appear to have now made themselves masters of the greatest part of it. In their outward voyages they generally called in at the ports of Persia for the chance of a nearer market, and they scarcely ever failed of having their whole cargoes bought up by the Persian merchants. By this pre-emption, and by having the command of the land carriage from the country of the Seres, which could not easily be conducted by any other route than through their territories, there was almost a monopoly, with respect to the western nations, of India commodities and manufactures, but more especially of silk, thrown into the hands of the Persian merchants, who supplied the remoter nations at their own prices. Such being the state of the trade, the Axumites, who found themselves generally disappointed in obtaining silks, soon desisted from a fruitless competition; and the luxurious Romans of Constantinople were obliged to live without silk, or to comply with the exorbitant demands of their Persian enemies.

From this distress, which, though it would have provoked the laughter and the contempt of their ancestors, was felt and lamented as a real misfortune by the senators of the Roman empire, they were relieved in a very extraordinary and unexpected manner. Two Persian monks, inspired by religious zeal or curiosity, had traveled to Serinda ‡, the country of the Seres, and lived in it long enough to make themselves masters of the whole process of the silk manufacture. On their return to the westward, instead of communicating the knowledge to their own countrymen, they proceeded to Constantinople, induced perhaps by the sameness of their religion, and imparted to the emperor the secret, hitherto so well preserved by the Seres, that *silk was produced by a species of worms*, the eggs of which might be transported with safety, and propagated in his dominions. By the promise of a great reward they were engaged to return to Serinda, whence they actually brought off a quantity of the silk-worms' eggs concealed in a hollow cane, and conveyed them safely to Constantinople (a<sup>o</sup>. 552). The pretious eggs were hatched in the proper season by the warmth of a dunghill, and the worms produced from them were fed with the leaves of the mulberry tree, spun

\* Nonnosus was also sent on a similar errand to the Axumites, Homerites, and Saracens. His own account of his embassy is abridged by Photius in his *Bibliotheca*, p. 6, ed. 1612.

† See above, p. 194.

‡ A name apparently compounded of *Seres* and *Indi*, the later of which was given by the Greeks and Romans to remote nations with as little precision as *Indian* is given by modern Europeans.

their silk, and propagated their race under the direction of the monks, who also taught the Romans the whole mystery of the manufacture. [*Procop. Gothic. L. iv, c. 17.*—*Theophan. Byzant. ap. Photium.*—*Theophylact. L. viii, et ap. Photium.*—*Zonaras, V. iii, p. 50, ed. 1557.*] The important insects, so happily produced, were the progenitors of all the silk-worms in Europe\* and the western parts of Asia; and a caneful of the eggs of an Oriental insect became the means of establishing a manufacture, which luxury and fashion rendered important, and of saving many millions of money to Europe †.

The infant manufacture was conducted under the auspices of the emperor and the management of his treasurer. The silk-weavers, apparently those of Tyre and Berytus as well as those instructed by the monks, were compelled to work for the imperial manufacture, which, for at least some years, must have depended on supplies of raw silk from the East. When Procopius wrote his Anecdotes, the imperial treasurer sold silks at prices prodigiously beyond those which had formerly been prohibited as exorbitant, those of common colours being charged at six pieces of gold for the ounce, and those which were tinged with the royal colour, at twenty-four and upwards.

The imperial monopoly of the silk trade was severely felt by the inhabitants of the antient cities of Tyre and Berytus, who had long depended almost entirely upon their manufactures; and many of them emigrated to the Persian dominions, where the accession of such valuable subjects probably compensated the diminution in the sales of silk to the Roman empire. [*Procop. Anecd. c. 25.*]

The western parts of Europe were now very little known in the eastern Roman empire, as appears from several passages in the works of Procopius, who was a man of business as well as literature, being secretary to Belisarius the commander in chief of the imperial army. He de-

\* De Witt says, that the Italians got some seed of silk-worms from China and Persia, by means of their trade to the Levant. [*Interest of Holland, part 1, c. 11.*] But as we can trace the migrations of the silk-worm from Constantinople to Greece, Sicily, and Italy, I apprehend that great author has made a mistake in a matter which the nature of his work did not require a strict investigation of.

† Supposing it true, as is alleged, that the Chinese possessed in very remote ages the knowledge of the compass and the art of printing, the monks would have conferred a more important favour upon the western world, if they had brought those most valuable improvements with them. The improvement and extension of navigation by the compass might have opened new fields for commercial enterprise, and have furnished safe retreats from the exterminating swords of Scythian and Arabian invaders. And the universal diffu-

sion of knowledge by printing, (whether by single moveable types, or by whole pages cut upon blocks, as practised in China) might have sooner softened the ferocity of the invaders, and have averted the dark cloud of barbarism which was now gathering over Europe, and which debased the human faculties during many dark centuries of papal dominion over the reason and property of mankind. Antient history would have come down to us more full and correct than we now have it. We might have possessed the entire works of Polybius, Tacitus, and Ammianus Marcellinus; and, to come nearer home, we might have had descriptions of antient Britain, with accounts of British commerce, by Pytheas and Himilco. I say nothing of the lost decads of Livy, though it is customary to deplore the want of them as the only valuable *deperdita* of antiquity.

livers a kind of a fairy tale of an island called Brittia, lying beyond Gaul and between Britain and Thulé\*, inhabited by the Angles (or Angili), Frisons, and Britons; divided in two parts by a wall built in antient times, which was the boundary between a fertile and populous country on the east side and the receptacle of serpents and other poisonous animals on the west side. He had also heard, that Brittia was the land of departed spirits; and he gives a strange account of the manner of ferrying them over to their island †.

The reign of Justinian may be closed by observing, that during the period of it the number of mankind was greatly diminished, and their miseries greatly increased, by earthquakes, plagues, religious persecutions, and the accumulated calamities of perpetual wars with their concomitant evils, neglect of agriculture and famine ‡.

547—The north part of the antient Roman dominions in Britain, after lying almost uncultivated for some time as an untenable frontier, had ever since the abdication of the Romans been thinly settled by the Pichts along with the remains of the most antient inhabitants. It was now invaded and occupied by the Angles, or English, a branch of that great division of the Germans called the Suevians, whose military valour, as the Usipetes and Tenchtheri told Julius Cæsar, not even the immortal gods could resist. Ida, their chief, fixed his residence in the castle of Bebbanburgh §, and laid the foundation of the great and flourishing kingdom of Northumberland, [*Cæs. Bell. Gall. L. iv, c. 7.—Tac. Germ. c. 40.—Gildas, ec. 15, 19.—Bedæ Hist. eccl. L. i, c. 15.—Chron. Sax.*] which his successors extended southward to the Humber, the Don, and the Mersee, and northward to the Forth and the Dune, thus comprehending the two Roman provinces of Maxima, and Valentia, except the small British kingdom of Stratheluyd, which, though Northumberland was generally the most powerful kingdom in Britain, resisted all its attacks, and even survived it as a kingdom. Succeeding colonies of the Angles extended themselves southward, till they interfered with the conquests of the Saxons, and occupied almost all the country from the Thames to the Forth, except the small kingdom of the East Saxons.

\* The Thulé of Procopius is unquestionably Scandinavia, which, he says, is an island ten times as large as Britain, and lying northward from the country of the Danes, having the sun above the horizon forty days in summer, and possessed by the Serit-finni, Gauti, and other nations. [*Gothic. L. ii, c. 15.*]

† Notwithstanding the name of Brittia, the account of this strange country seems more applicable to Denmark, or the adjacent islands, than to Britain. The East Angles and Merckian Angles, had not arrived in Britain in the age of Procopius, and the arrival of the first Angles in so remote a country as Northumberland, and so late as 547, was most probably unknown to him. Cam-

den has inserted the beginning of the story as history, and the ghosts and their ferry-boats, with some other strange stories, as fables, in his *Britannia*, pp. 94, 849, ed. 1607.]

‡ The events of the long reign of Justinian, which I have thought it necessary to notice as mediately or immediately affecting the little commerce now existing in the western world, which have no particular references, are chiefly taken from the works of Procopius, a contemporary writer.

§ Now called Bamburgh, and well known to the coaling mariner, and for the hospitable reception afforded to the shipwrecked by episcopal munificence.

564—When Gildas who is, next to Patric, the most antient British writer extant, wrote his lamentable history of the ruin, or excision ('excidium') of Britain, Constantine, Aurelius, Vortipor, Cuneglas, and Maglocun, were kings of some tribes or communities of the Britons. It seems probable from their names, that the two first were of Roman origin, and perhaps Constantine was of the family of that Constantine, who was elected emperor by the army in Britain in the beginning of the fifth century. [*Gildæ Epistola.*]

Gildas says, [*Hist. c. i*] that there were twenty-eight cities in Britain, besides some castles strongly fortified. An authentic list of the principal cities or towns of Britain in the sixth century would be curious, and would throw much important light on the state of the country. But Gildas, who delights in declamation, is very sparing of facts, and totally neglectful of geography. Nennius, the next oldest British author, or more probably his continuator, in a work which used to pass under the name of Gildas, has given a bare list of cities, which, being much corrupted by transcribers, affords very little information. However, as there is no other, after the Romans, equally antient, I shall here give it, as extracted from two very old manuscripts by Archbishop Usher, with the modern names agreeable to the same learned writer: and I shall set opposite to it the British names handed down to us by Henry of Huntingdon, together with his modern names, as being the oldest and fullest list after that of Nennius.

Cities from Nennius, by Usher.	Cities from Henry of Huntingdon.
Cair-Guntuig, <i>Winwik</i> in Lancashire.	
Cair-Municip, <i>Verulam</i> at St. Albans.	Kair-Mercipit.
Cair-Lualid, or } <i>Carlile.</i> Ligualid, }	Kair-Lion, <i>Carlile.</i>
Cair-Meguaid, } <i>Meivod</i> in Mont- or Meiguod, } gomery.	Kair-Meguaid.
Cair-Colon, <i>Colchester.</i>	Kair-Collon, <i>Colchester.</i>
Cair-Ebrauc, <i>York.</i>	Kair-Ebranc, <i>York.</i>
Cair-Custeint, <i>Cair-Seiont</i> near Carnarvon*.	
Cair-Caratauc.	Kair-Cucerat.

\* The British monks in the dark ages having discovered, that Constantine, the first Christian emperor, was of British birth and parentage, and presuming that others were as ignorant as themselves, they resolved also to provide a burying place for him, or his father Constantius, near Carnarvon, where in the year 1283 they even found his body.

[*Usherii Brit. eccles. antiq. p. 60.*] But, as these are very gross fictions, it is at least as probable, that Constantine in Cornwall near Falmouth, which in the time of Gildas was subject to Constantine, a British petty king (not a Roman emperor) is the place here called Cair-Custeint.

Cities from Nennius, by Uther.  
Cair-Grant, *Grantchester* near  
Cambridge.

Cair-Mauchguid.

Cair-Lundein, *London*.

Cair-Guorthigirn.

Cair-Ceint, *Canterbury*.

Cair-Guorargon, *Worcester*.

Cair-Peris, *Portchester*.

Cair-Daun, *Doncaster*.

Cair-Legion, *Chester*.

Cair-Guorichon, *Warwick*.

Cair-Segeint, *Cair-Seiont*.

Cair-Legion-  
guar-Uisc, *Cairleion on Ufk*.

Cair-Guent, *Wintchester*; or  
*Cair-Went* in  
Monmouth-  
shire.

Cair-Brithon, [*Dunbarton*.]

Cair-Lirion, *Leicester*.

Cair-Draiton \*, *Draiton* in Shrop-  
shire.

Cair-Penfavelcoit, *Pevensey*.

Cair-Urnach, *Wroxeter*.

Cair-Celemion, *Camalet* in Somer-  
set.

Cair-Luit-coyt, *Lincoln*.

Some places mentioned by Nennius are omitted by Henry, who has the following, not found in the earlier list.

Kair-Glou, *Gloucester*.

Kair-Cei, *Cicester*.

Kair-Bristou, *Bristol*.

Kair-Ceri, *Cirencester*.

And Alfred of Beverly, whose list contains only twenty names, has  
Caer-Badun, *Bath*; and Caer-Palodour, *Shaftsbury* †.

Cities from Henry of Huntingdon.  
Kair-Grant, *Cambridge*.

Kair-Meguaid.

Kair-Lundene, *London*.

Kair-Guortigern.

Kair-Chent, *Canterbury*.

Kair-Gorargon, *Worcester*.

Kair-Peris, *Portchester*.

Kair-Guorcon.

Kair-Segent, *Silchester*.

Kair-Legion, *Cairleion on Ufk*.

Kair-Lirion, *Leicester*.

Kair-Draiton.

Kair-Urnac.

Kair-Loitchoit, *Lincoln*.

Kair-Dauri, *Dorchester*.

Kair-Dorm, ruins on the Nen.

Kair-Merdin, *Carmarthen*.

Kair-Licelid.

These lists being evidently corrupt and imperfect, and moreover of an uncertain age, it would be idle to draw any conclusions from them respecting the antient state of the towns *supposed* to be mentioned in them. Indeed, I fear, some readers will think the page occupied by them ill bestowed: but I did not think myself at liberty to suppress

\* This has much the appearance of an English name.

† Some of the modern names given by Alfred and Henry are evidently erroneous, e. g. Silchester.

what has been repeatedly adduced as a complete view of the state of the country in the sixth century.

The establishment of the Turkish power in Asia about the middle of the sixth century, together with the subsequent wars, had interrupted the communication by caravans between China (or Serica) and Persia. On the return of peace the Sogdians, who had the greatest interest in the revival of the trade, persuaded the Turkish sovereign, to whom they were now subject, to send an embassy to Chofroes, or Nushirvan, king of Persia: and Maniak, a Sogdian prince who was appointed ambassador, was instructed to request permission for the Sogdians to supply the Persian empire with silk. But Chofroes, who found the conveyance by sea to the Persian gulf more advantageous to his subjects, bought up the whole of a parcel of silk the ambassador had carried with him, and then, to show how little he valued it, immediately set fire to it. After this the Persian and Chinese empires confederated against the Turks, who thereupon made an alliance with Justin the emperor of Constantinople (a°. 569). Maniak, who was also employed as ambassador to negotiate the alliance, and his associates, were astonished and disappointed upon seeing silk-worms and manufactures of silk at Constantinople: and they acknowledged, perhaps with overstrained compliment, that the Romans were fully equal to the Chinese in the management of the worms, and the manufacture of their silk. This first intercourse of the Turks with Europe, however, produced a revival of the inland trade, which, by a route to the northward of the Caspian sea, extended from China to Constantinople, and furnished the later with great quantities of Chinese merchandize, being, I presume, chiefly conducted by the Sogdians. [*Menander, Excerpt. legat. p. 107.—Theophanes, p. 204.*]

584—The last kingdom established by the Angles in Britain was called Myrcna-ric (latinized Mercia\*); and it comprehended all the middle part of modern England, extending from the Humber as far south in some parts as the Thames.

590—The ancient city of Massilia (or Marseille) still preserved a portion of its original industry and commercial spirit, as appears from Sulpicius Severus, [*Dial. i*] from Agathias, [*Hist. L. xiii*] and from several passages of Gregory of Tours, writers of this, and the preceding, age, who show, that there was a considerable commercial intercourse between the eastern countries and this city, which probably supplied the nations of the north-west parts of Europe with the few Oriental luxuries, which they were able to purchase.

604—The church of St. Paul in London was built by Ethelbert,

\* We are generally told, that *Mercia* signifies the *march* or *frontier*, a signification peculiarly improper for a central country. *Myrcna-ric* in the Anglo-Saxon signifies the *woodland kingdom*, which

agrees very closely with *Coitani*, the latinized name of the old British inhabitants, signifying *woodkind men* or *foresters*.

king of Kent and monarch of all the country on the south side of the Humber. [*Bede Hist. eccles. L. ii, c. 3.*] Sabereth, nephew of Ethelbert, and the immediate king of the East-Saxons, whose capital London was, is said to have also founded a church at Thorney on the west side of London in honour of St. Peter, which, from its situation, afterwards obtained the name of Westminster, a name since extended to a large city, which has arisen between the church of St. Peter and London. [*Ailred, col. 385.—Gervaf. Cant. col. 1633.*]

628—Hitherto all the churches, and most probably all the houses also, in England were built of wood, or of wattles. A church of stone, apparently the second in Britain, (see above, p. 214) was founded at York by Edwin, king of Northumberland, and the most powerful of all the English kings at this time, who did not live to finish it. About the same time a church of stone was also built at Lincoln: and in the following age Bishop Wilfrid restored or completed that which Edwin had begun at York, covering the roof with lead, and filling the windows with glass \*, 'which, while it excluded the birds and the rain, admitted light into the church.' Wilfrid built another church of polished stone at Rippon, which was furnished with columns and porticoes, and adorned with gold, silver, and purple. Among the donations to the church of Rippon by this magnificent prelate, there was one, which was thought a wonderful work; the four gospels written in letters of gold upon purple vellum, with a case of pure gold set with gems for preserving the precious volume. Unfortunately we are not told, whether this superb book and case were executed in England, or imported; though the words 'he gave orders to write' and the like, may seem rather to infer, that the work was performed at home. The same great bishop built a third church at Hexham in the same manner, which was so long and so lofty, that his biographer thought, that no building on this side of the Alps could be compared to it. [*Eddi Vita Wilfridi, cc. 16, 17, 22.—Bede Hist. eccles. L. ii, cc. 14, 16.*]

674—The taste for ecclesiastical magnificence being now introduced in the Northumbrian kingdom, Benedict Bishop built an abbay at the mouth of the River Were with stone in the Roman manner. For this work he brought masons from the continent, and also glass-makers, who taught the English the art of making window-glass, and lamps, vessels for drinking, &c. of glass: and thus was the elegant and useful art of making glass, an art so essential to our comfortable lodging in these cold northern climates, introduced in England †. Benedict made

\* The glass for the church of York must have been imported, as appears from the subsequent paragraph. N. B. Eddius, the biographer of Wilfrid, lived before Bede.

† Strabo seems to say, that the ancient Britons understood the manufacture of glass. But, sup-

posing it to remain among their posterity, it does not follow, that they would impart the knowledge of it to their English enemies. According to Adamnan the use of glass was known to the remote Northern Picts before this time. (See above pp. 133, 223.)

many journies to Rome, whence he imported a prodigious number of statues, reliques, books, and pictures of scripture history, wherewith he adorned, and almost filled, his church. [*Bedæ Hist. abbat Weremuth.*]

710—From Northumberland the taste for fine churches spread into the neighbouring kingdom of the Pichts, where a church of stone in the Roman stile was built by workmen sent from Weremouth at the request of King Nehton the son of Dereli. [*Bedæ Hist. eccles. L. v, c. 22.*]

About 630—King Edwin, who began the building of the church at York, seems to have been also the founder of the castle of Edwynesburg\* (*Edinburgh*), situated on a precipitous rock in the north part of his dominions. We have not the smallest information of the nature of the architecture of this castle, which communicated its name to the town, built upon the sloping ridge of the hill adjacent to the east side of it, which in after ages became the capital city of Scotland.

A silver penny, coined at Eoferwic (*York*), and marked with the name of Edwin, is believed to be the earliest extant specimen of coinage in this island after the abdication of the Romans, unless that of Ethelbert king of Kent belong to the first king of that name, who died in the year preceding the accession of Edwin †.

I have here thrown together some notices of the progress of ecclesiastical and military architecture, and of some of the other arts in Britain, which as yet furnishes but scanty materials for commercial history. Our attention is now recalled to the East.

616—Alexandria, though greatly reduced in the general decay of the Eastern empire, and by the removal of most of the Oriental trade to Persia, was still the commercial capital of the Mediterranean. That city, with the fertile country of Egypt, was now wrested from the successors of Augustus and Constantine by Chosroes, the victorious king of Persia. Constantinople, deprived of the usual supply of eight millions of modii of corn ‡, the annual importation from Egypt, was ready to perish for want of food; and the miserable emperor was reduced to the necessity of signing a treaty (a°. 621), binding himself to pay annually to the Persian monarch a tribute of 1000 talents of gold, 1000 talents of silver, 1000 robes of silk, 1000 horses, and, most ignominious of all, 1000 virgins. Perhaps (for the writers of the age have left us to conjecture) it was impossible for an exhausted empire to pay the tribute. Whatever

\* So the name is spelled in a charter of King David I, the most antient writing in which it is mentioned; and the name of Edwin is also preserved, as it is spelled by Simeon of Durham and in the Chronicle of Lanercost, which expressly calls him the builder of the castle, and also gives the story of his seven daughters being preserved in it; which story, together with its other name of Maydyn castle, has furnished Hector Boyse the

foundation of a foolish fable. [*See Geographical illustrations of Scottish history, vo. Edinburgh, Puel-larum.*]

† Ethelbert's coin, being, I apprehend, of uncertain age, will be mentioned in a note under the year 1066.

‡ The Roman modius being a small matter more than the English peck, the supply from Egypt was above two millions of bushels.

was the cause, a most marvelous change took place, and the unsteady and pusillanimous emperor Heraclius became all at once a vigorous and intrepid hero. As the lands were desolated, and commerce ruined, it was as impossible to raise funds for carrying on a war as for purchasing a peace. But Heraclius still possessed a fleet of galleys, to which the unemployed merchant ships were added; and in his absolute want he presumed to seize the hoarded wealth of the churches, promising, however, to return it with large interest (a<sup>o</sup>. 622). By a wonderful series of victories the circumstances of the two empires were completely reversed: the Roman arms were carried into Persia; the haughty Chosroes actually betook himself to flight and concealment, and was soon after deposed. Heraclius recovered Egypt and the other provinces wrested from his empire by the Persians (a<sup>o</sup>. 628); and he had the wisdom not to demand any accession of territory from them, which would at once have weakened himself and sown the seeds of future wars. But the arts, science, and commerce, never recovered. The splendid victories of Heraclius were the last bright gleam of the military glory of the Roman, or Grecian, empire, against which there was now springing up in the deserts of Arabia a new, and still more formidable, enemy, destined with rapid strides to spread over the eastern, and a great part of the western, world, and to establish a new empire, and a new religion, upon the ruins of those of Constantinople.

It has already been observed, that a great portion of the Oriental commerce, which formerly enriched the Roman subjects in Egypt, had passed into the hands of the Persians, who appear to have eclipsed the Arabians in the extent and activity of their commerce: But when the later in the rapid career of their conquests reached the Euphrates, they immediately perceived the advantages to be derived from an emporium, situated upon a river, which opened on the one hand a shorter route to India than they had hitherto had, and on the other an extensive inland navigation through a wealthy country; and Bassora which they built on the west bank of the river (a<sup>o</sup>. 636), soon became a great commercial city, and entirely cut off the independent part of Persia from the Oriental trade. The Arabian merchants of Bassora, extended their discoveries to the eastward far beyond the tracts of all preceding navigators, and imported directly from the places of their growth many Indian articles, hitherto procured at second hand in Ceylon, which they furnished on their own terms to the nations of the West.

640—The victorious Arabs had now deprived Heraclius, who after his Persian triumph had relapsed into his former lethargy, of the wealthy, and in some degree commercial, province of Syria. The little commerce, now remaining to the Roman empire, also fell into their hands with the city of Alexandria and the province of Egypt: and the road

from Egypt to Medina was covered by a long train of camels loaded with the corn, which used to feed Constantinople\*.

645—The antient canal between the Nile and the Red sea is said to have been cleared out, and again rendered navigable, by Amrou, the Arabian conqueror and governor of Egypt, in order to furnish a shorter and cheaper conveyance for the corn and other bulky produce of that country †.

The Arabian, or Saracen, armies, enflamed by fanaticism, ambition, and avarice, proceeded with a rapid and irresistible torrent of victories, unexampled in the history of mankind, till they became masters of the finest provinces of the world, extending eastward to the confines of China, and westward to the Atlantic ocean. Their victories enlarged their commerce, as well as their empire; and almost the whole trade of the world fell into their hands.

660—The loss of Jerusalem having rendered its holy places more precious than ever in the eyes of the Christians, pilgrimages to it were now become very frequent: and in these commerce was united with devotion, which was probably the reason that they were tolerated, and even encouraged, by the Saracens, who allowed a fair to be annually held on the 15<sup>th</sup> of September, as Adamnan, abbat of Hyona, on the authority of St. Arculf, relates in his book on the holy places, honourably mentioned by Bede. It is probable, that the trade, thus carried on at Jerusalem, was in a great measure for goods brought from the East by the conveyance of Bassora, the River Euphrates, and the caravans. [*Beda Hist. eccles. L. v, cc. 16 et seqq.*—*De Guignes, Mem. de litterature, V. xxxvii, p. 475.*]

668—The Saracens, whose fleets now rode triumphant in the Mediterranean, had already taken possession of Cyprus, Rhodes, and many others of the Grecian islands. The imperial city of Constantinople was now for the first time besieged by the followers of Mohamed, who came against it with a great fleet and army. During seven years they annually renewed their attacks, which were finally baffled (a<sup>o</sup>. 674). After losing thirty thousand men, and most of their ships, the Saracens gave up all hopes of taking the city; and the calif even submitted to the humiliating terms of paying an annual tribute of 3,000 pieces of gold, 50 horses, and 50 slaves, to the Roman emperor during a truce of thirty years.

The repulse at Constantinople threw a temporary cloud over the military glory of the Saracens, and shed a faint ray of light upon the expiring reputation of the Greeks, or Romans. But the whole praise was

\* Literally covered, if the foremost of the train reached Medina before the last of them got out of Egypt, as Ockley says.

† This celebrated canal was again stopped up at the end next the Red sea in the year 775. In 1707 the end next the Nile was discovered by Mr.

Butier. [See Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, p. 362.—*Philips's History of inland navigation*, p. 5.—*Browne's Travels in Africa*, p. 94, who copies from Cardon's *Hist. de l'Afrique*, &c. compiled from Arabic manuscripts in the royal library of France.

due to the ingenuity of an individual. Constantinople and the remainder of the empire owed their preservation to a new and wonderful invention of Callinicus, a Syrian or Egyptian Greek, whose science on this occasion, like that of Archimedes in the siege of Syracuse, was infinitely more valuable than the strength and courage of the greatest armies. This invention was the famous Greek fire, a substance or preparation, which communicated unextinguishable fire to every thing it came in contact with, and which could be launched from the military engines, shot through a tube, and conveyed in every direction, even water itself being no impediment, but rather giving additional vigour to its operation. The secret of preparing this astonishing engine of destruction, or defence, was preserved with the strictest vigilance by the Roman (or Grecian) government above four hundred years, after which the Saracens got possession of the art. It continued to be used in war, till it was superseded by the invention of gun-powder, and then even the knowledge of it was lost.

690—Benedict Biscop, who made so many journies to Rome, and imported so much church furniture to Northumberland, as already related, sold a book upon cosmography to Aldfrid, his sovereign, for eight hides of land. At that rate scarcely any but a king could afford to have a book; and even in the very highest ranks there were then but few in Britain, who could read. Indeed, as books were almost inaccessible, reading could be of little use.

694—The kingdom of Kent is said to have paid a fine of *thirty thousand pounds of silver* to Inè, king of the West-Saxons, for the slaughter of his brother. [*Chr. Sax. ad an.*] Notwithstanding the respectable authority of the Saxon chronicle, it is difficult to conceive how so small a country (for the kingdom of Kent contained only the present shire of that name) could in those days raise a sum, equal, as appears by the laws of the same King Inè, to the value of 1,440,000 sheep with as many young lambs, reckoning 48 shillings in the money pound, and one shilling as the price of a sheep with her lamb, as rated in King Inè's laws\*.

The seventieth law of Inè fixes the quantity of the various articles to be paid annually by the possessor of a farm of ten hides of land, or as much as required ten ploughs: but we are not informed, whether it was a regulation for the farms of the king's own property, like the farming laws of Charlemagne, or was generally binding upon the land-holders

\* William Thorne, [*col. 1770 ap. Tawysiden*] though comparatively a late writer, seems to come nearer the truth, when he rates the fine at *three thousand pounds*, which he, being a monk of Canterbury, may have taken from an authentic record. William of Mahunbury raises it to 30,000 marks of

gold. The conjecture of Doctor Henry [*Hist. of Britain, V. iv, p. 280 ed. 1788*] that *pounds* have crept into the text instead of *pennies*, 30,000 pennies being the full wergeld of a king, is extremely probable.

and farmers throughout the kingdom of the West-Saxons. The articles were

10 fats of honey,	20 hens,
300 loaves,	10 cheefes,
12 ambers * of Welsh ale,	1 amber of butter,
30 hluttres †,	6 falmon,
2 full-grown oxen or 10 wethers,	20 pound weight of fodder ‡,
10 geese,	100 eels.

Though we find the payment of falmon and eels, both indeed river fish, ordered by law among the West-Saxons, we are told that the Saxons at Bosenham on the very confines of the West-Saxon and South-Saxon kingdoms, did not know, that fish could be caught in the sea, till Wilfrid, a Northumbrian bishop, taught them to make a seine by joining their eel nets together (a. 678), whereby they caught 300 fish in the sea at the first haul §. [*Bede Hist. eccles. L. iv, c. 13.*]

698—The remains of the episcopal, rather than commercial, city of Carthage were utterly destroyed by the Saracens. Its antient commercial splendour may entitle its ashes to this brief notice in commercial history.

710—All the provinces formerly belonging to the Roman empire in Africa being now subject to the Saracens, except only the fort of Ceuta on the south shore of the Strait, they were invited into Europe by Julian, the commander of that fort and of the opposite coast of Spain, who took that method of revenging an injury done to him by his sovereign ||. They were also encouraged by promises of assistance from the Jews of Spain, who were unable to live under the bigotted persecution of the Gothic clergy. The successful inroad of a small party, who returned loaded with spoil, enflamed the ambition and the avarice of the Saracens to make a total conquest of that rich country. A more numerous army landed on the rock, since called from their leader Gebel al Tarik, now corrupted to Gibraltar, marched to Xerxes, and fought the Gothic army, which was totally defeated (a. 711). In a few months

\* Spelman substitutes for *amber* the Roman measure *amphora*, and gives the Roman explanation of the quantity contained in it. [*Gloss. vo. Firma.*] Arbutnot [*Table of coins*] makes the *amphora* above seven gallons of English wine measure. Lambard, makes the amber nearly the same with the modern firkin, and says, the word is not quite obsolete: and his explanation is transcribed by Wheloc. But it is very doubtful whether the Saxon measure had any connection with the Roman.

† Lambard, Spelman, and Wheloc make *hluttres* weaker ale; but Bromton, who lived much nearer the Saxon times than any of them, has left it untranslated. The word is an adjective signifying *lucid, pure, simple*.

‡ Doctor Henry suspects a mistake in this very trifling quantity of fodder.

§ That the descendants of those Saxons who for several ages were the most experienced and intrepid seamen in the Northern ocean, and must be presumed to have also been good fishermen, should have already lost the knowledge of catching fish in the sea, which was just beside them at Bosenham, is rather too wonderful: and, with all our veneration for the historical integrity of Bede, we must remember, that the story is connected with a miracle.

|| The common story of the violation of Julian's daughter by King Roderic seems to have little or no foundation.

the whole of that great peninsula, which for two centuries withstood the attacks of Rome when in the zenith of her military glory, fell under the power of the Saracens, excepting the mountains of Asturia, where a few unconquerable spirits still preserved their independence; and whence in after ages they descended to recover the sovereignty of their country from the posterity of the Saracen conquerors, then called Moors.

716—A second and more formidable attack upon Constantinople was made by the Saracens under the command of Moslemah, the brother of Soliman the calif. Besides a great army, who marched by land to the Hellespont, they had a fleet, said to consist of eighteen hundred vessels, twenty of which, capable of carrying a hundred soldiers each, were esteemed large ships; whence it appears, that the rest were very small. The Greek fire, conveyed among them by means of fire-ships, totally destroyed this very numerous fleet, which, being crowded together in so narrow a channel, had no possibility of escaping from the flames. A reinforcement of ships and provisions from Egypt and Africa in the following year scarcely escaped the same destruction. The Saracens at last gave up the undertaking as hopeless: and Constantinople was a second time saved by the invention of Callinicus.

It is worthy of remark, that the mountains of Libanus, which furnished timber for building the ships of Sidon in the infancy of navigation, were still the great nursery for ship timbers, vast stores of which were collected on the coast of Phœnicia by the Saracens for building their fleets.

718, September 4<sup>th</sup>—The earliest naval battle recorded in British history was fought at a place called Ardanefs (apparently on the west coast of Scotland) between Duncha-beg, king of Kentire, and Celvac (or Selvac), king of Lorn, the sovereigns of two divisions or tribes of the Scots. [*Ann. Ult. MS. in Mus. Britan. Cat. Aysc. N<sup>o</sup>. 4,795.*]

About 730—Now, and probably long before (for the notice is connected by Bede with events of the year 604) London, though the capital of one of the smallest kingdoms in England, by its happy situation on the bank of the noble navigable River Thames, was an emporium for many nations repairing to it by land and by sea\*. This undoubted testimony of the trade of London shows us, that the commerce of England, which now animates the industry of all the world, was then chiefly, or entirely, of the passive kind, and carried on by strangers.

Bede, to whom we are indebted for this earliest commercial notice of

\* 'Londonia civitas est, super ripam præfati fluminis [*Thamesis*] posita, et ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique venientium.' [*Bede Hist. ecclæs. L. ii, c. 3.*] King Alfred, in his translation of this passage, calls the city 'Lunden-

'ceaster'—'and seo is monigra folce ceap stow.' Ceap stow (merchaudize place) will explain the modern name of one of the principal trading streets of the city.

London after the abdication of Britain by the Romans, flourished at this time. He is allowed, by the impartial voice of all succeeding ages and of every nation, to have been the greatest ornament, not only of Northumberland and of England, but of all the western world, and the most illustrious mathematician and astronomer, as well as the greatest scholar, of the middle ages. Almost the whole circle of the sciences of ancient Greece and Rome was known to him; and it particularly deserves our notice, that he asserted the rotundity of the earth, [*Bede Opera*, V. i, p. 376; V. ii, p. 125, ed. Colon. 1612] and that he was not condemned as a heretic for his knowlege\*.

732—The Saracens from Spain had now penetrated into the center of France. It was but another step to Britain. But the valour of Charles Martel, the founder of a dynasty of kings of France, repelled the torrent. The Saracen army was defeated with prodigious slaughter in a battle, which lasted a whole week; and France and the countries beyond it were for ever preserved from Arabian conquest.

Notwithstanding this check, the Saracens continued the most powerful people in the world. They were the undoubted, and the unrivaled; sovereigns of the sea, and almost the only traders, upon the Mediterranean, and on the Indian ocean. But the Christians of Europe were excluded from almost every channel, by which the pretious goods of the East had formerly been conveyed to them †. An inveterate antipathy, excited by mutual slaughters, and inflamed by religious bigotry, which made the Christians consider the Mohamedans as disciples of an

\* The wonderful proficiency of Bede in study could only be equaled by his industry in communicating to others the treasures of his knowlege, which he did in a prodigious number of compositions, *one hundred and thirty-nine* of which, still extant, and collected in eight folio volumes, may be considered as a complete body of the learning and science, as well as the theology, of the middle ages. Besides his knowlege of the rotundity of the earth, the following may be noted as specimens of his instructions in the sciences connected with commerce.

V. i, p. 103 Multiplication tables, which he calls Pythagoric tables. (They are in figures, but that is a liberty, and a very improper one, taken by the editor.)

p. 135 Arithmetical cases for the exercise of learners, many of which are still retained in our modern books of arithmetic. One of them shows that 20 shillings made a pound, at least in weight, in the Northumbrian kingdom; 'Est discus qui penfat libras 30 five solidos 600;' and the solution of this question proves that the pound consisted of 12 ounces. Another supposes a man leaving 30 glass bottles ('ampullas vitreas') to his sons: this, unless it was copied from a work composed in a more civilized country, may seem to infer that glass bottles were common in Northumberland.

p. 163 The circumference of the earth 252,000 stadia; copied from Eratosthenes. See above, p. 94.

p. 387 The revolution of Saturn in 30 years, Jupiter in 12, Mars in 2, the sun in  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days; wherein he follows the antients.

p. 463 Rules for constructing dials, and astrolabes.

† It has been supposed, that, after the Saracens got possession of Egypt, the communication between India and Europe through Alexandria still continued as before; and I thought so myself, till upon examination I found no authority whatever for any intercourse of the Christians with Alexandria before the beginning of the ninth century. In the almost-total darkness of history in these benighted ages probable presumptions must be received for want of better evidence: and we find, that before Egypt fell into the hands of the Saracens, writings of importance in Europe were executed upon the Egyptian papyrus; but after that period they are upon parchment. This amounts almost to a proof, that the trade with Egypt, the only country producing the papyrus, was interrupted. [See *Muratori Antiq. Ital. V. iii, col. 832 et passim.*]

impostor (or of the devil), pagans, and enemies of God \*, while they on the other hand abhorred the Christians as idolaters and enemies of God, was an almost insuperable bar to commercial intercourse. But the mutual alienation produced little or no inconvenience to the Saracens, who found an ample scope for commercial enterprise within the vast extent of their own dominions. The scanty supply of Oriental goods from the fairs of Jerusalem, and perhaps a few other privileged places, being very inadequate to the demand, some merchants were tempted by the increased price to traverse the vast extent of Asia in a latitude beyond the northern boundary of the Saracen power, and to import by caravans the silks of China, and the valuable spices of India, which, with the expense and risk of such a land carriage, must have cost a most enormous price, when they reached Constantinople, where they were, notwithstanding, eagerly purchased by the luxurious and wealthy courtiers, whose demands for silks the manufactures of Greece were not capable of supplying to their full extent.

Next to those of Constantinople, the citizens of Venice appear to have been in this age the most distinguished among the Christians of Europe for commercial efforts. The origin and dawning prosperity of this city have been already noticed. The total want of territory directed their attention and their hopes to the sea, which was at once their frontier, their fortification, and the only field to be ploughed by their industry. The perpetual wars, and the rapid succession of conquerors, which had for several ages convulsed Italy, drove into the rising city a gradual and constant accession of free-spirited, industrious, and wealthy, inhabitants, the truest source of the prosperity of any state. Their vessels now ventured beyond the limits of the Adriatic gulf; they doubled the southern extremity of Greece, and made voyages to Constantinople and other places. They carried home valuable cargoes of silks, and all the rich produce of the East, the magnificent purple drapery of Tyre, and the furs of ermines and other northern animals; all which they sold with prodigious profit to the nations of the north and west parts of Europe. It is a melancholy consideration, that human creatures, the produce of the wars, formed also a principal article of their trade: and it is much to the credit of Pope Zacharia, that he purchased, and gave liberty to, a number of slaves of both sexes, whom the Venetian traders were going to carry over to the coast of Africa to be sold to the Saracens. [*Monach. Sangall. de reb. Car. Mag. ap. Muratori Antiq. V. ii, col. 409; Vita Zachariæ, ib. col. 883.*]

\* This narrow-minded and ignorant misrepresentation continued for many ages to disgrace the pages of the Christian writers, with the exception of a very few; among whom William of Malmesbury deserves to be noticed, who, with his usual superiority of judgment, observes, that ‘the Sara-

cens and Turks worship God the Creator, esteeming Mahomet not a god, but the prophet of God.’ [*Gest. reg. Angl. f. 43 b*] Mathew Paris [*p. 426*] also says, that the Saracens believe in one God, the creator of all things, and detest idols.

After seeing the deplorable decay of science among the Greeks and Romans, as it appears in the work of Cosmas, &c. it is not a little surprising, that such remote countries as Britain and Ireland should produce some geniuses, who soared above the darkness of their age, and ventured to assert, that the earth, which we inhabit, is a globe, and that there are people on the opposite side of it. Virgil, bishop of Saltzburg in Germany, for maintaining these truths was condemned as a heretic by the philanthropic Pope Zacharia, who was greatly alarmed at such dangerous doctrine. In the strange revolutions, which often took place in the affairs of the clergy, the heretical philosopher was afterwards canonized as a saint, I know not for what merit, but surely not for his science. Ireland has the honour of having produced this enlightened saint\*.

753—The Saxons and their associates, who make their first appearance in history as the tremendous masters of the Ocean, and the dread of all the maritime provinces of the western Roman empire, seem, after their complete settlement in Britain, and their conversion to the Christian religion, to have entirely changed their national character. The use of arms was generally abandoned; all thoughts of naval affairs were given up; and their ships, the chief instrument of their conquests, as no longer of any use, were allowed to rot upon the beach. Vast numbers of people of all ranks, kings and queens not excepted, persuaded that a life of retirement from secular cares and business was the most pleasing to the Deity, renounced the world, and shut themselves up in monasteries †. The event was such as seems to have been almost predicted by Bede. [*Hist. eccles. L. v, c. 23; Epist. ad Egbert.*] The miseries which the nations had suffered from their ancestors were now as fully inflicted upon them by the ferocious roving warriors descended of their own remote ancestors, who, under the names of Danes, Norwegians, or Normans, succeeded to the naval dominion of the Northern ocean. The first outrage of those plunderers, which is recorded, was upon the coast of Thanet. [*Chronol. Augustin. ap. Twysden, col. 2, 236.*] Succeeding incursions harassed and ruined England, till the invaders effected settlements for themselves in the east part of the country; and at last a dynasty of Danish kings were for a short time seated upon the throne of England.

\* We have seen the rotundity of the earth condemned as heresy two hundred years before this time by Cosmas, an Egyptian Greek, and now by the infallible head of the Roman church. But Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century, was more enlightened, for he reprehends a nameless author, apparently Cosmas, for denying that the earth is a globe. [*Bibliotheca, cod. 36.*]

† 'It is said, that in the ninth century there

'were in this kingdom more monks than military men; and to this bad policy some have not scrupled to attribute the success of the Danes in their several visitations.' [*Harvokins's Hist. of music, V. ii, p. 261.*] That Scotland was not also conquered by the northern invaders, may with great probability be ascribed to the smaller influence of monastic superstition in that less opulent country.

795—We now find the first certain accounts of the northern piratical rovers, called Normans, Norwegians, Danes, or Ostmen, landing in Ireland and the islands on the north side of it, many of which were settled by monks, most of whom they drove from their monasteries. [*Ann. Ult. ad an. 794*, with *Ufferii Brit. eccles. antiq. p. 958.*] There is no reason to suppose that the north part of Britain could escape their ravages, though there is no certain account of any invasion of it by them till about forty years after this time.

796—The commerce of Britain, which since the time of the Roman dominion in the island had been almost totally extinguished, appears to have begun to revive about this time. Some English traders resorted to the continent; and they even went as far as Rome, and perhaps Venice. Some of them, in order to evade payment of the customs exacted from them in their transit through France, pretended to be pilgrims on their journey to Rome, the baggage of all such being exempted from duties. The English goods, which were of such value in respect to their bulk as to admit of being smuggled in a traveler's baggage, were probably nice works in gold and silver, in making which the Anglo-Saxon artists appear to have been eminently skilful\*. Reliques, images of saints, pretious stones, books, pictures for churches, and dresses for priests, were probably the chief articles of the homeward cargoes. The French collectors of the customs, discovering the deception of the pretended pilgrims, obliged them to pay the duties upon their goods; whereupon they complained to Offa, the most powerful of the English kings, in consequence of which an embargo was laid upon the shipping on both sides for some time. But when Offa had compelled all the other English and Saxon kings to acknowledge his superiority, Charles the Great became willing to enter into friendship with him, without, however, giving up his claim to the customary duties on merchandize. I have already (p. 60) given a translation of the oldest commercial treaty in the world; and the reader, I dare say, will be pleased to see a translation of Charles's letter to Offa, then in effect the monarch of England, as far as it relates to commercial objects, as it is, properly speaking, the very first of the many commercial treaties between England and the other countries of Europe. It begins thus:

‘ Charles, by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards,  
 ‘ and patrician of the Romans, to our venerable and most dear brother,  
 ‘ Offa, king of the Merkiens, greeting. First, we give thanks to all-  
 ‘ mighty God for the sincere catholic faith which we see so laudably  
 ‘ expressed in your letters. Concerning the strangers, who, for the love  
 ‘ of God and the salvation of their souls, wish to repair to the thresholds  
 ‘ of the blessed apostles, let them travel in peace without any trouble.

\* The English works in gold and silver in these ages were famous even in Italy. [*Muratori Antiq. v. v, col. 12.*]

‘ Nevertheless, if any are found among them not in the service of religion, but in the pursuit of gain, let them pay the established duties at the proper places. We also will, that merchants shall have lawful protection in our kingdom according to our command; and if they are in any place unjustly aggrieved, let them apply to us or our judges, and we shall take care that ample justice be done to them.’—After some ecclesiastical particulars, he concludes, by informing Offa, that he had sent him a present of a belt, a Hunnish sword, and two robes of silk \* †. [*M. Paris Vit. Offæ*, p. 20.—or *Will. Malmsh. f. 17.*]

The kingdom of Northumberland appears to have surpassed the other divisions of Britain in wealth, as well as in learning and science. There is even reason to believe that the Jews, a race of people, who, ever since the destruction of their capital city by the Romans, have spread themselves into every wealthy country, had before this time penetrated into this remote kingdom, as we may infer from a foreign canon being transcribed by Egbert archbishop of York into his Excerpts ‡, which prohibits Christians from imitating the manners of the Jews, or partaking of their feasts. [*Spelman. Concil. p. 275.*] The same prelate established a noble library at York, the capital city of Northumberland, to which Alcuin proposed, with the approbation of the emperor Charles, to send the youth of France for improvement. [*Will. Malmsh. f. 153 a.*]

800—Charles the Great (or Charlemagne), in consequence of his extensive conquests and great power, and the policy of the pope, was crowned at Rome by the title of emperor of the Romans; a title still kept up by the emperors of Germany as his successors. Some time af-

\* This treaty was brought about chiefly by the conduct of Alcuin, one of the ambassadors sent by Offa to Charles. That great monarch was so delighted with the talents and learning of Alcuin, that he entreated him to remain with him in order to instruct his subjects. And to this learned native of the Northumbrian kingdom, who shone, after Bede, the brightest luminary of the benighted western world, the French are in a great measure indebted for the origin of learning and science in their country.

The historians of England have taken but little notice of Charles's letter, which is an authentic treaty of friendship and commerce. But Fordun and the later Scottish historians, thinking it highly honourable for their country that it should have attracted the notice of so great a prince as Charles, have wrested a passage, wherein Eginhart mentions the kings ('reges') of the Scots (unquestionably the Scots of Ireland) as the humble servants of Charles, into a proof of an alliance between him and Achaius, king of the Scots in Argyle. Wytown, a writer contemporary with Fordun, knew nothing of the alliance, nor of any one event of the reign of Achaius or Eokal; [See his *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, B. vi, c. 4] but Hector Boyse,

the great embellisher of Scottish history, having given the sanction of his authority to the story, it was almost universally believed till lately. Mr. Anderson, carried away by the tide of established prejudice, which had carried away Sir George Mackenzie, Sir James Dalrymple, Sir Robert Sibbald, Thomas Ruddiman, and other writers, whose professed line of study led them to a more critical investigation of Scottish history, has noticed this league in his work. It would be easy to shew that there is no authority to say that any such league ever existed, but it would lead me into a dissertation very foreign to the nature of this work.

† Mathew Paris remarks, probably from traditional report, that Vulfig, abbat of St. Albans, a favourite, and perhaps a relation, of King Offa, affected great magnificence, and was clothed in silk. [*Vite abbatum*, p. 37.] Perhaps the pompous abbat had silks imported on purpose for his own use; for we cannot suppose, that what was a proper present from the greatest sovereign on the continent to the greatest sovereign in Britain, was common in the western parts of the world.

‡ Spelman thinks that the Excerpts of Egbert may have been written about the year 750. He possessed the see of York from 735 to 765.

ter two dukes of Venice \*, and a duke of Iadera in Dalmatia, are said to have received at his hands a confirmation of their dignities.

Amidst the devastations and slaughters of a reign of forty-seven years, passed in perpetual warfare, Charles paid some attention to learning and science, and apparently also to commerce, though he showed great ignorance of the principles of it, when he allowed the priests to make a canon, declaring all interest for the use of money to be sinful. The fairs of Aquisgranum (Aix la Chapelle) and Troye were frequented during his reign by traders from most parts of Europe: and the weight used at the later has been generally adopted, and is now used by us for weighing gold and silver. He collected what was then esteemed a great library, and he founded the universities of Paris and Pavia, which set the example to similar institutions, wherein the lamp of science, though it burnt but very dimly during several dark ages, was at least preserved from utter extinction. He studied astronomy under the English philosopher and poet Alcuin; and his taste for geography may be presumed from his three silver plates, on one of which was engraved a map of Constantinople, on another Rome, and on the third and largest the three parts of the world, viz. Europe, Asia, and Africa, each inclosed in a circle. To curb the maritime depredations of the Normans and Saracens he kept some ships on the Ocean and the Mediterranean; and he restored the light-house at Bononia (*Boulogne*), that it might direct his ships in the night. His attempts to join the Meuse with the Saone, and the Rhine with the Danube, though intended only for the purposes of war, if they could have been rendered effectual and permanent, would have been useful to inland navigation. [*Eginharti Vita Caroli magni.—Aimon. Gest. Franc. L. iv, cc. 68-102.*]

808—Charlemagne, having subdued the remains of the old Saxons on the north side of the Elbe, erected two castles on the banks of that river to curb the Slavi and other hostile tribes. In two years after, one of them, called Hochbuchi, Hocburi, or Hamburgh, was taken and destroyed, and next year it was rebuilt. [*Eginharti Annales ad an.—Alberti Stadenfis Chron. ad an.*] After many unimportant revolutions of destruction and renovation, the castle gave birth to a town, which has grown up to be the celebrated and important commercial city of Hamburgh †.

813—In the later end of the reign of Charlemagne the merchants of Lyons, Marseille, and Avignon, confiding in the power and fame of their sovereign, and the friendship subsisting between him and Harun al Rashid, the powerful and famous sovereign of the East, joined in fit-

\* They are called Willerus and Beatus by Aimonius. [*L. iv, c. 94.*] But I see no such names, nor any conjunct dukes, in the catalogue of the dukes or doges of Venice.

† Hamburgh, like other cities which have acquired fame and opulence, has some fables of an earlier origin than what can be warranted by history.

ting out vessels twice a year for Alexandria, to which no Christians, that we know of, had sailed, since it belonged to the Saracens. The spices of India and the perfumes of Arabia were conveyed by those merchants up the Rhone and the Saone, and re-embarked on the Moselle, which carried them to the Rhine; and by means of that river they were dispersed through Germany and the northern countries. And thus the French, while in the zenith of their military glory, appear to have also taken the lead as the general merchants for the Christian nations in the western part of Europe\*. A Jewish merchant, who was a favourite with Charlemagne, also made frequent voyages to Palestine, and returned with precious merchandize, hitherto unknown in the West. [*Monach. Sangall. L. i, c. 18, ap. Muratori Antiq. V. i, col. 895.*]

823—The Saracens, now the only maritime power in the Mediterranean, after plundering most of the Grecian islands, took possession of Crete, which, from the town wherein they fixed their chief residence, thenceforth got the name of Candax, afterwards corrupted to Candia. This island, so happily situated for commerce, is equally well situated for prædatory naval war; and it was in that way that its new masters chiefly employed their talents, to the unspeakable distress of the wretched subjects of the Greek empire and the other Christian states bordering on the Mediterranean.

813-833—During the reign of the calif Almamon, who went beyond all his predecessors in the encouragement of learning and the sciences, two mensurations of a degree were made, one on the plain of Sinaar, and the other on that of Cufa.

It is worthy of remark, that the light of literature and science shone out with the brightest lustre among the Saracens, and particularly among those of Spain, when all-over the Christian part of Europe the human faculties were debased by the most wretched superstition, the belief of the most preposterous miracles, and the idolatrous worship of images. Chymistry, a science so important in our modern manufactures, which had been practised in Egypt from the earliest ages with stationary imperfection, is indebted to the ingenuity of the Saracens for many of its most valuable improvements. The alembic for distillation is believed to be of their invention. The nature of acids and alkalis was ascertained by them. To them we are obliged for the introduction, or, as most people think, the invention, of the simple and comprehensive set of figures now universally used in arithmetic, which is one of the most important improvements that ever was made in any of the sciences connected with commerce. In short, the very names of alembic, alkali, almanack, algebra, alchymy, elixir, zenith, nadir, azimuth, cipher, &c. remain perpetual monuments of the Arabic derivation, or conveyance

\* This curious and important notice rests on the authority of Poullin de Lumina, [*Hist. de Lyons, p. 31*] who has neglected to produce his vouchers. [*See Mem. de litterature, V. xxxvii, p. 483.*]

to us, of several branches of our science. It must be acknowledged that their studies were often perverted to the absurd pursuits of astrology, the philosopher's stone, or transmutation of the baser metals into gold, and the elixir of health, which was supposed to confer a perpetual renovation of youth and vigour. But scientific researches, notwithstanding the partial abuse or wrong direction of them, must ultimately tend to the increase of human knowledge, and thereby add to the felicity of mankind. During the five darkest centuries of European barbarism the Saracens were the only enlightened people in the western world. There are indeed a few individual instances of heaven-born geniuses among the Christians, who, surmounting the difficulty of an unknown language, and defying the terrors of excommunication, ventured to learn science among the Saracens, and to disseminate some sparks of it among their rude and benighted countrymen, who in return treated them as conjurers and artful servants of the devil. To their intrepid thirst of knowledge Europe is in a great measure indebted for the revival of science, which, as it increased among the Christians, fell off and languished among the Saracens, who are not now distinguished by any strong attachment to study.

825—About this time there was presented to the emperor Louis a presbyter called George, who undertook to construct organs, hitherto scarcely known in France \*, as they were made in Greece. [*Aimon. de gestis Franc. L. iv, c. 114.*]

827—Egbert, king of the West Saxons, who had passed his youth in exile, and learned the arts of war and government under Charles, the greatest prince in Europe, was recalled to his paternal dominions in the year 800. In twenty-seven years he subdued, or reduced to a state of dependence, all the other English and Saxon kings on the south side of the Humber; and he is thenceforth usually accounted (though not with strict propriety) the first monarch of England.

This same year, according to the annals of Ulster, there was 'a dreadful invasion of Ireland by the English,' which, if I mistake not, is omitted by all the English historians.

828—Ten Venetian ships went to Alexandria in violation of a law of the state; and they were, for ought that appears, the first that ever went from Venice to that port. The most noted part of their homeward cargo was the (supposed) body of St. Mark, which they surreptitiously carried off with them. [*Chron. And. Danduli ducis Venet. ap. Muratori, Script. V. xii, col. 170.*] This notice, though in other respects

\* An organ had been sent from Constantinople to Pepin king of France by the emperor Constantine Copronymus. [*Marian. Scot. ad an. 757.*—*Hepidanni Chron. ad an. 754, ap. Goldast.*—*Aimon. L. iv, c. 64.*] In the reign of King Edgar an

organ, then a wonderful thing in England, was presented to the church of Malmesbury by Dunstan. [*Will. Malmsh. ap. Gale, p. 366.*] Organs, if there is no mistake in the name, were in Ireland before the year 814. [*Ann. Ult. ad an. 814.*]

of little consequence, may be considered as a pretty good proof that the commerce between Venice and Alexandria had not, as has been asserted, been carried on to a great extent for some ages before this time.

Amalfi, Genoa, and Pisa, maritime cities on the west side of Italy, followed the example of Venice in trading to Alexandria; but their trade never became very considerable, till the frenzy of the holy wars placed in their hands the treasures of the West, and gave a vast additional spring to their carrying trade, their manufactures, commerce, and general prosperity. [*Muratori Antiq. V. ii, col. 905.*]

836—‘Some writers speak of the Netherlanders resorting to Scotland as early as about the year 836, for the buying of salted fish of the Scottish fishermen, which they then carried home merely for the sustenance of their people, whereby the Scots were greatly enriched. But it is alledged, that the Scots afterward putting some hardships on those Dutch purchasers, the latter learning the manner of catching and salting the fish themselves, not only left dealing with the former (to their impoverishing), but struck into the supplying of other nations with fish caught on the British coasts\*.’

838—The first invasion upon record of the country of the Picts in the north part of Britain by the Norwegian or Danish rovers is dated in the year 838. [*Ann. Ult.*]

843—Keneth, after reigning two years in the Scottish kingdom of Dalrieta in the west, acquired the most valuable part of the country of the Picts; and henceforth the kings of the Scots (sometimes called also kings of the Picts), were, next to those of the English, the most powerful sovereigns in Britain.

848—Turges, or Thorgils, the leader or king of the northern adventurers, who had oppressed Ireland about thirty years by prædatory incursions, by seizing on large tracts of the country, and by exacting grievous tributes, was taken prisoner by Maolfechlin, the supreme king of Ireland, and drowned in Loch-Vair †. His countrymen, however,

\* These are the words of Mr. Anderson, and they have been repeated, in more positive language than he used, by several who have had occasion to write upon the subject of the fisheries, though without quoting him, as he has also neglected to adduce his authority, which ought by no means to be omitted in a matter of such importance as the first notice of a British fishery as a commercial object. If the people of the Netherlands actually bought fish upon our north coast in that age (which, after a great deal of research, I have not been able to verify), the name of the Picts, the people on the east side of the country, to which they had the easiest access, ought surely to be substituted for that of the Scots, whose dominion was at this time restricted to Dalrieta, nearly the same with the present shire of Argyle. But I much

suspect that the story has originally proceeded from no other fountain than the ‘beautiful genius and fine-fancy’ of Hector Boyse, that copious mine of falsifications in Scottish history, [*Scotorum Hist. f. 29 b*] and has got a few improvements from some later embellisher.

† Snorro Sturleson says, that Thorgils and Froda, the sons of Harold Harfagur, king of Norway, plundered the coasts of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and were the first Norwegians who possessed Dyfflin (or Dublin); that Froda was poisoned, and Thorgils, after reigning long in Dyfflin, was circumvented and slain by the Irish. With all my respect for the venerable Herodotus of the North, I apprehend he is here confounding two persons of the same or similar names, as there is reason to believe that this event was recorded in the Irish

though they were driven out of the rest of the island, were so well established in Dublin, that they fortified it, and held it out against the Irish; and new colonies of them afterwards took possession of almost all the maritime parts of the island. They improved the fortifications of Dublin; they built or fortified Waterford, Limerick, and other cities: and Olaf, the most powerful chief among them, assuming the title of king of Ireland and the Isles, compelled the Irish to pay him tribute. Henceforth the native Irish were almost shut up in the central part of the country, while the Norwegians and Danes, under the names of Ostmen (i. e. Eastern men), Gaols, Gentiles, Pagans, &c. were the chief, or rather the only, commercial people in Ireland, and continued for several centuries to carry on trade with their mother countries and other places on the west coasts of Europe from their Irish settlements. [*Ann. Ult. ad an.* 844, 852.—*Girald. Camb. Top. Hib. L. iii, cc. 40 et seqq.*—and see *Ufferii Brit. eccles. antiq. pp. 860, 717*, for other authorities.]

849—Amalfi, Naples, and Gaeta, maritime cities of Italy, were now in fact independent, though professing a slight acknowledgement of allegiance to the Greek empire. Their possession of shipping presumes that they had some commerce; for in these times the Italians do not appear to have had any vessels calculated solely for the purposes of war. Their ships were now employed in defending Rome from the attack of a formidable army of Saracens, whose numerous fleet, by the seasonable intervention of a sudden squall of wind, was completely destroyed: and the pontifical, and once imperial, city of Rome, was saved from the dominion and the religion of the Saracens by the merchants of those cities.

But the beneficial effects of the industry and prosperity of those cities, and of Venice, extended as yet but a very little way beyond their own boundaries. The greatest part of Italy had lain waste during several centuries; the cities were ruined and depopulated, and the wild beasts had resumed the possession of the uncultivated country, which was covered with woods, and deluged with stagnant waters. Such was now the condition of Italy, once the most highly cultivated country in Europe; and such it continued throughout the ninth century. [*Muratori Script. V. ii, part ii, col. 691*—and see other authorities collected in his *Antiq. V. ii, coll. 149, 153, 163.*] The desolation of the other parts of Europe, though not so amply attested, appears from the few writers of those dark ages to have been still more extensive.

While such was the general state of Europe, the commerce of those which were esteemed commercial communities could only be consider-

Annals many years before any son of Harold Harefagur was born.

Later Irish writers have embellished the death of Turges with a stratagem, perhaps borrowed

from that of Alexander, the son of Amyntas king of Macedonia, who cut off the Persian ambassadors by means of young men in women's dresses.

able by comparison with the total want of it among their neighbours: and that the commercial intercourse, or intercourse of any kind, in Italy, was not very considerable, is evident from the want of inns for the reception of travelers upon the roads, and even in some of the principal cities of that country\*.

The decline of the Grecian empire, and the conquest of Persia, restored to the victorious Arabians the ancient maritime commerce of India with a very great augmentation. But the principal seat of the trade had long been removed from the south coast of Arabia to the Persian gulf, as we learn from the Chinese annals of the seventh and eighth centuries †, and more particularly from an account written by Soliman, an Arabian merchant, which, as a valuable monument of Oriental commercial history, deserves, even in the mutilated state wherein we receive it, to be ranked next to the Periplus of the Erythræan sea.

851—From Soliman's relation we learn that the Arabian merchants had now extended their commerce and their discoveries in the East far beyond the utmost knowledge of their own ancestors, the Greek merchants of Egypt, or the Ethiopian merchants of Aduli, which in the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes (and we have no particular account of any later date) had never gone beyond Siele-div (or Ceylon) ‡. Their vessels now traded to every part of the continent as far as the south coast of China, and to many of the islands, of all which he gives descriptions, whereof very few can be reconciled to our ideas or appellations of Oriental geography. The very existence of China being hitherto almost unknown in the western parts of the world, he gives a pretty ample account of it, from which I extract the following particulars, illustrative of the commercial history of that singular empire.

When foreign vessels arrive at Can-fu (supposed to be Canton §) the Chinese take possession of their cargoes, and store them in warehouses till the arrival of all the other ships which are expected, whereby they are sometimes detained six months. They then levy a duty of thirty

\* In the year 840, some merchants of Amalfi, being at Tarentum, were invited by the keepers of the prison to lodge in it, there being *no inn in the city*. The merchants were glad to accept their offer, and gave them money to purchase victuals and wine for them. [*Anonymus Salernitanus, ap. Muratori Script. V. ii, part ii, p. 221*—and see *Muratori's 37th dissertation in Antiq. V. iii, de hospitalibus peregrinorum.*]

† For the information derived from those annals we are indebted to the erudition and industry of Mr. De Guignes. [*Reflexions sur les liaisons des Romains avec les Tartares et Chinois, in Mem. de litterature, V. xxxii, p. 367.*]

‡ Some subjects of the Roman empire are supposed to have traded to China by sea as early as

the second century. (See above, p. 194, or Mr. De Guignes, as quoted in the preceding note). But we know no particulars of their route or their trade: and, with submission, I may observe, that as their navigation extended no farther than Ceylon in the sixth century, and even that under a foreign flag (to borrow a modern phrase), any account of earlier navigations to more distant ports would need to be supported by very strong authority.

§ Can-fu does not appear among the old names of Quangcheu or Canton, given by Martin Martinius in Thevenot's *Voyages curieux, V. ii, p. 167*. In Sir George Staunton's *Embassy to China* the name is Quang-Tchoo-Foo.

per cent on the goods in kind, and restore the remainder to the merchants. The emperor has a right of pre-emption; but his officers fairly, and immediately, pay for what he takes at the highest price of the articles.

Can-fu is a place of great trade, to which all foreign merchants resort. The Mohamedans are so numerous in it, that a *cadi*, or judge, of their own religion, is allowed to preside over them, under the authority of the emperor.

Chinese ships trade to Siraf in the Persian gulf, and there take in goods brought from Bassora, Oman, and other places, to which they do not venture to proceed on account of the frequent storms and other dangers in that sea \*. From the account of their route, which is constantly along the shore, the Chinese of this age appear to be rather more timid navigators than the Arabs and Egyptian Greeks were many centuries before †.

China is more populous than India, and the cities are numerous and well fortified. The only coined money among the Chinese is of copper. They consider gold and silver, which they have in great abundance, merely as merchandize, in the same manner as pearls, silks, or other goods. The Chinese of all ranks dress in silk, in summer and in winter. They have no wine, but instead of it a spiritous liquor made from rice (which we now call arrak). Their general drink is an infusion of the leaves of fah (tea), the duty upon which brings in a vast revenue to the sovereign. They have an excellent kind of earth, where-with they make all sorts of vessels for the table, of equal fineness with glass, and equally transparent. For measuring time they have dials and clocks with weights. There is no land tax in China. Every male child is registered when born; at the age of eighteen he begins to pay a capitation tax, and at eighty he becomes entitled to a pension ‡.

\* Father Michel Boym, who resided so long in China as almost to forget the Italian language, in a narrative drawn up in the year 1652, agrees remarkably with Soliman. He says, that in former times the Chinese took in cinnamon at Ceylon, and carried it to Ormus in the Persian gulf, whence other merchants conveyed it to Aleppo and Greece. Sometimes there were four hundred Chinese vessels together in the Persian gulf, loaded with gold, silks, precious stones, musk, porcelain, copper, alum, nutmegs, cloves, and cinnamon, an article of which they carried large quantities. [*Relations de la Chine*, in Thevenot's *Voyages curieux*, V. ii, p. 25 of last series of pages.]

† We may thence conclude that the supposition of the mariner's compass being known to them long before this time is destitute of foundation.

‡ It has been doubted whether the Chinese ever sailed as far as the Persian gulf. They do

not indeed sail so far now; but that might probably be at least as much owing to the jealous policy of their government as to want of knowledge or ability, till their knowledge fell off from want of practice. The authenticity of Soliman's relation was suspected, when it was first published in a French translation by Eusebius Renaudot in the year 1718; but Mr. De Guignes has since removed every shadow of doubt, by attesting (in the *Journal des Savans*, Nov. 1764, and in the *Memoires de litterature*, V. xxxvii, p. 477) that he had found the original Arabic manuscript in the king's library at Paris. Independent of that support, its credit seems to be abundantly clear from the artless and genuine appearance of the narrative; and it is highly valuable, were it only for conveying to us the earliest notice of clocks, tea, and china-ware, articles now so common in every house. The magnificent piece of mechanism presented to Charlemagne by Harun al Rashid was evidently not a clock,

852—Some suppose coals to have been used as fuel in England at this time, twelve cart-loads of them, with sixty loads of wood, and six loads of turf (or peat) being enumerated among the articles constituting the rent of Sempringham, an estate belonging to the abbay of Medeshamstede (Peterburgh), in the Saxon Chronicle, as translated by Doctor Gibson\*.

877—Baichu, a rebel, made himself master of most of the empire of China. When Can-fu (*Canton*), the port for all the Arabian merchants, fell into his hands, he massacred all the inhabitants, among whom there are said to have been one hundred and twenty thousand foreign merchants, consisting of Mohamedans, Jews, Christians, and Persees. This savage cut down all the mulberry trees, which fed the silk-worms, and consequently abolished the silk trade during his reign. To complete the ruin of the country, he practised such extortions upon foreign merchants, that they gave up trading to China †.

The west side of the Red sea appears to have been now deprived of all foreign trade: the vessels from Siraf in the Persian gulf (and we hear of none from India) delivered their cargoes at Judda, or Jidda, an Arabian port, seemingly not used when the Periplus of the Erythræan sea was written; and thence the goods destined for Egypt, Europe, and Africa, were forwarded in vessels conducted by people acquainted with the navigation of the Red sea, the many dangers of which deterred the foreign navigators from proceeding any farther in it. We are told that the Red-sea coasters carried the goods to Cairo, which had now superseded Coptos as the general deposit of merchandize upon the Nile; and if that is strictly true, the vessels must have proceeded through the canal, which was restored by Amrou the Arabian conqueror of Egypt ‡. And thus we find the trade of the Red sea nearly fallen back to the state in which it was under the first Ptolemies, and also, if we except

clock, but a clepsydra, or water time-measurer: [*Aimon. Gest. Franc. L. iv, c. 95*] and that, which his father Pepin received from Pope Paul I, was probably on the same principle, though I have not met with any particular account of it. For the antient murrhine vessels, supposed by some to have been the porcelain of China, see above, p.

\* The words in the original Anglo-Saxon are 'sixtiga fothra wuda, and twælf fothur græfan, and sex fothur gearda.'—As it is not usual with me to depend on the infallibility of any person, I cannot help having some doubt as to the propriety of Doctor Gibson's translation; and I submit it to those, who understand the Anglo-Saxon better than myself, whether græfan can, without any better warrant, be translated coal ('carbonum fossilium') seeing that grab-an, graf-a, graf-an, signify in Mæso Gothic, Icelandic, and Anglo-Saxon, *to dig, carve, grave or engrave*, and consequently may apply to any

other substance dug out of the ground as well as coal; and indeed it may as well be turf, which is also dug out of the ground, though not so deep, unless it appeared that Sempringham produced coal, which, I believe, it does not. It may be objected, that gearda must be turf; and if the fossile substance (græfan) were coal, that interpretation would be apparently right. Its various meanings are *earth, the world, a yard or inclosure*. The transaction is entirely omitted in Wheloc's edition of the Saxon chronicle.

† Baichu seems the same, who is called the robber Hiam-ciao in the *Historia Sinica* in *Thevenot*, *V. ii, p. 52*.

‡ These two articles of Oriental information are conveyed to us by Abu Zeid al Hassan, a merchant of Siraf, whose work, in a great measure, a comment upon that of Soliman, was published along with it by Mr. Renaudot.

the conveyance by the canal, nearly in the same state that it is in the present age\*.

878—Syracuse, formerly great in commerce and naval power, had suffered a gradual, but continual, decline from the time when it fell under the Roman dominion till now, that it was contracted to its original limits in the small island of Ortygia, and dwindled into a village. Nevertheless, its insular situation enabled it to resist the power of the Saracens, who had begun the conquest of Sicily in the year 827, for above half a century, when at last the reduction of that obstinate little city completed their conquest of the largest and most fertile of the Mediterranean islands (21<sup>st</sup> May 878). [*Chron. Sic. ap. Muratori Script. V. i, part. ii, pp. 244, 245.*]

Sugar-canes appear to have been cultivated, and their juice made into sugar, in the southern countries of Asia, and some parts of Africa, in the earliest ages. But they were probably unknown in Europe, till the Saracens introduced them in Sicily, the fertile soil, and warm climate, of which were favourable to their production. In process of time the canes were transplanted from Sicily to the southern provinces of Spain, whence the cultivation of them is said to have extended to Madeira and the Canaries, and finally to Brasil and the West-India islands, if they were not indigenous in the later †.

Notwithstanding the pious endeavours of Pope Zacharia, and an express law of the state of Venice passed in the year 864 against the slave

\* Though the modern Arabs do not permit foreign vessels to go higher than Jidda, some British navigators, in spite of the prohibition and the increasing shallowness of the Red sea, have sailed quite to the head of it in vessels drawing more water than any that the antient Arabians, Greeks, or Ethiopians, had upon it.

† The champions of the cross found sugar-canes in Palestine, Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes, &c. But, though the description of sugar-canes (or honey-canes, ‘cannæ mellis’) growing near Panormus in Sicily, given by the Sicilian author Falcandus [*ap. Muratori Script. vol. vii, col. 258*], who wrote in 1189 or 1190, is perfectly just and accurate, the accounts of the process of making sugar (‘zucare, or zuchara’) given by Jacobus de Vitriaco [*Hist. Orient. cc. 53, 86*], who wrote about 1200, and those by the other historians of the holy war, are very defective and confused, as describing a thing little known. Indeed, we must suppose, that the sugar in Palestine was of very bad quality, or very trifling in quantity, as we find sugar one of the articles brought to that country along with cinnamon, pepper, &c. from Babylon by a caravan, which was plundered by Richard I king of England. [*G. de Vinisauß, ap. Gale, V. ii, p. 407.*]

‡ I have not been able to ascertain the date of the introduction of the sugar-cane in Sicily by the Sa-

racens. According to Raynal [*Hist. phil. et pol. V. vi, p. 157, ed. 1782*] it was not till about the middle of the twelfth century. But he never quotes authorities: and the Saracens had lost the dominion of the island long before that time. That sugar-canes were first planted by the Saracens in Sicily, is generally allowed; and they probably introduced them, soon after they got possession of the island. See Gibbon [*V. x, p. iii, ed. 1192*] who, very contrary to his general practice, has neglected quoting his authority: but his profound research and approved accuracy entitle him, beyond most writers, to be credited for the fidelity of his assertion.—Along with the authors here quoted, see *Albertus Aquensis, Fulcherius Carnotensis, and Willielmus Tyrius*, all in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*.—*De Guignes* in *Mem. de l’Academie, V. xxxvii, p. 509*.—*Edwards’s Hist. of the West-Indies, V. ii, p. 19*.—*Moseley’s Hist. of sugar*.

It is not improper to observe here, that the cultivation of the sugar-cane is now neglected in Sicily, owing (as Brydone in his *Tour in Sicily* informs us) to the enormous duties imposed upon it: and certain it is, that that most fertile island, perhaps the mother of all the sugar-canes in the western world, now receives sugar from Britain and other countries.

trade, it was found necessary to enforce the prohibition by a new and stricter law, which made it criminal for any Venetian to permit any slaves to be received onboard his vessel. [*Danduli Chron. ap. Muratori Script. V. xii, col. 883.*]

Alfred, at his accession to the crown had found England almost entirely over-run by the Danes, and had been even obliged to abandon his kingdom to their rage, and to conceal himself, with the few faithful subjects who had not deserted him, from their pursuit. Emerging suddenly from his concealment, he now gained a great and decisive victory over the Danes, secure in the belief that the English could no longer presume to make head against them. The consequence was, that Alfred recovered possession of nearly a half of England, the Danish king Godrun being by treaty restricted to the eastern part of the country, and professing himself a Christian. By this treaty there was a new nation settled as inhabitants of Britain\*.

886—Paris, though the capital seat of the French kings, was still a small town, contained in the little island of the river Seine, just as it was when Julius Cæsar gave the first historic notice of it. [*Afferii Vita Ælfredi, p. 51, ed. 1722.*]

London, which appears to have been almost totally destroyed and depopulated by the Danes, was restored by king Alfred in the noblest manner, and soon after filled with inhabitants, who had been driven into exile, or kept in captivity by the Danes. [*Affer. p. 51.*]

890—About this time the islands adjacent to the north part of Britain were occupied by a colony of Norwegians, who, unwilling to submit to Harold Harfagur, the first sole king of all Norway, had put to sea in quest of independent settlements. These fugitives frequently harassed the coast of Norway with prædatory invasions, which provoked Harold to follow them to their islands with a powerful fleet. Having subdued the Orkneys and Hialtland (*Sbetland*), he bestowed them on one of his nobles, as an earldom to be held of the crown of Norway †.

The islands on the west side of Scotland, which had been often visited by the Normans in their voyages to Ireland, were now in a great measure peopled by them; and, as being more southerly than Shetland and Orkney, they were called in their language by the general name of Sudureyar (i. e. the southern islands). Harold sent Ketil, a nobleman whose ample estates in Norway he wished for an opportunity to seize upon, to reduce those islands, and to govern them as his lieutenant.

\* This treaty of partition may be seen among the laws of Alfred.

† We know from Adamnan's Life of Columba, that in the sixth century the Orkneys constituted a petty kingdom, which acknowledged the supremacy of the neighbouring kingdom of the Picts. But, if they had now any connection with, or de-

pendence upon, the sovereigns of the adjacent main land, it was probably very slender. The succeeding earls of Orkney seized upon Catness, (then including the shire of Sutherland) and for it their successors acknowledged themselves vassals of the crown of Scotland.

But Ketil, when he got himself established in his government, and had conciliated the affections of the chiefs by intermarriages with his family, set up for an independent sovereign; and from him the kings and lords of the Isles are descended. Thus were the Norwegians added to the nations inhabiting the British islands.

The arts and manufactures flourished in some degree in those remote islands; and the drapery of the Sudureyans was even famous in the northern parts of Europe\*. They very soon became so populous, that they sent out colonies to the Fœroes, to Iceland, and even to France. This last colony joined a band led by the famous Hrolf or Rollo, the first duke of Normandy, a son of the first earl of Orkney, and the ancestor of the Norman kings of England.

The usurpation or conquests of Harold also gave birth to other settlements in the northern extremity of the world, which was hitherto in a great measure unoccupied †. Of these the most distinguished was Iceland, which had been accidentally discovered in the year 861, revisited in 864, 865, and 874, and began to be settled in 878. It now received a considerable colony, which spread over all the extent of the island: and this, unless we may perhaps except some of those of the antient Greeks, is the only colony in the world, prior to the recent European settlements in America, of which we have an accurate and regular history from its commencement. About the beginning of the tenth century the Icelanders established a colony in Greenland, which increased and prospered for near four hundred years, after which the intercourse between Greenland and the rest of the world was interrupted by the increasing rigour of the winter in that inhospitable climate, by which in all probability the colony perished. We shall also have occasion to notice the Icelanders as the first European discoverers of America about the year 1000.

Navigators accustomed to depend on the almost-infallible assistance of the compass and quadrant, and of arithmetical and astronomical tables ready constructed by men of eminence in the various depart-

\* A northern poet describing the magnificent dress of a hero of the seventh century says, it was spun by the Sudureyans. See Johnstone's Note on St. xv of his *Lodbrokar-quæda*. The fact may be true, though it is certainly antedated.

† We learn from Procopius, [*Bell. Gothic. L. ii, c. 15*] that about the middle of the sixth century a considerable body of the Heruli migrated northward, passed the country of the Danes, and settled in Scandinavia, called by him Thulé, the inhabitants allowing them to occupy a part of their lands. See above p. 234, note \*.—Othter, in his narrative preserved by King Alfred, assures us, that the northern part of Norway was uninhabited in his time. And Snorro Sturleson

particularizes the names of several provinces of Scandinavia, which were now for the first time cleared and inhabited by people retiring from the country conquered by Harold.—These unquestionable testimonies show, that the notion of the antient redundant population of the great northern peninsula, called by the general name of Scandinavia, has no foundation in truth, but, like many other generally-received opinions, has passed without examination upon the credit of being frequently repeated. Its foundation is a foolish expression of Jornandes, who calls Scandia (or Scandinavia) *officina gentium*, the warehouse, or workshop, of nations.

ments of science, will be astonished, when they reflect on the intrepid spirit of those adventurous sons of the Northern ocean, who, assuredly destitute of the compass, for which they substituted the flight of birds\*, and with very poor substitutes for the other guides, dared to commit their barks for several days, perhaps often weeks, to a boundless expanse of ocean, and trust their lives to the chance of seeing the sun and the stars.

During several centuries the free and independent inhabitants of Iceland drove a considerable carrying trade in the Northern seas, their ships visiting Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent islands, France, Germany, and all the northern parts of Europe. In that sequestered corner of the world liberty, industry, commerce, and learning, flourished in the dark ages; and they continued to embellish and to dignify that poor island, till it fell under the dominion of Norway in the year 1262. Even in the present day its literary eminence remains to console it in some degree for the loss of its other advantages.

897—Alfred was the first of the English kings, who had the judgement to perceive,\* that an island without a maritime force must ever be at the mercy of every piratical plunderer, and that a maritime invader could only be repulsed by a well-appointed navy, the bravest and best disciplined army being of but little avail against an enemy, who by his naval superiority could chuse and vary his points of attack at pleasure. He therefor determined to meet the invaders upon their own element; and the very earliest of his naval efforts were crowned with success. His superior genius did not merely imitate the vessels of the Danes or Frisons, but conceived a new model of construction with improvements upon theirs. His galleys were almost twice as long as those of the enemy, and carried sixty oars †, some of them even more; they made better way, and were less crank or less apt to roll ‡. By an unre-

\* Arngrim Jonas tells us, that when Flok, a famous Norwegian navigator, was going to set out from Shetland for Iceland, then called Gardarholm, he took on board some crows, *because the mariner's compass was not yet in use*. When he thought he had made a considerable part of his way, he threw up one of his crows, which seeing land ahead, flew to it; whence Flok, concluding that he was nearer to Shetland (perhaps rather Færoe) than any other land, kept on his course for some time, and then sent out another crow, which, seeing no land at all, returned to the vessel. At last having run the greatest part of his way, another crow was sent out by him, which, seeing land ahead, immediately flew for it; and Flok, following his guide, fell in with the east end of the island. Such was the simple mode of keeping their reckoning and steering their course, practised by those bold navigators of the stormy Northern ocean. The ancient natives of Taprobanè (*Ceylon*) used the same

expedient when skimming along the tranquil surface of the Indian ocean. [*Plinii Hist. nat. L. vi, c. 22.*]

† Henry of Huntingdon and Bromton say forty or more oars. The transposition of L and X makes the difference.

‡ The Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, and the Chronicle of Melros, add, that the vessels were loftier than those of the old construction, in which there seems a mistake; for greater height must have made them cranker, unless the additional length was accompanied with sufficient additional breadth, which in row-galleys they probably did not attend to.

‘ The form of the Saxon ships at the end of the eighth century, or the beginning of the ninth, is happily preserved in some of the ancient manuscripts of that date: they were scarcely more than a very large boat, and seem to be built of stout planks, laid one over the other, in the manner

mitting attention to his fleet this illustrious prince, who may with great propriety be called *the father of the British navy*, protected his shores from fresh invasions; and he also kept his Danish allies of the eastern parts of England more quiet, than their own inclinations led them to be.

871-900—At the accession of Alfred, England, owing to the long-continued ravages of the Danes, had fallen into a state of degeneracy, rather below barbarism. Scarcely a nobleman could read, and there was not, by Alfred's own account, one person on the south side of the Thames capable of translating a common prayer from Latin into English. Alfred himself, though he was sent to Rome (which was, next to Constantinople, the seat of what little learning remained in the Christian world) when he was five years of age, returned to England without learning to read, and continued ignorant till his twelfth year. His great proficiency in learning and science, though he had the advantage of not being heir apparent to the crown till his eighteenth year, is truly wonderful, considering the gross darkness of the age, and the turbulent state of the country. His literary works alone, which are still extant, are sufficient, independent of all his other excellencies, to immortalize the name of their author.

When the treaty of partition with Godrun gave the miserable country some respite from the horrors and devastations of war, Alfred, ever intent upon augmenting the knowledge and the happiness of his people, applied to those very countries, which had formerly been enlightened by the learning of England, for teachers to reclaim his subjects from ignorance; so that by his paternal care the youth were at least taught to read. It has been a matter of fierce contest, whether the university of Oxford is of higher antiquity, or owes its foundation to Alfred. He kept up a frequent correspondence with the pope, and also with Abel the patriarch of Jerusalem, who sent him several valuable presents of Oriental commodities.

Alfred was the first native of Britain, that we know of, who made any attempt to extend the science of geography beyond the bounds of

'ner as is done in the present time; their heads  
'and sterns are very erect, and rise high out of the  
'water, ornamented at top with some uncouth  
'head of an animal, rudely cut; they have but one  
'mast, the top of which is also decorated with a  
'bird, the head of a bird, or some such device;  
'to this mast is made fast a large sail, which from  
'its nature and construction could only be useful,  
'when the vessel went before the wind: the ship  
'was steered by a large oar with a flat end very  
'broad, passing by the side of the stern; and this  
'was managed by the pilot, who sat in the stern,  
'and thence issued his orders to the mariners.'

The above are the words of Mr. Strutt. [*Chronicle of England*, V. i, p. 337.] From his engraved copy of the drawings, I see nothing to hinder the

sail to be trimmed by its ches (or lower corners) so as to go with the wind on the beam, if not even nearer, though the yard has no braces. The mast has two shrouds leading to the gunnels, one fore stay to the head, and two back stays to the stern. If I were not aware, that the figures of men are generally made much too large, in proportion to other objects, by the artists of the dark ages, these boats might be said to be not above ten or twelve feet long. The bird on the mast-head turned on a spindle to show the wind, as appears from the description of Cnut's fleet in the *Encomium of Emma*, [*ap. Du Chesne*, p. 166] which exhibits the appearance of warlike ships, but in language rather too pompous.

Ptolemy's knowlege ; and he obtained from Ohther and Wulfstan such information of the Baltic sea with the adjacent countries, and of the extreme northern regions of Europe, as far exceeded that of professed geographers, either before or after his time \*, till the route of Ohther was retraced in the year 1553 by the English navigator Chancellor, who was supposed the original discoverer of the northern passage to Russia. The royal author has himself preserved the account of the voyages performed by those navigators. Ohther, a Norwegian, coasted along the country of the Fins, now called Lapland, passed the North cape, and penetrated into the great bay (Quen se, or White sea) where Archangel now stands. From his relation we learn, that in that age the northern people were accustomed to catch whales and seals, of the skins of which they made ropes of all sizes, and also horse-whales, the teeth of which were valuable as well as their skins, which were likewise used for making ropes. Whales of forty-eight and fifty elns (72 and 75 feet) were so numerous on the coast of Norway, that Ohther with the help of five men could kill sixty of them in two days. Ohther also made a voyage up the Baltic. And Wulfstan likewise navigated the Baltic as far as the country now called Prussia. He remarked, that the people of that country brewed no ale, because they had such plenty of honey (noted many centuries before by Pytheas) that mead was the common drink of the meanest of the people, while the rich drank mare's milk, or perhaps rather a spiritous liquor prepared from it.

Perhaps the letters † of the patriarch of Jerusalem and his presents may have suggested to Alfred the design of sending relief to the Christians of St. Thomas in India, and attempting to establish a commercial intercourse with that country. We are told by William of Malmfbury, that Sighelm bishop of Shireburn was sent by the king with many gifts to St. Thomas, that he accomplished his expedition prosperously, and, which was thought very wonderful, penetrated even to India, from which he brought aromatic liquors, or oils, and splendid jewels, some of which were still remaining in the treasury of the church, when he wrote ‡. [*Gest. reg. Angl. f. 24 a* ; *Gest. pontif. f. 141 a.*] This import-

\* Sebastian Munster [*Geographia vetus et nova, Basilia 1540*] makes Norway, Greenland, and Newfoundland (or the land of cods), all one continent. Such was the retrograde progress of geographical knowlege in Europe, even in the sixteenth century.

† It is a pity that Afler, who saw those letters, has not favoured us with any extracts from them. They were probably much more interesting than the bulk of the unmeaning or incomprehensible rubbish of letters of those ages, which have been transmitted to us.

‡ Such is the meagre account we have of so important an event as an English expedition to India: and the Saxon chronicle, and Radulf de

Diceto, the only other relaters of it, are still more barren of circumstances. It is much to be regretted, that the king himself has not left us any account of Sighelm's travels by land and water, which, if he really reached India, were much more worthy of being recorded than the voyages of Ohther and Wulfstan, which he has related with a degree of minuteness. The silence of Alfred, of Afler his contemporary biographer, and of most of the other historians, has induced a suspicion, that the whole is fabulous. But the early writers, who have recorded it, had neither motive nor capacity for inventing such a story, though it may perhaps not be strictly true in its fullest extent. Sighelm went from England to Rome in the year 883, and probably

ation probably furnished the present made by Alfred to Asser his biographer, which consisted of a very pretious robe of silk, and as much incense as a strong man was able to carry. [*Asserii Vita Ælfredi*, p. 50, ed. 1722.]

All foreigners, who excelled in any useful branch of knowlege or in manual trades, were sure of a welcome reception and liberal encouragement from Alfred. By their help he rebuilt the towns, which were generally in a ruinous condition; and he took that opportunity to introduce a safer and more elegant stile of building by substituting stone or brick for timber, which hitherto had been almost the only material used in building.

Although glafs for windows was introduced in Northumberland so long ago as the year 628, and a manufactory of glafs was even established in that kingdom by the care of Benedict Biscop in 674, as already observed, the use of that noble convenience had either not extended into the south parts of England, or was now lost in the convulsions of the Danish invasions. So it was, that the churches in King Alfred's dominions were destitute of glafs windows; and the wax candles, which he burnt day and night for measuring the time, were exposed to the wind, which made them burn irregularly. He therefor invented lanterns, which he furnished with plates of horn scraped so thin as to be pellucid, glafs being apparently inaccessible, though it could not be unknown to him\*.

For the more speedy and equal distribution of justice, Alfred divided the whole of his kingdom into districts called hundreds, and each of these into ten tithings. He is also supposed the author of the division into shires or counties; but these appear to have been as antient in his hereditary kingdom of Wessex as King Inè, if we may depend on the genuineness of the laws of that monarch †. Alfred may perhaps have extended that kind of division to the other parts of England subject to him. He ordered a general survey of his kingdom, the particulars of which were recorded with the greatest accuracy in the book of Winchester, which appears to have furnished the model of the celebrated Domesday book of William the Conqueror. He revised the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, and selecting the best of them, and those of other

probably got a passage from some of the Italian ports to Alexandria or Phœnicia. It is not impossible (though very difficult for a Christian) that he may have made his way to the south coast of Arabia, or to Bassora, and have proceeded even to India. But if he purchased Oriental commodities in Alexandria, Arabia, or Bassora, any of these places would be confounded with India by his countrymen, who were ignorant of the geography of countries much nearer to them.

\* His biographer Asser was acquainted with

the nature of glafs, for he compares horn to it for transparency.

Lanterns are supposed to be alluded to by Plantus, who mentions carrying fire in a horn. But their being known in antient Rome does not hinder them from being also a new invention of Alfred's.

† In the 39<sup>th</sup> law of King Inè we find 'seire' as a division of the kingdom, and in the 36<sup>th</sup> it is mentioned as the district or province of an 'ealdorman,' apparently the same kind of officer, who is called seorman (or shiref) in the 2<sup>th</sup>.

nations, he composed a code for the regulation of his subjects. He is believed by some to be the first, who established in England the trial by a jury of twelve men of fair character, and of rank as nearly as possible equal with that of the party, whose life or property was the subject of the trial; while others, apparently with good reason, carry the use of that mode of trial in England to the earliest ages of the government of the Angles, Saxons, &c. and suppose, it was brought over with them from Germany\*.

If England had but little commerce in the reign of Alfred, and the possession of jewels, silken robes, and incense, proves that there was at least some, his improvements of shipping, restoration of decayed towns, encouragement of arts and science, and unremitting attention to the distribution of justice, at least paved the way to the extension of commerce †.

It may be presumed, that Alfred was the richest man in England; yet so high was the value of money, that he left only five hundred pounds of silver, together with lands, to each of his two sons, and one hundred pounds, with some lands, to each of his three daughters: and, from his will, which is fortunately extant, his whole stock of ready money cannot be supposed to have exceeded three thousand pounds, equal in weight to about nine thousand pounds of modern money. But Alfred was a good shepherd, more intent upon feeding, than upon fleecing, his flock. He is almost the only character in history, whom no writer has charged with any crime or weakness: and the whole bright assemblage of his virtues and talents presents a pleasing and splendid picture of a heaven-born genius rising out of the darkness of one of the darkest ages, and distinguishes this truly great prince from the crowd

\* The trial by jury, and even by a jury of twelve, seems to be as antient as the days of Grecian fable, which reports, that Mars, the god of war, was tried for murder by a jury of twelve gods. For examples of the general use of trial by jury in the middle ages see *Spelman's Glossary*, vo. *Jurata*.

† Late writers have gone so far as to say, that England had a most wonderfully-extensive trade in the reign of Alfred. They assert that he sent ships, or even fleets, to India.—Were they aware, that those ships or fleets must have doubled the Cape of Good Hope? They add, that he built other ships for trade as well as for war, and lent them, together with competent sums of money, to merchants, who, thus royally supported, traded to Alexandria, and even to India! following, no doubt, the tract of the king's fleet. They also tell us, that the voyages of Ohther and Wulfstan, were undertaken at Alfred's desire, with a view to the extension of commerce. But Alfred himself, a far better authority, tells us they were perform-

ed before those navigators came to his court: and his inquiries evidently proceeded from the thirst of knowledge natural to a man of learning and science.—The thirtieth of Alfred's laws shows, that merchant ships sometimes arrived in England; but the regulation respects the passengers and not the cargo.—The only notice I can find of any exportation in the time of Alfred, if it may be called exportation, is a present of the famous British dogs to Folk, archbishop of Rheims in France. Upon the whole it must be acknowledged, that a sense of the importance of commerce, of which no Christian nation out of Italy had then any idea, does not appear to have formed any part of the great and self-acquired knowledge of Alfred, whose illustrious character stands in no need of any fictitious embellishments.

What I have said of Alfred is extracted from his own works, and that of his contemporary biographer Asser, with some assistance from the earliest of the succeeding writers.

of kings, whose names are of no use in history, but to mark the revolution of dark or fanguinary years.

912—Hrolf, or Rollo, after long infesting the coasts of France and the adjacent countries with piratical invasions, now by a treaty with Charles the Simple, king of France, established himself and his followers in the province of Neustria, which from them has obtained the name of Normandy; and he became the father of a race of dukes of Normandy, whose ducal title in the fifth generation was adorned with the superior splendour of that of king of England.

900-925—King Edward gradually recovered the dominion of the country, which had been ceded to Godrun. He closely followed the example of his father Alfred in his attention to his fleet, and in restoring and fortifying the ruined towns, particularly in Cheshire, the Peakland of Derby, and Nottinghamshire, which bordered on the Northumbrian kingdom, then possessed by the Danes; and he even seized and fortified Manigecceaster (supposed Manchester) within the limits of that kingdom.

About 930—King Athelstan enacted, that the money should be the same through all his dominions, and that no money should be coined but in towns, of which the following list shows which were then the places of chief importance in the kingdom, and also lets us know, that the clergy of the superior ranks shared with the king in the prerogative of coining.

Cantwarabyrig (*Canterbury*), to have seven coiners, viz. four for the king, two for the archbishop, and one for the abbat.

Hrofeceastre (*Rochester*), three; two for the king, and one for the bishop.

Lundenbyrig (*London*), eight coiners.

Wintceastre (*Winchester*), six.

Lewes, two.

Hæstingaceastre (*Hastings*), one.

Cysleceastre (*Chichester*), one.

Hamtun (*Southampton*), two.

Werham (*Wareham*), two.

Eaxanceastre (*Exeter*), two.

Sceafstbyrig (*Shaftsbury*), two.

Other burghs, not named, one each.

It follows of course, that there were artificers at every one of the above towns capable of working in silver, and engraving the dies used in coining.

Even in the more remote kingdom of Scotland, we find at this time a case for containing the gospel at St. Andrews, which was covered with silver, most probably by a native artificer, and had two Latin verses in-

scribed upon it by a Scottish engraver. [*Wyntown's Cronykil. V. i, p. 179.*]

About this time many ships from the adjacent parts of Norway, and also from Denmark and Saxony, frequented Tunsberg, a port of Norway, at the head of the bay opposite to Yutland. Biorn, viceroy of this part of Norway under his father Harold, declining his usual occupation of piracy, employed his ships in trading voyages. [*Snorro, Hist. Har. Harf. c. 38.*]

938—Athelstan having taken advantage of the death of his brother-in-law Sitrik, the Danish king of Northumberland, to seize upon his dominions, Aulaf\*, the son of Sitrik by his first marriage, in order to recover his heritage, procured a very general confederacy of the neighbouring kings, among whom was Constantine king of Scotland, the British king of Cumberland, and the Danish and Norwegian kings of Ireland and the Isles. The allies entered the Humber with a fleet, said to consist of no less than six hundred and fifteen ships †, and proceeded to Brunanburh, (probably Burn in Lincoln-shire) where they were met by Athelstan; and there ensued one of the most obstinate, and most celebrated, battles recorded in antient English history, which began in the morning, and continued till the evening, when Athelstan remained master of the field. Five kings, and seven great officers, were slain on the side of the allies; and Aulaf and Constantine escaped to their ships. Athelstan does not seem to have had any fleet to oppose to that of his enemies, which appears to have retired unbroken; and we afterwards find Aulaf and his nephew Regnald joint kings of Northumberland.

The fame of this great battle is said to have spread all-over Europe, the several kings of which courted the alliance and friendship of Athelstan, by embassies and presents. The king of Norway sent on this occasion a magnificent ship, with gilded beaks, or rostra, and a purple sail, her sides being guarded all round with gilded shields ‡. The German emperor sent aromatics, such as had never been seen in England, gems, running horses, a vessel of onyx with figures carved upon it with wonderful art, the sword of Constantine, the lance of Charlemagne, a crown made of gold and pretious stones, some superstitious reliques, &c.

Athelstan, who appears to have had a higher idea of the importance of commerce, than could be expected in an age wherein only the cleri-

\* So he appears to have been called on his own coins. I believe his name ought rather to be Olaf, as the northern writers spell it. In those ages uniformity of spelling was not at all attended to.

† Some authors make the number of ships much greater.

‡ William of Malmshury [*Gest. reg. Angl. f. 28 a*] calls the king of Norway Harold; but the chronology answers better to one of the sons of

Harold Harfagur. He says, the rostra of the ship were of gold; but that must be taken with allowance. To be able to gild upon metal, (for we cannot suppose the rostra to have consisted of masses of solid gold) so as to resist the corrosion of the salt water, may be considered as a mark of very great progress made in that art, especially if we attend to the remoteness of Norway from those countries which were then esteemed the most civilized.

cal and military professions were thought honourable in Europe, allured his subjects to engage in it by a law, which conferred the rank of a thane on every merchant, who made three voyages over the sea with a vessel and cargo of his own. The premium, thus held out to commercial enterprise, was very judiciously chosen, as, by rendering it the path to rank as well as to wealth, it operated upon the two most powerful passions of the human breast. It proves, however, that there must have been but very few merchants in the kingdom, who were capable of thus raising themselves to the order of nobility.

947—India, from Cashmere to Cape Comorin, was now pretty well known by the Arabs, and is described by Massoudi, with its division into several potent kingdoms, as follows. The kingdom of Sind, adjacent to the River Sind, or Indus. Canodge, or Bourouh, near the Ganges. Cashmere, a country full of towns and villages, and entirely surrounded by a stupendous wall of impassable mountains, the only entry of which is closed by a gate\*. The dominions of the great Balhara, (a permanent title like Pharaoh or Augustus †) or the king of kings, whose capital is called Mankir, or the great Houfa. The Arabians were much favoured by the Balhara, (doubtless for the advantage of their commerce) and were permitted to build mosques for the performance of their religious worship. Moultan, between Canodge and the Arabian or Saracen dominions in Persia. Mansura, also near the Indus. To the southward of all these is the kingdom of Zanedge, or Zindge, governed by the Mehrage, or great raja; and beyond it the kingdom of Comar (or Comorin).

This description gives reason to believe, that the commerce from the West still continued to be chiefly upon the western side of India; and it is valuable, as giving a view of the progress of geography, a science so inseparably connected with commerce.

From India, our author proceeds to China. Canton had now recovered from the calamities, which, he observes, it had suffered under Bai-chu, and it was again resorted to by many Arabian merchants from Bassora, Siraf, and Oman, and also by vessels from India, the islands of Zanedge, Senef, and other places. He says, that traders went to China not only by sea, but also by land, through Korasan, Thibet, and Ilestan, which last is a country mentioned perhaps by no other author, and supposed to be inhabited by a colony from Persia.

He next gives an account of Africa, which, though brief, is in some

\* This singular country, the paradise of India, is not so completely locked up as Massoudi was made to believe; for in 1783, Mr. Forster entered Cashmere at the upper part of it, and following the course of a navigable river, the existence of which Massoudi was not apprized of, went out at the lower part of it. See *Majar Rennell's Memoir,*

p. 102, and the map. See also the map of the third section corrected, which exhibits seven roads through the mountainous boundary of Cashmere.

† The name and supremacy of the Balhara were noticed by Soliman, the Arabian merchant, about a century before Massoudi.

respects beyond our present knowledge of it. The Arabian merchants from Oman and Siraf traded to Sofala, which produced abundance of gold, and to an island called Phanbalou, or Caniclou (perhaps Madagascar), where they had even established colonies. [*Maffoudi's Meadows of gold and mines of pretious stones*, in *Notices des manuscrits du roi*, V. i, pp. 9-15.]

Ebn Haukal, an Arabian traveler of the same age \*, composed a geographical account of all the countries occupied by the Mohamedans. In his time, as in the preceding century, Siraf was the chief port of Persia, and abounded with the commodities of the East, which were distributed to all quarters of the world by the merchants of the place, many of whom possessed fortunes of four millions of dinars, and some still more †. Hormuz was the emporium of Kerman (or *Carmania*): the people of that country cultivated sugar, and were noted for industry and probity. In Daibul, the port of Sind, there were merchants who traded in all places. The countries adjacent to the Caspian sea produced great quantities of silk, whereof that of Meru in Khorasan was most esteemed, the eggs of the silk-worms being carried thence to other places. In those countries there were great manufactures of silk, wool, hair, and gold stuffs. The Armenians excelled in hangings and carpets, and they possessed the beautiful colour called *kermes*, which the author understood to be a worm or insect. The paper made at Samarcand was the best in the world. Khozr (a country on the north-west coast of the Caspian sea) contained two nations, the one of a dark colour and resembling the Hindoos, and the other white people, who made a practice of selling their children. There were many vessels trading between the several ports of the Caspian sea, or sea of Khozr. Trabzoun (or Trebisond on the Black sea) was much frequented by merchants. In Antakiah (Antioch), and many other cities of Asia, the water, an object of the first attention to an Arabian observer, was made to flow through the streets, and into the chief buildings. Iskanderia (Alexandria in Egypt), though frequently mentioned, is not noticed as a place of trade: three hundred houses, built of marble, contained all the inhabitants. In Bajeh, a country adjacent to Upper Egypt, there were the richest gold mines in the world; and thence Egypt was furnished with slaves. A community of white people settled in Zingbar (or Ethiopia) imported articles of food and clothing into that country. The author notes the great extent of the land of the Blacks, bordering on the Ocean (apparently the Gulf of Guinea) on the south, and bounded by deserts on the north,

\* Sir William Ouseley, in his preface, makes it apparent, that Ebn Haukal lived between A. D. 902 and 968; and that Edrissi, Ebn Kordadbeh, and other writers of high reputation, were copiers from him.

† He elsewhere states their fortunes at sixty millions of direms. I am not acquainted with the antient value of those monies of account.

which situation obliged all that was brought to them to come in on the west side of their country\*. Their skins were observed to be of a finer and deeper black than those of the Habeshis (Abyssinians) or Zingians (Ethiopians). In Andalus (Spain) there were several mines of gold and silver. [*Oriental geography of Ebn Haukal, translated by Sir William Ouseley.*]

950—In the book of Tactics, written by the emperor Leo, and transcribed by his son Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the galleys of the imperial navy are directed to be of due length, and to carry *two tires* of oars, one *above* and another *below*. On this reduced scale, we shall find the antient construction of the galleys retained in the Mediterranean, at least to the end of the twelfth century.

Among the laws of Constantine, entitled the Basilics, there is an absolute prohibition of taking interest for the use of money; a sufficient proof, that the value of money, and the principles of commerce, were as utterly unknown in the Greek empire, as they were in the western parts of Europe, where a canon of similar import, passed in the reign of Charlemagne, was so managed by the priests, that they made themselves the arbiters of every bargain between man and man.

960—About this time, or perhaps somewhat earlier, the woollen manufacture of Flanders commenced, which continued flourishing and increasing for several centuries, during which the chief part of the clothing trade of Europe was in the hands of the Flemings. At first the sales were mostly to the French, whose fertile and comparatively well-cultivated soil, enabled them to purchase fine woollen cloths from their industrious Flemish neighbours. On account of the scarcity of money the trade was carried on mostly by barter, to facilitate which Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who seems to have exceeded most of the sovereigns of his age in discerning the real interest of himself and his subjects, set up weekly markets, and established regular fairs at Bruges, Courtray, Torhout, and Mont-Cassel, at all which he exempted the goods sold, or exchanged, from paying any duties on being brought in or carried out. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f. 18 b.—De Witt's Interest of Hollana †, p. 47. Engl. transl.*]

\* The trade with the Negroes was most probably entirely managed by the Moorish caravans, unless the seamen of Morocco ventured to double the stormy capes, which in after ages so long continued bugbears to the Portuguese navigators.

† It must be acknowledged, that the authority of De Witt, though very respectable, is much too modern for an event of the tenth century. But it is corroborated by that of Giraldus Cambrensis, [*Itin. Cambriae, L. ii, c. 2*] who ascribes great skill in the woollen manufacture to a colony of Flemings, who settled in England in the ensuing century.—Gervase of Canterbury [*col. 1349*] says, that the

business of weaving is familiar, and, as it were, peculiar to the Flemings: and Ralph de Diceto [*col. 528*] marks them as a manufacturing nation.—The high value of wool in England (which will be noted under the year 1066) seems to infer that it was exported; and Flanders was apparently the only country that could have a demand for it, and, being adjacent to the River Rhine, was apparently the country which sent silver by that river to purchase 'the most pretious wool,' and other articles of English produce, as we are told by Henry of Huntingdon, in the beginning of his history.—The epithet of *the weaver*, twice given to Flanders

963—Among many other donations and privileges granted by King Edgar to the abbay of Medeshamstede (afterwards called Peterburgh) there was the right of having a mint at Stanford with one coiner. [*Cbr. Sax. ad. an.*] None of the towns, named as coining places in Athelstan's law, were near so far north as this one.

964—According to a pompous charter, ascribed to Edgar, 'the greatest part of Ireland, with its most noble city Dublin,' was subject to him. But the Irish conquests, achieved for Edgar by the monks, are unknown to the sober historians of England, as well as to those of Ireland. The later relate, that for some years before this time Dublin was taken and retaken almost every year by the native Irish and Ostmen; and that their perpetual wars with the Ostmen, and among themselves, had reduced the Irish, a people destitute of commerce, to such a tremendous excess of misery, that 'the father sold his son and daughter 'for meat.' [*Spelman, Concil. p. 432.—Waræi Antiq. Hibern. p. 111.—An. Ult. ad. an. 964.*]

968—The emperor Otto first opened the silver mines in the Hercynian mountains, which have greatly enriched Germany; and he built the town of Goslar near them, whence they are now called the mines of Goslar. [*Spencer Hist. Germ. pragmat. V. i, p. 351.—Cluverii Hist. mundi, p. 450.*] Some think the silver mines of Chemnitz in Hungary more antient than those of Goslar.

969—According to the contemporary testimony of Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, and ambassador from the Western to the Eastern Roman empire, the trade and navigation of Amalfi at this time emulated those of Venice. The Amalfians, though possessing a very narrow tract of country, acquired wealth, and supported liberty, by their foreign commerce, which extended to the opposite coast of Africa, to Constantinople, and to some of the ports in the east end of the Mediterranean: and they, together with the Venetians supplied Italy and other parts of Europe, with the pretious produce and rich manufactures of the East. [*Muratorii, Script. V. ii, p. 487; Antiq. V. ii, p. 884.*]

970—But the commerce of the Saracens in the Mediterranean was much more extensive than that of the Christians; and they were also superior to them in naval power, and particularly in the size of their vessels. Abdirraman, the Saracen sultan, or calif, of the greatest part of Spain, built a vessel larger than had ever been seen before, and loaded her with innumerable articles of merchandize, to be sold in the eastern regions. On her way she met with a ship carrying dispatches from

ders in Geoffrey Vinifaus's poem, [*Richardi Jter, ap. Gale, p. 433*] might refer equally to woollen, or any other, goods made in the loom.—All these authors flourished about the year 1200. And to them may be added Matthew of Westminster,

though a later writer, as he introduces a person addressing himself to England, [*p. 396*] and saying of former times, 'Flanders, thy weaver made pretious clothing for thee from thy own materials.'

the amir of Sicily to Almoez, a sovereign on the African coast, and pilaged her. Almoez, who was also sovereign of Sicily, which he governed by an amir, or viceroy, fitted out a fleet, which took the great Spanish ship returning from Alexandria, loaded with rich wares for Abdiraman's own use, and particularly beautiful slaves, among whom were some women very skilful in music. [*Hist. Saracen. ap. Muratori Script. V. i, part ii, p. 252.*] We shall afterwards meet with several other great ships built by the Saracens in various places. It was probably in imitation of those built in Spain, that the Christian Spaniards introduced the use of large ships, for which they were distinguished at least down to the age of Philip II, whose *invincible* armada consisted of ships much larger than the English vessels opposed to them.

The most illustrious character of the tenth century was undoubtedly Gerbert, a native of France, and a monk of Fleury. Born in an age, which is justly reprobated by historians as overwhelmed with the deepest shade of that mental darkness, wherein Europe was buried for so many centuries, this heaven-born philosopher surmounted the prejudices of education, and, in defiance of ecclesiastical censures, withdrew from teachers who could add nothing to his stock of knowledge, to seek from the professors of a different religion the treasures of science, for which he so ardently thirsted, and which they alone of all the people of Europe then possessed\*. At Seville in Spain he learned the language of the Arabs, and soon made himself master of their superior knowledge in astronomy, geometry, mechanics, and apparently arithmetic. On his return to France in the year 970 he liberally imparted to his countrymen the fruits of his studies. His music, his hydraulic organs, his mechanic horologe, &c. I say nothing of, as not so immediately connected with commerce; but that part of his imported stock of knowledge, which most eminently entitles him to the gratitude of the Europeans in all succeeding ages, and especially of every merchant, was the glorious science of ARITHMETIC, as now practised by means of the numeral figures, which the Arabs had brought with them from the East. It was thought a most wonderful thing by the French, that the same figure could express one, one hundred, one thousand, &c. and the rules of arithmetic, which he published, could scarcely be comprehended by the most laborious students, even in the twelfth century †. It is, however, not impro-

\* Selden quotes (from memory) some author of those ages, who calls the study of natural philosophy and the arts *Studia Saracenorum*. [*Titles of honour, preface.*]

† ‘Abacum certè primus a Saracenis rapiens, regulas dedit, quæ a sudantibus abacistis vix intelliguntur.’ [*W. Malmsb. f. 36 a.*] Whether that was owing to the want of comprehension in the students, or to the imperfection of the rules, it is impossible for us to know, as Masson has most strange-

ly withheld from the public Gerbert's treatise upon arithmetic, though he acknowledges he had it in his possession, and at the end of the 160<sup>th</sup> epistle, which was prefixed to it, even gives a specimen of it as follows.

‘De simplicie.

‘Si multiplicaveris singularem numerum per singularem, dabis unicuique digito singularem, et omni articulo decem, disertè et conversim, &c.’—

and

bable, that, within five years after Gerbert's return from Spain, some native of England had learned at least as much of the new arithmetic, as to combine the figures 975, which are supposed to be inscribed upon an antient portal of Saxon architecture at Worcester\*.

By the favour of Robert king of France, and Otto emperor of Germany, who had both been his pupils, Gerbert was promoted successively to the sees of Rheims, Ravenna, and at last Rome itself under the name of Silvester II. The ignorant vulgar and the envious pretenders to science agreed in ascribing the wonders of his superior knowledge to a compact with the devil; and a number of extravagant fictions were invented to support the slander; whereupon William of Malmesbury, though not entirely above assenting to the absurdity, observes, that it was common to asperse the fame of learned men, and to ascribe their pre-eminence to intercourse with the devil †. Such is too often the ungrateful return made by mankind to their best benefactors; and such

and so he concludes his edition of Gerbert's Epistles. [Vide *Pref. et p. ult.*]

Doctor North [*Archæologia*, V. x] has adduced many arguments to prove, that the Arabians were not yet masters of that kind of numeration by figures, to which we give their name. Without presuming to determine on either side of so difficult a question, I may be permitted to observe, that his positive evidence rests chiefly upon the authority of Theophanes, 'the father of many a lie,' [*Gibbon*, V. ix, p. 253] and that his other arguments are of the negative kind. It is not at all singular, that the evidences of Gerbert's introduction of this most important science into Christendom are but slight, when we advert to the extraordinary darkness of the age, in which he shone a solitary star: but, as there is not equal evidence of the introduction of it by any other person, and it *was* introduced by somebody, the balance of evidence is in favour of Gerbert. The benevolent inventors of arts or improvements, which add to the happiness of mankind, have scarcely ever received their due praise, though fame has in all ages been lavished upon the destroyers and scourges of the human race. When not one of a thousand could read, and still fewer concerned themselves with arithmetic of any kind, we need not wonder that the knowledge of it should spread very slowly: and, indeed, the progress of any improvement must have been very tardy, before the propagation of knowledge was facilitated by the art of printing. I have already observed, that the introduction of silk-worms in Europe was unknown to Isidore, bishop of Hispalis in Spain, when manufactures from their silk had been established a hundred years in Greece.—It must be acknowledged, that Bzovius, in his treatise, entitled '*Silvester II a calumniis vindicatus*,' has not a word of arithmetic: but such a matter was of little con-

sequence to an author, who sets out with deducing the parentage of his hero from Hercules, and labours to vindicate him from the *guilt* of acquiring science from the Saracens of Spain—his chief glory, and probably the cause of his exaltation.

\* The time when numeral figures were introduced in this country has been much disputed by the learned; and, consequently, the genuineness of this date is denied by those who do not allow them to be so antient; as is also that of 1090, supposed to be remaining on the sill of a window at Colchester, and some others even later. [See *Philosophical transactions*, V. xxi, p. 287, and *Doctor North's Essay above mentioned*.] But nothing can be concluded on either side of the question from supposed numbers, which require conjecture to read them, and which, if they were perfectly plain, might be only renovations of more antient sculptures.—The introduction of our numeral figures is a subject well worthy of investigation in a judicious treatise.

† William of Malmesbury confounds Gerbert (or Silvester II) with John XV, between whom and Gerbert there were no fewer than four popes. Sergius, who succeeded to the papal chair in one year after the death of Gerbert, inscribed on his monument an epitaph, containing an excellent character of him. The continuator of Aimoni, who wrote in France about the same time that Malmesbury wrote in England, calls Gerbert simply a philosopher, and says, that his elevation to the popedom was at the unanimous desire of the whole people of Rome. But neither he, nor any of the writers of the age immediately after that of Gerbert, has one word of devils, or any thing supernatural.—Marvelous stories improve prodigiously by remoteness of time and place.

was the method contrived by malice and ignorance to attest their involuntary admiration of this illustrious character.

972—The silver mines of Rammelsberg in Germany are said to have been discovered at this time. They seem to have been exhausted in about forty years. [*Rimius's Memoirs of the house of Brunsvick, p. 258.*]

973—The monks in their great zeal to extoll their creature and patron, King Edgar, have turned his history into romance. The simple and unimportant fact, that he assembled his fleet at Chester immediately after the ceremony of a coronation, or consecration, at Bath, and that six kings (most probably all of Wales \*) met him there, and entered into an alliance with him, [*Cbr. Sax. ad. an.*] has been distorted by the gross impudence of monkish exaggeration for various purposes, one of which was to show what a prodigious fleet he had; for the different writers reckon it from three to four thousand ships: and thence, among other ridiculous pretensions, it has been inferred, that this founder and supporter of forty-eight monasteries, was sovereign of the sea †.

975—It does more real honour to Edgar that he made a law for an uniformity of money throughout all his kingdom, and for the general use of the Winchester measure. [*Edgari leges, c. 8.*]

978—At this time the herring fishery was very plentiful on the coast of Norway; and it appears from several passages of Snorro, the Herodotus of the North, to have been considered as an important object of attention. But whether the Norwegians only used the herrings for immediate home consumption, or salted and exported them, we are not certainly informed, though the later seems very probable. One circumstance, well deserving our attention, is, that the abundance of herrings and corn is marked as the characteristic of a beneficent reign, which proves that the wisest of their kings were careful to encourage the fisheries and agriculture. [*Snorro, Hist. Olafi Trygv. c. 16; Hist. Olafi Sancti, c. 22.*] And this, if I mistake not, is the earliest undoubted account of a herring fishery.

\* The apparently-real submission of a great number, perhaps the whole, of the Welsh kings to Alfred, is recorded by Asser, himself a Welshman. [*Vita Ælfredi, pp. 47, 49, ed. Oxon. 1722.*]

† A strong presumption that Edgar's fleet must have been very inconsiderable, is, that the fleet, which his son Æthelred raised by a requisition upon all the lands of the kingdom, and which is expressly said to have been *the most numerous that ever was seen in England*, was found insufficient to repel the northern invaders, or even to guard the entrance of the Thames; and a great part of it was dashed to pieces in a storm, which would not have happened, at least not to so great an extent, if it had been built by carpenters acquainted with their business, and manned by experienced seamen,

trained to the proper management of vessels in Edgar's reign. [*Cbron. Sax. ad. ann. 1008, 1009.*]

Edgar's stupendous fleet is completely outdone by the thirty thousand ships, and nine million of men, brought by the king of the Huns against Frothi hin Fredegod, an ante-historical king of Denmark, who defeated the king of the Huns, and slew every one of his men. The *basileus* of the English, and emperor of all the kings of the islands in the Ocean, was also surpassed in titles by Frothi hin Fredegod, king of Denmark, Sweden, Britain, Scotland, Norway, Saxony, Frisia, Ungary, and all the countries of the East as far as Greece. It is easy to muster ships and men, and even vassal kings, upon paper; and titles cost nothing.

993—The flourishing commerce of Venice had long ago created its natural attendant and safeguard, a powerful fleet, the first effort of which, recorded in history, was the suppression of the piracies of the Dalmatians in the year 823. [*Chron. And. Danduli, ap. Muratori Scriptores, V. xii, col. 175.*] But as those restless corsairs continued to infest the Venetian trade, the republic now equipped a respectable fleet, which took many vessels belonging to the pirates, destroyed Narenta their chief port, and subdued the whole province of Dalmatia, to which they soon after added Croatia, another piratical state. Having now acquired an ample territory, and the unrivaled sovereignty of the Adriatic gulf, the Venetians conferred upon their chief magistrate, the doge or duke, the additional titles of duke of Dalmatia and Croatia. They had lately obtained from the Greek emperors a favourable grant of liberties and immunities for their navigators and merchants throughout the whole empire; and they also obtained from Otto, the emperor of Germany, a confirmation of several privileges in his dominions granted to them by his father, and a discharge from the obligation of delivering a pallium, which had been claimed by his predecessors as sovereigns of Italy (a<sup>o</sup>. 998)\*. [*Danduli Chron. coll. 223, 225, 227, 231.*]

The Christians of the northern and mountainous parts of Spain, who had preserved themselves from the yoke of the Saracens, were now recovering a part of the territory of their ancestors; and they also resumed the iron and steel manufactures, for which their country had been famous before it fell under the dominion of the Romans. About the end of the tenth century they began to carry on some foreign trade, chiefly from their port of Bilboa †. But they were very far from being comparable to the Saracens of Spain for cultivation, opulence, or civilization.

In the long and disastrous reign of Ethelred, which is reckoned from the year 978 to 1016, the English were oppressed by a continual repetition of miseries, greatly exceeding the measure of their former calamities. The Danish and Norwegian robbers, now united, and led by Swein king of Denmark and Olaf Trygvason, who afterwards became king of Norway, spread the horrors of slaughter, captivity, and desolation, over all the country. After wasting the lands, and utterly extinguishing all cultivation and industry, they compelled the miserable people to bring in provisions for their subsistence; and they moreover extorted, in the name of tribute or the price of peace, but in reality the premium for invasion, the enormous sums of ten thousand pounds of

\* Hitherto the Venetians had professed a slight divided allegiance to both empires, which with respect to that of Constantinople was perhaps never formally extinguished, but must have been cancelled when the Venetians became masters of that empire. It was not till the year 1085 that the Greek

emperors renounced their claim to the sovereignty of Dalmatia and Croatia.

† I have taken this notice of the trade of Bilboa from Mr. Anderson, though I have not found his authority for it.

silver in the year 991, sixteen thousand pounds in 994, twenty-four thousand pounds in 1002, thirty thousand pounds in 1007, and forty-eight thousand \* pounds in 1012; after which the greatest part of the country sunk under the power of the Danes, whose king Swein died in the year 1014 in England, of which he had been for some time the real and absolute sovereign.

Historians attempt to account for these uninterrupted calamities by laying the blame on wicked, incapable, and treacherous, ministers and generals, to whom the weak king entrusted the conduct of government and the defence of the country. Certain it is that the English armies appear to have been totally enervated throughout this reign, and that the fleet raised by a requisition upon all the lands of the kingdom, which was more numerous than that of any preceding king of England, answered no purpose but exhausting the strength and treasure of the country, and encouraging the enemy.

The city of London was burnt in 982 or 983. Stow [*Annales*, p. 114, ed. 1600] copying from Rudburn, an unedited writer of the fifteenth century, says, that the greatest part of the houses were then on the west side of Ludgate, and only some scattering houses where the heart of the city now is; and that Canterbury, York, and some other cities in England, then surpassed London in building. The sea contributed to the distress of the times by an extraordinary inundation in the year 1014, which swept away several towns and a prodigious number of people. To complete the general calamity of England, it was harassed by civil dissensions, and afflicted by contagious disorders, which destroyed both man and beast, the necessary consequence of famine and unwholesome food.

London soon recovered from the conflagration; and the citizens distinguished themselves as the only people in England who made any strenuous or effectual opposition to the enemy. In the year 994, when Olaf and Swein came up the river with ninety-four ships, and attempted to burn the city, they were repulsed with more bravery than they supposed any citizens were capable of. This perhaps inclined Olaf more readily to accept Ethelred's proposal for buying him off from the confederacy: and it is remarked, that he honourably adhered to the terms of the treaty, his piracies being thenceforth exercised in Northumberland, Scotland, the Islands, Ireland, and France. The Danes were frustrated in all their attempts upon the city in 1008, and in 1013 they were again repulsed with their king Swein. It is upon this occasion that

\* The Saxon Chronicle has only eight thousand; but Florence, Simeon, &c. have transcribed from copies wherein the number stood 48,000, which accords with the progressive augmentation of the extortion. The sums thus paid to induce the Northern invaders to desist from, or rather to

repeat, their destructive visits by an exhausted country, possessing no mines of silver, that we know of, and scarcely any commerce, may stagger credibility, though vouched by the respectable authority of the Saxon Chronicle and the oldest English historians.

we have the earliest certain notice of London bridge; for we are told, that in coming from Winchester to London many of the Danes were drowned in the Thames, because they neglected the bridge\*.

Amidst the desolations of this unhappy reign, but most probably in the early part of it, some attention was paid to regulations for internal and coasting trade, both of which were apparently on a small scale for articles of subsistence; and England had even some passive foreign trade, as appears from the twenty-third chapter of the laws enacted by Ethelred and his wise men at Venetyng or Wanating (*Wantage* in Berk-shire), according to which every boat arriving at Bilynggesgate paid for toll or custom one halfpenny; a larger boat with sails, one penny; a keel or hulk, four pennies; a vessel with wood, one piece of wood; a boat with fish coming to the bridge, one halfpenny, or one penny, according to her size. The men of Rouen, who brought wine and large fish †, those of Flanders, Ponthieu, Normandy, and France, showed their goods, and cleared the duties ‡; as did also those of Hegge §, Liege, and Nivell. The emperor's men who came with their ships were deemed worthy of good (or favourable) laws; but they were not to forestall the market to the prejudice of the citizens, and they were to pay their duties. At Christmas those German merchants paid two grey cloths and one brown one, ten pounds of pepper, five pair of men's gloves, and two vessels || of vinegar. The same dues were also levied from them at Easter. [*Bromton, col. 897.*]

The merchants, called in this law the *emperor's men*, are supposed to have been the predecessors of those who were afterwards called the *Merchants of the Teutonic guildhall*.

At the same time the number of coiners in England was reduced to three for every principal port, or town, and one for every smaller one, who should be answerable for their workmen as to the quality and just weight of the money. The market weights were also ordered to be uniform with that of the money, viz. fifteen *ore* (a Danish denomination) to each pound. † [*Bromton, col. 899.*]

\* A bridge at London is mentioned in a law of Ethelred of uncertain date, but supposed by Spelman [*Concilia, p. 532*] to be prior to his treaty with Olaf in 994. Stow [*Survey of London, p. 48, ed. 1618*] dates this first notice of the bridge in 994, but the Saxon Chronicle expressly in 1013. William of Malmesbury [*f. 38 b*] seems to have confounded the two sieges of London by Swein, and thus misled Stow. We may however presume, from sundry notices in Domesdaybook, that bridges had long been common even in the inland and remote parts of England.

Snorro Sturleson relates that Olaf Haraldson assisted Ethelred to recover London from the Danish king Cnut, the son of Swein. Meeting with an obstruction from London bridge (the breadth

of which is remarked to have been sufficient for two carriages) Olaf made fast his ships at high water to the wooden piles of it, and then, rowing them vigorously down the river with the ebb tide, he shook down the bridge, and London thereupon submitted to Ethelred. [*Hist. Olaf Sænsi, c. 11.*] This stratagem, I believe, is not mentioned by any of the English historians.

† 'Craspifce.' See the Glossary to the *Scriptores decem*, in vo. Craspifcis.

‡ 'Monstrabant res suas, et extolneabant.'

§ So it is printed in Bromton's Chronicle. This law is not published by Lambard, Wheloc, Spelman, or Wilkins.

|| 'Duos cabillinos colennos,' the meaning of which the glossarist is unable to explain.

A council held by the wise men of England and the counselors of Wales, for regulating the intercourse between the two nations, during this reign as is supposed, scarcely deserves notice in commercial history. By it six English and six Welsh law-men (or men skilled in the law) were appointed to settle all disputes between individuals of the two nations; and the rates of compensation for slaves, cattle, &c. were ascertained. [*Lambardi Archaionomia*, f. 90, ed. 1568.]

996-1000—Olaf Trygvason, having by his piratical expeditions acquired some knowledge of the productions and the wants of various countries, after his accession to the crown of Norway endeavoured to encourage commerce in his own country. With this view he founded Nidaros (i. e. Nid's mouth), and appointed it to be an emporium for trade, as it still remains under the name of Drontheim. [*Snorro, Hist. Olafi Tryg. c. 77.*]

King Olaf went beyond all his predecessors in his attention to maritime affairs; and he built some ships of war larger than had ever been seen in the northern seas. One of these, called the Dreki (or Dragon), was seventy-four elns\* by the keel; she had thirty-four benches for the rowers; her sides are said to have been as lofty as those of ships of burthen; and her head and stern were finely adorned with carving and gilding by an artist, whose name was Thorberg Skaffhog.

The battles of the northern nations were most frequently fought upon the water. Their warlike ships, or gallies, were long, narrow, and low; and they were adorned with figure heads, the use of which appears to have come down from the earliest ages. Besides swords, bows and arrows, and pikes, they took onboard a quantity of stones to throw into their enemy's vessels. A parapet, or breast-work, composed of shields, was set up around the sides of the ships †. Like the ancient naval combatants of the Mediterranean, they drove the beaks of their gallies by the force of the oars against the sides of the enemy, and the battle was supported chiefly on the fore part of the deck. It was a great object to have the heads and sterns lofty for the sake of pouring down stones, darts, &c. on the enemy's deck. They generally endeavoured to grapple their enemy, and board him. Sometimes by mutual consent the hostile ships were bound to each other, and the men fought hand to hand, till one of the ships was overpowered. [*Snorro, Hist. Olafi Tryg. cc. 124-128; Hist. Olafi Sancti, c. 47; Hist. Haralds Hardrad, c. 2.—Torfaei Orcades, L. i, cc. 14, 22, 39.*]

That foreign articles of elegant dress and ornament were not un-

\* The eln of Norway is equal to a foot and a half of our measure, as I was informed by Doctor Thorkelin, the learned keeper of the Danish royal library. The keel of the Dragon therefor mea-

sured 111 feet, which is equal to the length of our large modern frigates of 32 or 36 guns.

† The shields, &c. sometimes now painted upon the quarter-cloths, seem to be a vestige or memorial of this custom.

known in those remote regions, appears from the following description. Sigurd Syr, the stepfather of King Olaf the Saint, who is noted as a plain man, a good farmer, and a lover of peace, could on extraordinary occasions dress in breeches, or trousers, of Cordovan leather, and clothes made of silk, with a scarlet cloak over them. His sword was richly adorned with carving in gold, and his helmet and spurs were gilded. His horse had a saddle embellished with golden ornaments, and a bridle shining with gold and gems. Those articles of finery were not, however, so often acquired by fair trade as by piracy, then the chief trade of all the northern nations; for, though some of the Vikveriar (people of the south part of Norway) are said to have been considerable traders (according to the estimation of their age and country) to England, Ireland, Saxony, Flanders, and Denmark, yet their attachment to trade did not prevent them from sometimes amusing themselves with piracy when they found an opportunity, and taking free winter quarters in the countries of the Christians\*. [*Snorro, Hist. Olafi Sancti, cc. 31, 32, 62.*]

About this time periodical public markets, or fairs, were established in several towns of Germany and the northern kingdoms; and a principal part of the merchandize brought to them in these days of rapine consisted of slaves taken in the wars, which were indeed often made merely for the purpose of carrying off captives. Helmold relates that he saw seven thousand Danish slaves at one time exposed to sale in the market at Meklenburg. The common price of ordinary slaves of either sex was about a mark (or eight ounces) of silver; but some female slaves, for their beauty or qualifications, were rated as high as three marks. [*Thorkelein's Essay on the slave trade, pp. 4-9.*]

1000 or 1001—It was in the last year of the tenth century, or the first year of the eleventh, that the adventurous spirit of the northern navigators of Iceland carried them to a country situated south-west from Greenland, and having in the shortest day the sun eight hours above the horizon, which infers that it was about the forty-ninth degree of latitude. The fertile soil was covered with wood, whence they called the country Merkland; but having discovered that it produced grapes spontaneously, they altered the name to Winland. The rivers were well stored with fish, and especially with large salmon. The natives, whom the Icelanders never saw till the third year of their voyages to the country, were a diminutive race, who used boats covered with leather, and fought with bows and arrows. These people, after having a skirmish with the Icelanders, traded with them, giving them fine furs in exchange for their goods.

Several of the ships, which sailed from Iceland for this new-found land, carried a number of families in order to establish a permanent settlement, which appears to have subsisted at least above a century, as we

\* For the sake of connecting the detached parts of Norwegian commercial history, this paragraph is introduced a few years earlier than its proper date.

find that a bishop went from Greenland in the year 1121 to convert the colonists of Winland to the Christian religion. After that time there is no further *certain* account of the colony, and the connection between Iceland and Winland seems to have been entirely dropt \*. But if there is, as has been asserted, a tribe of people in the interior part of Newfoundland who differ in person and manners from the Eskimaux of the north end of the island, they may not improbably be supposed the remains of the Icelandic colony †.

Winland was evidently some part of the continent at the mouth of the River St. Laurence, or Newfoundland, more probably the later; and the vagrant natives, called by the Icelanders Skrelingur, were apparently the Eskimaux.

The accidental discoverer of this western land was Biorn, the son of Heriolf; and Lief, the son of Erik Raud, fitted out the first vessel which sailed purposely for it. Snorro, the son of Torfin, was the first person of European parentage born on the west side of the Atlantic ocean; and from him descended a family, which long flourished, and probably still flourishes, in Iceland.

As the discovery of AMERICA by the Icelanders, though an event extremely curious and interesting in the history of mankind, is not so generally known as it ought to be (even some of those who have professedly written upon the discovery of that continent being ignorant of it), it is proper to observe, that it is most unquestionably authenticated by the testimony of contemporary authors, and others who lived soon after; all of them long before the generally-supposed first discovery by Colon, or Columbus ‡. Therefore, without detracting in the smallest degree from the merit of that illustrious navigator, who set out upon scientific principles, and with some previous assurances collected from the accidental discoveries of preceding navigators, to search for a western route

\* According to Doctor Foister's exposition of the geography of Zeno's voyage, Winland was afterwards called Estotiland, and it was in a flourishing condition in the fourteenth century. See *Forster's Discoveries in the North*, pp. 188, 203, *Engl. transl.* and below under the year 1360.

† Whether those people are of Norwegian origin or not, may be very easily ascertained by their language, which to a proper judge must appear, through all the fluctuations of eight centuries, to be radically Norwegian, if they are the remains of a Norwegian colony, though they may have lost all traditional knowledge of their ancestors, if any person in Newfoundland, properly qualified, would take the trouble to make the inquiry. Such an inquiry I have myself set on foot, but hitherto without success.

‡ *Adam Bremenfis de sua Danie*, p. 36, *ed. 1629*: he died in 1076.—*Orderici Vitalis Hist. ecclief. ad*

*an. 1098*: he flourished about 1140.—*Snorro Sturleson, Hist. Olafi Trygv. cc. 105-111*: he was the earliest general historian of the North, and was repeatedly chief magistrate of Iceland, A. D. 1215-1232.—*The Flateyan manuscript in the king of Denmark's library*, which was finished in 1394.—I say nothing of Arngrim Jonas, Torfæus, and other northern writers, who have flourished after the age of Columbus.

Forster in his *History of Voyages, &c. in the North*, and Mallet in his *Introduction to the history of Denmark*, have given accounts at some length of the discovery and colonization of Winland: yet though English translations of both these works have been published, it is surprising how many people there are, even among those of general reading, who believe that no European ever set a foot in America before Columbus.

to India, we must acknowledge that the reputation of the first discovery of lands in the western hemisphere unquestionably belongs to Biorn. SUUM CUIQUE.

1000-1024—From the regions of the North-west, where commerce was yet in its infancy, our attention is now called to the East by the revolutions of, probably, the first civilized country in the world, where manufactures, commerce, and science, had attained to maturity many centuries before any human footstep had penetrated the British woods, or pressed the Norwegian snows. The great, rich, and populous, country of Baratta \*, called by the Europeans India or Hindoostan, had never, that we know of, suffered to any great extent the violation of a foreign conquest †, till it was invaded by Mahmood, the Turkish prince or sultan of Gazna, who in twelve expeditions subdued the greatest part of the northern provinces (or of the proper Hindoostan), as far east as the Ganges, and as far south as the Nerbudda. This delightful country has ever since been subject to various dynasties of princes, all of foreign extraction.

1013—From the accounts written by two Arabian merchants we have seen that the Chinese were a more commercial and enterprising people in the ninth century than in the eighteenth. About this time, if we may depend on the information, perhaps traditional, obtained by Hugo Grotius ‡, [*Ann. de reb. Belg. L. xv, p. 702*] they extended their conquests throughout the Indian seas, and, with considerable expense of blood and treasure, made themselves masters of Ternate, Tidor, Motiel (or Motir), Makiam, and Bakiam, islands celebrated for the production of spices, especially cloves, and kept possession of them about sixty years. The islands were next occupied by a colony of Malays, whom the Arabs, assisted by the Persians, drove out, and established themselves firmly in their place §.

Hamburgh, which had been several times destroyed by its turbulent neighbours, was now rebuilt with wood in a more magnificent manner than before, and was soon repopled by its dispersed citizens and an accession of new inhabitants. [*Original authors, ap. Lambeckii Orig. Hamburg. p. 43.*]

1016—The silver mines of Rammelsberg no longer answering the expectation of the proprietors, new ones were searched for and discovered

\* For this genuine name I am indebted to Major Rennell's *Memoir of a map of Hindoostan*. Qu. is not *Maratta* the same name? But it may perhaps be doubted whether so large a country ever was comprehended under one indigenous general name.

† The impression made by Alexander on the western border of India was neither extensive nor permanent. The more ancient conquests ascribed to Bacchus, Osiris, &c. seem to be little better than fictions of romantic Greece;

Quicquid Græcia mendax

Audet in historiis.

‡ There is no account of any such conquest at this time in the *Historia Sinica ap. Thevenot, V. ii.* But the commercial enterprise of the Chinese remained in full vigour in the thirteenth century, when Marco Polo was in their country.

§ Grotius observes that Molucco, the general name by which those islands are known to us, and sultan, the title of the sovereign, are Arabic words.

in the Upper Hartz (the Hercynian forest of ancient geography). They were worked till the year 1181, when they were ruined by war, and neglected till the emperor Otto again worked them in the year 1208, when another war again involved them in ruin, from which they were recovered in the sixteenth century by Ernest prince of Grubenhagen, who gave great encouragement to all who would engage in working them, and built a town for the accommodation of the labourers. These mines still yield a considerable revenue to the house of Brunswick. [*Rimius's Mem. of the house of Brunswick, p. 258.*]

The citizens of London were now of such consequence, that they, in conjunction with the nobles who were in the city, chose a king for the whole English nation. The object of their choice was Edmund Ironside, the son of the late king Ethelred, who, after a brave struggle, wherein he was well supported by the city of London, at last sunk under the superior power of Cnut, who had succeeded his father Swein in the command of the Danish army, and had been chosen king by the Danes and a great part of the English.

During the war between Edmund and Cnut, the later, in order to get his fleet above the bridge to besiege the city of London, dug a ditch, or canal, sufficient to carry the ships, on the south side of the river, by which he passed the bridge, and kept the city closely invested, till it was relieved by the arrival of Edmund.

1018—Cnut, now the acknowledged sovereign of all England, in order to reward his Danes, and induce them to return quietly home, levied eleven thousand pounds of silver from the city of London\*, and seventy-two thousand from the rest of the kingdom; a most wonderful sum to be collected in a country already so drained by the great and frequent extorsions of his father. Of all his forces Cnut retained only forty Danish ships; so well was he satisfied of the good will of the English.

1020—The citizens of Amalfi, whose spirited commercial exertions have already been repeatedly noticed, were now in very great favour with the rulers and people of the Mohamedan countries in the East, 'because they imported many articles of merchandize hitherto unknown in those countries.' They had already obtained permission to establish houses, or factories, in the maritime towns; and, because they had no house in Jerusalem, the calif of Egypt gave them a letter to the president of that city, who assigned them sufficient ground for building upon. The merchants immediately built two monasteries and an hospital for travelers, whereupon many Christians repaired to the holy city on account of religion as well as of trade. An hospital for men, dedicated to St. John, and another for women, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, were afterwards added. The keepers of the former became fam-

\* Florence of Worcester makes the sum paid by London fifteen thousand pounds.

ous in history by the title of Hospitalers and Johannites, which in the changes of their fortune gave place to that of knights of Rhodes; and now they are called knights of Malta. [*Willielm. Tyr. L. xviii, c. 4.—Breneman. de rep. Amalf. § 8.*]

1028—So far was Cnut from entertaining any apprehensions of an inclination to revolt among the English, that he made frequent voyages to the continent, where he enlarged his dominions by the conquest of Norway. This acquisition, which united all the maritime nations of the North under one sovereign, was effected chiefly by English ships, and by the help of his English subjects, whose courage revived under the conduct of a general capable of directing it.

Some of the ships of Cnut's fleet (but whether built in England or Denmark, we are not told) exceeded in magnitude the largest ship built by Olaf Trygvason king of Norway, or any other ships hitherto seen upon the Western ocean. [*Snorro, Hist. Olafi Sancti, c. 158.*]

1031—Cnut also made a journey to Rome, 'because he was told by 'wise men that St. Peter kept the key of the celestial kingdom,' where he spent a great deal of money. There he met with the emperor Cunrad and other princes, from whom he obtained for all his subjects, whether merchants or pilgrims, a complete exemption from the heavy tolls usually exacted on their journey to Rome. [See Cnut's own letter *ap. Will. Malmfb. f. 41 b.*]

Cnut is believed to have established, or authorized, mints at a greater number of places than any other king of England; and the following modernized list of the names, found upon money coined in his reign, shows that at least thirty-seven cities and towns had that privilege.

Bristol,	Gloucester,	Manchester,	Stamford,
Cambridge,	Hastings,	Norwich,	Sudbury,
Canterbury,	Hereford,	Nottingham,	Tamworth,
Chester,	Hertford,	Oxford,	Thetford,
Colchester,	Hythe,	Rocheſter,	Wells,
Crookhorn,	Huntingdon,	Sarum,	Wincheſter,
Derby,	Ipswich,	Shaftſbury,	York*.
Dorcheſter,	Leiceſter,	Shrewſbury,	
Dover,	Lincoln,	Southampton,	
Exeter,	London,	Southwark,	

1036—On the death of Cnut the citizens † of London were again a

\* This list is extracted from a *Catalogue of the coins of Canute king of Denmark and England*, 4to, 1777, published in consequence of a great variety of his coins being found in the year 1774 in a peat moss near Kirkwall in Orkney, whither they might be conveyed either by trade or by piracy, in those ages the chief trade of the Norwegian inhabitants of the Orkney islands, which were subject to the crown of Norway till the year 1468.

† The Saxon Chronicle calls them seamen or navigators ('liths-men'). They were probably merchants who went in their own vessels. William of Malmſbury on this occasion observes, that the citizens of London, by their great intercourse with the Danes, whom he calls barbarians, resembled them very much in their manners.

considerable part of the electors, by whom his natural son Harold was made king of England.

1037-1054—Scotland was at this time governed by King Macbeth, whom the flatterers of the posterity of King Malcolm Kenmor have represented as a tyrant and an usurper, whose history Boyse has turned into a fairy tale, and Shakspeare into a dramatic romance. The little we know of him, which is rather more than we know of most of his predecessors, entitles him to some notice in this work. The original part of the Latin Elegiac chronicle of the Scottish kings says, that Scotland enjoyed plentiful seasons during his reign; and Wyntown, copying from it and some other impartial antient record, says, that

‘ All hys tyme wes gret plentè

‘ Abowndand, báth on land and se.’

[*Wyntown's Cronykil of Scotland*, B. vi, c. 18, ll. 47, 408.]

The only influence a king of Scotland could possibly have in producing plenty by land and sea must have been by mild and judicious government, by giving encouragement to agriculture, the prime source of wealth in every country, and to the fishery, that inexhaustible secondary fund of wealth, wherewith bountiful Nature has surrounded Scotland. That Macbeth's government was beneficent, and established in the affections of his people, notwithstanding the claims and efforts of the rival family, appears from the comparatively-long duration and tranquillity of his reign, and from his venturing to delegate his power in order to make a journey to Rome in the year 1050. As an additional proof of his merit I may adduce the absurd obloquy thrown upon his memory. That Scotland in his reign enjoyed some foreign commerce, the basis of which was probably the fishery, and that a balance of cash was even paid by the neighbouring nations, is sufficiently evident from the great expense of his journey to Rome, where his charity to the poor was conspicuous even in that general resort of wealthy pilgrims. [*Mariani Chron. ad an. 1050.*]

1050—About the middle of the eleventh century Sleswig (*Sleswik*), or Heithebu, is described as a port of the Barbaric, Baltic, or Scythic, sea, from which ships sailed to Slavonia, Semland, and even to Greece, by which name we are surely to understand Russia\*. Ripa was a port on the opposite side of Yutland, whence vessels sailed to Friesland, Saxony, and England. Arhusen, on the east side of Yutland, was the port of departure for Fionia or Seland, Sconia, and Norway. [*Adami Bremens. Lib. de situ Daniæ*, p. 2, ed. 1629.]

At this time, if Adam of Bremen [p. 17] was rightly informed, Sweden was full of foreign merchandize: but this account may be taken with large allowance.

\* ‘ The name of Greeks was applied to the Russians even before their conversion.’ [*Gibbon*, V. x, p. 226, Note, where the original authors are quoted.]

Adam of Bremen and some other old German writers speak in strains of high admiration of the populousness and wealth of the great commercial cities of Winet and Julin, *both* at the mouth of the River Oder on the south side of the Baltic sea. But as all things are great or small by comparison, and as it is difficult to conceive how any port of the Baltic sea could possibly have a very great trade at that time, and more especially two adjacent ports, we must believe that those accounts are prodigiously exaggerated\*.

The rotundity of the earth and the theory of the inequality of the length of the day were known by Adam of Bremen; and we do not hear of his being excommunicated or reprehended for his knowlege.

1052—Pefenesea, Rumenea, Hythe, Folces-stane, Dofra, and Sandwic †, are noted as ports having ships, which were all seized and carried off by Earl Godwin, after his son-in-law King Edward had driven him out of the kingdom.

1063—The commercial republic of Pifa on the west side of Italy was now in a flourishing state. The Pisans, despising the narrow dictates of religious bigotry, made frequent voyages to Panormus (or Palermo) in Sicily, where they traded with the Saracen inhabitants. They also traded to the coast of Africa, where, some time after this, conceiving themselves on some occasion to be injured, they led an army against the royal city of Tunis, of which they made themselves masters, except one strong tower, in which the Saracen king or chief was obliged to shut himself up. [*Galfridi Malaterræ Hist. Sicul. L. ii, c. 34; L. iv, c. 3.*]

1064—About the same time the Genoese appear to have had a considerable share of the trade to the Levant, or east end of the Mediterranean. A fleet of their ships, which arrived at Joppa, after the merchants had bartered their goods among the maritime cities, and paid their adorations to the holy places, brought off the remains of a company, or rather an army, of pilgrims, who had traveled over land from France and Germany, as we learn from Ingulf, an English historian, [*p. 74, ed. Gale*] who was one of the number.

1065—The church of Westminster, which was founded, or refounded on a larger scale, by King Edward, was the first specimen in England of a kind of architecture, which, according to William of Malmfbury, [*f. 52 b*] afterwards became very general. It may be presumed to have been that which is generally, but seemingly improperly, denominated the Gothic ‡.

\* Helmold, the author of the Chronicle of the Slavi, who wrote about the end of the twelfth century, says, that the reports of the wonderful wealth of Winet are *incredible*. It was the greatest city in Europe—and it was reported that it was totally destroyed by some *nameless* king of Denmark. [*Chron. Slav. L. i, c. 2.*]

† Now called Pevensey, Rumney, Hyth, Folkston, Dover, Sandwich.

‡ If the Gothic architecture was not introduced in England till the reign of Henry II, as is generally supposed, what kind was this?

In the reign of Edward the Confessor the English recovered their military and naval character, chiefly under the conduct of his brother-in-law Harold ; for the king himself was much better qualified to perform the offices of a monk than to discharge the duties of a sovereign. On the death of Edward without issue, his nephew, Edgar Atheling, who was under age, was set aside, and Harold was chosen king (a°. 1066). He appears to have been, after Alfred, the greatest of the Saxon princes ; and like him he was sensible that a well-appointed navy was the natural safeguard of England \*. As soon as he became king, he was threatened with an invasion by William duke of Normandy, who alleged that the late king had promised to appoint him his successor. Knowing the great power and military talents of the duke, he provided a fleet of above seven hundred ships, which he stationed on the coast opposite to France. Unfortunately a part of it was called off by the unexpected attack of the fleets of Norway and Orkney, led by Harold Hardrad † king of Norway, whose life paid the forfeit of his unprovoked hostility. And William, who landed on the south coast almost at the same time, would probably in like manner have expiated his unprovoked attack of a people who had never injured him, had not Harold been slain by a random shot of an arrow, after supporting with his army, fatigued by their march from Stamford to the coast of Suffex, a battle of a whole day with great courage and conduct, if we except his misconduct in fighting at all. But the prudence of allowing an invader to waste his strength and the ardour of his troops by delay was unknown in the art of war of that age.

Even after the disaster of Harold's death the fleet of England was superior to that of the invaders, which it kept blocked up in the ports of Pevensey and Hastings. The fleet of William and his allies is most discordantly numbered, from seven hundred to three thousand ships, by the various writers upon that famous expedition.

Soon after the death of Harold, the English, finding themselves without a leader, and influenced by the clergy, submitted to William, who on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of December was crowned as king of England in Westminster abbay.

The accession of William constitutes a new æra in the history of England, which is thenceforth much more fully known than in the preceding ages, its affairs being now much connected with those of the continent, and illustrated by a continued succession of good historians, domestic and foreign. The materials for commercial history, and particularly of that of this island, will consequently be more ample in the

\* The suppression of the Welsh in the reign of Edward was effected by Harold, chiefly by means of a fleet of ships, wherewith he sailed from Bristol. The army and fleet of Northumberland, which assisted Malcolm prince of Scotland against Macbeth, was Danish than English.

† The name of Harold *Harfagar*, given to this king by most writers, is one of the many instances of the actions of less celebrated characters being transferred to more famous personages of the same name.

succeeding ages than in the past; and the labour of the writer will not, as in the preceding part of this work, consist chiefly in searching for materials, but in selecting those which are most worthy of being laid before the reader.

Before proceeding to what may comparatively be called the modern history of commerce, it will be proper to introduce some notices concerning the trade of the Anglo-Saxons, which could not conveniently be referred to any particular dates.

Before the establishment of the feudal system in this country, which the best antiquaries seem agreed in ascribing to the Norman kings, [See *Spelman, Gloss. vo. Feodum*] landed property was more absolutely at the disposal of the proprietors, than when all estates were held by feudal tenures. From the histories of churches and abbays, (of which many are extant in manuscript, and also severals published) we have numerous accounts of sales of estates \*. We find five hides of land at Holland, on the coast of Essex, sold for twenty pounds of silver; [*Hist. Eliens, ap. Gale, p. 481*] and it appears, that the price scarcely ever exceeded five pounds of silver for a hide of land, even of the best quality †. So low a price of land affords the clearest demonstration, that the country was very thinly peopled, and that few of the people were in opulent circumstances.

Agriculture, which was in such a flourishing state in Britain when under the Roman government, was much neglected during the long wars between the Britons and the Saxons, Angles, &c. and it never recovered its former degree of perfection during the whole period of the Anglo-Saxon government. There is not, I believe, any authority to say, that one cargo of corn was ever shipped from England in all that long succession of ages. It is unnecessary to add, that a bad harvest brought on universal distress ‡.

\* See especially the Histories of Ramsey and Ely, *ap. Gale, Scriptores, V. i, 1691*. The later in particular is full of such purchases, many of which, even by the account of a monk of the abbay, appear to have been fraudulent.

† There is great difference of opinion concerning the quantity of land contained in a hide, which appears to have varied from 96 to 160 acres. The average price of an acre of good land may, therefore, be stated at about half an ounce of silver. In the reign of Cnut two mills were purchased for two marks of gold; but I know not if it was a fair price, for the estate to which they belonged was acquired by a swindling trick. [*Hist. Ramf. p. 442.*]

‡ The languid condition of agriculture is evident from a great part of the country having reverted to the natural state of an uncultivated forest, which was only useful for feeding hogs and wild animals, and furnishing fuel and timber for build-

ing. In the reign of Edward the Confessor Leoffstan, abbat of St. Albans, cut down the trees adjoining to the great road called Watling-street, beginning at the Chiltern, and proceeding almost to London, that travelers might be less exposed to the depredations of robbers, who haunted the wood, which was also occupied by wolves, boars, wild bulls, and deer. And he gave a grant of the manor of Flamstead to Thurnoth, on condition that he should clear the wood of noxious animals and robbers, and make good the loss sustained by any person robbed within his district. The wood, however, was not sufficiently cleared, or thinned, between St. Alban's and London; for we find, that Frederic, the next abbat, gave the manor of Aldenham on the same terms to the abbat of Westminster. After the conquest many of the English fled from the oppression of the Normans to the woods, where they supported themselves by plunder. [*M. Paris Vit. abbatum, pp. 45, 46.*]

The fertile and extensive pastures of the British islands, exempted, by the changeable nature of our climate, from the long-continued parching droughts, which frequently destroy the grass in other countries, have, from the earliest ages that we have any account of, nourished innumerable herds and flocks, from which the natives derived the principal part of their food, their clothing, bedding, armour, and even their boats. The skins also furnished an article of the rude commerce of the Britons, before they became subject to the Romans. And, though there is not, I believe, any positive authority to establish the fact, there can be little doubt, that the Flemings, the great manufacturers of fine woollen goods for the whole of Europe, carried great quantities of wool from this country in the period now under our consideration, as, we know for certain, they did in the following ages: [*M. Westm. p. 396*] and we may thereby account for the disproportionate price of the fleece, which seems to be valued at two pennies in the 68<sup>th</sup> law of Inè, king of the West Saxons, whereas the value of a sheep with her lamb, by the 56<sup>th</sup> law of the same king, was only one shilling, i. e. either five or four pennies. By the 8<sup>th</sup> law of King Edgar, the highest price which could be taken for a weigh of wool, was fixed at half a pound of silver, being, if the weigh contained then as now, 182 pounds of wool, near three fourths of a penny for a pound; a price which, as far as we are enabled to compare it with the prices of other articles, may be thought high.

We know that lead was frequently used for the roofs of churches and other buildings; and we know from Domesday book, that in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, there were iron works in the time of Edward the Confessor, which had probably been kept up since before the invasion of the Romans. Though there is no account of the exportation of any metals in the ages now under our consideration, it is reasonable to suppose, that the demand from other countries must at all times have prevented the owners of the mines from neglecting them; and we may presume, that at least lead and tin\*, if not iron, formed a considerable part of the few exports during the Anglo-Saxon period.

It may be presumed, that horses had been sometimes exported, as King Athelstan made a law against carrying any out of the kingdom, unless they were to be given as presents.

When the country was almost covered with wood so near the capital, the remoter districts must assuredly have been in a still lower degree of cultivation, of which indeed many positive proofs might be adduced, if it were necessary.

\* Mathew Paris [*Hist. p. 570*] says, erroneously, that from the creation of the world to the year 1241 no tin had ever been found anywhere but in Cornwall. Camden [*Britan. p. 134*] supposes, that the Saracens worked the Cornish mines

in the times of the Anglo-Saxons; and he says, the exhausted mines are called in Cornish *Aital Sarifin*, which he interprets *the leavings of the Saracens*.

Raynal [*Hist. phil. et polit. V. ii, p. 177, ed. 1782*] says, that in the seventh century the Saxons carried their tin and lead to the fairs established in France by Dagobert. It is a pity that that valuable author never produces his authorities.

It will sound strange to the ears of many, that human creatures, not Africans of a different colour, but white people, natives of Britain, constituted an article of trade in those days. The people of Bristol were great dealers in slaves, whom they generally exported to Ireland. [*W. Malmshur. Vit. Ulfani, in Anglia sacra, V. ii, p. 258.—Gir. Cambr. Hib. exp. L. i, c. 18.*] Some Northumbrian slaves were carried as far as Rome, where, being exposed to sale in the slave-market, their handsome figure so engaged the compassion of a monk called Gregory, that he afterwards, when he was pope, sent Augustine to convert their nation to the Christian religion, who, instead of proceeding to Northumberland, took up his residence at Canterbury. [*Bedæ Hist. eccles. L. ii, c. 1.*]

The foreign trade appears to have been chiefly carried on by strangers, and was therefore a passive trade on the part of England. The attempt of Athelstan to allure his subjects to avail themselves of the natural advantages of their insular situation would not have been either necessary or proper, if many English merchants had traded to foreign countries, or if many of them had been capable of fitting out and loading a vessel.

The internal trade of England must also have been on a very diminutive scale, when the presence of two or more witnesses, of the chief magistrate, the shirref, the priest, or the lord of the manor, was necessary to give validity to a bargain of more than twenty pennies. If we may place any dependence on the laws ascribed to Edward the Confessor, the clergy were entitled to draw their tenths even from the profits of trade, which was a safe and good trade for them.

The inland trade was assisted not only by the many navigable rivers, which intersect England, but also apparently by artificial canals, where the ground was level. Abbo of Fleury describes the kingdom of the East-Angles as bounded on the west by a rampart and ditch. [*See Camdeni Britan. in Cambridge-shire, where several such are noted.*] A canal in Huntingdon-shire, called Kingsdelf, is at least as old as the year 963. [*Chron. Sax. ad an.—Hist. Rames. ap. Gale, p. 457.*] It is not impossible, that these canals may be of still higher antiquity, and may owe their origin to Roman policy and British labour.

Though the subjection of the English by the Danes was fatal to some great families, it must be acknowledged that it was highly advantageous to the great bulk of the people, and more especially to such of them as were engaged in any kind of commerce. The merchants of all the northern countries of Europe, possessing any quantity of shipping, being fellow-subjects in the reign of Cnut, navigation was perfectly free from the danger of pirates, and trade was safe. The subjects of so great a king were also, upon his account, more respected and favoured in other parts of Europe, as we have already had occasion to observe.

Concerning the manufactures of this country, the meagre chronicles of the times now under consideration afford little addition to what has been already said upon the introduction of the art of making glass in Northumberland; except in a department, which might be supposed to belong to a state of society vastly more advanced in refinement than the English then were. We have undoubted proof that the English jewelers and workers in gold and silver were eminent in their professions, and that probably as early as the beginning of the seventh century (see above, p. 238); and certainly as early as the time of Alfred. A piece of ornamental work in gold, with an inscription showing that it was made by the order of that great prince, is preserved in the Ashmolean museum, and engravings of it have been repeatedly published. Though the drawing of the figure upon it proves that the arts of design were in a very low state indeed, yet the nice sculpture of the goldsmith's tools has been greatly admired. [See *Hickeys's Thesaur. Angl. Sax. V. i, pp. 142, 173.*—*Afferii Vit. Ælfredi, pp. 43, 171, ed. 1722.*—*Philos. transact. n<sup>o</sup>. 247.*] So great was the demand for highly-finished trinkets of gold and silver, that the most capital artists of Germany resorted to England; and, moreover, the most precious specimens of foreign workmanship were imported by the merchants. The women of England were so famous for their taste and skill in embroidering with silk of various colours, and with threads of gold and silver, that embroidery was now called *English work*, as in antient times it was called *Phrygian*. William the Conqueror sent to his patron, Pope Alexander II, the banner of King Harold, which contained the figure of an armed man in pure gold, and along with it several other ornamental works, 'which might be greatly admired even at Constantinople.' The presents sent by the same conqueror to the church of Caen in Normandy, were 'such as strangers of the highest rank, who had seen the treasures of many noble churches, might look upon with delight; and even the natives of Greece or Arabia, if they were to travel thither, would be equally charmed with them.' What renders these praises of the English male and female artists the more valuable, is, that it is bestowed by foreigners\*. [*Gul. Pictav. ap. Du Chesne Script. Norm. pp. 206, 211.*—*Muratori Antiq. V. ii, coll. 404, 405.*]

The imports of England in those ages comprehended silk, and other expensive articles of dress for the great, precious stones, perfumes, and other Oriental luxuries, purchased in the ports of Italy, and probably sometimes at Marseille. To these may be added books, and also, what will appear surprising to a modern protestant reader, dead carcases, legs, arms, fingers, toes, and old rags, supposed to have belonged to the canonized saints.

\* See also the account of Matildis, a woman very skilful in the art of dying purple, and adorning the dresses of the rich with gold, gems, pictures, and flowers, by Ailred, a native writer. [*Col. 409, ap. Tawysden.*]

With such slender resources as the foreign trade of England appears to have furnished, it may be asked, how the country could raise such sums as were repeatedly paid to procure the forbearance, or to allure the invasions, of the Danes; to say nothing of the permanent taxes of Dane-geld and Peter-pence, the later of which, with the innumerable pilgrimages, made a perpetual drain of money to Rome. As we can see no reason to suppose that the little trade then carried on produced any regular or lasting balance in cash, we must believe, that those heavy demands were supplied, either from mines of the precious metals, though unnoticed by any historian since the beginning of the Roman dominion in the island, except Bede, [*Hist. eccles. L. i, c. 1*] or from the remainder of the vast treasure, which the fertile fields, the copious mines of tin and lead, and the other valuable productions of Britain, long continued to draw from Rome and the provinces of the empire in former ages. That all those heavy drains did not exhaust the stock of the precious metals in England, is abundantly evident from many facts to be found in ancient writers, which show, that the kings, the clergy, and the nobles, were still very rich. King Canut expended vast sums in his pilgrimage to Rome, as already observed. Edward the Confessor built Westminster and other churches at an uncommon expense. The great quantity of money, found in Harold's treasury, enabled William to be incredibly liberal to the church of Rome, as his biographer expresses it\*. Egelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, being on his return from Rome, made a purchase at Pavia of an arm of St. Augustine (or of some other body) for one hundred talents of silver and one talent of gold †; an excellent bargain—for the knavish seller. [*IV. Malmfb. f. 42 a.*] But, what was at least equally astonishing, we are told, that Elfsig, abbat of Peterburgh, in the year 1013, in the very midst of the convulsions, gave five thousand pounds of silver for a headless carcase. [*Chron. Sax. ad an.*] Of the opulence of the nobles I shall select only one example, which, after making a large deduction for the exaggeration of tradition, shows that they were very rich, and the court very venal. Earl Godwin appeased the wrath of King Hardacnut by a present of a galley with golden (or gilded) rostra, carrying eighty soldiers, each of whom had two bracelets on each hand containing sixteen ounces of gold, being in all 320 bracelets, and 5,120 ounces of gold; a sum equal in real effective value to at least two hundred thousand pounds of our modern money. We are fur-

\* 'Pecuniam in auro atque argento, ampliozem quam dictu credibile sit.' [*Gul. Pictav. ap. Du Chesne, p. 206.*]

Inè king of the West Saxons is said to have given near three thousand pounds of silver, and about three hundred pounds of gold, to adorn a chapel at Glastonbury. But this must be under-

stood to be mere monkish rant. [*IV. Malmfb. ap. Gale, p. 310.*]

† As the writers of the middle ages often affected classical words, when very improper for their subject, it is probable that this important purchase was transacted in more modern money. Surely 100 pounds of silver and one pound of gold was not too small a price for a rotten arm.

ther told that even the battle-axes, spears, &c. of these splendid soldiers were completely covered with gold. [*W. Malmsh. f. 43 a.*] Of the wealth of the great body of the people nothing is recorded; and there was most probably nothing to be recorded, except that they were devoured by the unconscionable avarice of their superiors. [*W. Malmsh. f. 57 b.*]

Slaves and cattle constituted that kind of property, usually transferred with the soil, which is often mentioned by the early English writers under the name of *living money*; whereas money made of metal was called *dead money*.

It seems agreed upon by the learned, that, during the Anglo-Saxon period of our history, the nominal pound in money was a real pound of silver in weight; and that weight may, with great appearance of truth, be presumed to have been brought from Germany\*. Authors agree, that the pound was coined into 240 pennies; but they vary greatly as to the number of shillings of account contained in the pound, some reckoning forty-eight shillings of five pennies each, some sixty, and some only twenty. The shortest abridgement that could be made of the arguments and proofs in support of the various opinions would be too tedious to be admitted in this work, and would still be unsatisfactory to those who wish to investigate the matter. I shall only suggest, that it is very probable, that in different parts of England, or in different ages, the kings, who did not think of introducing a depreciated nominal pound, divided the pound of silver, the only metal generally used for current money, into a greater or lesser number of parts, which still retained the same names of pennies and shillings, though the later was probably not a real coin till many ages after. The mark was also not a real coin, but a denomination for two thirds of a pound, and was apparently introduced by the Danes in the time of Alfred. The mancus, according to Ælfric, [*Grammat. p. 52*] contained thirty pennies, and is supposed to have been a gold coin †, a little better than a third part of our guinea. The thrymsa, ora, sceata, and the brads styca, were coins, or denominations of money, concerning which the learned are not at all agreed.

The proportion of silver to gold, in the Anglo-Saxon times, is generally believed to have been twelve to one.

The Yutes, Saxons, and Angles, appear to have surpassed the people of the northern countries of Europe, whence they themselves came, in

\* The old Saxon pound contained 5,400 grains of Troye weight, or 12 ounces of 450 grains each. The standard ounce of Cologne and Strasburg contains at present 451.38 grains; a resemblance, or rather identity, not to be ascribed to accident.

For the nature of the Saxon money, the reader may consult *Hicckesii Dissertatio epistolaris*.—*Folkes's*

*Tables of English coins*.—*Clarke on coins*.—*Fleetwood's Chronicon preciosum*, &c.

† This supposition is against the general belief, that no gold was coined in England before the year 1344. See *Pegge's Dissertation on Anglo-Saxon remains*.

coining money; an important point in the progress of civilization, which the Scandinavians had not attained in the tenth century\*. Specimens of the coins of the various kingdoms in England, from the beginning of the seventh century †, and also of the monarchs of all England, are preserved in cabinets; and engravings of them have been repeatedly published.

No Scottish coins have hitherto been discovered of any king preceding Alexander I; if those ascribed to him are indeed his; for the total want of numbers and dates, renders the discrimination of the ancient coins of kings of the same name almost impossible. [See *Anderson's Diplomata et Numismata Scotiæ*, tab. clvii, with *Ruddiman's judicious Preface*, pp. 57, 97.]

From the unquestionable authority of *Domesday book* ‡ the following particulars are selected, as illustrative of the condition of some of the ports and trading towns, and as containing hints of the state of commerce in England, in the time of Edward the Confessor.

Dover paid to the king and the earl £18. The burghesses were bound to find twenty ships, carrying twenty-one men each, for fifteen days in a year; and they were therefore exempted from *fac* and *foc*, and were free from toll throughout all England.

In the city of Cantuaria (*Canterbury*) the king had 51 burghesses paying rent or customs ('*gablum*'), and 212 liable to *fac* and *foc*; and three mills of 40 shillings rent.

The city of Rovecestre (*Rochester*) paid 100 shillings.

The burgh of Sanwic (*Sandwich*) paid £15, and rendered the same services to the king as Dover.

In the burgh of Pevenfel (*Pevensey*) there were 24 burghesses in the king's demesne, who paid several small sums for rent, toll, port-dues, &c. There were other burghesses subject to the bishops, the priests, &c.

The city of Cicestre (*Chichester*) paid 100 shillings, wanting one penny.

The burgh of Lewes paid £6:4:1½; and the king had 127 burghesses in his demesne, who collected 20 shillings for marine service.

\* In the tenth century, when Hoskold bought a beautiful female slave at the great fair in Brenneyar near Gothenburg, he weighed three marks of silver, which he paid for her to Gilli, a rich merchant of Ruffia. [*Laxdela saga*, MS. in *musæo Brit. Cat. Aysc.* 4861; one of the *Icelandic manuscripts presented by Sir Joseph Banks.*]

† The piece marked with three crowns, and ascribed to Olof, king of Sweden about the year 800, [*Brenneri Thesaur. numm. Sueo-Goth.* tab. i] is of very doubtful age. The earliest undoubted Swedish coins are of the twelfth century. About the beginning of that century Anketil, a very ingenious English goldsmith, was invited by the

king of Denmark to superintend his works in gold, and be the keeper of his money, and chief banker, or money-changer ('*trapezita*'). He lived seven years in Denmark, and very probably coined money there. [*M. Paris, Vit. abbat.* p. 59.]

‡ Camden [*Remains* p. 181, ed. 1657] says, he had seen a coin of Ethelbert, the first Christian king of Kent, who died in the year 616. It might however belong to one of his successors of the same name.

§ It was called the *look of Winchester* ('*Liber de Wintonia*') by the compilers of it: but *Domesday book* has afterwards become the established name.

Gildeford paid £18 : 0 : 3.

In Sudwerche (*Southwark*) the king had a duty upon ships coming into a dock ('*aquæ fluctus*,'—'*exitus aquæ*') and a toll on the strand.

In the burgh of Walingeford the king drew £11 of rent or custom ('*gablum*'), with some services. There was one coiner.

In Dorecestre (*Dorchester*) there were 172 houses, which paid the geld of ten hides of land, viz. one mark of silver for the king's household. There were two coiners, who paid one mark, and also 20 shillings each.

In Brideport there were 120 houses, paying, as for five hides, half a mark to the household. There was one coiner, who paid as those of Dorecestre.

In Warham there were 143 houses in the king's demesne, paying one mark as Dorecestre; also two coiners, who paid as those of Dorecestre.

In the burgh of Sceptesberie (*Saftsbury*) there were 104 houses in the king's demesne; and they paid to the household two marks, as for twenty hides. The abbess had 153 houses in her district. Three coiners here paid as those of Dorecestre.

The burgh of Bade (*Bath*) gelded as for twenty hides, when the shire gelded. The king had 64 burgessees paying £4; and other superiors had 90 burgessees paying 60 shillings. This burgh, with Estone, paid £60 by tale, and one mark of gold. It also paid £30 to the queen. Moreover, the coiners paid 100 shillings.

The city of Exonia (*Exeter*) paid no geld, except when London, York, and Winchester, paid, and then half a mark for the army, with the military services due from five hides of land. Twelve carucates of land near the city paid no custom but to it.

The burgh of Totnais (*Totnes*) belonged to the king. It contained 95 burgessees; and it paid £3, the silver of which was proved by the fire and the scale. This burgh performed the same services as Exeter; and so did Barnestaple and Lidford, both belonging to the king in demesne.

The burgh of Hertforde was rated as ten hides. There were 146 burgessees in the king's soc.

Bochingham (*Buckingham*), together with Bortone, paid as one hide, the whole of its dues, amounting to £10 by tale. There were 26 burgessees.

The burgh of Oxeneford (*Oxford*) paid £30, and six '*sextaria*'\* of honey, together with the military service of twenty of the burgessees when the king was on an expedition, or £20 in lieu of it.

The city of Glowecestre paid £36 by tale, and 12 '*sextaria*' of honey

\* *Sextarium* is generally translated *gallon*. From the commutation paid for the honey due by Warwick, it appears to have been a much larger measure. But there were also smaller *sextaria*. The

widow Thova paid annually to the abbay of St. Albans one *sextarium* of honey, containing thirty-two ounces, in the reign of Edward the Confessor. [*Math. Paris, Vit. abbatum, p. 45.*]

of the measure of the burgh, 36 dicres of iron, and 100 iron rods for nails (or bolts) to the king's ships, together with some other petty customs\*.

The burgh of Wincelcumbe (*Winchcomb*) paid £6 of firm, or farm.

The city of Wirecestre (*Worcester*) paid to the king and the earl £18; and when the county paid geld, it was rated at fifteen hides. It paid the king no other dues, except the rents of his houses. The coiners paid 20 shillings each on receiving their dies at London. In Worcester-shire the king had shares in the salt works, or duties from them.

In the city of Hereford the king had 103 tenants, (some of them without the wall) who performed certain services instead of rents, as did also six blacksmiths. Seven coiners gave 18 shillings each for their dies, and a duty of 20 shillings. The provost ('præpositus') farmed the customs for £12 paid to the king, and £6 to the earl.

The burgh of Grentebrige (*Cambridge*) was divided into ten wards, and was rated as a hundred.

The burgh of Huntedun (*Huntington*) had 256 burgessees paying customs and geld to the king; and it paid £10 of ground-rent ('land-gable'). There were three coiners in it.

In Northantone (*Northampton*) there were 60 burgessees, and as many houses in the king's demesne.

The city of Ledecestre (*Leicester*) paid £30 and 15 'sextaria' of honey. Twelve of the burgessees attended the king's army; and, for a maritime expedition they sent four horses as far as London to carry arms, &c.

The burgh of Warwic, with the shire and the royal manors, paid £65, and 36 'sextaria' of honey, or £24 : 8 : 0 instead of the honey. Ten burgessees of Warwic went to the king's army; and for maritime service the burgh provided four 'batfueins' or failors, or £4 instead of them.

The city of Sciropeſberie (*Shrewsbury*) paid geld as for one hundred hides. There were 252 houses, and as many burgessees, paying annually £7 : 16 : 8 of rent ('gablum'). The services and customs due to the king were very numerous. He had a tax upon marriages, of 10 shillings from every maid, and 20 shillings from every widow. There were three coiners paying 20 shillings each to the king. The whole duties, &c. paid by this city, amounted to £30 annually.

The city of Cestre (*Chester*), with its dependencies, paid geld as fifty hides of land. The king had the geld of 431 houses, and the bishop, of 56, in the city. The city paid ten marks and a half, besides a farm, or firm, of £45, and three timbres of martin's skins; and it was liable to a great many customs and penalties. If a ship arrived or sailed with-

\* The copious mines of iron near Gloucester are noted in the following century by Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itin. Cambriae*, L. i, c. 5.

out the king's leave, she was subject to a fine of 40 shillings for every man in her : if a ship came in against the king's will, she, her cargo, and her men, became forfeited to the king and the earl. Ships coming in with the king's permission might dispose of their cargoes, paying at their departure four pennies for every last. Those who brought martin's skins \* were bound, under a penalty of 40 shillings, to show them first to an officer, who might buy for the king what he wanted of them. There were seven coiners in this city, who paid £7 to the king and the earl ; and there were twelve judges chosen from the vassals of the king, the bishop, and the earl.

In the burgh of Snotingeham (*Nottingham*) there were 173 burgesſes, and it paid £18. Two coiners paid 40 shillings. The navigation of the Trent and the Fosse, and the road to York, were carefully preserved. The fishing of the Trent belonged to the burgesſes.

The burgh of Derby † contained 143 burgesſes. There were 14 mills belonging to it. The burgh and the mills paid in all £24.

In the city of Eboracum, or Euvic (*York*), there were six divisions or wards (' scyræ'), five of which contained 1,418 inhabited houses, and the archbishop's division contained 189. The burgesſes of this city were exempted from paying reliefs ‡.

In the city of Lincol (*Lincoln*) there were 1,150 inhabited houses, and twelve law-men (or judges) having sac and soc.

The king's burgh of Stanford was charged as twelve hundreds and a half in the rates for the army, the fleet, and Dane-geld, and paid a firm, or farm, of £15. It had six wards, five in Lincol-shire, containing 141 houses, and the sixth beyond the bridge in the shire of Hantun (*Northampton*), which paid all customs along with the other five, except the rent and toll due to the abbay of Burg (*Peterburgh*). There were twelve law-men invested with several privileges.

Torchefey (*Torksey*) was rated at £18. There were in it 213 burgesſes, whose customs were generally the same with those of Lincol : but they enjoyed some immunities, in consideration of being bound to convey the king's messengers in their boats from their own town to York.

Melduna (*Maldon*) paid altogether £13.

In Colecestra (*Colchester*) the king's burgesſes paid two marks of silver, and also, as a composition for the rent of six pennies on every house, £15 : 5 : 4, of which £4 was paid by the coiners.

In Norwic (*Norwich*) there were 1,320 burgesſes. It paid, on vari-

\* Martin's skins are mentioned in the *Libel of English police*, published by Hakluyt, [*Voivages*, V. 1, p. 199, ed. 1598] among the commodities of Ireland, from which they were no doubt imported to Chester. Perhaps some were also brought from Germany. See below, under the year 1156.

† Derby is mentioned in Snotingeham-shire as a part of it.

‡ The other towns of York-shire, now so opulent with their flourishing manufactures, are only noted as farming villages.

ous accounts, £31 : 1 : 4, and 6 'sextaria' of honey; it also provided a bear, and six dogs for the bear.

Gernemua (*Yarmouth*) had 70 burgessees, and paid £27 by tale to the king and the earl.

The burgh of Tetford (*Tetford*) contained 943 burgessees, paying all customs to the king. The king and the earl drew £20 by tale. The king also received 4 sextaria of honey, and 40 pennies, with 10 hides of goats, and four hides of oxen.

In the burgh of Gepeswiz (*Ipswich*) there were 808 burgessees paying custom to the king, 41 under Robert the son of Wimarc, and 4 under Roger de Ramis. The coiners paid £4.

Dunewic (*Dunwich*) had 120 burgessees, and paid £10\*.

London and Winchester are entirely omitted in Domesday book; but it seems probable that they, together with York and Exeter, enjoyed exemptions from some taxations payable by the other cities of the kingdom, which, with respect to London, will further appear from the charter of William I to that city. [See above in Exeter.]

From Domesday book, compared with the charter of Edward I in the year 1278 to the Cinque ports, there is reason to believe that the service of ships and men was required of those ports (certainly of Dover, and apparently of Sandwich) in the time of Edward the Confessor, and perhaps earlier, and that the privileges granted in return for those services are of the same antiquity. It is probable that the numbers of ships, &c. was changed from time to time according to the condition of the towns, especially if Sandwich, which afterwards furnished only five ships, furnished twenty in Edward's time †. [See *Charters of the Cinque ports, &c.* by Samuel Jeakes.]

All the cities and burghs of England appear to have been the property of the king, or other patrons or over-lords, to whom the inhabitants looked up for protection, and whose superiority they acknowledged by payment of a rent or burgh-mail. Every city and burgh had its own particular constitution, and was governed by one or more magistrates under the controul of the over-lord. In the first or second year of Edward the Confessor the city of London appears to have had one chief magistrate, called a *port-geref* (i. e. ruler of the city), whose name was Wolfgar. Between the year 1051 and the end of his reign we find the name of Swetman, also a single port-geref: and in his last year there were two port-gerefs, seemingly co-ordinate, called Leofftane and Alfie. [Charters quoted in Stow's Survey, pp. 847, 913, ed. 1618.] It

\* In these extracts from Domesday book I have been careful to preserve the distinction of city, burgh, &c. as they stand in the original. The spelling of the names is also exactly followed, though some of them, as Cantuaria, Exonia, &c. are evidently not the genuine, but the affected Latin, appellations used by the writers of the age.

† The services due by Sandwich are not clearly expressed in Domesday book.

appears from the charter of William the Conqueror, that London enjoyed some privileges superior to those of other cities: and it seems probable that the supremacy or conservancy of the river was vested in the city at this time, or earlier. (See below under the year 1070.) The inhabitants, or burgeses, also enjoyed the highly-prized privilege of hunting in the extensive chaces of Chiltern, Middlesex, and Surry, as we learn from the confirmation of it contained in the charter of Henry I to the city.

There seems no reason to believe that in those times there was any town in Scotland, or in Wales, which would now be called a good village, though, in the estimation of the last writer of the Pictish Chronicle (one of the most antient extant monuments of Scottish history, which was finished in or about the year 972), Brechin was a great city. It is now but a village with the rank of a burgh; and there is not, I believe, any reason to suppose that it ever was much larger, though it has been a bishop's see.

To the gleanings of the commercial history of the Anglo-Saxons it may not be improper to add a short account of their manners, from the observations of a judicious historian, who, living immediately after the conquest, had an opportunity of marking the features which distinguished the Anglo-Saxon from the Norman character, before they were obliterated by long-continued intercourse.

Before the conquest learning appears to have been almost at as low an ebb in England, as it was at the commencement of the reign of Alfred. Few of the clergy could repeat the offices of religion; and a clergyman who was master of grammar was esteemed a prodigy of learning. The nobles abandoned themselves to the excesses of gluttony, drunkenness, and promiscuous concubinage, not scrupling to consign the objects of their lust, and even their own offspring, to the miseries of slavery for a little money. They expended their whole revenues in riotous entertainments, without any degree of elegance or taste, their houses being small and mean. Their upper garments reached only half-way down to the knee. They cut their hair, and shaved their beards, except upon the upper lip. Their arms were loaded with weighty golden (or gilded) bracelets. And their skins were marked with painted figures\*. But the historian candidly requests his readers not to apply this unfavourable character universally to the English. He himself knew many exceptions to it, as well among the laity as among the clergy.

\* This custom of painting the skin, the truth of which cannot be questioned, will seem strange to many people. The practice had been prohibited in the 19<sup>th</sup> canon, or chapter, of a council held in the presence of the king of Northumberland in the year 787. [*Spelman, Concil. Britann. p. 299.*] But we see that it still prevailed, and even in that part

of the island the most remote from the country of the Picts, who, we are generally, but erroneously, told, were called *Picti* (*painted people*) by the Romans, because they alone retained the custom of painting their skins, after it was given up by the other nations of Britain.

[*Will. Malmfb. f. 57.*] We must, indeed, say, that a very different national character might have been expected in the long-continued reign of a king thought worthy of a place in the calendar of the faints.

About the same time that the duke of Normandy got possession of the crown of England, Godred Crovan, an adventurer from Iceland, usurped the maritime kingdom of Mann and the Isles. He afterwards reduced Dublin and a great part of Leinster under his dominion: and he is said to have kept the Scots of Ireland in such a state of depression, that he did not permit any of them to possess a vessel or boat with more than three nails in it. [*Chron. Mannicæ ap. Camdeni Britann. p. 840.*] This, if at all credible, must surely be understood only of the wicker boats covered with hides; and indeed it does not appear that the native Irish, or Scots, who were now shut up in the interior part of the island, could have any occasion for sea vessels, unless some of them lived in the maritime towns under subjection to the Ostmen.

1068—Spain, after being fully conquered (except the mountainous districts on the north coast) by the Saracens, and colonized by the natives of Syria, Persia, and Arabia, among whom were the descendents of the most antient commercial nation of the Sabæans, long continued to flourish in science, manufactures, and commerce, beyond any country in the western part of the world. The port of Barchinona (now called Barcelona) became the principal station of the intercourse with the eastern countries bordering on the Mediterranean sea: and the manufacturing and commercial importance which very soon distinguished that city, and have in some degree continued to distinguish it down to the present day, seem to infer that its inhabitants may boast of the real honour of deriving their blood from the most enlightened of the western nations of Asia, with probably some small mixture of that of their Carthaginian founders\*.

The descendents of the small remainder of the Goths, who had taken refuge among the mountains of Asturia, made frequent, and often successful, attacks upon the Saracens, and gradually, though scarcely in a few centuries as these employed months in the conquest, recovered the

\* Barcelona is said to have been founded by Hamilcar, the father of the great Hannibal, who from his family name, Barca, called it Barcino.

Though few of the modern Spaniards, who reckon it an indelible disgrace to have any mixture of Arabian (or Moorish) blood, will be willing to acknowledge themselves indebted to infidels for any acquisitions in science or civilization, Don Antonio de Capmany, led by his researches to see the truth, and to have more liberal ideas, owns [*V. i. Com. p. 26*] that many of their commercial and maritime terms are derived from the Arabian language, or, in other words, that they acquired commercial and maritime knowledge from their Arabian

predecessors: and probably his countrymen of Catalonia, as the most commercial people in Spain, may have retained more Arabian vocables than those of the other provinces. Algodon, *cotton*, almiray, *admiral*, alfondech, the original name of the exchange of Barcelona, (which thence appears to have been an Arabian foundation) signifying generally a *place where merchants transact their business* (called *fundic-us* by the Latin writers of the middle ages), *azucar*, *sugar*, are a few of the many words that a Spaniard, desirous of the honour of deducing his genealogy from the most enlightened nations of antiquity, might adduce as proofs.

whole peninsula out of their hands. Charlemagne, the mighty sovereign of France, Germany, and Italy, also found an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Spain, and conquered a considerable part of the country adjacent to the Pyrenæan mountains, the governor of which he appointed to reside in Barcelona. About the year 900 the governor of Barcelona made himself independent of Charles the Simple, king of France. His successors, the counts of Barcelona, appear to have wisely attended to the manufacturing and commercial interests of their subjects; and their country consequently became prosperous and opulent.

In the year 1068 the usages or customary laws of Barcelona were collected into a code (*'el código de los usages Barceloneses'*), under the authority of the national assembly, in which Raymundo Berenguer I, count of Barcelona, presided. By the law, n<sup>o</sup>. lviii, usually known by its first words, *'Omnes quippe naves,'* all vessels arriving at, or sailing from, Barcelona are assured of friendly treatment; and they are declared to be under the protection of the prince as long as they are upon the coast of Catalonia\*. This judicious and hospitable law was confirmed and amplified by his successors, the kings of Aragon †, in the years 1283, 1289, and 1299; and the code is to this day the basis of the constitution of the province of Catalonia, of which Barcelona is the capital. By the wise and liberal policy of admitting the commerce of all nations without regarding difference of religion, and the sagacity of the sovereigns in relaxing the rigour of the feudal government, Barcelona, after it fell under the dominion of the Christians, continued to be the chief trading port on the west coast of the Mediterranean sea, and distributed the rich merchandize of the Oriental regions to the other Christian provinces of Spain. [*Capmany, Memorias historicas de Barcelona, V. i, Com. pp. 21, 23, 25, 221; V. ii, Notas, p. 5.—Benj. Tudel. in Purchas's Pilgrimes, B. ix, p. 1438.*]

1070—William, now king of England, being sensible of the great importance of the city of London, endeavoured to conciliate the good will of the inhabitants by a charter confirming their privileges; and, in order to render it the more agreeable to them, he made it be written in their own language, though he is said to have had an aversion to it, and to have done all in his power to abolish it. The charter, translated into modern English, is as follows.

'William the king greets William the bishop and Godfred the port-geref, and all the burghesses in London, French and English, in a friendly manner. And I make known to you, that it is my will, that you be

\* Is there any earlier notice than this of the protection which a vessel enjoys by being within the jurisdiction, or under the guns, of a neutral power?

† In the year 1137 Raymundo Berenguer IV,

count of Barcelona, married the infant daughter and heiress of Ramiro king of Aragon, and thenceforth Barcelona and the province of Catalonia have been united to that kingdom.

‘ all law-worthy \*, as you were in the days of King Edward. And it is my will, that every child be his father’s heir after his death †. And I will not suffer any man to do you any injury. God keep you.’

Though I do not find the commencement of the jurisdiction which the corporation of London have over the River Thames as their harbour, they appear to have possessed it about this time : and they also seem to have but recently obtained it ; for the limits of it were not precisely ascertained, as appears by a dispute in which they were engaged (A. D. 1090) with the abbay of St. Augustine at Canterbury for the superiority of Stonore, Stanore, or Estanore, a village near Sandwich, which they claimed as belonging to the port of London. But it was awarded to the abbay by King William II: [*Thorn, Chron. ap. Twysden, col. 1793*] and indeed it is far beyond Yendal or Yenland, which has been the eastern boundary of the city’s jurisdiction for many ages by-past.

About this time the city of Bergen was founded by Olaf the Peaceable, king of Norway. The safety and commodiousness of its harbour have rendered it in all succeeding ages the principal emporium of that kingdom. [*Torfæi Hist. Norweg. V. iv, p. 71.*]

1077—At a time when Europe was only beginning to emerge from the darkest night of ignorance, the light of science shone out in Asia, even among the Turks, under the auspices of the sultan Gjelaleddin Melicshah, who assembled the astronomers of the East in order to rectify the disorder of the antient Persian calendar. The result of their labours was a computation more correct than the Julian calendar, and nearly equal to the Gregorian. [*Hyde, Hist. relig. vet. Pers. pp. 196-211.*]

1080—King William sent an army against Scotland under the command of his son Robert, who, after passing the border, immediately retreated to the banks of the Tine, and founded a *new castle* at the antient village of Munekeceastre, which has given origin and name to the populous, active, and wealthy, trading town of Newcastle. [*Sim. Dunelm. ap. Twysden. col. 211.*]

1082—William, desirous of putting his kingdom in the most respectable state of defence, and considering the castle of Dover as the key of England, gave the charge of the adjacent coast, with the shipping belonging to it, to the constable of Dover castle, with the title of *warden of the cinque ports* ; an office resembling that of count of the Saxon coast

\* Men of servile condition, especially such as were in demesne (‘dominio’), were not law-worthy, or entitled to the protection of the general law, but were judged by their lords, as is observed by Doctor Brady [*Treatise of burghs, p. 16*] in his remarks on this charter, or protection as he chuses to call it.

† In the laws ascribed to King Edward the

Confessor, the property of a person who died without a will is directed to be divided equally among his children, without a word of either the church or the over-lord. [*Leges Edw. c. 24, in Selden’s edition of Eadmer, p. 184.*] But the inhabitants of most towns held their property at the will of an over-lord ; and London was distinguished by being exempted from that slavish condition.

(*comes littoris Saxonici*) in the decline of the Roman power in this island. The five ports, according to Bracton, an eminent lawyer in the reign of Henry III, were Hastings, Hyth, Romney, Dover, and Sandwich, to which Winchelsea and Rye have afterwards been added as principals, together with some smaller ports as dependent members. These towns were bound to furnish and man ships for the defence of the kingdom upon forty days' notice, in proportion, as may be presumed, to their opulence and commerce; but for the quotas we must wait for the more copious information of later times\*.

1084—The Venetians were now so powerful in shipping, that their alliance (for there was no longer any pretension made to their allegiance) was earnestly solicited by the Greek emperor to protect his western coast from the invasion of the formidable Norman chief, Robert Guiscard; and their fleet (in the year 1081) postponed, though it could not prevent, the surrender of Durazzo. In 1084 the Venetian fleet, nine vessels of which were remarkable for their great size and strength, in conjunction with the emperor's own fleet, disputed the command of the Adriatic sea with Guiscard: and in return the emperor bestowed on the Venetians a number of warehouses in Constantinople, with many commercial advantages over other nations in his ports, together with a solemn renunciation of his claim to the sovereignty of Dalmatia and Croatia.

1086—King William, that he might know the exact value of his demesne lands throughout all England, and also the value of every other estate, whether belonging to the church, to incorporated cities or burghs, or to private persons, ordered a general survey of the whole kingdom to be made. This great work, which was probably an imitation of the survey made in the reign of Alfred, took up several years in the execution, and was not completed till the last year of his reign, if indeed it was at all completed, for the shires of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland, Durham, with the greatest part of Lancaster, are omit-

\* The date 1082 is here given upon the faith of Jeakes, the editor of *The Charters of the Cinque ports, with annotations, &c.* who says, that, when William the Conqueror deprived his maternal brother of the custody of Dover castle, he invested John Fynes with the office of constable of Dover castle and warden of the Cinque ports. But as the oldest charter extant is that of Edward I in 1278, and historians afford no satisfactory information, it does not appear that the origin of the privileges of the Cinque ports can be traced with any degree of certainty. Edward's charter refers to liberties enjoyed by them in the reigns of Edward the Confessor, William I, William II, Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III, all whose charters are lost. From Domesday book we are sure that Dover, and apparently Sandwich, furnished

ships, and enjoyed privileges, in the time of the Confessor (See above, p. 293), though it is probable that the name of Cinque ports (evidently of Norman origin) was not then used. In the Saxon times we find associations of five towns and seven towns under the collective names of *lif-burgas* and *feoson-burgas*. See *Chron. Sax. ad an. 1015*.

Lord Coke [*Institutes, B. iv, ch. 42*] says, that Dover, Sandwich, and Romney, were the ports of special note before the conquest, that William the Conqueror added Hastings and Hyth, and that the ancient towns of Winchelsea and Rye were afterwards annexed. But a charter of the seventh year of King John refers to freedoms enjoyed by Hyth in the times of Edward, William I, William II, and Henry I. [See *Jeakes, pp. 47, 121.*]

ted. But of all the other parts of England there is an accurate and minute register, excepting only the capital cities of London and Winchester\*.

From this authentic record, known by the name of *Domesday book*, I have already given the condition of several cities and towns, as they were in the reign of Edward the Confessor; and I shall now give a view of the same, as they were at the end of William's reign.

Dovere was burnt on the arrival of King William in England. It is however rated at £54. The ships are greatly incommoded by the agitation of the water, occasioned by a mill at the entry of the harbour, which was not there in the time of King Edward.

The city of Cantuaria (*Canterbury*) contains 212 burgesſes under the king's ſac and ſoc. The three mills pay 108 ſhillings, and 68 ſhillings of toll.

The burgh of Roveceſtre (*Rochester*) is valued at £20; but he who has it pays £40.

The burgh of Sanwic (*Sandwich*) pays £50 of firm (or farm), and forty thouſand herrings for the uſe of the monks. The houſes are increaſed to the number of 383 (or rather 393).

In the burgh of Pevenſel the earl of Moriton has fixty burgesſes, and ſeveral other ſuperiors have eight, two, one, &c.

The city of Ciceſtre is increaſed by 60 houſes, and it is now rated at £25, but pays £35.

The burgh of Lewes pays 38 ſhillings more than formerly. The coiners pay 20 ſhillings each, when the money is called in. One half-penny is paid for every ox, and four pennies for every man (ſlave), ſold within the rape.

Gildeford is rated at £30, but pays £32.

In Sudwerche (*Southwark*) the king's income is rated at £16.

The burgh of Walingeford pays the ſame cuſtoms as formerly. The coiner has his tenement free while he is employed.

In Doreceſtre there are 88 houſes, beſides 100 which are totally deſtroyed.

In Brideport there are 100 houſes, beſides 20, ſo much damaged that the tenants pay no geld.

In Warham there are 135 houſes, and 150 totally deſtroyed.

In the burgh of Sceptesberie (*Shaftbury*) there are 66 houſes remaining, and 38 deſtroyed in the king's demefne. The abbefs has 111

\* This antient ſtatistical account of England, which well deſerves the character, given to it by ſome of our greateſt antiquaries, of the moſt antient and venerable record that this or any other country can boaſt of, [See *Spelman's Gloſſary*, vo. *Domeſdei*.—*Ayloffe's Calendar*, p. xviii] though intended chiefly as a ſtandard of taxation, contains a prodigious fund of information, not only upon the ſtate of the country and of the towns, but alſo upon the condition of the people, the manners and cuſtoms, to ſay nothing of authentic family hiſtory, and affords ample materials for the reflection and inveſtigation of thoſe who wiſh to dig in the copious mine of Engliſh antiquities.

houses remaining, and 42 totally destroyed, in her district. She has also 151 burghesses; and she has 20 unoccupied mansions.

The burgh of Bade (*Bath*) belongs to the king. (Some other notices concerning it are rather obscure.)

Bristow pays to the king 110 marks of silver, and to the bishop 33 marks, with one mark of gold.

In the city of Exonia (*Exeter*) the king has 315 houses paying custom. There are 48 houses laid waste since the arrival of King William in England. The city pays £18.

The burgh of Totnais has 49 burghesses, 9 of whom live without the burgh. It pays £8 by tale.

The burgh of Barnestaple has also 49 burghesses, and 9 of them without the burgh. They pay 40 shillings by weight to the king, and 20 shillings by tale to the bishop of Constance. Since the king's arrival in England 23 houses have been laid waste.

The burgh of Lideford has 69 burghesses, 41 of whom are without the burgh. They pay 60 shillings by weight. There are 40 houses laid waste since the king's arrival in England.

These three last burghs are bound to the same military services by land or by sea.

The burgh of Hertford, which paid geld as ten hides in the time of King Edward, does not now.

Bochingheam now pays £16 of white silver. In other respects it remains as before.

The burgh of Oxeneford (*Oxford*) pays £60. In this town there are 243 houses paying geld, and 478 not in a condition to pay any. Many other payments are exacted from Oxeneford, most of which are paid along with the county.

The city of Gloucestre pays to the king £60 of twenty in the ora ('ix lib. de xx in ora')\*; and he has also £20 in coined money ('moneta'), together with some other dues.

The burgh of Wincelcumbe, with three hundreds joined to it, pays £28.

In the city of Wirecestre (*Worcester*) the king has what formerly the king and the earl had. It pays £23 : 5 : 0 by weight, and many other dues. The king has also taken the salt-works which the earl had.

The city of Hereford is possessed by the king in demesne. The English burghesses retain their former customs. The French burghesses for 12 pennies are free from all claims, except forfeitures for the breach of the peace, heinfare, and forestell †. The city pays to the king £60 of white money by tale. It and 18 manors, which pay their firms in it, are computed at £335 : 18 : 0.

\* For the meaning of ora see *Spelman's Glossary*, vo. *Libra Anglo-Normannica*.

† Heinfare, desertion from the master's service.—Forestell, foretelling.

In the burgh of Grentebrige (*Cambridge*) 28 houses were pulled down to build a castle. The customs are £7 annually, and the ground-rent ('landgablum') is somewhat above £7.

In the burgh of Hundedun there are now no coiners.

In Northanton there are 14 houses now laid waste, and there are 46 remaining. There are now also 40 burgesses in the king's demesne in the new burgh.

The city of Ledcestre (*Leicester*) pays along with the shire £42:10:0 by weight; also £10 by tale for a hawk, and 20 shillings for a sumpter horse. The king has £20 from the coiners.

In the burgh of Warwic the king has 113 houses in his demesne, and the king's barons have 112, from all which the king draws geld.

In the city of Sciropesberie (*Shrewsbury*) the English burgesses complain that they are compelled to pay the whole geld paid in King Edward's time, though there are 51 houses ('masuræ') destroyed for the earl's castle, 50 others lying waste, 43 occupied by French burgesses, and 39 given by the earl to an abbay, being in all 183, which contribute nothing to the geld.

In the city of Cestre (*Chester*) there were 205 houses lying waste when it came into the possession of Earl Hugh; and it was worth only £30. It has now recovered, and is farmed from the earl for £70 and one mark of gold.

The burgh of Snotingeham (*Nottingham*) now pays £30. The burgesses complain of being deprived of their right of fishing in the Trent.

The burgh of Derby has now only 10 mills. The burgh, the mills, and the village of Ludecherche, pay £30. The burgesses also pay at Martinmas 12 thraves ('traves') of corn.

In the city of Eboracum (*York*) one of the divisions, or wards, is laid waste for building the castles. Of the houses in other four wards, 400 are so much decayed as to pay only one penny each, or even less; 540 houses, which are quite waste, pay nothing; and 145 are occupied by Frenchmen. In the archbishop's ward 100 houses, besides his own court and the houses of the canons, are occupied.

In the city of Lincol (*Lincoln*) there are 900 burgesses. 166 houses are laid waste for building the castle, and other 74 are lying waste, not by the oppression of the shirref, but by the misfortunes of poverty and fire.

The king's burgh of Stanford pays £50 of firm or farm. The whole of the king's customs amount to £28.

Torchesey has now only 102 burgesses. It is rated at £30.

In Melduna (*Maldon*) the king has 180 houses occupied by the burgesses, and 18 lying waste. It pays £16 by weight.

At Raganeia in the hundred of Rochfort there is a vineyard containing six arpents, which, when it thrives, yields 20 *modii* of wine.

In Norwic there are 665 English burgesſes paying customs, and 480 'bordarii \*,' who are too poor to pay any thing. It pays £70 by weight to the king, and 100 ſhillings of gerſum to the queen, and a goſhawk † ('aſturconem') and £21 to the earl. In the new burgh there were 36 French and 6 English burgesſes, each paying one penny of custom yearly. There are now 41 French burgesſes in the king's and earl's demefnes. Roger Bigot has 50 burgesſes, and ſome other ſuperiors have ſmaller numbers. The biſhop may have one coiner if he pleaſes.

Gernemua (*Yarmouth*) pays £17 : 16 : 4 of white money to the king, beſides payments to the earl, ſhirref, &c. Twenty-four fiſhermen living in this town belong to Gorleſton, a manor on the ſouth ſide of the River Yare.

In the burgh of Tetford there are 720 burgesſes, and 224 empty houſes. It pays £50 by weight to the king, and £20 of white money with £6 by tale to the earl. The king has alſo £40 from the coinage.

In the burgh of Gipeſwiz (*Ipfwich*) there are 110 burgesſes paying customs, and 100 poor burgesſes unable to pay any geld to the king, except one penny each for their heads. There are 328 houſes now waſte, which yielded geld in the time of King Edward. The coiners are now rated at £20; but in the four laſt years they have only paid £27 in all.

Dunwic contains 236 burgesſes and 178 poor men. It is rated upon the whole at £50, and ſixty thouſand herrings as a gift.

From theſe extracts, compared with thoſe of the reign of Edward, it appears, that, though the towns were generally reduced in their buildings and population, moſt of them were charged with rents, customs, and other payments, vaſtly higher than in the preceding period; and that the king was glaringly partial to his French ſubjects.

The king poſſeſſed 1,422 manors enumerated in Domeſday book, and many detached farms, beſides what he may have had in the northern ſhires, which are not inſerted in Domeſday book. From all theſe he received his rents in the real productions of the land. He had alſo quit-rents from his vaſſals, danegeld from the whole kingdom, rents, dues, and perquiſites of many denominations, from the towns, the customs upon trade, the casualties of wards, reliefs, forfeitures, eſcheats, fines, fees in courts of juſtice, &c. which altogether made up a very ample revenue. Hence, notwithstanding his wars in France, and his profuſe gifts to the clergy, abroad as well as in England, William left in his treaſury a quantity of ſilver, which, when taken poſſeſſion of by his ſon, was found to weigh ſixty thouſand pounds, beſides gold, gems, and very many other royal jewels. [*Ingulph*, p. 106, ed. Gale.]

The whole lands of England were divided into 60,215 knight's fees,

\* The antiquaries are uncertain of the meaning of *bordarii*.

† See *Blount's ancient tenures*, art. Peckham. It is elſewhere explained an Aſturian horſe.

whereof the clergy possessed 28,115, almost a half of the country; and as 1,422 belonged to the king, the whole of the barons had 30,678. There were 45,011 parish churches, and 62,080 villages, at this time in England\*.

Of the acts of William for the benefit or the hurt of commerce we know very little with certainty. The numerous fleet brought over by him, when not engaged in ferrying himself and his armies to and from the continent, was probably employed in trading between his old and new territories and the adjacent coasts of France and Flanders, which were all now connected with the new masters of England. Hence it might be supposed, that, after the shock occasioned by the conquest was got over, the trade of England must have been greatly enlarged in this reign: and we are told by William of Poictou, that he invited the resort of foreign merchants by assurances of security and protection. But unless the trade was all in the port of London, concerning the state of which in his time we have little or no information, we have just seen most unquestionable proof that almost all the other ports, and in general all the towns, in England had declined very much from the condition they were in previous to his usurpation.

We may judge of the turbulent state of the country from the law which directed that markets should be held nowhere but within burghs, walled towns, castles, and safe places, where the king's customs and laws could be secured from violation, the castles, burghs, and cities, being founded for the defence of the kingdom and the protection of the people. And they were indeed a most valuable protection to one class of the people; for in England, as well as on the continent, a slave, if he escaped from his master, and lived unclaimed during a year and a day in any of the king's cities, burghs, or castles, thereby became a free man for ever. [*Leges Edw. et Will. cc. 61, 66, in Selden's ed. of Eadmer, pp. 191, 193.*] And the name of free-men, by which the members of those corporations are distinguished, appears to be a permanent memorial of the once-unfree condition, and subsequent emancipation, of a great proportion of their predecessors.

I might be charged with neglect if I were to say nothing of the first appearance of the word *sterling*, as a distinguishing appellation of standard money, which has been much contested, as has also the etymology of it. Instead of the money of England being first so called from an improvement made in the reign of Richard I or John upon the coinage by artificers from the East country, or Germany, called *Esterlings*, as has been

\* These numbers are taken from Thomas Sprot, a monk of St. Augustine in Canterbury, as quoted by Spelman in his *Glossary, vo. Feodum*.

If we knew the value of the relief of a knight's fee, and the proportion between it and the annual value of the estate, we might ascertain the rental

of England in the reign of William I. But the opinions of our antiquaries upon both those points are so very discordant, that I dare not pretend to adopt any one of them. They are collected and compared by Lord Lyttleton in his notes to the second book of his *History of Henry II.*

supposed, it is certain that it was called *sterling* in the reign of the Conqueror, as appears from the unquestionable testimony of Ordericus Vitalis, an author contemporary with that king\*.

In the year 1086 most of the principal ports of England were destroyed by fire. The greatest and most pleasant part of London was consumed, together with the cathedral church of St. Paul's. In order to guard against such misfortunes in time coming, Maurice, the bishop of London, began to rebuild his cathedral upon arches with stones imported from Caen in Normandy, but upon so vast and magnificent a plan, that it was not completed when the Chronicle, which comes down to the end of the year 1199, under the name of John Bromton, was finished. [*Chron. Sax. ad an.—W. Malmfb. Gest. pont. f. 134 b.—Bromton, col. 979.—Stow's Survey, p. 613, ed. 1618.*]

1090—Sicily had now been above two centuries under the dominion of the Saracens, when, after a war of thirty years, it was completely subdued by Roger, a Norman knight, who became the father of a race of kings of Sicily. With a liberality, far above the general standard of the age, he permitted the Saracens to enjoy their property and their religion, by which judicious conduct he retained as his willing subjects a race of people, who were capable of instructing his own followers in science, manufactures, and commerce. [*Malaterra ap. Muratori Script. V. v, coll. 574, 595.*]

1091—The account of the possessions of the abbay of Croyland at this time presents a pleasing picture of the dawning of science and literature in England. They consisted of a library of above three hundred original volumes, and above four hundred lesser volumes (perhaps translations): also a wonderful machine representing the sun and the planets, the zodiak, the colures, &c. all in appropriate metals. There was not such another 'nader' in all England † as this one, which had been presented by a king of France to a former abbat. Unfortunately all this store of intellectual wealth was consumed by a fire occasioned by the carelessness of some workmen: and without that disaster we should, perhaps, never have known of its existence. [*Ingulph, p. 98, ed. Gale.*]

1093—The commercial history of Scotland, whereof we see the first dawn in the reign of Macbeth, may be faintly traced during that of Malcolm Kenmore in the encouragement he gave to merchants to import many articles of rich dress of various colours, and other foreign luxuries hitherto unknown, which were bought by his courtiers, who

\* See the learned Somner's *Glossary to Twyden's Scriptures decem, vo. Esterlingus*, where several instances of the use of the word *sterling* before the age of Richard are produced. As for the etymologies, some of which are foolish enough, that

which derives the name from the East-country or Esterling coiners seems the most natural, though generally misdated.

† Are we to suppose from this expression, that there were many naders in England? 3

were refined and polished by the example of Margaret his queen, the granddaughter of Edmund Ironside king of England, who was born on the continent of Europe, and bred up, partly there, and partly in England. [*Vita Margaretæ in Bollandi Acta sanctorum, Junii, V. ii, p. 330.*] The trade may be presumed to have been entirely passive on the side of the Scots, who, however, must have had native produce sufficient at least to pay for the goods imported; as we cannot suppose, that the foreign importers were entirely paid from the annual sum of ninety-six ounces of gold, received from the king of England agreeable to the treaty of 1091, [*Sim. Dum. col. 216*] which was probably never paid above once or twice\*.

1095—The Christians of the West, enflamed by the frantic zeal of an enthusiast called Peter the Hermit, and the artifices of the popes, now undertook to drive the Saracens, or rather the Turks, out of Jerusalem and Palestine; and as they supposed themselves engaged in the service of God against *his enemies*, they dignified their enterprise with the name of the *holy war*. The transactions of it no further concern this work, than merely to observe occasionally, how the population, wealth, and commerce, of Europe were affected by it. As no rank, sex, nor age, was exempted from the persuasion that paradise was the certain reward of fighting against the *enemies of God*, the armies, or mobs, that emigrated from every part of Europe, were innumerable. The quantity of treasure, which they exported from their own poor countries to add to the wealth of the richer countries they passed through, and of the Turks, was only limited by the utmost stretch of the abilities of the individuals; for all the princes and barons carried with them every penny they could possibly raise by any means, however oppressive to their vassals, or ruinous to their own fortunes and families; and their example was followed by the inferior adventurers. Those who remained at home were no less eager to have the merit of contributing to the expense of the expedition.

From this wonderful perversion of reason, wealth, and military enterprise, the over-ruling providence of God brought out such advantages to the great body of the people, and particularly to the oppressed inhabitants of the cities and towns in most parts of Europe, as in a great measure made amends for the depopulation occasioned by it.

The powers and prerogatives, usurped, or claimed and exercised, by

\* Robert de Brunne, in his poetical paraphrase of *Langtoft's Chronicle*, [p. 88] reverses the payment, and makes Malcolm pay to William no less than *forty thousand pounds*, a sum equal in efficacy to at least five millions of modern money, which, if it were true, would give a very magnificent idea indeed of the commerce of Scotland. But, independent of its being in contradiction to a better

author, the monstrous greatness of the sum would sufficiently prove it to be utterly incredible. The sum, found in the treasury of William the Conqueror, which was thought wonderfully great to be accumulated from the revenues of *England*, during the whole of his oppressive reign, was but *sixty thousand pounds*. Great sums are easily raised upon paper.

the nobles in every feudal kingdom of Europe, had reduced the authority of the sovereign to a mere shadow, and the condition of the great body of the people to the most abject humiliation and misery. Of the condition of the sovereign, and those classes of the people who lived in the country, it is not necessary at present to say any thing. Every city and town, or burgh, had a superior lord, to whom the inhabitants were bound in fidelity or allegiance, and to whom they looked up for protection from the oppressions of other lords. But for that protection, which the weakness, or want, of government rendered necessary, they paid a stipulated rent, and performed many galling services (of which every place mentioned in Domesday book furnishes an example) besides submitting to the privation of rights, which ought upon no account whatever to be alienable. They could not pretend to be masters of their own property; nor could they even call their children their own, for without the consent of their lord they durst not dispose of them in marriage, appoint guardians to them, or leave any thing to them at their death\*. Such a constitution, by crushing, or annihilating, the native energy of the mind, effectually prevented any wish or attempt to make the smallest progress in science or commerce: for the citizen, (if the name may be applied to such abject characters) no more than the farmer, had any inducement to improve the property, which was entirely at the mercy of his lord. Such was the state of almost all the cities and burghs of the Christian part of Europe, a few in Italy excepted, when the frenzy of the holy war broke out. Then many of the princes and barons, in their eagerness to raise money for their equipment, sold their superiority over their vassal towns, some to other lords, some to the clergy, but most to the community of the inhabitants themselves. By such sales the exorbitant power of the great lords was much lowered, while that of the sovereign was proportionally exalted; and the inhabitants, freed from the slavish subjection to a subject, generally applied to the sovereign for charters, which he gladly granted, em-

\* In many places the superiors were not satisfied with having a negative voice in the disposal of their vassals' children in marriage, the most important event in the life of the individual, but actually bestowed them according to their own interest or caprice, without paying any more attention to the wishes of the parents or the inclination of the parties to be married, than a farmer pays to those of his cattle, when he couples them for propagation, or when he sells, or slaughters, their calves or foals. Any relaxation of the rigour of the lord's prerogative was granted as a spontaneous favour (though generally well paid for) and by no means as the restoration of an inherent right. Thus Otto, Alienora, and her son John king of England, as princes of Aquitaine, granted to their men of Oleron the liberty of disposing of their

children, selling their wine and salt, and making their wills: [*Fœdera Angliæ*, V. i, pp. 105, 111, 112] and Richard earl of Cornwall, when acting as emperor of Germany, graciously renounced in favour of the burghesses of Frankfort his prerogative of disposing of their daughters without their consent. [*Pfiffel Alrogé de l'hist et droit d'Allemagne*, p. 373, ed. 1758.] And to come home to England, King John, in his charter to Dunwich, permits his burghesses of that town to dispose of their children as they think proper, within his dominions, and to give or sell their lands and houses in the town. He also allows the widows to marry by the advice of their friends. For this charter, and renovations of it, the burghesses paid large sums to King John. [*Chartæ in Brady on burghs, append. pp. 10, 11.*]

powering them to elect their own magistrates, and to make laws for their internal government ; and also conferring on them several exclusive privileges with respect to their trade or manufactures, which might, perhaps, be proper at the time, but which the progress of knowledge and liberality has in many instances quietly suffered to sink into oblivion, or at least disuse. The inhabitants of cities and towns, restored to the condition of men, ventured to acquire property ; their numbers were augmented by the accession of many respectable persons from the country ; and in process of time towns, instead of being despised, as the receptacle of the meanest and rudest classes of the people, were distinguished from the upland, or landward, villages, as the seats of science and urbanity, as well as of commerce.

In the trading cities of Italy navigation, and all the arts and manufactures connected with it, were already considerably improved. As it was from them that the warriors of the western nations generally took their passage for the Holy land, they were greatly enriched by the sums paid for the transportation of so many myriads of men, women, and children, horses, and baggage, and for the supplies of provisions and all kinds of military stores and necessaries, which they alone furnished to the crusaders. By these profitable employments, which continued for about two centuries, a very considerable part of the treasure of the crusaders centered in those cities, and invigorated their industry and commercial exertions : and by their example, together with the circulation of their wealth, the industry of the rest of Italy was aroused, and called into profitable employment. Such were the beneficial effects of the holy wars to those cities, which continued to manage the greatest part of the commerce of Europe, till the discovery of America and a direct route to India placed the western nations, till then at the extremity of the world, in the most favourable position for the commerce of both hemispheres, and Italy, from being the center of the active commerce of the western world, came to be almost in the situation of an inland country, unconnected with, and out of the track of, the most important navigation.

Even the countries which furnished the most numerous armies for the holy wars, and consequently suffered most from depopulation and impoverishment, were, in time, roused from the lethargy, into which they had fallen almost immediately after their governments were established upon the subversion of the Roman dominion. The powers of the human mind, though sunk into the lowest abyss of ignorance and bigotry, could not fail to be stimulated by the sight of countries, comparatively enlightened, and enjoying many of the comforts derived from knowledge and industry. The western pilgrims saw with surprise the refinements and opulence of the commercial cities of Italy, and were utterly astonished, when they beheld the magnificence and splendour of Con-

stantinople, where they moreover saw manufactures unknown in the rest of Europe, and a considerable commerce. Nor did the mutual averfion entirely prevent them from perceiving how much their Mohamadan enemies were fuperior to their own countrymen in fcience and manufactures. The few, who returned home with expanded minds and improved tafte, carried with them new arts and manufactures, and new plants and animals, which were naturalized in their own countries, where they wifhed ftill to enjoy the conveniencies and luxuries they had been accuftomed to when abroad. By their example the tafte for fuch enjoyments was communicated to their neighbours; and as it became neceffary to improve and increafe the native produce in order to anfwer the increafed demand for foreign merchandize, the numbers of veffels and feamen, and alfo of manufacturers and merchants, at leaft in the free ftates of Italy, were greatly augmented.

For all thefe, and many other improvements in the condition of mankind, the weftern world is indebted to the moft frantic enterprife that ever was undertaken by a number of independent nations in conjunction, and which was intended only to promote the intereft of prieftcraft and the delufion and deftruction of mankind\*.

Before the practice of infurance reduced the hazard of the fea to arithmetical certainty, it was more neceffary than now for the owners of veffels to divide their rifk by holding fhares of feveral, rather than embarking too much of their capital in one bottom. Accordingly about this time, when infurance was certainly unknown in England, and perhaps even in the commercial ftates bordering on the Mediterranean fea, we find a half fhare of one veffel, and a quarter of another, belonging to Godric, a native of Walpole in Norfolk, who, after following the bufinefs of a merchant fixteen years, became a famous faint, and was honoured with a vifit of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene. [*M. Paris, pp. 64, 117.*]

1098—Magnus Berfoetta (the Barefooted), king of Norway, made fome expeditions among the Britifh iflands, the moft important of which feems to have been about this time. Landing in Orkney, he depofed the two conjunct earls, and then proceeded to the Sudureyar (Weftern iflands), Mann, and Anglefey, plundering every one of them, except Hyona, the fanctity of which he refpected. Next directing his hoftilities againft Scotland, a peace was concluded upon condition that the king of Scotland fhould refign all pretenfions to every ifland, between which and the main land a veffel could fteer with a rudder. Magnus availed himfelf of the diftinction, which feems to have been intended

\* It muft be acknowledged, that Silvefter II (or Gerbert) one of the moft enlightened of the popes, fowed the firft feeds of this frenzy by a letter addreffed to all Chriftians in the name of the diftrefsed

church of Jerufalem, the fruit of which was a little preliminary crusade, undertaken in the year 999 by a fleet from the commercial city of Pifa. [*Vit. Pontif. ap. Muratori Script. V. iii, part 1, p. 400.*]

to except the little pendicles of the shore insulated only at high water, and got a light vessel, wherein he sat with the helm in his hand, dragged across the narrow neck (Tarbat), which separates Kentire from the main part of Argyle-shire: and the Scottish king, not finding it prudent to dispute Magnus's logic, was thereby tricked out of that fine peninsula, which, Snorro properly observes, was more valuable than any of the islands, except Mann. Thus were almost all the lesser British islands, with a part of the main land, completely detached from the sovereignty of the country they naturally belong to, and made a province of a distant kingdom\*.

In the last of his western expeditions Magnus made himself master of Dublin, and lost his life by a sudden attack of the Irish. [*Snorro, Hist. Magni Berfætta, cc. 9-27.*]

1099—On the first day of the new moon of November in the year 1099 the tide rose so high, that it drowned some towns and villages, and swept away vast numbers of cattle and sheep. [*Chron. Sax. and Flor. Wig. ad an.*] The part of the coast, where this inundation happened, is not told. But the short account of it has apparently given rise to the tradition of the origin of the Godwin sands, which, we are told, composed a part of the estate of Earl Godwin on the main land of Kent. But it cannot be supposed, that the water continued at the extraordinary height to which the spring tide, with undoubtedly the concurrence of a high wind, raised it: and it is more rational to believe, that the Godwin sands owed their formation, or rather their appearance above water, to the subsiding of the sea, which is certainly known to have receded, or, in other words, become *shallower*, on the adjacent coasts of Kent.

1101, August 15<sup>th</sup>—On the death of William II, his brother Henry, the youngest son of William the Conqueror, sensible that he could have no title to the crown, if his elder brother Robert, then absent in the Holy land, was alive, and being very eager to recommend himself to the favour of both nations, made magnificent promises of redressing the grievances of the preceding reign, if he should be king. But the

\* The northern writers have not accurately distinguished the two, or perhaps rather three, expeditions of Magnus. Snorro says, that the king of Scotland, with whom Magnus made the treaty, was Malcolm, which, if the first of his expeditions is rightly dated in 1096, is impossible; for no historic event is better ascertained, than that Malcolm fell in battle on the 13<sup>th</sup> of November 1093. Lesly and Buchanan, late Scottish writers, improving upon a blundering interpolation of Bower's, have made a story of Donald, the brother of Malcolm, bribing Magnus to assist him in usurping the crown of Scotland, for which service, they say, he gave him all the islands, which, they supposed, were

till then subject to Scotland. But the Chronicles of Halyrud, of Melros, and of Mann (a Norwegian colony), Fordun and Wyntown, the earliest general historians of Scotland, and even Boyse, fond as he is of fable, have not a word of any such agreement.

The Chronicle of Mann, Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, Simeon of Durham, and Wyntown, agree in placing the conquest of the islands by Magnus in the reign of Edgar; who seems to have been a weak prince, as he is compared by a writer of that age to the monkish king of England, Edward the Confessor. [*Ethelred, ap. Tawfelen, col. 367.*]

clergy and people, knowing that his father and brother had paid no attention to their *verbal* promises, desired him to express his good intentions *in writing*. He accordingly executed a charter, wherein, in order to please his English subjects, he engaged to restore the Saxon laws of Edward the Confessor, as they had been amended by his father; and to his Norman subjects he promised an alleviation of some of the most galling of the feudal prerogatives of the crown. But, if this charter had been observed, as it was not, the only article of it, which could have meliorated the condition of the great body of the people, is a charge, or recommendation, to the barons to make a proportional alleviation in the feudal burthens of their vassals. No such words as commerce or merchant are to be found in the charter\*.

The city of London appears to have now risen to such consequence, that the new king thought it proper to give a particular charter 'to his citizens † of London,' wherein he grants them the farm of the county of Middlesex to be held for an annual payment of £300, with power to appoint a shirref and a justiciary out of their own body. The citizens are exempted from answering any suits beyond the walls of the city, and released from the payment of *schot*, danegeld, and murder ‡, and from the trial by duel §. They are delivered from the oppression of the king's retinue and others taking lodgings in their houses by force. They and their property of every kind are exempted from paying toll, passage, lastage, and other customs, throughout all England and in all the sea-ports. The churches, the barons ||, and citizens, are secured in

\* This charter was the foundation and model of the more famous one extorted from King John by the barons. [*Mat. Paris*, p. 253.—*Spelmanni Gloss. vo. Magna charta.*] And it proves, that the privileges, which John was compelled to grant, were not *new* encroachments upon the royal prerogative, as some have pretended, but restorations of the rights of the barons (not of the people) which had been usurped by the crown.

† The term *citizen* begins now to be used in England. In the charter of William I to London the inhabitants are called 'burhwaru', burghers, or burghesses. There is, I believe, no such word as citizen in *Domesday book*, the inhabitants of the places called *cities* being stiled 'burgenses', burghesses, as well as of those called *burghs*.

‡ It may seem surprizing that a king should grant a general pardon for so atrocious a crime as murder. But the word 'murdrum' signifies not only murder, but also the fine payable for murder; for in those days every man's price, or the fine to be paid for murdering him, was settled by law according to his rank. The community, in whose district the murder happened, were liable for the penalty, if the criminal could not be found: and it must be from this liability that the citizens of

London were freed by the charter. See *Brady on burghs*, *append. p. 25*.

§ 'Nullus eorum faciat bellum.' In the Latin of the middle ages *bellum*, besides *war*, its classical meaning, signifies more frequently *a battle*, and even *a combat between two individuals*, or *a duel*. That the later is the meaning here, appears from the word 'duellum' being substituted in the renewed charter granted by Henry II, for 'bellum' in this one.

|| *Spelman* [*Gloss. vo. Baro*] understands 'barones' in this charter as meaning the principal men of the community, who were empowered to hold courts, as distinguished from the rest of the citizens ('cives'): and he adduces, as a similar acceptance of the word, a brief of Henry I, directed to Fulcher (apparently the chief magistrate), Eustace the shirref, and all the *barons* of London, desiring that the abbat of Ramsey may hold his lands of the city of London. He observes, that the title of baron was also given to citizens of York and Chester, and burghesses of Warwick and Faversham, and in France to the citizens of Bourges.—But *Mathew Paris* [*pp. 749, 863, 974*] appears to give the title to a much greater number, or rather to the whole, of the citizens; and particularly

the peaceable enjoyment of their jurisdictions with all their customs: and it is declared, that no citizen shall ever be amerced in any sum above a hundred shillings, that being the amount of his *were* \*. They are directed to hold the court called *hustling* † every Monday. And their right of hunting (a distinguished and highly-valued privilege in those times) in the Chiltern, Middlesex, and Surry, was confirmed to them as amply as their ancestors had enjoyed it.—The charter also contains several other privileges very favourable to the citizens with respect to the recovery of their debts, and a power to recover tolls and customs unlawfully exacted from them in any burgh or town. [*Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p. 235.*]

1102—In the beginning of the twelfth century (and how long, before we know not ‡) paper made of cotton was commonly used for books and other writings. A charter, dated in the year 1102, is expressly said to have been written upon cotton paper ('*charta cottunea*' §) in a renovation of it by Roger king of Sicily in the year 1145. This paper, which had now become common in the Eastern empire, in a great measure superseded, or rather made up for the want of, the Egyptian papyrus and parchment. It is perhaps to the invention of it that we owe the preservation of such of the authors of antiquity as have come down to us, as the scarcity and high price of parchment had been the destruction of many of them; for the monkish librarians never scrupled to erase the writing of the most valuable classic author, in order to cover the same parchment with the more precious miracles of a favourite saint. The cotton paper, however, was found not sufficiently stout and durable for important writings; and therefor the emperor Frederic II, in his Sicilian constitutions in the year 1221, ordered that public writings and securities should be written on parchment only. Still, however, the cotton paper maintained its ground for other purposes, till it was in its turn superseded by the invention of a better kind, made of linen rags. [*Montfaucon, Essai sur le papyrus in Mem. de litterature, V. vi, p. 605* ||.—*Schwandneri Specimen lineæ chartæ antiquissimæ, p. 6.*]

cularly in the year 1258 he calls all the citizens, assembled in Gildhall, barons. The inscription '*Sigillum baronium Londoniarum*', on the city's seal, appended to a lease in the year 1373, [*Stow's survey of London, p. 586, ed. 1618*] does not clear the doubt.

\* *Were*, the price of a man, or sum payable for killing him. See above, p. 314, note †.

† *Hustling* (not *hustings*) is compounded of the Anglo-Saxon words *hus*, *house*, and *thing*, *legislative*, or *judicial, assembly*. The two words have the same meaning in the Icelandic language, and with little, or oftner no, variation of spelling, in all the other Gothic languages.

‡ The art of making paper has been known in

China 1600 years ago, according to Raynal. [*Hist. philos. et polit. V. iii, p. 146, ed. 1782.*]

§ It was also called *charta bombycina*, the word *bombycina* being in those ages extended to cotton, which is still called *bambaccia* by the Italians, from whom we probably got the word *bombast* (now only known in its metaphorical sense) for cotton, and *bombastine* for a stuff made of cotton, seemingly the same which was called afterwards *bustine* and *justian*.

|| Montfaucon carries the use of cotton paper as high as the ninth century, and that of linen paper as high as the twelfth. For the later he quotes Petrus Mauricius (*Contra Judæos*) who wrote about the year 1140, and says, that books

The earliest certain notice of a gild, fraternity, company, or corporation, of tradesmen in England occurs in the record of a payment of sixteen pounds into the exchequer, made by Robert the son of Leuestan for the gild of weavers of London in the reign of Henry I, the year uncertain. In the reign of Henry II they paid annually two marks (sixteen ounces) of gold, or twelve pounds of silver, the value of the later being to the former as nine to one. [*Madox's Firma burgi*, p. 191, for the authorities.]

1108—King Henry I enacted severe laws against the frauds of coiners. And because the money, which was bent or broken, was generally refused, he ordered, that no person should refuse any penny, or halfpenny (which he also ordered to be made round, instead of semicircular) or even a farthing, if it was entire. [*R. Hoveden*, f. 270 a \*.] He also directed that the measure of the eln or yard should be of uniform length throughout his kingdom; and he made the length of his own arm the standard of it †. [*Knighton*, col. 2375.]

1111—A vast number of Flemings, driven out of their own country by an extraordinary encroachment of the sea, had come to England in the reign of William the Conqueror, hoping for settlements and protection from the influence of the queen, who was of their country. William, glad of such an accession of foreigners, stationed great numbers of them upon the northern frontier, chiefly about Carlisle, and others throughout the rest of the country. King Henry, now finding that the Flemings did not well agree with his other subjects, transplanted the whole of them to a district taken from the Welsh, called Ros (now a part of Pembroke-shire) where their posterity can be distinguished from their Welsh neighbours to this day. They were a brave and hardy people, equally qualified to handle the plough and the sword; and they were also skilful in the woollen manufacture, the great staple

are made of the skins of various animals, of an Oriental plant (the papyrus), and of *serapings of old cloth* ('ex rafuris veterum pannorum'), which, Montfaucon says, must *affuredly* mean paper made of linen rags; a conclusion, which does not seem necessarily to follow from the words of that author. Might not the rags of old cotton cloth be then employed in the manufacture of paper, as well as new cotton? The same words of Mauricius are also quoted by Muratori [*Antiq. V. iii, col. 871*] and others, and have led several writers to believe, that paper made of linen rags is as old as the twelfth century, of which, I believe, no satisfactory proof has yet appeared. See below at the year 1243.

\* The older authors, Florence, Simeon, &c. as published, are unintelligible upon this subject, from the want of two words, to be found only in Hoveden. The penny, containing the two-hundred-and-fortieth part of a pound of silver, was for several

centuries the largest silver coin in Britain, and was equivalent in real value to at least ten shillings of modern money. (See the prices of corn, &c. about this time in the Appendix.) It had on one side a cross so deeply indented, that it could thereby be easily broken into halves and quarters; and such broken pieces appear to have been the only money smaller than pennies, till now that Henry coined halfpennies. The first coinage of round halfpennies and farthings of silver is ascribed to Edward I; but we see the coinage of round halfpennies by Henry I related by Florence, Simeon, and Hoveden, who all flourished before Edward was born. Copper coins were not introduced till several centuries after this time.

† The standard must have been very uncertain, even though there had been a mark on the king's shoulder to ascertain the point from which the measure should commence.

of their country, and in general commerce: so that in every respect they were a most valuable colony, whether considered as a barrier against an enemy, or as the first founders of the manufacture of fine woollen goods in England\*. [*Flor. Wig. p. 655.—W. Malmsh. f. 89 b.—Gir. Cambr. p. 848, ed. Camd.*]

May 22<sup>1</sup>—Henry V, emperor of Germany, being at Verona, gave the duke of Venice a charter, ascertaining the dominions of the republic on the main land of Italy, and discriminating them from his own Italian territories, among which he reckons Luca, Pisa, and Genoa, though these cities had generally acted as independent sovereign republics long before. He prohibits his subjects from distressing any Venetian vessel stranded or wrecked on any part of his coasts, or from harbouring fugitive slaves belonging to the Venetians. He gives them liberty of traveling by land or on the rivers in all his dominions, and in return requires for his own subjects only the liberty of the sea and the *mouths* of the rivers in the Venetian territories. The charter (which is very long for that age) contains many other privileges granted to the Venetians, such as the unmolested property of estates, liberty of pasturage, cutting wood, &c. in his dominions. [*Repub. Venet. p. 440.*]

1115—If we may believe the exaggerated slander (for such he intended it) of Donizo, [*Vita Matildis comitissæ, c. 20. ap. Muratori Script. V. iv*] Pisa was now polluted by the resort of Pagans, Turks, Libyans, Parthians, and Chaldeans. It is one of the few pleasing circumstances occurring in the history of mankind, that so much social and beneficial intercourse subsisted at this time to offend this testy monk.

The citizens of Pisa had their full share of the advantages derived by the trading communities of Italy from the Holy war. Tancred prince of Antioch in the year 1108 engaged, in consideration of the assistance furnished by the Pisans in subduing the Greeks of Laodicea, to give them a place in that city, and a street in Antioch, and to grant immunity from custom to their shipping with liberty to come and go at their pleasure. The succeeding princes of Antioch, the kings of Jerusalem, and other Christian princes who had acquired, or expected to acquire, territories in Asia, gave many charters to the Pisans, between the years 1108 and 1216, containing similar grants of very ample privileges and payments, made or promised. [*Original charters in Muratori's Antiq. V. ii, coll. 905-918.*]

1120—But the Pisans were not without their share of the calamities of the times. Their city was laid in ashes, and their islands of Sardinia and Corsica taken from them, by the Saracens. The islands were recovered by the assistance of the Genoese. But the division of the conquest, with probably the exasperation of commercial jealousy, im-

\* This was the last colony of any consequence settled in Great Britain, till the bigotry of Louis XIV. sent over the colony of French protestant silk-weavers in the year 1685.

mediately kindled a war between the allies, in which the Genoese, with a fleet of eighty galleys and four great ships carrying warlike engines, besieged the harbour of the Pisans, and obliged them to submit to their pleasure respecting Corsica (September 14<sup>th</sup>). The peace was almost immediately broken, and a sanguinary war, sometimes interrupted by insincere pacifications or truces, continued to distress the two neighbouring and rival republics for almost two centuries. [*Stelle Ann. Gen. and Chron. Pisan. ap. Muratori Script. V. vi.*]

1113—A cathedral church was founded near the north bank of the River Clyde by David, earl or prince of Cumberland, and afterwards king of Scotland\*. The foundation of this church is entitled to notice in commercial history, because it gave birth to the city of Glasgow, which, after slumbering through several dull centuries of monkish sloth as a bishop's burgh, has in later times shone out as the center of the most vigorous commerce and the most extensive manufactures in Scotland.

1120—The pearls found in several of the rivers of Scotland were at this time in great request. King Alexander I<sup>st</sup> is said to have exceeded all men in that species of riches; and his pearls, on account of their large size and superior brightness, were celebrated and coveted in distant countries. [*Nicolai Epist. in Anglia sacra, V. ii, p. 236.*]

1121—Scotland must have had considerable intercourse with foreigners, and also possessed some degree of opulence, when even the king of so remote a country could enjoy the foreign luxuries of an Arabian horse, velvet furniture, and Turkish armour. All these articles, together with other valuable trinkets, and a large estate in land, were presented by King Alexander to the church of St. Andrews. [*Register of St. Andrews, a venerable contemporary record.—Wyntown's Chronicle, V. i, p. 286.*]

Henry king of England made a navigable canal of seven miles in length from the Trent at Torksey to the Witham at Lincoln, into which he introduced the water of the Trent †. [*Sim. Dun. col. 243.*]

1126, September 9<sup>th</sup>—The popes were very eager to suppress the practice of lending money at an equitable rate of interest, which, like all other branches of trade, must naturally find its proper price in a fair and open competition, in order to engross to their own secret agents and creatures a most oppressive trade of lending money at exorbitant interest. In a council of the clergy of England, held at Westminster un-

\* The church must have been founded in the year 1113, if not earlier; for John bishop of Glasgow appears in the foundation charter of the abbey of Selkirk, which in that year was stocked with monks of Tyron. [*Dalrymple's Collect. p. 404.—Sim. Dun. col. 236.*]

† Doctor Stukely [*Account of Richard of Cire-*

*cester, p. 25*] supposes, that the Trent originally ran east to the sea (as it actually appears in Richard's very curious map of Roman Britain) and that it was carried northward into the Humber by Carausius for the benefit of inland navigation. If Stukely is right, Henry's work was a restoration of the river to a part of its antient channel.

der the direction of the pope's legate, all clergymen were ordered to abstain from interest and base lucre \*, on pain of degradation. [*Sim. Dun. ap. Tæwyfden, col. 254.*] Under the operation of so injudicious a restriction, the clergy, who could not engage in trade themselves †, were obliged to keep their money dead beside them, as few would chuse to run any risk of loss or inconvenience by lending it, when they could derive no emolument from it. But some laws are so preposterous, that they become void by a tacit general consent without being formally repealed: and that such was the fate of this one, may be inferred from a more rigid renovation of it in a subsequent council of the clergy held at Westminster (13<sup>th</sup> December 1138) under the direction of another papal legate. [*Ric. Hagustald. col. 327.*]

1130.—The Venetians obtained a charter from Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, conveying to them the most ample powers, privileges, and immunities, in all cities subject to himself and his barons; together with the property of the third part of the cities of Tyre and Ascalon, when he should take them from the Saracens by their help. [*Chart. in Muratori Antiq. V. ii, col. 919.*] We have already seen similar grants made to the Pisans, (*above, p. 317*) and many such were obtained from time to time by the commercial states of Italy, who, leaving to the western nations the glory of being the principals in the frenzy of ruining themselves for the aggrandizement of the popes, wisely drew to themselves the profits (neglected indeed by their western allies) of trading under the protection of the armies of the cross.

The melancholy consequence of wooden buildings being crowded together was fatally experienced in the city of London in two dreadful conflagrations. In the first (a<sup>o</sup>. 1132) almost the whole of the city was burnt down. The second (a<sup>o</sup>. 1135) began at London bridge, and extending westward as far as the church of the Danes (now St. Clement Danes), consumed every thing in its progress, and among the rest the cathedral church of St. Paul. [*Mat. Westm. pp. 241, 242.*]

King Henry about the later end of his reign was induced, by the complaints of the tenants of his demesne lands, to convert the rents, formerly paid entirely, or almost entirely, in the real produce of the soil, to a fixed rate in money; whereby the tenants were relieved from the inconvenience, expense, and oppression, they often suffered in con-

\* ‘*Ufuram et turpe lucrum.*’—As the contrivers of those canons made no difference between the most moderate and the most exorbitant interest, the name of usury (in modern language restricted, though rather improperly, to the later) was indiscriminately applied to any allowance or compensation given for the use (*usura*) of money; and it is here joined with base or disgraceful lucre in order to make it appear equally criminal.

† The council held at Westminster in 1175,

following the institutes of the fathers, prohibited monks and clergymen, under the pain of anathema, from trading for profit. [*Spelman Concil. V. ii, p. 103.*] There are in the councils many other prohibitions against the clergy engaging in trade, one of the reasons assigned being, *because buying and selling cannot be transacted without sin.* [*p. 288.*] They did not think it any sin for idle drones to consume the produce of other men's industry.

veying the king's part of their crops, animals, &c. to distant places; and the king obtained a revenue, more convenient, and more easily applicable to every purpose whatever. [*Dialog. de scaccario, L. i, c. 7.*]

1136, 1138—The commercial city of Amalfi, and four neighbouring cities, subject to, or allied with, it, were twice taken and destroyed, or pillaged, by the forces of the rival commercial city of Pisa, which for some years past had repeatedly triumphed over the Saracens of Africa, Spain, and the Balearic islands. [*Chron. Pisan. and Breviarium Hist. Pisan. in Muratori Script. V. vi.*] But Amalfi recovered in some measure from these disasters, and still possessed some degree of commercial and nautical eminence.

The maritime laws of Amalfi were adopted in the kingdom of Naples, according to Freccia, a Neapolitan author of the sixteenth century, who says, that in his time maritime controversies continued to be determined by the *Table of Amalfi* in preference to the Rhodian law. [See *Breneman Diss. de rep. Amalphitana, § 18.*] I believe, the time when these laws were enacted cannot be accurately ascertained.

An antient and authentic copy of Justinian's Pandects, discovered at Amalfi, when it was taken by the Pisans, has been generally supposed the original of all the copies now extant in Europe. Though the Pandects were undoubtedly known in France before this time (as appears by quotations taken from them by Ivo de Chartres, who died in the year 1117) the discovery of the Amalfitan copy, and the numerous transcripts made from it, gave a new spring to the study of the Roman civil law, which quickly spread from Italy over the rest of Europe. [See *Breneman Hist. Pandect.*] The Pandects were known in England at least as early as the year 1140, [*Selden ad Fletam, c. 7*] and in the course of the twelfth century, they were studied in every part of Europe; and henceforth property became more secure, and the state of society was improved. [See *Robertson's Hist. of Cha. V, V. i, p. 381, ed. 1792, 8vo.*]

1139—Though the commercial states of Italy regulated their governments, elected their magistrates, made war and peace, and acted in all respects as independent sovereigns, yet all of them, except Venice, acknowledged the supremacy of the king, or emperor, of Germany in his character of emperor of the Romans. In that character Conrad gave the Genoese a charter, empowering them to coin money of gold or other metals, having on one side the cross, the standard of Genoa, with the words '*Conradus rex Romanorum,*' and on the other side the word '*Janua*' for the name of the city. [*Stelle An. Gen. ap. Muratori Script. V. xvii, col. 974.*]

About the year 1130 the Genoese, being prosperous and opulent, began to think of enlarging their territories, and obliged the people of several neighbouring towns, or little states (for almost every town had a dependent district) to swear allegiance to them. Without enumerat-

ing the petty states incorporated with Genoa by conquest or purchase, but most frequently by the later, it may be sufficient to observe, that all the counts, marquises, lords of castles, and also many cities, which had acquired independence of the emperors or other superiors by purchase, or by taking advantage of the convulsions of the times, throughout the whole extent of the Ligurian coast, became, one after another, subject to the powerful city of Genoa, upon such terms as they could make for themselves \*. [*Cassari Ann. Gen. L. i, ap. Muratori Script. V. vi.—Muratori Antiq. V. iv, col. 161.*]

What is here said of Genoa holds equally true, though on a smaller scale, with respect to Pisa, and the other chief cities of Italy.

1140—Adolphus earl of Nordalbing, having acquired the province of Wagreland, then almost depopulated by the expulsion and slaughter of the Slavi, and finding the ruins of a town on a peninsula formed by the junction of the rivers Trave and Wochviz, which he thought an excellent situation for a harbour, built a city there, and gave it the name of Lubeck. The adjacent country was soon occupied and cultivated by industrious people, whom he invited, and encouraged by grants of lands, to remove from Flanders, Holland, Friseland, &c. and Lubeck, situated in a country naturally fertile and intersected by navigable rivers, soon became a celebrated emporium, having many vessels belonging to the inhabitants. The trade of the neighbouring cities was so much eclipsed by it, that Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, who appears to have been over-lord of the country, demanded of Adolphus one half of his new city as a compensation for the loss he sustained by the diminution of the trade of his city of Lunenburg, and, on his refusal, prohibited the sale of any kind of merchandize at Lubeck, except articles of food. He also shut up the fountains of salt at Thodeslo, in order to promote the sale of the salt of Lunenburg, and ordered the seat of the trade to be transferred to Bardwik. A conflagration, which happened in the year 1158, would have ruined the city irrecoverably, if Adolphus had not then resigned it to Henry, who, to induce the citizens to rebuild their houses, immediately revoked the prohibition of trade, established a mint and a custom-house, and sent messengers to all the countries of the North to invite the merchants to trade with Lubeck. Thus supported, the city immediately sprung up out of its ashes, and the number of inhabitants daily increasing, it soon became more prosperous than before. [*Vita Adolphi ex Helmoldi Ann.—Bertii Rer. Germ. L. iii, p. 177.*]

1146—Greece, or rather the Roman empire in Europe (at this time nearly the same in extent with the modern European Turkey), even in its degenerate state continued to excell all the rest of Europe in the quality and variety of its manufactures, and in the ingenuity of its work-

\* It has already been observed, that the Genoese and Pisans contested the sovereignty of Sardinia and Corsica.

men and artists. That country alone, at least of all the Christian countries of Europe, possessed the valuable stock of silk-worms, which had been transplanted from the remotest extremities of the East about four hundred years before; and the Greeks were the only Christians of Europe, who manufactured the still pretious and costly articles of luxury fabricated from the spoils of the silk-worm. But now the time was arrived, when that manufacture was to be more widely dispersed. Roger, the Norman king of Sicily, invaded Greece with a fleet of seventy galleys, and carried off the wealth of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth. But, what was infinitely the most valuable part of the prize, and what peculiarly distinguished this war from all others, which have no other consequences than the exaltation of one individual, the depression of another, and the misery of millions, was the capture of a great number of silk weavers, whom he carried off from those cities, and settled in Palermo, his capital city. By the king's order the Grecian prisoners taught his Sicilian subjects to raise and feed silk-worms, and to weave all the varieties of silk stuffs. And so well did the Sicilian pupils profit by their instructions, that the silk fabrics of Sicily, about twenty years after the transplantation of the manufacture, are described as excelling in variety of patterns and colours; some with gold intermixed, and adorned with figures or pictures, and others embellished with pearls. [*Otto Frising. de gest. Friderici, L. i, c. 33, ap. Muratori Script. V. vi, col. 668.—Falcaudi Hist. Sicul. præf. ap. Muratori Script. V. vii, col. 256.*]

Though all the Christian part of Europe, except Greece, had been ignorant till now of the art of managing the silk-worm and the produce of its industry, the Saracens had before this time obtained the knowledge of the various operations of the silk manufacture, and spread it over all their wide-extended dominions. Lisbon and Almeria, two Saracen cities of Spain, were particularly famous for their manufactures of silk: and the islands of Majorca and Ivica paid their tributes to the king of Aragon in silks of Almeria, or more probably in silks made in imitation of those of Almeria. [*Otto Frising. ap. Muratori Antiq. V. ii, col. 408.—Hoveden, f. 382 a, b.*]

By these means was the important manufacture of silk laid open to the ingenuity of the western nations.

1147—Lisbon was taken from the Saracens by Alfonso, the sovereign of the newly-erected kingdom of Portugal, chiefly by the assistance of a company of about fourteen thousand adventurers, consisting mostly of English, with some Normans, Flemings, and others, bound to the Holy land\*. [*Chron. Norm. ad an.—Vit. Pont. Rom. ap. Muratori Script. V. iii, part. i, p. 438.—Heur. Hunt. f. 226 a.*] The Saracens of Almeria

\* The Netherlanders claim the sole merit of this opportune assistance, in consequence of which they enjoy certain privileges in Portugal, conferred upon them by the gratitude of the sovereign. [*Linshoten's Voyages, p. 460, Engl. transl.*]

being exceedingly troublesome to the Christians, the Genoese, at the request of the pope, fitted out a fleet of 73 galleys and 163 other vessels, wherewith they attacked that city, which, with the assistance of the count of Barcelona, and (according to our English historians) of the above-mentioned adventurers, they reduced. The Genoese, after passing the winter in Barcelona, in the ensuing summer assisted the count in taking Tortosa, for which they had one third of the plunder. [*Stella An. Gen. ap. Muratori Script. V. xvii, col. 982.*]

Norwich, which William of Malmesbury [*Gesta pontif. f. 136 a*] calls a populous village ('vicum') remarkable for its merchandize, was now rebuilt, made a corporation ('communitas'), and given by King Stephen as an appanage to his son William. [*Membran. ant. ap. Camd. Brit. p. 422, ed. 1600.*]

1153—The Scots lost their good king David, under whose equitable and auspicious government the commerce of the country had begun to flourish. He was the youngest of King Malcolm's six sons by Queen Margaret; and he passed his early youth at the court of England under the eye of the queen his sister, who was a patroness of learning and the arts. Having thereby acquired several branches of science hitherto unknown in his own less civilized country, he made great improvements in the agriculture, horticulture, and architecture, of Scotland after his accession to the crown. He also made foreign merchandize abound in his harbours, exchanging the produce of Scotland for the wealth of other kingdoms; and he graciously attended to the applications of all persons, whether clergy or laymen, strangers, merchants, or farmers. [*Ailred\* ap. Fordun, pp. 465, 473 ed. Hearne; or ed. Goodall, V. ii, pp. 302, 305.*] We have also very good reason to believe, that he introduced new manufactures in his kingdom: for, as we know, that about twenty years after his death the towns and burghs of Scotland were chiefly occupied by English inhabitants, [*W. Newbrig. L. ii, c. 34*] their settlement may with the greatest probability be ascribed to David, who would doubtless wish to establish in his own country the arts and manufactures he saw practised in England in a comparatively-improved state during his long residence in that kingdom. His laws, containing regulations for the manufacturers, dyers, and dressers, of woollen cloth, (referred to in the charter given by his grandson William to Perth †) were apparently intended for the regulation and encouragement of those va-

\* It must be remembered, that Ailred, Elred, or Ethelred, the author of this information, though professedly writing the praises of David in the work here quoted, was an eye witness of what he relates, and a writer of respectable authority.

† A translation (apparently a very bad one) of the charter of Perth may be seen in *Can't's Musis*

*threnodie, V. ii, p. 6.* The neglect of my application for a copy of the original (and it is not long) by a person who had it in his power to oblige me with it, was one of three instances of such conduct, I have met with in the course of collecting materials for this work.

luable new subjects, by whose instruction and example he hoped to render the natives of Scotland more industrious and civilized than they had hitherto been : and it is also probable that some of the new towns, erected by him, [*Ailred, ap. Fordun, p. 473*] were destined for the reception of those new inhabitants. Several laws for the regulation of weights and measures were enacted by him. [*Acts, James I, c. 80, or 70 of Murray's ed.*] And, though the book, generally known by the name of *Regiam majestatem*, and professing to contain the antient laws of Scotland, collected, as was supposed, by order of King David, is now generally abandoned as an ill-conducted forgery, there seems reason to believe, that *the laws and customs of the burghs of Scotland* were really collected and committed to writing, and most of them probably enacted, in his reign \*. By these laws

c. 10) All goods brought by sea were to be landed prior to their sale, except salt and herrings, which might be sold onboard the vessels.

c. 17) The vassal of an earl or baron, who bought a burgage, and remained a year and a day in a burgh without being molested or claimed by his lord, was declared a free man for ever †.

c. 18) Foreign merchants were not permitted to buy wool, hides, or other goods from any but burgessees.

c. 22) None but burgessees were permitted to buy wool for dying or making into cloth, or to cut cloth for sale. But the owners of sheep were allowed the free use of their own wool.

From c. 48 it appears that some of the merchants of Scotland traded to foreign countries ; and their lands were declared exempt from seizure for any claim whatever during their absence, unless they appeared to absent themselves on purpose to evade justice.

c. 52) The burgessees were required to have their measures of length and capacity, and their weights, marked with the seal of the burgh.

A silver mine ('*argentaria*'), which King David worked in his province of Cumberland, [*J. Hagustald. col. 280*] is the earliest in Britain,

\* It must be acknowledged that several chapters of the *Leges burgorum*, wherein provosts and bailies appear as the only magistrates of the towns in Scotland, which long after David's reign were generally governed by aldermen, were evidently interpolated after the fourteenth century. Neither are the words '*statuta burgorum*,' which induced a late learned and worthy judge, and also a learned keeper of the records of Scotland, to say that those laws are mentioned by Baldred (rather Ailred or Ethelred) a contemporary writer, any proof ; for they are interpolated by Bowar in his continuation of Fordun, and are not in the works of Ailred or Fordun. But, though some parts of the laws of the burghs, as published by Skene along with his *Regiam majestatem*, have been inserted in later ages, it is undeniable that other parts, probably the

greatest part of them, are as old as the reign of David I. A charter of his grandson, King William, requires all persons resorting to the fair at Glasgow to observe *the assise of his burghs* : [*Gibson's Hist. of Glasgow, p. 301*] and *the laws and customs of the burghs* undoubtedly constituted a part of the established law of the land before the death of Alexander III, as appears from an antient record preserved in *Ayliffe's Calendars, p. 335*, and in pleadings of the year 1291, published by Ryley. [*Plac. parl. p. 147.*] And no one can suppose that they were enacted in the turbulent period of the regency.

† This regulation, and some others in the Scottish burgh laws, are copied from the English laws ascribed to King Edward the Confessor. See above, p. 307.

of which I have found any particular or certain notice since the time of the Romans, or at least of Bede\*.

It is of more importance to observe, that in his reign the Firth of Forth was frequently covered with boats manned by English, Scottish, and *Belgic*, fishermen, who were attracted by the great abundance of fish (most probably herrings) in the neighbourhood of the island of May. [*A contemporary writer, MS. Bib. Cott. Tit. A, xix, f. 78 b.*] This, if I mistake not, is the very first authentic and positive notice of a fishery, having any claim to consideration as a commercial object, upon the North-British coast †.

1135-1154—The miseries of civil war were felt in the greatest extremity in England during the unhappy reign of Stephen. The vast treasures left by his predecessor were exhausted in supporting the foreign mercenaries, whom he was obliged to employ to resist the claim of the lawful heirs of Henry I, and to crush the discontents of the people: and he was driven to the wretched expedient of corrupting and diminishing the coin, which, however, was afterwards restored to its due purity and weight. In this disastrous reign 1,115 new castles were built in England by the earls and barons; and there were as many petty tyrants, as there were castles, every one of whom exercised the powers of sovereignty, carried on war, oppressed the people, and issued money of his own coinage. In a word, the miserable people were utterly ruined. [*W. Malmsh. f. 105 a.—R. Diceto, col. 528.—W. Newbrig. L. i, c. 22.*]

From the general calamities of England the country north of the Teese was exempted by being under the mild and prudent administration of David king of Scotland. [*Bromton, col. 1036.*]

1154—Henry II, the new sovereign of England, by his marriage with Eleanor duchess of Aquitaine (the divorced queen of Louis the Young, king of France) which took place about two years before his accession, acquired the best wine country in France. By that addition to his hereditary dominions he became master of all the west side of that kingdom from the Pyrenæan mountains to Picardy: and consequently, after

\* There seems to have been at least an expectation of finding gold in Fife: for King David gave a grant to the abbay of Dunfermline of all the tithes of gold which might accrue to him from Fife and Fothrif (or rather Forthrev, the upper part of the peninsula). [*Chart. qu. in Dalrymple's Annals, V. i, p. 297.*] But, that any gold was ever obtained from a mine in that part of the country, does not, I believe, anywhere appear.

† Quere, if it is not also the earliest notice of English fishermen going so far from their own ports on a fishing voyage, if they were, indeed, subjects of England; for in the age of the writer here quoted the Scottish subjects on the south side of the Firth of Forth were called English, as I

have made appear in *Geographical illustrations of Scottish history*, under the articles *Angli, Louthian, Northymbra-land, Scotland.*—Perhaps this almost-unknown passage may also give the people of the Netherlands the most antient authentic information of a distant fishery resorted to by their Belgic ancestors, the steady and prudent persecution of which made them high and mighty among the nations of Europe.

An account of a Scottish fishery, apparently unfounded, has already been inserted (*p. 253*) from Mr. Anderson, whose author I have endeavoured to discover. A fishery in the reign of King Macbeth has also been presumed (*p. 284*) upon probable grounds.

his accession to the crown of England, the merchants of all the French ports on the Ocean, except Boulogne and Calais, were fellow-subjects with those of England; a circumstance, which must certainly have been very favourable to the commercial interests of both countries.

But Henry, far from being satisfied with the possession of England and about a third part of France, very soon cast his eyes upon Ireland as a convenient addition to his dominions. He had no pretext of a quarrel with the Irish: but he proposed to reform their religion and their morals; and for such a pious undertaking it was thought proper to solicit the approbation of the infallible head of the church. His ambassador was instructed to represent to the pope his zeal for enlarging the bounds of the church, instructing the ignorant, and extirpating vice, by bringing Ireland under his own dominion: and, as all islands belong to the holy see, he desired to be advised and authorized by the pope; and he took care to promise an annual payment to St. Peter of one penny out of every house in Ireland, and engaged to support the rights of the church in that island.

The chair of St. Peter was at this time filled by Adrian IV, the only Englishman who ever attained that summit of ecclesiastical ambition. But the partiality of the pope, if he had any, for the sovereign of his native country, could be but one of his motives for promoting Henry's ambitious views. The king had acknowledged his right to the sovereignty of all the islands of the sea, (is Great Britain not an island?) and he had promised a large increase of the papal revenues. Moreover, the Irish were very undutiful sons of the church: for, though it is well known, that, when the English (or Saxons) were sunk in the grossest ignorance, the Irish possessed so great a share of what were esteemed religion and science in those days, that their country was called *the island of saints*, and many parts of Britain were indebted to them for the first rudiments of religion and literature, they were afterwards far behind the rest of Europe in conforming to the innovations, and submitting to the encroachments of the see of Rome. They were accused of marrying within the degrees of consanguinity, forbidden by the church of Rome, without purchasing ecclesiastical dispensations; their clergymen, and even bishops, were married; they scarcely ever admitted pallis from Rome; they neglected the payment of tithes and first-fruits; and in some parts of the country they ate flesh in lent. These were crimes sufficient to draw upon them the displeasure of the pope, who sent the king a bull encouraging him to proceed in the conquest and conversion of Ireland\*, together with a gold ring, by which he appeared to assume the right of bestowing the investiture of the island as a vassal

\* The pope's bull, or commission, may be seen in *Rymer's Fœdera Angliæ*, V. i, p. 15, and in most of the English historians, particularly in *Giraldi Cambrens. Hist. expugnata*, which also contains the origin and progress of the conquest of Ireland.

kingdom. The bull and the ring were both laid up in the archives at Winchester, to be produced whenever a favourable opportunity should offer. And this was the first step towards the union of Great Britain and Ireland.

At this time Scherif [al Edrissi, a Saracen subject of Roger king of Sicily, wrote his *Geographical amusements*, which he presented to that prince. He follows Ptolemy in connecting the south part of Africa with the east part of Asia; and, if we may judge from the Latin translation of his work, he knew little more of the north parts of Europe than that ancient geographer did. He relates, that some of the Saracens of Spain had ventured out upon the Ocean, in order to discover the extremity of the world, and, after eleven days sailing, had turned to the southward, and landed in the Canaries, where they learned that a king of one of those islands had also been out on a voyage of discovery, and, after being a month at sea, had lately returned home \*. [See *Mem. de l'academie*, V. xxviii, p. 524.]

1155—The arrival of the emperor Frederic in Italy struck such terror into the Genoese, that they fortified their city with unremitting exertion, and even the women and children laboured in constructing the walls. The remains of these walls, far within those erected in the years 1327 and 1347, show how small the city then was in comparison of the extent it afterwards attained. [*Stellæ An. Gen. ap. Muratori, Script. V. xvii, col. 974.*]

While the Genoese dreaded a contest with the military forces of the emperor of the West, whose dominions were invulnerable by their naval power, the emperor of the East, the successor of the Roman sovereigns of the world, was courting their friendship by a treaty, binding him to pay for ever an annual pension of two hundred perpers † and two palls (rich robes) to the community, and another of sixty perpers and one pall to the archbishop, of Genoa, and also to give them a factory or comptoir ('fundicum' ‡), and a church, in his capital city of Constantin-

\* Can this be true? Had the Saracens the use of the compass? Could the Canary king, who surely had no compass, ever find his own island after being a month at sea? This curious information shows, however, that the notion of the existence of western lands prevailed in those ages in several countries: and to the same notion, probably, the land called Cokaigne, far in the sea be-west Spain, owes its imaginary existence, as it is described in an English poem of the twelfth century, preserved in Hicke's *Thesaurus linguarum septentrionalium*.

† *Perperi*, or *hyperperi*, were gold coins struck by the emperors of Constantinople in this age; [*Du Cange Gloss. Lat. vo. Hyperperus*] and they had also other coins called *byzantii*, *scysati*, and *michalati*. But, though the value of the coins of

ancient Greece is known with tolerable certainty, that of the Grecian coins of these later dark ages is, I believe, totally unknown. From the payment of the arrears of a similar tribute to Pisa, in the year 1172 (which see), there seems reason to believe, that *perperi* and *byzantii* were the same.

‡ In the principal commercial cities, such as Constantinople and Alexandria, the merchants of each trading nation had their own appropriate *fundicus* (called by the Italians *fontechi*, and by the Catalans *alfondech*, the name being apparently Arabic), in which they lived and stored their goods, every individual paying a rent for his accommodation. Such, in England, were the Teutonic gild hall, and, in later times, the Steelyard, in London, occupied by the merchants of Germany; and, in Scotland, the Red hall in Berwick, occupied

ople, and to reduce the customs upon their merchandize, from a tenth to a twenty-fifth, or from ten to four per cent. William, king of Sicily, also endeavoured to gratify the commercial jealousy of the Genoese by a treaty, engaging to expell the merchants of Provence and France from his territories (a°. 1156). Thus were the political events of the neighbouring nations made to promote the commercial interests of the Genoese. Neither did they confine their friendly intercourse and connections to Christian states, nor were they such bigots as to suppose that difference of belief in matters of religion had any concern with commercial connections, but entered into treaties of friendship and commerce with the Saracen kings of Spain and Morocco in the year 1161\*. [*Cassari Annales Gen. ap. Muratori, Script. V. vi, coll. 265-277.*]

1156, January 6<sup>th</sup>.—The maritime kingdom of Mann, founded by Ketil about the year 890, as already observed, comprehended Mann, and all the islands on the west side of Scotland, and flourished in considerable power, being frequently formidable to the adjacent coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland. But King Godred, the son of Olaf, having lost the affections of some of the chiefs by his tyranny, they set up Dugal, the son of Somerled, lord of Argyle, by a daughter of Olaf, as king against him; and after a bloody naval battle, the islands were now divided between the rivals by a treaty, which, the chronicler of Mann says, proved the ruin of the kingdom.

1156.—From the considerable number of English historians who flourished in the twelfth century, with some help from other writers, and from charters, &c. we have a pretty good account of several of the towns of England, and even of some of those of Scotland, about this time.

London being now established as the capital of the kingdom, most of the nobles and bishops had handsome houses † in or near the city: but the houses of the citizens were generally built of wood, and thatched with straw; and thence the city was liable to frequent fires. Fitz-Stephen, a writer of this age, says, that the citizens were remarkable for their politeness, the elegance of their dress, and the magnificence of their tables, and that their wives excelled in every virtue. The citizens

occupied by those of Flanders. And they paid rents to communities or to individuals. The merchants of the Steelyard paid £70 : 3 : 4 sterling to the city of London [*Stow's Survey of London, p. 433, ed. 1618*]; and the widow of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, gave the rents of a *fundicus* in Amalfi to the monastery of Monte Casino. [*Chron. Casin. L. iii, c. 56.*—See also *Hakluyt's Voyages, V. ii, p. 199*, where the *fontechi* at Alexandria is explained to be 'an house of trafique as the Stilyard.']

\* I have not inquired, whether they thought it worth their while to purchase a licence from the

pope for trading with infidels, as the Portuguese repeatedly did in later times.

† The stone house of a citizen of London is mentioned by *Benedictus Abbas, V. i, p. 197*.—Geoffrey Martel in the reign of Henry II sold a piece of land with a stone house in London. [*Madox's Formulæ, p. 178.*—The houses of some Jews in London, appear to have been of stone in the year 1215. [*Rad. Cogshall, qu. in Stow's Annales, p. 258.*] Thence it may be presumed, that the houses of the nobles and bishops were not of inferior materials, though those of the middle and inferior ranks were of wood.

were distinguished from those of most of the smaller towns by the appellation of barons \*. With a pardonable partiality, Fitz-Stephen says, that no city in the world exports its merchandize to such a distance : but he has unluckily neglected to inform us of the species of goods exported, or the countries to which they were carried, none of which were very distant, according to our modern enlarged ideas of navigation. Among the imports he enumerates gold, spices, frankincense from Arabia ; pretious stones from Egypt ; purple drapery from India ; palm-oil from Bagdad ; all which he might, perhaps with more strict propriety, have derived immediately from the trading cities of Italy. Furs of various kinds, he says, are brought from Norway and Ruffia ; arms from Scythia ; and wine from France. The venders of the various commodities, and labourers of every kind, are dayly to be found in their appropriate and distinct places † ; and every Friday a market is held in Smithfield for horses, cows, hogs, &c. The city, with the suburbs, contains 13 large conventual churches, and 126 parochial ones. According to our author, no fewer than 60,000 foot and 20,000 horse issued from the city in the reign of King Stephen ‡. The city is strongly fortified with castles and turrets, and surrounded by a wall with seven gates, except on the south side, where the river has undermined the ancient wall, which the protection of the palatine tower at the east end of the city now renders unnecessary. The king's palace at Westminster is two miles from the city § ; and the intermediate space is almost filled up with the houses and gardens of the citizens ||. On the north side are open fields of corn and grafs, and a lake ¶, with several streams turning mills ; and beyond these there is a forest, wherein the citizens take the diversion of hunting. [*Stephanidis Vita Thomæ Cant.*]

William of Malmſbury, an author of the same age, says, London is a noble city, renowned for the opulence of its citizens, who, on account

\* Whether all the citizens of London, or only those who possessed some civic pre-eminence, were called *barons*, has been disputed, and, I suppose, cannot be clearly determined by any sufficient authority. See above, p. 314.

† The authority of Fitz-Stephen has been strangely adduced to prove, that the Steelyard, Vintry, &c. were the appropriated wharfs of the various nations trading to London in his time. He says no such thing. The establishment of the Vintry in particular will be accounted for in the year 1300.

‡ The copy of our author, from which Leland made his excerpts, had only 40,000 foot. [*Colleſtanea*, V. iv, p. 241.] Either of the numbers is most enormously exaggerated, if it is meant that London alone furnished so many fighting men of its own inhabitants. Peter of Blois, arch-deacon of London, an author of the same age, [*Epist. ad Innocent. papam.*] states the whole population of London, men, women, and children, to be only

40,000. But as it is now known from the subsidy roll of the year 1377, discovered by Mr. Topham, that the taxable persons of both sexes above fourteen years of age in London, were then only 23,314, it is not probable that the number of those under fourteen, the clergy, and those living on charity, would altogether bring the number even up to 40,000 : and it may be presumed, notwithstanding the ravages of the pestilence in the year 1348, that London was not more populous in the twelfth than in the fourteenth century.

§ Ludgate was then the western boundary of the city.

|| These were the country villas of the citizens, to which they retired from the noise and crowd of the city. The same ground is now covered with streets almost as much crowded as any of those in the city.

¶ Now Moorfields, part of which has been lately adorned with the elegant buildings of Finsbury square.

of the greatness of the city, are considered as people of the first quality and noblemen ('optimates et proceres') of the kingdom. It is filled with merchandize, brought by the merchants of all countries; but chiefly those of Germany: and, in case of scarcity of corn in other parts of England, it is a granary, where it may be bought cheaper than anywhere else. [*Novell. f. 107 a*; *Gesta pontif. f. 133 b.*]

Another circumstance, tending to show that London was comparatively an opulent and commercial city at this time, is, that it was the headquarters of all the Jews in England; a people who have never failed to follow wealth and commerce, and who have generally contributed largely to the advancement of both wherever they settled. One of the many hardships, imposed upon that race of people, was an obligation to carry their dead from all parts of England, to be interred in one general cemetery appointed for them in Red-cross street in London, till the year 1177, when Henry II gave them permission to purchase burying grounds in other parts of the kingdom. [*Bromton, col. 1129.*—*Stow's London, p. 553, ed. 1618.*]

Nothing particularly illustrative of the state of the Cinque ports about this time has occurred to me.

William of Malmesbury [*Gesta regum, f. 28 a*] says, that Exeter, which was fortified with towers and walls of hewn stone by King Athelstan, though it was destroyed by the Danes in the year 1003, [*Chron. Sax. ad an.*] and though the country around it is still in so poor a state of cultivation, that it can scarcely produce a crop of the most indifferent kind of oats, has now become a magnificent city, filled with opulent citizens; and being the principal port for the mineral productions of the adjacent country, [*H. Huntind. f. 171 a*] it is so much resorted to by foreign merchants, that every thing, that can be desired, may be purchased there in abundance.

Bristow, according to William of Malmesbury, [*Gesta pont. f. 161 a*] is a celebrated town, and a port for vessels coming from Ireland, Norway, and other foreign countries. Henry II, in the eleventh year of his reign, gave the burgeses a charter, exempting them from tolls and some other impositions in England, Wales, and Normandy.

Gloucester, according to William, [*f. 161 a*] is a city situated in a valley remarkably fertile, and particularly famous for abundance of excellent apples\*, which keep good through the whole year. It also excels all England in the abundance and pleasant taste of its grapes; and the wine made from them is entirely free from harshness and sourness, and very little inferior to the wines of France.

\* When praising the apples of Gloucester-shire, he has not a word of cider, though it is mentioned as being provided long before his time along with wine, mead, ale, pigment, and morat, at Hereford (to this day the center of the cider country) for the use of King Edward the Confessor; [*H. Hun-*

*indon. f. 210 a*] and in his own time the farmer of Windfor was allowed six shillings and eight pennies for wine, perry, and cider, for the use of King Henry II. [*Mad. x's Hist. of the excheq. c. x, § 12.*] Probably cider and perry were rare, and only used by people of the highest ranks.

Winchester, however, appears to have been considered by another author of this age, as the most famous place in England for wine\*. [*II. Huntind. f. 171 a.*]

Chester is, according to William, [*f. 164 b*] situated in a poor country, producing scarcely any wheat: but there is abundance of cattle and fish: the poor live on milk and butter, the rich on flesh; and bread made of barley or rye † is thought a dainty. Some trade with Ireland supplies the place with such necessaries as Nature has denied to it.

A more flattering picture of Chester is drawn by a monk of the same age, called Lucian, who says, that it is enriched and adorned by its river, and that ships come to it from Aquitaine, Spain, Ireland, and Germany, whereby the citizens are furnished with all good things, and are enabled to drink wine frequently, plentifully, and profusely. [*ap. Camd. Brit. p. 459.*]

Donewic (*Dunwich*) is called by William of Newburgh [*L. ii, c. 30*] a famous sea-port town, stored with various kinds of riches ‡.

Norwic is called by William of Malmfbury [*f. 136 a*] a populous town, famous for its commerce.

Linn is described by William of Newburgh [*L. iv, c. 7*] as a city ('urbs') distinguished for commerce and abundance, the residence of many wealthy Jews, and resorted to by foreign vessels.

Lincoln is celebrated by Alexander Necham, a poet of this century, [*ap. Camd. Brit. p. 404*] as the support of the adjacent country, and stored with good things. The canal made by Henry I (see above, p. 318) made this city, though far from the sea, accessible to foreign vessels, and gave it the command of an extensive inland navigation, whereby it became one of the most populous seats of home and foreign trade in England. [*W. Malmsb. Gesta pont. f. 165 b.*]

Grimby is noted by the Norwegian (or Icelandic) writers as an emporium resorted to by merchants from Norway, Scotland, Orkney, and the Western islands. [*Orkneyinga saga, p. 152.*]

York had been repeatedly destroyed, by the furies of war, by the vengeance of William the Conqueror, and lastly by a casual conflagration

\* Many proofs might be adduced to show, that vines were cultivated to a greater extent in several parts of this country formerly than now, and that considerable quantities of wine were made from them. See the extract from Domesday book, above, p. 305, and more instances from the same record, collected by Spelman. [*Gloss. vo. Arpenis.—Bede Hist. eccles. L. i, c. 1.*] In the reign of Henry III the bishops of Lincoln and Bath had vineyards; and in that of Edward III the earl of Lancaster had vineyards in the neighbourhood of Leicester. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. xi, § 2.—Knyghton, col. 2554.*]

† In the original, *siligo*; a word not in the dictionaries or glossaries, and which Fleetwood [*Chron. precios. prices for 1387*] says, he knows not. But a former proprietor of my copy of Fleetwood observes, in a manuscript note, that he finds *siligo* generally used by the writers of those ages for rye.

‡ In the reign of King John, Dunwich paid about twice as much rent to the king as any other town upon the neighbouring coast. [*Brady on burghs, Append. p. 11.*] But it would be too rash to infer from that circumstance, that it was twice as opulent.

in the reign of Stephen. Yet it still retained some marks of Roman elegance, and is described by William of Malmesbury, [*f.* 147 a] as a large metropolitan city, lying on both sides of the Ouse, and receiving in the middle of it vessels from Germany and Ireland.

Whitby, Hartlepool, and some other towns on the east coast, possessed vessels and other property, of which they were robbed by Esteyn king of Norway, about the year 1153. [*Snorro Hist. Magni Blinda, c.* 20.]

Berwick, a noble town at the mouth of the Tuid (*Tweed*), belonging to the king of Scotland, [*W. Newb. L. v, c.* 23] is at this time distinguished as having more foreign commerce than any other port in Scotland, and many ships. One of them belonging to a citizen called Knut the Opulent, and having his wife onboard, being about this time taken by Erlend earl of Orkney, Knut hired fourteen vessels, with a competent number of men, for one hundred marks of silver, and went in chase of the pirates, who had anchored for the night at one of the adjacent islands. [*Torfæi Orcades, L. i, c.* 32.]

Invyrlyth is merely noted as having a harbour beside it, mentioned in a charter granted by King David to the abbay of Halyrud. [*Hay's Vindication of Eliz. More.*] In later times it has been called Leith, and is the port of Edinburgh.

Strivelin (*Stirling*) had some vessels and trade, part of the duty ('canum') of the vessels, with a salt-work, and some other branches of the royal revenue, being given by the same king to the abbays of Cambuskenneth and Dunfermline. [*Chart. in Nimmo's Hist. of Stirling, p.* 508; and in *Dalrymple's Collect. p.* 386.]

Part of the duties levied in the port of Perth were assigned in the same manner. [*Chart. in Dalrymple, p.* 386.] Necham, the English poet already quoted, says, 'that the kingdom is supported by the opulence of this city:' [*ap. Camd. Brit. p.* 708] and it was at this time, properly speaking, the capital of Scotland.

Abirdene was known in Norway as a trading town. Esteyn, one of the joint kings of that country, being on a pirating cruise along the British coast about the year 1153, landed and pillaged it. [*Snorro, Hist. Magni Blinda, c.* 20.] But it soon recovered from that misfortune, and was a royal residence in a few years after.

Abirdon (*Old Aberdeen*) had a port, the tenth of the duties of the ships being granted by King David to its newly-erected bishoprick. [*Chart. in Bib. topog. Brit. No. iii, p.* 3.]

Duffeyras (perhaps *Banf*) on the shore of the Moray firth, is merely mentioned as a commercial port and town. [*Orkneyinga saga, p.* 323.]\*

\* All the charters and books, quoted for this view of the trading towns of Britain, were written in the twelfth, or early in the thirteenth, century, except the works of Bromton and Torfæus; and they were careful compilers from authentic records.

I find no certain account of any trading ports on the west side of Scotland in this age ; which is no wonder, as we know of but two on the west side of England †.

From several notices dispersed through the authors quoted for this view of the chief commercial ports of Britain at this time, it is evident that the foreign trade was almost entirely conducted by foreign merchants.

Concerning the trade and ports of Ireland before the English conquest, little can be added to what has been already said [p. 254] of the Ostmen in that island, and of its intercourse with some of the English harbours, just mentioned ‡. The Irish made some cloth from the wool of the black sheep, that being the most general colour of their flocks, by which means they obtained a durable colour without the labour or expense of dying. They had also cloth of other colours, with which they made party-coloured ornaments for their hoods : and they used woollen stuffs (' phalingis laneis') for their cloaks or plaids, and also for their trowsers, and these were dyed. If to these we add lances, javelins, and battle-axes, excellently tempered, we complete the catalogue, as far as we have materials, of the manufactures of the Irish, who were a pastoral people, not yet generally advanced into the state of agricultors, and far less of manufacturers. Some foreign merchants brought gold to Ireland : but we are not told, what the Irish (who, Giraldus Cambrensis says, thirsted for it like Spaniards) gave the foreigners in exchange for it ; nor what the people of Wexford gave in return for the wheat and wine imported from Bretagne. [*Gir. Camb. Topogr. Hib. dist. iii, c. 10 ; Hib. expug. L. i, c. 3.*]

It appears, however, that there were greater stores of the pretious metals in Ireland than could well be supposed. Large sums of gold and silver were frequently given for the ransom of men of rank taken in battle : and duties or rents, paid in gold or silver to ecclesiastical establishments, occur very often in the Irish annals. At the consecration of a church in the year 1157 Murha O-Loghlin king of Ireland gave a town, 150 cows, and 60 ounces of gold, to God and the clergy ; a chief called O-Carrol gave also 60 ounces of gold ; and Tiernan O-Ruark's wife gave as much § ; donations which would have been esteemed very great in that age in England or upon the continent. What supersti-

† Many other ports of England probably had some trade and shipping at this time ; but, for want of particular and contemporary authority, they cannot be particularized.

‡ Though Giraldus Cambrensis wrote a *Topography of Ireland* and a *History of the conquest of Ireland*, he gives very little information of the state of its trade, or of its ports. What William of Malmesbury says [f. 91 a] of the distress the Irish would suffer, if they were deprived of their trade with England, seems contradicted by what

he himself says [f. 164 b] of the city of Chester depending upon Ireland for a supply of the necessaries of life.

§ Several instances of these ways of laying out money occur in the *Annals of Ulster*, (never yet printed) particularly at the years 1004, 1029, 1106, 1157, 1161 ; and see *Ware's Antiq. Hibern. p. 128, ed. 1654*, for some instances belonging to years left blank in the manuscript belonging to the British museum, from which I made my extracts.

tion so liberally gave, some species of industry must have acquired; and that was most probably the pasturage of cattle, an employment to which the soil and climate of Ireland have in all ages been extremely favourable, and which was most suitable to the unsettled state of society then existing in that country; unless we will suppose that the mines of Ireland, which, though unnoticed by any writer, seem to have been at some time very productive, were still capable of supplying the sums collected in the coffers of the chiefs and the clergy.

During the civil war between King Stephen and the empress, the current money of England had been very much debased, partly by the frauds of the coiners taking advantage of the convulsed state of the kingdom, but chiefly by almost every baron usurping the prerogative of issuing money coined by his own authority\*. In order to put an effectual stop to so great an evil, King Henry made an entire new coinage of the money of the kingdom; and, as soon as it was completed (which was in two years) he prohibited the currency of any other than his own new money †. [*R. Hoveden, f. 281 b.*—*M. Paris, p. 97.*—*Ann. Waverl. ap. Gale, p. 159.*]

Several of the bishops and abbats of England had a right to coin money. [*See above, pp. 266, 271, 306.*—*Fædera, V. iii, p. 81; V. v, p. 755,*—*and all the books upon English coins.*] I suppose, the king did not presume to deprive them of any of their rights or privileges.

In Scotland, at least the bishop of St. Andrews had the right of coining money. [*Wyntown's Chronicle of Scotland, V. i, p. 396.*]

About this time the proportion of silver to gold was nine for one. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 9, § 2.*]

1157—Now, and also at other times, Henry raised money by requiring gifts from the shires, burghs, bishops, barons, and others. The opulence of the city of London appears from the largeness of its gift on this occasion, which was no less than £1,043 (equivalent to above £30,000 of modern money) and exceeded the joint contributions of the shires of Lincoln, Somerset, Essex, and Kent, together with those of the bishop of Bath and the abbat of St. Albans. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 17, § 2.*]

Frederic emperor of Germany sent ambassadors to the king of England with presents, and a letter desiring to have a treaty of friendship

\* The great lords on the continent assumed, or were indulged in, the privilege of coining money. In France they could not coin gold or silver without the king's express permission, an instance of which we have in a diploma granted by Lewis XI in October 1465 to the queen (earl) of Bretagne, permitting him to coin money of gold. [*Du Cange, Gloss. Lat. V. iv, col. 871.*]

† Henry of Huntingdon, who probably wrote soon after the reformation of the money, says in

the beginning of his History, that the money of England was made of pure silver: but he must be understood to mean silver of the legal standard, as opposed to the adulterated silver of the preceding reign, and perhaps also to the coins of other countries, some of which were now made of silver much inferior to the English standard. The money of France, in particular, was so much debased about this time, that only a half of it was silver. [*Le Blanc, Traité des monoyes, p. xviii.*]

with him. Henry made a suitable return of presents, and in his answer thankfully accepted the emperor's alliance, which, he hoped, among other benefits, would promote the security and freedom of commerce between their territories. [*Radevic. Frising. Gesta Friderici, L. i, c. 7.*]

1160—The friendship of Henry was courted, not only by the Christian princes of Europe\*, but also by the Mohamedans. The king of Valencia and Murcia in Spain soon after sent him an embassy with magnificent presents, consisting of the rare and rich productions of the East; and a proper return was made by Henry. [*Chron. Norm. p. 998.*] But whether any commercial arrangements were produced by this first friendly intercourse of a king of England with a disciple of Mohamed, we are not informed. If there were any, they most probably concerned only Henry's subjects in the southern provinces of France.

The following hints are collected from the narrative of Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela in Spain, whose travels over a great part of the known world, begun in the year 1160 and continued to the year 1173, afford more information concerning the state of the commercial part of the world, than can easily be collected from all the other writers of the age.

Barchinona (*Barcelona* in Spain) is an emporium frequented by the Greeks, Pisans, Genoese, Sicilians, Egyptians of Alexandria, and the people of the land of Israel (Palestine).—Montpelier is a place of great trade, whither, by means of the Genoese and Pisans, people of all nations, Saracens and Christians, and among the rest, the English †, resort for traffick.—Genoa, an independent city, governed by magistrates chosen by the citizens.—In Thebes there are 2,000 Jews, workers in scarlet and purple.—Constantinople is a city abounding in wealth, and superior to all others in the world, except Bagdad. The people are enervated by luxury and dissipation, and too lazy to carry on an active commerce; and therefor merchants from every part of the world resort to it by land and by sea ‡. About 2,000 Jewish merchants, manufacturers of silk, &c. and tradesmen, many of them very opulent, live in the suburb called Pera, not being permitted to reside in the city.—In Antioch the houses of the nobles are served with water conveyed in wooden

\* The ambassadors of Manuel emperor of Constantinople, Frederic emperor of Germany, the archbishop of Triers, the duke of Saxony, and the earl of Flanders, and also the advocates or ambassadors of the kings of Castile and Navarre, who came to submit a controversy between their sovereigns to the arbitration of King Henry, were all at Westminster in November 1177. [*M. Paris, p. 132.*] As in those ages ambassadors were never sent but upon extraordinary occasions, the assemblage of so many in one court must have had a wonderful effect in impressing the English with high ideas of the wisdom and power of their own sovereign, and, by increasing his reputation, make a real increase of his power.

† We should certainly deceive ourselves, if we were to suppose that English traders got to Montpelier by sailing through the Straits of Gibraltar. The nature of their traffick is perhaps sufficiently described by saying, it was conducted by means of the Genoese and Pisans.

‡ Not to interrupt Benjamin's narrative, I here observe [from *Guntheri Hist. C. 8*] that the fishing vessels (they are called ships) belonging to Constantinople were no fewer than sixteen hundred; and the multitude of warlike and mercantile vessels, assembled in its most secure harbour, was innumerable. There is reason to believe that very few of the mercantile vessels belonged to citizens of Constantinople.

pipes from a mountain in the neighbourhood \*.—Damascus is also supplied with water by pipes.—New Tyre, a place of considerable traffick, with a most commodious and secure harbour, stills keeps up its most antient pre-eminence in manufactures of glass-ware, and is also famous for excellent sugar †.—The island of Nikrokis ‡ in the Persian gulf is a store-house for Indian goods and the produce of Persia, Sinaar, Arabia, &c. the inhabitants being factors for the variety of strangers concerned in the extensive commerce of which it is the center.

Some of the countries beyond Nikrokis, visited by Benjamin, are not very easily to be ascertained. In the island of Cheverag he was informed that Sin (supposed to be China) was at the distance of forty days sailing in the East; and that beyond it there was a frozen sea, and such as ventured upon it were killed by the cold. In Egypt he remarks the abundant population, but has scarcely a word of the trade of Alexandria. Passing over into Europe, he traveled as far as Russia, a country covered with woods, and producing animals called weiweriges and zeblinatz, supposed to be grey foxes or grey squirrels, and fables §.

The city of Kessin being destroyed by Henry the Lion duke of Saxony, the materials of its ruins were employed by Pribislaus, the last king of the Heruli, to inclose a neighbouring village called Rostock, the foundation of which is carried up by tradition to the year 329. Being thereby rendered more secure, it soon assumed the appearance of a city, and became a place of considerable commercial importance.

1162, June 5<sup>th</sup>—The Genoese, having come to an agreement with the emperor Frederic, received from him a diploma, which, in a pompous preamble, sets forth his desire of cherishing and protecting all his faithful subjects, especially those from whom he expects the most valuable services and devotion to the empire. And therefore, because he had heard that the Genoese from the first foundation of their city had raised there heads above all other maritime states, and he should have occasion to make use of their service, especially in naval war, he makes known to all the subjects of the empire, that he grants to the consuls and community of Genoa, as a fief, the power of levying military forces between Monaco and Porto Venere, whenever they should have occasion to raise any, saving, however, their fealty to the empire. He grants

\* Ebn Haukal, an author at least a century earlier than Benjamin, observes that 'the water flows through the streets and amidst the chief buildings' of Antakiah, or Antioch. [*Sir William Ouseley's translation*, p. 44.] He also notices the same accommodation in many other towns of Asia.

† Sugar was, however, one of the articles brought to Palestine from Babylon by the caravan plundered by King Richard.

‡ This seems the same island, which is called Kif-ben-Omira by Abulfeda, and Chisi (or Kisi) by Marco Polo. It seems to have succeeded to

the trade on the decline of Siraf, which was the chief emporium in the ninth century: and it, in its turn, was eclipsed by Ormuz. [*See Mem. de littérature F. xxxvii, pp. 476, 508.*]

§ The veracity of Benjamin has been much questioned; and in history he certainly wanders widely from the truth: but what, he says, he saw, seems to be worthy of credit. Perhaps his greatest fault is being a Jew. He is very careful in noting the number of Jews in every place visited by him; and it is observable, that a great proportion of them were dyers of wool.

them the power of chusing their consuls, dispensing justice, and punishing crimes, within their district. He confirms to them all their possessions at home and beyond sea, particularly Syracuse with a tract of land adjacent to it. He moreover grants them a street convenient for their merchants, together with a church, a bath, a factory ('fundicus'), and a bake-house, in every maritime city, which he may hereafter subdue, and also an exemption from duties and several charges in every country, which they shall assist him to conquer. He also grants them one half of the gold, silver money, and silk, which they shall take, the other half being for himself; and a quarter of all the gold and jewels, which shall be surrendered to him. He gives them the power of appointing one or more of their citizens to reside in every country to which they trade, in order to dispense justice according to *his* laws and good customs. And (what was perhaps the most agreeable of the whole, if indeed he had the right, or the power, to make it effectual) he authorizes them to prevent the French from sailing to Sicily and the coast of Calabria; and he subjects the Venetians to the same restrictions, unless they shall conciliate his favour. [*Diploma ap. Muratori Antiq. V. iv, col. 253.*]

The delegation of the command of the sea by a prince, who, with a sounding title, possessed no maritime power himself, probably encouraged the Genoese in their pretensions to a sovereign jurisdiction upon the sea, which they already exercised by granting licences to the merchants of other nations for trading by sea, whereof their encomiastic historian, Baptista Burgus, has adduced several examples which seem to rest upon very slender authority, and also some which appear to be more authentic, viz. In the year

1154—the citizens of Luca were permitted to trade upon the Genoese sea with merchandize allowed by the laws of Genoa;

1156—Azolino of Placentia was permitted to send a vessel annually to any port he thought proper with merchandize to the value of £150;

1184—Drogo de Consilio and his brothers were permitted to send a vessel annually to any port with a cargo of the value of £400, as citizens of Genoa;

1189—Censio Romano was permitted to go in, or to send, a vessel anywhere upon the sea of Genoa, free of any exaction, and carrying a cargo amounting to £200, whether belonging to himself or to others.

For these his authorities are the records of the city: and his being able to find so few in the course of so many years shows, that they were but seldom applied for.

1165—Axel (or Abfolon) bishop of Lunden, having constructed a fort at an excellent harbour on the east side of Zeland (or Seeland) in order to protect the merchant ships from pirates, some fishermen built a few cottages beside it; and an inn being also built for the accommodation of strangers, the name of the place was changed from Axel-hus to

Kiopmans haven (the merchants' harbour, which we, after the Germans, call Copenhagen), and it grew up in time to be a considerable commercial city and the capital of Denmark. [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L. iii. p. 139.*]

We have seen the herring fishery on the coast of Norway an object of considerable importance in the tenth century: and it is probable, though we have no certain information of it, that they then proceeded up the Baltic, and were taken by the nations bordering upon that sea. About this time we have the first express notice of a fishery for herrings within the Baltic, which was at the island of Rugen, and so considerable, when the stormy winds of November \* drove them out of the Ocean to take shelter in the narrow channels of the Baltic, that great numbers of vessels from various foreign countries used to repair thither to load with herrings. [*Helmoldi Chron. Slav. L. ii, c. 12.*]

About the same time the Dutch date the commencement of the herring fishery on their coast. The people of Ziriczee caught herrings on the coast of Briel (or Voorn), an island at the mouth of the Maese (or Meuse); and their example was followed by those of Zeland, Holland, and West Friseland, who fitted out small vessels called *sabards* †, with which they repaired to the same fishing ground in the proper season. Those of Ziriczee are also said to have been the first (of the Low-country people) who packed herrings in barrels; but they were very deficient in the manner of curing them. [*J. F. Petit, Chron. de Hollande, &c. V. i, p. 184.*] The Netherland writers have lost sight of their earlier fishery in the Firth of Forth. (See above, p. 325.)

The city of Lubeck, though founded so late as the year 1140 [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L. iii, p. 177*], had already, by means of its happy situation near the entrance of the Baltic sea, attained so much commercial consequence, as to attract the notice of the powerful commercial republic of Genoa, who courted the citizens of Lubeck to confederate with them against the Pisans, by a promise of carrying them upon the sea on terms of equality with their own citizens, together with a gift of two houses in Porto Venere and the tower of Motrone. In consequence of this alliance we soon after find merchants of Lubeck trading in the Mediterranean onboard Genoese vessels, one of which was taken on her return from Sicily by the Pisans in the year 1171. [*Brev. Hist. Pis. ap. Muratori Script. V. vi, coll. 179, 182.*]

At this time the sultan of Egypt granted the Christians of Jerusalem a free trade in his dominions; but that substantial advantage was almost

\* The movements of the herrings are very capricious, both with respect to time and place. About the year 1500 they used to set in upon the coasts of Gothland and Schonen in the beginning of harvest, as we learn from Olaus Magnus, *L. xx.* In the year 1752, after having long deserted those coasts, they appeared upon them in July and Au-

gust. Since that time their arrival has gradually been later and later; and in the year 1780 it was in November, as in the age of Helmold. [*Anderson's Account of the Hebrides (Western Islands) p. 451.*]

† Martin Schook calls them *Slabbaerts*. [*Dissert. de harengis, § 34.*]

immediately lost by the inordinate lust for dominion of Amalric king of Jerusalem. [*Gul. Tyr. Ll. xix, xx.*]

Dermit king of Leinster in Ireland, being driven out of his dominions for his wickedness and tyranny, implored the aid of Henry king of England to restore him to his kingdom, which he offered to hold of him as his vassal. Henry, seeing so favourable an opportunity of availing himself of the pope's commission for the conquest of Ireland, which he had hitherto allowed to lie dormant, very willingly received Dermit's oath of fealty. But declining to take upon himself the trouble and expense of the war, he put into Dermit's hands his letters patent, authorising his subjects to assist in restoring him as his vassal king of Leinster, by means of which, and the promise of great rewards, Dermit prevailed on the earl of Pembroke and some others to engage in his cause. About the beginning of May 1169 the first detachment of the English adventurers landed in Ireland, and soon re-established Dermit in his kingdom, a large portion of which was immediately allotted to them for their good services. In the following year Dermit, according to agreement, gave his daughter in marriage, together with the right of succession to his kingdom, to the earl of Pembroke.

The king of England, now finding that his subjects were making more progress in the conquest of Ireland than he expected or wished, thought it was time for him to interfere. He issued an edict, prohibiting all his subjects from sailing, or carrying any thing whatever, to Ireland, and strictly enjoining all who were in that island to return before the ensuing Easter, under penalty of forfeiture. But being soothed by a letter of the earl of Pembroke, submitting all his acquisitions, as made under the royal auspices, to his pleasure, he allowed him and his associates to retain all the lands they had acquired in Ireland, except Dublin and the other maritime towns, which he reserved to be kept in his own hands.

1171.—In order more fully to secure to himself the advantages of the conquest, he went over to Ireland with a sufficient force; and soon after his arrival he received the homage of most of the inferior kings, and also of Roderic, the supreme king of Ireland. [*Gir. Cambr. Hib. exp. L. i.—Annales Hib. ap. Camd.—&c.*]

Thus was that great and fertile island apparently subjected to the crown of England. But it is easier to effect a rapid conquest of a country than to retain it. Henry's attention being immediately called to his continental territories, and all the succeeding kings of England being almost constantly engaged in foreign wars or civil commotions, the island was scarcely ever completely subjected to the English power, till the deliverance from continental dominions, and the union of the British crowns, enabled the government to act with more vigour than before.

During the invasion of Ireland many of the principal citizens of Dub-

lin, who were Ostmen, left the place with their most valuable effects, and, after ineffectual attempts to recover it by the assistance of ships and men obtained from their countrymen of Orkney and Mann, the greatest number of them retired to those islands. [*Hib. exp. L. i, c. 17, et seqq.*] The city being thus deprived of its most valuable inhabitants, King Henry, by a charter, now extant in the archives of Dublin, dated in the year 1272, gave his city of Divilin (*Dublin*) to be inhabited by his *men* of Bristow (*Bristol*), who had long carried on a commerce with Ireland. Though no notice is taken by the authors of that age of any colonies going over in consequence of the king's grant, it may be presumed that Dublin was soon repeopled, and in a flourishing condition; for William of Newburgh, a contemporary writer, [*L. ii, c. 26*] calls Divilin a noble maritime city, the metropolis of Ireland, and almost the rival of London for the commerce and abundance in its port. A subsequent charter of the same king to his *burgesses* of Dublin (not Divilin) grants them a free trade, with exemption from tolls, pontage, &c. in England, Normandy, Wales, and Ireland. [*Chart. in Append. n. 1, 2 of Lyttleton's Henry II, B. v.*] Camden says, that from that time Dublin continued in a flourishing condition, and that the citizens gave signal proofs of their attachment to the kings of England on many trying occasions; [*Brit. p. 571*] whence it may be presumed that they were mostly English\*.

About this time the discovery and population of America by the Welsh is supposed by some late writers to have taken place. According to Doctor Powel, [*Hist. of Wales, p. 227*] a Welsh prince called Madoc 'left the land in contention between his brethren, and prepared ' certain ships with men and munition, and fought adventures by sea, ' sailing west, and leaving the coast of Ireland so far to the north, that ' he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things,' in the year 1170. He 'left most of his people there, and returning back ' for more of his own nation, acquaintance, and friends, to inhabit that ' fair and large country, went thither again with ten sails:' and he adds, 'as I find it noted by Gutryn Owen.'

Much has been written upon this Welsh colony, which was supposed to confer upon Britain an unquestionable right to the sovereignty of America. But, independent of the physical impossibility of copper-coloured Indians being descended from white Britons, and of the moral impossibility of Madoc returning from any country lying south-west from Ireland, and finding his way to Britain by steering a course, without a compass, across the broadest part of the Atlantic ocean, even supposing his new country to have been to the northward of the trade

\* It appears that considerable numbers of Ostmen remained in the other principal ports of Ireland in subjection to the English government, and it is probable that there were many of them also in Dublin. [*See Ware's Antiq. Hib. p. 126, ed. 1654.*]

winds, it is pretty evident that the story must have been invented after voyages to and from America, and settlements of colonies in that continent, were common, and had become usual subjects of conversation, even in the uncommercial country of Wales\*.

The Grecian emperor Manuel, having quarreled with the republic of Venice, seized the persons and effects of all the Venetian merchants he could find in his dominions. But Venetian merchants were not to be insulted with impunity. The outrage was immediately chastised by a Venetian fleet of a hundred galleys, which compelled Manuel to submit to terms of peace very humiliating to the pride of empire. This event, the second within a few years which exhibits the Roman-Grecian empire inferior in military force and political importance to the commercial states of Italy, is introduced here, chiefly on account of its being connected with the origin of the BANK OF VENICE. For the republic being oppressed by the charges of the war against the emperor of the East, and at the same time involved in hostilities with the emperor of the West, the duke, Vitale Michel II, after having exhausted every other financial resource, was obliged to have recourse to a forced loan from the most opulent citizens, each being required to contribute according to his ability. On this occasion, and by the determination of the great council, *the chamber of loans* ('la camera degl' imprestiti') was established; and the contributors to the loan were made creditors of the chamber, from which they were to receive an annual interest of four per cent †. [*Sanuto, Vite de duche di Venezia, ap. Muratori Script. V. xxii, col. 502.*] It may be presumed that the rate of interest, so very far below the usual standard of the age, was compulsive, as well as the loan itself, and esteemed a hardship upon the creditors.

\* Gutryn Owen, the alleged author of the story of Madoc's voyages and colony, is said to have lived in the reign of Edward IV; and the authority of a manuscript, really written before the discovery of America by Columbus, would be strong indeed. But as Gutryn's manuscript does not appear, nor even Lluyd's translation of it into English, except as edited with additions, corrections, and improvements, by Powel in the year 1584, he must, for ought we see to the contrary, stand for the original author. Giraldus Cambrensis, a Welsh author, who wrote an account of Wales about the end of the twelfth century (edited by the same Powel), has not a word of the story, though sufficiently fond of the marvelous. But the British origin of the Americans has obtained some imaginary support from the casual, perhaps strained, resemblance of some American words to the Welsh, remarked by Wafer in his voyage to Darien, and by some others in other parts of America: and, as fables, like snowballs, increase by rolling along, the author of the Turkish spy [*V. viii, p. 159*] discovered, that the tomb of Madoc is still to be seen in the country of the Tuscoraras and Doegs, two

American tribes very remote from each other. So the childish story of Whittington and his cat may be verified by a stone, actually inscribed with his name, standing at the side of the road between Islington and Highgate, and set up, one would think, with an intention to stamp the appearance of veracity upon fable.—Colonel Vallancey [*Colleclanea, no. x, p. 168*] has found a way of accounting for the identity of names and customs in America (even as far south as Peru) with those of Ireland, founded on a conjecture of Varenus that the north part of America once adhered to Ireland, and the discovery of a bank extending from Ireland to Newfoundland. And so the population of America, that perplexing subject of disquisition, appears to have been from Ireland.—I have seen an account of the population of Ireland from America.

† 'A ragione del quattro per cento di pro.'—If it was so expressed in the original record from which Sanuto extracted his account, it is an earlier instance of the calculation *per cent* than is found in the Venetian laws, to be noticed in the year 1242.

It is presumable (for no authentic documents, capable of ascertaining the facts with indisputable certainty, are, I believe, anywhere to be found) that the creditors, after continuing for some time no other way connected than by the similarity of their situation with respect to the republic, were incorporated as a company, in order to manage their joint concerns, and that successive improvements upon their system of management, and new ideas suggested by the vast increase of the Venetian commerce, gradually produced the bank of Venice, which is generally acknowledged to be the most antient establishment of the kind in the world \*, and to have been, in a greater or less degree, the model of all the banks, which were set up, first in some other commercial cities on the coast of the Mediterranean sea, and in process of time in almost every city and town in Europe. This bank was established on such judicious principles, and has been conducted through the revolution of many centuries with such prudence, that, though the government have twice, since its establishment, made free with its funds, its credit has remained inviolate and unimpeached. Payments are made in it by transfers, or writing off the sum to be paid from the account of the payer to that of the receiver, without having the trouble of weighing gold or silver. If I mistake not, this bank is also the most antient establishment of a permanent national debt, or the funding system, which is now carried to such a height in almost every country of Europe.

1172—The Pisans sent ambassadors to the emperor of Constantinople, who renewed the alliance made with the emperor's father, and obtained from him the restoration of the wharfs or landing places † they had formerly possessed in Constantinople, permission for the Pisans, whom he had banished, to return, and payment of the arrears for fifteen years of the annual sum of 500 byzants and two palls (rich robes or cloaks) due to the republic, and 50 byzants and one pall to the archbishop, the whole being 8,040 byzants and 45 palls. Three ambassadors from the emperor, with three imperial galleys, went to Pifa, where the treaty was confirmed in full parliament ('in publico parlamento'). [*Brev. Hist. Pis. ap. Muratori Script. V. vi, col. 186.*] Thus was the humiliation of the Greek empire displayed in transactions with each of the three principal commercial states of Italy.

King Henry revived a law of his grandfather's, abolishing the right, formerly assumed by sovereigns and proprietors of the land, of seizing the property of vessels wrecked upon their shores, and declaring, that,

\* Under the year 1401 we shall see that Barcelona claims the honour of having established the first bank of exchange and deposit.

† 'Sealas.'—I am not certain of having rightly translated the word. The French, and other

nations bordering on the Mediterranean, give the name of *eschelle* or *scala* to any port in the Levant where a consul is established. But such a meaning cannot be applied here, especially as the word is in the plural.

whenever any vessel should be wrecked upon the coast of England, Poitou, Gascoigne, or the island of Oleron, if any one human creature, or even a beast, belonging to her, were found alive, the property should be preserved for the owners, who should be allowed three months to make their claim; failing which, the wreck should belong to the king. [*Fœdera Angliæ*, V. i, p. 36.]

It is not unworthy of remark, that in this equitable proceeding, which was a revival of the Rhodian law and the law of the good Roman emperor Antoninus, Henry set an example, which was followed by the Greek emperor Andronicus and the Roman pontiff Alexander III.

1175—About this time William king of Scotland made the village adjacent to the cathedral church of Glasgow a burgh subject to the bishop. In the charter there is no mention of a gild, or any mercantile privileges, or of any trade whatever, except the liberty of having a market on the Thursdays. A subsequent charter of the same king grants the bishop the privilege of holding an annual fair. [*Chart. in Gibson's Hist. of Glasgow*, pp. 299, 302.] Such was the infant state of the great and flourishing commercial city of Glasgow.

1176—A new bridge of stone was begun on the west side of the old wooden bridge of London\*. It appears to have had a wooden draw-bridge † at each end for allowing vessels to pass up the river to Edred's hithe, or Queen-hithe, which was then, and long after, a principal landing-place, where the vessels of the Cinque ports and others discharged their cargoes of corn, fish, salt, fuel, &c. and to the other wharfs or landing-places above the bridge. In those days the art of constructing piers in the water was not known, and therefor the river was turned into a new channel, supposed to have been drawn between Battersea and Redriffe, during the building, which was not finished till the year 1209. [*An. Waverl. ap. Gale*, p. 161.—*Stow's Survey*, pp. 50, 52, 682, ed. 1618.]

1177—The vanity of Venice and the arrogance of the church of Rome were gratified by the duke accepting a ring from Pope Alexander III, whom the republic had assisted in his war against the emperor and the rival popes, as an emblem of the marriage of the republic to the Adriatic sea, which his holiness, in imitation of his predecessors (who had lately made gifts of the islands of Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily,

\* Fabyan [*Cronycle*, f. xv b] says, the wooden bridge was under the management of a fraternity or college of priests, and the stone building was undertaken by the great aid of the citizens and others passing the bridge. He dates the commencement of the building in 1210. But the authority of annals, apparently contemporary, is surely preferable, unless contradicted by any record remaining in the archives of the city. Mr. Mylne, in his Report to the committee for regulating the

port of London, says, that the *present* bridge stands on the original bottom, though it was very unscientifically constructed. [*Third Report of the committee*, &c. p. 29.]

† The draw-bridge was cut down in the year 1553 to prevent Wyat from entering the city. But it was rebuilt; and Stow describes it as existing in his own time. [*Annales*, p. 1046; *Survey*, p. 53.]

and Ireland), gave to the republic, as a wife to be under the dominion and protection of her husband \*. From that time the dukes of Venice have annually renewed the ceremony of the marriage, by throwing a gold ring into the bosom of their spouse from the deck of a superb vessel called the Bucentaur.

1180—Notwithstanding the attention of Henry II. to the state of the current money in the beginning of his reign, it was now again so much debased, that he was under the necessity of making another entire new coinage of round money. Though the goldsmiths and silversmiths of England were famous throughout Europe, Henry on this occasion chose to bring an artist, called Philip Aymari, from Tours (a city in his paternal territories on the continent, which gives its name to the current money of France) to execute his coinage. But Aymari, being found guilty of debasing the standard of the coin, was dismissed with disgrace; and the English coiners, whose frauds had produced the necessity of the recoinage, were punished. [*R. de Diceto, col. 611.*—*Gerv. Dorob. col. 1457.*—*Hoveden, f. 341 a.*]

1181—King Henry, in his *Affise of arms*, strictly commanded that no one should buy or sell any ship to be carried out of England, or engage any seaman ('maireman') to go into foreign service. [*Hoveden, f. 350 b.*] As the order was merely a military precaution, it seems going too far to infer from it that English-built vessels were esteemed superior to those of other nations, or were coveted by foreigners. England needs not claim any doubtful naval renown. But Henry's attention to that best safeguard of his kingdom must also, though unintentionally, have been beneficial to the commerce of England.

1189—There is good reason to believe that England was in a prosperous condition, and that its manufactures and commerce were in a progressive state of improvement during the long reign of Henry II. Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote in the early part of his reign, begins his History with a florid description of Britain, or England, (for with him these names are synonymous) wherein he says, that mines of copper, iron, tin, and lead, are abundant, and that there are some, though but few, mines of silver †. Silver, however, is brought from Germany by way of the River Rhine for our wonderful plenty of flesh and fish (the abundance of herrings and oysters is particularly noted), our most precious wool, our milk (probably converted into butter and cheese),

\* His holiness made a sad blunder with respect to the sexes of the parties. An ancient poet would have married the god Hadria, the son of Neptune, to the nymph Venetia, the daughter of the river god Medoacus. In classical or poetical language Hadria, the name of that sea, is masculine, and all republics are of the feminine gender.

† This assertion of Henry may be alleged against those writers who affirm that there were no mines

of silver in England. But it would be much more important and satisfactory, were there not reason to apprehend that he writes, not from his own knowledge, but from Bede. At this time there was a rich silver mine in Wales between Lanelwy (*St. David's*) and Balingwerk. [*Gir. Cambr. Itin. Cambria, l. ii, c. 10*] I have already, under the year 1153, noticed a silver mine in Cumberland, belonging to David king of Scotland.

and cattle innumerable; so that silver is even more plenty in England than in Germany; and all the money of England is made of pure silver.

In this brief enumeration of goods exported there is no mention of corn; and indeed there is no reason to believe that the agriculture of the country was so far advanced as often to produce more than was necessary for the home consumption. Some exportation of corn, however, there was; for in the year 1181 a fine was paid to the king for licence to ship corn from Norfolk and Suffolk for Norway: but without a licence and payment for it, which seems equivalent to a custom duty, it appears that it could not be exported. [*Madox's Hist. of the exchequer, c. 13, § 3, note k; c. 14, § 7, note r, § 15, notes o, p.*]

Lead was exported in great quantities to all parts of Europe, the roofs of the principal churches, palaces, and castles, being generally covered with it. [*Madox, c. 14, § 15.—Hist. lit. del a France, V. ix, p. 221.*] The exportation of tin was also very considerable, the mines of Cornwall and Devon-shire, which for many ages supplied all Europe, affording a large proportion of the royal revenue. [*M. Paris, p. 570.—Fœdera, V. i, p. 243.*]

It has been presumed, with a probability approaching very near to certainty, that wool was a principal article of the exports of this country before the Norman conquest: (See above, p. 288) and the exportation of it appears to have been still very considerable, though the home manufacture undoubtedly worked up large quantities of it; for, according to an hyperbolic account of the commerce of the country, introduced by Mathew of Westminster in his History, [*p. 396, ed. 1601*] all the nations of the world used to be kept warm by the wool of England, which was made into cloth by the Flemish manufacturers.

Though I have found no express mention in any English author of the exportation of woollen cloth in this age, there can be little doubt that the Flemings settled in Wales, who are said to have possessed the knowledge of commerce as well as manufactures, exported some of the cloths they made. The historian of the Orkneys informs us, that two merchant ships from England bound for Dublin, loaded with *English cloths* (probably the manufacture of the Flemings) and other goods of great value, were taken near Dublin, before the conquest of Ireland by the English, by an Orkney pirate called Swein\*, who on his return home covered his sails with the scarlet cloths, and therefor called that his scarlet cruise. [*Torfœi Orcades, L. i, c. 37.*]

The exportation of slaves, notwithstanding several laws or canons

\* That man wanted only a more extensive field of action, and to have his exploits recorded by authors more generally known, to be as illustrious a ruffian as ever figured in history. In stratagem and cunning he was fully equal to Ulysses; in wicked-

ness and ingratitude scarcely inferior to Augustus; and in setting up, and deposing, his liege lords, the earls of Orkney, he may be compared to the celebrated king-maker, the earl of Warwick.

made against it, particularly in the council of Westminster in the year 1102, [*Eadmer*, p. 68] was not entirely given up in the reign of Henry II. Merchants, but apparently more frequently robbers and pirates, exported slaves, who were partly trepanned, and were partly children bought of wretched parents, who were in great want. In the year 1172 the resolution of the Irish, who had hitherto been great purchasers of English slaves, to buy no more, and to set at liberty those they had, [*Giraldi Cambr. Hib. exp. L. i, c. 18*] gave a great check to that inhuman trade. After that time, though there occur frequent notices of slaves transferred from one proprietor to another \*, and of the prices paid for them, we do not, I believe, find them any longer mentioned as articles of foreign trade.

The other articles exported from England at this time, such as honey, wax, cheese, salmon, &c. were apparently trifling in quantity and value.

Of the imports of England at this time, wine, produced in the king's French dominions, formed a very considerable part. Some woad for dying, together with spiceries, jewels, silks, furs, and other luxuries †, constituted the remainder. In years of scarcity corn was also imported; and the stores of it collected in London made that city be called the granary of the whole kingdom. [*W. Malmsh. Gesta pont. f. 133 b.*]

All the goods imported into England, except wine, woad, and occasionally corn, were in demand only among the superior ranks; and, though they were sold at very high prices, they amounted to but an inconsiderable sum upon the whole. On the other hand, the goods exported, being adapted to the wants of all the classes of mankind, were in great and general demand: and thence there was a large balance in favour of England, which produced the abundance of silver remarked by Henry of Huntingdon. But there is reason to apprehend that much of the money brought in by the commerce of the country was soon taken out of the circulation of productive industry, and locked up in the dead hoards of the great clergy and some of the nobles. Roger archbishop of York died in 1181, possessed of 11,000 pounds of silver and 300 pieces of gold ('aurei'), besides a gold cup and a considerable quantity of silver plate. [*M. Paris, p. 140.*]

The great wealth of the kingdom, though perhaps very ill divided, together with the policy of converting the king's share of the produce of the crown lands, formerly paid in kind, into money rents, and the great length of his reign, enabled Henry II to amass so much treasure, that he could bequeath above forty thousand marks of silver, and five

\* In the year 1195 the archbishop of Canterbury gave ten slaves, as part of the price of the manor of Lambeth, to the prior of Rochester. [*Federa, V. i, p. 89.*]

† Of these some specification may be found in Fitz-Stephen's description of London in this reign. See above, p. 329.

hundred marks of gold to, what he supposed, religious and charitable purposes\*.

At this time the woollen manufacture was very widely extended over the country: for, besides the colony of Flemish weavers in Wales, who were probably the instructors of all the rest, and the company, or gild, of weavers established in London, it appears, that there were similar companies of the same trade in Oxford, York, Nottingham, Huntingdon, Lincoln, and Winchester; and all of them, agreeable to the policy of the age, paid fines to the king for the privilege of carrying on their manufacture exclusive of all others in their towns. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 10, § 5.*] But there were also dealers in Bedford, Beverley and other towns of York-shire, Norwich, Huntingdon, Northampton, Gloucester, Nottingham, Newcastle upon Tyne, Lincoln, Stamford, Grimsby, Barton, Lafford, St. Albans, Baldock, Berkhamstead, and Chesterfield, who paid fines to the king, that they might freely buy and sell dyed cloths; some of their licences also containing a permission to sell cloths of any breadth whatever. As the English had not yet attained any considerable degree of proficiency in the art of dying, and as foreigners were not bound by the English regulations for the breadth of cloths, it may be apprehended, that the cloths sold by those woollen drapers were the fine coloured goods of the manufacture of Flanders: and the red, scarlet, and green, cloths, enumerated among the articles in the wardrobe of King Henry II, were most probably of the same foreign manufacture. [See *Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 10, § 12; c. 13, § 3.*]

Henry II, in the 31<sup>st</sup> year of his reign, gave the weavers of London a confirmation of their gild with all the freedoms they enjoyed in the reign of Henry I; and in the patent he directed, that, if any weaver mixed Spanish wool with English in making cloth, the chief magistrate of London should burn it. [*Stow's Survey of London, p. 515, ed. 1618.*] From such a regulation it seems probable, that English wool was then superior to that of Spain, which in later times has obtained the first character †.

The English goldsmiths still preserved the reputation acquired by

\* The 500 marks of gold were to make marriage portions for women of free (or genteel) condition, who were in need of assistance; a laudable and noble bequest. All the rest was for the support of the holy war, and the maintenance of drones of both sexes in convents. [See the will in *Fœdera, V. i, p. 37.*] The whole amount of his treasure is stated by Hoveden [*f. 374 a*] at *above a hundred thousand marks*, which is increased by Mathew Paris [*p. 152, ed. 1640*] to *above nine hundred thousand pounds*, besides valuable utensils, jewels, and precious stones. But the later sum being incredibly great (in fact not less in real value than

fourteen or fifteen millions of modern money), I suspect that *nongenta* (nine hundred) has crept into the text for *nonaginta* (ninety), the number according to Benedictus Abbas; and possibly pounds have also been inadvertently substituted for marks.

† The 'lanæ pretiosissimæ' (most precious wool) of Henry of Huntingdon, [*f. 170 a*] an author of this age, if we may give full credit to his superlative language, seems to countenance the belief of the superiority of English wool, which will be further illustrated by facts, to be narrated in the subsequent part of this work.

their predecessors. Anketil, a monk of S<sup>t</sup>. Albans, about the beginning of the twelfth century, was so famous for his works in gold, silver, gilding, and jewelery, that he was invited by the king of Denmark to superintend his works in gold, and to be his banker, or money-changer. A pair of candlesticks made of silver and gold, and presented by Robert, abbat of S<sup>t</sup>. Albans, to Pope Adrian IV, were so much esteemed for their exquisite workmanship, that they were consecrated to S<sup>t</sup>. Peter, and were the principal means of obtaining high ecclesiastical distinctions for the abbay. Neither were the English ladies of this age less famous for their works in embroidery than those of the Anglo-Saxon race. The same abbat also sent the pope a present of mitres and sandals most *wonderfully* embroidered by the hands of Christina, prioress of Margate. [*M. Paris, Vita, pp. 59, 71, 73.*] More examples of the superiority of the English male and female artists in those branches might be produced, if it were necessary.

As flax and hemp are enumerated by the council of Westminster in the year 1175, along with corn, wine, the increase of animals, wool, cheese, and all other things annually reproduced, as subject to the payment of tithes, it appears that some flax and hemp were cultivated, which could only be for the purpose of making cloth and cordage. [*Gervas. Dorob. col. 1431.*] The cultivation of them was probably introduced, or at least became so general as to attract the notice of the clergy, after the conquest; for they are not included in the list of tithable articles made out in the fourth year of William the Conqueror: but, on the other hand, the profits made by mills and by merchandize ('negotiationibus'), which are charged then, [*Knyghton, col. 2356*] are now omitted.

May 7<sup>th</sup>—Frederic emperor of Germany, at the request of Adolphus earl of Schowenborch, gave a charter to his (Adolphus's) citizens of Hamborch, granting them a free passage for their ships and men from the sea to their city, without paying any toll or ungelt, or any imposition whatever in coming or returning; but with a condition, that the goods of strangers, brought in their vessels, should pay duty to the emperor at his city of Stade\*. He grants them an exemption from all exactions in the whole district belonging to the earl, and the right of preventing any person from building a castle within two miles of their city, with the right of fishing in the Elbe two miles above, and two miles below, the city. Also any person, desirous of exchanging money in the city, might do it in any place most convenient, except before the money-house: and the community had authority to examine the weight and standard of the money issued by the coiners †. The charter also exempts the

\* Stade is situated at the mouth of a small river running into the south-west side of the Elbe, below Hamburgh. About the year 1000, the Danish pirates plundered the banks of the Elbe

as high as this town. [*Helmold's Chr. Sclavorum, L. i, c. 15.*]

† That I may not be accused of neglecting so important an object in commercial history as the

citizens from expeditions, and bestows several other privileges agreeable to the manners of the age. [*Charta in Lambecii Orig. Hamb. p. 83.*]

After the Norman conquest London appears to have been governed for some time by a portgeref and a provost conjunctly\*. The empress Matilda, as queen of England, appointed Godfrey Magnaville to be portgeref and shirref of London and Middlesex. In the reign of her son, King Henry II, we see no more provosts, but find the names of several portgeres, or portgraves, who seem to have remained in office many years, perhaps for life. In some records the principal magistrates of London are also called shirrefs (vicecomites), domesmen, and aldermen: but it is not, I believe, known, whether those titles succeeded each other as belonging to the same office of magistracy, or belonged to co-existing offices. In the first year of King Richard, the oldest surviving son of Henry II, the city began to have two shirrefs, or bailifs, and a mayor, who was the chief magistrate. This year, at Michaelmas, Henry Fitz-Alwin was appointed by the king to be the first mayor, and he retained the office above twenty-four years. [*Stow's Survey of London, pp. 914, 915.*]

Immediately after the commencement of Fitz-Alwin's mayoralty, an excellent regulation for the safety of the lives and properties of the inhabitants of London took place. The houses being built of timber, with roofs of straw or reeds, fires were very frequent: and, in order to prevent such calamities, it was ordered, that the houses in the city should thenceforth be built of stone up to a certain height, and covered with slate or tile. That safe and substantial mode of building was generally persevered in for about two hundred years, after which timber buildings again came in use. [*Manuscripts quoted by Stow, Survey, pp. 131, 533.*]

In the reign of Henry II the Jews had met with some relaxation of the rigorous treatment to which they had formerly been subjected. Desirous of conciliating the favour of the new king by valuable gifts, some of the chief men among them, assembled from various parts of the kingdom, went to present their offerings on the day of the coronation (September 3<sup>d</sup>), but were rudely repulsed by the guards, who alleged the king's order for excluding them. The rabble somehow got a notion

*first notice of bills of exchange*, I must here give a part of the charter in the original words.—‘*Argentum quoque in ipsa civitate si quis cambiare voluerit, in quocunque loco fuerit opportunum, cambiat, nisi fuerit ante domum monetæ. Postestatem etiam habeant examinandi denarios monetariorum in pondere et puritate.*’ From these words Mr. Anderson, by a strange inadvertency, concludes, that the emperor gave the Hamburgers ‘liberty to negotiate money by exchange, &c. which last privilege shews, that Hamburg must

‘have been a considerable place of commerce, since bills of exchange, or moneys remitted by exchange, were very *new* at this time in *Europe*, and were then in use only in the most considerable cities of commerce.’—*Domus monetæ*, which I have closely translated *the money-house*, seems to be the *mint*.

\* Some hints concerning the magistracy, &c. of London before the conquest, may be seen in p. 297.

that the king had given orders to kill the Jews, and being eager to imitate the zeal of their sovereign, and to serve God by destroying that devoted race, whom, as well as the Saracens, they called *God's enemies*, a dreadful carnage ensued, which was continued through the whole day in defiance of the king's command for the mob to disperse, sent by some of his principal courtiers, and was followed by a conflagration of the houses, and pillage of the property, of all the Jews in London.

1190—The king's wrath for the disgrace brought upon the solemnity of his coronation festival, and the contempt of his authority, together with his protection publicly granted to the surviving Jews, restrained the malice of the people against them, while he remained in England. But, as soon as he left the kingdom, the fury broke out anew after his departure; and the massacres and enormities of London were repeated upon the Jews of Lynne, Norwich, Stanford, Lincoln, S<sup>t</sup>. Edmundsbury, and York.

At the later city the tragedy was begun by burning the house, which contained the widow and children of one of the principal martyrs to the fury of the London mob. Thereupon about five hundred Jews shut themselves up in the castle, by the permission of the governor, with their families and their most valuable and portable effects\*, and there sustained a siege, till their provisions were expended, and they were driven to the shocking extremity of murdering with their own hands their wives and children, and then themselves, after setting fire to the buildings in order to destroy their property as much as possible, and to involve some timid apostates in the general destruction †. After this dreadful catastrophe, the besiegers, in order to deprive the unhappy heirs of the victims, if any remained, of their property, went to the cathedral, where the bonds for their debts were preserved, which they forced from the keepers, and solemnly committed to the flames in the middle of the church: and then many of them, who had engaged themselves to go to the holy war, deliberately set out upon their expedition. Such was the event of the persecution which the Jews suffered, not for their religion, but for their wealth, to which the mob were spurred on, as confessed by William of Newburgh, a contemporary writer, by the debtors of the Jews, and also by some of the clergy, and a hot-headed hermit. [*W. Newbrig. L. iv, cc. 1, 7-11.*—*M. Paris, p. 157.*] But these horrid deeds afford a me-

\* The governor thought it his duty to protect the Jews, or at least their property, 'tanquam gazas regias.'—'Fisco enim competit, quicquid Judæi, quos sceneratores constat esse regios, in bonis habere videntur.' [*W. Newbrig. L. iv, cc. 9, 11.*]

† After the destruction of Jerusalem, Eleazar and his associates, who had defended the castle of Massada against the Romans, in the like manner

determined, when they found they could hold out no longer, to put their wives, their children, and themselves, to death, and to set fire to the fort, which they actually executed: and only two women and a few children, who had shrunk from the general carnage and hid themselves, were left to give the Romans an account of the sacrifice of the self-devoted garrison. [*Josephus Bell. Jud. L. vii, c. 28.*]

lancholy proof of the prosperity of the towns wherein they were perpetrated ; for Jews are never found but in opulent places.

Richard, almost immediately after he was crowned king of England, resolved to desert his kingdom in order to accompany the king of France on an expedition for the recovery of the Holy land from the Mohamedans : and he was perhaps the most ardently-zealous champion, that ever religious frenzy transported to Asia. To that holy warfare the great treasures left by his father, amounting by the most moderate account to about a hundred thousand marks, were consecrated, and also all the money he could scrow out of his subjects, and all that he could scrape together by the sale of every thing that he could possibly sell\* [*W. Newbrig. L. iv, c. 5.—Hoveden, f. 376 a, 377 b, 378 b.*] One happy effect to both the British kingdoms of his eagerness for amassing money was the restoration of the castles of Rokesburgh and Berwick to William king of Scotland, together with a resignation of the acknowledgement of superiority extorted from him by Henry II, in consequence of his being surpris'd and made prisoner by the barons of York-shire ; for which recovery of his own rights William paid him ten thousand marks, [*Fædera, V, i, p. 64*] a sum greatly exceeding in real value a million of modern money†. This large sum‡ was raised by William from his subjects, not without an exertion of royal authority ; and even the clergy were not exempted from the contribution. [*W. Newbrig, L. iv, c. 5.—Chart. Scon. quoted in Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, V. 1, p. 132.*]

As Richard's expedition to the Holy land is unconnected with commercial history, it will be sufficient to notice his fleet and his naval operations. His ships, collected from all the ports of England and the west coast of France, which was entirely subject to him and his mother, formed the finest fleet, that had ever been under the command of a king of England. The number is variously stated by the different authors, and Geoffrey de Vinisauſ §, who was in the expedition, only says, that the people of Messina in Sicily, at which port the English and French fleets had their rendezvous, never saw, nor ever will see, on their coast so great and so fine a fleet as that of England. According to other authors of good credit, there were 13 vessels, larger than the rest, called buffes ||,

\* An author of that age remarks, that, if all the obligations exacted by Richard within four months were discharged in the following year, he surpassed all his predecessors in wealth. [*R. de Diceto, col. 650.*]

† The value of money has fluctuated so much, or rather been so much depressed, in the course of composing this work, that I may have used different standards in converting antient money into modern. The standard, fixed by Lord Lyttleton in his Life of Henry II, of ten modern pounds for one mark of the age of Henry (or fifteen for one) was certainly much too low, even when he wrote.

‡ The much larger sum of £100,000, said to have been paid by William to Henry II for his ransom, appears to have been advanced by Hector Boyse out of the inexhaustible treasury of his own invention.

§ From his very copious account of Richard's expedition [*ap. Gale, Script. Angl. V. ii.*] I have extracted all the naval information of this period, except that for which other authors are particularly quoted.

|| Vinisauſ calls the largest of Richard's vessels *dromons* (or dromunds), and says, he appointed one of them to carry his bride and his sister, the queen dowager

failed with a triple spread of sails\*, about 50 armed galleys, and 100 transports or vessels of burthen. Besides these, there were 106 vessels, which had assembled at Lisbon, coasted round Spain as far as Marseille, and thence took a departure for Syria, without touching at any other land. [*Hoveden, f. 382 a.*]

All these vessels rowed and also sailed. The galleys were adorned with innumerable pencils (or pennants) waving in the wind, and banners, or standards, ('signis') fixed in graceful order on the tops of the spears. The *rostra*, or beaks, were distinguished by the variety of their paintings or figures; and the prows of the vessels shone with the light reflected from the shields fixed upon them. Modern vessels, says Vinisau, have greatly fallen off from the magnificence of ancient times, when the galleys carried three, four, five, and even six, tires of oars, whereas now they rarely exceed two tires. The galleys, antiently called *Liburnæ*, are long, slender, and low, with a beam of wood fortified with iron, commonly called a spur, projecting from the head, for piercing the sides of the enemy. There are also small galleys, called galeons, which being shorter and lighter; steer better, and are fitter for throwing fire.

Ships sometimes ventured, at least in the Mediterranean, to lose sight of land; but galleys never left the shore †. [*Hoveden, f. 382 b, 404 a.—Bromton, col. 1217.*] In order to keep the fleet from dispersing in the night-time, a lantern was carried aloft by the king's vessel, which led the way to the whole fleet.

dowager of Sicily. The same vessel he elsewhere calls a *buzs* ('buzs'): so *buzs* and *dromon*, or *dromund*, appear, at least sometimes, to have been used promiscuously. [Compare *Vinisau*, pp. 316, 320—*R. de Diceto, col. 661.*—*M. Paris, p. 162.*—*Bromton, col. 1201.*]

The commentators, carried away by Greek etymology, tell us that the *dromund* was a light fast-sailing vessel, so called from *δρομος*, a *race*. It is more than probable, that the word is Arabic: and the examples quoted by Spelman, [*Archæol. vo. Dromunda*] who has therein condescended to copy Isidore, are rather at variance with his definition and etymology. *Vinisau* repeatedly characterizes the *dromons* as heavy and dull-sailing vessels.

\* 'Triplici velorum expansione velificatas.' [*M. Paris, p. 162.*] They seem to have had three masts, each carrying only one sail. We are not told, I believe, how many masts the galleys had. In eighty years after we find some of the vessels belonging to an association of crusading kings, which are remarked as very large, carrying two sails each. [*Hemingford, L. iii, c. 34*]

† *Vinisau* expressly says [*p. 274*] that the kind of vessel, which the antients called a *liburna*, was in his time (the twelfth century) called a *galley*, in Latin *galea*, which word is used on every occasion of mentioning such vessels by *all* the writers of the

middle ages. Yet *Stella*, a Genoese chronicler of the fifteenth century, is very angry with his contemporaries for using the word *galea*, which he takes every opportunity of stigmatizing as a corruption of language lately introduced by *idiots*. See particularly his Chronicle at A. D. 1146, 1416, *ap. Muratori Script. V. xvii.*

Flying fishes, which the pilgrims had seen near Sardinia, were now first heard of in England: and *Hoveden* [*f. 383 a*] seems apprehensive, that he should scarcely obtain credit for the existence of such wonderful animals. I find flying fishes appropriated to the tropical seas of the western hemisphere by some writers of the present age, e. g. *Mrs. Piozzi*; and, what is more surprising, *Mr. Edwards*, the historian of the West-Indies, supposes [*V. i, p. 12, note*] that *Columbus*, a Mediterranean navigator, had never seen a flying fish, till he was on the voyage wherein he discovered the Western world. The flying fish is described, but very briefly, by *Pliny* [*L. ix, c. 26*] under the name of *hirundo*, or swallow-fish; and its flight, or leap, has certainly some resemblance to the skimming flight of the swallow. Flying fishes are common in the Atlantic ocean as far north as the coast of Portugal; and we learn from *Mr. Pennant* [*Brit. Zoology, V. iii, p. 292, 4<sup>to</sup> edit.*] that at least one has been found on the coast of South-Wales.

In sea engagements they still preserved the antient semicircular line of battle, stationing the strongest vessels in the wings, or points, with a view to inclose the enemy as in a net. The soldiers, stationed on the upper deck, (or on the raised platform or forecastle, 'superioribus tabulatis') made a close bulwark of their shields; and, to give them free room to fight, the rowers sat together below. When the hostile fleets approached, the sound of the trumpets and the shouts of the men gave the signal for the engagement, which commenced with a discharge of missile weapons on both sides: the sharp beaks, or spurs, were forcibly dashed against the enemy's sides: the oars were entangled: and the hostile vessels being grappled together, a close fight ensued, while the engineers endeavoured to burn their enemy's ships with the Greek fire, which was now in common use with the Turks and Saracens, as well as the Christians.

1191.—During the siege of Acon a battle was fought between the Christians and the Turks upon the sea. In one galley the Turks got possession of the upper tire of oars, and the Christians retaining the lower tire, they pulled the vessel different ways\*.

While Richard was on his passage from Cyprus to Palestine, he fell in with a very large ship loaded with warlike stores and provisions, and having onboard, according to the most moderate and probable account, eight hundred soldiers for the relief of the garrison of Acon. She carried three very lofty masts; but her sails were of little avail to her, for it was almost calm, and she was too heavy to make much way with her oars. Richard's light galleys, by the use of their oars, moved round her with the greatest agility, and attacked her furiously in every direction: but the great strength and loftiness of her sides gave her such a superiority over them, that she baffled all their efforts, till Richard in a rage threatened to crucify every man in the fleet, if she should escape. Then

\* This curious circumstance, which affords a clear demonstration that the antient galleys carried their oars in tires above each other in the manner described in the early part of this work, has not been so much observed by writers, as it ought to be; and it is the more worthy of attention, if it be, as I believe it is, the latest certain notice of vessels carrying more than one tire of oars. Vinisau's description of the galleys gives room to believe, that there were some even with three tires; but I find no particular mention of any one such vessel in his very circumstantial work, and indeed none, which can be depended on, in any other; though several writers of that and the succeeding ages, in their affectation of classical latinity, have obscured their narratives by applying the term *triremes* to galleys of every kind, and also to the great ships of the Saracens. [e. g. *W. Newbrig. L. i, c. 20.*—*R. de Diceto, col. 661.*—*M. Paris, p. 162.*—*Ottonis Frising. Gest. Frid. ap. Muratori Script. V. vi, col. 668.*]

Donatus Jannotius [*Resp. Venet. p. 257*] says, there are *biremes*, *triremes*, and *quinqueremes* in the arsenal at Venice: but unless he means galleys with two, three, and five, men to an oar, I suspect he has sacrificed accuracy of description, to, what he supposes, fine language; and some judicious travellers, who have visited the arsenal, tell me that my suspicion is well founded. The same misapplication of the word appears on some of the medals of Louis XIV.—Baptista Burgus, who published his panegyric history of Genoa in the year 1641, evidently uses *biremes* and *triremes* to denote the different sizes of galleys; and he denies that there can possibly be any more than one tire of oars.—A manuscript of the Cotton library [*Titus, A, xxvi, 3*] promises, according to the catalogue, some information, illustrated with drawings, concerning *triremes* and other naval affairs. But the drawings, which are very bad, have no galleys with more than one tire of oars.

some of the English seamen, diving under the bottom of the great ship, hampered her rudders, (or whatever she used for steering, 'gubernacula') with ropes, so that she could scarcely move, while the rest attempted to board her, which they effected, but were repulsed by the Turks with prodigious slaughter. At length they drove the iron beaks of the gallees furiously against her, and opened several breaches in her sides, so that she filled with water. The Turks, finding their ship going down, leaped onboard their enemies to save their lives: but all the crew were deliberately butchered or drowned by the orders of Richard, except seven officers of high rank, and twenty-eight engineers, whom he reserved for the value of their ransom, or their skill in constructing warlike machines, and to be a trophy of his great achievement \*. [*Vinisauf*, p. 328.]

A similar great ship was taken by the French fleet near Tyre. [*P. Æmyl.* p. 177.] †

The Germans and Danes, while they were lying before Acon, probably seeing that they would need but few vessels to carry them home, broke up their ships for fire-wood. About the same time five hundred ships and buffes, with some gallees and other vessels, returned to Italy to take in fresh cargoes of men and provisions to be consumed in Palestine. These, I suppose, belonged to the people of the free states of Italy, who knew better what to do with their ships than the Germans and Danes, and turned the enthusiasm of their western neighbours to the advantage of their commerce and navigation. [*Hoveden*, f. 376 b.]

The enumeration of the articles, belonging to one of the caravans traveling from Babylon to Palestine, which was plundered by King Richard, gives us some idea of the nature of the Oriental trade, as conducted at that time by the way of the Persian gulf. They consisted of a great quantity of gold and silver (which must have been bullion, as money is also mentioned) robes of silk, purple, round gowns ('cicladés'), purple dye, a variety of ornaments for dress, arms and weapons of various kinds, sewed coats of mail of the kind called *gafinganz*, embroidered cushions, sumptuous pavilions and tents, biscuit, wheat, barley, and flour, electuaries and other medicines, basins, bottles, bags or perhaps purses ('scaccaria'), silver pots and candlesticks, pepper, cinnamon, and other choice spices of various kinds, sugar and wax, with a prodigious quantity of money. The whole value of the plunder was said to be much

\* The later writers say, that a diver bored a hole in her bottom, which sunk her; and that King Richard saved 200 prisoners, and drowned 1300.

† Another great *dromund* was taken many years before by a company of pilgrims in nine ships under the command of Rognvald earl of Orkney. One of the Orkney vessels creeping close in to her side under the range of the engines, they opened a port

with their axes, through which they boarded her, and after a dreadful carnage got possession of her, and found her a very rich prize. They then murdered all the people, except the commander, and burnt the ship, by which they lost much of the treasure. Such were the laws and practices of that holy warfare. [*Snorro*, *Hist. Sigurdi*, &c. c. 17.—*Torpei Orcades*, L. i, c. 31.]

beyond what had ever been taken in any one battle: and we may form some judgement of it from the number of cattle employed to carry the merchandize, when, besides very many that escaped, the camels and dromedaries taken were estimated at 4,700, and the mules and asses taken were said to be innumerable. [*Vinifauf*, p. 400.] We may here remark, that such articles as silver pots and candlesticks and some kinds of drapery used to be carried from Egypt to the East in the first century, and also money, the balance of trade being then very great in favour of the Oriental merchants; whereas now a large balance in money and bullion appears to have been brought from the East.

We have already seen the citizens of London have a principal share in the election of King Edmund Ironside and Harold the son of Cnut; and other similar instances might be adduced, if necessary. We now find them joined with John the brother of the absent king, the bishops, earls, and barons, in deposing one viceroy, and appointing another, who, together with his associates in the administration, gave the citizens a new charter of their incorporation or community ('communa')\*. [*Hoveden*, f. 399 b.]

1192—King Richard, whose prodigies of personal valour in Palestine have ranked him among the heroes of romance, had the misfortune to be trepanned in his way home by the duke of Austria, who sold him to the emperor of Germany: and he was accordingly transported by his new proprietor from Vienna to Mentz and other places, where he was generally kept in a rigorous confinement, till a treaty was concluded, whereby the emperor extorted from him, or rather from the people of England, one hundred thousand marks of silver of the weight of Cologne, to be paid in advance, together with an obligation, to be secured by the delivery of sixty-seven hostages, for fifty thousand marks, to be paid, if some secret engagements concerning the duke of Saxony were not performed: and the emperor, in return for so much solid treasure, made him a present of an imaginary kingdom of Provence. The king thereupon wrote to his mother and the justiciaries of England (April 19<sup>th</sup>), desiring them to collect as much money as possible by contributions and loans, and also to receive all the gold and silver belonging to the churches, and to give their oaths to the clergy for the restoration of them. The king seems to have expected, that the money might be raised by voluntary contributions and loans; but so heavy a demand, coming before the country had recovered from the effects of the drain

\* The learned Somner [*Gloss. ad Script. decem*] considers *communa* on this occasion as signifying a covenant of confederacy with the bishops, earls, and barons, for their joint security. But, that the word expressed the rights or privileges of an incor-

porated community, appears evidently from several charters of King John, granting to his towns in Normandy their *communa*. See *Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 13, § 13*; and *Firma burgi, p. 35*.

made by the preparations for his late expedition, was found so distressful, that the most rigorous exertions throughout all England and his continental territories were insufficient to raise the sum required, though all exemptions claimed in consequence of privileges, dignities, or ecclesiastical orders, were disregarded, though even the plate and other treasures of the churches were taken, and the Cistercian monks, who had never before been subjected to any royal exaction, were compelled to give the wool of their sheep, which was almost their only income; and a second, and even a third, collection was made before the whole sum could be completed. William, king of Scotland, contributed two thousand marks, which, I presume, was the scutage due from his estates in England. At last, the money being raised and transported to Germany at the expense and risk of England, the sordid and rapacious emperor dismissed his captive (4<sup>th</sup> February, 1194)\*. [*Fœdera*, V. i, pp. 80-84.—*Chron. Melros*, ad an. 1193.—*W. Newbrig. L. iv*, cc. 38, 41.—*Hoveden*, f. 416 b.—*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 15*, § 4.]

As only the noblemen (*magnates*) and the churches are particularly mentioned in the king's letter, as expected to contribute to his ransom, it has been concluded, that the great mass of the people were too poor to bear any part in the contribution. But we ought to remember, that the ransom of the superior from captivity was one of the chief duties incumbent upon every person who held land by the terms of the feudal system: and therefore it was not the duty of such citizens and burghesses as had no lands to pay any thing for the sovereign's ransom. Thence, though the citizens of London contributed on this occasion a gift and aid ('*dono*' '*et auxilio*') of 1,500 marks, [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 15*, § 4] we may account for the envied display of opulence made by them in their zeal to do honour to their admired sovereign in his procession through the city, which so dazzled the eyes of some German noblemen, who were with him, and who supposed that there could be nothing valuable remaining in England, that one of them said to him, 'Truely, if the emperor had known how rich England is, he would have made you pay a much larger sum for your ransom.' [*W. Newbrig. L. iv*, c. 42.]

1195—King William made a new coinage of the money of Scotland, which was debased, apparently in consequence of the great drain of the payments he had made to King Richard. [*Chron. Melros*, ad an. 1195.—*Wyntown's Chronykil*, V. i, p. 342.]

\* In the present day the national debt, and its necessary consequence, the depreciation of the real value of money, have accustomed us to talk so familiarly of millions, that we are apt to think hundreds of thousands mere trifles in a national account. But, independent of a comparison of the

sum with the price of provisions at the time, we may judge of the greatness of Richard's ransom in the opinion of foreigners from Otto de St. Blas, who says in his Chronicle, [*ap. Muratori Script. V. vi*, p. 895] that he must not venture to mention the sum, as he should not expect to be believed.

1196, July 14<sup>th</sup>—It was usual to make kidels, or wears, in the River Thames for catching fish, and the keeper of the Tower drew an annual rent from them, apparently for account of the king. But the citizens of London having represented to King Richard, that such obstructions in the river were great nuisances to the city and the whole kingdom, he ordered that they should be all removed \*. [*Chart. in Brady on burghs, App. p. 29.*]

1197, November 20<sup>th</sup>—King Richard passed a law for the uniformity of weights and measures throughout the kingdom, ordering the measures of length to be made of iron, and those of capacity to have rims of the same metal, and that standard weights and measures of every kind should be kept by the shirrefs and magistrates of towns. It was also enacted, that, wherever woollen cloths were made, they should measure two ells in breadth within the lists †, and should be equally good in the middle and at the sides. All cloths made contrary to law were to be immediately burnt, and all artifices to impose upon the buyer in the sale of cloths were strictly prohibited. Dye-stuffs, except black, were to be sold only in the cities and capital burghs, to which also the business of dying, except in black, was restricted. To the great relief of the people, who had been distressed by the variety of coins, he ordered, that only one kind of money should be current. Christians were not allowed to take any interest for the use of money. He prohibited secret bargains between Christians and Jews, and ordered that three copies should be made of every agreement, one of which should be preserved in a public repository ‡. He ordered the justiciaries to do impartial justice to all persons. But these regulations were observed only during the short remainder of his reign §. [*Hoveden, f. 440 b.—M. Paris, p. 191, ed. 1640.—Trivet Annal. p. 127.—Bromton, col. 1258.*]

Another law of King Richard (in the year 1194) against the exportation of corn, 'that England might not suffer from the want of its own abundance,' was probably only temporary during the time of scarcity. Richard, having found some vessels in St. Valeray, a French port, which were loaded with corn for the king of France in defiance of this law, he burnt the town and the vessels, hanged the seamen, destroyed the

\* The prohibition of the kidels was little attended to, as appears from the frequent renewals of it by succeeding kings.

† The licences granted by Henry II to sell cloths of any breadth whatever, as an exception from a general rule, show that this was only a renewal of an older law. See above, p. 347. It was also renewed by John and Henry III.

‡ From the account of the infamous riot and massacre at York in the beginning of Richard's reign, it appears, that the bonds belonging to the Jews were preserved in the cathedral of that city in the reign of Henry II.

§ The assise of King Richard is dated by Trivet and Bromton in the year 1194. But Mathew Paris, an earlier, and a faithful and well-informed historian, is so particular in the date, St. Edmund's day in 1197 at Westminster, that there can be no doubt of his superior accuracy. These regulations, together with many other well-authenticated facts, already noticed, show how grossly they mistake, who suppose the colony of weavers, introduced from the Netherlands by Edward III, the original founders of the woollen manufactures of England.

monks concerned in the business, and gave the corn to the poor. [*M. Paris, p. 191.*]

The famous maritime laws of Oleron (which is an island adjacent to the coast of France) are usually ascribed to Richard I, though none of the many writers, who have had occasion to mention them, have been able to find any contemporary authority, or even any antient satisfactory warrant for affixing his name to them\*. They consist of forty-seven short regulations for average, salvage, wreck, &c. copied from the antient Rhodian maritime laws, or perhaps more immediately from those of Barcelona.

1198.—In the last year of Richard there occurs an instance of a landed estate being mortgaged to a Jew for the payment of one hundred marks with interest (or usury as the payment for the use of money was then called) at the rate of *ten per cent* annually. [*Madox, Formulæ Anglic. p. 77.*] It may be presumed that the transaction was considered as legal, the canons against taking interest not extending to the Jews, and that *ten per cent* was below the customary rate of interest.

From the earliest mention I have found of Hull †, it seems to have been a shipping port for the wool of the neighbouring country, whereof

\* The best warrant, that could be found by the keen research of Selden, when writing under royal authority, was a bundle of papers upon the sovereignty of the sea, preserved in the Tower, and apparently written in the time of Edward III, the first king of England who claimed the crown of France; wherein it is said, that ‘The laws and statutes were corrected, interpreted, and declared, by the lord Richard, formerly king of England, on his return from the Holy land, and made public in the island of Oleron.’ [*Mare clausum, L. ii, c. 24.*] But Selden very soon after observes, that some printed copies of those laws date them in 1266; and Camden, without saying a word of Richard, dates them in that year. [*Britannia, p. 859, ed. 1607.*] As no point in history is better ascertained, than that Richard never went near Oleron on his return from the Holy land, it is possible, that his order for the regulation of his fleet when at sea, or his renewal of the law of Henry I and Henry II respecting wrecks, when he was at Messina in Sicily on his way to the Holy land, [*Hoveden, f. 379 b, 386 b*] may have been the foundation of the belief that he was the author of the maritime laws of Oleron.

Cleirac, an advocate of Bourdeaux, in a work, entitled *Us et coutumes de la mer*, published in 1621, ascribes the laws of Oleron to Eleonora duchess of Guienne and queen of England, who, he says, enacted them in the year 1266 on her return from the Holy land to which she had accompanied her husband. It seems, a return from the Holy land must be connected with those laws. But this author seems to confound Eleonora duchess of Aquitaine

(of which Gaienne is a part) the queen of Henry II, with Eleonora of Castile, the wife of Edward prince of England, who, indeed, accompanied her husband to the Holy land; but they did not set out till the year 1269. The same author, with rather more probability, supposes the laws of Oleron were copied from the maritime code of Barcelona.

There are charters of Otho duke of Aquitaine, of Eleonora duchess of Aquitaine and queen dowager of England, and of John king of England dated in 1198 and 1199, and also of Henry III king of England dated in 1230, confirming to the men of Oleron their former privileges, and further giving them liberty to sell their wine and salt, to dispose of their children in marriage, and to make their wills: but not a word of any maritime laws. [*Federa, V. i, pp. 105, 111, 112, 314.*]

It may be thought that I have bestowed more attention upon these laws than they deserve. But the commercial importance, which has been ascribed to them, and their fame, whether well or ill founded, seemed to require some discussion of their supposed connection with England.

Godolphin has published them, ‘rendered into English out of Gasias, alias Ferrand,’ in the appendix to his *Viezo of the admiral jurisdiction*. The conveyance of laws, ascribed to an English king, to English readers by means of a Spanish writer, is one of the strange circumstances attending the laws of Oleron. They have also been published by Postlethwayt and others.

† The generally-received belief, that the town of Hull did not exist till the year 1296, will be noticed under the year 1298.

forty-five sacks were this year seized for being shipped without licence, and sold on account of the king for 225 marks, or £3:6:8 each. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 18, § 4.*]

The forty-five sacks seized at Hull may be presumed to have been but a very small part of the wool shipped at that port; and similar seizures made at other ports (as appears by the same record) show, that the exportation of wool was very considerable. And as an order of King Henry II, mentioned above, [p. 347] gives reason to believe, that the wool of England was at this time superior to that of Spain, the avidity, wherewith it was bought up for the Flemish fine manufactures, need not surprize us. Indeed it was not only the principal article of English exports in point of magnitude, but also the most commanding one for a sure and ready sale. Accordingly, when King Richard was at Sluys in Flanders on his return from captivity, and wanted to raise money, he found wool the most acceptable thing he could offer, and he actually received a sum of money from the merchants on his promise of delivering to them the wool of the ensuing year's growth belonging to the Cistercian monks of England, with whose property he made free on the occasion. [*Hemingford, L. ii, c. 72.*] We have seen [*above, p. 345*] an English writer go so far as to say, that about this time all the nations in the world were clothed with English wool made into cloth in Flanders: but, independent of rhetorical flourish, we know from the sober and undeniable authority of the records of the exchequer, that wool, wooll-fells (sheep-skins with the wool on them), and woollen yarn (filetum), were exported, on paying for licences, which mode of raising money upon the exportation of merchandize seems to have been equivalent to the custom duties of modern times. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 18, § 4.*]

In the seventh and eighth years of Richard's reign the fines and dimes (or tenths) paid on tin and other merchandize in London, apparently exported, amounted to £379:1:6; and in the same years the duties upon woad imported in London amounted to £96:6:8. [*Madox, c. 18, § 4.*] If London alone imported woad to an extent, that could bear such a payment, (and it will afterwards appear that but a small part of the whole woad imported arrived in London) the woollen manufacture, in which it was apparently mostly consumed, must have been somewhat considerable.

But there is reason to believe, that but few *fine* woollen goods were made in England, and that the Flemings, who were famous at this time for their superior skill in the woollen manufacture, as is evident from the testimony of several of the English historians of this age\*, continued

\* See them adduced in a note in p. 270, and add to them Mathew Paris, [p. 886] a respectable historian, who flourished in the reign of Henry III.

for a series of ages to supply most of the western parts of Europe, and even some of the Mediterranean countries, with fine cloths, which the Italians called French cloths, either as reckoning Flanders a part of France (as indeed, in feudal language, it was) or because they received them from the ports of the south coast of that country.

1199—King John in the beginning of his reign addressed a letter to the mayor and community of London, whereby he promised, that foreign merchants of every country should have safe conduct for themselves and their merchandize in coming into, and going out of, England, agreeable to the due, right, and usual, customs, and should meet with the same treatment ('*eandem habeant pacem*') in England, that the English merchants met with in the countries they came from.

Similar letters were at the same time sent to the shirref of Suffex, the mayor and community of Winchester, the bailif of Southampton, the bailif of Lynne, the bailif (or shirref) of Kent, the shirref of Norfolk and Suffolk, the shirref of Dorset and Somerset, the barons of the Cinque ports, the shirref of Hampshire, the shirref of Hertford and Essex, and the shirref of Cornwall and Devon \*; whence it appears that the south coast, and the east coast only as far north as Norfolk, were esteemed the whole, or at least the chief, of the commercial part of the country, though we shall soon see that Boston, beyond these limits, was little inferior to London in commercial importance, and some ports still farther north had their share of the trade of the country.

1200—The business of lending money at interest, however moderate, being prohibited to the Christians by law, the Jews, who in all ages, since the abolition of their government as a distinct nation by the Romans, have established themselves as brokers and dealers in money in every country, wherein there was any commerce or money, were thereby put in possession of a monopoly of the trade of lending money upon interest. It is seldom that monopolists are satisfied with a reasonable profit; and the Jews in England appear to have sometimes carried their extortions to a most scandalous height. Such conduct was sufficient, independent of the violent religious prejudices of the age, to render them odious to the people, who were continually crying out to the kings for the punishment and expulsion, or rather extermination, of the Jews. The kings, who did not think it for their interest to expell them, took a method, very convenient for themselves, of punishing them by heavy fines. This proceeding proved to the Jews, that their extortions would be not only tolerated, but even encouraged, if they were well paid for: and it at the same time compelled them to rise in their demands upon

\* This safe conduct is published from the records in the Tower by Hakluyt [*Voïages*, V. i, p. 129] and, I believe, by no other. It is dated the 5<sup>th</sup> day of April, which was the last day of the

first year of his reign: but the *figure* seems erroneous, for such an act of favour would probably take place very soon after his accession.

the unfortunate people, who were obliged to apply to them for the use of money, that they might be enabled to satisfy the king and his ministers. And thus a system of usurious oppression was at the same time prohibited by law, and sanctioned by the practice of the sovereign, who used the Jews as his instruments to fleece the people, in order to fill his own coffers. The kings even went so far as to claim the whole property of the Jews, as belonging to themselves, thus extending to that unfortunate race the principle of the laws of slavery, which declare, that a slave can have no property, all his possessions of every kind belonging to his master\*. And so great was the revenue extorted by the kings from those people, that there was a particular office established for the management of it, called *the exchequer of the Jews*, under the direction of officers called the *keepers*, or *justices, of the Jews*, who in the more antient times were Christians and Jews joined together, but afterwards for the most part Christians only. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 7.*]

The English writers are full of complaints against William II for his favours to the Jews. Henry I, and his grandson Henry II, conferred several privileges on them, and permitted them to be owners of land: but the later extorted from them a fourth part of their property; notwithstanding which, the Jews appear to have thought themselves favourably treated in his reign. This year King John, for the sum of four thousand marks, gave the Jews of England and Normandy a charter confirming to them the privileges granted by his predecessors, and permitting them to live freely and honourably in his dominions, and to hold property in lands, &c. and authorizing them to purchase every thing brought to them, except what belonged to the church, and bloody cloth †; and to sell every thing pledged or pawned with them, if not redeemed within a year and a day. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 7, § 8, note (e).*]

The MAGNET or LODESTONE, the most pretious of all stones (except the flint which kindles our dayly fire) and infinitely more valuable than all the diamonds in the world, was known to the philosophers of antient Greece for its quality of attracting iron; and in later ages the few, who understood the secret, were enabled to perform a number of ingenious

\* In the laws ascribed to Edward the Confessor, [c. 29] the Jews and all their goods are declared to be the property of the king. William of Newburgh [L. iv, c. 11] says that King Richard was greatly enraged at the slaughter of the Jews, on account of the affront to his royal majesty by the contempt of his protection, and also for the great loss to his exchequer; 'for whatever property is found in possession of the Jews, who are well known to be the royal usurers, belongs to the exchequer.'—Was not that the true reason that Christians were prohibited from lending money upon interest?

† 'Panno sanguinolento,' which Tovey [*Anglia Judaica, p. 62*] believes to be deep red or crimson cloth: and he quotes *Kennet's Parochial antiquities, p. 576*, for the abbat of Burcester clothing his servants 'blodeo panno,' which to-be-sure could not be cloth stained with blood, but must have been cloth of a blood-red colour. See also 'blo-dio velvet' and 'blodio panno' in *Fædera, V. ix, p. 276*. But why the Jews should have been particularly debarred from buying either red cloth or bloody cloth, I suppose, nobody can now tell.

tricks with it, to the great amazement of the ignorant, who ascribed the wonders they saw to the power of magic. But till about the end of the twelfth century we find no good authority to show, that the more valuable property of the magnet, its polarity, or that power, (I had almost said instinct) by which one point of it, or even of a needle or bar of iron or steel touched with it, turns to the north pole, and the opposite point to the south, was known, at least in the western parts of the world.

About the conclusion of the twelfth century the earliest notice, I believe, to be found of the polarity of the magnet appears in the poetical works of Hugues de Bercy, called also Guiot de Provins, who says, ' This (polar) star does not move. They (the seamen) have an art, which cannot deceive, by virtue of the *manete*, an ill-looking brownish stone, to which iron spontaneously adheres. They search for the right point, and when they have touched a needle on it, and fixed it on a bit of straw, they lay it on the water, and the straw keeps it afloat. Then the point infallibly turns toward the star; and when the night is dark and gloomy, and neither star nor moon is visible, they set a light beside the needle, and they can be assured, that the star is opposite to the point; and *thereby the mariner is directed in his course*. This is an art, which cannot deceive \*.' [Guiot, *ap. Fauchet, Recueil de la langue et poésie Française*, p. 555.]

Jacques de Vitry (or Jacobus de Vitriaco) who also flourished at this time, and was bishop of Acon in Palestine, wrote three books of the history of the East and the West, wherein he employs ten chapters [L. i, cc. 84-93] in giving an account of the natural productions of the Holy land and other Oriental countries; and his descriptions, compared with those of Pliny, exhibit a deplorable proof of the decay of science in Europe during the course of eleven centuries. In his account of the precious stones of the East [L. i, c. 91] he confounds the adamant or diamond with the magnet as follows. ' The adamant is of a light iron colour, about as big as the kernel of a filbert nut; and though it is so hard as to resist the force of any metal, it may be broken by the fresh blood of a ram-goat. Fire does not make it hot. It attracts iron to it by some hidden quality. An iron needle, after it has touched the adamant, constantly turns to the north star, which, as the axis of the firmament, remains immoveable while all the others revolve around it; and *thence it is indispensibly necessary to all those who sail on the sea*. If placed near a magnet, which has attracted a piece of iron,

\* The old French of the original is variously corrupted in the manuscripts and the edition. The best literal translation, which I have nearly followed, is that, which was made by a native of Pro-

vence for my late worthy friend Doctor Lorimer, and is inserted in his *Concise essay on magnetism*, a work published after his death.

‘ it snatches the iron from it \*. It is moreover said to be an antidote  
 ‘ against poison, and a charm against magic arts. It drives away noc-  
 ‘ turnal apparitions and vain dreams; and the touch of it is of great  
 ‘ service to the insane. The magnet is also an Indian stone of an iron  
 ‘ colour, which attracts iron so as to form several rings into a chain.  
 ‘ The magicians use it in their tricks; and it is good against the dropsy  
 ‘ and burnings.’

These two descriptions, which, I thought, deserved to be given in the words of their authors, are exceedingly curious and valuable: for, while they prove that the polarity of the magnet was known in the age of those two French writers, they also prove that the knowledge of it was only in its infancy, at least among the Christians of Europe: and I have not been able to discover that it was known to the Chinese or the Saracens sooner than to the Christians, as some learned men have supposed †.

In defiance of the above unquestionable authorities, the Italian writ-

\* The power of the adamant in attracting iron was believed after this time. Mathew Paris says, [p. 723] that the papal legate, sent to Scotland in the year 1247, drew the money of the Scots to himself as strongly as the adamant does iron.

† Several authors strenuously assert, that the Chinese have known the polarity of the magnet, and had the use of the compass a great many centuries before it was known in Europe.

Duhalde, in his *History of China*, mentions a chariot of the emperor Hoangti, which showed the four cardinal points. He also says, that Tcheou Kong gave some foreign ambassadors an instrument, which pointed to the north and the south, that they might be directed on their way home better than they had been in coming to China. This instrument was called *Tchi Nan*, which is the very same name by which the Chinese now call the compass: and thence it is inferred, that the Chinese had the use of the compass in the reign of Tcheou Kong, which is placed 1040 years before the commencement of the Christian æra. As this is a point, which is likely to remain for ever in the province of conjecture, it may be sufficient to remark, that, if the Chinese had the compass, they appear from the relation of Soliman, an Arabian merchant (See above, p. 256) not to have known its most valuable use in conducting a ship across the ocean; as in his time (A. D. 851) they crept along the coast as timorously as the Roman or Grecian navigators of antiquity used to do. And even at this day, with the use of the compass, which, according to Sir George Staunton, they call *tin-nan-ching*, (not *tchi-nan*) they are not willing to lose sight of land, if by a longer coasting circuit they can avoid it. [*Staunton's Embassy to China*, V. i, p. 445, 8vo ed.]

Isaac Vossius [*Observationes generales*, c. 14.] af-

serts, that the Seres (or *Chinese*) have known the polarity of the magnet about 2,800 years; and that the Saracens had undoubtedly learned it from them, when they met them at Taprobanè (*Ceylon*), and had used it 500 years, as is testified by Jacobus de Vitriaco (or Vitry); and that the Christians had learned the use of it from them about 300 years ago, i. e. about the year 1385.

If it can be proved, that the Chinese had the compass in antient times, the conveyance of it to the Christians by the Saracens is extremely probable: but probabilities are often very different from facts. I have traveled not only through the two books of Vitry's History published by themselves, but also through his third book, and his epistles, as published by Martenne in his great *Theſaurus anecdotorum*, and by Bongarsius in his collection intitled *Gesta Dei per Francos*; and I have not discovered any other passage concerning the magnet, but the one I have translated in the text, which has not a word concerning the Saracens, but clearly proves that the Christians have known the polarity of the magnet about two centuries before the date assigned by Vossius, who quotes no other authority for the nautical use of the magnet among the Chinese.

I should be accused of omission, if in this place I should take no notice of Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveler, who, according to some authors, first brought the compass from China in the year 1295, or, according to others, carried the knowledge of it from Europe to China. Of these contradictory opinions, or assertions, the first is evidently erroneous, and the second has very little probability.

I do not pretend to any knowledge of the authorities, upon which the antediluvian are said to have possessed the compass.

ers claim the honour of the invention of the compass for John Goia, or Flavio Gioia, a citizen of the commercial city of Amalfi, who, they say, first used it in the year 1302, or 1320: and, as a proof, they adduce a line of Antony of Palermo, a Sicilian poet, wherein he says,

‘ Prima dedit nautis usum magnetis Amalfi.’

(Amalfi first to seamen did impart

The skill to steer by the magnetic art.)

But this line, perhaps a poetical flourish, gives us no date: and we have already seen from better authority, that the inventor, or importer of the invention from the East, whether he lived in Amalfi or elsewhere, must have lived above a century before the age assigned to Goia or Gioia.

From the simple contrivance of laying the magnetic needle on a floating straw, as described by Guiot, navigators, by gradual improvements in the course of time, came to add the use of a circular card affixed to the needle, and traversing with it, on which were drawn lines representing the various winds. It is probable, (and in this case we can have no better than probability) that Gioia of Amalfi was the first, who thought of using a card, and that only *eight* winds, or points, were drawn upon it\*.

The French, the Venetians, the Germans, and the Scandinavians (or people of Norway and Denmark), have all disputed with the Amalfitans, and with each-other, the honour of being the original discoverers of this most noble instrument. It would be too tedious to adduce the arguments of each; and we may satisfy ourselves with supposing, that some praise is due to every one of them, and, as is generally allowed, also to the English, for improvements made upon the original invention. It may, however, be observed, that the two French writers, from whom we have the earliest knowledge of the application of the magnet to the service of navigation, have not a single word to support their countrymen, or indeed any other nation, in pretending to the honour of the discovery.

In the year 1263 the compass, fitted into a box (‘*pyxis nautica*’) as now, though probably without a card, was in common use among the

\* ‘ Circa annum 1320 rem pulcherrimam utilissimamque navigantibus invenit quidam Flavius Gioia civis Amalphitanus, nempe usum pyxididis nauticæ chartæque ad navigandum.’ [*Breneman, Dissertatio prima de rep. Amalpb. § 22, ad calcem Hist. pandectarum.*]

A compass with *eight* points and *eight* wings, supposed to represent the *eight* winds, and having a star beside it, is the armorial bearing of the Principato citra, in which Amalfi is situated. [See the description in *Breneman*, or the delineation in *Blæu's Atlas, part iii, f. 101.*] The value of this

proof may be estimated by those, who have had occasion to examine the cause and origin of the particular parts of armorial bearings.

If it be necessary to give further proof, that the compass was known in Europe before the beginning of the fourteenth century, the writings of Vincent of Beauvais, Albertus Magnus, and Peter Adiger (for whom see *Carvalho on magnetism, second edition*) may be consulted, who all flourished in the *thirteenth* century, and all knew the polarity of the magnet.

Norwegians, who had so just an idea of its great importance, that they made it the device of an order of knighthood, to be conferred on men of the highest rank. [*Torfæi Hist. Norweg. L. iv, p. 345.*]

In 1306 Robert king of Scotland, when crossing from Arran to the coast of Carrick in the night-time, steered by a fire upon the shore,

‘ For thay nà nedil had nor stàne,’

as is observed by Barber, his poetical biographer. Hence it appears, that the use of the compass was well known in Scotland, at least in the year 1375\*, when Barber wrote, and very probably also before 1306.

Though I have not found any earlier notice of the use of the compass among the English †, they must unquestionably have known it sooner than the Scots: and we may be assured, that it was well known to all the southern maritime nations, before such remote countries as Norway and Scotland had the use of it.

In process of time navigators, or experimental philosophers, discovered, that the polarity of the magnetic needle was not perfectly true, and that it diverged, or varied, somewhat from the real north point. Succeeding experiments showed, that the *Variation* was not everywhere the same; that there was a line on the surface of the globe, on which there was no variation; that on one side of that line the north point of the compass varied to the eastward, and on the other to the westward, of the true north; and that the quantity of the variation increased in an unknown proportion to the distance from the line of no variation. This irregularity was known in, or before, the year 1269, when Peter Adfiger wrote upon the various properties of the magnet, the construction of the azimuth compass, and the variation of the magnetic needle. The discovery of the variation has, however, been attributed by some to Christopher Columbus in the year 1492, and by others to Sebastian Cabot in 1500, who may have obtained the reputation of it, because in their voyages, wherein they made more difference of longitude than former navigators, they had more ample opportunities of making experiments upon the variation.

It was afterwards discovered, that the variation not only differed as it receded east or west from the line of no variation, but that that line itself, which was found to be an oblique waving curve, had also in the northern hemisphere shifted to the eastward of its former station. The nice observations of the eighteenth century have demonstrated, that the variation is in a progressive and perpetual state of alteration; and

\* I say nothing of the Orkney fishermen, who about that time made voyages on the coast of America with the compass, according to Ramusio's narrative of Zeno's voyage, with Doctor Forster's explanation; because the geography of that voyage is still somewhat doubtful. See below under the year 1360.

† Chaucer says in his *Astrolabe*, written in the year 1391, that the shipmen reckon thirty-two parts of the horizon, which plainly refers to the compass with its most improved division; a division of which the people of Bruges in Flanders claim the honour of being the authors.

also, that it is so far affected by heat and cold, as to differ considerably in summer and winter, and even in the course of the same day.

Another property of the magnet is the *Dip*, or inclination of the north end of the needle towards the horizon, as if heavier than the south end, which is therefor in fact made a little heavier in order to counterpoise the dip. As the knowledge of the variation has been found assistant to navigators in ascertaining their longitude in some parts of the world; so, it is probable, that the theory of the dip of the needle may, when better understood, be also applied to some valuable purpose; for Nature does nothing in vain.

All the properties of the magnet are admirable and incomprehensible; and philosophers, in attempting to account for them, have only involved themselves in a labyrinth of ingenious, but fruitless, conjectures. But though the Almighty Author of nature has not condescended to let us into the knowledge of the secret laws, which govern the magnet, the knowledge, which he has permitted us to acquire of the methods of applying its wonderful powers to our service, has enabled us to become acquainted with the whole of the globe, which was given us to inhabit, and thereby to make prodigious improvements in the important sciences of geography and natural history. The compass has given birth to a new æra in the history of commerce and navigation. The former it has extended to every shore of the globe, and increased and multiplied its operations and beneficial effects in a degree, which was not conceivable by those, who lived in the earlier ages. The later it has rendered expeditious and comparatively safe by enabling the navigator to launch out upon the Ocean, free from the dangers of rocks and shoals. By the use of this noble instrument the whole world has become one vast commercial commonwealth; the most distant inhabitants of the Earth are brought together for their mutual advantage; ancient prejudices are obliterated, and mankind are civilized and enlightened. And, by the compass Great Britain has acquired that naval pre-eminence, which she confessedly possesses over all the maritime nations of the world.

1201—It appears from a diploma of Henry duke of Lorain, that Antwerp, destined to make so great a figure in the commerce of succeeding ages, was now first inclosed by a wall: and Guicciardini, the historian of the Netherlands, adds, that from this time money of gold and silver was coined in that city.

The town adjacent to the New-castle, built by Robert the son of William the Conqueror on the north bank of the Tine, appears to have very soon risen into some degree of importance, as we may judge from a pretty long list, made up in the reign of Henry I, of articles paying toll or duty there; among which the most worthy of notice are herrings, as an indication of that valuable fish being then caught in the

adjacent sea, and several foreign furs, which infer some trade with the northern nations of Europe. [*Brand's Hist. of Newcastle, V. ii, p. 131.*] It must have been a thriving place in the reign of Henry II to be able to pay an annual rent of fifty pounds to the crown, as we find it did, in terms of a charter of that king. The annual rent was now raised to sixty pounds; and the inhabitants, moreover, gave King John one hundred marks and two palfreys for the renewal of their charter with the confirmation of the liberties granted to them by Henry II. [*Madox's Firma burgi, p. 54.*]

The king charged the abbat of Muckelney three marks of gold, or thirty marks of silver, for giving him seifinc of his abbay. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 13 § 8.*] We thereby learn, that silver was now valued in proportion to gold as *ten to one*.

1202, January 6<sup>th</sup>—King John, having occasion to send two agents to Rome, where no business could be forwarded without money, furnished them with a letter addressed *to all merchants*, whereby he bound himself to repay the sums advanced to his agents to the amount of five hundred marks, at such time as should be agreed upon, to any person presenting his letter together with the acknowledgement of his agents for the sum received by them. And we find, that he repeatedly practised the same method of borrowing money abroad in order to feed the insatiable avarice of the nephews and other courtiers of the popes. [*Prynne's Hist. of K. John, &c. pp. 5, 11.*] In the preceding reign a company of merchants of Placentia had advanced 2,125 marks to the bishops of Anjou and Bangor, upon the faith of a similar letter of King Richard, for the service of his nephew Otho king of the Romans (or of Germany), which sum King John promised (25<sup>th</sup> August, 1199) to repay them in four installments in the course of two years. [*Fœdera, V. i, p. 115.*] As there is no mention of interest in any of those letters, it must have been discounted, when the money was advanced. This transaction, the precise date of which is not expressed, affords the earliest notice I have found in any English records of *letters of credit*, for such they were to all intents and purposes: and the transition from them to *bills of exchange* is so natural and obvious, that we may believe they were in use about the same time, or very soon after, especially in Italy, where there was more commerce than in any other part of Europe, and, moreover, a prodigious suction of money from every Christian country in Europe, except the Greek empire, into the ecclesiastical coffers of Rome.

The fourth crusade, wherein the nobles of France were the principal leaders, furnishes some facts illustrative of the maritime power of the Venetians. The warriors of France, who had no shipping of their own, applied to Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, for transports sufficient to convey to the Holy land 4,500 knights, 9,000 squires, 20,000 foot soldiers, and

4,500 horses: but they succeeded only with Venice. That republic got ready 110 large vessels, 60 of a long construction, and 60 other transports, which vessels, averaging the whole fleet, must have been capable of carrying at least 200 men each. To these they added 50 warlike galleys intended for the protection of the transports on the passage, and moreover laid in provisions for all the seamen, passengers, and horses, in the whole fleet of 280 vessels for nine months. One of the ships called the *Mondo* (*World*) is said to have been the largest vessel that ever floated upon the bosom of the Adriatic since the great triumphal ship, or rather house, as Pliny [*L. iii, c. 16*] calls it, of the Roman emperor Claudius\*: but we have no information concerning the dimensions of the *Mondo*, or how many men she carried. [*Danduli Chron. col. 323 ap. Muratori Script. V. xii.—Formalconi, Essai sur la marine des Vénitiens, trad. Française, p. 29.*]

When the Venetians had got every thing ready for the expedition, the crusaders found themselves unable to pay the whole sum stipulated for the equipment of their fleet; and they agreed, as an equivalent for a deficiency of 34,000 marks, to employ their forces against the citizens of Zara, who had revolted from the sovereignty of Venice. The rebellious city was taken after a siege of five days. But, in turning the arms destined for the extermination of *Goa's enemies* against their Christian brethren, they committed a crime deserving the severest penalties of ecclesiastical indignation, in the judgement of the pope, who failed not to launch the thunder of his excommunication against them. The western pilgrims devoutly purchased his pardon and absolution. But the Venetians, whose views were more enlarged and judgements less fettered, spurned his pardon, and disclaimed his authority and interference in their temporal affairs. Such were the different effects upon the human mind, of having not a thought but what was instilled by interested priestcraft, and of acquiring knowledge from observations made upon mankind in an extensive intercourse with a variety of nations. That noble distinction was the gift of commerce to the Venetians. [*Katona, Hist. reg. Hung. V. iv, p. 536.—Gesta Innoc. III, cc. 86 et seqq. ap. Muratori Script. V. iii.*]

1203—The forces collected for the conquest of the Holy land were a second time drawn off from their original destination by the earnest entreaties and liberal promises of Alexius, the son of the deposed emperor of Constantinople. The western warriors and their Venetian allies were persuaded, that the restoration of that prince was a proper preparatory step to their holy warfare. They embarked in the fleet furnished by Venice; they undertook the siege of Constantinople; and after a show of resistance, wherein a handful of English and Danish

\* It is almost needless to observe, that the comparison of the *Mondo* to Claudius's great ship is arbitrarily assumed, and conveys no clear idea of its magnitude.

guards alone performed the duty of soldiers (for the Roman-Greeks had long ago given up all pretensions to courage) the usurper fled with his treasure, and abandoned his wife and his empire to the mercy of the conquerors.

July 19<sup>th</sup>—The blind deposed emperor was immediately transported from a prison to a throne; and he and his son were proclaimed joint emperors. Jealous of their own subjects, the emperors begged, and bribed, the foreign warriors, who had created them, to continue their presence and formidable protection for a year. An outrage produced by the intolerant bigotry of the Latins, or Franks\*, and a delay in the payment of the stipulated subsidy, were the signals for hostilities. The young prince was murdered by a new usurper, who in vain attempted to expell the strangers from the land. The city was stormed, the usurper fled, and the rapacity of the crusaders was satiated with the accumulated wealth of the capital of the Roman world (April, 1204). Thus fell, almost without resistance, the Roman empire, once the scourge and the terror of mankind, a prey to a handful of military fanatics (mostly French and Italians) and the naval forces of a commercial republic, nearly in the same manner, as its antient British provincials in the fifth century fell under the dominion of their German auxiliaries †.

The conquerors, who now forgot the Holy land, placed Baldwin earl of Flanders upon the throne of the Eastern Roman empire, and appropriated one fourth part of the countries yet subject to that empire for the support of his dignity. Three eighths were divided among the other chiefs; and three eighths were the portion of the republic of Venice. In the partition the Venetians took care to obtain for themselves a part of the maritime province of Peloponnesus, the seat of a rich manufacture of silks, together with a chain of islands and maritime posts, which extended their territories from the head of the Adriatic sea to Constantinople; and in that city itself they possessed three of the eight regions or wards. They, moreover, purchased the island of Crete, or Candia, for ten thousand marks, from the marquis of Montferrat, to whose share it had fallen. But these extensive and disjointed territories, though apparently so well adapted for commercial establishments, being

\* To some readers it may not be superfluous to be informed, that the nations, who acknowledged the supremacy of the pope, were called by the general name of *Latins*, as those, who adhered to the patriarch of Constantinople, were in like manner called *Greeks*; and thence we find the Russians called *Greeks* by the writers of the eleventh century. From the French, or Franks, being the most numerous nation in the armies of the cross, all the western Christians are to this day called

*Franks* in the eastern borders of the Mediterranean.

† It is curious to observe the importance assumed by small communities. An annalist of Pisa [*op. Muratori Script. V. vi. col. 191*] has recorded, that in the year 1204 Constantinople was taken by the Pisans and the Venetians. The western warriors are totally annihilated by this historiographer of Pisa, the co-operation of which is scarcely noticed on this occasion by general historians.

too widely spread to be governed and defended, and too expensive to be supported, by the republic, soon brought on a greater proportion of feudal subordination, and military government, than was consistent with the genuine spirit of commerce.

The commercial consequence of this great and sudden revolution was, that the whole trade of the Eastern Roman empire was at once transferred to the Venetians, who immediately, and without any competition from their merely-warlike associates, became masters of the remains of the commerce, which had largely contributed to the opulence of Constantinople. That city had long been the principal seat of the richest and most sumptuous manufactures of silk; and, as the demand for that luxury was daily increasing in the western parts of Europe, the acquisition of the very best manufactures of it was an object of vast importance to the Venetians. By the possession of Constantinople they moreover had a monopoly of the trade of the Black sea; and they also fell into, what was to them, a new conveyance of Indian goods by a route over land to that sea, whereby the most pretious articles of Oriental luxury had been usually conveyed to the capital. These solid advantages so greatly extended the sphere of the Venetian commerce, that, during the subsistence of the Latin empire in Constantinople, they were almost the sole and general merchants of Europe. And thus the crusades, whether directed against the Mohamedans, or against the Christian heretics who denied the supremacy of the pope, were productive of prosperity and opulence to Venice, as they were also, though in a much smaller degree, to the other commercial states of Italy. [*Nicetas*, pp. 349-375.—*Villebardouin*, n. 75-135.—*Gesta Innoc. III*, cc. 91-94.—*Danduli Chron. Venet. coll.* 322-330, ap. *Muratori Script. V.* xii.]

1203, April—An assise of bread was made by King John and the barons. The bakers were ordered to affix their stamps to their bread: and they were allowed a profit of four pennies, or three pennies with the bran, out of every quarter of wheat. The weight of the farthing loaf of the finest bread, was ordered to vary from four fifths of a pound, when wheat was at six shillings a quarter, to three pounds and seventeen twentieths, when it was at eighteen pennies, the bread of the whole corn being proportionally heavier. [*Rot. pat.* 5 *Johan. m.* i.—*M. Paris*, p. 208.] This is, I believe, the earliest notice extant of such a regulation in England: but there must surely have been earlier assises, as we find the profits of the baker upon each chalders of wheat, and his payment for each batch, were before now regulated in Scotland by the *Laws of the burghs*, cc. 66, 67.

April 11<sup>th</sup>—Cologne, originally the capital of a German tribe called the Ubii, was made a Roman colony by Agrippina, the wife of the emperor Claudius, and it retains to this day some traces of the Roman polity. Its situation upon the great navigable River Rhine, gave the citizens the command of an extensive inland trade; and they appear to

have also had some commercial intercourse with England; for we find a letter addressed to them by King John, wherein, after requesting their good offices in support of his nephew Otho's pretensions to the imperial crown, he offers them the freedom of resorting to his dominions with their merchandize, on paying the customary duties paid by their ancestors. [*Fœdera*, V. i, p. 133.] In the ensuing reign we shall see, that they availed themselves of this offer.

1204, June 6<sup>th</sup>—He also gave a licence, or invitation, to the merchants of Flanders, and other foreign countries, to trade in England, provided they duely paid him the fifteenth part (the *quinzieme*) of their merchandize, together with such other customs as might be laid on according to his pleasure ('*ad placitum regis*'). The merchants of France had also a similar invitation addressed to themselves by King John at the same time. [*Rot. pat.* 6 *fo. m.* 11.] It thence appears, that the Flemings (whose licences were often renewed) were the chief foreign traders who came to England in those days, the English wool, for the supply of their great clothing trade, being no doubt their principal object; and that the French were next to them.

1205—The *quinzieme* was a duty payable by every merchant (an appellation then given to all persons who made a business of buying and selling, however trifling their dealings might be) whether natives or foreigners. The amount of it collected in each town may therefor be considered as a good comparative standard of the distribution of the commerce of England, which was not then near so much engrossed by the metropolis as it is in the present age. Before the year 1205 the *quinzieme* of all England appears to have been farmed for one thousand marks. In this year we find the following towns paying that duty, viz.

Newcastle paid	-	£158	5	11	Orford,	-	£		
Yarum,	-				Ipswich,	-			
Cotun, or Cotham,					Colchester,	-			
Whitby,	-				Sandwich,	-			
Scarburgh,	-				Dover,	-			
Hedon,	-				Rye,	-			
Hull,	-				Winchelsea,	-			
York,	-				Pevensey,	-			
Selby,	-				Seaford,	-			
Lincoln,	-				Shoreham,	-			
Barton,	-				Chichester,	-			
Ymmingham,					Southampton,	-	712	3	7
Grimby,	-				Exmouth,	-			
Boston,	-	780	15	3	Dartmouth,	-			
Lynne,	-	651	11	11	Esse (now Saltash)				
Yarmouth,	-				Fowey,	-			
Norwich,	-				London,	-	836	12	10
Dunwich,	-								

The total sum collected between the 20<sup>th</sup> of July 1204, and the 30<sup>th</sup> of November 1205, was - - - £4,958 7 3½  
 [Mag. rot. 6 fo. rot. 16 b post. Kent.—Madox's *Hist. of the excheq. c.* 18, § 3.] From this sum, making some allowance for short returns, the trade of the principal towns of England at this time may be estimated at about 100,000 pounds of silver.

It is observable that no fewer than eight of the above towns were in York-shire, and three on the adjacent south shore of the Humber: and it may be presumed that their trade consisted chiefly in collecting and shipping the wool of that great shire\*, whereby the principal source of the comfort and prosperity of the present inhabitants was carried away to enliven the industry of Flanders.

In about three years after this time the citizens, or rather the merchants, of London purchased an exemption from paying the quinzieme, for the small sum of two hundred marks. The demesne merchant of the earl of Leicester was gratuitously exempted by the king from paying the quinzieme. [Madox, c. 18, § 3.] Probably the demesne merchants of the other great lords and bishops were also exempted; an indulgence equally impolitic and unjust.

Upon a marshy piece of ground, belonging to Gisbert lord of Amstel and Iselstein, a village was built, which, from an adjacent dam upon the small river Amstel, got the name of Amsteldam (corrupted to Amsterdam), and has grown up in the course of ages to be one of the greatest commercial cities in Europe. [Bertii *Rer. Germ. L.* iii, p. 41.—Junii *Batavia*, p. 454.]

About this time the burghesses of Zirczee, a town in the island of Schowen said to have been founded in the year 849, built large ships, with which they traded to the northward and to the southward, whereby they became the most famous merchants and navigators of the coasts of Zeland and Holland. Their port, which has since been choked up with sand, was then very good and convenient. [Laet, *Belg. descript. p.* 138.—*Chron. de Hollande, &c. par Petit, V.* i, p. 201.]

The Danes, who, being a maritime people, and constantly in their vessels, had formerly used only the manners and dress of sailors, now imitated the manners, dress, and armour, of other nations, and were clothed in scarlet, purple, and fine linen: for they abounded in all kinds of riches, by means of the fishery they had every year on the coast of Schonen, which attracted merchants from all countries with gold, silver, and precious merchandize, to purchase the herrings bestowed upon them by the bounty of Providence. Nor were the Danes only enriched, they were also polished and enlightened, in consequence of their prosperous fishery; for learning became much more common among them than

\* We have already seen that wool was shipped from Hull in the year 1198.

before, and the sons of the principal people were generally sent to finish their education at the university of Paris, then the most celebrated seminary in Europe. [*Arnoldi Cont. Chron. Slav. L. iii, c. 5.*] We shall see reason to believe that the natives of the Baltic shores were in a few years deprived of this copious fountain of wealth, not by any fault or neglect of their own, nor by any exertion of a rival or hostile nation, but merely by the caprice of the herrings themselves.

The hostilities, in which the Italian states were almost perpetually engaged, were apparently the cause of their having many of their vessels much larger, and the crews much more numerous, than their commerce, and their short voyages, mostly in an inland sea, could possibly require. This year the Genoese, in a large ship called the *Leopardo* (which had been taken from the Pisans) together with two galleys, attacked two large Venetian ships, called the *Falcone* and the *Rosa*, bound for Constantinople. The Venetians in the *Rosa*, thinking it impossible to save their ship, scuttled her, and went with their most precious goods onboard the *Falcone*, the largest and strongest of the two ships, before the enemy came up with them. The Genoese, however, boarded the sinking vessel, and saved about 200 bales of fine cloth of scarlet and other colours; and they afterwards took the *Falcone*, onboard which they say they found above nine hundred men. [*Cassari Ann. Gen. ap. Muratori Script. V. vi, col. 392.*] Though we should make a large allowance for exaggeration in this number, still the trade which could afford to support even the half of such a multitude of men in two ships, and equip every vessel in a warlike manner, must have had an enormous advance upon the first cost.

1206—The Genoese took the island of Candia from the Venetians, who, however, soon recovered it again. Henceforth a fierce contest was kept up between those rival republics for the dominion of the Mediterranean, which scarcely any other power could ever pretend to dispute with either of them: for Pisa, formerly the rival of Genoa, was now almost sunk into a mere auxiliary of Venice. The Venetians were afterwards harassed by repeated rebellions of their Candian subjects, wherein they were encouraged and supported by the Genoese, who also supplanted the Venetians in their commercial privileges in Sicily by assisting the German emperor to wrest that island from Tancred, the last king of the Norman race. Notwithstanding these advantages, the commerce of the Genoese with the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean continued to decline, while that of the Venetians increased: and the war between those powerful republics, which was truly a commercial one, was continued, with some intervals of insincere peace, for almost two hundred years.

1207—By orders issued for the officers of the mint to carry their dies

to Westminster, and there to receive the king's commands, we find that money was now coined at the following cities and towns, viz.

London,	Ipswich,	Northampton,
Winchester,	Norwich,	Oxford,
Exeter,	Lynne,	S <sup>t</sup> . Edmundsbury,
Chichester,	Lincoln,	and
Canterbury,	York,	Durham*.
Rochester,	Carlisle,	

[*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 9, § 3.*]

The town of Liverpool now had burgesſes; and this year they obtained a grant of liberties from the king †. [*Rot. pat. 9 Jo. m. 5.*]

1208—King John, in the beginning of his reign, had confirmed the charters of his great-grandfather and father to the city of London, for which he received three thousand pounds: and he also made the other cities and towns take out confirmations of their privileges. [*Brady on burghs, Append. pp. 15, 16, 30 †.*] He now, by his patent, granted the citizens of London authority to elect their mayor annually §. But they, notwithstanding, still continued, or re-elected, Henry Fitz-Alwin (their first mayor, as already noticed) in that dignity till his death in the year 1214. After him we find Roger Fitz-Alwin mayor for two years: and, for a long course of time, the mayors appear to have continued several years, perhaps for life, in office. [*Stow's Survey of London, pp. 916, 917.*]

March 18<sup>th</sup>—King John, in his charter to Yarmouth, besides the customary grants, with permission to chuse a provost annually, and the stipulation of a yearly revenue to the crown of £55 to be paid by the burgh, gave liberty to all foreign merchants arriving in his kingdom in his peace, or with his licence, to come to Yarmouth, remain in it, and depart from it, in safety. [*Brady on burghs, Append. p. 9 †.*] We are not told what was the staple article, which attracted foreign merchants to Yarmouth, but we shall presently see reason to believe that it was herrings.

\* Mints were established at many other places besides those here enumerated; so many, indeed, that it is perhaps impossible to make up a complete list of them at any one time. See above, p. 283, and *Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 22, § 4.*—Stow, after giving the above list of coining places, adds, that the coiners deducted 25*l* in the £100, from the bullion for coinage. [*Survey, p. 84.*]

† Enfield mentions charters to Liverpool in 1129 and 1203. [*Hist. of Liverpool, p. 9.*]

‡ It is not thought necessary to encumber this work with mere renovations of charters, preserved by Madox, Brady, and others, nor with charters of towns, which have never risen to commercial eminence, nor with those which contain only the customary grants, among which a very common one is a merchant gild ('gilda mercatoria'). But

such a gild must not of itself be admitted as a proof, nor even as a presumption, that the burgesſes were engaged in commerce, for shop-keepers of every description, and also all dealers, however trifling, who made a business of buying and selling, were then called merchants, as they are even now in some countries.

§ Fabyan [*Cronycle, V. ii, f. xv b*] mentions thirty-five heads or rulers, who governed the city before the right of annual elections of mayors was granted. He says, King John, in his ninth year, sent orders to the thirty-five, to depose and imprison the two bailiffs (or shirrefs), because they prevented his purveyors from carrying wheat out of the city.

|| *N. B.* In the charter, *quinque* is erroneously printed instead of *quingua*. 3

1209—The great number of English inhabitants in the burghs of Scotland, has already been noticed, and also the probability that their comparatively-greater proficiency in manufactures, was the cause of their being invited and encouraged to settle in them. That the burghs had now made some considerable progress in manufactures and trade, and consequently in opulence, is evident from their contribution of six thousand marks\*, to the sum of fifteen thousand, given by William king of Scotland, together with a resignation of his claim upon the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmereland, as a portion with his two daughters, contracted to the two sons of John king of England †, when the nobles (or landed men) paid ten thousand, and the clergy nothing. [*Fædera*, V. i, p. 155.—*Scoticbron*. V. i, p. 52, ed. Goodall.] It may be presumed, that the Scottish burghs bore their shares in like manner in the two payments made by William to Richard I.

1210—Perth, which may be considered as the capital of Scotland, was before this time called a king's burgh, and was now favoured with a charter by King William, prohibiting (according to the contracted policy of the age) all merchant-strangers from carrying goods to any part of the shire of Perth but the burgh, where they were obliged to sell them by wholesale, and to lay out the proceeds in the commodities of the country; only between Ascension day and Lammas strangers were allowed to sell cloth by retail in the market, and also to buy cloth or other goods. It also grants to all the burgeses of Perth, except weavers and fullers, the privilege of being gild-brethren; and they alone are authorized to manufacture dyed or shorn cloth in Perth, and nowhere else in the shire. But those who formerly had a charter for manufacturing, are not bound by this restriction ‡.

\* As the only use of money is to enable us to obtain what we want, it is evident that the only rule for estimating the real value of any sum, is to compare it with the quantity of necessary articles which it can purchase. Tried by this standard, the value of sums mentioned in history, which sound very trifling in modern ears, will often be found very great. The prices of corn in Scotland, during the reign of William, are not known, but in that of his grandson Alexander III, 6,000 marks (or 4,000 pounds of silver) would purchase

240,000 bolls of oats at 4*d*, the highest price;  
or 60,000 bolls of wheat at 16*d*, the ordinary price;  
or 48,000 bolls of wheat at 20*d*, the highest price;  
[*Wyntoun's Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, V. i, p. 400.] Soon after the death of Alexander, corn was still cheaper in England, especially in the west and north parts, the price of wheat being from 8*d* to 16*d* the quarter. [*Triveti Annales*, p. 266.—*Stow's Annales*, p. 312, ed. 1600.] The Scottish standard boll is at present equal to six English standard bushels, as fixed by act of parliament, 37

Geo. III, c. 102, § 11: but it has varied in the course of ages.

† The terms of the contract can never be completely or accurately known, unless the copy of it, sent to the pope by Alexander II, the son of William, [*Fædera*, V. i, p. 235] shall be brought to light. But they are partly to be found in a subsequent agreement of Henry III king of England, and Alexander II king of Scotland, [*Fædera*, V. i, p. 375, or *Ryley Plac. parl.* p. 161] and by the charge made by Henry III against Hubert earl of Kent. [*M. Paris, Addit.* p. 152.] In failure of fulfillment of the contract the money was to have been returned; but Henry III was continually poor; and Alexander was put off with lands in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmereland, of the trifling value of £200 a-year. [*Fædera*, V. i, pp. 375, 400.]

‡ The charter here referred to was apparently given by King David to English, and perhaps Flemish, manufacturers: and thus we may account for the exception of weavers and fullers, who may have

Some attention was paid to the fishery, and some flax was raised, and consequently some linen made, in Scotland in the reign of William, as appears from the tithes of fish and flax being mentioned along with those of wool, corn, butter, cheese, animals, &c. The fisheries seem to have been chiefly in the Firths of Forth and Moray. [*Chart. in Dugd. Mon. Angl. V. i, p. 422.*—*Chart. Morav. in Dalrymple's Canons, p. 20.*]

Among the foreign countries, with which the Scots had commercial connections, we may particularize Norway, as appears by charters of John and Swer, kings of that country, concerning some people who had suffered shipwreck, and letters of J. king of Norway, and H. his brother, on a similar subject\*. [*Fædera, V. ii, p. 218.*]

The foreign trade of Scotland was chiefly conducted by the merchants of Berwick, who at this time were very much annoyed by the garrison of a fort erected by King John at Tweedmouth, on the opposite bank of the river, which on that account was twice demolished by King William. [*Wyntown's Cronykil, V. i, p. 355.*—*Scoticbron. V. i, p. 518.*]

King John, regardless of the confirmation of privileges which the Jews had purchased from him in the beginning of his reign, ordered the whole of them, women as well as men, to be tortured till they should pay *sixty-six thousand marks*; a most enormous sum. The ransom set upon a wealthy Jew of Bristol, was *ten thousand marks*; and, on his refusal to pay that ruinous fine, the king ordered his tormentors to pull out one of his teeth every day, to which the unhappy man submitted for seven days; and on the eight he consented to satisfy the king's rapacity. Isaac, a Jew of Norwich, became bound to pay the king ten thousand marks in daily payments of one mark. Many of the Jews, finding it impossible to live under such oppression, fled out of the country. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 7.*—*M. Paris, pp. 229, 230.*] But, according to Trivet, [*Annales, p. 154*] they were driven out, after being stripped of all their property. It appears, however, that they soon returned.

John went to Ireland, and most of the Irish kings waited on him at Dublin, with professions of duty and allegiance. He ordered the English laws and customs to be introduced in Ireland, and appointed shirrefs, and other officers to dispense justice in the country according to the English forms. He also appointed money to be coined for Ireland

have enjoyed separate, and probably more ample, privileges: otherwise the exclusion of them from the liberty of the gild seems unreasonable and absurd. This account is taken from a translation (and seemingly a very bad one) of the charter in *Cant's Muses Threnodie, V. ii, p. 6, ed. 1774.*

The privileges, granted by William's charter to Perth, are given to the burghs of Scotland in ge-

neral by the 37<sup>th</sup> of the statutes ascribed to that king by Skene in his edition of *Regiam majestatem*: but there is no knowing what degree of credit can be given to that collection.

\* The charters and letters were in the king's treasury at Edinburgh in the year 1282.—Swer was king of Norway in the later part of the twelfth century.

equal to that of England, and the halfpennies and farthings, as well as the pennies, to be round, ordering that it should be current, and received in his treasury equally with the money of England. Returning triumphant from his expedition, he assembled the chiefs of all the religious communities of both sexes in England, and extorted from them one hundred and forty thousand pounds; a sum then equal to the value of above two millions of quarters of wheat in years of moderate plenty, and a proof at once of the enormous riches of those establishments, and of the insatiable avarice of King John. [*M. Paris, p. 230.*] It is very probable, that this particular act of oppression is the principal cause of the black character of him transmitted to posterity\*.

About this time Zingis-khan, with his innumerable host of savage robbers, burst into the fertile and civilized empire of China, the northern part of which, called Cathay, he subdued and desolated. He next turned his destructive march westward, overturned and ruined many powerful kingdoms and innumerable cities, adorned by the art and industry of man, throughout all the northern extent of Asia; and, in a few years, conquered a larger, and perhaps a more valuable, portion of the globe, than the Romans acquired in a perpetual war of many centuries. But the page of commercial history ought not to be stained with a recital of the miseries brought upon mankind by such a ferocious butcher.

At this time the city of Campion in the kingdom of Tangut was the seat of a very great inland trade in linens, stuffs of cotton, gold and silver, silks, and porcelain, brought by the merchants of Cathay, and bought up by those of Muscovy, Persia, Armenia, and all the Tatar countries, who were not permitted to go beyond that city. [*De la Croix, Hist. de Genghizcan, L. iv, c. 13.*]

1212—A fire broke out in Southwark, and the flames were driven by the wind to the north end of London bridge, which was immediately on fire; whereupon the crowd of people upon the bridge, rushing to the south end of it, were there intercepted by the flames, which had now also taken hold of it. By this calamity, notwithstanding the assistance from the shipping and boats, a thousand, or, according to Mathew of Westminster, three thousand, people lost their lives, and a great part of the city, as well as of Southwark, was destroyed. [*M. Paris, p. 233. See above, p. 319.*]

1213—Philip king of France gathered together all the ships of his own dominions, and all that he could collect besides from other countries, and furnished them with a copious supply of provisions and warlike stores, for an invasion of England, to be undertaken at the desire of Pope Innocent. There was in those days no such thing as a national navy

\* John could scarcely be more wicked than Edgar, who was canonized and worshipped as one of the first-rate saints. But Edgar founded forty-eight monasteries, and John only four or five.

of ships belonging to the state, and adapted for the purposes of war only, as at present. But King John issued his orders for pressing into his service all the vessels in England \*, capable of carrying six horses, to attend him at Portsmouth with sufficient tackling, men, and arms; and his fleet was found to be superior to that of his enemy. At the same time he also summoned his military vassals, under the severest penalties, to assemble at Dover. However, having more confidence in his sailors than in his land forces, he determined on a naval engagement. But while hostile preparations were going forward on both sides, John ignominiously made his peace with Innocent, who immediately ordered Philip to desist from the invasion of England, now placed under his holy protection. Thereupon he, not daring to disobey the pope, and at the same time unwilling to let his preparations be entirely thrown away, directed the storm of war against the earl of Flanders, as an ally of the English king. John, as soon as he was informed of the distress of his friend, sent over five hundred ships, with seven hundred knights, and a great army, to his assistance. These, arriving on the coast of Flanders, found the French fleet left entirely to the care of the seamen, the soldiers having gone ashore to plunder the country. The English immediately began the attack, took three hundred ships, which they sent to England, and burnt above a hundred more, which were aground †. This decisive victory, by which the French navy was entirely destroyed, being the first important battle since the days of King Alfred, fought by ships and men entirely furnished by England ‡, is deserving of particular notice, more especially as it also shows, that England possessed more ships than the French king could find in all France, or hire in other countries. [*M. Paris*, pp. 233, 234, 238.]

Though there was not any national establishment of warlike ships, that bore the most distant resemblance to the royal navy of modern times, it appears that there were *some* galleys belonging to the king. In the year 1208, a thousand oars were bought for the king's galleys; and this year the expense of keeping them at Southampton, amounted to £2 : 6 : 8. At the same time, 12 shillings were expended for keeping another vessel (under the indeterminate name of a ship 'navis') belonging to the king. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 10, § 12; c. 18. § 3.*] This, if I mistake not, is the first certain notice we have, after the time of Alfred, of any vessels belonging to the king, or to the na-

\* According to M. Westminster, those of Ireland were also summoned. It may be doubted, if there was time between the 3<sup>d</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> of March for them to be collected, and to arrive at Portsmouth.

† Trivet, [p. 157] and Paulus Æmylius the historian of France, [p. 194] say, that these ships were burnt by the French to prevent them from falling into the hands of the English.

‡ A part of King Richard's fleet was furnished by the ports of the western coast of France, then subject to him, but not now subject to John. It is, however, surprising, that England, the commerce of which appears to have been mostly passive, should have been able to muster so numerous a fleet.

tion \*, except those purchased by Richard I for his crusade, the navies fitted out for war being merely the whole mercantile shipping of the kingdom, pressed into the service: so that in those times the owners could never call their vessels their own †.

1215, June 15<sup>th</sup>—The oppressions and misconduct of King John brought on a civil war, which was now concluded by signing the famous MAGNA CHARTA, or GREAT CHARTER of the liberties of the people of England, or, indeed, more truly speaking, of the clergy and barons; for the great body of the people were as yet of too little importance to have much attention paid to their concerns. Of the numerous articles of this charter, the following are those by which the interests of the commercial part of the community were likely to be affected.

By the fourth section, the guardians of a minor are prohibited from destroying or wasting the *men* or goods belonging to the estate, the peasants attached to the lands being the property of their master as much as the cattle, and held in no higher estimation.

§ 10, 11) The debts of a minor shall bear no interest during his minority, whether they be owing to a Jew, to the king, or to any other person ‡.

§ 12) No tax shall be imposed but by the general council of the kingdom; except for the king's ransom if taken prisoner, for making his oldest son a knight, and for once marrying his oldest daughter; and for these the demands shall be moderate.

§ 13, 23) London, and other cities and towns, shall enjoy their ancient privileges, and shall not be compelled to build bridges, &c. unless such as they are bound to build by ancient rights.

§ 20) No freeman shall be amerced in a sum disproportionate to his offence; neither shall a fine, upon any account, extend to the ruin of his freehold, if a landed man; of his merchandize, if a merchant; nor of his farming utensils, if a peasant.

§ 27) The property of a freeman dying intestate, after paying his debts, shall be divided among his nearest relations.

§ 28, 30, 31) The king's officers shall not take any man's corn, or

\* Madox [*Hist. of exch. c. 10, § 12*] mentions king's ships in the reign of Henry II: but the authorities produced in the notes *t, u, z*, do not distinguish them as royal ships; and presently after [*note b*] we find three vessels employed on similar service in the same reign, expressly called 'ships of Shoreham.'

† A striking illustration of the king's claim of right to the services of all merchant ships appears in a letter, written by Edward II to the king of Norway upon the detention of three English vessels, which he concludes by saying, that he cannot

quietly put up with the vessels belonging to his kingdom, *which ought at all times to be ready for his service*, being detained in foreign countries. [*Fœdera, V. iii, p. 400.*]

‡ This seems to authorize interest, though repeatedly forbidden by ecclesiastical canons. The lender, however, by this regulation ran a very unfair risk of being deprived of the income due from his capital. A man, whose heir was young, was thereby debarred from the accommodation of raising money by borrowing.

other goods, without payment, nor seize his carts and horses, nor cut down his wood, without his consent.

§ 33) All kidels (engines for catching fish) shall be removed from the Thames, the Medway, and other rivers\*.

§ 35) There shall be one uniform standard for weights, measures, and manufactures. That for corn shall be the London quarter.

§ 39) No freeman shall be seized, imprisoned, or outlawed, except by the legal judgement of his peers, or by the law of the land.

§ 40) The king shall not sell, deny, or delay, justice to any person.

§ 41) All merchants shall have safety and security in coming to, or going out of, England, and in remaining and traveling through it by land or water for buying or selling, free from any grievous impositions †, and agreeable to the old and upright customs; except in time of war, and except merchants belonging to a country at war with us, who, at the commencement of a war, shall be attached without any injury to their persons or property, till it be made known to us, or our chief justiciary, how the merchants of our dominions, who happen to be in the country at war with us, are treated there: and if our merchants are not injured there, they shall not be injured here.

§ 42) It shall be lawful for all persons, except prisoners, outlaws, and foreign merchants as above excepted in time of war, to go out of the kingdom freely and securely, and to return ‡.

§ 60) All the liberties, hereby granted to the king's vassals, shall also be granted by the clergy and barons to their vassals §.

The other articles of the charter belong to general history, law, and politics. By the *concessions* in it we may form an idea of the previous state of a society, where such concessions could be required, or would be accepted.

Almost immediately after he had signed the Great charter, John procured, from his liege lord, the pope, two bulls annulling it, and excommunicating those who had by force extorted it. The consequence was a new war between the king and the barons, who were driven to the desperate resource of inviting the French king's son to come to their assistance, and be their sovereign. Louis accepted the offer, and landed without opposition at Sandwich with six hundred ships. Very fortun-

\* From § 38 of the *Magna charta* of his son Henry III, in the year 1216, it appears, that John had seized into his own hands many of the rivers; no doubt those which afforded the greatest and most profitable fisheries. Richard's order against kidels in the year 1196 must already have been neglected.

† 'Sine omnibus malis tollis.' *Tollis* seems erroneously written for *tollis*, and accordingly the old English translation has *evil tolls*. Knyghton [col. 2523] writes *malle tolle*.

‡ The chief intent of this article was to allow the clergy to attend their sovereign, the pope, without asking the king's permission.

§ This is almost the only article in the *Magna charta*, in which the great body of the people had any general concern: and the benefit of it was probably never claimed by them. The king's object in inserting it (for it was added by him) was apparently to have a pretext from the breach of it to annul the whole of the charter.

ately John died soon after (19<sup>th</sup> October 1216), and England was rescued from becoming a province of France.

The character of John has been drawn in the blackest colours by most of the contemporary historians. But, though few of his actions appear to have sprung from laudable motives, we must remember, that throughout the whole of his reign he was on bad terms with the clergy, the only class of people who were capable of transmitting his actions to posterity. It is, however, certain, that the over-ruling providence of God, which often brings good out of evil, rendered his vices and misconduct more beneficial to the community than the best actions of his predecessors. His insulting treatment of the barons, and his violation of their wives and daughters, with his general misconduct, may be said to have produced the great charter, which, though it was not favourable to the great body of the people, and produced no advantages even to the clergy and barons, as it was immediately broken, has in all succeeding ages been looked up to as the foundation of Liberty in this country. His quarrels with the nobles, who, by the feudal constitution, were the hereditary commanders of the national army, obliged him to court the good will of the inhabitants of the towns (a class of people hitherto held in contempt both by kings and nobles) and chiefly of the maritime ones\*. This policy, though dictated only by his own interest, and very convenient for him, turned out much more extensively beneficial to the subjects. To the king it gave not only an addition of power, by creating a new species of militia, and by drawing off the vassals of the feudal lords †, but also an additional revenue, payable by the corporations, and stipulated in their charters. To the people it gave a degree of freedom formerly unknown; and it gradually raised them to opulence and importance by the commerce which came in time to be carried on in the towns, in consequence of the liberty the inhabitants possessed of pursuing their own interests free from any restraint, and exempted from the jurisdiction of any superior except the sovereign and the law. And thus the emersion of the great body of the English nation from the servitude, into which they were plunged by the jealous tyranny of the two Williams, may be justly ascribed to the vices and fears of John.

Lubeck is said to be the first city in Europe, which adopted the valuable domestic accommodation, hitherto known only in the Oriental regions, of conveying water to the houses by pipes, which, as it has since been improved, has become a most important and efficient preserver of

\* King John appears to have conferred on the Cinque ports an amplification of their privileges, in consideration of their being bound to find *eighty* fencible ships at their own expense for forty days, and after that time on the king's pay. [*Knyghton*, vol. 2424, who erroneously calls John the original

founder of the privileges claimed by the Cinque ports.]

† See above [p. 307] the temptation held out to the feudal vassals to desert the estates of their lords and become burgeses.

lives and properties from the dreadful calamities of fire. But the date of this improvement at Lubeck is unknown to me, nor am I well assured of the fact. We find the conveyance of water in pipes mentioned as a new discovery made at this time by Simon, a monk of Waverley in Surrey, who, upon a failure of the well which used to supply the brethren, brought water from other fountains by means of pipes laid underground, whereby he made an artificial well, abundantly sufficient for the use of the abbay. [*An. Waverl. ap. Gale, ad an. 1216.*] It was apparently Simon's invention, for such it undoubtedly was, that furnished the magistrates of London with a model for the pipes they made in the year 1236.

Notwithstanding the convulsions of the kingdom in the contests between John and the barons, there is reason to believe, that the breed of that eminently useful animal, the sheep, was increased during his reign; and that, though there was a considerable exportation of wool, there was more of it made into cloth in England in his reign than at any time before: for we find the following sums paid into the treasury in one year (the fifteenth of his reign) for duties on the importation of woad, most of which was used in dyeing cloths, though a great part of those made in England were exported, and also worn at home, without being dyed.

In Kent and Suffex, except Dover,	-	-	£103	13	3
The ports of York-shire,	-	-	98	13	4
Lincoln-shire,	-	-	47	3	4
Norfolk and Suffolk,	-	-	53	6	0
Southampton,	-	-	72	1	10
Essex,	-	-	4	2	4
Places not named, perhaps including London,			214	12	0

[*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 18, § 3.*]

Immediately after the accession of Henry III, the infant son of John, the great charter was renewed\*.

1217—A treaty of friendship was entered into between Henry III of England and Hakon IV of Norway, both under age, whereby the merchants and subjects of both kingdoms had full liberty of going, coming, and returning. [*Fœdera, V. i, p. 223.*]

Some of the circumstances of a naval battle fought in this year are worthy of notice. An English fleet, said to consist of only forty galleys and other vessels †, attacked a French fleet of eighty large ships, besides

\* It was renewed at seven different times by Henry, when he found it necessary to court the favour, or to drain the pockets, of his subjects. [See *Blackstone's History of the charters, Law tracts, V. ii, p. 43, et seqq.*]

† The annalist of Waverley, and Robert of Gloucester, give the English only eighteen ships. But surely the inequality of force, as related by

Mathew Paris, is sufficient. Paulus Æmylius, the historian of France, has not a word of this battle.

Heningford [*L. ii, c. 105*] has a wonderful story of a great fleet belonging to a tyrant, who was coming from Spain to take the kingdom from the infant King Henry, being defeated by the mariners of the Cinque ports.

many smaller ones and gallies well armed, coming to the assistance of Louis. The English, who are noted for their expertness in maritime warfare, began the attack by a dreadful discharge of arrows from the cross-bow-men and archers; and having got the wind of their enemy, they rushed against them with the iron beaks (or *rostra*) of their gallies, whereby many of the French ships were instantly sunk. They also availed themselves of their situation to windward by throwing pulverized quick lime into the French ships, whereby the men were blinded\*. After a close engagement, wherein the French fought bravely, but not so skilfully as the English, the greatest part of them being slain or drowned, almost the whole fleet submitted to the English, who triumphantly towed them into Dover. [*M. Paris*, p. 298.—*Annal. Waverl.* p. 183, ed. Gale.—*Rob. of Glouc.* p. 515.]

1220—The merchants of Cologne in Germany (perhaps in consequence of King John's invitation in the year 1203) established a hall or factory in London called their Gildhall, for the sake (or legal possession) of which they now paid thirty marks to the king. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq.* c. 11, § 2.] It seems probable that this Gildhall, by the association of the merchants of other cities with those of Cologne, became in time the general factory and residence of all the German merchants in London, and was the same that was afterwards known by the name of the German Gildhall ('Gildhalla Teutonicorum') †.

It appears that the merchants of Cologne were bound to make a payment of two shillings, probably a reserved annual rent (for we are not told upon what occasions it was payable) out of their Gildhall, besides other customs and demands, from all which they were exempted in the year 1235 by King Henry III, who moreover gave them permission to attend fairs in any part of England, and also to buy and sell in London, saving the liberties of the city. [*Charter in Hakluyt's Voyages*, V. i, p. 130, ed. 1598.]

It may be presumed, that there were very few people in England, who possessed the elegant and comfortable accommodation of glass in their windows about this time; for, from the manner in which the windows of a church furnished with glass are mentioned by Mathew Paris, [*Vit.* p. 122] it appears that such windows were not in general use, even in churches.

Though we find by Domesday book that some of the inhabitants of Yarmouth were fishermen in the time of the Conqueror, it gives us not the smallest hint of the *herring* fishery, which has been the great source

\* Above two centuries after this time, the stratagem of throwing quick lime was practised by the Genoese in a naval engagement, and was thought a notable *invention*. This shows that the practice was at least uncommon.

† The inaccuracy of confounding the Teutonic gildhall with the Steelyard will be accounted for under the year 1475.

of the opulence of that town. From the same authentic record we learn, that Dunwich (then a place of considerable trade, if compared with the neighbouring towns) paid annually 60,000 herrings to the king, and Sandwich paid annually 40,000 to the monks, at that time, and perhaps long before; but whether those herrings were fresh or salted, we are not informed. We find herrings enumerated among the articles charged with tolls or duties at Newcastle upon Tyne in the reign of Henry I; [*Brand's Hist. of Newcastle*, V. ii, p. 131] and in that of Henry II the abundance of them on the English coast is noticed by Henry of Huntingdon: (see above, p. 344) and herrings made a part of the revenue of the bishoprick of Chichester. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 10, § 3.*] The resort of foreign merchants to Yarmouth, inferred in King John's charter to that town, (see above, p. 374) together with the certainty of its being a staple market for the exportation of herrings soon after\*, warrants a belief that it was *now* the principal seat of the herring fishery upon the coast of England: and upon that account William of Trumpington, abbat of St. Albans, was induced to purchase a large house † in Yarmouth, 'in order to lay up fish, especially herrings, which were bought 'in by his agents at the proper season, to the inestimable advantage, as 'well as honour, of the abbay.' [*M. Paris, Vit. p. 126.*] As we thus know from undoubted authority, that herrings were stored up at Yarmouth, and as our presumption, that they were also an article of commerce and exported, will presently be turned into certainty, it is evident that they must have been preserved with salt. But in what respect the ancient method of curing them differed from the improved method invented by Van Beukelen, who, according to some of the Netherland historians, was the first curer and exporter of herrings, it is apparently impossible to tell.

From the unquestionable authority of the public records we know, that there was also a fishery of at least some consequence on the south-west coast of England, and that an *improved* method of salting the fish had been practised before this time by Peter Chivalier, who appears to have had the king's licence for a monopoly of his method, and that Peter de Perars gave the king twenty marks in the year 1221, and twenty more in 1222, and probably also in other years, for a licence to salt fish, as Chivalier used to do. [*Mag. rot. 6 Hen. III, rot. 9, b, Cornub. in Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 13, § 4.*] As Perars appears to have liv-

\* This will be further illustrated under the year 1238. I may here also observe, that in the year 1256 the burghesses of Yarmouth represented to the king that their principal support was derived from the fishery; and a record in the year 1306 shows that it was the herring fishery. See *Brady on burghs, Append. pp. 2, 6.*

† It must have been a very large house, for it

cost fifty marks; and the same abbat bought a house, or rather a court of houses, in London (where they were probably dearer than in Yarmouth), as extensive as a great palace, with chapel, stables, garden, a well, &c. for a hundred marks of purchase-money, to which he added fifty marks for improvements. [*M. Paris, Vit. pp. 125, 126.*]

ed in Cornwall, it is probable that pilchards, which annually visit that country in innumerable shoals, were the species of fish cured by the improved process.

It is worthy of observation, that the German writers trace their trade in salted herrings no farther back than the year 1241, or at the farthest 1236. [*Codex diplom. Brandenb. V. i, p. 45; V. ii, p. 430, and authorities there quoted.*] But, to say nothing of the herrings caught on the coast of Norway in the tenth century, those shipped at Rugen, and those packed in barrels at Zirczee, in the twelfth century, must undoubtedly have been salted. (See above, pp. 274, 338.) And there is good reason to believe, that, both in England and Scotland, herrings were cured with salt for exportation at least some ages before the time now under our consideration. (See above, pp. 284, 303, 306, 325, 344, 376.)

1222—Coining dies were delivered to the proper officers for making pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, of silver; and all the money of this new coinage was round\*. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 22, § 4, note a.*]

1224—At this time the following, besides London, were esteemed the principal ports of England, as appears from the king's orders to their magistrates, in consequence of the expiration of a truce with France, to lay an embargo on all vessels lying in, or arriving in, the ports, and to keep them in readiness for the king's service.

Portsmouth, now <i>Portsmouth</i> ;	Gipewic, <i>Ipswich</i> ;
Sorham, <i>Shoreham</i> ;	Lenne, <i>Lynn</i> ;
Suhamton, <i>Southampton</i> ;	Erewell, <i>Orwell haven</i> ;
Safford, <i>Seafood</i> ;	Eremuth, unknown;
La Pole, <i>Pool</i> ;	Dovr, <i>Dover</i> ;
Exon, <i>Exeter</i> ;	Rumenel, <i>Rumney</i> ;
Bristol, <i>Bristol</i> ;	Rya, <i>Rye</i> ;
Dertmue, <i>Dartmouth</i> ;	Kingeston, unknown; †
Norwic, <i>Norwich</i> ;	Eya, <i>Eye</i> ;
Gernemue, <i>Yarmouth</i> ;	Hasting, <i>Hastings</i> ; ‡
Orefor[d], <i>Orford</i> ;	Pageham, <i>Pagham</i> near Chichester;
Dunewic, <i>Dunwich</i> ;	Pevenes, <i>Pevensey</i> .

The ports in Cornwall and Devon-shire are not named, the orders for the whole shires being addressed to the shirrefs.

\* Some lines of Robert de Brunne, describing a coinage of round pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, by Edward I, have been inserted by Stow in his *Annales* and by Camden in his *Remains*; and being thereby more generally known, they have misled those, who have taken only a superficial glance of such matters, to conclude that there was no round money smaller than pennies till the year 1279. We have seen that round halfpennies were coined by Henry I, and round halfpennies and also

farthings by John, some of which are still remaining in cabinets. See above, pp. 316, 376.—*Pembroke's Nummi TT. 7, 23.*—*Folkes on coins, plate 2.*

† Hull was not yet called Kingeston; and Kingeston upon Thames generally could not with any propriety be called a port.

‡ Though there was a general order addressed to the Cinque ports, we find there were also particular orders addressed to some, perhaps to each, of them on this and on other similar occasions.

By means of orders in the year 1226 for permitting French vessels, loaded with corn, wine, or provisions, to come in and go out in safety, notwithstanding a previous general prohibition of French ships, the following may be added to the list.

Sandwic,	<i>Sandwich</i> ;	Hoiem,	unknown ;
Heath,	<i>Hyth</i> ;	Lincoln,	<i>Lincoln</i> ;
Wodering,	unknown ;	Eborum,	<i>York</i> ;
Winchelfe,	<i>Winchelsea</i> ;	Hulm,	unknown.

[*Fædera*, V. i, pp. 272, 287.]

'The king granted to the comminaltie of London to have a common seale.' [*Stow's Survey of London*, p. 918, ed. 1618.]

1225—King Henry obliged all vessels belonging to the Cinque ports, arriving with corn in the River Thames, to deliver at Queen-hithe\*. In two years thereafter he also ordered the vessels bringing fish to unload at the same place, and directed that the only fish-market in London should be held there, the citizens of London being, however, at liberty to unload their own vessels where they pleased. In the year 1246 the city purchased Queen-hithe from Richard earl of Cornwall, and agreed to pay an annual rent of £50 to him and his heirs. For some time it was very productive, the corn, fish, salt, fuel, and other articles, landed there being sufficient to keep thirty-seven men employed as meters and carriers, with horses, &c. Afterwards the bakers of London got into the way of buying their grain in the country from the farmers †; and that diminution of the corn business, together with some impediments to the passage of the vessels by delay in taking up the draw-bridge, reduced the profits of Queen-hithe so low, that when Fabyan wrote (about the year 1500) they scarcely exceeded twenty marks a-year of such money as was then current. [*Stow's Survey of London*, p. 680.]

Albert earl of Orlamund, who in the year 1216 had bought the superiority of Hamburg for 700 marks from the king of Denmark, now sold it to the community of the city for 1,500. Till now, says Lambecius, the historian of Hamburg, the city was only in its infancy; but thenceforth, having shaken off the yoke, it became dayly more and more powerful and flourishing. [*Orig. Hamburg*. p. 118.]

1227—King Henry III received presents from Coradin, soldan (or sultan) of Damascus, brought by Juselin (most probably a merchant) of Genoa, and sent him a complimentary letter in return. [*Fædera*, V. i, p. 296.] This is, I believe, the second instance of a Mohamedan prince courting the friendship of a king of England.

October 12<sup>th</sup>—The Catalans appear to have been at this time very

\* This landing place was generally appropriated to the queens of England as a part of their revenue, at least as early as the time of Henry I; for Adelid, his widow, gave 100 shillings a-year

out of the profits of it to the church of Reading. [*Coarvel's Interpreter*, Manley's ed. vo. *Heda*.]

† So the bakers managed their business about the year 1600, when Stow wrote.

little inferior to the most flourishing of the commercial states of Italy in commercial enterprise and maritime power\*. They traded to every coast of the Mediterranean; and the vessels of every nation had been made welcome to Barcelona, their principal port, by a law contained in the code of usages established in the year 1068. But James I, king of Aragon and count of Barcelona, being desirous of giving a preference to the shipping of his own subjects, now made a law, prohibiting all foreign vessels from loading at Barcelona for Alexandria, Ceuta in Barbary, or other foreign ports, if there was any vessel belonging to Barcelona capable and ready to perform the voyage. He also ordered, by the same law, that no foreigner should take onboard wine at Barcelona without the permission of the citizens. This law, which, I presume, is the earliest *navigation act* known in history or record, was more strictly enforced in the year 1268. [*Capmany, Mem. hist. de Barcelona, V. ii, Col. dipl. pp. 11, 34.*]

1228—Riga, a city on the east coast of the Baltic sea, which was settled by some merchants of Lubeck in the year 1150, was now fortified with a wall, and became a place of considerable commerce and power. [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L. iii, p. 239.*]

1229—Liverpool was at this time a village belonging to the parish of Walton, to which indeed it continued attached till the year 1699. [*Aikin's Descr. of Manchester, p. 332.*] The burgesses now paid the king ten marks for a charter, which declared their town a free burgh for ever, and granted them a merchant gild, together with some other liberties †. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 11, § 2.*]

1230—The citizens of Brunswick, though situated in the heart of Germany, now had, or were at least invited to have, commercial dealings with England, as appears from a protection granted to them by King Henry for the sake of his cousin, their duke. [*Fædera, V. i, p. 317.*]

1231—Olaf, king of Mann and the Isles, having been driven from his dominions by Alan lord of Galloway, implored the assistance of his superior lord the king of Norway. He and his Norwegian and Orkney friends, with eighty ships collected in Norway, Orkney, and the Western islands, arrived in the Firth of Clyde, and attacked the island of Bute. But hearing that Alan had a fleet of one hundred and fifty vessels lying at the Ryns of Galloway, they steered off to the coast of Kentire, and thence went to Mann, and re-established Olaf in his king-

\* Their power was formidable at times to the Greek empire and almost every state on the coasts of the Mediterranean. See *Gibbon, V. xi, p. 347, ed. 1791.*—*Stella, and the other annalists of Genoa.*

† Enfield dates this charter in the year 1227. [*Hist. of Liverpool, p. 9.*] Being dated in the thirteenth year of the king's reign, it might be in the later end of 1228, but could not be earlier.

In the eleventh year of the same king's reign the village or town ('villata') of Liverpool paid a tallage of eleven marks seven shillings and eight pennies. [*Madox's Hist. of the exchequer, c. 17, § 3.*] The flourishing town of Liverpool may leave to decayed communities the poor consolation of fictitious antiquity.

dom. [*Thordir, a contemporary Icelandic writer, translated by Johnstone.—Chron. Mannie ap. Camd. Brit. p. 844.—Torfæi Orcades, L. ii.*] The number of the Gallowegian fleet, equal to a fourth part of that with which the French in the year 1216 expected to establish a new king upon the throne of England, is probably exaggerated by the northern writers, who, however, all agree in celebrating the great naval power of Alan of Galloway\*.

1235, April 5<sup>th</sup>—King Henry licenced Simon of Wistlegay to carry in his vessel, called the Gladhyhne, the pilgrims going from England towards Jerusalem, S<sup>t</sup>. James of Compostella in Spain, or other places abroad, without hindrance or molestation. [*Pat. 19 Hen. III, published in Purchas's Pilgrimes, L. viii, p. 1271.*] If he really proceeded as far as Palestine, he performed a voyage, which, I believe, was much more remote than any that were usually undertaken by any single English vessel in that age, wherein commerce was not so powerful a stimulus as superstition in calling forth the energies of the mind or the exertions of enterprise.

The tenth and eleventh sections of King John's *Magna charta*, comprehending, perhaps, the most blameable part of that famous deed, whereby the estates of minors were exempted during their minority from paying interest for money borrowed by their predecessors, were now revived and sanctioned by a public act of the legislative body assembled at Merton. [*Statutes of Merton, c. 5.*] We thereby see that it was not now reckoned illegal to receive interest for money lent: but, as long as this law remained in force, the unfair risk thrown upon the lender by it must have kept the rate of interest much above its natural level.

The inhabitants of Amsterdam, who were still subject to the lord of Amstel, were indulged by the earl of Holland with the liberty of carrying their goods through the whole of his territory, as a compensation for some injury he had done them. [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L. iii, p. 41.*] Such was the humble commencement of the commerce of the illustrious city of Amsterdam.

1236—Some Flemish merchants having been plundered of fifty-two tuns ('*dolia*' †) of wine, and other goods in England, the counts of

\* The naval pre-eminence of the seamen of Galloway continued after the age of their famous lord, Alan. To them Alexander III, king of Scotland, committed the maritime charge of an expedition intended to chastise a rebellion of the people of Mann. [*Scotichron. V. ii, p. 109, ed. Goodall.*] And the Scottish warlike, or piratical, vessels (for the terms were synonymous) which made some depredations on the subjects of England about the year 1236, [*Kot. pat. 21 Hen. III, m 6*] were perhaps of their country, and in the service of Thomas, the natural son of Alan, who

was then in rebellion against the king of Scotland.

† The measure of the *dolium* having been doubted or misunderstood (see *Fleetwood's Chron. prec. p. 115, &c.*) it is proper to observe, that it is proved to be a *tun* by a letter from King Edward III to the king of Spain, wherein a pipe of wine, which is half a tun, is valued at 30s, the *dolium* being £3. [*Fadera, V. v, p. 320. See also V. vii, p. 378, and the Statute of estreats, 16 Edw. III in Statutes at large, V. x, append. p. 23: and many more proofs might be adduced, if necessary.*]

Flanders demanded redress from King Henry, who thereupon promised to pay £104 sterling for the wine, and £107 : 10 : 0 money of Tours for the other goods. He at the same time promised redress to others who were wronged in his dominions, and expressed his desire that the merchants of Flanders and of England should mutually enjoy security in both countries. [*Fœdera*, V. i, pp. 316, 363.]

With all this attention professed to the interest of merchants, Henry, while he envied their opulence, did not scruple openly to express his contempt of the *rustics* of London, who presumed to call themselves barons\*. [*M. Paris*, p. 749.] And even the great legislative body of the nation held burgesses of every description, and consequently merchants, in so low a degree of estimation, that it was enacted in the parliament held at Merton, that a superior lord, who should disparage his ward, being under fourteen years of age, by a marriage with a villein (peasant) or a burgess, should forfeit the wardship of the lands. [*Statutes of Merton*, c. 6.]

Hitherto London had been served with water from the several rivulets flowing through it (which in the present day are all hid under the pavement), and from wells. But these supplies being now found inadequate to the wants of the inhabitants, the magistrates purchased from Gilbert Sanford, proprietor of Tyburn, the fountains of that burn (or brook), with liberty to convey the water from the cistern, into which they had led it, through his lands in pipes, and occasionally to break up the ground for necessary repairs. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 30.]

The foreign merchants of Amiens, Nele, and Corbie, contributed £100 to the expense of this improvement. About the same time they agreed with the mayor, the principal citizens also giving their consent, to pay fifty marks annually to the mayor for the liberty of landing and storing the woad imported by them, instead of being obliged to sell it onboard their vessels, as they had hitherto done. The merchants of Normandy also paid a fine to the city for the same indulgence. [*Stow's Survey of London*, p. 130.—*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 105.] These payments for an accommodation in the sale of woad show that the quantity imported was considerable, and consequently, that the manufactures, in which it was used, must have also been considerable. It is proper, however, to observe, that woad was more used by the dyers, before indigo became common, than it is now, and also, that it is superior to indigo for durability of colour.

1238—The Western world was threatened with total extermination by the Tatars (or Tartars †), a new, and to the Europeans an unheard-

\* The reader will recollect, that the citizens of London, or at least the pre-eminent ones, had the appellation of barons. See above, p. 329.

† Tatar, the true name, as it is written by

Abulghazi, a descendent of Zingis, and other Oriental authors, is used by Yvo Narbonensis in his letter to the bishop of Bourdeaux in the year 1243, by Paul Oderborn, a writer contemporary with  
the

of, race of invaders, more irresistible and more sanguinary than the Saracens of the eighth century, who had already conquered Russia (which remained subject to them till the year 1486), and spread desolation through Poland and Hungary. It is a curious circumstance, that we are indebted to this inundation of barbarians from the East for some important information concerning the herring fishery. It appears, that the herrings, which are very capricious in their migrations, had deserted the Baltic sea for some time, which obliged the Friselanders, who formerly used to go to the Baltic for herrings, and even the people of Gothland in Sweden, who used to have the herring fishery at their own doors, to come to Yarmouth for cargoes of those fish. But so great and general was the consternation wherewith even the remotest nations of Europe were struck by the approach of the Tatars, that those people did not come to Yarmouth this year: and, in consequence of the disappointment of their sales, the Yarmouth fishermen were obliged to give their herrings at such low prices, that they were sold exceedingly cheap even in the inland parts of the country\*. [*M. Paris*, p. 471.—*Playfair's Chronology*, p. 121.] Thus have we undoubted information of the exportation of cargoes of herrings from Yarmouth previous to this time; and those who assert, that the art of curing herrings with salt was not yet discovered, may, if they please, suppose that herrings were carried fresh from Yarmouth to Sweden.

The Saracens, who saw themselves exposed to the first fury of the Tatars, endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the kings of France and England, in order to engage them in a confederacy against the common enemy: and Frederic, the German emperor, wrote to the Christian princes to persuade them to combine their forces in order to ward off the impending destruction. But the pope, having a quarrel with the emperor, found means to frustrate the only rational union of the European powers that ever was projected; and the tide of devastation was rolled back to the East by the valour of Germany alone. [*M. Paris*, pp. 471, 557, 560.]

In the emperor's letter to the king of England he thus characterizes the western kingdoms: Germany, raging and ardent for battle; France, the mother and nurse of brave armies; bold and warlike Spain; the

the subject of his work, in *Vita Joannis Basilidis*, and a few other early European writers. See also *Eton's Survey of the Turkish empire*, pp. 101, 304. But most of the writers of the middle ages, delighted with the identity of Tartar and Tartarus, the hell of the antient fabulous mythology, have concurred to establish this vitiated name. See in particular *M. Paris*, pp. 553, 957.

\* Mathew Paris says, herrings were to be had this year almost for nothing, and even in the inland parts of the country: *forty or fifty good herrings*

were sold for one penny ('uno argento'). I suppose four or five hundred was the number intended by the author; for, even in the present day, the twentieth part of an ounce of silver (the weight of a penny) would not be thought a bad price for fifty herrings in some parts of the country. By the statute of herrings in the year 1357 the highest price they could be sold for was 40<sup>s</sup> per last, at which highest rate there were 25 for one penny; and in 1357 the penny did not contain near so much silver as it did at this time.

fertile England, strong in her soldiers, and *guarded by her fleets*; naval Denmark; bloodthirsty Ireland; lively Wales; Scotland abounding with lakes; frozen Norway, &c. [*M. Paris, p. 560.*]

Such were the characters of the European nations, as drawn by the emperor Frederic, to which it may be proper to add the stile of living and manners of the Italians of this age, probably the most polished people (except perhaps the Greeks) at this time in Christian Europe, as drawn by an author who flourished about the end of the thirteenth century. Their food was very moderate, or rather scanty. The common people had meat only three times in a week: their dinner was pot-herbs boiled with meat, their supper the cold meat left from dinner\*. The husband and wife ate out of the same dish; and they had but one or two cups in the house. They had no candles made of tallow or wax; but a torch, held by one of the children or a servant, gave them light at supper. Many had no wine in the summer. Their wine cellars were small, and their barns were not large. The men, whose chief pride was in their arms and horses, wore caps made with iron scales, and cloaks made of leather without any covering, or of woollen cloth without leather. The women wore jackets of a stuff called pignolate with gowns of linen, and their head-dresses were very simple. Very few people had any gold or silver on their clothes. Those who possessed a small sum of money were thought rich; and the homely dress of the women required but small marriage portions. The nobles were proud of living in towers, and thence the cities were filled with those fortified dwellings. [*Riccobaldi Ferrariensis Hist. imper. ap. Muratori Script. V. v, col. 128.*] This portrait, taken from the accounts given by the generation immediately preceding the author, shows us that the manufactures and commerce of Italy had not yet diffused general wealth, or introduced comfortable and convenient modes of living (according to the ideas of the immediately succeeding age) throughout the country. Indeed the fondness for living in towers is a proof that too much of the feudal manners still prevailed to admit of a generally-flourishing trade, or a generally-prosperous condition of the people. But we also find, that in the course of sixty or seventy years the general stile of living and the circumstances of the people were much improved, and that our author by no means regretted that he was not born in the *good old times* of his ancestors.

1239—Four plates of silver, weighing fourteen marks (or 112 ounces), got out of a mine in the bishoprick of Durham, were delivered at Westminster by Robert de Crepping to the proper officer, to be made into images for the king. [*MS. Harl. 624, p. 175 b.*] A copper mine, with veins of gold and silver, at Newlands in the adjacent county of Cumber-

\* By the immediately preceding clause they could have such boilings of herbs and such suppers only twice in a week.

land (perhaps the same which was worked by David king of Scotland when he was lord of that country) was worked in this reign. [*Camdeni Brit. p. 631.*] And there were many mines in various parts of the country, which contained, or were expected to contain, some gold or silver, as appears by grants of the sovereign to several individuals. [*Calend. rot. pat. in Turri, passim.*] But whether they turned out beneficial to the undertakers, we are not informed.

1240.—From the ruins of the great and ancient city of Mecklenburgh, formerly the capital of the kingdom of the Vandals, Gunceline, the lord of the country, built a new city, called Wisimar, on an inlet of the Baltic forming an excellent harbour for the largest vessels, the convenience of which soon attracted a great resort of foreign merchants, by which, and the fertility of the adjacent soil, the place soon became opulent and respectable. [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L. iii, p. 304.*]

1241.—Pope Innocent IV, who used to call England *his inexhaustible fountain of riches*\*, had some time ago sent Otto as his legate into this country, who truly acted as if he intended completely to drain the well. At his departure from Dover he left not behind him, Mathew Paris says, as much money in the country as he had extorted from it, for his master and himself, during a residence of several years, indefatigably employed in scraping together money from every quarter, and upon every pretence. The whole amount of his collection was probably unknown; but two of his associates, who were dispatched into Scotland in the year 1240, pillaged that kingdom of three thousand pounds of silver. Other blood-suckers, who were immediately sent to glean whatever had escaped the talons of Otto, squeezed fifteen thousand marks out of Ireland, and large sums also out of England and Scotland. While those harpies were making the best of their way to Rome with their booty, they were intercepted by some officers of the emperor of Germany, who, thinking he had as good a right to the plunder of the British kingdoms as the pope, his most bitter and unrelenting enemy, kept the treasure for himself. [*M. Paris, pp. 400, 540, 549, 573.*]

The æra of the commencement of the HANSEATIC ASSOCIATION, one of the most important objects in the commercial history of the middle ages, like the origin of many other great communities, cannot be precisely ascertained. It seems most probable that it derived its origin from an agreement which was entered into in this year, 1241 †, by the

\* The pope, who, Mathew Paris [*p. 938*] observes, ought to be incapable of deceiving or being deceived, was encouraged in his rapacity by Henry himself, who absolutely put those very words into his mouth, having told him in his letters, that England was a fountain of riches, which could never be drained.—Certainly it has stood a vast deal of draining in that age, and ever since; and still the foun-

tains of commerce have supplied a stream fully equal to all the waste.

† This is the date assumed by Lambecius, Struvius, Pfeffel, &c. and surely the German writers, from local situation as well as industry in research, are well qualified for the examination of such a matter,

merchants of Hamburgh and Lubeck, to establish a guard for the protection of their merchandize against pirates and robbers in the inland carriage between their cities; [*Lambecii Orig. Hamburg. L. ii, p. 26*] a precaution very necessary in those days of rapine, when men of the first rank, having no useful employment or elegant amusement to relieve them from the languor of idleness in times of peace, openly professed the trade of robbery\*. The accession of other cities, and the prudent measures, which afterwards rendered the commercial confederacy, supposed to have sprung out of this alliance of two cities, so flourishing, powerful, and famous, will be noticed on proper occasions as fully as authentic materials will warrant.

Some mines of tin were this year discovered in Germany, the produce of which was so abundant, that the metal was even imported into England, whereby the price of it in this country was very much reduced †. [*M. Paris, p. 570.*]

1242—Jacomo Theopolo (or Jacopo Tiepolo) duke of Venice, with the assistance of four noble and learned counsellors, collected the laws of the republic into a code, [*Novelli Statuta Venet.*] which is almost entirely occupied in regulating the descent of property, the recovery of debts, and the punishment of crimes. And, what is surprising in the laws of the first commercial people of Europe, they contain no other regulations relating to commerce than some directions respecting freights, averages, seamen's wages, and the like. There is, however, one of the laws [*L. iii, c. 18*] which deserves notice on account of its containing perhaps the earliest instance extant of the language of calculation, now universally used by merchants, and, indeed, by all other descriptions of people. It was customary for purchasers to pay down a deposit, which was now directed to be lodged in the hands of the procurator of S<sup>t</sup>. Mark, and the amount of it was fixed at *ten per cent* ('diese per cento'). Other nations used, long after this time, to pay one tenth, one twentieth, &c. or so many pennies or shillings on the pound. But the more judicious and expressive mode of calculating at so much per cent, which we have most probably learned from the Venetians, has almost universally superseded the calculation by tenths, twentieths, quarters, &c.

The king of France at the commencement of a war ordered the per-

\* Those robbers were too powerful to be controlled by the civil magistrate, and they even disregarded the excommunication of the clergy. [See *Robertson's History of Charles V, V. i, p. 398, ed. 1792, and below under the year 1255.*] As their gangs were numerous enough to be called armies, their depredations assumed the character of warfare and victories, and, instead of being stigmatized as base and disgraceful, were often rewarded with public applause, as meritorious and honourable actions.

† M. Paris erroneously adds, that hitherto tin had never been found any where in the whole world but in Cornwall. According to an author of that age, quoted by Camden, [*Britannia, p. 134*] the German mines were discovered by a Cornish man, who was banished from his native country. The Cornish tin, however, appears to be of a superior quality to that of other countries, as is acknowledged by foreigners in counterfeiting the English stamps upon their tin. [*Campbell's Political Survey, V. i, p. 41, note k.*]

sons and properties of the English merchants found in his dominions to be seized, whereby, says Mathew Paris, [*p.* 585] he brought a great disgrace upon the antient dignity of France. The consequence was a retaliation upon the French merchants in England.

Henry III wrote to the barons of the Cinque ports, and to the good men of Dunwich, to get ready their ships, sufficiently manned, for his service. He also ordered, that the *king's galley* of Bristol, and another galley of the same town, and the *king's gallies* in Ireland, should be fitted out. He at the same time ordered the mayor and citizens of Dublin, and the good men of Waterford, to send all their gallies and ships. Similar orders were sent to Bourdeaux for the gallies belonging to that city. [*Fœdera*, V. i, pp. 406, 407.] This, I believe, is the second occasion, after the days of Alfred, on which even a small number of vessels belonging to the king \*, or to the public, are mentioned. (See above, p. 378.)

The mariners of the Cinque ports, making a very bad use of the commission given them by the king to annoy the subjects of France, wherein he warned them against injuring his own subjects, became mere pirates, and plundered all they met, of whatever nation, not sparing even their own acquaintances and relations. Nor were such atrocities confined to the sailors of those ports. There was a very general combination of the inhabitants of the city of Winchester and the adjacent parts of Hampshire to plunder all whom they could overpower, whether strangers or Englishmen, so that even the king's wine passing along in his carts could not escape their depredations. In consequence of a complaint made by two merchants of Brabant, accompanied by threats of reprisals upon English merchants in that country, an inquisition was set on foot in the year 1249: but it was not without having recourse to very rigorous measures that a jury could be found to condemn the guilty, of whom about thirty were hanged. [*M. Paris*, pp. 589, 760.]

1243—The most antient specimen of paper, such as we now use, made of linen rags, is a charter, seven inches long and three inches broad, preserved in the emperor's library at Vienna, which was written in the year 1243, as the date is calculated by Mr. Schwandner, an Austrian nobleman and principal keeper of the imperial library, who has written an essay on this curious relique, which, he says, is at least half a century older than any other specimen hitherto discovered †.

\* King Henry III had a large ship called the Queen, which he chartered to John Blancbully for his (Blancbully's) life in the year 1232 for an annual payment, or rent, of fifty marks. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c.* 13, § 11.]

† Mr. Meerman, syndic of Rotterdam, who with much study investigated the origin of printing and

of linen-rag paper, fixed the commencement of the manufacture of the later between the years 1270 and 1302: and in the year 1762 he offered a premium to any one who should produce the earliest public instrument, written on paper made of linen rags.—Mr. North [*Archæologia*, V. x] mentions a letter, written by the king of Spain to Edward I, King

1244—King Henry, whose profusion involved him in perpetual pecuniary distresses, and compelled him to oppress his subjects, did not fail to squeeze the Jews very frequently. He now extorted from them the enormous sum of sixty thousand marks. Individual Jews were often fined in large sums, 2,000 marks, 3,000 marks, &c. For a fine of ten marks (80 ounces) of gold he gave a promise to a Jew, that he should not be tallaged at more than £100 a-year for the four ensuing years. Another Jew compounded with the king to pay 100 marks a-year to be exempted from tallages. If we consider the real value of money in those days, we must be astonished at the wealth of those men, who could pay such sums, and still have something left: for we must suppose that the king did not pull off the skin along with the fleece, but left it to produce another fleece, to be again thorn when sufficiently grown. The method used to spur on the payments was to imprison their wives and children till the money was paid. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 7.*]

1245—Among the articles of a rigorous inquisition into trespasses committed on the king's forests, whereby many were ruined, the following is the fourteenth. 'Let inquiry also be made concerning sea coal ('carbone maris') found in the forest, and who have received payment for ditches led from the coal, and for the use of the roads ('cheminagium').' [*M. Paris, Addit. p. 155.*] This, being one of a set of inquiries previously drawn up for the use of the inquisitors, and applicable to all the royal forests, does not prove that coal was actually found in any one of them. But the application of the term *sea coal*, apparently as an established name, to fossile coal, which might be found in a forest, affords a clear proof, and the earliest authentic one known to be extant, that coals had before now been brought to London by sea, and probably from Newcastle\*. And accordingly we find, that a lane in the suburbs of London on the outside of Newgate was known by the name of Sea-coal lane †, at least as early as the year 1253. [*Ayloff's Calendar, p. 11.*]

Thus we are assured, that the English, though providentially disappointed in their hopes of finding very productive mines of gold and silver, the nurses of national lethargy and ostentatious poverty, had begun now, and perhaps long before, to work the infinitely more valuable mines of coal, the possession of which, together with the knowlege of

king of England, in the year 1272, upon paper, which he saw in the Tower: but he does not tell us, whether the paper was made of cotton or of linnen rags.

For the communication of, perhaps, the only copy in this kingdom of Mr. Schwandner's essay, I am indebted to the polite attention of Mr. Aycough, librarian for the printed books in the British Museum.

\* It has been asserted, that the inhabitants of Newcastle had obtained a charter for working coal mines in the reign of King John, but apparently without sufficient authority. See below under the year 1350.

† Stow says, it was called Sea-coal lane, and also Lime-burners lane, because lime used to be burnt there with sea coal.

the many important manufactures dependent upon them, have in later times raised the natives of Great Britain to the rank of the first manufacturing nation in the world, and given them a sufficient command of the mines of gold and silver, wrought by the slaves of those who pride themselves on being lords of the most copious mines of the precious metals, by which industry and enterprise have been banished from among themselves, while they have been animated by them among those nations who are under the happy necessity of giving valuable commodities in exchange for them\*.

In the council of Lyons the pope prohibited all Christians from sending their ships for four years to any of the eastern countries occupied by the Saracens, that there might be abundance of shipping to transport the warriors of the cross to the Holy land. [*Annales Burton. p. 301, ed. Gale.*] Thus did papal politics and superstitious frenzy trample under foot the interests of commerce, and the reasoning powers of the human mind.

King Henry proclaimed a fair to be held at Westminster, and he ordered that all the traders of London should shut up their shops, and carry their goods to be sold at his fair, and that all other fairs throughout England should be suspended during the fifteen days appointed for the duration of it. The weather happened to be remarkably bad. The tents, made of cloth, affording no shelter, the goods were spoiled by the rain; and the citizens, instead of sitting down to a comfortable meal surrounded by their families, were obliged to eat their victuals in those uncomfortable tabernacles with their feet in the mud. [*M. Paris, p. 751.*]

1248—The sterling money of England had for some time been so shamefully defaced by clipping, that scarcely any of the letters of the inscription were left: and the criminals were found to be mostly the Jews, the Caurini, and some of the Flemish wool-merchants. Some of the king's council advised, that the quality of the silver should be somewhat debased in imitation of the money of France, that there might be less temptation to clipping: but fortunately that very erroneous advice was not followed: and proclamation was now made that all the defaced money should be brought in to the king's exchanges, and there exchanged for new money, weight for weight. But the people complained, that they suffered more by bringing in their money to the exchange offices, which were established in but few cities, than if they had been obliged to pay twenty shillings a quarter for wheat; for what with their traveling expenses and loss of time, and a deduction of thirteen pennies from every pound for coinage, whereupon the king

\* See the opinion of Mr. Faujas S<sup>r</sup>. Fond, an intelligent foreigner, on the powerful superiority in manufactures arising from the possession of coal mines. [*Travels in England and Scotland, V. ii, p. 339, Engl. transl.*]

had a large profit, they found that they had scarcely twenty shillings of the new money in return for thirty of the old. The new coins differed from the old only in having the cross upon the reverse carried out through the letters of the legend almost to the edge, instead of reaching only half way from the center, as in the former ones, and having a border of small beads on the extremity of the surface of the reverse. [*M. Paris*, pp. 733, 747, 748.—*Ann. Waverl.* p. 207, ed. Gale.—*Pembroke coins*, pl. 4.]

A new coinage of the money of Scotland was made about two years afterwards by the ministry of the infant king, Alexander III, in which the improvement introduced in the money of England was adopted. [*Scoticron.* V. ii, p. 83, ed. Goodall.]

We are told that a society of English merchants, called *the Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury*, at this time obtained privileges from the duke of Brabant\*.

1249—Louis IX, king of France, made an attempt to expell the disciples of Mohamed from Egypt; and he actually took Damietta, a city situated on the eastern mouth of the Nile, which was then reckoned a rival to Alexandria in the Oriental trade †. His fleet, which was conducted by the seamen of Pisa, Genoa, Flanders, Poictou, and Provence, consisted of one hundred and twenty of the great vessels called dromons (or dromunds), besides gallies and other smaller vessels, to the number, in all, of at least fifteen hundred; and it was reckoned the greatest and noblest fleet that ever was seen, being indeed much more numerous than that of Richard king of England in the preceding century. [*M. Paris*, p. 793; *Addit.* pp. 166, 169.]

One of the great ships of the French fleet (Mathew Paris calls her ‘a wonderful ship’) was built at Inverness, near the northern extremity of Scotland, for the earl of St. Paul and Blois. [*M. Paris*, p. 771.] That a French nobleman should apply to the carpenters of Inverness for a ship, is a curious circumstance, which seems to infer, that they had acquired such a degree of reputation in their profession as to be celebrated even in foreign countries. We shall soon see reason to be-

\* So says Wheeler, who was secretary to the company of *merchant adventurers* in the year 1601, and he adds, that they afterwards laid aside the name of St. Thomas, and took that of merchant adventurers. [*Treatise of commerce*, p. 10, Lond. ed.] But, as he produces no authority for his assertions, and is an advocate rather than an historian, it may be doubted, whether the story has not been invented in order to outdo the rival company of the merchants of the staple in their pretensions to antiquity.

† Jacques de Vitry, a French author who flourished a little before the reign of Louis IX, in his

account of the Oriental regions, says, that vessels from Damietta supplied Syria, Armenia, Greece, and Cyprus, with Indian goods, and that the transit of those goods through Egypt yielded a great revenue to the sultan. He describes Alexandria and the light-house at the port, but says nothing of the commerce or shipping of it. [*ap. Bongarsii Gesta Dei*, V. i, p. 1128.] Soon after the liberation of Louis, who was made prisoner in Egypt, Alexandria was destroyed by the Cyprians, and restored by the sultan, but very much inferior to its former magnificence. [*Leo Afric.* p. 675, ed. 1632.]

lieve that the commerce of Scotland was much more flourishing at this time than in the calamitous ages, which succeeded the death of Alexander III: and it is very certain, that Inverness, situated near the mouths of several considerable rivers, which ran through vast forests of excellent oak and fir, must have been a very convenient port for building vessels\*.

Frederic, emperor of Germany, a prince whose native powers of mind raised him above the barbarism of the age in which he lived, though he was plunged by papal authority into the madness of a crusade, saw the absurdity of sacrificing the blood and treasure of his subjects to the inordinate ambition of the see of Rome; and, having recovered Jerusalem, Tyre, Sidon, and a considerable part of Palestine, in the year 1229, he wisely accepted the beneficial friendship of the princes of the East. In consequence of that rational and advantageous connection, his merchants and factors traveled, by land and water, as far as India †: and in the last year of his life (a<sup>o</sup>. 1250) twelve camels came to him loaded with gold and silver, the produce of his trade in the Oriental regions. It was from his wealth, thus acquired, that he was enabled to make presents of large quantities of silk and other pretious articles to Henry III and his brother Richard earl of Cornwall, and to bequeath by his will 100,000 ounces of gold to the service of the Holy land (for he still had, or thought himself obliged to profess, a good will to the cause), and 20,000 ounces to his younger son and grandson, besides what he left in smaller legacies. [*M. Paris*, pp. 356, 431, 812.]

The emperor Frederic possessed a celestial globe, which represented the motions of the planets; and to him we are indebted for the first Latin translations of some of the most esteemed authors of antiquity, and particularly of Ptolemy, which, in an age wherein very few could read Greek, rendered the study of geography common, if compared to the almost-total extinction of it for some centuries bypast. [*Montucla Hist. des mathem. V. i, p. 418.*] This enlightened emperor and merchant was literally persecuted to death (some say actually poisoned) by that infernal monster of rapacity and usurpation, Innocent IV.

1251—Among the commercial states of Italy the Tuscans were now distinguished as the most eminent. The merchants of Florence, the metropolis, though it is an inland city, had established commercial

\* Inverness appears to have furnished vessels to foreigners in the seventeenth, as well as in the thirteenth, century. A large ship was built there for the service of Venice, as appears by the *Philosophical transactions*, V. xxi, p. 230. The writer does not give the year: but the paper is dated in 1699; and it appears that Inverness was in a flourishing condition during the seventeenth century, and also that the Scots and Venetians were then on friendly terms. [*Statistical account of Scot-*

*land*, V. ix, p. 615.—*Fletcher's works*, p. 103, ed. 1749.] It may be observed, that the harbour of Inverness does not admit what is now called a great ship; but all things are great or small by comparison.

† I would not be positive, that the western writers may not have given the name of India, a name vaguely applied to the remote regions of the East, to some country less distant than Hindostan.

houses in other parts of Italy, and even in foreign countries, and thereby acquired great wealth. Many of them, having accumulated larger capitals by their trade than could conveniently be employed in it, had become dealers in money by exchange, and by borrowing and lending upon interest \* : and, by means of their partners, agents, or correspondents, in various parts of Europe, they appear to have got the business of remittance by bills of exchange in a great measure into their own hands. Their extensive and prosperous dealings enabled them to build magnificent houses or palaces, whereby Florence was so much embellished, that it was reckoned the most splendid of the Italian cities : and it also became so powerful, that the neighbouring cities and states came in process of time to be subject to it.

The merchants of the other cities of Italy soon followed the Florentines in their practice of dealing in money as well as merchandize. They extended their concerns, and established houses in France and also in England, though King Henry forbade his subjects to borrow from any foreign merchants. [*Rot. pat. 29 Hen. III, m 6.*] In the beginning of the thirteenth century the citizens of Asti, an inland city of Piedmont, had acquired great wealth in France and other countries, chiefly by their dealings in money, and they soon became the most opulent of the Lombard merchants. The same business being also followed by the citizens of Milan, Placentia †, Sienna, Luca, and the other cities in the north part of Italy, it became usual in France and in Britain to give the appellation of *Lombard* ‡ and *Tuscan* merchants to all who were engaged in money transactions. Those Italian merchants, dispersed throughout Europe, became very convenient agents for the popes, who employed them to receive and remit the large revenues they drew from every country which acknowledged their ecclesiastical supremacy. It seems probable that they also employed them to lend their money upon interest, whence they are called by Mathew Paris [*pp. 419, 823, &c.*] the pope's merchants : and some of the nobles of England, following the pope's example, availed themselves of their agency 'in sowing their money to make it multiply,' as Mathew Paris expresses it.

In England the foreigners, who made a trade of lending money, appear to have been known about this time by the name of *Caurfinsi* ; and

\* Muratori [*Antiq. V. i, diff. 16*] says, they abandoned trade for the sake of the *greater* emoluments arising from lending money. But, with submission to the erudition and judgement of that most respectable writer, it is absolutely impossible in the nature of things, that interest can ever be as high as the profits of trade, *out of which* the interest of borrowed money must be paid.

† See above, p. 367, a sum of money advanced to King Richard I by merchants of Placentia.

‡ At least as early as the year 1318 Lombard street in London had its present name, [*Stow's Sur-*

*voy, p. 376*] which, nobody doubts, is derived from its being the residence of Lombard merchants or bankers, as it is still the chief residence of the bankers of London, there being *seventeen* houses, or partnerships, of them (about a quarter of the whole) in that one street, and a great proportion of the rest in the adjacent streets. But there seems to be scarcely any of the posterity of the original Lombard, or Italian, bankers now remaining, if we may judge by the names of the present partnerships.

they are accused of taking most unmerciful advantages of the necessities of those who were obliged to apply to them for the loan of money \*. In the year 1235, when the king and most of the prelates of England were indebted to them, the bishop of London made an attempt to drive them out of the city: but the pope supported his own merchants (so they are called) against the bishop, who, thinking himself ill used by the successor of St. Peter, recommended his cause to St. Paul, his own patron. But he, having said that the labourer is worthy of his reward, ought, in consistency, also to decide against him, as money, the price of labour, is equally worthy of a compensation for the use of it.

At length in the year 1251 the Caurfani were accused before the judges, by an agent for the king, of schism, heresy, and treason. Some of them were imprisoned, and others concealed themselves. One of them told Mathew Paris the historian, that, if they had not purchased sumptuous houses in London, scarcely one of them would have remained in England †. The necessary consequence of the clamour and persecution raised against those who took interest for the use of money, was that they were obliged to charge it much higher than the natural price, which, if it had been let alone, would have found its proper level, in order to compensate for the opprobrium, and frequently the plunder, which they suffered: and thence the usual rate of interest was what we should now call most exorbitant and scandalous usury ‡.

The marriage of Alexander III, king of Scotland, to Margaret, the daughter of Henry III king of England, both infants of ten years of age, occasioned a display of magnificence, which seems to have exceeded any thing ever seen in England before. Besides the kings of England and Scotland with their retinues, the queen dowager of Scotland, who resided in France, joined the company with a splendid train of the nobles of that country. Notwithstanding the rapine of the popes and the folly of the crusades, the nobles of England could afford to make a most

\* Doctor Henry, generally a careful and accurate writer, seems to be mistaken in saying [*V.* viii, p. 335, *ed.* 1788] that they took *sixty* per cent. The condition in the obligation exemplified by Mathew Paris, [*p.* 418] which seems to have misled him, was apparently the common form, (see *Fadera*, *V.* i, p. 643, for such another) and similar to the modern practice of making bonds for double the debt, in order to cover the damages and expenses.

† Some of them soon after obtained a bull from the pope, desiring the king to treat them favourably. [*Fadera*, *V.* i, p. 467.]

‡ The facts in this account of the trade in money are taken from M. Paris [*pp.* 417-419, 822] and Muratori. [*Antiq.* *V.* i, *diff.* 16.] Muratori strenuously denies, that the Corfani, a noble family of Florence, who, like the other nobles of that state, were engaged in trade, had any connection

with the money-lenders called Caurfani. He even endeavours to clear his native country, Italy, still further from the reproach, attending their oppressive usury, by fixing them at the city of Cahors in France, the general rendezvous, as he says, of those traders, whether French or Italians, whence they were called Caorfani, Caturcini, &c. For this he quotes Benevenuto of Imola who wrote in the year 1380, and Du Cange the learned French glossarist. Perhaps it may also be considered as a mark of the superior science of the people of that place in money matters, that John who Cahors ('de Catureo') was employed in the business of coining by Edward I. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq.* c. 22, § 4.] It would throw considerable light on the dispute, if we could certainly know, which side of the Alps Mathew Paris [*p.* 822] calls *Transalpine*. On other occasions he clearly applies that term to the Italians.

extravagant display of magnificence. On the marriage day (December 26<sup>th</sup>) a thousand English knights appeared in *cointises* of silk \*, and next day every one of them was dressed in a new robe of another kind. The Scottish part of the company were not so sumptuously adorned; for we are only told, that above sixty knights, and many others equal to knights, were handsomely dressed. But the historian declines specifying the greatest excesses of profusion on that occasion, because, he says, they would astonish and disgust the reader, if related, and scarcely be credited. The archbishop of York had the very expensive honour of being landlord to all this jolly company assembled from England, Scotland, and France, at his metropolitan see. In an entertainment he expended sixty stalled oxen for one article of the feast: and his total expenses in entertainments and presents of gold, silver, and silks, to his guests during their stay, amounted to the prodigious sum of four thousand marks. [*M. Paris*, pp. 829, 830.]

1252—The port of Winchelsea, which was very useful to the merchants of London, was much damaged by a dreadful storm, and an extraordinary inundation of the sea. [*M. Paris*, p. 831.]

‘The citizens of London, who, by the tenor of their charters and by antient customs, ought to be of the very freest condition, were compelled by King Henry’s imperious requisitions to give him twenty marks of gold, as if they were the most abject slaves, so that their situation seemed nearly as bad as that of the miserable Jews.’ This sum, which was but a drop in the ocean of treasure he extorted from the city † (though 160 ounces of gold could not be called a trifle) is noticed, as it was the immediate prelude to the repetition, at least the third time, of an arbitrary proclamation, ordering the citizens to shut up their shops for fifteen days, and bring their goods to his fair at Westminster, where he compelled them to expose their persons and property, though there were scarcely any buyers, to the inclemency of the weather, which happened to be exceedingly rainy. But the king, says the historian, did not mind the imprecations of the people. [*M. Paris*, p. 852.]

At this time died John of Basingstokes, who in his youth had studied at Athens ‡, still the school of the languishing science of Greece. He

\* Such a display of silk shows that there was no scarcity of it in England. We are told, [*Ann. Waverl.* p. 203] that in the year 1242 the streets of London were covered, or shaded, with silk, for the reception of Richard, the king’s brother, on his return from the Holy land; but that might be said, if only a few silk awnings were put up. Long after this time, so late as the year 1367, it was thought worthy of being recorded, as an instance of great magnificence, that a thousand citizens of the opulent commercial city of Genoa were clothed in silk: and it has been often repeated, while

an equal display of silken pomp in the remoter and less commercial country of England, and at least equally well attested, has been little noticed.

† For other instances of much larger sums squeezed out of the city, see *Mathew Paris*, pp. 336, 600, 693, 758, 863, 901, 902, 929.

‡ He told *Mathew Paris*, that he learned whatever he knew, that was most valuable in science, from Constantina, a learned virgin under twenty years of age, the daughter of the archbishop of Athens.

brought to England the 'numeral figures of the Greeks, and the knowledge and significations of them, which he communicated to his friends. 'By these figures letters also are represented, and, what is most wonderful in them, any number may be expressed by a single figure, which cannot be done with the Latin numerals or the Algorithm.' The figures, as described by Mathew Paris, consist of a perpendicular stroke with a shorter stroke branching off from its side, which by the variation of its position and angles represents the nine simple numbers, those with the branch extended to the left being units, and those having it on the right being the same numbers in the column of tens, to speak in the language of our usual numeration: for example + is five, † fifty, and ‡ fifty-five. [*M. Paris, p. 835, cum var. lect.*] How the higher numbers were written, we are not informed. These numerals, if there is no error in calling them Grecian, for some of them are much more like the letters of the Runic alphabet, are totally different from those of the ancient Greeks, who, as well as the Romans, expressed all numbers by their letters\*. If they were an effort of Grecian pride to emulate, without imitating, the Oriental numeral figures, they seem to have soon yielded to their superior utility, and sunk into oblivion.

At the same time flourished John de Sacro bosco, another British author, who wrote a book upon the sphere, which has been esteemed classical, and has had several commentators and many editions, and also treatises upon the astrolabe and algorithm †, which are still in manuscript in the Bodleian library at Oxford. He died at Paris in the year 1256. [*Lelandi Script. Brit. p. 353.—Montucla, Hist. de mathem. V. i, p. 417.—Mackenzie's Lives, V. i, p. 168.*]

About the same time, or perhaps somewhat earlier, lived Daniel Morley, who, after studying at Oxford and Paris, went to Toledo for the sake of learning mathematics from the Arabs or Moors, then the possessors of that part of Spain. After his return to England he is said to have written two books on the lower and upper worlds; but whether he added to the stock of science in England, we are not informed. [*Leland de Script. Brit. p. 244.*]

1253—Some appearances of manufactures of linen in both the British kingdoms have already been noticed. But it is probable, that they were

\* And they have as little resemblance to the now-obsolete Oriental figures 2, N, 4, now written 4, 5, 7, as they have to the modern figures. The ancient figures may be seen in many manuscripts, particularly in Cleop. B vi and ix in the Cotton library.—It is surprising that Leland, in his account of Balingstokes, [*Script. Brit. p. 266*] extracted from that of Mathew Paris, has entirely neglected this most curious and important part of it, as unworthy of notice. And it is still more surprising that it is also unnoticed by most of the

modern writers, who have investigated the origin of numeral figures.

† *Algorithm*, or *algorithm*, called also *augrim* by Chaucer in his *Conclusions of the astrolabe*, appears to have been a kind of arithmetic, which is variously described by modern authors. Marianus Scotus, who flourished in the eleventh century, is said to have written a treatise upon it; and there are many manuscript works upon it, besides that of John de Sacro bosco mentioned in the text, one particularly in the volume of the Cotton library, Cleop. B, vi, mentioned in the preceding note.

mostlly confiner' to the coarse fabrics, and that the quantity was trifling, the supply of the greatest quantity, and especially of the best fabrics, being procured from Flanders, where the linen manufacture was carried to perfection with native materials of the best quality. It appears, however, that some finer linens were made in England at, or before, this time, especially in Wilt-shire and Suffex, and we find orders sent by the king to the shirrefs of those two shires, directing each of them to purchase 1,000 ells of fine linen ('lineæ telæ pulchræ et delicatæ') in his shire for the royal wardrobe. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 10, § 12.*] Many other instances of linen bought for the king occur in the records; but we are ignorant whether it is foreign or home-made.

The manufacture of linen must have also been pretty generally established in Wales at this time, as we find soon after (in 1314) that the men of that country were mostly clothed in linen. [*Barber's Life of Robert Bruce, p. 276, ed. 1758.*]

King Henry having ordered all the vessels in England, foreign as well as English, to be seized for his use in an expedition against the malcontent barons of Gascoigne, the number of them was found to be above a thousand, whereof three hundred were distinguished as large ships. [*M. Paris, p. 868.*]

1254—The people of Yarmouth fitted out a large and beautiful ship, manned with thirty skilful seamen, to carry Edward prince of England over to the continent. Those of Winchelsea had also fitted out some ships to carry over the queen; but none of their vessels being comparable for beauty or magnitude to that of Yarmouth, they were so enraged at her superiority, that, according to the fierce and lawless manners of the age, they attacked her, and killed some of her men, for which gross outrage they had no provocation but mere envy\*. [*M. Paris, p. 889.*]

King Henry expended in his fruitless expedition to Gascoigne above two millions seven hundred thousand pounds of silver, more money, says the historian, than any prudent man would give for the two provinces of Gascoigne and Poictou: and at the same time he gave thirty thousand marks, besides landed estates, to his foreign uterine brothers. These sums, though reported by a very respectable historian, seem scarcely credible. [*M. Paris, p. 890.*]

About the beginning of this year some large and elegant ships, well found in naval stores, arms, and provisions, and also carrying arms sufficient for an army, were driven by stress of weather upon the English coast near Berwick, and seized by the wardens of the coast. The sight of some other strange ships induced the wardens to let them go in peace, lest they should be found more cruel than tempests, and lest the quarrel

\* Hostilities between Yarmouth and the Cinque ports, of which Winchelsea was one, were frequent: but it is not necessary to stain these pages

with repeated proofs of the barbarism of the people and the inefficiency of government in those ages.

of the strangers should be revenged by their supposed consorts. -As none of the people of that part of the country understood the language of the foreigners, we have no means of even guessing at the country to which those ships belonged. [*M. Paris*, p. 882.]

1254—The people of all ranks in Flanders, from the prince to the meanest peasant, were enriched by their manufactures. Their earl Ferdinand was so opulent, that when John king of England and his allies were planning the conquest and partition of France, it was agreed, that the title of king of France should be given to the earl of Flanders, because he had contributed the greatest proportion of men, and supported the whole army with his Flemish gold. [*P. Æmyl.* p. 196.] But the prosperity of Flanders now suffered a severe check from a war, which was kindled up on the continent by the rival sons of the countess Margaret, who is said by some authors to have had two husbands at once, like another Helen, wherein prodigious numbers of French, Germans, and Flemings, were slain, above 30,000 Flemings having fallen in one battle at Walcheren. So great a slaughter of the makers and consumers of woollen cloth produced a stagnation of the manufacture, the consequence of which was severely felt in England, especially by the Cistercian monks, apparently the greatest breeders of sheep in the kingdom, being encouraged thereto by the exemption from duties, claimed by their order, [See *Hemingford*, L. ii, c. 72.—*W. Newbrig.* L. iv, c. 38] who were this year disappointed of their usual sales of wool to the Flemings. [*M. Paris*, p. 886.—*Meyeri Ann. Fland. f.* 77 a, ed. 1561.] Some heavy duties laid upon the commerce of Flanders were probably also a consequence of the war: but these the countess lightened upon the remonstrance of the citizens of Hamburgh. [*Lambecii Orig. Hamb. L.* ii, c. 37.]

1255—The feeble government of the emperor William brought the imperial authority into contempt. The laws were neglected: public tranquillity was destroyed: the nobles of the imperial demesne and the duchy of Swabia infested the highways with robbery and murder, and desolated the country. In vain did several of the most powerful princes attempt to suppress their atrocities, till the archbishops of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, together with the princes of the Rhine, entered into a confederacy with above sixty cities, situated on both sides of the Rhine from Zurich to Cologne, on purpose to carry on a perpetual war against the disturbers of the public tranquillity, and to abolish the unjust local tolls, recently established all-over the country. The confederacy under the name of *the League of the Rhine*, was sanctioned by the approbation of the emperor William, and confirmed in a general assembly of the allies held at Oppenheim: and they afterwards determined to hold an assembly once in every three months in order to deliberate on the interests of the league. The country soon experienced the good effects of this associa-

tion: a count was hanged for violating the public peace, and the nobles desisted from robbing on the highways. The cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh, already confederated for the protection of their commerce, do not seem to have had any connection with this association, which did not extend beyond the neighbourhood of the Rhine. But a coalition afterwards took place; and the union of other small confederacies and single towns seems to have afterwards produced the powerful association of the *Hanse*, which does not appear from any good authority to have existed at this time\*. [*Pfeffel, Abrege de l'hist. d'Allemagne, pp. 364, 380, ed. 1758.—Struvii Corpus hist. Germ. V. i, p. 596.*]

Though the excellent accommodation of remitting money by *bills of exchange* was probably known long before this time in Italy and all other countries in which there was any commerce, there is not, I believe, any express mention of them (so little attention did historians pay to matters of real utility and importance), till a very extraordinary and infamous occasion connected them with the political events of the age. The pope, having a quarrel with Manfred king of Sicily, had, in the plenitude of his power as sovereign of the world, offered the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia, on condition of driving Manfred out of it, to the brothers of the king of France, and, after their refusal, to Richard earl of Cornwall, brother of King Henry III, who said, he might as well offer to make him king of the moon. At last he offered it to Henry for his second son Edmund, who without hesitation accepted the fatal gift, and empowered the pope to carry on his war against Manfred at the expence of England; whereupon he immediately took up large sums from the merchants of Italy. When they asked him for payment, he applied for the money to Henry, whose constant profusion made him for ever poor. While Henry was in terror of losing his son's visionary kingdom for want of money to feed the pope's rapacity, Peter de Egeblanke, bishop of Hereford, told him, that he had hit upon an expedient to raise the sums wanted, which was, that the Italian merchants,

\* Some writers mention a charter of Henry III king of England to *the merchants of the Hanse* dated in the year 1206, (which, by the bye is two years before he was born) as a proof that that association existed then, and long before, for it is said to refer to grants of his predecessors. We have charters of Henry III to the merchants of Cologne settled in London in the 18<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, to the merchants of Lubeck, Brunswick, and Denmark in his 41<sup>st</sup> year, and to the German merchants in London in his 44<sup>th</sup> year. But in none of them is the word *Hanse*, or any mention of a general mercantile association, to be found, which would surely have been inserted in the charter to the German merchants in general, with a reference to the former charter to the merchants of the Hanse, if any such had existed. Moreover, in

the year 1579, when the Hanse merchants were moving heaven and earth in order to preserve their privileges in England, we find, in their addresses to the emperor and princes of Germany and to Queen Elizabeth, no pretensions to any charters earlier than one said to be given by King Edward I; and that appears, from the account they give of it, to be the general charter given to all foreign merchants in the year 1303; and they seem to have had no knowledge of Edward's charter of 1280, which was a confirmation of his father's one of 1259 to *the merchants of the Teutonic gild-hall*, the name of *Hanse* being apparently not used so early. [*Papers concerning the Hanse merchants, MS. Bib. Cott. Vesp. F viii, f. 149 a, 157 a.*] All the charters, here mentioned, will be noted in their proper places in this work.

who had advanced the money, being authorized by the king and the pope, neither of whom had any reluctance to forward so honourable a business, should draw bills upon the English prelates for sums pretended to have been advanced to them by merchants of Sienna or Florence. This righteous plan was accordingly executed, and an agent was sent into England to receive payment of the bills\*. In vain the prelates protested, that they had no dealings or connection with the persons pretending to be their creditors. They were obliged, under the terrible penalty of excommunication, to pay the bills. [*M. Paris*, pp. 892, 910.] The bishop of Ely, however, found means to save himself from the extortion. Being sued by some merchants of Sienna for 300 marks of principal and 100 marks of interest ('interesse') before Alexander de Ferentin, a judge appointed by the pope, and being at the same time commissioned to go to Spain as the king's ambassador, he refused to set out upon the journey, unless he were relieved from the iniquitous prosecution: and the king was obliged to comply with his desire, and to find other funds to pay the debt, which was justly due to the merchants. [*Rot. claus.* 40 Hen. III, m. 8. dorso, in *Prynne's Exact chronological vindication*, V. ii, p. 859.] This is believed to be the earliest notice, extant in this country, of interest being fairly and expressly mentioned by that name †, unless when the lender was a Jew: for it appears to have been hitherto settled by collusion between the parties, when both were Christians, in order to avoid the censures and penalties of the church.

1256—At this time the interest of the money borrowed by the king amounted to above *a hundred pounds* a-day, which, the historian says, threatened the whole people of England, the clergy as well as the laity, with desolation and ruin. [*M. Paris*, p. 938.] It is a pity he has not also told us the amount of the principal, or, which would have been the same thing, the rate of the interest.

Justices were sent to every city and burgh throughout England, in order to regulate and correct the measures, and to establish an assise for the weight of bread according to the fluctuations in the price of wheat; for example, when the quarter of wheat was sold for one shilling, the farthing loaf of *wassel* bread should weigh six pounds and sixteen twentieths, Troye weight. They also fixed an assise for ale proportioned to the prices of corn, and for wine ‡. [*Annales Burton.* p. 365, *ed. Gale.*]

The king by a charter to the burghesses of S<sup>t</sup>. Omers in Flanders pro-

\* The worthy contriver subjected himself to the payment of 4,000 marks, as a decoy to his brethren. But he had an order from the king to indemnify himself. [*Prynne's Exact chronological vindication*, p. 860.]

† We find 'summa principali, cum damnis, expensis, et interesse,' in c. 24 of the laws ascribed to Alexander II king of Scotland, who died in

the year 1249. I shall afterwards have occasion to hint a suspicion that that law rather belonged to his son Alexander III.

‡ The regulated prices of bread and ale will be found in the appendix of prices. Those of wine are omitted by the annalist, nor do they appear in the assise in the statute of 51 Henry III.

mised that they and their property should be exempted from arrest for any debts, for which they, or some of their countrymen, were not principal debtors or sureties; that their property in the hands of their servants should not be seized for any transgressions of those servants; and that any of them, who should die in his dominions, should have a right to leave his property by will, and the heir should not be obstructed in taking possession of it\*. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 555.—*Rot. pat.* 40 *Hen. III*, m. 4.] Whether the commerce of the burghesses of St. Omers was an object of much consequence, or not, we are not informed: but the charter merits attention, as the earliest known relaxation of the law, or custom, which made every foreigner answerable for the debts, and even crimes, of all other foreigners, and made the whole property of every stranger at his death the prey of the king, or lord of the soil on which he died; a horrid prerogative, which continued to disgrace the laws of France in particular from the age of Charlemagne down to our own times †.

It will not be deemed impertinent to commercial history to relate, that an author called William de Sancto amore (whom the biographer of the popes calls a pernicious man) wrote a book, wherein he affirmed, that those, who spent their lives in idleness on pretence of devoting themselves to religious duties, and devoured the produce of other people's industry, were not in a state of salvation. The book, containing such dangerous and heretical doctrine, was immediately condemned to the flames, and all who kept copies of it in their possession were excommunicated, by the infallible head of the church. [*Trivetii Ann.* p. 207.—*Platinæ Vit. pontif.* p. 427, ed. 1664.]

1257—Though the earl of Cornwall refused the title of king of Sicily, which, he foresaw, would cost more than the actual possession would be worth, the superior splendour of the imperial title got the better of his prudence. A part of the German electors, allured, as it is said, by the fame of his great riches (for he was as remarkable for accumulating as his brother was for squandering) elected him emperor of Germany, or king of the Romans: and, in order to show his attention to the interest of his new subjects, before he left England he obtained from King Henry a charter (May 11<sup>th</sup>) whereby the king took under his protection and safe conduct the burghesses of Lubeck with their merchandize, none of which, he assured them, should be taken for account of himself or any other person without their consent. And he ordered that they and their agents should have perfect liberty of buying and selling, as they

\* The privileges of the burghesses of St. Omers were thrice renewed by Edward II, and once by Edward III. [*Rot. pat.* 13 *Edw. II*, m. 15; and 16 *Edw. II*, m. 5.—*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 890; V. iv, p. 555.]

† Some description of the cruel treatment of strangers in the middle ages may be found in Robertson's *History of Charles V*, V. i, p. 374, ed. 1792.

thought proper, and of coming, remaining, and going away, without any impediment. These privileges were to be in force for seven years, provided they should continue faithful to his brother the emperor elect. Charters in the same form were also granted to the burgesſes and merchants of Denmark and thoſe of the city of Brunſwick. [*Chart. in Hakluyt's Voiages, V. i, p. 131.*]

Richard, the new-elected emperor, expended upon his coronation, and other fruitleſs objects in Germany, the gatherings of his life-time, amounting to the prodigious ſum of *ſeven hundred thouſand pounds of ſilver*, beſides his vaſt revenues in England, which were remitted to him, while he continued in Germany. By the exportation of ſo much treaſure the country was very much diſtreſſed. [*M. Paris, pp. 939, 949.*]

This year the king coined money of the pureſt gold, weighing two ſterlings, or pennies, and ordered that it ſhould paſs for twenty pennies of ſilver, being in the proportion of one to ten.—[*Rot. clauſ. 41 Hen. III, m. 3.—MS. Chron. in arch. Lond.—Snelling's View of the gold coin, p. i.*] Thus it is proved, that gold money was coined by Henry III; whereas the common belief is, that Edward III, his great-grandſon, was the firſt king of England who coined gold. It is probable, however, that there was no great quantity of it, and the exiſtence of it was ſoon forgotten. According to Carte, [*Hiſt. of England, V. ii, pp. 23, 111*] the citizens of London remonſtrated againſt the new gold money, on Sunday 4<sup>th</sup> November, and the king thereupon proclaimed, that every perſon might carry it to his exchange, and receive the value at which it had been made current (which, to-be-ſure, was much above the price gold had been hitherto rated at) \* deducting one halfpenny) or two and a half per cent) for the exchange †.

The Welch being threatened by Prince Edward, to whom his father had aſſigned his ſuperiority over them, with an invaſion of the Iriſh, who were alſo his immediate vaſſals, they provided a fleet of gallies, ſupplied with arms and proviſions, to guard their coaſt. In this war the marches of Wales were reduced to a deſert, the caſtles and houſes were burnt, the people and cattle were ſlaughtered, and the woods deſtroyed. A ſtop was alſo put to the uſual importation of horſes, oxen, &c. from Wales, which in peaceable times was very advantageous to both nations. [*M. Paris, pp. 890, 949, 957, 958.*]

\* The continuator of Mathew Paris [*p. 1009*] values a gold cup weighing 10 pounds at 100 pounds of ſilver in the year 1239. Probably he allows 10 pounds of ſilver for the workmanſhip.

† The coinage of gold by Henry III is alſo noticed by Eachard in his *Hiſtory of England*, and by Maitland in his *Hiſtory of Scotland* (a poſt-humous work). The latter found it in the archives of the city, when collecting materials for his *Hiſtory*

of London, but has miſtaken the year of the king's reign. Notwithſtanding the mention of this coinage by Carte, Eachard, Maitland, and Snelling, upon the ſure authority of antient records, ſo tenacious are many people of their accuſtomed belief, that it will ſtill be difficult to perſuade them, that any gold money was coined in England before the reign of Edward III.

The misery of the year was aggravated by a very defective crop, which raised wheat to the price of ten shillings a quarter ('summa'); and, the country being drained of money by the rapacity of the popes, the profusion and mismanagement of the king, and the transportation of the earl of Cornwall's treasure to Germany, many thousands perished for absolute want, and by the diseases proceeding from the famine. Some old men remembered former scarcities, which raised the wheat to a mark, or even twenty shillings, a quarter, and were not attended with such mortal consequences, because the people then had money circulating among them, and were enabled to buy corn, even at the extravagant price. [*M. Paris*, p. 958.] Unless the famine had been universal throughout the world, which, we know, was not the case, the want of corn in England could have been supplied by commerce. But the commerce of England was, comparatively speaking, as yet but in its infancy: and there were even many instances in those ages of corn being unreasonably cheap in some parts of England, while it was enormously dear in others. So little were the principles, or the practice, of a beneficial commerce then understood.

1258—The famine in England was somewhat alleviated by the arrival of about fifty large ships loaded with wheat, barley, and bread, which the emperor Richard had engaged to come over; and they were followed by others sent by the merchants of Germany and Holland. By the king's proclamation the citizens of London were prohibited from buying any of the cargoes for storing up. But the want of money prevented many, who had formerly been in good circumstances, from being benefited by the supply. [*M. Paris*, pp. 963, 976.]

The king claimed as an ancient prerogative, a right of taking at an inferior price, by the name of *prise*, a certain part of the cargo imported in every vessel; and particularly two tuns ('dolia') from every cargo of wine consisting of above nineteen tuns, viz. one before the mast, and one behind it, at the price of twenty shillings each\*. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq.* c. 18, § 2.—*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 192.] His purveyors also made a practice of taking for his use, or at least in his name, whatever they thought proper, at a lower price than what the rest of the cargo

\* Some have supposed that the prise wines were due to the king without any compensation to the owners. But the following facts serve to prove that they were paid for at a fixed price.—Edward II made over to his favourite, Piers de Gavallon, his ancient and due prises of wine, being two tuns out of every vessel, in two ports of Devonshire, Gavallon paying to the merchants twenty shillings sterling for each tun, 'as it used to be in the times of his ancestors the kings of England.' The same price was also paid to the importers by the family of Botiler (or Butler) in Ireland, who

had an hereditary grant of the king's prise wines in the cities of Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, and by the archbishop of York, who in the year 1327 claimed the prise of the wines imported at Hull in virtue of a charter from King Athelstan. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 191; V. iv, pp. 268, 272.]

The fixed price of the prise wines at Bristol was only 15*s*, as appears by a record of the 12<sup>th</sup> year of King John, quoted in *Madox's History of the exchequer*, c. 18, § 2, and the *Liber garderober Edw. I.* p. 356.

fold for : and, as if that arbitrary proceeding had not been sufficiently oppressive, the importers were often obliged to go without any payment at all \*. The consequence was, that many English merchants were ruined, and many of the foreign merchants about this time gave over trading to England. [*Ann. Burton. p. 400.*] An exemption from the prisage of wines is one of the antient privileges of the city of London †.

August 26<sup>th</sup>—The principal citizens ('prohombres') of Barcelona having composed a body of maritime laws for the regulation of vessels in the merchant service, it was now confirmed by James I, king of Aragon and count of Barcelona. It consists of twenty-one chapters, containing rules to be observed by the owners and commanders of vessels, the scribes or clerks who were sworn to keep fair accounts between the owners and the freighters, the mariners, and the merchant passengers ; for loading, stowing, and discharging, the cargo ; for the arms to be carried by every vessel, and also by the seamen, who were to find theirs at their own expense ; for the assistance to be given by one vessel to another when coming to an anchor ; and for a council to be elected in every vessel, whose decrees should be binding upon the owner, commander, and merchants, in all matters concerning the common interest of the vessel and cargo. [*Charta ap. Capmany, Mem. hist. de Barcelona, V. ii, p. 23.*] This code, apparently formed upon the model of that of Rhodes, is said by the Spanish writers to be the most antient body of maritime laws in Europe : [*Capmany, V. i, com. p. 233*] but it seems probable that those of Amalfi may claim the priority ‡.

1259—King Henry, at the request of his brother the emperor, granted a charter to the merchants of Germany, who had a hall or factory, called the *Teutonic gildhall* ('Gildhalla Teutonicorum') in London, wherein he promised to maintain them in the liberties and free customs, which they had enjoyed in his own reign and those of his predecessors, throughout his whole kingdom. [*Fœdera Angliæ, V. ii, p. 161.*—*Hakluyt's Voyages, V. i, p. 132.*] Unfortunately we are not informed, when those merchants first occupied their factory in London, which, by this (apparently the earliest extant §) authentic document of their privileges, they appear to have possessed for some time. It seems most probable, that the association, now called by the general appellation of *merchants of Ger-*

\* The promise inserted in the charter to the merchants of Lubeck in the preceding year, that no part of their property should be taken from them without their consent, was intended to guard against this abuse.

† Thomas Chaucer (who is believed to have been the son of the famous poet) being chief butler to King Henry IV, made a complaint that the citizens of London abused their privilege by permitting wines belonging to others to be entered in their names, in order to evade the prisage. [*Cotton's Abridgement of the records, p. 476.*] In the present day the exemption from prisage is ba-

lanced by the duties on the importation of wine being heavier in London than in the out-ports.

‡ The laws of Oleron, according to the general opinion, were also earlier. But the Spanish writers, and (as I have already observed) at least one French writer, assert that they are copied from those of Barcelona.

§ If they had got any earlier charter from Henry, or any preceding king of England, it certainly could not be produced, when the German merchants obtained confirmations of their privileges from Edward II and Edward III.

many, has been formed by an accession of new members to the society called in the year 1220 *the merchants of Cologne*, the original possessors of the *Teutonic Gildball*. The articles imported by those merchants, according to Stow, [*Survey of London*, p. 431, ed. 1618] were wheat, rye, and other grain, cables and other cordage, masts, pitch, tar, hemp, linen, wainscot, wax, steel, &c.

1261—As long as the Latin emperors of Constantinople possessed their feeble and precarious sovereignty, the Venetians, the main instruments of their elevation to that lofty title, enjoyed such a commercial superiority in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean sea, that they, almost exclusively, supplied the other nations of Europe with the productions of Asia on their own terms. The Genoese, who had long been their rivals in commerce and naval power, could not behold without envy the advantages they enjoyed by their union with those emperors. They therefore attached themselves to Michael Palæologus the Greek sovereign of Nice, and assisted him with powerful succours, regardless of the indignation of the pope, who favoured Baldwin the Latin emperor, and execrated Michael, who refused obedience to the Holy see. The city was taken by surprise (July 25<sup>th</sup>); and Baldwin, without making the smallest effort to repel the invaders, seemed very happy to make his escape with a few friends onboard the gallees of his Venetian allies, who carried him to Italy, where he was supported during the remainder of his life by the pope and the king of Sicily.

During the Latin government in Constantinople the trade and opulence of the city had declined, and the number of the people had decreased. The new sovereign restored the heirs of those who had been deprived of their possessions by the Latins, fixed the troops, who had made him master of the city, as inhabitants, and invited settlers from the provinces. The merchants and traders of every description of Italian birth or parentage were willing, and were made welcome, to remain in the city, which, by their established business and connections was become their proper home. Among these the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Pisans, had been the most eminent, ever since the decline of Amalfi, and each of those nations possessed their factories and settlements in their own particular quarter of the city, where they lived, in some degree independent of the imperial government, having chiefs or governors and laws of their own. The Pisans, and even the Venetians, were continued in the enjoyment of their factories and privileges: but the larger, and more favoured, colony of the Genoese were put in possession of the neighbouring town of Heraclea, the antient Perinthus, which was built in the flourishing days of Greece by the Samians on a peninsula projecting into the Propontis or Sea of Marmara; and thence they were soon after transplanted to Galata (called afterwards Pera) a suburb situated on the north side of the Golden horn, the inlet of the

sea, which constitutes the harbour of Constantinople. That town was wholly resigned to them; and they were also favoured with exemption from paying customs and with some other privileges: and to these advantages the situation of their town and their naval power soon enabled them to add, with or without the approbation of the emperor, the command of the narrow entrance of the Black sea, and consequently to monopolize the commerce of all the countries which surround it, together with that branch of the Indian trade, which was conducted by river navigation and land carriage to the east end of it.

It was enacted by the barons, that the wool of England should be manufactured at home instead of being sold to foreigners, and that all persons should wear woollen cloth made within the kingdom, and avoid every superfluous extravagance in dress\*. [*W. Hemingford, L. iii, c. 27.*] At this time the English were exceedingly exasperated against all foreigners on account of the king's glaring and immoderate partiality to his foreign relations and favourites, whereby a great proportion of the lands and wealth of England was thrown into their hands. But it was yet too soon to exclude the superior manufactures of foreigners, or to prohibit the wool from going to the best market.

1262—Some German writers say, that the Hanse association about this time made choice of Bruges in Flanders to be a station for their trade, and an entrepot between the coasts of the Baltic and the Mediterranean, a voyage from the one sea to the other, and back again, being too arduous an undertaking to be accomplished in one season. It is moreover said, that the advantages of storage, commission, &c. continued from this time to enrich the inhabitants of Bruges, till the emperor Frederic III was provoked by an insult put upon his son to block up their port, whereby the Hanse merchants were obliged to transfer their commerce to Antwerp. [*Berti Rer. Germ. L. iii, p. 28.*] But it may be doubted, whether the Hanse association, *under that name*, was yet in existence, or if there were any maritime cities yet added to the confederacy entered into by Lubeck and Hamburg in the year 1241.

1264—There still remained so much of the spirit of antient barbarism and ferocity in Europe, that the spoils of rapine were often preferred to the slow acquisitions of honest industry by those, who felt themselves powerful enough to be robbers. Piracies were frequently committed upon the sea, where the perpetrators thought themselves sure of impunity by the absence of any superior controlling power, and more especially when anarchy and public convulsions in the country they be-

\* This law is dated by Hemingford, the earliest author who mentions it, in 1261; and he ascribes it to the parliament of Oxford, which, according to the other historians, was held in the year 1258. It is the first law prohibiting the exportation of wool and the importation of cloth. We shall see

another in the year 1271. Yet Edward III is generally supposed the first English king who enacted such a law. His law has the advantage of being more generally known than the others. But all of them were equally ineffective.

longed to set them free from all restraint. The government of England being at this time dissolved by the war between the king and the barons, there were more piracies than usual committed by English subjects: and the mariners of the Cinque ports in particular are noted as most guilty in that way; for they not only carried on unauthorized, though professed, war against the inhabitants of foreign cities, with some of whom they had quarreled, but they also seized every vessel they were able to subdue, and murdered all the people, not even sparing those of their own country. Foreign commerce was soon at a stand; and wines which used to be sold for 40 shillings, were now sold for ten marks; wax rose from 40 shillings to above eight marks; and pepper from six pennies to three shillings a pound. There was such a scarcity of salt, iron, steel, cloth, and all other merchandize, that the people were grievously afflicted, and the merchants reduced to beggary, by it, the sale of the exportable produce of the country being also at a stand in consequence of the interruption of the navigation. The earl of Leicester, the leader of the barons who were confederated against the king, attempted to persuade the people that foreign commerce was unnecessary, the produce of the country being fully sufficient to supply all the wants of the inhabitants; and many people, in complaisance to him, laid aside their coloured clothes, and dressed themselves in plain white cloth. It must be acknowledged, that the mariners of the Cinque ports were encouraged, perhaps commissioned, by King Henry, who wished the supplies coming to his enemies to be intercepted. But they must have gone beyond their instructions, which drew upon them the vengeance of Prince Edward, who punished some, and pardoned others, after which there was perfect tranquillity upon the sea. [*Chron. Wikes*, pp. 61, 65. —*M. Westm.* p. 396.—and see *Fœdera*, V. i, pp. 250, 273; V. ii, p. 82.] From the notice concerning the white and coloured cloths, we see, that part of the cloths made in England were undyed, and probably of the natural colour of the wool. But some cloths must have been dyed in England, as very considerable quantities of woad were imported in this age. The distress occasioned by the want of foreign salt, iron, steel, and cloth, also shows us, that the manufactures of those articles, which, except that of steel, must have existed in the country, in some degree of perfection, many ages before, were carried on upon a very small scale, and were now perhaps totally interrupted by the public disturbances.

December 14<sup>th</sup>—According to the *Magna charta* the king, in order to constitute a common council for assessing an aid, was to issue his letters to each of the archbishops, bishops, earls, and greater barons, individually, and was to order the sheriffs and bailiffs to summon all who held of him in chief. There were no elective members; and the inhabitants of cities and towns, including the merchants and manufacturers, had consequently not the most distant connection with making the

laws, which disposed of their lives and properties. The earl of Leicester, having got the king into his hands, now summoned in his name the prelates and nobles of his own party, and added to them a vast number of abbats, priors, and deans, a class of people among whom he had great interest. He also ordered the shirrefs to cause two knights out of every county to attend, and sent letters to the cities of York and Lincoln, to the burghs, and to the Cinque ports, desiring them to send two members each. [*Fœdera*, V. i, p. 802.] We are not told in what manner the members were chosen.

1265, January—Thus were the commons introduced into parliament: but there is no further mention of any members being summoned from cities or burghs till the year 1283\*, after which they appear to have been frequently called, and at length formed a constituent part of every parliament, though even then a regular succession of representatives was not kept up in every city and town; for the shirrefs often neglected desiring them to make their elections: and the neglect, whether occasioned by accident or design in the king or the shirrefs, was thankfully acknowledged as a gracious indulgence by those communities, who were thereby exempted from paying the salaries of their members; for then, and during many ages after, the representatives were paid by those whom they represented. So very different were their ideas and practice from those of the present age. The commons long continued to have very little influence on the legislative body, and, indeed, were considered as mere petitioners. Acts were passed, and even money levied, without, and against, their consent till the second year of Henry V, when it was determined, that no law should be enacted contrary to the petition of the commons, the king preserving his prerogative of assent or dissent. Though their rights, after being thus in some degree defined, were often infringed, they, notwithstanding, continued to grow up into strength, especially during the contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, which, however fatal to individuals, tended to raise the great body of the people to their due place in the constitution. But it was not till commerce and manufactures conferred importance upon towns, and opulence upon individuals, that the HOUSE OF COMMONS attained the weight and dignity, which ought to belong to the REPRESENTATIVES OF A FREE PEOPLE †.

It would be improper to neglect noticing a pompous description of the prosperity and commerce of England, which Mathew of Westminster (p. 396) introduces in the character of a person lamenting ‘in an elegant stile’ the miseries of the country occasioned by the civil war. ‘O England,’ says he, ‘formerly glorious, illustrious, and exalted among

\* Brady appears to have never seen the summonses in 1283. He dates the first appearance of citizens and burgesses in parliament in 1295. [*Treatise of burghs*, p. 25.]

† See *Ruffhead's Preface to the Statutes at large*, and the authorities there quoted.

‘ the kingdoms, like the grandeur of the Chaldæans. The ships of  
 ‘ Tarshish were not comparable to thy ships carrying aromatics and all  
 ‘ pretious merchandize throughout the four climates of the globe (‘ or-  
 ‘ bis’). *The sea was thy wall*; and castles strongly fortified were the gates  
 ‘ of thy harbours. In thee chivalry, the church, and commerce, flourish-  
 ‘ ed. For thee the Pisans, the Genoese, and the Venetians, transport-  
 ‘ ed the sapphire, the carbuncle, and the smaragdus, drawn from the  
 ‘ rivers of Paradise. Asia supplied thee with the finest linen (‘ bysso’)  
 ‘ and purple, Africa with cinnamon and balsam, Spain with gold, and  
 ‘ Germany with silver. For thee Flanders, thy weaver, made pretious  
 ‘ drapery of thy own materials. For thee thy own Gascoigne produced  
 ‘ wine. To thee all the islands between the Hyades and Arcturus were  
 ‘ subservient. Thy inland parts abounded with the wild beasts of the  
 ‘ woods, and thy hills with cattle of every kind. Thou didst possess  
 ‘ all the fowls of the air. Thy fields were beautiful. In the abundance  
 ‘ of fish thou surpassest every region. And though thou hast but a nar-  
 ‘ row tract of land, confined within the shores of the sea, yet the coasts  
 ‘ of all the nations of the world, warmed by the fleeces of thy sheep,  
 ‘ have blessed thy celebrated fertility. In thee the swords were con-  
 ‘ verted into plough-shares, and peace and religion were so flourishing,  
 ‘ that thou wert looked up to as a mirror and example by all the other  
 ‘ catholic kingdoms. Alas! why art thou now stripped of such great  
 ‘ glory, &c.’—Though the panegyric, which is probably an amplifica-  
 tion of those of Fitz-Stephen and Henry of Huntingdon, (see above, pp. 329, 344) is prodigiously overstrained, yet the nations of the earth being clothed with English wool, and that wool being made into cloth in Flanders, are valuable notices of the state of manufactures and commerce in the thirteenth century; and the importation of gold from Spain in that age (which was probably in payment for wool) is a circumstance exceedingly curious, and, I believe, not to be found in any other English author or record\*. But, while he tells us that Oriental luxuries were imported by the Pisans and other Italians, and at the same time represents the commerce of England as active, and the shipping as very numerous and trading to all parts of the world, he evidently wanders into the regions of romance.—England, at least in the present day, does not need to have recourse to fictitious naval or commercial renown.

April 12<sup>th</sup>—James I, king of Aragon, during the whole of his long reign did every thing in his power to extend and improve the manufactures and commerce of his subjects, and especially those of the citizens of Barcelona. Sensible of the pernicious effects of the taxes, which the feudal lords assumed a power of levying, he now relieved the merchants

\* We shall afterwards see good authority, from Spanish records, for the importation of English wool in that country.

of Barcelona from the payments exacted by the abbat of Saint Felix upon the arrival and departure of vessels, and also from similar payments hitherto made to himself. At the same time, in his zeal for the prosperity of Barcelona, but in direct opposition to the prudent and liberal policy of his predecessor, Count Raymundo Berenguer I, he expelled all the merchants of Lombardy, Florence, Sienna, and Luca, residing in that city. King James afterwards ordered, that no foreigner should keep a table (or bank) of exchange in Barcelona, nor ship any goods, not being his own property, onboard any foreign vessel. [*Capmany, Mem. hist. de Barcelona, V. ii, Col. dipl. pp. 31, 34, and 12-36.*] The woollen manufactures of Catalonia, which appear to have been in an established state before the year 1243, continued thenceforth to flourish in Barcelona and many other towns of the province, [*Capmany, V. i, Com. p. 241*] till the union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon depressed the later kingdom, and the expulsion of the Jews and Moors, together with the discovery of the mines of America, almost completed the destruction of industry in Spain.

1266—Alexander II, king of Scotland, had formerly made a proposal to Hacon, king of Norway, for purchasing his supremacy over the maritime kingdom of Mann and the Western islands, which appear evidently intended by Nature to be an appendage of Scotland rather than of the distant kingdom of Norway. But Hacon answered, that he was in no want of money, and he did not chuse to dismember his kingdom. In consequence of the failure of the negotiation, two hostile expeditions were undertaken; one by Alexander in the year 1249, and the other by Hacon in 1263; and both princes died by sickness while on their expeditions, without any thing effectual being done on either side. An amicable treaty was this summer concluded at Perth between their sons, by which Magnus IV, king of Norway, ceded for ever to Alexander III, king of Scotland, the feudal sovereignty of Mann and the Western islands for the sum of 4,000 marks, together with an annual payment of 100 marks, of good and lawful sterling money according to the manner and usage of Rome, France, England, and Scotland\*: an exceeding good bargain on both sides, inasmuch as a voluntary cession is more honourable than a compulsive deprivation, and a fair purchase is more honourable than the rapine of conquest. The treaty also provides for the security and protection of the persons, vessels, and cargoes, of the subjects of either king, who might be wrecked on the coasts of the other. [*See the original treaty, ap. Fordun, p. 1355, ed. Hearn.—Torfixi Orcades,*

\* If the framers of the treaty understood, that the money of Rome, France, England, and Scotland was of the same value, they were very ill informed. Before the year 1235 the French pound had sunk to one fourth part of the value of the English or Scottish pound; for in that year Henry III engaged to pay £200 of good and lawful sterling money as an equivalent for £800 Tournois, or French money, to the master of the Temple. [*Fodera, V. i, p. 342.*]

L. ii.] The natural advantages for fisheries and navigation possessed by these islands render them capable of being made one of the most valuable appendages of the British empire.

A regular custom duty was now charged on the exportation of wool, as appears by the statute of the exchequer, which directed that the collectors of the customs of wool should settle twice in the year, and render an account of the quantity of wool loaded onboard each vessel. [*Statutes at large, V. i, p. 26, ed. 1786.*]

1267, January 5<sup>th</sup>—The merchants of Lubeck, having no longer the patronage of their emperor Richard, who had returned from Germany to England, obtained a new charter from King Henry by the interest of Albert duke of Brunswick, who had just married a niece of the queen of England. The king therein grants to them and their property an exemption from arrest on account of any debt, for which they are not security or principal debtors, unless the debtors are of their community, or unless the burgeses of Lubeck shall withhold justice from English subjects aggrieved in that city; that they shall not forfeit their property for the delinquency of their servants; that no *prises*, beyond those established by antient custom, shall be taken from them without being paid for; and they shall have their *hanse* for payment of five shillings, in the same manner that the merchants of Cologne have had their *hanse* \*. [*Fœdera, V. i, p. 839.*]

1268—Glasgow was now somewhat advanced in polity, having a court-house and a common seal. It was governed by three provosts (apparently co-ordinate, and also by bailies. [*Chart. in Gibson's Hist. of Glasgow, p. 303.*]

The following account given in to the exchequer by Walter Hervy and William of Durham, custodes of the city of London, gives a view of the names and amounts of the dues collected in the city from the eve of Easter to Michaelmas 1268, viz.

Divers *tronages* †, with some small *strandages* - £97 13. 11½  
*Customs* of all kinds of merchandize coming from foreign

\* The German authors differ widely in their explanations of the meaning of the word *Hanse*, which the association of that name has rendered so famous. Perhaps, without going any farther, or diving at all into the abyss of etymology, we may have a pretty good idea of it by comparing this charter with those of some of the towns of England, wherein the king grants the burgeses a *hanse*, which seems to signify a right of acting as a corporate body, with, probably, a power of making regulations, or bye laws, for their own internal government. See *Brady on burghs, append. p. 10.* —Meyer, the annalist of Flanders, [*f. 296 a*] explains *Hanse* as meaning associates:—‘Teutonic

‘(mercatores) qui Hanse, id est Socii, vocantur.’

† *Tronage*, money paid for weighing at the *tronc*, or public beam.

*Strandage* seems payment for the liberty of laying goods on the strand, similar to modern wharfage.

*Scavage*, paid for liberty to exhibit or show (schaw) the goods at market.

*Pesage*, for weighing.

*Stallage*, rent paid for the use of a stall.

*Socage*, (a word of disputed meaning) seems here to signify payment for certain privileges enjoyed by the company of butchers. See the *Glossary to Twysden's Script. decem, vo. Soca.*

parts liable to pay the duty called <i>scavage</i> , together with the <i>pesages</i> during the half-year	-	-	£75	6	10
<i>Measuring dues</i> for corn arriving at the port of Billingsgate, and the <i>water-custom</i> there	-	-	5	18	7½
<i>Customs of fish</i> brought to London-bridge street, and some other customs there	-	-	7	0	2½
Issue of the field and bars of Smithfield	-	-	4	7	6
<i>Toll</i> taken at the gates of the city, and <i>customs</i> on the Water of Thames towards the west	-	-	8	13	2½
<i>Stallages, customs</i> of butchers and others exercising divers trades ('mercandifas') in the market of West-Chep, <i>small tolls</i> and issues of the same market, the issues of the markets of Garschirche (Grafs church or Grace church) and Wollechirchewawe, with a certain annual <i>focage</i> of the butchers of the city	-	-	42	0	5
Issues of Queen-hithe, being in the king's hands	-	-	17	11	2
<i>Forfeits</i> of sundry foreigners for buying and selling in the city contrary to the statutes and customs thereof	-	-	10	11	0
<i>Pleas</i> and <i>perquisites</i> in the city	-	-	86	5	9½
From the waidarii (dealers in woad) of Amiens, Corbye and Neele (cities of France) since Michaelmas	-	-	11	6	8
The whole amounting to			£366	15	4½
[ <i>Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 18, § 4.</i> ]					

Theodoric earl of Landsberg granted perfect freedom to the merchants of all nations, even those whose sovereigns might be at enmity with him, to trade securely in the city of Leipfick. The succeeding lords of that city, with the sanction of the emperors, chartered the fairs, which have continued to the present day to attract the traders of every nation in Europe. [*Peyferi Lipsia, p. 213 et seqq.*]

1269, August 16<sup>th</sup>—There seem to have been some mutual complaints of injuries done to the subjects of England and Norway. Magnus Lagbetter (Reformer of the law) king of Norway, being a good man and a lover of peace, had sent two ambassadors to England, in order to adjust differences and strengthen the friendship entered into by his father Haco with King Henry: and it was now agreed, that there should be mutual liberty of trading to each country, and also that every proper assistance should be given to those who should have the misfortune to be wrecked on either coast, provided they did not abandon their vessels. [*Fædera, V. i, p. 857.*]

A letter, written by Peter Adfiger in the year 1269, contains a scientific account of the attraction, repulsion, and polarity, of the magnet, the art of communicating those properties to iron, the variation of the

magnetic needle, and even the construction of the azimuth compass\*. Thus we see, that the science of magnetism, and the application of it to the service of navigation, were brought to a degree of perfection, little inferior to that of the present age, at a time, when, it is generally believed, that the polarity of the magnet was utterly unknown in Europe.

1270—At this time the *legal* interest of money at Modena was four pence per month for every pound lent (or *twenty per cent* for the year). [*Muratori Antiq. V. i, col. 893.*] What description of people could borrow money at such interest? If traders or manufacturers, what profits did they get upon their goods, to enable them to pay such interest? As all things are great or small, only by comparison with others, is not this rate of interest a sufficient proof, that the trade of the Italian states, though a vast deal greater than that of their ignorant and slothful neighbours, and also than that of their own ancestors, was not, even now, very extensive, according to our modern ideas of the magnitude of commerce, and that the prosperous state of the merchants, and consequently of the commercial cities, was owing to the prodigious great profits which the small number of competitors in trade enabled them to make? We have already seen, [*p. 391*] that a great improvement in the circumstances of the people of Italy, took place before the conclusion of the thirteenth century: but the high rate of interest warrants a belief, that it had scarcely begun in the year 1270.

Louis IX king of France, who had already been made a prisoner in an expedition against the Saracens in Egypt, after an interval of sixteen years, undertook a new crusade, which was the seventh since the commencement of them, and the last one of any consequence. Now, as well as on the former occasion, he applied to foreigners for the use of their shipping: and we learn from the original treaty, as quoted by Formaleoni, [*Essai sur la marine des Venitiens p. 31, trad. Fr.*] that he obtained three ships from the republic, and twelve from the private citizens, of Venice. The Santa Maria, the largest of the republican vessels, measured 108 Venetian feet (a little more than 125 English feet) in length, but whether by the keel, or on the deck, we are not told, and she carried 110 seamen. We are thus, in some degree, informed of the size of what was reckoned an extraordinary large ship in the Mediterranean at that time; and we are also authorized to withhold our belief from the account of ten thousand soldiers, and four thousand horses, being carried by those fifteen ships, in addition to their own seamen. The death of the king and the greatest part of his army on the burn-

\* This most curious letter is preserved among the manuscripts of the university of Leyden, and has not, I believe, ever been published entire: but extracts from it are inserted by Cavallo in the second edition of his *Treatise on magnetism*.

ing and pestilential shore of Africa is unconnected with the subject of this work.

The Venetians now assumed so much authority in the Adriatic sea, that they demanded a toll, or transit duty, proportioned to the quantity of the cargo, from all vessels navigating that sea, especially from those going between Pola (a town near the south point of Istria) and Venice. The Bononians (or Bolognians), after three years of refusal and warfare, agreed to open the navigation of some of the mouths of the Po, which they had the command of, to the Venetians, on condition of being allowed a free exportation of certain kinds of merchandize. The people of Ancona applied to the pope for his paternal interposition to free them from the imposition, and he ordered the Venetians to desist from taking it. But they answered his holiness, that he was not properly informed of the affair; and, the pope being in haste to go to the council of Lyons, nothing further was done by him. [*Platinæ Vit. pont. p. 438, ed. 1664.*]

Mangou-Timour, a grandson of Zingis-khan, and sovereign of the western Tatars, gave several of his cities and provinces to his relations; and, particularly, he gave the cities of Crim and Caffa to Oran-Timour. Crim (which in the present age is the residence of a few miserable Turks and Jews) was then one of the most magnificent cities in that part of the world. It was the center of a great inland commerce with the East, which was conducted by merchants who traveled in caravans, without any apprehensions of being insulted, and were three months upon the road, which was provided with a sufficient number of inns for their accommodation, in places afterwards abandoned to deer and wild goats. Caffa, less magnificent than Crim, became no less famous by means of its advantageous situation on a bay of the Black sea. The Genoese, who, ever since the restoration of the Greek empire, had enjoyed almost exclusively the trade and navigation of that sea, soon discovered the importance of Caffa, snatched it out of the hands of the Tatars, and made it the principal station of their commerce with all the countries bordering on the Black sea\*. [*Hist. des Huns par De Guignes, V. iii, p. 343.*]

At the same time the merchants of many cities of the northern parts of Germany, apparently now acting as a confederated body (though I have not found any authentic document for their being yet known by

\* Stella, the annalist of Genoa, [*ap. Muratori Script. V. xvii, col. 1095*] says, he could never discover at what time Caffa had come into the hands of the Genoese; but he understood that it was not very long since Baldus de Auria built the first houses in it, and settled in it.—The establishment of the Genoese was, no doubt, near the time at which I have placed it, from De Guignes: and

the houses built by Auria may have been the commencement of a plan of enlargement and embellishment; for it was a place of some note before, and is even of very great antiquity, being mentioned by Skylax, Strabo, Pliny, and other ancient geographers, under the name of Theodosia, a name lately restored to it by the empress Catherine, in her affectation of regard for the Greeks.

the appellation of the merchants of the *Hanse*) obtained leave from the king of Norway to fix the staple of their northern trade at the city of Bergen. At first their commerce was restricted to the summer months (from the 3<sup>d</sup> of May to the 14<sup>th</sup> of September), and the citizens were not allowed to hire their houses to them for more than six weeks, to which, however, three were added for bringing in their goods, and three more for carrying out their returns. In process of time the Vandalic cities of Germany obtained permission to establish a permanent seat of their trade, called a *contoir*, in the city: and in consequence of that indulgence the bridge was covered with twenty-one large houses or factories, each of them capable of accommodating about a hundred merchants or factors, with their servants\*: and they were bound to keep their houses, and also the bridge, in repair, and to perform watch and ward in that quarter of the city wherein they lived. The merchants, who were chiefly from Lubeck, Hamburgh, Rostock, Bremen, and Daventer, imported flax, cloth, corn, flour, biscuit, malt, ale, wine, spiritous liquors, copper, silver, &c. and received in return butter, salmon, dried cod, fish-oil, fine furs, timber, &c. They were obliged to confine their trade to Bergen, the trade of the rest of the country being reserved to the native merchants, to whom they gave credit of their goods till the ensuing season. By this commerce, while it continued in its most flourishing state, Bergen was so much enriched, that no other city in the three northern kingdoms could be compared to it †. [*Torfæi Hist. Norweg. V. i, p. 72; V. iv, p. 352.—Bertii rer. Germ. L. iii, p. 70.*]

1271.—Some disputes between King Henry and the countess of Flanders, on account of money alleged to be owing to her, and the consequent capture of several English vessels by her subjects, occasioned an order for prohibiting the exportation of wool to her dominions, and another for the seizure of all cloth imported from abroad, which seems to have been intended to act as a compensation to the proprietors of the wool, by enforcing the manufacture of it at home. However, the storm soon blew over, at least so far, that the Flemings were again permitted to import their woollen cloths as before. [*Rot. pat. 55 Hen. III, mm. 6, 10, 15.—Fædera, V. ii, p. 32.*]

\* They were all unmarried, and lived together in messes within their own factories.

† I have here briefly thrown together what information, apparently authentic, I have obtained concerning the trade of the merchants, called Germans, Teutons, Almain, Garpar, Vandals, (and in later times, Hanfards, or Hanseatics) in the port of Bergen. Perhaps the commencement of it ought to be dated in 1273, if we may depend on the date affixed by Werdenhagen [*Hist. de reb. Hanf. p. 262*] to an extract of a charter by King Magnus, wherein he says, he has thought proper to grant some immunities to the merchants of the

Teutonic language, frequenting his kingdom as guests and strangers with merchandize. Unfortunately the history of Norway about this time is very obscure, and some, even of those who have professedly written it, have called this very king Olavus, though his name is certainly known (even from English and Scottish records and history) to be Magnus. And the history of the German commercial cities is far from being clear, though Werdenhagen has written a book, called the *History of the Hanseatic republics*, which he has filled mostly with matter nothing to the purpose.

1272.—Cloth of Ireland is mentioned along with cloth of Abendon, and burrel of London (also a kind of cloth), as being stolen at Winchester some time in the reign of Henry III \*. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c.* 14, § 9.] And this, I believe, is the earliest notice we have of any exportation of Irish manufactures.

During this reign there were several treaties with Castile and France, wherein there is not a word of any commercial affairs. [*Fœdera, V. i, pp.* 503, 505, 675, 688, &c.] But I find a letter, or charter, in favour of the merchants of Spain, or Castile, wherein, probably, their sovereign had no concern. [*Rot. pat. 47 Hen. III.*] Among the nations who carried on some trade at this time with England, of which we know nothing, but from the letters of safe conduct granted to them, may be also reckoned the Norwegians, Portuguese, and Brabanters. [*Rot. pat. 7, 10, 45, Hen. III.*]

Henry III, during the whole course of his long reign, oppressed the citizens of London with grievous extortions, often upon the most frivolous pretences; and many of his officers, whose names, Mathew Paris says, it would be tedious and dangerous to particularize, following the king's example, took every opportunity of plundering the merchants, natives and foreigners, of their horses, carts, wine, provisions, cloth, wax, and other goods. He also squeezed the Jews most unmercifully. One instance of a general tallage upon them has already been given. From a single Jew, called Aaron of York, he extorted on various occasions the enormous sum of fifty-six thousand marks, a quantity of money equal in efficacy to about half a million of pounds in the present day. Having borrowed money in the years 1255 and 1271 of his brother Richard, he on both occasions mortgaged to him the whole Jews of England, that is to say, the revenue to be extracted from them, as a security for repayment. We need not be surpris'd at the monstrous interest extorted by the Jews from those who borrowed from them, which, we are told, was, at least in some instances, above two pennies a-week (or eight shillings and eight pennies by the year) for the use of twenty shillings †. But they took such exorbitant interest, with the dreadful prospect of plunder and murder before their eyes, and a certainty of being obliged to pay a large portion of it to the king, in whose hands they were in fact instruments for sucking the blood of the people. In short,

\* For this notice of Irish manufactures we are indebted to the record of a duel between two thieves. So honey is extracted from the vilest weeds.—For earlier accounts of Irish manufactures, see above, pp. 223, 333.

† That was apparently an uncommon instance of avarice; and it drew upon the whole body of the Jews in London a persecution, wherein 700 of them perished. [*Stow's Ann. p.* 293.] It ap-

pears, however, that the Jews of Oxford were licenced to take two pennies a-week for the loan of twenty shillings, and in proportion for smaller sums. They had even taken more, and were restricted to that rate of interest on the petition of the poor students. [*Chauf. 32 Hen. III, in Tovey's Anglia Judaica, p.* 122.] But such exorbitant interest was apparently only for petty sums and very short time.

Henry's whole reign was a continued extortion of money from his subjects, and a continual profusion of it to foreigners of every description. England was, says Mathew Paris, a vineyard without a wall or a faithful keeper, open to the depredations of every vagrant. [*M. Paris*, pp. 336, 484, 600, 693, 864, 901, 902, 929.—*Storv's Annales*, p. 286, 293, ed. 1600.—*Fœdera*, V. i, pp. 543, 872.]

It is very wonderful, that in this age of exportation of money for the benefit of foreign extortioners, parasites, and blood-suckers, and of frantic and ruinous projects of acquiring kingdoms\* and empires, a single penny remained in the country. How were the fountains recruited, which supplied such vast and unceasing drains? Surely by no other means than a large balance constantly pouring into the country in the silent channels of trade, which brought back sums equal, or even superior, to the demands of rapacity, and the compliance of folly.

Though the national revenue was not in ancient times so much connected with the commerce of the country as it is in the present day, it cannot be deemed impertinent to state, that the annual revenue of England was somewhat under sixty thousand marks, and the net royal revenue was about twenty-three thousand †. [*M. Paris*, pp. 658, 859.] These sums may sound very trifling in modern ears: but they were probably greater than the revenue of England in the reign of Henry II, who amassed a great treasure out of his savings: and it may be remembered, that the proprietors of the land, and their tenants, constituted the national army, and served for a certain number of days every year at their own expense. Thence the duration and expense of wars, were trifling in comparison with those of modern times. That part of the revenue of the church, which was in the hands of foreigners, who could not speak

\* The clergy, in a strong remonstrance against the king's demands for money to answer the pope's bills on account of Sicily, told him, that if the soil of the whole kingdom were turned into gold, it would be insufficient to accomplish the conquest of Sicily, which was inaccessible to the military force of England. [*Ann. Burton*. p. 375, ed. Gale.] In the year 1265 the Sicilian dream was abandoned, or rather, to speak more properly, the king was obliged to stop payment; whereupon the pope got Charles, the brother of Louis IX king of France, to take up his quarrel against Manfred, and accept his kingdom.

† When Isabella, the wife of Edward II, after deposing her husband, made her son settle an income of twenty thousand marks (not pounds, as said by some authors) upon her, [*Rot. pat. prim. 1 Edw. III, m. 1*] there was scarcely one third of the royal revenue left for the young king and queen, as is asserted by Thomas de la Moor, [*p. 601*] a contemporary author.

I am obliged to observe, that the arithmetical

statements of even the most faithful historians are seldom correct in the numbers, which may be partly owing to their own neglect of critical or arithmetical examination, and partly to the transcribers, numbers expressed by letters being much more liable to error than words. The whole of the gross national revenue, as here stated, was not very much more than sufficient to pay the interest of the king's debts, which, according to Mathew Paris, was above £36,500 a-year about the year 1256. See above, p. 406. It is true, that, according to Hoveden, [*f. 436 b*] Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, stated to King Richard I, that within two years he had collected for him the prodigious sum of 1,100,000 marks, or 550,000 marks each year. Both Hoveden and Paris are respectable authors: but it is impossible to reconcile their accounts; and it is evident that Hoveden's sum is incredibly great, and therefore is undoubtedly corrupted. The revenue of England, at the revolution, was not equal in effective value to one third of that ascribed to the reign of Richard I.

the language of the people whose souls were committed to their pastoral charge by the unerring father of Christendom, if they did live among them, but who resided mostly in Italy, and drew their pensions to that country, amounted in the year 1245 to sixty thousand marks, and in 1252 rose to seventy thousand. [*M. Paris*, pp. 658, 859.] If the royal revenue had been even judiciously managed, such sums sent out of the country without any value in return (nor were they all that went out for nothing) were sufficient to keep the kingdom in perpetual distress. It is no wonder then, that such a manager as Henry was continually embarrassed, and indebted to all who would give him any credit, among whom the merchants of Luca, Florence, and Sienna, the Caurfini settled in London, and his own brother Richard, are the most conspicuous. [*Fœdera*, V. i, pp. 544, 645.—*above*, pp. 400, 422.] In the year 1255 he declared, as an apology for his exactions, that his debts, which may also be called the national debts, amounted to three millions of marks, which, if it was true, was a most astonishing sum\*. [*M. Paris*, p. 902.] In the year 1222, upon a lumping settlement of the arrears of the jointure of Queen Berengaria, the widow of Richard I, payable in England, (she probably had other appointments in the French territories of the kings of England †) it was settled at one thousand pounds a-year. [*Fœdera*, V. i, p. 242.] Henry stated the revenue appointed for the establishment of his oldest son at fifteen thousand marks. But he brought it forward unfairly, when apologizing for his exactions, seeing it arose from the duchy of Gascoigne, and lands in Ireland. [*M. Paris*, p. 902.—*Fœdera*, V. i, p. 500.] A knight, whose lands produced £150 a-year, was thought very rich; and to-be-sure so he was. But John Mansel, a clergyman, statesman, and warrior, by monopolizing a great number of churches, had an income of 4,000 marks. No clergyman, indeed, had ever before possessed such an income: and people wondered, that a man of his prudence could forget, that he must render an account of the prodigious number of souls he had presumed to take the care of. Warine de Muntchemsil, one of the noblest and wisest men of England, died in the year 1255, possessed of above two hundred thousand marks, a sum which may be pronounced almost incredible ‡. [*M. Paris*, pp. 859, 908, 931.]

The queen dowager of Scotland, being entitled to a third of the net

\* The interest on the king's debts, though considered by Mathew Paris as utterly ruinous to the kingdom, would not have been *two per cent* per annum on the debt here stated by Henry. But as we cannot suppose that the interest was lower than *ten per cent*, it may well be presumed, that the principal could not be so much as 600,000 marks, or £400,000; a sum sufficiently distressful to the kingdom, and also, most probably, to the creditors, when the art of funding was unknown.

† Queen Alienora, the widow of Henry III, had an annual income of £2,000 sterling from Gascoigne. [*Rot. pat.* 8 *Edw.* I, m. 10.]

‡ By the most probable account, the treasure accumulated by Henry II, one of the most powerful and prudent of the kings of England, during a long reign, was not near so much. See *above*, p. 346.

royal revenue, had thence an income of above four thousand marks, which she drew out of the kingdom, to be expended in France along with other funds which she had in that country from her father Ingelram de Coucy. Thence it appears, that the net royal revenue of Scotland was above twelve thousand marks\*. [*M. Paris, p. 829.*] The portion of Margaret, the daughter of Henry III of England, married to Alexander III, the young king of Scotland, in the year 1251, was only five thousand marks, payable in four years, of which, however incredible it may appear in the present day, the greatest part remained unpaid in 1262, and then Henry, because he had not money in hand, requested Alexander's further indulgence till Easter 1263 for the final payment. [*Fœdera, V. i, pp. 467, 743.*] What jointure was settled upon Margaret is unknown: she died before her husband.

1273—The amount of a new duty, called the *gauge*, at some of the chief ports for the importation of wine, as made up from the Wednesday after Martinmas 1272 to Michaelmas 1273, gives us a pretty good idea of the quantity of foreign wine used in England.

In London,	-	£15 16 7,	which, at one penny per tun, make	3,799 tuns:
Southampton and Portsmouth,	13 2 3,	-	-	3,147;
and Sandwich,	-	7 18 4,	-	1,900;

The total was £36 17 2, the amount of gauge duty for 8,846 tuns;

besides the wines taken by the king in name of *prise*, being two tuns out of every cargo, which were not liable for the duty. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 18, § 2.*]

There was a duty of the same kind in Scotland, which probably originated about the same time, as we find the office of the *gaugery* considered as an old establishment in the year 1304 †.

The unsettled state of the German empire, together with the confusions inseparable from a succession of controverted elections (the period of which, from the death of Frederic II to the election of Rodolph, earl of Habsburg and founder of the house of Austria, in the year 1273, is called by the German historians the long interregnum) very much weakened the imperial authority in Germany, and reduced it to nothing in Italy. . During those convulsions, the cities of Germany, already re-

\* In the preceding page Mathew Paris makes the queen's jointure *seven thousand marks*, by which reckoning the net royal income of Scotland is *twenty-one thousand*; almost equal to that of England, and, if reckoned in proportion to the population, greatly superior. Therefor we may venture to pronounce the greater number erroneous. By the third chapter of the acts of James III, the queen's jointure is declared to be one third of the king's land and customs: and the same rule was probably adhered to in earlier times.

† King Edward, being master of Scotland dur-

ing a part of the year 1304, directed the earl of Athol to make inquiry, whether, according to the established usage, he had a right to dispose of the office of the gaugery. [*Rymer's Coll. & manuscr. V. iii, n. 116, 117.*] It is worthy of observation, that the king's order to the earl was in *French*, and the earl in his precepts to the magistrates of the towns, desiring them to institute inquiries for the king's information, sent them copies of the order *translated into Latin*, which thence appears to have been more generally understood in Scotland than French.

spectable, became more and more flourishing. The nobles, who hitherto had engrossed the government and all the honourable public employments of the cities, were reduced to a participation of them with the burgeses. The contests, which had hitherto banished tranquillity from the cities, were at an end, and they became powerful by their union. Most of those, which had the title of *Imperial cities* in the reign of Frederic II, refused after his death to pay the taxes imposed upon them by former emperors; and, in consequence of that immunity, assumed the title of *Free and imperial cities*, which was confirmed to them by succeeding emperors. After the extinction of the powerful ducal families of Swabia and Franconia in the year 1268, the number of *Imperial cities* was greatly augmented; and the new ones were cordially admitted into fraternity and alliance by the antient ones, who distinguished themselves by the title of *Free cities*. [*Pfeffel, Abrege de l'hist. d'Allemagne, p. 379, ed. 1758.*]

The regents who governed England in the absence of King Edward, who was at the Holy land when his father died, ordered a proclamation to be made throughout Ireland, declaring that all merchants might freely land in that kingdom with their merchandize, and trade in safety and security, on paying the due and antient customs, without any other exaction or grievance whatever. [*Rot. pat. 1 Edw. I, m. 5.*]

1274, April 10<sup>th</sup>—We find the order against trading with Flanders again enforced, and the shireffs strictly enjoined to allow no wool to be carried out of the kingdom, and not even to Wales or Ireland, lest, on pretence of shipping it for those countries, it should be carried to Flanders. [*Fœdera, V. ii, pp. 24, 50.*] But, as the English could not find profitable consumption for all their wool, and the Flemings could not carry on their manufacture without the wool of England, a treaty of peace was concluded in July, wherein the countess, and the earl her son, finding Edward a man of more courage and conduct than his father, agreed to make satisfaction for the damages done to his subjects, he promising to make satisfaction for the damages done to the Flemings by the English. But the Flemish balance of damages was not paid up to England in the year 1278, nor then without having recourse to rigorous measures. [*Fœdera, V. ii, pp. 32, 33, 39, 111.—Rot. pat. 3 Edw. I, mm. 19, 22, 26.—Meyeri An. Fland. f. 80 b.*]

The resort of the Netherlanders to the Firth of Forth for the sake of the fishery, has already been noticed from a writer of the twelfth century. (See above, p. 325.) After that time, though we know that foreigners came to the British ports to purchase herrings, I have not found any authentic account of their fishing on our coasts till now, that we learn from the mutual complaints of injuries on both sides, that the Flemings were in the practise of fishing upon the coasts of England and Scotland. The English commissioners for negotiating the peace complain-

ed, that, during the truce of a month (24<sup>th</sup> June to 24<sup>th</sup> July) granted by King Edward for settling the terms of the treaty, some Flemish armed vessels had put to sea, as on a fishing voyage, had attacked the English fishermen, who supposed themselves secure on the faith of the truce, and had killed *twelve hundred* of them; a number which, if not exaggerated, gives a very respectable idea of the English fishery. [*Fœdera*, V. ii, p. 33.] On the other hand, the counts of Flanders, in a letter to King Edward, represented, that some of her subjects, who had failed after the conclusion of the peace, had put in at Berwick, on their return from fishing on the coast of Scotland, for the sake of drying their nets; and two-and-twenty of them\*, who had gone up the Tweed about as far as Norham, a castle on the English side of the river, to dry their nets, were seized and imprisoned by the commander of that castle (August 15<sup>th</sup>.) [*Fœdera*, V. ii, p. 37.] As it was surely unnecessary to go a journey of six miles up the country to dry their nets, it seems more probable, that their object was to catch salmon out of the sight of the people of Berwick and Tweedmouth, and, as the fish belonged to the proprietors of the land on each side of the river, their imprisonment was in consequence of that trespass upon private property.

August 11<sup>th</sup>—King Edward while he was in the Holy land, had borrowed some money from the brethren of the Temple, and given them his obligation for the principal, with expenses, damages, and interest † ('*interesse*'), all which he now paid on their account to the master of the Temple in London. [*Fœdera*, V. ii, p. 34.] This is believed to be the first instance of the kings of England expressly agreeing to pay interest ‡ for money borrowed, which in all their former money transactions, appears to have been settled by collusion.

August 19<sup>th</sup>—At the coronation of King Edward, there was a prodigious display of silks and gold stuffs, which, being articles of foreign manufacture, show that the exports of England, which could pay for such an importation of luxuries, must have been pretty extensive, even if there should have been no importation of the precious metals this year. An historian says, that no tongue nor pen could describe the magnificence of the dresses, and the ingenuity of the pageants exhibited

\* Among their names we find Renoud English ('*Anglicus*') and Michael Scot.

† Though interest is expressed in the acknowledgement given to Edward by John of Bretagne, his brother-in-law, for whose use the money (10,500 Saracen besants) was borrowed in the year 1271, [*Rymer's Coll. manuscr.* V. i, n<sup>o</sup>. 42] as well as in the master's discharge to the king, the stipulated rate of interest does not appear in either.

‡ Mathew Paris [p. 910] mentions debts due

to the merchants of Italy in the year 1255, '*quæ quotidie propter usuras, pœnas, et interesse, non minima suscipiebant incrementa.*' Here we have usury, penalties, and *interesse*. As the word *usury* was in those days equivalent to our modern word *interest*, what did Mathew Paris understand by *interesse*?—In the marriage contract between Scotland and Norway (25<sup>th</sup> July 1281) '*damna, ex-pensæ, et interesse,*' frequently occur, the latter evidently signifying interest. [*Fœdera*, V. ii, p. 1079.]

in the city on this occasion, to say nothing of the pomp of the coronation feast. [*T. Wikes, p. 101, ed. Gale.*]

1275, April 25<sup>th</sup>.—A parliament was held at Westminster, wherein the laws of Henry I and Henry II, for preserving the property of wrecked vessels and merchandize for the lawful owners, were renewed [*Acts, 3 Edw. I, c. 4.*]

It was provided, that no foreign person \*, being of this realm, should be distrained in any city, town, fair, or market, for any debt, for which he was neither principal debtor nor security. [*c. 23.*]

Those who took up provisions or other things for the use of the king, or for the garrison of a castle, and did not pay for them, were made answerable in their lands, or other property, failing which, they were to be punished by imprisonment. Those who received bribes for paying the king's debts were obliged to refund doubly, and were further to be punished at the king's pleasure. [*c. 32.*]

We find a new custom upon wool *granted* ('concessa') to the king at this time, which was probably enacted by the same parliament, though it does not appear among their acts. [*Rot. pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 1.*]

A mandate was issued by the king, obliging all foreign merchants to sell their goods within forty days after their arrival. [*Hakluyt, V. i, p. 133.*] This order put the foreign sellers entirely in the mercy of the buyers, unless when the demand happened to be so great, as to prevent the later from combining to abstain from purchasing, till the term allowed to the importers was almost expired. Indeed, the frequent inconsistent orders for the encouragement and discouragement of foreign merchants trading to England must have been excessively perplexing, and have very much cramped the trade, which was exposed to such caprices and uncertainties.

A Spanish sheep, imported from France into Northumberland, infected all the flocks in England with a disease hitherto unusual (if not unknown) in England, which raged eight-and-twenty years, and totally destroyed the flocks in many parts of the country †. [*Walsingham, Hist. p. 46.*]

1276—Florence earl of Holland, being desirous that his subjects should have a share of the beneficial trade of England, which their neighbours the Flemings had almost engrossed, made an offer to King Edward of safe conduct and perfect liberty for the English in trading in Holland for the space of two years, provided that equal liberty were granted in England to his subjects. [*Fœdera, V. ii, p. 62.*]

\* By the term *foreign person* we must evidently understand one not belonging to the corporation of the city or town.

† The annalist of Waverley dates the introduction of this disease, which he calls the *clausik*, in

the year 1277, and says, that it is cured by an ointment made of quick-silver and hog's lard. Stow [*Annales, p. 305, ed. 1600*] calls the disease *murrcin* and *rot.*

The mayor and citizens of London had, during many years, prevented the citizens of Bremen from coming to England, for the very trifling reason, as alleged by those of Bremen, that a native of that city, who was in the service of a citizen of London when a fine was levied from the city by Henry III, had left the kingdom without paying his proportion of it. The duke of Brunfwick, as superior of Bremen, requested King Edward to interpose, and permit the merchants of Bremen to trade in England, as they had done in the time of his progenitors. [*Fædera*, V. ii, pp. 1065, 1066.]

1277, May 15<sup>th</sup>—In those ages the power of making war and peace was often assumed by the maritime cities and towns, as well as by the great lords: and as their hostilities were openly avowed, they were not stigmatized as piracy, according to the modern sense of that word\*. The whole of the Cinque ports, as a community, have frequently taken upon them to engage in wars with foreign towns or communities, wherein the sovereigns on either side had no active concern. Such a warfare they carried on against the citizens of Calais in the year 1220; against those of Bayonne in 1237; and against the same again in 1277. The later quarrel was terminated by the interposition of King Edward, who now gave the people of Bayonne one hundred pounds for the preservation of peace. [*Fædera*, V. i, pp. 250, 373; V. ii, p. 82.]

Either the establishment of the English laws in Ireland by King John was only partial, or they had fallen out of use; for the people of Ireland made an offer to the justiciary (or viceroy) to pay to the king eight thousand marks, on condition that the laws of England should be established among them. The king was very well pleased with the application, for he thought the antient Irish laws unworthy to be called laws, and desired the justiciary to inquire what was the general wish of the people, the prelates, and the nobles; and, if he found the majority desirous of the introduction of the English law among them, to bargain for the largest sum of money he could obtain for the king's consent. [*Fædera*, V. ii, p. 78.] And, in two or three years after, the business appears to have been accomplished. [*Rot. pat. 8 Edw. I.*]

May 24<sup>th</sup>—The revenue raised from the Jews in England seems to have hitherto consisted chiefly of tallages, arbitrarily imposed at the will of the king. It was apparently in order to introduce some regularity in that branch of the revenue, and to let the Jews know what they had to depend upon, that a statute had been made, containing a multitude of provisions for controlling and regulating their transactions, and fixing their payments to the king, whose slaves ('serfs') they are repeatedly

\* In those days, the men onboard all warlike vessels were called *pirates*; and every vessel equipped for war was called a piratic ship, or *mycparo* in the Latin of the times.

declared to be\*. The injustice and inexpediency of some parts of that statute having, perhaps silently, rendered the whole of it inefficient, the king now issued an order by his own authority, wherein, after recapitulating some parts of the statute, viz. that every Jew, male or female, above twelve years of age, was to pay annually three pennies to the king; that they were to live only in those cities and burghs, wherein there was an arch-chirographer of the Jews, who seems to have been an officer appointed to draw up, and register, their securities; and that all Jews of above seven years of age, should wear a yellow distinguishing badge, conspicuously placed upon their upper garments, he desires that the tax of three pennies of head money, and all the arrears of it, may be strictly levied. [*Fœdera*, V. ii, p. 83.]

1278, June 17<sup>th</sup>—King Edward having received very considerable assistance from the Cinque ports in his war against the Welsh, gratified them with a charter, wherein he refers to liberties they enjoyed in the times of Edward the Confessor, William I, William II, Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III. The service required of them by the king, is fixed at fifty-seven ships, properly manned, for fifteen days. And in return, they are favoured with exemption from prisage upon the wines imported in their own trade, and with some other immunities. [*Jeake's Charters of the Cinque ports.*]

According to Bracton, who flourished in the reign of Henry III, the ports originally associated in the duty of providing ships for the public service, and in the enjoyment of the privileges and exemptions granted in return for their services, were Hastings, Hythe, Rumney, Dover, and Sandwich; and from their number, being *five*, was derived the collective appellation of *Cinque ports*, which continued in use after the accession of other ports rendered it improper. Winchelsea and Rye were added afterwards, probably in the reign of Edward I, and many more as members. Their names have been variously stated; and probably they have really varied, according to the fluctuating circumstances of the places.

According to a list, dated in the 22<sup>d</sup> year of Edward I,  
 Hastings provided - 3 ships.  
 The Lowie of Pevensey, 1  
 Bulverhithe and Petit Jahn, 1

According to a custumal of the town of Hythe, of a later age than that of Edward I †, Hastings was to provide 21 ships. Its members were Seaford,

\* The statute, said to be of uncertain date (See *Statutes at large*, Index, vo. *Jews*, and *Appendix*, p. 28), is dated by Prynne [*Demurrer*, part 1, p. 37] in the third year of Edw. I, wherein he differs from Lord Coke. It permitted the Jews to be merchants, labourers, and farmers, but prohibited them from taking *any* interest for money, and restored to those Christians, who had mortgaged their lands to Jews in security for money lent, the chief house and half of the lands. These, being the most obvious unjust, and inexpedient, parts of the statute, are not mentioned in the king's

order. There is a translation of the statute in *Tovey's Anglia Judaica*, p. 200.

† In the reign of Richard II we find an order to fit out the Cinque-port fleet of *fifty-seven* vessels, armed and properly arrayed, with a master and *twenty* men in each, to serve fifteen days after their arrival at Bristol, the port of rendezvous, at their own expense, and afterwards as long as the king should require at his expense, though only the pay of the men is specified; for all which charters of former kings are referred to. [*Fœdera*, V. vii, p. 784; see also p. 834; and V. x, p. 108.]

Becksburn, -	1 ship.	Pevensey, Hodney, Win-	
Grange and Gillingham, two		chelsea, Rye, Ihame,	
armed men.		Becksburn, Grange, Nor-	
Rye, -	5	thie, Bulverhithe.	
Winchelsea, -	10	Romenal, or Rumney	5 ships.
Romney, -	4	Its members, Promhill,	
Lydde, -	7	Lydde, Eastweston, Den-	
Hythe, -	5	geymarsh, Old Rumney,	
Dover, -	19	Hethe, or Hythe, -	5
Folkston, -	7	Its member, West Hythe.	
Feversham, -	7	Dover, -	21
Sandwich, with Stonor, Ford-		Its members, Folkston, Fe-	
wich, Dale, &c. -	5	versham, and S <sup>t</sup> . Margarets.	
		Sandwich, -	5
		Its members, Fordwich,	
		Reculver, Serre, and Dele,	
		or Deal.	

The ships to be ready upon forty days notice every year, properly armed and arrayed, to carry 20 men each, besides the master of the mariners, and to serve five days at the expense of the ports, and afterwards at the king's expense.

Each ship to carry 21 men and 1 garcion or boy, the whole complement being 1,197 men and 57 boys for the 57 ships, which were to serve 15 days, counting from the first spread of the sails, at the expense of the ports, and afterwards, as long as the king should desire, at his expense.

[*Hakluyt's Voyages*, V. i. p. 17.]

King Edward treated the Jews with great rigour. He prohibited them from selling or assigning their debts without his licence. He ordered their repositories throughout the whole kingdom to be searched. He issued various orders against their extortions by usury. He set on foot an inquisition to take cognisance of those who neglected to wear their distinguishing badges. The oppression and ignominy, which that unfortunate race of people continually groaned under, seem to have rendered them regardless of character; and the frequent extortions of vast sums from them made them think themselves justifiable in taking every method whatever to indemnify themselves. They were said to make a common practice of diminishing the current coin, circulating counterfeit money, and making fraudulent exchanges, and to carry those frauds to such an extent, that the nominal prices of all things were raised, and foreign merchants declined trading in England, where the money was so very much sunk below its nominal value. In consequence of their guilt, and the outcry raised against them, all the Jews throughout England were imprisoned in one day, and no fewer than *two hundred and eighty* of both sexes were hanged in London only, be-

fides vast numbers in other parts of the kingdom, whose property was all confiscated. Some Christians were also hanged for being concerned with the Jews, and others were heavily fined. [*Rot. pat.* 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 *Edw. I.*—*M. Westm.* p. 409.—*T. Wikes*, p. 107.—*Walsingham*, p. 48.]

1279—The awkward contrivance of making halfpennies and farthings by breaking pennies into two or four pieces, which presented a very tempting opportunity of cutting some of the silver from the pieces, was still in use, though round halfpennies and farthings had been many years in circulation, but probably not in sufficient quantity. In order to prevent so great a temptation to fraud, and to banish all the counterfeit or defaced money from the circulation, the king ordered a complete new coinage of round pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, and also some pieces of four pennies each \*; and thenceforth no other than round money was allowed to be current †. [*Ann. Waverl.* p. 234.—*T. Wikes*, p. 108.—*M. Westm.* p. 409.—*Stow's Ann.* p. 307.]

It seems probable that King Edward also coined pieces of two pennies, as Alexander king of Scotland coined pieces of that value, and, we may presume, others of four pennies ‡.

In order to disperse the new money quickly through the kingdom, it was given to the people in exchange for the old bad money, on paying the difference, at the minting offices, called changes or exchanges, established in most of the principal towns. [*T. Wikes*, p. 108.] At this time the mint, or exchange ('cambium'), of London was under the management of some merchants from Luca in Italy, together with Gregory de Rokefle mayor of London. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq.* c. 22, § 4; c. 23, § 1.] As we have good reason to believe, that the English silver-smiths were by no means deficient in their art, we must suppose, either that the king was under pecuniary obligations to the foreigners, or that his own subjects were inferior to the Italians in the knowledge of accounts, which is the most probable.

In the dark ages the people were made to believe, that the surest way to obtain eternal happiness was to bestow their property upon, what

\* The coinage of four-penny pieces by Edward I is mentioned, I believe, only by Stow; and it was thought a mistake. [*Fleetwood's Chron. prec.* p. 38, ed. 1745.] But his veracity is confirmed by Mr. Folkes, who weighed eleven such pieces of Edward I, and found them very unequal, some too light, and others much too heavy. [*Tables of coins*, p. 8.] They were probably never very numerous, nor generally current; and it is pretty evident, that they, as well as the gold coins of Henry III, were forgotten in the reign of Edward III.

† The mistaken notion, that this was the first coinage of round halfpennies and farthings in Eng-

land, has already been noticed and accounted for. See above, p. 385, note.

‡ A piece of two pennies, coined by King Alexander, is preserved in the Advocates' library at Edinburgh, and is ascribed to Alexander II. [*Rudd. Pref. ad And. Dipl.* p. 64.] But, as the kings were not numbered on their coins in those ages, it seems more reasonable to assign it to his son, the only Alexander contemporary with Edward I, than to suppose that the Scots preceded the English in any innovation or improvement. There is in the same collection a two-penny piece ascribed to Edward I. But, for the reason now given, it may be doubted, which Edward it belongs to.

were called, religious foundations. Before they were carried to excess in number and opulence, such foundations were productive of some advantages to society, independent of the religious purposes of their institution: for, as the clergy were the only people who could read and write, there were in all ages a few of the monks, whose inclinations prompted, and whose talents (according to the standard of the age) qualified, them to transmit to succeeding ages some knowledge of the events of their own times, and others to whose patient industry in transcribing we are indebted for the preservation of that portion of ancient literature, which has come down to our times: in monasteries men were prepared for those public employments which required some degree of education: and in them the dull flame of the lamp of science was preserved from utter extinction. So far those institutions were beneficial to mankind. But the quantity of land and other property, bestowed upon societies destined to have a perpetual succession, who were continually acquiring, and never giving away, had become in the course of ages so enormously great, that the whole kingdom was in danger of being swallowed up by the church, and being subject to, or at least in the disposal of, the pope\*. The possessors of those vast domains became lazy, useless, and vicious; and the prodigious wealth of their houses held out a large premium to idleness, and an equally-large discouragement to industry and commerce. Even the military profession, though cherished and applauded by the temper and opinions of the age, was affected by it; and many, who by their birth and tenures, according to the feudal system, belonged to the national militia, preferred the slumbers of the convent to the dangers of the field †. A part, at least, of the evil was seen, and some faint attempts were made to check the progress of it, before this time. In the year 1225 the regents, during the minority of Henry III, inserted in a new edition of the Magna charta an order against giving lands to religious houses. But it appears to have been disregarded; and such donations seem to have been even tolerated, provided they were made by the licence of the chief lord of the land, who would have brought an odium, if not excommunication, upon himself, if he had ventured to refuse his consent. So slender a restraint was therefor by no means sufficient to prevent the continuance of the abuse, or to counteract the strong belief that admission to the joys of heaven was to be purchased with lands or money.

November 15<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, by the advice of his prelates, earls, and others of his council, now enacted *the statute of mortmain*, strictly or-

\* We have already seen, that the inefficient and non-resident foreign clergymen, imposed upon England by the pope, drained it annually of more money than the whole revenue of the kingdom amounted to.

† It is true that the lands of bishops, abbats, priors, &c. who were barons as well as ecclesiastics, were subjected to military services by William the Conqueror: but they were performed by substitutes, and of little avail.

daining, that no lands should go into the possession of any perpetual body, either by donation or by sale; and that any land, so disposed of by collusion, should be entered upon by the superior lord, or, in case of his neglect or failure, by the king, who should put it into the possession of such as would contribute their services to the defence of the realm. [7 *Edw. I.*] As the king only adverted to the deficiency of military strength occasioned by the ecclesiastical monopoly of lands, it is pretty evident, that the pernicious anti-commercial tendency of it never occurred to him or his council\*.

The great, fertile, populous, industrious, and wealthy, empire of China, which was first attacked, and in part subjected, by Zingis-khan, was now completely subdued by his grandson Cublai. The conqueror next aspired to the dominion of the sea and the islands. But the fleet, which he expected to make him master of Zipangu (supposed to be Japan), was twice wrecked, and a hundred thousand Moguls and Chinese perished without achieving any conquest. Notwithstanding this revolution, the constitution, the manufactures, and the commerce, of China remained unimpaired. The army of the conquerors was soon lost and blended among the infinite numbers of the conquered: and the empire seemed rather to have adopted a new dynasty of princes, than to have suffered a revolution. [See *Gibbon, V. xi, pp. 414, 427, and authorities quoted by him.*]

The emperor Cublai, observing that many lives were lost every year in transporting the produce of the southern provinces to the capital by sea, constructed a canal by turning the waters of some lakes into artificial channels extending northward and southward 840 geographical miles. [*Hist. Sin. ap. Thevenot, V. ii, p. 67.*] This canal, which is the longest artificial navigable water in the world, by its connection with the great rivers effects an inland navigation, with very little interruption from portages, between Peking and Canton, cities situated at the opposite extremities of the empire, and is continually covered by innumerable barges employed in conducting the greatest part of the trade of the most populous country on the face of the earth, and also in conveying passengers, the journies being mostly performed by water †.

1280, July 17<sup>th</sup>—In consequence of some differences between the merchants of London and those of Zealand, the later in the year 1275

\* It appears by the *patent rolls 27 Edw. I, m. 1, and Fadera, V. ii, p. 1004*, that Edward did not scruple to infringe this statute himself, and allow others to infringe it. And, not to multiply instances in the same and succeeding reigns, which might be produced by hundreds, it may suffice to observe, that in the year 1329 it was represented to Edward III and his privy council, that, if they were not very attentive to prevent it, his whole dominions would soon be in the hands of religion;

so monastic societies were then called. [*Ryley, Plac. parl. p. 644.*] A very usual expedient for evading the law was to make an exchange of one piece of land for another with the superior of a monastic establishment, as may be seen in almost every page of the *Calendar of the patent rolls*.

† See the description of the navigation of the Chinese canal in *Staunton's Account of an embassy to China*.

fitted out fourteen or more vessels of the kind called *cogs*, in which they cruised against the English trading vessels. King Edward thereupon ordered, that the property of all merchants of Zeland, found in any of the ports of England, or upon the sea, should be seized. And so a petty warfare was kept up for about five years, till the earl of Zeland offered to make satisfaction for the damages done by his subjects: whereupon King Edward now ordered that the merchants of that country should have their property restored, and be allowed to trade in England as before. [*Fædera*, V. ii, pp. 59, 156, 177.—*Rot. pat.* 8 *Edw. I*, m. 7.]

November 17<sup>th</sup>—The king confirmed to the merchants of Germany, occupying the Teutonic gildhall in London, the privileges and liberties granted to them by his father, and promised that he would not himself do any thing, nor permit others to do any thing, to infringe them. [*Fædera*, V. ii, p. 161.] There is still no mention of the appellation of merchants of the Hanse. The privileges, &c. were again confirmed to them by the same king in his twenty-ninth year. [*Rot. pat.* 29 *Edw. I*, a *tergo*.]

1281, November 20<sup>th</sup>—The commercial intercourse of the Christians with the Saracens having been interrupted for some time in compliance with an order issued by the pope, Pedro III king of Aragon, finding that his subjects were very great sufferers thereby, now gave them permission to export all kinds of merchandize, excepting wheat and barley, and also horses, unless for the relief of the Holy land, to all nations, whether Christians or Saracens. But he added that it was not in his power to dispense with the pope's particular prohibition against carrying iron, arms, and some other articles, to the Saracens. [*Capmany*, *Mem. hist. de Barcelona*, V. ii, *Col. dipl.* p. 37.]

It was, no doubt, chiefly for the sake of the sheep and the wool produced by them, that King Edward commissioned Peter Corbet to destroy the wolves in the shires of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and Stafford, [*Fædera*, V. ii, p. 168] and ordered John Gifford to hunt them in all the forests of England: [*Rot. pat.* 9 *Edw. I*, m. 2] and some time after John Engayne got an estate on condition of destroying wolves and other vermin in Huntingdon-shire\*. [*Blount's Tenures*, p. 60.]

While Edward was collecting his army for the invasion of Wales, he

\* The forest of Chiltern was infested by wolves and wild bulls in the time of Edward the Confessor. [*M. Paris*, *Vit.* p. 45.] William the Conqueror granted the lordship of Riddefdale in Northumberland to Robert de Umfraville on condition of defending that part of the country against enemies and wolves. [*Blount's Tenures*, p. 15, ed. 1679.] King John gave a premium of ten shillings for catching two wolves. [*Rymer's Coll. manuscr.* V. i, no. 62.] John and Edward III gave lands in Northampton-shire to John and

Thomas Engayne for the service of destroying wolves and other vermin in that and four other shires. [*Blount*, pp. 15, 71.] Yet we are told, that all the wolves in Wales were extirpated by order of Edgar king of England, as if there could be wolves in England without being in Wales; and the story, though evidently false, has met with general belief. I wish we had proofs, equally strong, to demolish the other wonders in the history of that king of the monks.

sent agents, not only through all England, but also into the neighbouring countries, to buy up provisions and other stores. [*Rot. Walliæ*, 10, 11 *Edw. I. in Ayloff's Calendar.*] We find, several agents were sent to purchase corn and other provisions in Ireland, which thus appears to have produced more than the consumption of the inhabitants required; and there were no potatoes then. [*Rot. Walliæ*, mm. 10, 8, 2.] We also find, the shirrefs of Cumberland and Lancaster were ordered to send people to purchase fish on the west coast of Scotland, and to carry them to Chester: and Adam of Fuleham was appointed to provide 100 barrels of sturgeons of Aberdeen\*, and 5,000 salt fish, and also dry fish. [*Rot. Walliæ*, mm. 9, 8 *dorsis.*] The fish of Aberdeen were so well cured, that they were even carried to the capital fishing port of Yarmouth †. Thus we are assured that fisheries were carried on to some considerable extent on both sides of Scotland; and that Aberdeen, which had then got a character for curing fish, and probably some port or ports in the Firth of Clyde; were known to have a supply of fish, pickled and cured for foreign markets, long before the time that the art of curing fish is generally supposed to have been discovered in Flanders.

1282—The collection of the customs was frequently entrusted to foreign merchants, either as an accountable trust, or for a stipulated rent ‡. Bonricini Guidicon and Company of Luca accounted to the exchequer for the proceeds of the new customs on wool, wool-fells, and hides, from

\* 'Centum barrill' *essigiorum de quingent' Aberdeen.*—So it is in the roll, which I examined by the favour of Mr. Astle, the learned and liberal keeper of the records in the Tower. The translation seems to be—a hundred barrels, of five hundred pounds each, of Aberdeen sturgeons.—Query if not rather salmon (i*sciorum* or *escium*, instead of which the copying clerk has written *essigiorum* in the roll) for the superior pickling and packing of which in barrels of the old Hamburg kind Aberdeen has long been famous? Sturgeons were scarce, and too expensive for feeding an army with. Six barrels of them cost £19 for the household of Thomas earl of Lancaster, nephew of King Edward I. [*Stow's Survey of London*, p. 133, ed. 1618.] The salted and dry fish were probably cod or ling, not put up in any packages.—In the year 1308 Edward II ordered his chamberlain for Scotland to provide 3,000 salmon in Scotland out of the revenues of that country, and to have them properly put up in casks ('doliis') for preservation. [*Federa*, V. iii, p. 95.]

† Four hundred fish of Aberdeen, two hundred blackfish, one (small) barrel of sturgeons, five dozen of lampreys, fifty pounds of whale ('balen'), and half a last of herrings, constituted the fish part of the provisions, put onboard a ship, fitted out at Yarmouth in the year 1290, for bringing the infant queen of Scotland from the court of her father the king of Norway. The fish of Aberdeen

cost somewhat under three pennies each, the stock fish somewhat under one penny each, and the half last of herrings thirty shillings. [*Rymer's Coll. manuscr.* V. ii, p. 287.] Aberdeen fish also occur in the account of King Edward's wardrobe in the year 1290.

‡ The customs were also assigned to individuals as securities, or funds, for the payment of debts due by the king. In the year 1307 Edward I assigned to the merchants of Brabant the new customs payable upon their own imports for payment of a debt due to them, whereupon they promised to bring merchandize much more abundantly to the port of London. [*Ryley, Plac. parl.* p. 327.] In 1312 the customs of Boston were assigned to a merchant of Genoa for a debt due by the king. [*Madox's Hist.* c. 10, § 12.] In the same year the customs of wool, wool-fells, and hides, in the port of Berwick were assigned to Piers de Gavaston for £408 : 11 : 8 due by the king, to be paid to him immediately after the full payment of a sum secured upon the same customs to David of Brechin, a Scottish baron, then in the interest of Edward, probably as a compensation for the forfeiture of his estate in Scotland. [*Federa*, V. iii, p. 310.] And Alexander III king of Scotland took the same method of paying a foreign merchant by an assignment of the customs of Berwick. [*Federa*, V. ii, p. 605.]

Easter 1281 to Easter 1282: and from some particulars of their account we find that there were shipped from Newcastle upon Tine

771 facks  $7\frac{1}{2}$  stons of wool, paying a custom duty of  $\frac{6}{8}$  per fack ;  
 11,182 wool-fells (sheep's skins with the wool on them)  $\frac{6}{8}$  for every 300;  
 and 80 lafts 12 daces of hides  $\frac{13}{4}$  per laft.

The amount of the usual custom in the port of Hull was this year £1,086 : 10 : 8, and their whole receipts for the year amounted to £8,411 : 19 : 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ . [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 23, § 1.*]

Many other instances might be adduced, if necessary, of the collection of the customs being put into the hands of foreigners, who were generally partners of some of those strong and numerous companies, who had their chief houses in Italy, and had branches of their trade, managed by one or more of their partners, in London and other cities of Europe, whereby they got into their own hands nearly the whole of the trade between the Mediterranean coasts and the countries in which they settled. Such were in this age the *Friscobaldi*, the *Rembertini*, the *Bardi*, the *Spini*, of Florence; the *Riccardi*, the *Ballardi*, of Luca, &c. Those merchants were very serviceable to the kings in lending them money, and negotiating exchanges and other kinds of business for them, and consequently enjoyed a good deal of their favour. They were also generally agents for the pope, and received the money extorted by him, on a variety of pretences, from every country in his communion, which they either remitted to him, or lent out at interest on his account: for the canons of the church, made to deter the people from taking interest for the use of money, were not binding upon the head of the church, who assumed a power of suspending the laws of God and man for his own purposes. In return for those services the popes, who knew how to pay their own debts at the expense of others, used to desire the kings to favour *their merchants* with privileges, exemptions, and lucrative jobs. [*Fœdera, V. ii, pp. 311, 682, 705, 839, 1051, &c. &c.—M. Paris, pp. 362, 938.—Madox's Hist. c. 22, § 2; c. 23, § 22; c. 24, § 7.*]

The German merchants in London (called merchants of the Hanse by Stow, who, however, quotes no authority\*) were bound, in consideration of sundry privileges, to maintain the gate of the city called Bithoptgate. Upon their refusal to fulfill their part of the covenant the matter was carried before the barons of the exchequer, who gave judgement against them, and directed the mayor and shirrefs of London to distrain Gerard Marbod alderman of the Hanse, together with six other merchants, citizens of Cologne, Triers, Trivon, Hamburgh, and Muntier, for the expense of the reparations; whereupon they paid 210 marks to the

\* As I have no opportunity of tracing Stow's authority, it is impossible to tell, whether in translating he had supplied a name well known in his own age, or found it in a record co-eval with the

fact related. If the word *Hanse* be genuine, quere, if it is not the earliest known application of that name to the great association of mercantile cities?

city, and engaged to uphold the gate in future, and also to bear a third part of the charges in money and men to defend it. On that occasion the community of the city granted, or confirmed, to the German merchants the liberty of storing the corn imported by them for the space of forty days, unless particularly prohibited by the mayor on account of scarcity, or other reasonable cause, and of chusing their alderman, who should be of the city, should be presented to the mayor and aldermen of the city after his election, and should take an oath before them to maintain justice according to law and the customs of the city \*. [*Stow's Survey of London*, p. 431, ed. 1618.]

1283—' Pedro III king of Aragon, by his provision of the year 1283, which is the seventh chapter of the cortes of Barcelona of that year, abolished the gabel (or duty) upon salt throughout all Catalonia, and decreed by law that neither he nor any of his successors should ever be empowered to re-establish it. This salutary measure was a direct encouragement to the fishery and the trade of curing provisions, and particularly tunnies, the fishery for which had been in all ages an object of attention with the Catalans.' At the same time (by c. 25<sup>th</sup>) the hospitable law of Count Raymundo Berenguer I in the year 1068 was confirmed and amplified. [*Capmany, Mem. hist. de Barcelona*, V. 1, Com. pp. 221, 224.] From these and other wise laws of the Catalans, already mentioned, and to be mentioned, in this work, it is evident that the true principles of commercial and manufacturing policy were well understood and acted upon by that nation many ages before they began to be known in this country. And, indeed, at whatever time the fisheries and manufactures of Great Britain shall be delivered from the hardships of the salt laws, it must be acknowledged that the legislators of Barcelona will have had the merit of preceding up by above five centuries.

The first English parliament, wherein elective representatives of the people sat, was summoned by the usurped and transient authority of the earl of Leicester in the year 1265: and after that we know of no similar representative, or elective, members of any parliament, till King Edward summoned a parliament (June 28<sup>th</sup>) to meet at Shrewsbury on the 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1283, to which, besides the great barons called by a particular writ addressed to each of them, and two representatives elected for each of the shires, there were called two members for each of the following cities and towns, which, if the list is complete, were those which were then esteemed the most opulent and considerable in the kingdom. The writs were directed to the

Mayor, citizens, and shirrefs, of		Mayor and bailifs of <i>Newcastle upon</i>
<i>London</i> ,		<i>Tine</i> ,
Mayor and citizens of <i>Winchester</i> ,		Mayor and citizens of <i>York</i> ,

\* We still afterwards find the office of alderman of the Hanse usually filled by one of the aldermen of London.

Mayor and bailifs of *Bristol*,  
 Mayor and citizens of *Exeter*,  
 Mayor and citizens of *Lincoln*,  
 Mayor and citizens of *Canterbury*,  
 Mayor and citizens of *Carlisle*,  
 Bailifs of *Norwich*,  
 Mayor and good men of *Northampton*,  
 Bailifs of *Nottingham*,  
 Bailifs of *Scarburgh*,

Mayor and bailifs of *Grimsbj*,  
 Mayor and bailifs of *Lynne*,  
 Bailifs of *Colcheſter*,  
 Bailifs and good men of *Yarmouth*,  
 Mayor and good men of *Hereford*,  
 Mayor and good men of *Cheſter*,  
 Bailifs and good men of *Shrewsbury*,  
 Mayor and good men of *Worceſter*.  
 [*Fœdera*, V. ii, pp. 247-249.]

Thus were the representatives of the trading part of the people, reſiding in cities and burghs, eſtabliſhed as a conſtituent part of the legiſlative aſſembly of the nation. But the conſtitution of the parliament was ſo unfettled, that frequently the cities and burghs were not called upon to elect their representatives. I have already obſerved, that the representatives of the commons had little or no influence in parliament till long after the time now under our conſideration.

October 10<sup>th</sup>—The parliament, met at Acton-Burnell, conſidering, that there was no law whereby merchants might recover their debts from thoſe to whom they entrusted their property, and that, for want of ſuch a law, many merchants were impoverished, and many foreign merchants deſiſted from trading to England, paſſed an act called the *Statute of merchants*, which directed that the buyer ſhould appear before the mayor of London, York, or Briſtol, to acknowledge the debt and day of payment, which ſhould be regiſtered; and that the debtor ſhould put his ſeal to a bill drawn by the mayor's clerk, who ſhould alſo affix the king's ſeal, lodged with him for that purpoſe\*. If the debtor neglected to make payment when due, the mayor, upon the creditor producing his bill, was directed to order a ſale of the debtor's chattels, or burgages deviſeable, to the extent of the debt, if they were within his juriſdiction, and to deliver the money without delay to the creditor. If the property of the debtor was not within the mayor's juriſdiction, he was to ſend the recogniſance to the chancellor, who was to iſſue a writ, deſiring the ſhrieff, in whoſe juriſdiction the property was, to do what the mayor ſhould otherways have done. If the debtor poſſeſſed no property, he was to be impriſoned, and fed with bread and water, till he or his friends ſhould ſatisfy the creditor †. [*Act 11 Edw. I.*]

In the years 1283 and 1284 Robert Durham the mayor, together with Simon Martel and other good men, of Berwick upon Tweed, enacted the *Statutes of the gild*.

By c. 20 None but gild-brethren were permitted to buy hides, wool, or wool-fells, in order to ſell them again, or to cut cloth, except foreign merchants.

\* Theſe regulations ſuppoſe the debtor incapable of writing.

† I remember reading a plan, ſomewhat ſimilar to this law, projected by ſome modern author.

cc. 22, 37, 44, Herrings and other fish, corn, beans, peas, salt, and coals \*, were ordered to be sold 'at the bray' alongside of the vessel bringing them, and nowhere else: and they were not to be carried on-shore when the sun was down. Any burghers, who was present at a purchase of herrings, might claim a portion of them for his own consumption at the original cost.

c. 27, Brokers were elected by the community of the town, and their names registered. They paid annually a tun ('dolum') of wine for their licence.

c. 28, No regrator was allowed to buy fish, hay, oats, cheese, butter, or other articles, brought into the town for sale, till the bell rang.

cc. 29, 41, No merchandize was allowed to be sold anywhere but in the common market, where they were to pay toll.

c. 33, The government of the town was declared to be by a mayor, four provosts ('præpositis'), and twenty-four counsellors.

The court of the *Four burghs* in Scotland consisted of representatives from Berwick, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Striveline (or Stirling), whose province it was to judge of all matters concerning commerce, and the constitutions and customs of the burghs; so that it was a *board of trade and police* †.

The *Chamberlain's court* in Scotland appears to have also had a jurisdiction over the burghs, and the inspection and regulation of many matters connected with the trade and general police of the kingdom. The chamberlain made periodical progresses through the whole country, and carried with him standard weights and measures, in order to prove those kept by the magistrates of the towns; and it was his duty to prevent those, who took up goods for the king's use at the king's price (which thus appears to have been under the fair market price) from taking more than was wanted for the king in order to get a profit to themselves, and also from defrauding the merchants of their due payment. From the regulations of this court we learn, that inspectors were appointed to examine, and certify by their seal of office, the quality and quantity of cloth, bread, and casks containing liquors; that other officers, called troners, had the inspection of wool; that the salmon fishery was carefully regulated, and fishing during the night, or while the salmon were not in season, was prohibited, &c. ‡

\* This is the earliest mention of the use of coals in Scotland; but, as they were carried to Berwick by water, it is uncertain, whether they were dug in England or Scotland.

† In the year 1368 Lanerk and Linlithgow were substituted for Berwick and Roxburgh, then in the hands of the English; and Haddington, though not one of the four burghs, was appointed to be their place of meeting. [Skene, f. 154 a.] See below under the year 1466.

‡ The particulars of the commercial and municipal police of Scotland are given upon the faith

of the *Statuta gildæ* and *Iter camerarii*, as published by Skene along with the *Regiam majestatem*. The origin of the court of the four burghs and of the chamberlain's court cannot be discovered. We find them established before the year 1291: [Ryley's *Placita parl.* pp. 147-151] and, as we may be pretty well assured, that they could not originate during the convulsions, which distracted the kingdom after the death of Alexander III, we may presume, that they are at least as old as the reign of that king.

1284—King Edward, having made a conquest of Wales and united it to England, appointed shirrefs, and partly established the English laws and policy, in that country. Having extirpated the antient British sovereigns, he conferred on his son, just then born at Carnarvon in Wales, the title of prince of Wales, which has ever since belonged to the oldest sons of the kings of England. In order to reconcile the Welsh to his government, he made their principal towns free burghs, and favoured many of them with exemption from tolls throughout all England. He also gave them encouragement to work their mines of lead, which deserves notice as the commencement of industry in a branch, which has since become considerable in that country. [*Statutum Wallie in Statutes at large*, V. x, *append.*—*Fædera*, V. ii, p. 293.—*Ayliffe's Calendar*, pp. 91-97.]

Eric king of Norway, in a friendly letter to King Edward, complained of injuries done to the merchants of his kingdom by some magistrates in England, and especially those of Lynne, and requested him to put a stop to them, and to order redress. [*Fædera*, V. ii, p. 272.]

That silver must have been plentiful in England, appears from Florence earl of Holland, when he was preparing for a new coinage, sending agents to buy it in this country, who collected silver bullion to the value of £960 sterling in and near Bedford. [*Fædera*, V. ii, p. 284.]

The rancour of neighbourhood and the jealousy of commerce and naval power, had kept up a long and almost-uninterrupted bloody struggle between the Genoese and the Pisans: but now the Genoese, by the ascendant they had obtained in the commerce of the East, in consequence of their assistance in the restoration of the Greek empire, were become too powerful for the Pisans. They fitted out eighty-eight galleys, and eight vessels called *panfias*, larger than galleys, and went to the port of Pifa, where there ensued a furious and obstinate battle. Twenty-nine Pisan galleys, together with the great standard of Pifa, were taken; seven were said to be sunk. The rest fled within the chain of the harbour; and night coming on put an end to the action, which, however, was abundantly decisive. The podesta and most of the nobles of Pifa were taken prisoners; and thenceforth the commerce and empire of the Mediterranean were contested chiefly by Genoa and Venice. [See *Stellæ An. Genuens. ap. Muratori Script. V. xvii, col. 983.*]

1285, June—An act was passed to prohibit all persons from catching salmon in the waters (or rivers) of Humber, Ouse, Trent, Don, Ayre, Derwent, Werf, Yare, Swale, Teese\*, and all others in the kingdom, between the 8<sup>th</sup> of September and the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, and from catching young salmon at mill pools between the middle of April and the 24<sup>th</sup> of June. [*Stat. 1, 13 Edw. I, c. 47.*]

The law of merchants being found nearly inefficient in all places at a distance from London, York, and Bristol, and being also sometimes

\* It is observable, that all the rivers here named are in York-shire, or contiguous with it.

frustrated by the mistakes or wilful perversions of the sherrifs, it was now enacted, that debtors should acknowledge their debts before the chief magistrate or other sufficient person appointed by the king, and a clerk also appointed by the king, in London and the other good towns; that the bill, written by the clerk, should be sealed and registered agreeable to the former act, except that the king's seal should be of two pieces, whereof the largest should remain with the magistrate or person acting for him, and the other with the clerk; and each of them was directed also to keep a duplicate of the enrollment. On failure of payment at the day appointed, the magistrate, if the debtor was a layman and within his jurisdiction, was to commit him to prison, where he was to remain at his own expense till he made satisfaction. If the debtor was not within the jurisdiction of the magistrate, the chancellor was to act agreeable to the former law. The debtor was allowed six months after his imprisonment to raise money out of his property, failing which it was to be delivered to the merchant at a reasonable extent (or valuation) for payment of the debt, damages, costs, labour, &c. The lands and goods, but not the body, of a clergyman were liable for his debt\*. The regulations were also extended to transactions in fairs, and the king's seals were sent to a proper person in every fair. With respect to the *commonalty of the merchants of London*, it was enacted, that two merchants should be chosen and sworn, before whom the recognisances should be taken, and the seals should be opened, whereof one piece should remain with them, and the other with the clerk. This ordinance was in force in England and Wales for the service of all persons who chose to avail themselves of it, except Jews. [*Stat. 3, 13 Edw. I.*]

The king, understanding that Gregory de Rokesley and Henry Waleys citizens of London †, and other merchants of England, Ireland, Gascoigne, and Wales, had made a practice of obliging the *barons* of the Cinque ports and the other seamen of the kingdom to pay average, in cases of goods thrown overboard in storms, upon articles which ought to be exempted, ordained by his letters patent ‡, that the vessel with her apparel, the provisions and cooking utensils, the master's ring, necklace, fash, and silver cup, and also the freight payable for the goods brought into port, should be exempted from paying any average; but that all other things in the vessel, not excepting even the seamen's bedding, should be appraised, and bear a proportion of the loss incurred by throwing any of the goods overboard for the preservation of the rest; and that the master should not have any freight for the goods thrown overboard.

\* There is some obscurity, or reluctance to touch upon the subject, in the provision for compelling clergymen to pay their debts. Perhaps there was no instance of a clergyman acting dishonestly.

† Both of them had frequently been mayors of the city.

‡ The king took the advice of his council; but the parliament had no concern in enacting this law.

Each of the *seven Cinque* ports received a copy of this letter or law. [*Fadera, V. ii, p. 298.*]

The few manufactures then carried on not being sufficient to find employment for the men, who were not engaged in war, agriculture, or pasturage, and the great body of the people having neither capacity nor opportunity to polish and humanize themselves by reading or other rational amusements, robbery was the usual resource of vast multitudes of people in every part of Europe for subsistence and employment: and the plunderers were often assisted, and protected against the pursuits of justice, by some lawless baron, whose castle was their refuge and the receptacle of their plunder. In Germany their powerful combinations obliged the friends of order and justice to enter into confederacies against them, which proved more effectual than the reliques of the saints and the anathemas of the clergy\*: and in England their bands were frequently strong enough to set law and government at defiance. In order to repress such enormities, laws were enacted, whereby the magistrates of walled towns were ordered to keep their gates shut from the setting till the rising of the sun, and to keep a sufficient watch, as in former times, at the gates from Ascension day to Michaelmas †. Those, who received lodgers in their houses, were made answerable for their conduct; and the magistrates of towns were directed to make frequent inquiry in the suburbs for suspicious persons lodged in them. A particular statute was enacted for London, which, because many murders, homicides, assaults, and robberies, had been committed in the city, both in the day and in the night, ordered, that all persons found in the streets with sword and buckler or other arms after the curfew was rung at St. Martin's le Grand, except great lords and men of good reputation, should be committed to the Tun ‡, and next day carried before the magistrates. And because such malefactors generally concerted their plans in taverns, and continued in them till the appointed time of putting their plots in execution, the masters of all taverns for the sale of wine or ale were ordered to shut them up as soon as the curfew bell rang. The aldermen were moreover required to make diligent inquiry in their wards for all malefactors, and for people who had no property or visible means of support. No bushes nor trees (except detached trees clear of underwood) nor ditches, wherein robbers could be concealed, were allowed to be within 200 feet of either side of the roads: the whole people of the hundred, wherein a robbery was committed, were bound to

\* Some account of the laws and anathemas against robbers may be seen in *Roberison's Hist. of Charles V, Vol. i, p. 397, ed. 1792.* See also above, pp. 393, 404.

† Quere, if not rather from Michaelmas to As-

cension day, as the long dark nights required the greatest vigilance?

‡ The Tun was a prison built in Cornhill in the year 1282 by Henry Waleys, then mayor, for confining night-walkers. [*Stow's Survey of London, p. 357.*]

make good the damage, if they did not apprehend the robber. And every man was required to have in his house arms and armour, suitable to his circumstances, to enable him to assist in keeping the peace. [*Stat. Wint. and Stat. Lond. 13 Edw. I.*]

About this time a great conduit was made in the street called West Cheaping (now Cheapside) which was supplied with water brought from Paddington in leaden pipes laid under ground\*. [*Stow's Survey of London, p. 482.*]

Two Norwegian brothers, called Adalbrand and Thorvald, are said to have discovered land lying west from Iceland. [*Torfæi Hist. Norweg. V. iv, p. 374.*] But Greenland, the country due west from Iceland, had been discovered, and also colonized, several ages before.

At this time the coasts of Denmark, Friseland, and Germany, were infested by a most famous pirate called Alf, a Norwegian nobleman, who carried home his plunder to Norway, and was kindly received there. The merchants of the Vandalic part of Germany fitted out a fleet of about thirty large cogs, which cruised for Alf in the Ore sound several weeks, during which he carried on his depredations in the Baltic sea. So much of the old piratical spirit still prevailed in Norway, that Eric, the young king of that country, instead of punishing his subject Alf as the general enemy of mankind, promoted him to the rank of an earl, and treated the German merchants as his own enemies; and they appear to have really taken some vessels belonging to his subjects. [*Torfæi Hist. Norweg. V. iv, p. 374.—Fædera, V. ii. p. 1088.*]

Perhaps this pirate was the cause of the war between the king of Norway and the German merchants about the year 1280, as related by Krantzius, [*Hist. Norweg. L. vi, c. 2*] who says, that the merchants, offended with the king for some encroachments upon their ancient privileges, blocked up his ports, and prevented the importation of any provisions; that the Norwegians, strongly habituated to the corn brought from the southern countries, obliged their king to make peace, who requested the king of Sweden to act as umpire, and, in consequence of his award, restored the privileges of the merchants, and paid them a large sum of money for damages; whereupon the merchants immediately imported corn into Norway. During the war the dukes of Saxony and Brunswick and the emperor of Germany wrote to King Edward, representing the unjust and tyrannic conduct of the king of Norway in seizing the property of the merchants of Lubeck 'to an infinite amount,' and requesting him not to permit the Norwegians, whose own country could not supply them with provisions, to carry any from his dominions, [*Rymer's Coll. manuscr. V. ii, n. 71-73*] whence it may be

\* We are not informed what materials the first pipes for bringing water into London were made of, (see above, p. 389) and Stow has quoted no author for his narrative of the conduit.

inferred that foreign countries then received some supplies of provisions from England\*.

1286—The historians and poets of Scotland dwell with a melancholy pleasure on the virtues of the good King Alexander III, and the prosperity of the country during his peaceable and happy reign. His laws for enforcing agricultural industry, related by Wyntown, [*Oryginal Cronykil of Scotland*, V. i, p. 400] produced more plentiful crops of corn in the kingdom† than had been known in former times. He discouraged idleness, and abridged the number of horses kept for useless parade by the prelates and barons. [*Scotichron*. V. ii, p. 129 ed. Goodall.] In consequence of the abundance produced by a more vigorous agriculture and diligent fishery‡, and of the laws for rendering the lands and moveable property of debtors liable to be sold by the shirref for the satisfaction of their creditors, and for preserving the property in vessels wrecked on the coast for the owners||, as in the laws of England, and the general strict and impartial administration of justice, the trade of Scotland, which had been an object of some attention to foreign merchants, at least since the reign of Macbeth, was now of such importance, that the Lombards§, the greatest general merchants in Europe, made proposals to the king for establishing towns in various parts of the kingdom for trading posts or contoirs, and particularly one on the peninsular rock at the Queens-ferry in Fife, or on the small island near Cramund. [*Scotichron*. V. ii, p. 130.]

Such a contoir, or factory, actually was established at Berwick by some Flemish merchants, who occupied a strong building, called the *Red ball*, and were bound by the terms of their tenure to defend it

\* Krantzius is so inaccurate as to call the king of Norway Olavus, and the king of Sweden Eric. There was no Olaf king of Norway for several ages before and after this time: and Magnus was king from December 1263 to May 1280. [*Torſei Orcades*, L. ii.—*Fadera*, V. ii, p. 1075.] And, according to Puffendorff, a Swedish historian, another Magnus was king of Sweden from 1279 to 1288. Krantzius says that the contest with the German merchants was the only memorable event in the reign of Olavus, as he calls him. His (I mean Magnus's) prudent negotiation with Alexander III for the cession of the Western islands to the crown of Scotland, and his reformation of the laws, which obtained for him the honourable appellation of *Lagbetter*, were unknown to, or thought unworthy of notice by, Krantzius. Werdenhagen in his superficial *History of the Hanſatic republics*, has followed Krantzius without any examination. And both these writers have the good fortune to be quoted as respectable authorities.—From the letters of the German princes to King Edward, Krantzius appears also to have antedated the war.

† Whoever compares the agricultural regulations in the first chapter of the laws ascribed to Alexander II in Skene's edition of *Regiam majestatem*, &c. with Wyntown's account of those of Alexander III, and considers the general inaccuracy of Skene's compilation, will see reason, notwithstanding the professed exactness of the date, to think it at least as probable, that they were enacted by Alexander III, whom Skene does not admit into the number of his legislating kings. The prices of corn in Alexander's reign will be found in the appendix of prices.

‡ For the fishery of this reign see above, p. 436.

|| These laws are the 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> chapters of those ascribed to Alexander II. If he was the author of the first, the law of merchants, enacted in England in the year 1285, was later than a somewhat-similar law in Scotland, which will be thought rather improbable.

§ It is perhaps almost unnecessary to remind the reader, that the numerous states in the north part of Italy were comprehended under the general name of Lombards.

against the enemies of Scotland \*: and it appears to have been of the same nature with a *fundicus* in the Mediterranean, the *Tentonic gildball* in London, and the *contoir* of the German merchants at Bergen. (See above pp. 327, 410, 421). By the agency of the merchants of Berwick the wool, hides, wool-fells, and other wares, the produce of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and all the adjacent country, were shipped for foreign countries, or sold upon the spot to the Flemish company. The exportation of salmon appears to have been also a considerable branch of their trade, as we find it some time after an object of attention to the legislature of England, and the regulation of it intrusted to the great officers of the government †. [*Hemingford*, p. 91, ed. *Hearne*.—*Fædera*, V. vi, p. 620.—*Stat. 2*, 31 *Edw. III.*] No other port of Scotland, in point of commercial importance, came near to a comparison with Berwick, which, according to the testimony of the contemporary writer of the Chronicle of Lanercost, [*MS. Bib. Cott. Claud. D vii, f. 207 b*] was so populous and so full of commerce, that it might be called a *second Alexandria*. The sea was its wealth; the waters were its walls; and the opulent citizens were very liberal in their donations to religious houses ‡. But we have better authority than the voice of panegyric for the prosperity of Berwick; as we find the customs of it assigned by King Alexander to a merchant of Gascoigne for £2,197 : 8 : 0 sterling, a sum equivalent to 32,961 bolls of wheat at the usual price of sixteen pennies; and, of 1,500 marks a-year, settled on the widow of Alexander prince of Scotland by her marriage contract, there were 1,300 payable out of Berwick. [*Fædera*, V. ii, pp. 605, 613.]

Berwick was governed, as already observed, by a mayor with four provosts subordinate to him. Perth, Striveline (or Stirling), Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, had each at least one alderman, apparently the chief magistrate. Haddington was governed by a provost. Peebles, and Munros (now called Montrose), had each a bailie. Linlithgow, and Inverkeithing, had each two bailies. Elgin also was governed by bailies. And before this time Glasgow had three co-ordinate provosts and also bailies||. [*Prynne's Hist. of John, &c.* pp. 653, 654.—*Rymer's Coll. MS. V. iii, n°.*]

\* In the year 1296 thirty Flemings defended the Red hall against the English forces, till it was set on fire: and the whole of the faithful and gallant merchant garrison perished in the flames; [*Hemingf. p. 91*] a catastrophe, which apparently put an end to the Flemish company at Berwick.

† When Edward III wanted 2,000 salmon for his own use in the year 1361, he sent orders to procure them for him at Berwick (then belonging to England) and Newcastle, no-doubt, the places most famous for them in his dominions. [*Rot. pat. Jac. 35 Edw. III, m. 9.*]

‡ Probably Lanercost, which was an abbay in

Cumberland, had profited largely by the mistaken piety of the wealthy citizens of Berwick; and the writer of the Chronicle thus repaid them in the usual coin.

|| Though most of these magistrates appear under the year 1296, the establishment of their offices was most probably not later than the reign of David I, and at any rate earlier than the time in which I mention them: for certainly no new regulations of such matters could be introduced during the convulsions which ensued on the death of King Alexander III and his infant grand-daughter, Queen Margaret.

116,—*above p. 417.*] We shall afterwards see thirty-seven aldermen, the magistrates, and representatives in parliament, of seventeen towns, among which are Haddington, Peebles, Munros, Linlithgow, and Inverkeithing, the first of which we find at this time under the government of a provost, and the rest under that of bailies; whence it seems not improbable, that the title of bailie, and also of provost, may have been, at least sometimes, and in some places, used promiscuously with that of alderman\*. As the titles of magistracy, so, it may be presumed, the constitutions of the towns, were more similar in England and Scotland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (and apparently also in earlier times) than they have been in later ages. But, during some centuries bypast, no such titles as mayor and alderman have been used in Scotland: and it is now scarcely known that they ever were used.

The loss of several merchant vessels by pirates, shipwrecks, and arrests in foreign ports, induced King Alexander to enact a well-intended, but mistaken, law, whereby the merchants of Scotland were prohibited for a time from exporting any goods in their own vessels. And, before a year was expired, vessels from several countries arrived with merchandize of various kind to be exchanged for the commodities of Scotland, the foreign merchants, according to the erroneous policy of the age, being restricted to deal with the burghesses only. These fetters upon commerce were thought so judicious by the historian, that, he says, in consequence of them the kingdom in a few years abounded in corn, money, cattle, sheep, and all kinds of merchandize †, and the arts flourished. [*Scoticron. V. ii, p. 130.*] One certain consequence of the restriction must have been a considerable decrease of the mercantile shipping of Scotland.

Of the Scottish navy the scanty remains of authentic records anterior to the death of Alexander give us the knowledge of only one ship belonging to the king, or to the public; [*Ayliffe's Calendar, p. 335*] and probably there were no more ‡. But the king of Mann was bound to furnish five warlike galleys ('galeas piraticas') of twenty-four oars, and five of twelve oars, to the king of Scotland, when required, [*Scoticron, V. ii, p. 101*] and his other maritime vassals contributed vessels in proportion to their lands ||.

\* In pleadings of the year 1291 we find the mayor and bailies ('ballivi') of Berwick repeatedly mentioned, the later being apparently the same who are called provosts in the statutes of the gild. [*Ryley, Plac. parl. pp. 149-152.*]

† In the year 1283, when King Edward was collecting stores of all kinds for the invasion of Wales, he commissioned John Bishop, a burghess of Lynne, to purchase merchandize ('mercimonia') for him in Scotland. [*Ayliffe's Calendar, p. 88.*]  
—Quere, Was this term, merchandize, intended to

signify fish, corn, and other provisions, or was Scotland so well stocked with general merchandize as to have some for exportation?

‡ The kings of England in those ages had very few ships, and the kings of France had seldom any.

|| Colin Campbell held the lands of Loeh Ow, &c. of the king by the service of finding one vessel of forty oars, properly equipped and sufficiently manned, during forty days, as often as required. [*Chart. Rob. I, in Anderson's Diplom. tab. 47,—or Cræwford's Officers of State, p. 41.*] Tormod Macleod

The general opulence of Scotland appears from the respectable public revenue, the prodigious sums squeezed out of it by the papal extortioners, which the temper of the age did not permit the wisdom of the king entirely to prohibit, and the great opulence of the king himself, as he has never been branded with oppression or avarice, who fairly purchased with his money the vassal kingdom of Mann and the Islands, bought many estates and wardships in England\*, and gave Eric king of Norway a marriage portion of 14,000 marks with his daughter, reserving to himself an option of giving a life-rent of lands of the annual value of 700 marks as an equivalent for half the sum †. In short, it is evident, that Scotland during the reigns of the three last sovereigns of the antient race, and particularly during the peaceable and auspicious reign of Alexander III, was in a progressive state of improvement, and possessed a much larger proportion of the wealth of great Britain than it has ever had in any subsequent time. But the premature and sudden death of the king (16<sup>th</sup> March 1286), followed by that of Queen Margaret his infant grand-daughter (September 1290), and the sanguinary convulsions which ensued, changed all this sun-shine of national prosperity into a long night of warfare and devastation, the calamitous consequences of which have been felt almost to the present day.

1288—Though the power of Edward was much greater and his government much more vigorous than what the English had been accustomed to for almost a century, they were not sufficient to give full effect to his laws, especially the late one for enforcing precautions against robbery. A powerful gang of banditti in the habits of monks and canons set fire to the populous commercial town of Boston on the day appointed for a fair and a tournament, murdered many of the merchants, who were endeavouring to save their property, and during the confusion stole prodigious quantities of rich merchandize, which their accomplices received from them, and immediately carried off. The fire made such destruction of the pretious articles brought to the fair, that streams of melted gold, silver, and copper, were said, in the exaggeration of popular report, to run down even into the sea, and all the money in England was supposed insufficient to make good the damage. The captain of the gang, a warrior of great reputation, and owner of many houses in Boston and of much ill-gotten wealth, was taken and hanged; but, ad-

leod held lands in Glenelg by the service of finding one of twenty-six oars; and Torkil Macleod, for lands in Affynt, was to find one of twenty oars, when required, as appears by charters of David II. [*Robertson's Index*, p. 102.] All these were probably renovations of charters, granted by Alexander III upon assuming the sovereignty of the islands for the sake of securing the loyalty of the chiefs of the western coast, who had much stronger connections with the Norwegians than with the Scots.

\* See above, pp. 416, 425.—*M. Paris*, pp. 540, 573, 723, &c.—*Dugdale's Baronage*, V. i, pp. 65, 769.—*Ryley, Plac. parl.* p. 345.

† The annuity on the life of Margaret, then in her twenty-first year, was thus valued at ten years purchase. See the contract of marriage in *Fœdera*, V. ii, p. 1079. Eric was put in possession of the lands, apparently the same which were afterwards given with King Robert's daughter.

hering to the point of honour among thieves, he obstinately refused to betray his accomplices, who quietly enjoyed their plunder and the triumph of having trampled upon the laws. [*T. Wikes, p. 117.—Trivet, p. 266.—Knyghton, col. 2466\*.*]

This year the harvest was so abundant in England, that the quarter of wheat was sold in some places for twenty pennies, in some for sixteen, and in others for twelve. [*Trivet, p. 266.*] Stow says, that in the west and north parts of the country it was sold for eight pennies (being a farthing the peck) but in London, when at the dearest price of the year, so high as three shillings and four pence. Such a monstrous inequality in the price of an article of the first necessity in various parts of the same kingdom shows, that the home carrying trade, the greatest, and by far the most important, in any well-regulated country, was still almost unknown in England.

In the ordinance made this year for regulating the trade of Ireland there was one chapter (the third) which very much abridged the freedom of trade granted to that country in the first year of Edward's reign. Merchants were permitted to carry corn and other victuals and merchandize from Ireland, if not embargoed by the viceroy, only to England and Wales, on paying the customs and giving security that they should not be carried to the king's enemies of Scotland † or any other of his enemies.

1290—In the year 1275 the parliament passed an act (not published in the *Statutes at large*) prohibiting the Jews from taking interest for money or receiving stolen goods, on pain of death. In 1287 a Jew was compelled by a tolerated persecution to give up a mortgage; and in the same year all the Jews of both sexes were seized on the second day of May, and kept in prison till they paid twelve thousand pounds to the king. In the year 1290 all the Jews were ordered to leave England before the first of November, and never to return, on pain of death. They were allowed to carry their moveable property with them, except their bonds for money owing to them by Christians, which were in the custody of the king ‡, who also seized all their houses and tenements. Tri-

\* The robbery is dated in 1285 by Knyghton: but the other two authors are considerably earlier than him. If he were right, the laws for guarding against robbery might be supposed to have been enacted in consequence of that outrageous insult upon the justice and authority of the government.

† As a harmony, which for duration is perhaps unparalleled in the history of neighbouring kingdoms, had subsisted between England and Scotland, and Edward was now particularly assiduous in cultivating the friendship of the regents of Scotland, in order to secure their infant queen, Margaret, with the kingdom for her marriage portion, for his still

younger infant son, Edward, the enemies of Scotland, herein excepted, could not be the nation at large, nor the regents. They must have been Robert Brus, the Stewart, and others connected with them, who, together with the earls of Gloucester and Ulster, had entered into a confederacy in September 1286, and had even taken up arms, apparently with a design to set aside the young queen and disappoint Edward in the favourite object of his ambition. [*Dugdale's Baronage, V. i, p. 216.—Symson's Hist. of the house of Stuart, p. 79.*]

‡ The king exacted payment of the debts due to the Jews as his own property. But some others,

vet and Walsingham say, that the king seized all their property, leaving them only as much as would bear their charges to France: but, according to Wikes, they carried enough with them to tempt the seamen to murder them on the passage for the sake of their money. The number of Jews driven out of England at this time was reckoned to be 16,511: and the king had previously expelled them from his territories in France. Such was the general eagerness to get rid of the Jews, that the parliament granted the king a fifteenth of the property of the people for that purpose, though, as the expulsion was managed, it was able very amply to bear its own charges\*.

1291, April—Now (and how long before is unknown) coal mines were worked in Scotland, as appears by a charter of William of Ober-vill, granting liberty to the monks of Dunfermline to dig coals for their own use in his lands of Pittencrief, but upon no account to sell any. [*Chart. in Statist. account of Scotland, V. xiii, p. 469.*] From the donor restricting the monks from selling, it may be presumed, that the sale of coal was then a valuable object, which he reserved for himself.

June 15<sup>th</sup>—The property of some Flemish merchants had been arrested by the justiciary, or viceroy, of Ireland in the ports of Waterford, Youghall, and Cork, on account of disputes between England and Flanders. But the king, unwilling that any interruption should be given to the trade, now desired that it should be restored. [*Fœdera, V. ii, p. 528.*] Either those merchants were in the carrying trade between Ireland and England; or the rigour of the law of the year 1288 was now relaxed.

Baptista Burgus, the panegyric historian of Genoa, relates, that two galleys, commanded by D'Oria and Vivaldo, were fitted out from that city for the discovery of western lands in the Atlantic ocean, but that they were never more heard of.

Soon after the expulsion of the western pilgrims from Jerusalem in the year 1187 they were confined to a narrow slip of the coast; and the maritime city of St. John de Acre (or Ptolemais) was the capital of the Christian territory in the East. Being thus occupied by people from every European nation, it became a general emporium for the merchandize of the East and the West; and commerce, conducted chiefly by the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans, flourished as much as a state of frequent warfare with the neighbouring Mohamedans, and the distracted condition of a city wherein there were seventeen sovereigns, or representatives of sovereigns and republics, no one of whom acknowledged himself subordinate to any other, could permit. Without entering into any detail of the bloody war between the Venetians and Genoese for

as might be expected, thought they had as good a right to a share of the plunder. [*Ryley, Plac. parl. p. 131.*]

\* See *Madox's Hist. of the exchequer, c. 7, § 8, notes* 1, 2.—*Trivet, pp. 264, 266, 267.*—*Wikes, pp. 103, 114, 122.*—*M. Westm. p. 414.*—*Walsingham, p. 476.*—*Rot. pat. 18, 19 Edw. I.*—*Ryley, Plac. parl. p. 129.*

the possession of a monastery \*, I shall only observe, that one consequence of the anarchy was, that nineteen Syrian merchants, trading in time of peace under the security of the public faith, were plundered and ignominiously put to death by the people of Acre. The refusal of satisfaction for the outrage brought upon them the vengeance of the sultan Khalil, who took the city by storm, carried all the remaining inhabitants into captivity, and made an end of the Latin dominion in Syria, and of the holy wars, which during two centuries wasted the blood and treasure of Europe. [*Gibbon, V. xi, p. 166, and authorities quoted.*]

After the final loss of Syria a solemn edict was issued (I presume, by the pope) whereby the Christians were prohibited from having any commerce with the subjects of the sultan. Cruising vessels were stationed to intercept those, who, *setting aside the fear of God*, presumed to trade with them: the transgressors were declared infamous, and rendered incapable of performing any legal act: their property was confiscated, and themselves condemned to be made slaves to any person who should apprehend them. [*Sanuto, ap. Gesta Dei per Francos, V. ii, p. 28.*]

1292—An order had been issued ten years ago for the officers employed on the sea coast to guard against the importation of counterfeit and defaced money, [*Rot. pat, 11 Edw. I, m. 4*] which appears to have had but little effect; for now the trade and intercourse of the country were so much injured by an inundation of bad money from foreign countries, that the currency of all money but that of England, Ireland, or Scotland, was totally prohibited: and all persons arriving from abroad were required to submit their money to the examination of officers appointed for that purpose in Dover, Sandwich, London, Boston, Southampton, and the Cinque ports. Immediately after this another statute was enacted for punishing those merchants, chiefly foreigners, who brought defaced and counterfeit money into the kingdom, by forfeitures and other penalties: and all other people, possessing bad money, were directed to bring it to the mint to be recoined, on pain of forfeiture. The bad money, now smuggled into England, and generally put up in bales of cloth and other packages to elude the search of the officers, consisted partly of light pieces stamped with mitres and lions, 20/ of which weighed only 16/4 of English money, and partly of counterfeits of English money, made of baser metals and covered over with silver, which were coined at Avignon and elsewhere. [*Stat. 4, 5, 6, of 20 Edw. I.*]

The brightest ornament of England and of the thirteenth century was Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar of Oxford. This heaven-taught

\* Platina, the biographer of the popes, says [*p. 425, ed. 1664*] that the quarrel of the Venetians and Genoese prevented Pope Alexander IV from prosecuting the *pious and necessary* Asiatic war. It certainly was a very *profitable* war in many respects to the popes.

genius, soaring above the incomprehensible jargon which was then called philosophy, by the native force of his own mind made such discoveries in real science and experimental philosophy, that the bare recital of them must astonish us. His works plainly show, that many mathematical instruments, supposed the inventions of later ages, were known to, or invented by, him, though lost at his death, till they were re-invented by several ingenious men of later times. His description of specula compounded of several glasses placed at proper distances, which enabled him to bring the sun, moon, and stars, apparently near to him, and to read letters at a great distance, applies exactly to our modern telescopes. Our modern spectacles are surely no other than his reading glasses, which magnified the letters for the use of old men and those whose eyes were weak. He understood the construction of burning glasses, microscopes, and the camera obscura. In his writings he maintains, that greater wonders may be accomplished by the powers of nature, if properly known, than by the pretended arts of magic. He affirms, that chariots may be made to go without horses; that machines may be made, by which a man may mount up in the air; others, by which he may walk at the bottom of the sea; and others, by which one man may counteract the force of a thousand. He compounded saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, into a *powder*, by which he produced artificial thunder and flame, and by which a city or an army could be destroyed: and he knew many of the supposed-modern improvements in chymistry\*. All the rules of arithmetic (not then, as now, a common science) were familiar to him; and he discovered the exact period of the year, and methods for correcting the calendar. In short, he was indefatigable in the prosecution of science; and he expended upon experiments, by the assistance of his friends, no less than two thousand pounds, a sum fully equivalent to at least fifty thousand in the present time. This illustrious man would alone have been sufficient to illuminate a dark age, if his ardour for discovery had not been repressed by the jealous despotism of ignorant priests, from whom he suffered much persecution and several imprisonments, whereby the world was deprived of the fruits of many of the best years of his astonishing ingenuity and incomparable industry. After having made more discoveries in science than any other man ever did in any age or country, he died in a good old age on the 11<sup>th</sup> of June, 1292; and after his death science relapsed into a slumber of about two centuries. [See his own *Opus majus*.—*Wood's Hist. Oxon. L. i.*]

The commerce with France was interrupted by a squabble between

\* Petrus Peregrinus, who wrote upon almost all the qualities of the magnet, is said by some to be no other than Bacon under an assumed name. The

same writer is quoted under the name of Petrus Pellegrinus by Baptista della Porta in his *Magia naturalis*, L. vii, c. 27.

some English and French sailors for a well of fresh water, which was followed by sanguinary and ruinous private hostilities, if, being so extensive, they may be called private. The barons of the Cinque ports, in order to revenge the losses and slaughters of their countrymen, fitted out sixty vessels, wherewith they attacked a French fleet of two hundred, loaded with wine, and took them all, the whole of the people, to the number of about 15,000, being killed or drowned, except a few who got to the land in their boats. King Edward, as disapproving the action, refused to accept any share of the plunder. The king of France, roused by the cries of his people, sent a very urgent letter for compensation; and Edward, very desirous of avoiding a war with France, sent the bishop of London with instructions to offer several proposals for settling matters amicably.

1294—But the kings on both sides having other causes of discontent, the negotiation proved fruitless, and both kings prepared for war. The king of France prohibited all commercial intercourse between his kingdom and England: and King Edward seized the property of the French merchants in his dominions, which was expressly contrary to the provisions of *Magna charta*, unless the king of France acted previously in the same manner. [*Trivet*, p. 274.—*M. West.* p. 419.—*Wikes*, p. 126.—*Fædera*, V. ii, p. 659.]

The savage and predatory spirit of the age was continually breaking out in enormities; and the seamen of Bayonne, the Cinque ports, Blakeney, &c. as well as those of other countries, were frequently accused of acts of piracy and wanton cruelty. [*Fædera*, V. ii, pp. 607, 616, 617, 632, 667, &c.] It was said, that some merchants of Bayonne were publicly plundered in the port of Lisbon; and many hostilities had passed between them, aided by their allies the seamen of England, and their neighbours of Spain; and in particular fifteen Spanish vessels were taken and carried into an English port. But, by the intervention of the kings of England and Spain (who do not appear to express any displeasure at their subjects going to war without their authority \*) it was agreed (in summer 1293) that all captures should be restored on both sides. The merchants of Spain and Portugal appear, however, to have been still unwilling to venture themselves or their property in Edward's dominions, till, by the intercession of his friend the earl of Flanders, he granted them safe-conducts (17<sup>th</sup> February 1294), to last only till the middle of October, on condition that the kings of Spain and Portugal should act in the same manner to his subjects. [*Fædera*, V. ii, pp. 609, 610, 627.—*M. Westm.* p. 424.]

King Edward, preparing for his intended war against France, divided

\* Mathew of Westminster says, [p. 423] that in those days there was neither king nor law for sailors, but every one called, whatever he could plunder or carry off, his own.

his navy into three fleets, and appointed three *admirals*, viz. John of Botetourt admiral of the fleet of Yarmouth and the east coast; William of Leyburn, of the Portsmouth division; and an officer (not named) of Irish birth commanded the ships of the west coast and Ireland. [*Trivet*, p. 279.] This is believed to be the earliest appearance in England of the title of *admiral*, which had been some time before adopted, in imitation of the Saracens, by the maritime states of Italy, for the commander of a fleet. And the title appears to be quite new and unsettled; for on the 3<sup>d</sup> of September William of Leyburn is stiled *captain of the seamen and mariners of the king's dominions*\*, and in the following year the king calls John of Botetourt his *warden of the coast of Yarmouth*. [*Fædera*, V. ii, pp. 654, 688.]

The great inconveniences produced by the circulation of bad money in England, in spite of all the laws and precautions against the importation of it, induced King Edward to appoint Master John of Gloucester, and John of Lincoln merchant in Hull, to superintend the payments of the merchants *throughout the whole kingdom*, and to compell all merchants to bring their money to be examined by them. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 9, § 3.*] Whether all the payments in England were made in their office, or they had deputies in every trading town, we are not informed: nor do we know how long their extraordinary commission continued in force.

September 20<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, being engaged in a war with France, and at the same time very eager to make a conquest of Scotland and to suppress some tumults in Wales, demanded of the clergy one half of their incomes for the year, from the merchants living in walled cities and market towns one sixth part, and from the rest of the people one tenth, of all their possessions; but, I suppose, rather of their incomes. These heavy taxes were rendered still more distressful by a very scanty harvest, occasioned probably by the men being drawn off from agriculture to the army, whereby many of the poor actually perished for want. [*Trivet*, p. 279.—*M. Westm. p. 422.*]

1295—King Edward, being at war with France, compelled the masters of neutral vessels in the ports of England to give security that they should not fail to that kingdom, without drawing any line of distinction between contraband and lawful goods. Some citizens of Lubeck, not being able to find security in England, were obliged to have their case represented to the emperor, who wrote to Edward in their behalf, and

\* The learned Spelman [*Gloss. vo. Admiralus*] by translating the old French word 'saiuze' six instead of sixteen, has dated the ordinance at Bruges (see *Fædera*, V. ii, p. 759) in 1286 instead of 1296, and supposed the mention of William of Leyburn in it as the king's admiral of the sea the

earliest appearance of the title in England. For the derivation of the name, and nature of the office of admiral, see his *Glossary*, wherein he has given a series of the admirals of England, which may now be greatly augmented from the *Fædera* and other records published since his time.

in return was desired to have the required security taken in Germany, before the vessels should be permitted to move. [*Fœdera*, V. ii, p. 679.]

A merchant of Bayonne, having taken in 174 baskets of almonds on the coast of Africa, and also 150 boxes\* of Malaga raisins, and 490 frailes ('flayons') of Malaga figs, when proceeding with those and other goods to England, anchored on the coast of Portugal, where, notwithstanding the truce so lately made with the merchants of Spain and Portugal, he was taken by armed men, who carried him into Lisbon. There his property was sold, and the king of Portugal received a tenth part of it from the pirates, whereby the merchant was injured to the amount of £700 sterling. King Edward's lieutenant in Gascoigne thereupon granted to him and his heirs licence to seize the property of the Portuguese, and especially of the inhabitants of Lisbon, wherever he could find it, during five years to come, or till he should be reimbursed for his loss and all expenses. [*Fœdera*, V. ii, p. 691.] This is, I believe, the earliest notice, to be found in English records, of letters of marque or reprisal.

September 28<sup>th</sup>—The king directed John of Botetourt, his warden of the coast of Yarmouth, to permit the people of Holland, Zeland, and Friseland (whose sovereign had engaged to assist him in his war against France) to fish freely on the coast near Yarmouth; and he desired him to make frequent proclamation, that no person should presume to injure or hinder them in their fishing, and that they should give them every requisite assistance, till the 11<sup>th</sup> of November †. [*Fœdera*, V. ii, p. 688.]

Dantzick was now for the first time inclosed with a wall, which was made of planks, by Przemislaus duke of Poland. In the year 1343 a stone wall was begun. But the houses were built with reeds and mud as late as the end of the fourteenth century, there being then only one brick house, wherein the magistrates assembled. [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L. iii, p. 102.*]

Nicolo and Matheo Polo, two brothers of a noble family in Venice, having gone upon a trading adventure to Constantinople and various parts of Asia, after a variety of fortune arrived at Cambalu in Cathay ‡, the residence of Cublai khan, the conqueror of China, who treated them very favourably, and retained them in his service. Being sent as his ambassadors to the pope, they arrived in Italy in the year 1269, and returned to the East in 1271 with letters from the pope, accompanied by Marco the son of Nicolo. Young Marco soon acquired the languages

\* 'Confines,' which apparently ought to be *coffines*, boxes or baskets. The word *coffin* was not antiently restricted to a box for containing a dead body.

† This is doubtless the permission, dated by Selden in his *Mare clausum* in 1265, and copied

from him by Schook in his *Dissert. de harengis*, § 38.

‡ There can be little doubt that *Cambalu*, which, Marco informs us, signifies the *city of the king*, is Peking. Cathay is a name still used in Asia for the northern part of China.

of the Moguls and some other neighbouring nations, and became a great favourite with the khan, who employed him, and also his father and uncle, on many important embassies. On their return from one of them they found ambassadors at the court of Cublai from Argon, an Indian king, who had sent them to procure a wife for him. Their return home being rendered dangerous by a war in the intervening countries, they requested the khan to allow them to convey the princess, his relation, by sea, and to permit the three Venetians to accompany them on account of their skill in maritime affairs. The khan reluctantly consented to part with his Venetian friends, and ordered fourteen vessels to be provided for them, each of which carried four masts and nine sails\*. In twenty-one months they arrived in Argon's dominions: and thence the three Venetians proceeded by the way of Trebifond, Constantinople, and Negropont, to Venice, where they arrived in the year 1295, with more knowledge of the Oriental countries than any Europeans ever had acquired †.

From Marco Polo's faithful account of the many countries he had traveled through, and of those described by him from the best information he could obtain, the following particulars, illustrative of their commerce and manufactures, are extracted.

Giazza, a city with an excellent harbour at the north-east corner of the Levant sea, and a settled mart for all the East, is much frequented by vessels from Venice and Genoa for the sake of the spices and other rich merchandize brought to it.

Zorziana (Gurgistan or Georgia) has abundance of silk; and all the stuffs of gold and silk, called musleims, are made in the province of Moxul.

Baldach, or Bagdat, is situated upon the River Tigris, at the distance of seventeen days sailing from the sea. It has many manufactures of gold and silk, damasks, and velvets with figures of animals. All the pearls in Christendom are brought from that city.

In Tauris, a great and populous city of Hyrcania, there are manufactures of gold and silk; and many foreign merchants residing there acquire great riches.

Persia abounds with silk, and has excellent artificers, who make wonderful things in gold, silk, and embroidery. Jafdi, a city on the frontier of Persia, has a great trade and many manufactures of silk.

Ormuz, the capital of the kingdom of Kerman, situated on an island,

\* The form of the sails is described by Ramusio in his account of Marco's travels.

† The travels of Plano Carpini and his associates and followers, begun in the year 1246, those of Rubruquis, or Ruybroeck, in 1253, and the work of Haitho, written about the time that the Polos were on their travels, though containing

some particulars of Cathay agreeing with and confirmed by Marco, were of no great importance in themselves, except as having some degree of influence in slowly arousing the spirit of inquiry, without which no great object can ever be accomplished.

is a great mart, to which the merchants from India and other countries bring spices, pearls, pretious stones, and other rich articles, from India. The vessels of Ormus are stoutly built, with one deck, one mast, and one sail.

Cambalu in the province of Cathay, two days journey from the Ocean, has been long the royal residence. The great khan removed the city to the opposite side of the river, where the palaces are. The new-built city, called Taidu, is a square of six miles each side; and the streets, intersecting each other, extend in straight lines from gate to gate. In a great building in the center there is a very large bell, which tolls every night at a certain hour, after which no man must be in the streets till next morning, unless in cases of very urgent necessity, and then he must carry a light with him. Adjoining to each of the twelve gates there are suburbs three or four miles long, wherein the merchants and strangers live, each nation having their own distinct store-houses, in which they reside. The quantity and variety of merchandize of all kinds is astonishing, and the number of merchants, of whom a great proportion are Saracens, is wonderfully great. The money is not made of metal, but of the middle bark of the mulberry tree, cut in round pieces, and stamped with the khan's mark. It is death to counterfeit it, or to refuse it in any part of the empire. Throughout the whole empire there are inns established at proper distances, where the khan's ambassadors or messengers are sure to find fresh horses, provisions, and lodgings; and ferry-boats are also stationed at the rivers and lakes. By these means letters are conveyed at the rate of 200 or 250 miles in a day. In years of abundance the khan lays up corn in his granaries, and in times of scarcity sells it out for a fourth part of the current price. In Cathay they make a liquor of rice much stronger than wine. They dig up black stones (coals) which burn like wood, and keep on fire through the whole night. The khan has the tenth of all wool, silk, and hemp, and of all produce of the earth except sugar and spices, which pay only  $3\frac{1}{3}$  per cent, as does also the wine of rice (or arrack); and all mechanics are obliged to work for him one day in the week; and thence he clothes his army and the poor\*. The whole country is full of great, rich, and crowded, cities (many of which are named and described) thronged with manufacturers of silk, gold stuffs, and other rich or useful merchandize. The rivers and canals, especially the great and magnificent one made by turning the river at the city of Singuimatu into two channels, one going towards Cambalu, and the other towards Mangi

\* If our modern travelers have been well informed on the subject of taxation in China, and Marco has been correct in this part of his narrative, those oppressive taxes are now lightened almost to annihilation. Perhaps Marco was here erroneous in his recollection; for it must have been a most preposterous policy to tax wool, silk, and hemp, the materials of industry, thrice as heavy as spiceries, a mere luxury, and arrack, the instrument of intoxication, idleness, and riot.

(the fourth part of China) are continually covered with vessels, which carry on a vast inland trade throughout the whole empire. At Trigui there is a great manufacture of porcelain dishes, eight of which may be bought for the value of a Venetian groat. Many of the ports are frequented by vessels from India, which pay a duty of ten per cent to the khan. At Zaitum, a famous port of Mangi, ships arrive from all quarters with merchandize, which is there reshipped for every part of India. The quantity of pepper to be found there is an hundred times as much as all that comes to the West by the way of Alexandria. Ships from Zaitum trade to an island (never seen by Marco) producing spices, lignum aloes, and pepper. They are a year upon the voyage out and in, having winds of two sorts (monsoons) which keep their regular seasons.

Zipangu (supposed to be Japan) is a large island, which the khan's forces were not able to subdue.

Java is supposed the largest island in the world. The merchants of Zaitum and other parts of Mangi import a great quantity of gold and spices from it.

Another island, called the Lesser Java, contains eight kingdoms, six of which Marco traveled through. In one of them called Felh the people are converted to the religion of Mohamed by the vast number of Saracens trading to that country. In another of them there are nuts, as large as a man's head, containing within them a liquor preferable to wine\*. Lambrai, another of those kingdoms, produces trees from which meal is made †.

One thousand miles west from Java is Zelan (Ceylon), 2,400 miles in circuit, but formerly 3,600, as appears in ancient maps: but the north winds have made great changes, and sunk much of it under the sea ‡. Between Zelan and the main land of India there is a great fishery for pearls.

Sixty miles west from Zelan is Malabar in the Greater India. The kings of that country are supplied with horses from Ormus and other places.

In Murffili, or Monful, lying north from Malabar, there are mountains containing diamonds.

On the west coast of Malabar and in Guzerat there are many pirates, who sometimes attack the merchants with fleets of a hundred vessels. (We may thence infer, that the merchant vessels were very numerous, and sailed in strong fleets, as the pirates thought so large a force necessary to attack them.) In Guzerat there is abundance of cotton; in

\* Could coco-nuts be unknown to him till he was in that country?

† He proceeds to describe the process of making this meal, which is sago.

‡ Marco, in his veneration for Ptolemy, rather supposes a very improbable event, than that his geography might be erroneous.

Canhau, store of frankincense; in Cambaia, indigo, buckram, and cotton.

In Bengal the people live on flesh, rice, and milk. They have great plenty of cotton, and carry on a vast trade in the manufactures of it. They have also abundance of spikenard, galinal, ginger, and other spices.

In Bascia and Thebet, countries lying north from India, corals are reckoned more pretious than any other article\*.

In Carandana, and many other provinces lying round it, an ounce of gold is exchanged for five ounces of silver †.

In the province of Chinchintalas there is a mountain containing mines of steel and andanicum ‡, and also salamander's wool (asbestos), whereof a cloth is made, which fire cannot consume.

Magaster (Madagascar) is 1,000 miles south from Socotora, and is one of the richest and largest islands in the world, being 3,000 miles in circuit. It is inhabited by Saracens; and vast quantities of elephant's teeth are brought from it.

Zensibar (apparently the Zanguebar of modern maps) is also said to be a very extensive country.

The vessels of India have many cabins on their decks, and each merchant has his own cabin. They carry from two to four masts, which are set up and lowered at pleasure. The hold is divided by water-tight partitions; so that, if a leak springs in one room, the goods in the others are not wetted by it. They are double-planked, and calked with oakum, nailed with iron, and covered with a composition of oil, lime, and hemp. They carry from five to six thousand bags of pepper, and from 150 to 300 men. They row with oars, which require four men to each of them. They have smaller vessels for tenders besides the boats carried on their decks. Every year they put on a new sheathing above the old; and after six such courses the ships are broken up §.

These accounts of the vast and rich countries of the East laid open a new world to the curiosity and speculation of the Europeans, and inflamed them with the desire of discovering a way to reach them by sea, which, after an interval of two centuries, was at last accomplished ||.

\* The great demand for corals in India, probably for the supply of those countries, was noted by Pliny. See above, p. 167, note †.

† The well-informed author of the Periplus of the Erythraean sea observed that there was a considerable profit made in India by exchanging one kind of money for another: (see above, p. 170) and there is still a great difference in the proportions between the pretious metals in India and in Europe.

‡ This is believed to be that most excellent kind of steel, which in antient times was carried from India to Europe. See above, p. 160, note\*.

§ These short-lived ships must have been built

of timber very different from that of Tylos in the days of Theophrastus, (see above, p. 59) or the very durable teak of the modern ship-builders of Hindoostan.

|| The narrative of Marco Polo proved a powerful stimulus to Christopher Colon in his project of reaching India by a western course, in which, according to the received geography, he should sail only 135 degrees west from the meridian of Ferro, instead of 225 degrees, besides the great circuit round Africa, in sailing to it by an eastern course: for India was his object; he had no conception of another great continent. [*Hist. del Almirante Don Chr. Colon*, cc. 7, 8; written by his son.]

Whoever compares the Periplus of the Erythræan sea, the relations of Cosmas Indicopleustes, the Arabian travelers, Maffoudi, Ebn Haukal, and Benjamin of Tudela, with the narrative of Marco Polo, will find them in many points strongly confirmed and illustrated by him, as he is by the accounts of all succeeding travelers of veracity\*. The close resemblance between the earliest accounts of the Indians (even those obtained by Alexander's officers) and of the Chinese, is particularly striking. Both those great nations had made considerable progress in science long before it began to dawn upon the western world: and both have continued, ever since the times in which we have the earliest knowledge of them, nearly stationary in science, or rather in some respects retrograde. In the age of Marco Polo we find the Indians, and the people of Mangi, or the southern Chinese, navigating every part of the Indian ocean, as, we know, that in earlier ages, though colonies and commercial settlements of the Arabians, or Saracens, a people of superior commercial enterprise and knowledge, were established in every port of that extensive ocean, and even in their own inland cities, they visited every coast of it in their own vessels, and took into their own hands the most of the maritime trade between the eastern and western parts of the world. But afterwards both the Indians and the Chinese, though better qualified in point of situation and valuable commodities and manufactures than any other people of Asia to command an extensive and lucrative trade to all parts of the world, have allowed the whole of their foreign trade to go into the hands of foreigners. The decline of navigation in China may perhaps be owing partly to the policy of the government, and partly to their seamen having lost the knowledge of managing vessels at sea in consequence of the great bulk of their trade being conveyed, without any danger from storms or pirates, by inland navigation, ever since the great canal was made by Coublai.

1296.—Hitherto the galleys in the Mediterranean had never had more than two men to row one oar; but now three men were put upon each

\* Many other particulars, characteristic of the eastern nations, and strongly proving the veracity of Marco's narrative, might be selected; such as the Chinese custom of exposing infants, 20,000 of whom were every year saved and bred up by Fanfur, the last king of Mangi; the policy, perhaps peculiar to China, of one city having authority over many others, no fewer than 140 being subject to the government of Quinfai (the city of heaven), the greatest and richest city, and, before the conquest of it by Coublai, the capital, of Mangi; the plantations of mulberry trees in China for feeding the silk-worms; the respect paid to cows by the Indians; their principle of not putting any animal to death, and abstaining from animal food; their widows devoting themselves to the

funereal fire along with the bodies of their deceased husbands; their custom of chewing a leaf (betel) which he calls *tembul*, with spices and lime; a small city at the tomb of St. Thomas, frequented by Saracens as well as Christians on account of devotion; the Christians of Socotora and other places acknowledging the patriarch of Baldach for their chief or pope, nearly as it was in the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes, &c.

Having already given the compressed commercial substance of all the early writers upon Oriental affairs, it will not be necessary to pay much attention to any other travelers into the eastern regions, unless they add something considerable to our stock of materials for commercial history.

oar in the larger galleys, which were thence called *terzaroli*\*. [*Sanuto, apud Bongars. V. ii, p. 57.*] Probably the Polos, who had just returned from the Oriental seas where they had seen even four men on an oar, may have suggested this augmentation of force upon the oars of the galleys.

1297—In consideration of an alliance against France, and of two political marriages between the families of Edward king of England and Guy earl (or cuens) of Flanders, the later obtained a very favourable commercial treaty, whereby his subjects were permitted to carry wool and other merchandize from Edward's dominions of England, Ireland, *Scotland*, and *Wales*, as freely as the Lombard, or even English, merchants. Guy even had interest to procure commercial favours in Edward's dominions for the merchants of Spain and Portugal, some of whom were immediately accused of piratically seizing two vessels belonging to King Edward's city of Bayonne †. In one of the many treaties between England and Flanders it was agreed, that all the vessels belonging to King Edward's British or French dominions should carry his arms in their colours, and those of the earl's territories should in like manner carry his: and all vessels should have letters patent, sealed with the common seals of the towns to which they belonged, testifying that they really belonged to such towns. This is probably the earliest notice of national colours and ship's papers (as they are now called) to be found in English records ‡. [*Fædera, V. ii, pp. 737-765.*]

September 15<sup>th</sup>—King Edward levied an eight part of the property of all the laymen throughout the kingdom for the support of his war with France: and in return, he renewed, or confirmed, the Great charter of the liberties of England and the Charter of the liberties of the forest §. [*Fædera, V. ii, p. 793.—Statut. 25 Edw. I.*]

October 10<sup>th</sup>—The parliament had granted the king an additional duty of forty shillings upon every sack of wool, and five marks upon every last of hides, to be exported, during two years, or three years if the war should last so long. But the imposition was apparently found

\* This word has apparently led some of the later Italian writers to assert, that *triremis* in antient times signified a vessel with three men to every oar (whereas the antient vessels never had more than one to an oar) and to apply that antient term to modern galleys; a licence utterly subversive of the meaning of language.

† Perhaps the letter of marque, granted in the year 1295 to a merchant of Bayonne, was now recalled or forgotten, the merchant being reimbursed, or his interest not attended to.

‡ The distinguishing banners, &c. used in the fleet of Richard I, seem to have been those of the military commanders, and they were set up upon spears. But in the year 1308 we shall find Castilian colours and Portuguese colours, bearing the

ensigns and arms of the sovereigns, mentioned as things in common use. Some time before March 1315 the people remaining onboard a vessel of Bayonne, which had been taken by some Flemish and Scottish cruizers, and abandoned by them on the appearance of an English fleet, hoisted the royal standard of England at their mast head as seeking their protection, and they were accordingly carried into Yarmouth. [*Fædera, V. iii, p. 509.*]

§ The Magna charta was repeatedly confirmed in the remaining part of Edward's reign. See *Blackstone's History of the charters*. But neither these confirmations, nor the frequent impositions of the taxes called aids, need to be mentioned in this work.

intolerable, and the collection of it impracticable; for the king, by advice of his council, directed the collectors of the customs to remit the new duties, and take only those formerly established, already specified under the year 1282. [*Statut. 25 Edw. I.—Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 18, § 5; note (t).*]

1298—The people of Hull used to pay certain duties to the city of York, and were also in some degree of subjection to the archbishop, till the twenty-sixth year of King Edward I, when, under the appellation of *the king's men of his town of Kingston upon Hull*, they petitioned the king, that their town might be made a free burgh, independent of the shirref, and have a fair and markets, with exemptions from several tolls and imposts (now obsolete) throughout all England. They paid 100 marks to the king, and their petition was granted. About the same time the men of Ravenfrod, or Ravenfer, obtained a similar grant of privileges, exemption from the jurisdiction of York, from tolls, &c. And, if we are to judge by the sum they paid, which was £300 (or 450 marks) it must have been then a much more considerable place than Hull\*. [*Rot. pat. 51 Hen. III, m. 23.—Ryley's Plac. parl. p. 646.—Madox's Hist. c. 11, § 2.*]

We find an officer appointed to measure and inspect cloths in the fairs throughout all England, to levy fines upon those whose cloths were not according to the assise, and to account for the fines to the exchequer. This officer must have had deputies all-over the kingdom. The origin of the office is not known †, the notice of it being occasioned by the

\* Camden was mistaken, though deriving his information 'from the sacred archives of the kingdom,' in saying that Edward *built* a town, which he called Kingston, upon a piece of ground called Wik, purchased by him from the abbat of Meaux; though he is pretty correct in the privileges granted. [*Britannia, p. 578.*] The new name, and probably some new buildings erected in consequence of the new privileges, have led him to suppose a new foundation: and his authority, which is deservedly great, has been implicitly followed.

Hull, if we may trust the representation of the archbishop of York, was a port of commerce in the reign of King Athelstan. [*Fædera, V. iv, p. 272.*] But, to come upon surer ground, Hull was evidently a port of some note at least a century before this time; we have seen that its customs amounted to £1,086 in the year 1282; and in the year 1294 we find a merchant of that town one of the two superintendants of all the mercantile payments in England. (*See above, pp. 358, 371, 437, 454.*) I find no record of the trade of Ravenfrod, nor indeed any mention of it whatever before this time. After being noted in history for the embarkation of Edward Balliol and his asso-

ciates when he went to claim the kingdom of Scotland in the year 1332, for the landing of Henry duke of Lancaster when he came to take possession of the kingdom of England in 1399, and the landing of King Edward IV when he came to reclaim the kingdom in 1471, but without having ever attained any great commercial importance, it was entirely destroyed by the encroachments of the sea about the beginning of the fifteenth century (if not indeed before the landing of Henry); and even the place where it stood, which was on the Humber, and near the point called the Spurn, is not exactly known. [*Walsingham, p. 358.—Fædera, V. viii, p. 89.—Stow, Ann. p. 703.*] But Hull (for the additional name of Kingston is now generally omitted) has become one of the most considerable ports on the east side of England.

† The office is probably co-æval with the law for regulating the breadth and goodness of cloth, which is at least as old as the reign of Richard I. There are some instances (in *Madox's Hist. c. 14, § 15*) of people being fined in the reigns of John and Henry III for their cloths being over-stretched and under breadth.

appointment (March 21<sup>st</sup>) of a new *keeper of the ulnary and assise of cloths foreign as well as home-made*. [*Madox's Hist. c. 18, § 5, note (a).*]

May 5<sup>th</sup>—The king, by letters sent to the shirrefs of Cambridge, Huntendon, Nottingham, Derby, Bedford, Buckingham, Warwick, Leicester, Rutland, and Norfolk, ordered that all the wool, wool-fells, and hides, exported from all those shires, should be shipped only at Lynne, and there pay the duties. A trone (or beam) for weighing the wool, and also seals for the cocket, were sent from the exchequer to the collectors of the customs at that port. For the same purpose collectors were also established at the ports of Newcastle, Kingston upon Hull, Boston, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Southampton, Bristol, and London \*. [*Madox's Hist. c. 18, § 5, note (r).*]

1299, May 15<sup>th</sup>—Notwithstanding the late law of the parliament of England against the importation of bad money, and other subsequent precautions, the kingdom was still very much distressed by the circulation of foreign coins of inferior value, known by the names of pollards, crokards, &c. Therefor the king, by the advice of the prelates, earls, and barons †, ordered that all importers of such money should be punished with death and confiscation of all their property; and all persons arriving from abroad should be very strictly examined by wardens chosen in every port, and those found guilty of importing bad money be imprisoned; that the foreign good money should be carried to the king's exchange; and that all English money imported should be tryed by the nearest essayers, and, if found counterfeit, should be seized. No person was to sell wool, hides, skins, lead, or tin, but for good sterling money, silver bullion tryed and stamped at the king's exchange, or good and sufficient merchandize; and no money nor bullion was to be carried out of the king's dominions without his licence, on pain of forfeiture ‡. The king ordered that tables of the various coins, and of their value in sterling money, should be kept at Dover and the other ports which he should ordain for passage, and that all persons arriving in, or departing from, the kingdom should there receive, in exchange for their own money, an equivalent quantity of the money of the country they were going to, sufficient for their expenses while in it. [*Statut. 27 Edw. I.—Rot. pat. 27. Edw. I. mm. 13, 14, 24.—Madox's Hist. c. 9, § 9.*]

\* There is something, either erroneous, or strangely capricious, in the order obliging the wool of the eastern part of Norfolk to travel away from the neighbourhood of Yarmouth to be shipped at Lynne; and yet Yarmouth is one of the ports for shipping wool.

† These were the members of a parliament, which sat at Stebenheth (Stepney) in the house of

Henry Walleis, then mayor of London. [*Stow's Annales, p. 318.*]

‡ It was the general notion of the European legislators of those times, that they could controll trade, and command the balance of it to be in their favour, by such laws: and, though reason, as well as experience, ought to have convinced them of their inefficiency, the delusion lasted a prodigious time.

1300, April 11<sup>th</sup>—King Edward afterwards by the advice of his nobles ('procerum') entirely prohibited the currency of pollards and crokards, and all other money not of his own coinage\*. He also issued orders to the magistrates of all the ports to allow no money, either English or foreign, nor any bullion, to be exported without his own special licence: and from the orders issued on this occasion we obtain the following list of the ports of England, Wales, and that part of Scotland which was then under subjection to him, viz.

Dover,	Frome,	Ipswich,
Sandwich,	Fowy,	Dunwich,
Romney,	Looe,	Orford,
Winchelsea,	Bodmyn,	Yarmouth,
Rye,	Wareham,	Blackney,
Hythe,	Falmouth,	Lynne,
Faverham,	Bristol,	Boston,
Hastings,	Haverford,	Wainfleet,
Shoreham,	Carnarvon,	Saltfleet,
Seaford,	Carmarthen,	Grimsbj,
Portsmouth,	Lanpadermaur,	Hull †,
Southampton,	Conway,	Ravenfere,
Dartmouth,	Chester,	Scarburgh,
Lymington,	Bridgewater,	Tinemouth,
Weymouth,	Cardiff,	Newcastle upon
Poole,	Oyftermouth,	Tine, and
Hamble,	Rocheſter,	Bamburgh;
Lyme,	Graveſend,	alſo
Sidmouth,	Northfleet,	Berwick upon
Chicheſter,	London,	Tweed, and
Teignmouth,	Harwich,	Dunbar ‡.

[Ryley's *Plac. parl.* p. 481.]

The merchants of Bourdeaux complained to King Edward, that they could neither ſell their wines, paying poundage, nor hire houſes or cellars to ſtore them in. The king thereupon directed a writ to the mayor and ſhirreſs of London, in conſequence of which many large houſes, with cellars for the ſtorage of wine, were erected on a part of the river's bank, formerly occupied by cooks. The place being called the Vintry, has

\* Wikes [p. 127] ſays, that the king allowed pollards, crokards, and roſaries, to go for a half-pennie each, before he totally prohibited them. But that reduction is not mentioned by Trivet nor Mathew of Weſtmiſter: nor does any ſuch reduction appear in the public records till the ſecond year of Edward II. [*Madox's Hiſt.* c. 9, § 3.]

† Hull is not called Kingſton. The new name had not yet made its way into all the public offices.

‡ It is reaſonable to believe, that there muſt have been more ports than thoſe here mentioned, though the letters ſent to them do not appear.— I have given all the names in modern ſpelling.

communicated its name to the adjacent wharf, and also to the ward wherein it is situated\*. [*Stow's Survey*, p. 438.]

Edmund earl of Cornwall (who died this year) gave the people concerned in working the tin mines of Cornwall a diploma, containing a specification of their liberties, and the stipulated duty to be paid for the tin to him as superior lord of the country, together with a code of laws for their regulation, which are known by the name of the *Stannary laws*. [*Camdeni Britan.* p. 134.]

A statute was enacted, which ordained, that all wares made of gold and silver, should be of good and true allay; gold of the standard of Paris, and silver of the sterling allay †, or of better, if desired by the employer. It also directed, that silver work should be marked with a *leopard's head* by the wardens of the craft ‡. [*Statut.* 28 *Edw. I.*, c. 20.]

While King Edward was carrying on his warlike operations in the south part of Scotland, he received from Ireland a considerable number of cargoes of wheat, oats, malt, and ale, which were mostly brought by the merchants of Ireland, and in Irish vessels. This year the mayor and community of Drogheda made the king a present of eighty tuns of wine, and chartered a vessel, belonging to their own port, to deliver it to him at Kirkcudbright. [*Liber garderobæ Edw. I.*, pp. 120, et seqq.] I do not find that Ireland supplied the English army with any animal food, which in the present age is a principal branch of the trade of that country.

At the same time Galloway, being then mostly under the dominion of Edward, supplied him with horses, apparently of the breed known by the name of the country, for which it has long been famous. [*Liber garderobæ*, passim.]

The number of vessels arriving in the year ending on the 20<sup>th</sup> of November 1299, in London, and the other ports of England, except the Cinque ports which were exempted from the prise, and bringing cargoes of wine consisting of above nineteen tuns, from which, by an ancient law or custom, the king had a right to take two tuns at the fixed price of twenty shillings, was 73; and the number in the year ending on the 20<sup>th</sup> of November 1300 was 71; the prise wines (which appear by the accounts to have been but a small part of those consumed in the king's household) being 146 tuns in the former, and 142 in the later, of these years §. [*Liber garderobæ*, p. 356.] It is, however, very pro-

\* The ward was so called at least as early as the year 1304. [*Madox*, c. 17, § 5, note b.]

† The appointment of the silver money of the kingdom to be the standard for silver work, and the standard of a foreign country to be followed in gold work, together with the silence concerning gold money, strengthen the conjecture in p. 408, that a continued coinage of gold had not been kept up after the year 1257.

‡ By an act of the year 1299, ingots of silver were to be marked by the king's essayers, before they could be paid away in place of money. In those days *leopards*, not *lions*, were the armorial ensigns of England.

§ In the 47<sup>th</sup> and 48<sup>th</sup> years of Henry III the prise wines seem to have been only 235 tuns during both years. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq.* c. 18, § 2.]

bable, that the Cinque ports, being exempted from prisage, and also better provided with shipping than most of the other ports, imported more wines than all the rest of the kingdom.

The money of France, from the time of Charlemagne, who corrected an abuse of Pepin in coining 264 pennies out of a pound of silver, and restored the old rate of 240 pennies, remained with little or no variation of weight or fineness till the reign of Philip I, who, about the year 1103, mixed one third of copper with two thirds of silver in his deniers or pennies. [*Le Blanc, Traité des monnoyes de France, p. xvii.*] It is not my intention to pursue the money of France through all its subsequent depretiations of weight and quality, which have been many and great.

1301.—The first diminution of the weight of the English money of account (if we except the money coined by Stephen, which, together with that coined by the barons in his reign, was all destroyed by Henry II) was now made by King Edward, who coined *two hundred and forty-three* pennies out of the pound of standard silver\*. A defalcation of three pennies from the value of the pound of account was probably thought a very trifling matter; and the people knew nothing of their money being one and a quarter per cent deficient of the just value. But it was a departure from the antient, strict, and honourable, adherence to the integrity of the national money; and a breach, once begun, was with less scruple enlarged by the succeeding kings.

Robert king of Scotland followed the example set by Edward in England; and he went somewhat beyond him: for, expecting that the pennies of both kingdoms would continue, as formerly, to pass indiscriminately †, he coined *two hundred and fifty-two* pennies from the pound weight, the standard quality of the silver being the same in both kingdoms. [*Statut. Rob. III, c. 22, § 5, 6.*]

In all the diminutions which have taken place in England and Scotland, as well as in France and other countries, the denominations of the money of account have still remained the same, viz. twelve pennies in the nominal shilling, and twenty shillings in the nominal pound, as well as when the pound of account contained a real pound of twelve ounces Troy weight of standard silver ‡.

\* This is taken from Folkes, [*on English coins, pp. 8, 142, ed. 1763*] who copied the agreement made with the coiner, and may therefore be deemed more authentic than even the table of weights and measures, printed among the public statutes of the year 1303, which states twenty pennies to be in the ounce as formerly. The continuator of Trivet's Annals says, [*p. 2*] that the money of Edward I was held in very low estimation ('*admodum tenebatur in regno vilis*') immediately after his death, though I do not see for what reason, unless there has been some debasement of the quality of the silver, which has escaped the researches of the numismatic antiquaries.

† They did pass indiscriminately till the year 1355, as appears by the proclamation of Edward III. [*Fœdera, V. v, p. 813.*] The exact year in which Robert began the diminution of the money of Scotland is not known. His reign commenced in 1306.

‡ There was no such coin as a shilling till the year 1504, and there never was a piece of silver money of the weight of a pound in Great Britain.

Having noticed the first breaches upon the integrity of the money of account, I refer the reader for the succeeding changes of the value of the English and Scottish money, which were many, both in weight and purity, to the table of money

The reductions of the current money, from which the princes blindly expected great advantages, were ruinous to themselves and the landholders, and productive of unspeakable confusion and embarrassment in commerce and dealings of every kind. Le Blanc, the historian of the French money, goes so far as to ascribe the victories of the English in France to the impoverished state of the French gentlemen, occasioned by the diminution of the money; for, says he, 'a knight reduced to poverty, and ill equipped, is already vanquished.'

The manufactures of Flanders in time recovered from the sanguinary check they received in the war between the rival sons of the countess Margaret in the middle of the thirteenth century; and, in consequence of their prosperity, the wool of England again found its usual ready market. Flanders being the seat of the best manufactures to the northward of the Alps and Pynenæan mountains, and consequently crowded with people, the greatest agricultural exertions were necessary to make the fields as productive as possible; and the encouragement afforded by so numerous a population was a most powerful stimulus to the industry and ingenuity of the farmers. It is generally allowed, that the other countries of the west part of Europe have been instructed in agriculture and horticulture by the Flemings, and have been earlier or later in their improvements in those arts, in proportion to their intercourse with those superior cultivators. Literature and the polite arts were also more flourishing in Flanders than in the neighbouring countries, during the prosperous ages of their manufactures and commerce. So true is it, that plenty and politeness are produced and nourished by the genial influence of well-directed industry\*.

The first interruption to the prosperity of the Flemish manufactures proceeded from the rigour of some regulations of the halls, which were intended for preserving the character of the manufactures and guarding against frauds, but chiefly operated as compulsive laws, to confine the manufactures to the cities, and subject them to the trammels of monopolizing corporations. The consequence, however, as generally happens with compulsive laws in matters of trade, was the reverse of what was intended by the legislators; for many of the manufacturers, in order to avoid the restraints, settled in the villages, from which they were driven out by the wars between France and Flanders, and forced to take shelter in Tienen and Louvain in Brabant, where they were also ham-

in the Appendix, which exhibits them in one clear chronological view.

\* In our own island we have the testimony of Diodorus Siculus [*L.* v, § 22] and Cæsar, [*Bell. Gall. L.* v, cc. 13, 14] that the people of Cornwall and Kent, as having the chief commercial intercourse with the continent in antient times, were

more polished and improved than the other natives of Britain, and our own daily observation of the vast difference between the districts which are the seats of commerce and manufactures, and those which are remote from their invigorating influence, in the cultivation of the earth, and the politeness and comfortable subsistence of the people.

pered by restrictions and imposts. In the year 1301 these harsh measures provoked a tumult in Ghent, wherein two of the magistrates and eleven other inhabitants lost their lives. In the following year above 1,500 people perished in the same way at Bruges: and at Ypres the whole of the magistrates were killed. Similar tumults were raised afterwards at Louvain and other places in Brabant by the cloth-weavers and others, who thought themselves oppressed by the restrictive laws; and many of them emigrated to England and other countries, as we shall afterwards see. [*De Witt's Interest of Holland*, p. 47, *Engl. transl.*]

The catastrophe at Bruges seems to have been, at least partly, occasioned by the intemperance of speech of a foolish woman. In May 1301 Philip the Fair, king of France, with his queen, made a progress through Flanders, which, he alleged, had devolved to him as superior lord. They were everywhere received with the greatest demonstrations of respect, and the people of every city made the most pompous display of opulence and magnificence. At Bruges the splendour of the ladies gave great offence to the queen, who peevishly exclaimed, 'I thought I was the only queen here, but I see there are many hundreds more.' After their departure a disturbance arose among the citizens concerning the payment of the public expenses, incurred by their reception of their royal visitors, which they must have thought very ill bestowed. The deacon of the weavers, who was called King Peter, with twenty-five other considerable men, were put in prison by the prætor, but instantly released by the populace. Many other disturbances ensued; and finally the French were driven out of Bruges. [*Meyeri Annales Flandriæ*, f. 88 b.] If the queen had had the good sense to rejoice, that the people, who were to be her husband's subjects, were enjoying the due rewards of their honest industry, or could have only commanded her temper so far, as to assume an appearance of gratefully accepting the respect paid to her, which would have cost her nothing, instead of displaying her childish envy and littleness, there would perhaps have been no opposition to her husband's claim\*.

1302, November 7<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, by summonses to the warden of the Cinque ports, and to the magistrates of Dover, Sandwich, Rye, Winchelsea, Romney, Hythe, Pevensey, and Faversham, ordered their quota of fifty-seven vessels to be ready at Are (or Ayr on the west coast of Scotland) on next Assumption day, in order to act against the Scots. But, as he wanted men more than vessels, he desired they would send only twenty-

\* She died with a very bad character—'altera Jephabel, magna pars causæ hujus tragædiæ et cruentissimi belli.' [*Meyer*, f. 108 a.]—Isabel, the sister of Henry III, when she went over to be married to the emperor, by indulging the peo-

ple of Cologne with a sight of her face, won the hearts of the ladies of that great city. [*M. Paris*, p. 415.] How cheaply may those of high rank attach the people to their interest!

five vessels, with the full number of men belonging to the fifty-seven. [*Fædera*, V. ii, p. 911.]

August 13<sup>th</sup>—The king gave the wine-merchants of his duchy of Aquitaine a charter, licencing them to import wines, and other merchandize, into all his dominions, and to sell them in wholesale in the cities, burghs, and market towns, either to natives or foreigners. He exempted them from the antient prise of two tuns of wine out of every ship, and promised, that no part of their wine, or other goods, should be taken for his use, without being paid for at the fair price paid by others. He also ordained, that, as the seller was obliged to make up any deficiency of the standard gauge of the wine, so the buyer should pay for the surplus quantity when it exceeded the measure, and that the buyer and seller should each pay a halfpenny for the gauge. The wine-merchants, in consideration of these privileges, which, the king declared, should be perpetual\*, consented to pay an additional duty of two shillings upon every tun of wine: and this duty, together with some new regulations in their charter, respecting their trade, the recovery of their debts, &c. were very soon after extended to all foreign merchants, and will therefor be found in the charter of merchants, to be presently recited. [*Fædera*, V. ix, p. 868.]

1303, February 1<sup>st</sup>—It was undoubtedly from a desire of participating in the privileges granted to the merchants of Aquitaine, that all the foreign merchants trading with England, offered to pay additional duties, in consideration of obtaining a charter, wherein their privileges should be duely defined. The king accordingly now gave a general charter to all foreign merchants, whereof the following is the substance.

The king being desirous, that the merchants of Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Navarre, Lombardy, Tuscany, Provence, Catalonia, Aquitaine, Tholouse, Quercy, Flanders, Brabant, and all other foreign countries, resorting to his dominions, may enjoy tranquillity and ample security, establishes the following regulations, to be observed by himself and his heirs for ever.

All foreign merchants may come safely into England and our other dominions with all kinds of merchandize, free from any demands for murage, pontage, or pavage †.—They may sell, by wholesale only, to our subjects, and also to foreigners, in all the cities, burghs, and market towns, of our dominions; and they may also retail spices and the wares called mercery, as formerly.—After paying the due customs, they may export to any country not at war with us, whatever they bring into our dominions, or purchase in them, except wine, which must not be carried out of our dominions without our special licence.—They may reside, and keep their goods, in any of our cities, burghs, and towns, as they

\* The charter was confirmed by Henry IV and Henry V. [*Fædera*, V ix, p. 868.]

† Explanations of these terms will be found under the year 1317.

shall agree with the owners of the houses.—Every contract for merchandize shall be firm and stable, after the earnest-penny is given and accepted by the contracting parties : but, if any dispute shall arise, it shall be determined by the customs of the fair or town where the contract was made.—We promise, that we will make no prise, nor arrest or detention on account of prise, upon their merchandize or goods, upon any occasion, against their will, without first paying the price which they might get from others, and that no price or valuation shall be set upon their goods by us.—We order that all bailiffs and officers of fairs, cities, burghs, and market towns, on hearing the complaint of the merchants shall do justice without delay, according to the merchant law; and in case of delay, even though the merchant recover his damage, we will punish the bailif, or officer; and this we grant, that speedy justice may be done to strangers\*.—In all pleas between a merchant and any other person whatever, except in cases of capital crimes, one half of the jury shall consist of the men of the place, and the other half of foreign merchants, if as many can be found in the place.—We ordain, that our weight shall be kept in every fair and town, that the weigher shall show the buyer and seller that the beam and scales are fair, and that there shall be only one weight and measure in our dominions, and that they be stamped with our standard mark.—A faithful and prudent man, residing in London, shall be appointed justiciary for the foreign merchants, before whom they shall plead specially, and recover their debts speedily, according to the merchant law, if the mayor and shirrefs neglect or delay their causes.

In consideration of these liberties, and the remission of our prisage, the merchants, conjunctly and severally for themselves and all others of their countries, have unanimously agreed to pay to us and our heirs, within forty days after landing their goods, for

every tun ('dolium') of wine imported	} besides the old custom	{	£	0	2	0
every sack of wool exported,			0	3	4	
every last of hides exported,			0	13	4	
every 300 wool-fells exported,			0	3	4	
every scarlet cloth, or cloth dyed in grain,	-	-	0	2	0	
every cloth dyed partly in grain,	-	-	0	1	6	
every cloth without grain,	-	-	0	1	0	
every hundred weight of wax,	-	-	0	1	0	

and for fine goods, such as stuffs of Tarsus, silk, cindal, 'seta' (probably fatin), and also horses and other animals, corn, and other articles not enumerated, a duty on importation of three pennies in the pound of the value, according to their invoice, or their oaths if they have no invoice; also for every article, not enumerated, upon exportation, three pennies in the pound of the value, besides the former duties.

\* Hakluyt, in the margin of his translation of this charter, asks, what is become of this law now?

Foreign merchants may sell wool to other foreign merchants within our dominions without paying any duty: and, after they have paid custom in one part of our dominions for their goods, they shall not be liable to pay it in any other part.

Henceforth no exaction, prise, loan, or burthen of any kind, shall ever be imposed upon the merchants or their goods. [*Fædera*, V. iv, p. 361, and V. ix, p. 72.]

About this time a table of weights, measures, &c. was made up by authority, as follows.

<i>Weights.</i>		<i>Measures.</i>	
20 pennies (of money)	1 ounce,	8 pounds of <i>corn</i>	1 gallon,
12 ounces	1 pound of London,	8 gallons	1 bushel of London.
12½ pounds	1 stone of London,		
14 stones	- 1 weye,		
2 weyes (of wool)	- 1 sack,		
12 sacks	- 1 last.		
<hr/>			
15 ounces of <i>lead</i>	- 1 pound,	25 <i>berrings</i>	- 1 glen,
12 pounds	- 1 stone,	15 glens	- 1 rees:
5 stones 10 pounds	1 fotmal,	120 herrings	- 1 hundred,
30 fotmals	- 1 car.	10 hundreds	- 1 thousand,
		10 thousands	- 1 last.
		25 <i>eels</i>	- 1 stick,
		10 sticks	- 1 bind.
		160 <i>mulvels</i> and <i>dry fish</i>	1 hundred.
		10 <i>bides</i>	- 1 dacre,
		20 daces	- 1 last.
		40 <i>skins of conies</i> or <i>grise</i>	1 timber,
		32 timbers	- 1 bind.
		10 pairs of <i>gloves</i>	- 1 dacre.
		20 <i>horse-shoes</i>	- 1 dacre.
		30 pieces of <i>steel</i>	- 1 sheaf.
		13 ells of <i>fustian</i>	- 1 cheef.
		10 ells of <i>linen</i> (' <i>findon</i> ')	1 head.
		Of <i>flax, hemp, and linen,</i>	
		120 go to	- 1 hundred.
<hr/>			
5 pounds of <i>glafs,</i>	1 stone,		
24 stones	- 1 feem.		

But some reckon only 12 weyes to a car; and in the Peek country (owing, no doubt, to the steepness of the roads) the car is much less.

*Flax, tallow, and cheese,* are sold by the weye of 14 stones, as well as lead and wool.

Of *wax, sugar, pepper, cumin, almonds,* and *alum,*

15 ounces - - 1 pound,  
8 pounds - - 1 stone,  
13½ stones 1 hundred-weight.

5 pounds of *glafs,* 1 stone,  
24 stones - 1 feem.

The pound of twelve ounces is used only for money, spices, and electuaries, and the pound of fifteen ounces for all other things\*.

\* I have extracted the sense of this ordinance, which is deficient, redundant, intricate, and sometimes contradictory, as well as I could. It is published with the Statutes, and entitled 'Tractatus de ponderibus et mensuris, anno 31 Edw. I.'—

The pound of *fifteen ounces* appears also in the laws of Scotland. It has probably been increased to *sixteen*, for the sake of a more convenient subdivision.

May 20<sup>th</sup>—In a treaty of peace with France, liberty was granted to the merchants on both sides to trade freely in all kinds of merchandize, on paying the duties; and each of the contracting powers agreed to give no relief, not even victuals, to the enemies of the other. [*Fœdera*, V. ii, pp. 927, 935.]

The abbat of Westminster, 48 of his brethren, and 32 other persons, were imprisoned in the Tower, on a charge of robbing the king's treasury in Westminster abbay of a hundred thousand pounds. [*Fœdera*, V. ii, pp. 930, 938, 940.] The sum is almost incredibly great.—How could they carry off such a load of silver\*, or what could they do with such a mass of money.

The Venetian writers fix the year 1303 for the termination of the youthful age of their republic, which, they say, has ever since proceeded with the gravity and prudence of mature age; and, being a happy mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, it is likely, with the assistance of the gods, to endure to eternity. [*Grassi Notæ in Donat. Jannot. p. 466, ed. Elz.*] Eternity belongs not to human affairs.

1304, April—King Edward, having made peace with the king of France, entered so warmly into his interests, that he took part with him against his old friend the earl of Flanders, and at his own expense lent him twenty of the best and largest ships to be found in all the ports between London and the Isle of Wight, Dover excepted, each of them carrying at least forty fencible men, and properly equipped for war. And, further to gratify his new friend, he banished all the Flemish merchants out of England, Wales, and Ireland, and ordered home all his own subjects who were in Flanders, thereby abolishing the very best trade, or rather almost the whole trade, of his subjects †—on condition that the king of France would banish his enemies, the Scots, out of his kingdom. [*Fœdera*, V. ii, pp. 943-946.]

King Edward having written to Eric king of Denmark, requiring satisfaction for a ship loaded with wine and other goods, belonging to Yarmouth, Eric answered, that the owner, or his agent, should have justice whenever he would apply, and that any English subjects visiting his dominions, should be favourably treated. [*Fœdera*, V. ii, p. 949.]

The town of Pera (formerly called Galata) on the north side of the harbour of Constantinople, with some adjacent grounds, which the Genoese had occupied since the restoration of the Greek emperors in the year 1259, was now fully ceded to them by the emperor Andronicus; and it was rendered equal to many cities in the strength of its fortifica-

\* The robbery was committed in the end of May, when the nights are very short.

† In the year 1297, the nobles, in their petition to the king, asserted that the wool of Eng-

land (which was mostly carried to Flanders) was nearly equal to the half of the land in value. [*Trivet*, p. 304.]

tions and the beauty of its buildings. [*Stellæ An. Gen. ap. Muratori Script. V. xvii, col. 1021.*]

1305—Either the trade of England was considerably increased since the year 1205, or the duty called the *quinzieme* was now more strictly collected. In that year it amounted only to £4,958 : 7 : 3½ for the whole kingdom: and now the barons of the Cinque ports agreed to pay 2,000 marks (£1,333 : 6 : 8) for the farm of the *quinzieme* of the towns under their jurisdiction, Hastings undertaking to pay 700, and Dover, Sandwich, Romney, and Hythe, the remaining 1,300. [*Madox's Hist. of the excheq. c. 15, § 11.*]

King Edward, in his great eagerness to crush the independent Scots, whom he called *rebels*, clogged the letters of safe conduct, which he gave to the merchants of Flanders, with a condition that they should not permit the Scots to procure arms or provisions in their country. But Robert earl of Flanders declined accepting the favour on those terms, and wrote to Edward, that he and his subjects had no intention to encourage the Scots in their war or rebellion, and he had even proclaimed, that no one in his dominions should give them any assistance in their rebellion or hostilities against him. But he added, that as his country had from remote ages been supported by merchandize, and been open to merchants resorting to it from all quarters, he could not with propriety, and ought not, to exclude the Scots, or any other people, from exercising their lawful and just merchandize in his country, but was rather bound to defend them from all unjust oppression, while they carried on their trade without any fraud. [*Fœdera, V. iii, p. 963.*] By persevering in such an impartial line of conduct, and avoiding wars as much as possible, Flanders long enjoyed the greatest part of the commerce of the western countries of Europe.

1306—It was the law, or custom, in England to make every individual of the merchant strangers in the kingdom liable to arrest for the debts, and even for the crimes, of any other foreigners, and to treat them in many other respects with much rigour, unless when they obtained the protection of the kings, either for particular services done to themselves or their favourites, or in consequence of recommendations from the popes for services done to them. In the year 1301 a person belonging to the house of the Spini of Florence was killed in a squabble with some other people belonging to the same house; and the guilty person having absconded, the officers of justice seized the bodies and goods of other persons belonging to the company, and also, luckily for the merchants, a sum of money collected by them in Ireland for the pope, and some merchandize purchased for his account, who immediately sent a bull to the king, requiring the liberation of the people and property arrested. [*Fœdera, V. ii, p. 891.*] In the year 1306 several

foreign merchants were called before the king's council, who inquired how many merchants of each foreign company were in England, and ordered them to give in an account of all the money and goods they possessed, and to give security that none of them should leave the kingdom, or export any thing, without the king's special licence. Next day, not being able to find security, they were all committed to the Tower, from which they were afterwards liberated on becoming sureties for each other \*. [*Madox's Hist. c. 22, § 7.*]

1307, February 4<sup>th</sup>—A sum of money having been collected in England for the pope, the king ordered that it should be given to merchants within the kingdom for bills of exchange to be remitted to the pope ('per viam cambii dicto domino summo pontifici destinare'), because he would allow no coined money nor bullion to be carried out of the kingdom on any account. [*Fædera, V. ii, p. 1042.*] Did he not know, that such a transaction must either carry out money, or prevent it from coming in, which is nearly the same thing?

The use of coal (called sea-coal, as being brought by sea) for fuel was prohibited in London and Southwark †. [*Stow's Survey of London, p. 925.*]

The society of the New temple in London had erected some mills upon the Thames, near Castle Baynard, with a quay beside them, in virtue of a grant from King John, and they seem also to have drawn off the Water of Fleet from its channel. It appeared by an inquest, that those erections had destroyed the navigation of the Fleet, upon which small boats ('batelli'), loaded with merchandize, used to go up as far as Holburn bridge ‡; and the Templars were ordered to restore the brook to its natural channel. Stow says, that the mills were removed, and the channel cleaned out; but the antient breadth and depth never were recovered, and there were mills upon it again in his time. [*Rot. pat. 35 Edw. I; 1 Edw. II, amb. a tergo.—Ryley, Plac. parl. p. 340.—Stow's Ann. p. 326; Survey, pp. 687, 688.*]

1308, March 15<sup>th</sup>—Edward II, having married a daughter of the king of France, granted permission to the merchants of that kingdom to

\* This illiberal and impolitic treatment of foreigners was not put an end to by law till the year 1353, and not by practice till long afterwards.

† In June 1307 the king sent an order to the mayor and shireffs of London to proclaim that no person should presume to light fires ('rogos illos presumat accendere') in London, or near the Tower, because the queen was going to reside in it, and such fires were apt to corrupt and infect the air. [*Fædera, V. ii, p. 1057.*] The word *rogus*, which signifies a funeral fire, is evidently misapplied, and the meaning of the order is rendered obscure by it. It is probable that the prohibition was directed only against fires of coal, the

smoke of which was long supposed pernicious: (See  *Evelyn's Fumifugium*, published in the year 1661] for the king surely did not propose to hinder the citizens from dressing their victuals; and that this prohibition is the same that is noticed by Stow.—But quere, if *rogos* be written instead of *focos*, and one of the innumerable blunders of Ryley's amanuenses, which disgrace that great and valuable thesaurus of national records?

‡ The name of Batel-bridge seems to infer, that boats have at some time proceeded even as high as that place, which is more than a mile above Holburn bridge.

come to England with money and merchandize; and, after transacting their business, to return with their goods, horses, and even money, notwithstanding his father's law against carrying money or bullion out of the kingdom. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 70.]

March 22<sup>d</sup>—The statute of merchants, and the charter granted to the foreign merchants, seem both to have been insufficient to procure justice for them: for we find that, on a complaint of the merchants of Brabant, the king issued general orders to do them justice in all their just claims. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 71.]

Some Castilian pirates, under Portuguese colours, had taken several English vessels, whereupon the commercial harmony, which had subsisted for some time between the merchants of England and Portugal, was interrupted, till the affair was explained by a letter from the king of Portugal, who also requested letters of safe conduct for the merchants of his kingdom to trade in the dominions of King Edward, which were granted (October 3<sup>d</sup>), on condition that they should trade fairly, pay the usual customs, and give obedience to the laws of the land while residing in it. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 107.]

1309—The merchants, or rather the seamen, often took it upon them to carry on hostilities against those of other countries or cities, and to enter into treaties of peace or truce with them (as has already been partly observed) without the sovereigns on either side being concerned in the quarrel, unless sometimes as mediators, or umpires, between the belligerent seamen. Many complaints having been made of piracies and slaughters, committed during a truce of two years between King Edward's subjects of Bayonne and the subjects of Castile, the kings on both sides, after a negotiation of considerable length, commissioned two judges out of each country to settle the damages, do justice, and punish some of the first movers. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, pp. 112, 122, 131, 132, 153, 169, 170, 178, 181.]

Other seamen, called Esterlings (people of the Baltic sea), taking advantage of the troubled state of Scotland, committed some depredations there; whereupon Edward, who considered himself the sovereign of that kingdom, having heard that the pirates had sailed for the Swyn, wrote to the earls of Namur and Flanders, and the magistrates of Bruges, requesting them to do justice upon them. There were also complaints about this time of English subjects being maltreated in Norway. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, pp. 131, 154, 215.] But the reader, I dare say, will gladly excuse me from entering into a tedious and disgusting recital of the atrocities perpetrated upon the sea and the shores in those ages of ferocity and rapine, and also from narrating many of the short-lived and unimportant treaties, which were made, almost every year, professedly for the purpose of guarding the interests of commerce.

1310, June 16<sup>th</sup>—King Edward ordered the following ports to send ships of war, sufficiently equipped and manned, to Dublin, in order to transport the earl of Ulster and his forces to Scotland.

Shoreham, to send	1	Plymouth	-	1	Grimsbj	-	1	
Portsmouth	-	1	Colchester	-	1	Ravenfere	-	1
Lymington and	}	1	Harwich	-	1	Hull	-	2
Eremouth			Ipſwich	-	2	Scarburgh	-	1
Poole	-	1	Dunwich	-	1	Hertlepool	-	1
Wareham	-	1	Orford	-	1	Newcastle upon	}	1
Weymouth	-	1	Yarmouth	-	6	Tine		
Melcomb	-	1	Little Yarmouth	1	Newby	-	-	1
Lyme	-	1	Snyterley	-	1	Glouceſter and	}	2
Exmouth and	}	1	Burnham and	}	1	Bristol		
Exeter			Holkham			Bridgewater	-	1
Teignmouth	-	1	Boston	-	1			
Dartmouth	-	1	Lynne	-	4			[ <i>Fædera</i> , V. iii, p. 212.]

There are no orders to London or the Cinque ports\*. The great number taxed upon Yarmouth affords a strong preſumption, that the fiſhery, the chief, or rather the only, buſineſs of that port, was then in a very flouriſhing condition. But of the ports, taxed at one veſſel each, ſome muſt have differed greatly from others in commercial importance.

1311—The king of France wrote to King Edward his ſon-in-law, requeſting that he would remit to the French merchants, and eſpecially to thoſe of Amiens, the new duty of three pennies in the pound of the value of their goods. But Edward answered, that the duty had been granted in his father's time in a full parliament, and at the deſire of the foreign merchants themſelves, in conſideration of liberties and immunities, from which they had reaped great advantages; and that he could not remit it without the advice of parliament †. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 269.]

There can be little reaſon to doubt that the conſtruction and uſe of the glaſſes for aſſiſting weak or dim eyes, now ſo generally known under the name of ſpectacles, were known to the great Roger Bacon. But in thoſe days the knowlege of improvements was ſlowly propagated, and for want of printing, the great preſerver as well as diſſeminator of knowlege, was often entirely loſt. We may therefor very well believe, that the invention of ſpectacles at Piſa, or Florence, or both, might be real original diſcoveries. Dominicus Maria Mannus of Florence, in an eſſay on ſpectacles, ſeems to prove, that they were invented by Salvino of that

\* It appears from a ſecond mandate iſſued in a few weeks after, wherein the king ordered all the veſſels to proceed immediately for the coaſt of Argyſe without calling at Ireland, that the Cinque ports were alſo called upon for their ſhipping at this time. The ſecond orders contain, beſides the Cinque ports and all thoſe in the firſt ones, the

port of Southampton. [*Fædera*, V. iii, pp. 222, 265.]

† The ſame requeſt was again made at the inſtance of the merchants of Amiens by Charles the Fair in the year 1323; and a ſimilar answer was returned. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 1014.]

city, who died in the year 1317. And Peccioli, in his Chronicle of Pifa, says, that Alexander de Spina, a monk of Pifa, (who died in the year 1313) seeing that some person (probably Salvino) who had invented spectacles of glass, refused to communicate the art of making them to others, discovered the secret by his own ingenuity and application, and liberally imparted the knowledge to others. [*Muratori Antiq. V. ii, col. 396.*] Spectacles being certainly known about this time in two principal commercial cities of Italy, it may be presumed that the use of them became general throughout Europe in the early part of the fourteenth century. The subsequent improvements upon the formation of the glasses, whereby they are adapted to the long-sighted and the short-sighted, as well as those whose sight is weakened by age, render spectacles one of the most beneficial and important discoveries that have ever been made to a very great proportion of mankind, among whom are comprehended many of the most valuable individuals.

1313, February 15<sup>th</sup>—King Edward wrote to the earl of Flanders, complaining that his subjects still traded with the Scots, and supplied them with provisions, armour, and other necessaries. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of May he again wrote him, that he understood, thirteen Flemish ships had recently sailed from the Swyn for Scotland with arms and provisions. Whether it was on account of his demands for the abolition of the trade with Scotland not being complied with by the earl, whose answers I do not find, or for any other cause of displeasure, the king issued orders (June 19<sup>th</sup>) to arrest all the Flemish vessels in England. [*Fædera, V. iii, pp. 386, 403, 419.*]

That the people of England, or at least those of Lynne, resorted to the south coast of Norway about this time for the purpose of catching herrings, we learn from the too-common complaints of piratical depredations and other enormities, which disgrace the naval history of every nation of Europe in the middle ages. About the same time eleven Norwegians of distinction, who had been invited to dine onboard an English vessel from Berwick, were murdered by the crew, in consequence of which, according to the general law then established, some other English vessels were seized, whereupon King Edward wrote a letter to Hacon king of Norway, representing that it was contrary to reason, equity, justice, and law, that those, who were not guilty, nor of the society of the guilty, should suffer for the crimes of others\*: and he requested the restoration of the vessels, which, as they ought to be at all times ready for his service, he could not quietly suffer to be out of the kingdom.—In the same year the treasurer of the king of Norway took for his master's use cloth, fish, and other merchandize, to the value of

\* However contrary it might be to reason, equity, or justice, it certainly was agreeable to the law or custom then established in his own kingdom. We shall presently see a slight relaxation of the cruelty of this barbarous law granted as a very particular favour.

£1,494: 5: 0 sterling, from seven merchants of Lynne, while they were at North Bergen, for which they received no payment\*. This merits notice only as it shows, that England had then some cloth to spare for exportation. The fish were probably caught on the Norwegian coast.— But it would be tedious and disgusting to detail all the outrages and enormities, which constituted the chief matter of the negotiations between the princes of Europe in those ages. [See *Fœdera*, V. iii, pp. 395, 397, 400, 401, 449, 556, 566, 571, 577, 783.]

The advocates for the antiquity of the society, or company, of the merchants of the Staple assert, that they existed as a corporate body in the 51<sup>st</sup> year of King Henry III. What is, perhaps, more easily ascertained, is, that in two letters from Edward II to Robert earl of Flanders, both dated 15<sup>th</sup> February 1313, it appears, that Richard Stury, *mayor of the merchants of England*, had just returned from the earl's court, to which he and Sir William of Deen had been sent as ambassadors, in order to accommodate all differences between the subjects of both princes (not between the princes), and to concert measures for maintaining friendship and amicable intercourse. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 386.] In this year we find a patent of King Edward for ordaining a certain place upon the continent as a staple for the merchants of England, and for defining the liberties (or powers) vested in their mayor: and there was also a second patent soon after 'in favour of *the mayor and merchants of the Staple*.' [*Rot. pat. sec. 6 Edw. II, m. 5*; and *prim. 7 Edw. II, m. 18*.] There was moreover a charter, dated the 20<sup>th</sup> of May in this year, wherein the king sets forth, that, as the merchants, natives as well as foreigners, made a practice of carrying the wool and wool-fells bought in his dominions to several places in Brabant, Flanders, and Artois, for sale, he, in order to prevent such damages, had ordained, that all merchants, whether natives or foreigners, buying wool and wool-fells in his dominions for exportation, should carry them only to *one* certain staple in one of those countries, to be appointed by the mayor and community of the same merchants of his kingdom †, who might change the staple, if they thought it expedient. He also granted to *the mayor and council* of those merchants authority to punish all merchants, natives or foreigners, carrying wool or wool-fells to any other place, by fines, which should be levied by his officers for his use upon the property of the delinquents. And he ordered this charter to be published in all the maritime shires of England. [*Hakluyt's Voyages*, V. i, p. 142.] There can be no doubt, that the person, called in the king's letters, the first patent, and the

\* They had received no payment in June 1319, when King Edward dunned the king of Norway for them.

† 'Per majorem et communitatem eorundem mercatorum de regno nostro ordinandam.' These words infer, that, though foreign merchants ex-

ported wool and wool-fells, only English merchants should be members of the society. It appears from a multitude of facts and documents, that the mayor and community continued the staple at Antwerp.

charter, *the mayor of the merchants*, was the same who is called *the mayor of the staple* in the second charter \*; and that the origin of the company of the merchants of the Staple may most truly be dated in this year †. The institution of the company, or perhaps, more properly speaking, community, who constituted such a society at Antwerp as the merchants of the German gildhall did in London, infers that the merchants of England now began to see the propriety of taking into their own hands at least a share of the active commerce of their own raw materials. This was a first step towards obtaining the full benefit to be derived from possessing valuable materials by first working them up, and then exporting them in a manufactured state.

December 3<sup>d</sup>—King Edward, at the request of his sister the countess dowager of Holland, granted, with great formality, to the burghesses and merchants of Dordrecht (or Dort), the capital of Holland, an exemption, during the life of the countess, for themselves and their property, from being arrested on account of any debt or crime, unless they themselves, or *some person of their community*, were principal debtors, or sureties, or charged as guilty, on condition that they should carry on fair trade and pay the due customs. And that so great an indulgence might not be abused, they were required to bring an indenture (or manifest) of their cargoes, with the value appraised by merchants of character and the magistrates of the city, and also by the procurator of the countess and her present husband the earl of Hereford and Essex, and sealed with the seal of the city and that of the earl and countess ‡. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 458.]

1314—The king of France wrote to King Edward, that formerly he had granted permission to the English importers of wool, who had their staple at Antwerp, to bring their goods to his town of St. Omer's, and hold their staple there, for which purpose he had given them ample liberties and privileges, hoping that considerable benefit would redound to himself and his subjects: but that now they gave up carrying their wool to the annual fairs at his town of Lisle, as they used to do when their staple was at Antwerp, and also enticed other merchants to do the same, whereby his subjects suffered great loss. Therefor he now requested his son-in-law to induce his subjects, and, if necessary, to com-

\* I have already had occasion to observe, that strict uniformity of titles or appellations was not attended to in those days.

† Gevart Malyne, in his *Center of the circle of commerce*, says, that the merchants of the Staple in the reign of Queen Elizabeth produced proof, that there was a wool-staple and officers belonging to it in the reign of Henry III. But whether that would prove the antiquity of that company of English merchants of the Staple, whose high antiquity, dignity, and usefulness to the state, he so

zealously celebrates, I do not pretend to judge. His work, being written in the bitter spirit of controversy, must be read (if any body will now-a-days take the trouble of reading it) with great allowance for his partiality.

‡ A similar indulgence was granted to the factors and servants of the bishop of Nidaros (Dronheim) in Norway, when he became a merchant, and engaged in the trade to England in the year 1316. [*Fædera*, II. iii, p. 551.]

pell them, to frequent the fairs as formerly. So important an object was the acquisition of English wool. King Edward in return wrote him (from Berwick, July 16<sup>th</sup>) that, as the matter concerned all the merchants of his kingdom and many others of his subjects, he could give no final answer, till he should take advice upon it. [*Fædera*, V. iii, pp. 482, 488.]

July 26<sup>th</sup>—Peace being concluded between the king of France and the earl of Flanders, the later informed King Edward, that he had proclaimed throughout his dominions, that all merchants of France, England, and other countries, with their merchandize, should be protected in his territories, and have absolute liberty of returning to their own countries, without their persons or properties being subject to arrest or hinderance, and that the merchants of England might have their staple for wool and other goods at his city of Bruges. In return he requested King Edward to give orders that the Flemish merchants might enjoy similar privileges in England agreeable to the grants made by his ancestors and himself. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 490.]

1315, March 14<sup>th</sup>—In a list of orders addressed to the prelates, nobles, and communities, of Ireland, the only towns mentioned are Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Ross, Drogheda, Trim, and Kilkenny, [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 511] which may thence be presumed to have been at this time the chief towns of the island.

September 1<sup>st</sup>—The king of France, being again at war with Flanders, required King Edward, according to treaty, to banish the Flemings out of his territories, and to assist him with a fleet against them. Edward thereupon issued orders to the shirreifs of London, and of every shire in the kingdom, for obliging all the Flemings, except those who were married and settled in the country, to depart from the kingdom; and he commanded that none of his subjects should give them any assistance \*. He also ordered two of the admirals of the fleet sent against the Scots to draw off their divisions in order to act against the Flemings, and apologized to his brother of France, that he could not send the whole fleet to his assistance, because he was very hard pressed by his enemies of Scotland, who, not content with driving his people out of their own country and invading the northern parts of England, had lately made a formidable attack upon Ireland. [*Fædera*, V. iii, pp. 525, 531, 533, 535, 536.] Thus it was so ordered, that the exertions of the Scots, in defence of their own independence, were also instrumental in supporting the liberty and independence of other nations, and particu-

\* The orders were probably not very rigorously enforced; for we find new orders in November for strict search to be made for those Flemings, who had remained beyond the time appointed for

them to leave the country. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 541.] Both the English and the Flemings knew how indispensably necessary their commerce was to each other.

larly, at this time, of the most commercial nation in the western parts of Europe.

Notwithstanding the friendship between England and France, four vessels, loaded with wool and other merchandize from London for Antwerp, were attacked on the coast of France by two-and-twenty armed vessels from Calais, and one of them, valued at 2,000 marks sterling, was taken and carried into that port. On the complaint of the merchants King Edward wrote to the king of France (November 2<sup>d</sup>), expressing his wonder, that redress had not been given for that enormity, especially as the French merchants were treated in his dominions as well as his own subjects. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 539.]

The same Calais pirates sent their boats to attack a vessel lying upon the ground at low water near Margate, also loaded with wool from London for Antwerp, and carried her over to Calais, together with John Brand citizen and merchant of London, the owner and commander of her, and three merchants of the HANSE of Germany, the owners of the cargo, who lived in England in the enjoyment of the antient privileges granted by the preceding kings. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 540.] What renders this event particularly worthy of notice, is, that it contains the earliest mention, that I have been able to find in English records, of the name of Hanse being applied to the community of German merchants, who made so conspicuous a figure under that appellation for at least two centuries after this time. And that the application of that name to them was new at this time, appears from a grant in the patent rolls [*sec. 7 Edw. II, m. 12*] to the merchants of *Germany* ('mercatores Alemanniæ') of the liberty of coming securely into the kingdom and selling their merchandize, which is dated 23<sup>d</sup> April 1314; and even some years afterwards (viz. 7<sup>th</sup> December 1317) we find privileges granted to the merchants of the *Teutonic gild*, wherein the apparently-new name of Hanse is omitted\*. [*Fædera*, V. ix, p. 76.]

It is evident, that there must have been considerable woollen manufactures in the northern parts of the French dominions, as the late King Philip was so desirous of having the English wool carried to St. Omers and Lisle: and now his son Louis very earnestly requested King Edward to appoint a staple for the sale of English wool in some part of France between Calais and the River Seine. Edward, before he would come to any determination, summoned a number of the most prudent and experienced English merchants to deliberate with the parliament, to be held at Lincoln in the ensuing January, upon what would be most proper to do in the matter (December 16<sup>th</sup>): and this assembly of merchants may be called at least the first rudiments of a council of trade. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 543.] It may here be observed, that there

\* After this time the name of Hanse, or Haunze, occurs pretty frequently, for example, *Rot. pat. prim. 20 Edw. III, m. 17*; *sec. 20 Edw. III, m. 11*; *prim. 26 Edw. III, m. 15*.

must have been more than one staple, some of them, such as St. Omers and Lisle being apparently subsidiary to the chief one, which was fixed at Antwerp, though the earl of Flanders had endeavoured to get it settled at Bruges.

England was this year afflicted by a famine, grievous beyond all that ever were known before, which raised the price of provisions far above the reach of the people of middling circumstances. The parliament, in compassion to the general distress, ordered that all articles of food should be sold at moderate prices, which they took upon themselves to prescribe. The consequence (which, it is very wonderful, they did not foresee) was, that all things, instead of being sold at, or under, the *maximum* price fixed by them, became dearer than before, or were entirely withheld from the markets. Poultry were rarely to be seen; butcher meat was not to be found at all; the sheep were dying of a pestilence; and all kinds of grain were sold at most enormous prices. Early in the next year (1316) the parliament, perceiving their mistake, repealed their ill-judged act, and left provisions to find their own price. [*Walsingham*, pp. 106, 107.]

In the time of the famine some corn was imported from France, Sicily, and Spain; and several Spanish ships, carrying provisions and arms to the Flemings, were seized by the constable of Dover castle, upon which the king of France requested his ally of England to confiscate the vessels and cargoes to himself, and to make the men his slaves. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, pp. 542, 544, 564.]

1316—A great dromund of Genoa, loaded with corn, oil, honey, and other provisions, for England, to the value of £5,716:12:0 sterling, and having the king's protection and safe conduct, was attacked, when lying at anchor in the Downs near Sandwich, by a fleet under the command of a French admiral, who carried her into Calais. The deprivation of so large a cargo of provisions in a time of famine was a national calamity; and King Edward applied both to the king of France, and to the admiral who had taken the ship, requiring her to be brought back to the Downs. The king of France being dead, he repeatedly wrote to the regents, and to several French noblemen individually, upon the same business, but without effect\*. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 564, 894, 985.]

Immediately after his application for the recovery of a Genoese vessel, Edward, having learned by intercepted letters, that two citizens of Genoa were in treaty with Robert king of Scotland to furnish galleys and arms for his service in the war against himself, wrote to the community of the city (July 18<sup>th</sup>), expressing his surprise that they should enter into friendship with his capital enemy, seeing that he had shown every kind of favour to the Genoese, and friendship between his ances-

\* The papers in the *Fœdera*, here quoted, show that no compensation was made in January 1323.

tors and theirs had been inviolably preserved from antient times\* ; and concluding with a request that those two citizens might be punished for an example to others. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 565.]

1317, January 30<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, desirous of procuring some Genoese vessels for himself, employed Leonardo Pessaigne of Genoa to hire from his fellow citizens five gallies fitted for war, and sufficiently armed, manned, and victualled, to be employed in his war against Scotland. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 604.] Many other instances might be adduced, if necessary, of the princes of Europe applying to the Genoese for naval assistance, which they, more frequently than any other of the Italian states, granted, without being, however, any other way concerned in the quarrel than as mercenary auxiliaries.

June 20<sup>th</sup>—The king granted the merchants of Brabant permission to trade in his kingdom with the usual conditions ; and he also added the same exemptions from being liable for the debts and crimes of strangers, which he had granted to the citizens of Dordrecht in the year 1313. And a similar grant was made (November 20<sup>th</sup>) to the merchants of Bermeo, Bilboa, and the other towns of Biscay, with the same exemption ; and, at the request of their sovereign the king of Castile, it was declared that they should not even be liable for the debts or crimes of the people of any other kingdom or province of Spain. [*Fædera*, V. iii, pp. 647, 678.]

July 6<sup>th</sup>—Edward, having occasion to thank the duke of Bretagne for doing justice to some English subjects in his territories, assured him, that any of his subjects aggrieved by the English should have speedy justice, and even favour ; and if they chose to trade in his dominions, they should be treated as he would wish his own merchants to be treated in a foreign country. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 656.]

Some English merchants having been plundered many years before by some Hollanders, it was determined, in the course of a dilatory and interrupted negotiation, that there was due to Walter Ken and Company of Lincoln the sum of £954, and to Richard Wake and John Wype £259, as compensations for damages suffered by them. As a fund for their payment the earl of Holland proposed, and King Edward ratified it (July 3<sup>d</sup>), that the money should be levied from all the merchants, fishermen, and mariners of Holland arriving in the ports of England, at the rate of twenty shillings annually from every vessel bringing herrings or other fish, (so antient at least is the very profitable Dutch trade of supplying the London market with fish †) and ten shillings

\* This has been adduced as a proof of a very antient commerce between England and Genoa. But such allegations of antient friendships have generally as little meaning with respect to time past, as perpetual and everlasting treaties of friendship and alliance have with regard to time coming.

† The English had been accused by the Dutch fishermen of taking their fish, which they brought to sell on the coast of England, and paying them as much or as little as they pleased, and when they pleased, or not at all. In August 1309 the king ordered the warden of the Cinque ports and the shireffs

each voyage from vessels bringing any other kinds of merchandize, and also a duty upon the goods imported. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, pp. 19, 67, 83, 143, 144, 150, 151, 152, 163, 469, 650.] Thus did the crafty Dutchman dexterously discharge a debt due by individuals in his own dominions, or by himself, by a tax, which was in reality paid by the consumers in England.

It is vexatious to observe, that almost the only materials to be found in the public records of the middle ages, which in any way concern commerce and navigation, consist of a shameful and disgusting succession of piracies and murders committed by the seafaring people of almost every maritime country of Europe. From the detail of such unpleasant matters I gladly excuse myself, except those which happen to contain any thing illustrative of the progress or state of commerce; and therefore I have passed over most of the perpetual contests of the Gascons with their French and Spanish neighbours, many of the squabbles with Holland, and many of the innumerable accusations of rapine between the English and the Flemings, who, though they had many quarrels, well knew that neither could subsist without the other. I have also omitted several of the commissions for adjusting compensations with those, and some other, nations, as most of them contain nothing interesting. Neither is it worth while to record all the hostilities of the seamen of the Cinque ports, who were this year at war with the Flemings, and seem to have acted generally as a confederacy of independent states.

December 17<sup>th</sup>—The merchants of the Teutonic gildhall in London obtained a new charter from the king, whereby he confirmed to them their former liberties, and also, in consideration of a sum paid to him, granted that they and their property should have the now-usual exemption from arrest for the debts and crimes of other foreigners beyond the circle of their own community; and he engaged, that neither he nor his heirs should impose any new undue customs upon their goods, and that their goods should be exempted for ever from paying pontage, pavage, and murage \*, throughout the whole kingdom, provided they did not pass the goods of others, not belonging to their gild, as their own †. [*Fœdera*, V. ix, p. 75.]

The king licenced the prior of Birkhead to build houses or inns ('hospitiis') near a branch of the sea at Liverpool. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 11 *Edw. II*, m. 14.] This was apparently an accession of growth to a

shirreys of the eastern maritime shires to prevent that abuse. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 163.] It seems very probable, that those fish were caught by the Dutch fishermen upon the coast of England.

\* *Pontage*, a duty for making or repairing bridges. *Pavage*, a duty for paving the streets. (The printer has made it panagium, a rent for the

pasture of hogs, which it is not probable that foreign merchants should have any concern with.) *Murage*, a duty for upholding the walls of towns.

† They had already (7<sup>th</sup> June 1311) obtained from Edward II, for a fine of £100, a renovation of his father's charter, without the additional immunities now granted. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 268.]

village, destined to become the chief seat of commerce on the western side of England.

1318, January 28<sup>th</sup>—The citizens of Montpellier, a city in the south part of France, appear to have carried on a very extensive trade, as we may judge from their having dealings in London, the voyage to which, coasting round the whole of the great peninsula of Spain, must then have been reckoned a very long one. In the year 1282 Ferrand, son of the king of Aragon, recommended Bertrand de Cresuels, a merchant of that city who used to trade to England, to the favour of Edward I. And now we find that a company of merchants of Montpellier consigned various articles of merchandize to three merchants in London; and I am sorry to add, that it is to a breach of faith in the consignees that we owe the knowledge of the trade. [*Fædera*, V. ii, p. 201; V. iii, p. 693.] The strict mercantile probity and honour, which are now so eminently the characteristics of the merchants of London, were then but little known in the world.

June 29<sup>th</sup>—The community of the city, or burgh, of Perth obtained from King Robert a confirmation of a prerogative claimed by them, whereby no vessel entering the River Tay was allowed to break bulk without going up to the bridge of Perth, except vessels loaded with goods belonging to Dundee, and that only in the time of the fairs of Dundee. This monopoly of the river, which probably was the cause of the many squabbles between Perth and Dundee, was often confirmed by succeeding kings, and even so late as the year 1600. [*Chart. in Append. to Cant's Musæ Threnodie*, p. 9.]

July 13<sup>th</sup>—The quarrels between the English and Flemings (not the king of England and the earl of Flanders) had got to such a height, that the commercial intercourse between them was entirely suspended for some time. But such an interruption being exceedingly distressful on both sides, the two sovereigns interposed, and brought about a *peace*: and thereupon King Edward now wrote to the shireffs of London and all the maritime counties from York-shire to Cornwall inclusive, and to all bailiffs and others, desiring them to allow the Flemings to enjoy freedom of trade without any molestation, till next Christmas. In the ensuing November, however, there was another order, addressed to *all* the maritime counties of England: but whether it was in consequence of a subsequent rupture and accommodation, we are not informed. [*Fædera*, V. iii, pp. 718, 720, 741.] So very uncertain were the merchants in those days, whether they should be received as friends, or seized as enemies, in the country they were sailing to.

A vessel called the Little Edward, valued at only £40 sterling, loaded with 120 sarplars \* of wool, valued at £10 each, the property of six-

\* Sarplera lanæ, half a sack, or forty tods, of wool. [*Ainsworth's Dict. Vocab. in jure Angl.*] In Scotland wool was reckoned by the ferplath, which, if Ainsworth is correct, was much larger than the sarpler of England. See *Skene de verb. figr. in v.* or below under the year 1425.

teen shippers, which was bound from London to Antwerp, had been taken near Margate by the commander of a French fleet, who also landed at Margate and carried off the sail and rudder \*, which the seamen had brought on-shore. Compensation not being obtained, though sentence had been given in favour of the English owners by the constable of France, then the regent of the kingdom, and the king of France had been repeatedly applied to on the business, King Edward at length ordered the French property in England to be arrested, which produced a promise from the king of France that the merchants should be satisfied before the first of November. But they had received no compensation even in April 1323, the reason assigned for which was, that the vessel and cargo were the property of the Flemings, who were at war with France at the time of the capture; and, indeed, it is reasonable to suppose, that a capture, made by a commissioned officer of high rank, could not be a mere act of piracy. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, pp. 730, 1014.]

October 20<sup>th</sup>—By the statute of York [c. 6] the officers of cities and burghs, whose duty it was to keep assises of wines and victuals, were prohibited from dealing in those articles.

The king being desirous of consulting with judicious and prudent merchants concerning the establishment of the staple of wool in Flanders, and other commercial matters, John of Cherleton, citizen of London and mayor of the merchants of England †, who was furnished by the king's council with a particular statement of the matters to be considered, together with two merchants chosen out of every city and burgh throughout the kingdom, were summoned to meet at London in the octaves of S<sup>t</sup>. Hilary, in order to deliberate upon those matters. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 740.] This is, properly speaking, the earliest *council of trade* known in English history or record, as the merchants appear to have formed a board of themselves, whereas those summoned to Lincoln in the year 1315 seem to have been called only to give information, and perhaps advice, to the king's council, or parliament.

December 7<sup>th</sup>—As the merchants of England suffered great hardships in consequence of the wars between the earls of Flanders and Holland, King Edward sent ambassadors to endeavour to bring about an accommodation, and also wrote to both of them, and even to their friends, earnestly exhorting them to make peace. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, pp. 744, 745.]

1319, March 25<sup>th</sup>—King Edward wrote a long letter to Robert earl

\* 'Velum et gubernaculum.' *Velum*, in the singular number, must mean only one sail.

† The several notices concerning this gentleman put it out of doubt, that *mayor of the merchants of England*, the official title here given to him, and *mayor of the Staple* were synonymous terms. In the year 1321 he is called *mayor of the Staple*; and on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July 1326 the king gave him a new

appointment to the office of *mayor of the Staple*. [*Rot. pat. sec. 15 Edw. II, m. 3; and 20 Edw. II, m. 27.*] He must not be confounded with another John of Cherleton, his contemporary, who was a countier and sometimes a rebel. But he is probably the person from whom the king demanded a loan of £1,000 in the year 1346. [*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 492.]

of Flanders, complaining that many of his enemies of Scotland were favourably received in the earl's dominions, where they obtained supplies of men, armour, and provisions, and that many of the Flemings also carried provisions, arms, and merchandize, to Scotland: and he earnestly entreated him to prohibit all-intercourse with the Scots, who were laid under the sentence of the greater excommunication and an interdict, so that no good catholic could have any intercourse with such excommunicated rebels without involving himself in the penalties of the same sentence. He also informed him, that, though he had hitherto, from friendship to him, dismissed the Flemings, who were taken on their passage to Scotland, without any punishment, he should in future station a sufficient number of ships of war to intercept all who should presume to trade with those excommunicated rebels, and should treat the Flemings as rigorously as the Scots. He concluded by admonishing the earl to restrain his subjects from keeping up a damnable and perilous intercourse, lest their folly should disturb the harmony and mutually-advantageous commerce between England and Flanders.—He also wrote letters of the same import to the duke of Brabant, and to the magistrates of Bruges, Daan\*, Newport, Dunkirk, Ypres, and Mechlin. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 759.]

There could be no doubt, that, if the Flemings could have been compelled to relinquish the commerce, and abide the hostility, of either nation, that the trade of the Scots would not have been so valuable, nor their enmity so formidable, as those of the English. But, as the Venetians in the beginning of the twelfth century had their ideas raised, by commercial intercourse with various nations, above the apprehension of the papal thunder, so neither were the Flemings, who were now the most enlightened traders in the western parts of Europe, as the Venetians had been in the Mediterranean, to be terrified by excommunications, which, they knew, could have little effect, but what they sometimes derived from the simplicity of those against whom they were fulminated †, nor to be prevented by papal bulls, or even the menaces of the English king, from prosecuting their commerce with all nations: and they well knew, that the wool, leather, and lead, the desirable objects of their trade with England, must infallibly find their way to *their* market, as being the best one, in spite of prohibitions and cruisers. Therefor the earl in his answer to the king informed him (as he had already told Edward I) that Flanders being a country common to all mankind, he could not deny free access to merchants, agreeable to an-

\* I believe, this name ought rather to be Damm, a town between Bruges and the sea.

† I say *sometimes*, because the Venetians, in the instance now alluded to, disclaimed the pope's authority in their temporal affairs: and on this oc-

caſion neither the Scots, though they thought it decent and expedient to court the pope for a reversal of his sentence, nor several foreign princes in alliance with them, paid any attention to it.

tient custom, without bringing desolation and ruin upon his country: but that, though the Scots frequented his ports, and his subjects traded to the ports of Scotland, he had no intention to take part with them in their war, nor to encourage them in their errors or crimes\*. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 770.]

The duke of Bretagne more obsequiously informed his uncle, King Edward, that he knew of no intercourse between his subjects and the Scots, and that he had prohibited all trade and intercourse with them in his territories. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 766.]

The magistrates of Mechlin wrote a most complaisant and flattering letter, assuring the king, that they were very much displeas'd with the Scots for their offences against him, and that they had never admitted them into their town, but had suffered much upon the sea from the Scots and their accomplices. Therefor they requested that he would be favourable to their burgeses, who would never carry any thing to the coast of Scotland, unless they should be driven upon it by stress of weather. The answers received from the magistrates of Bruges and Ypres were nearly of the same nature with that of the earl, those of Ypres adding, in order to sooth their royal correspondent, that, though they had no authority to controll their fellow citizens, who were *general merchants*, they would *advise* them not to go Scotland, nor have any intercourse with the Scots. [*Fædera*, V. iii, pp. 765, 771.]

1320, June 18<sup>th</sup>—The king understanding that his ordinance for carrying wool and wool-fells only to one staple on the continent had been very generally neglected †, and the payment of the fines eluded, though he had appointed inquisitors in various parts of the kingdom to discover who were liable to fines for transgressions, sent orders from Dover, where he now was on his way to France, to the collectors of the customs on wool and wool-fells in the ports of London, Southampton, Weymouth, Boston, Kingston upon Hull, Newcastle, Yarmouth, Lynne, and Ipswich, to be very strict in swearing the exporters, that the wool and wool-fells entered for exportation were not entered under a false name, also in taking security for being answerable to the king for the fines which might be incurred, and in receiving the custom duties before they should permit the goods to be shipped. [*Hakluyt's Voyages*, V. i, p. 142.—*Rot. pat.* 13 *Edw.* II, m. 8.]

August 7<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, at the request of the king of France,

\* In the letter he repeatedly mentioned the *king of the Scots*, which must have been peculiarly offensive to Edward, who called the Scots his own subjects.—Notwithstanding the firmness of this denial, Edward again (April 1322) attempted to persuade the earl, that it would be for his honour and advantage to prohibit the Scottish trade. [*Fædera*, V. iii, p. 947.]

† Malynes quotes a record in the office of the clerk of the pipe to prove that there were a mayor and company of *staplers* at Antwerp in the twelfth year of Edward II. [*Center of the circle of commerce*, p. 93.] We have already seen ample proof of their existence six years earlier.

granted to the merchants of Amiens the privilege of being exempted, together with their merchandize, from arrest for any debts due to merchants of England by the king of France, their sovereign. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 844.]

There were perpetual causes of complaint between the seamen of England and those of Flanders. At a convention of deputies from both countries the Flemings represented, that some of their merchants, coming home from various countries with wines and other merchandize, had been robbed upon the sea of England near Crauden by some English malefactors, who carried their merchandize on shore in England; and they prayed the king, as 'lord of the sea,' in virtue of his seignery and royal power, to punish the crime committed within the bounds of his dominion. The king and parliament granted, that justices should be appointed by the king to try the cause, and to determine according to law and reason: and at the same time measures were concerted for redressing all grievances and damages on both sides. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 852.] Here it may be noted, that the dominion of the sea is ascribed to the king of England by the ministers of a foreign prince, though not, indeed, a prince of the first, or royal, dignity: and it may be added, that the same was also done before by the deputies of several other nations, when they wanted to induce King Edward I to make a common cause with them in recovering the vessels and cargoes seized by Grimaldi, the Genoese admiral in the service of France\*. [*See Selden's Mare clausum*, L. ii, c. 27.] But these matters lead to a controversy improper to be touched upon in this work.

The fishmongers, who kept shops upon Fish wharf, used to sell herrings and other fish, brought by land and by water, to the inhabitants, and to hawkers who carried them through the streets. But the other fishmongers having entered into a combination to prevent the sale of fish by retail at that wharf, those of the wharf obtained the king's order to the mayor and shirreifs of London to permit them to continue to sell herrings and other fish, either in wholesale or retail, to all who chose to buy. [*Ryley, Plac. parl.* p. 399.]

1321, May 3<sup>d</sup>—By the articles of a truce, lately concluded between England and Scotland, it was stipulated that the subjects of the two kingdoms should have no intercourse during the truce; and that, if any Scottish vessels should be driven by stress of weather upon the coast of England, or wrecked, they should be restored, unless the king or any other person might have a right to them as wreck. Agreeable to that article, King Edward now ordered the magistrates of Ravensrode (or Ravensere) to inquire, whether the men and merchandize in a vessel,

\* Whether Edward I or Edward II ever assumed the character of sovereign of the sea, does not, I believe, appear, from any authentic voucher:

but we shall see Edward III, when preparing for war with France in the year 1336, claiming an ancient hereditary right to that dominion.

lately arrested by them, were really Scottish, and driven upon their coast by stress of weather, and if so, to release them instantly. A vessel belonging to Dieppe in France, returning from Scotland, was also obliged to take shelter in the same port, where she was arrested by the zealous magistrates, because she had been trading to Scotland. At the request of the king of France, Edward restored the vessel and cargo, for this time, to the owners, though he had a right to punish them as adherents to his enemies. But at the same time he begged the king of France to prohibit his subjects from having any intercourse with Scotland. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, pp. 879, 880.]

After the total expulsion of the Christians from Syria, Egypt again became the entrepot of the greatest part of the trade between the eastern and western regions of the world: and the sovereign of that country took the advantage of what was almost a monopoly in favour of his subjects to charge very heavy duties upon the transit of merchandize through his dominions. Marino Sanuto, a noble Venetian, moved by the hardships thereby brought upon the European traders, and burning with catholic zeal, addressed to the pope a work, entitled *The secrets of the faithful* \*, wherein he proposed to suppress the Egyptian trade by an armed force; and to that work we are indebted for an ample account of the Indian trade, as it was then conducted.

He says, that formerly Indian goods were brought by the Persian gulf to Baldac (or Bagdad), and thence, by inland navigation and land carriage, to Antioch and Licia on the Mediterranean sea. In his own time the spiceries and other merchandize of India were mostly collected in two ports, which he calls Mahabar and Cambeth †, and thence transported to Hormus (or Ormuz), to a small island called Kis, and to a port (Bassora) on the Euphrates, all which were subject to the Tatar sovereignties of Persia. But the great bulk of the trade was conducted by the agency of the merchants of the south part of Arabia (who had now recovered the trade of their remote ancestors) at the port of Ahaden, or Aden, believed to be the antient city of Arabia Felix. From Aden the goods were conveyed to Chus on the Nile, near the antient Coptos, and thence forwarded by river craft to Babylon; and from it they were floated down the river, and along an artificial canal to Alexandria. By this route all bulky goods of inferior value, among which, however, are reckoned not only pepper and ginger, but also frankincense, and cinnamon, were conveyed. The duty charged by the sultan on spiceries was equal to one third of their value: and, as he permitted no Christians to

\* The work of Sanuto forms the second volume of the collection, edited by Bongartius under the title of *Gesta Dei per Francos*; and we are informed in the preface, that it was begun in the year 1306, and presented to the pope in 1321.

† He probably means by Mahabar the *coast* of Malabar, the chief *port* of which was Calicut; and by Cambeth, the *country* of Cambay.

pass through his territories, and his subjects had thereby a monopoly of all the trade in that channel, the prices of India goods were now much higher in Europe, than when they were chiefly conveyed by the inland route of Bagdad and Antioch. The most valuable goods, such as cubebe, spikenard, cloves, nutmegs, and mace, still continued to be brought from Bagdad and Thorisium\* to various ports on the coast of the Mediterranean: and by that route many Christian merchants had already penetrated to India. Though this conveyance was more expensive, some of the articles, such as ginger and cinnamon, were from 10 to 20 per cent † better than those brought by the longer water carriage, especially the ginger, which was apt to heat and be wasted, if kept long onboard the vessel.

Sanuto, envying the sultan and the Saracens the great revenues and profits they derived from silk and sugar, observes, that the later grows in Cyprus, Rhodes, Amorea, and Marta ‡. He adds, that it would grow in Sicily and other Christian countries, if there were demand for it §. Silk, he says, is produced in considerable quantities in Apulia, Romania, Sicily, Crete, and Cyprus, and the quantity might be increased. Though flax abounds in the Christian countries, the Egyptian species, on account of its superior quality, is carried to the farthest extremities of the West; and the Egyptian manufactures of linen, and of silk, and others of linen mixed with silk, as also dates and cassia-fistula, are carried in Christian and Saracen vessels to Turkey ||, Africa, the Black sea, and the western parts of Europe.

He observes, that the sultan's dominions produce no gold, silver, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver, coral, or amber, which are carried to them by the Mediterranean sea, and bring in a vast revenue in duties paid upon them at Alexandria, which are, on gold  $6\frac{2}{3}$  per cent; on silver at Cairo 10 per cent, but to some, by favour, only  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ; on brass about 25; tin 20, &c. and those are the articles, which are most valuable to his subjects in their trade with Ethiopia and India. Great quantities of oil, honey, nuts, almonds, saffron, and mastic, all of them paying heavy duties at Alexandria; also silk, cloth, wool, and other goods, are carried to the sultan's dominions, and contribute to enrich him and his

\* Thorisium, according to De Guignes, [*Mem. de lit.* V. xxxvii, p. 507] was Tauris in Adherbigian, the antient Media.

† 'A decem ad viginti pro centenario.' Here and elsewhere in his work we have the modern way of rating at so much per cent. Earlier authors generally reckon by one twentieth, one tenth, one fifth, one third, &c. and Sanuto sometimes does the same. For the first undoubted appearance of the calculation *per cent*, see above, p. 393.

‡ These are apparently the Morca and Malta. But I cannot at present determine the exact time,

when the name of Morea superseded that of Peloponnesus.

§ He did not know that sugar had been cultivated in Sicily long before.

|| Turkey must here mean Asia Minor, at this time occupied by the Turks. Sanuto elsewhere says, that Turkey was antiently called Greece: but the application of that name to the coast of Asia, is, I believe, scarcely warranted by any antient authority.—Quere, if the blundering correction of a transcriber?

subjects. Sometimes the failure of the overflow of the Nile occasions a famine in Egypt, as happened after the loss of Acon and Syria. In such a calamity, the Egyptians, if not supplied with corn carried to them by the Mediterranean, must emigrate or perish \*. As Egypt produces no timber, iron, or pitch, and procures all those materials for building vessels by the Mediterranean sea, if the importation of them were withheld, the sultan would lose his duties of one fourth of the value paid on those articles, and three bysants annually from every vessel, whether large or small; and the merchants and artificers in Babylon, and also the sultan with his admirals and army in Cairo, would starve for want of the corn, which is brought by water from all parts of the country.

Sanuto, having endeavoured to prove, that the Egyptians were dependent upon the Christians for the supply of their wants, as well as for the sale of their redundant native commodities and manufactures and their imported merchandize, proposes that, in order to transfer the commercial advantages, now engrossed by them, to the Christians, and to accomplish the pious work of recovering the Holy land, the prohibition of trading with the subjects of the sultan (see above, p. 451) should be most rigorously, and universally, enforced by stationing a sufficient number of armed galleys upon the sea; and he also recommends a military force in proper places upon the land, because galleys cannot keep the sea in stormy weather, nor do they willingly keep out in winter nights, and even in summer they cannot be many days at sea without landing for fresh water, and also, because transgressors, laying aside the fear of God, go to the sultan's territories, where they are kindly received, and find no difficulty in landing their cargoes on their return.

The prohibition of trade ought also to extend to all Africa and the Saracen dominions in Spain, the consequence of which would be a considerable diminution of the trade of the sultan's dominions, which is very much supported by the trade with those countries. Neither ought any trade to be carried on with the coast of Turkey, which was anciently called Greece; for there many vessels are loaded with timber, pitch, Christian and pagan boys and girls, and other merchandize, for the sultan's dominions, and in return import sugar, spices, and linen, sufficient for the supply of other countries as well as their own.—And, as the only means to prevent smuggling, let no Christian purchase or receive any spice or Indian merchandize, silk, sugar, or linen, which may be suspected to come from the sultan's dominions. Let the captain of the holy church carry on a perpetual and universal persecution against

\* Sanuto did not suppose that there existed any person in Egypt, endowed with the foresight of Joseph, to make the redundancy of one year provide for the deficiency of another.

the Saracens and those perfidious Christians who infringe this *most blessed command*: and let him take especial care that no iron be carried to Armenia, which is adjacent to the sultan's country. Let ten gallies be commissioned, till your Holiness can provide more. They will cost 15,000 florins, and, allowing 250 men for each galley, the whole expence, including pay, provisions, and other necessaries, for nine months, will amount to 70,000 florins: and, in order to quicken their diligence, let all prizes be shared entirely among themselves.

He proceeds to state the complement of men of every description for a galley, and gives many estimates and nautical instructions, together with a vast deal of information respecting the vessels of the age, which the brevity necessarily studied in this work will not permit me to enter upon any further than just to note the places, from which he proposes to draw the best seamen for manning his fleet. Besides those of Italy, he says, good seamen may be found in Germany, and especially in the farthest parts of the archbishoprick of Bremen, in Friseland, Holland, and Zeland, Holstein, and Slavia (where he himself had been, probably Sleswick) Hamburgh, Lubeck, Wismar, Rostock, Xundis, Guspinal, and Sectin \*, and also in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway †. He has also an estimate of the expence of a land army, which, however, must be carried by water; and he gives ample directions for providing arms, and warlike engines; so that he may justly be called the Vegetius of the middle ages.

But his project of depriving the Mohamedans of their trade by the operation of ten gallies, which were to keep the sea only nine months, and only during the day-light, while he acknowledges the sultan's marine to be very strong, is much like Captain Bobadil's scheme, in the play, of killing a whole army by the prowess of twenty gentlemen like himself. Both forget, that their adversaries will not *consent* to be driven out of their trade or to be killed.—But supposing it had been possible for the pope, by the strength of his own treasury, or by drawing the princes of Europe into a new crusade, to have mustered a sufficient force, what was the object to be accomplished? To pervert the free course of trade, which as naturally flows in the channel which presents the lightest charge or cheapest purchase (and that by his own account was Alexandria) as water glides into the vallies ‡. It is surprising that a Venetian should have conceived such contracted anticommercial ideas, so un-

\* Xundis and Guspinal are places unknown to me. Sectin is probably Stettin.

† The natives of our British islands, and even the Catalans, who, as Mediterranean navigators, ought to be well known to him, and who had on some occasions rode masters of the Mediterranean,

and made the emperors of Constantinople tremble for the existence of their empire, are entirely omitted in his enumeration of maritime nations.

‡ A simile used (I mean abused) by himself, p. 23.

like the general liberality of mind and commercial wisdom of his countrymen\*.

1322—Among the various orders for collecting provisions for the army sent against Scotland, we find one for nine thousand quarters of wheat and other provisions †, to be sent from Ireland. [*Rot. pat. prim. 16 Edw. II, m. 20.*] This of itself, if it was really accomplished, was no trifling exportation of grain from Ireland, considering the state the country must have been in, after being the theatre of war between the English and the Scots.

May 7<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, after having again attempted to persuade the earl of Flanders, that it would be for his honour and advantage to prevent his subjects from trading with the Scots, and finding that the Flemings were so far from being persuaded by his arguments, that they rather acted as the allies of the Scots by taking the vessels, which were carrying provisions to his army, now ordered the magistrates of Yarmouth and the barons of the Cinque ports to have the shipping of their districts ready to act against the Flemings upon the shortest notice. [*Fœdera, V. iii, pp. 947, 949, 951.*]

1323, April—Robert, the steady earl of Flanders being dead, his grandson Louis was more pliant to the requisitions of King Edward, and promised to debar the Scots from trading in his territories, and to prohibit his subjects from furnishing any supplies to them. The king, in return, granted the Flemings all the freedom of trade they had formerly enjoyed in England, and moreover exempted them from being liable for the debts of others, or for bypast transgressions against the charter of the staple. [*Fœdera, V. iii, pp. 1006, 1007.*]

This year the same earl established the magistracy and court-house of the Francmotes at Bruges, which he declared to be the fixed emporium of his territories. He also decreed, that no cloth should be manufactured nor sold at Sluys; and he prescribed what kinds of merchandize should be sold at Sluys, and what kinds at Damm, Honks, and Monachorede. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f. 125 b.*]

April 16<sup>th</sup>—The people belonging to five Venetian galleys lying at Southampton had lately got into a squabble with the inhabitants of that

\* Some of his countrymen went to the opposite extreme, and supplied the Saracens with arms, and provisions, for which they were punished by Edward prince of England, when they fell into his hands in the year 1270, probably in consequence of the bull issued by Pope Gregory X, prohibiting all communication with the infidels, and particularly with the sultan of Egypt. In the year 1274 James I, king of Aragon, at the desire of the same pope, prohibited the exportation of iron, arms, ship timber, corn and other provisions, to the Saracens. [*Walsingham, p. 471.—Capmany,*

*Mem. hist. de Barcelona, V. i, Com. p. 47.*] Sanuto himself informs us, that a more vigorous prohibition had been ordered immediately after the expulsion of the Christians from Palestine. So it appears, that there was nothing new in his proposal.

† ‘Frumenti ac al’ victual.’ In the Latin of those ages *frumentum* generally signifies wheat, and *victual* may be other corns. In many parts of the country *victual* is still a general term for all kinds of corn.

town and the Isle of Wight, and much mischief had been done to the country, and several lives had been lost on both sides. The merchants of Venice, dreading the revenge of the country, or the rigour of the law, which, they knew, would take hold of any of them; as well as of the individuals really guilty, abstained from trading to England till the affair could be accommodated. For a sum of money they had already obtained from John of the Isle of Wight an engagement that neither he nor any of his dependents should ever take vengeance, or demand any further satisfaction, for the murders and robberies committed on that occasion. The king also, unwilling to lose the advantage of their commerce, granted them an ample pardon, with assurance of security in trading in his dominions, as long as they carried on fair trade, and paid the due customs \*. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, pp. 1008, 1011.]

May 30<sup>th</sup>—A truce was concluded between England and Scotland for thirteen years, wherein the articles of the former one, prohibiting intercourse between the two nations, and respecting the ships of the Scots, and their property in other ships, forced upon the coast of England by stress of weather †, were the same as in the preceding truce, with the additional condition, that no merchants belonging to any other country, except countries at war with England or Scotland, should meet with any obstruction in trading to either kingdom. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 1022.]

June 4<sup>th</sup>—It is probable, that the vessels of Majorca traded to Flanders, as we find, that, in consequence of a complaint, made by the king of that island, of his subjects being plundered upon the sea by the English ‡, King Edward promised to give every kind of justice and favour to any merchants of Majorca, who should trade to England. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, p. 1028.]

November 24<sup>th</sup>—In an ordinance for the state of Ireland, all merchants, natives or foreigners, are authorized to carry corn and other provisions and merchandize to England and Wales, unless they should be taken by the justice (or viceroy) by advice of the council in a case of necessity, on paying the due and usual customs, and giving security that they should not go to Scotland or any other country at war with England. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 24.]

1324, March 10<sup>th</sup>—The king summoned the maritime towns on the south coast to assemble their largest vessels at Portsmouth, sufficiently manned and provided with landing bridges and *clays* §, for carrying fol-

\* The pardon was ratified in parliament on the 10<sup>th</sup> of March 1324 by the king, prelates, and nobles. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 39.]

† There is no reciprocal stipulation for the protection of English vessels thrown upon the coast of Scotland. It was apparently so far out of the tract of English trading vessels, that no such accident was expected ever to happen.

‡ This is the same violence which the king of Aragon also complained of, the two gallees taken being the property of subjects of Majorca, and the cargoes belonging to a subject of Aragon, who stated that he had put goods onboard them in Flanders. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, pp. 15, 82, 83, 130.]

§ ‘Clayas,’ a word not well understood: perhaps hurdles (*clayes* in French) for making temporary

diers and horses at his expense over to his duchy of Aquitaine. The following are the quotas ordered from each port.

Southampton	6 vessels	Seaford	1	Boldre	-	1
Sandwich	4	Shoreham	2	Yarmouth in Wight		2
Winchelsea	6	Weymouth	10	Poole and its mem-	}	4
Rye	2	Portsmouth	1	bers		
Faverham	1	Hamelhok	1	[ <i>Fædera</i> , V. iv, p. 40.]		

July 22<sup>d</sup>—Afterwards, understanding that warlike ships were getting ready in all the ports of Normandy, he issued orders to *all* the ports of England to equip *all* their vessels to act as ships of war against the French. He at the same time desired that they would lay aside all animosities against their fellow subjects of England or of his city of Bayonne, and that they would molest no vessel belonging to Flanders or any other country not subject to the king of France\*. [*Fædera*, V. iv, p. 73.]

This year the king resumed the prerogative of seizing wrecks for his own use †, which had been relinquished by Henry I and several other kings, and also claimed all the whales and great sturgeons taken in the sea, except in certain privileged places. [*Act 17 Edw. II, c. 11.*]

1325, January 5<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, being very desirous to obtain the friendship of the king of Castile (or Spain) to support him in the war with which he was threatened by France, granted to all the nobles, merchants, masters of ships, mariners, and other subjects of that king, permission to trade freely in his British and French dominions, they paying customs and other usual charges, and being answerable for all contracts and transgressions. And in order further to gratify the Spanish king, he promised that his subjects should not be liable to arrest for any matters formerly in dispute. [*Fædera*, V. iv, p. 118.]

February 26<sup>th</sup>—The king renewed the grant of freedom of trade to the Venetians, and added the now-usual exemption from arrest for the debts and crimes of others. But he also added a condition, that they should have no communication whatever with his enemies or opponents. [*Fædera*, V. iv, p. 138.]

May 7<sup>th</sup>—A vessel having failed to Portugal with goods in order to take in return a cargo of corn and other provisions to carry to Aquitaine, King Edward took so much concern in the success of the voyage,

porary stalls for the horses; perhaps cleats (cross bars) nailed upon the bridges to prevent the horses from slipping.—In *Fædera*, V. v, p. 6, we find the king orders the shirrefs to provide timber and brusli ('buscam') for constructing clays, bridges, boards, racks, &c. for transporting horses; and in p. 814, he orders 2,500 clays ('claias') along with eight bridges of 20 feet long, and seven of 14 feet, for shipping horses.

\* Walsingham [p. 507] says, that the navy of England this year took a hundred vessels belonging to the one province of Normandy. But he often exaggerates.

† An article in the truce with Scotland in the year 1319 gives room to believe, that the cruel prerogative of wreck had been resumed before that time. See above, p. 489.

that he wrote to the king of Portugal, and also to his mother, to solicit their favour to the owner. [*Fædera*, V. iv, p. 146.] This deserves notice chiefly as a proof of the Portuguese then having corn for exportation, which has seldom, if ever, been the case, since their wine came into general demand in this country.

May—The great manufacturing and trading cities of Flanders acted in several respects as communities, or republics, independent of their earl, whose power was very far from being absolute. At this time the magistrates and community of Bruges appear as principals in a negotiation for a solid peace and accommodation of all damages, homicides, and quarrels, between the subjects of the king of England and those of their dearly beloved lord the earl of Flanders, for the benefit of commerce; and they engaged, for themselves and the good towns of Ghent and Ypres, to ratify whatsoever should be agreed by their burgomaster, whom they deputed as their procurator. King Edward, by his commissioners, agreed with him and the procurators of Ghent and Ypres to continue the truce with those cities and all the people of Flanders till Easter 1326 (and it was afterwards prolonged) and gave them permission to trade during the truce, as usual, in England; and he moreover granted them exemption from arrest for debts or crimes not their own, and for any transgressions against his charter of the wool staple, on condition that equal indulgences should be granted to his subjects in Flanders. [*Fædera*, V. iv, pp. 147, 151, 188, 199, 207.] As this stipulation for reciprocal advantages does not appear in the grants made to the merchants of the more distant countries of Venice, Majorca, or even Spain, the absence of it affords at least a presumption, that no English vessels sailed, or were expected to sail, so far from home. But it is also omitted in grants to the merchants of nearer countries, to which English vessels did sail: and it must be observed, that those writings are not *treaties* between contracting powers, but *grants* conceived in the language of favour, and consequently the only reciprocity, that there could be in such cases, must have been expressed also in *grants* from the other parties, which may have existed, though now lost.

The coals of Newcastle were now known and desired in foreign countries, as appears by a voyage made this year by a merchant of France to that town with a cargo of corn, in return for which he carried home a cargo of coals. [*Brand's Hist. of Newcastle*, V. ii, p. 254.]

1326, July 20<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, being driven, by misfortunes crowding upon him, to fluctuation in his counsels, had revoked the charter for holding the staple upon the continent, and appointed some places in his own kingdom \* for the sale of wool, wool-fells, hides, and tin; and

\* I do not find the names of any of them except Cardiff in Wales, a town belonging to Hugh Despenser. [*Rot. pat. sec. 19 Edw. II, m. 5.*] But that establishment, being a measure of favour-  
itish, probably came to nought upon the fall of the favourite, which ensued almost immediately after.

he now gave orders, that all foreign merchants, except the subjects of the king of France, should have freedom of coming and going in safety; and to that intent he ordered the shirrefs to take sufficient security from the seamen of every vessel before they sailed, that they should not commit hostilities against any friendly vessels. He gave his admirals the same instructions for preserving inviolate peace with all neutral nations, and especially with the Flemings and Bretons, whom he had taken under his protection. In a few weeks after he ordered all the shipping of the east coast of the kingdom from the mouth of the Thames northward to Holy island \*, doubly furnished with arms and provisions for one month, to be ready at Erewell (or Orewell) to receive his further orders for proceeding against his enemies. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, pp. 218, 219, 225.]

We have now the first certain knowledge of representatives from the cities and burghs forming a constituent part of the parliament of Scotland.—In the first treaty upon record between France and Scotland, in the year 1295, John king of Scotland mentions the communities, or corporations, of the towns; but they do not appear as composing any part of the legislative body. In a parliament, held by King Robert I in 1323, the burghs do not appear to have been represented: and in the confirmation of a truce with England, in the same year, Robert says, it is done with the consent of the bishops, earls, and barons; but he has not a word of any representatives of burghs. [*Fœdera*, V. ii, pp. 696, 698; V. iii, p. 1030.] But in a parliament of the same king, held this year, we find the burghs forming the third estate in parliament, and consenting to an aid granted to the king †. [*Stat. Rob. I, in Kames's Law tracts, append. n. 4.*]

1327, April 29<sup>th</sup>—In early times the aldermen of London were proprietors of the wards, which were conveyed by hereditary succession or purchase ‡. They, together with the mayor, shirrefs, and some electors

\* There are forty ports mentioned in the summonses: but as there are no rated quotas of vessels to show their relative importance, I have not thought it worth while to insert their bare names.

† It ought, however, to be recollected here, that in the year 1209 the burghs granted King William a subsidy of 6,000 marks. (See above, p. 375.) But whether they did so of duty, as holding lands of the king in their corporate capacity, or as a spontaneous mark of their affection to their sovereign, or as occasional members of the legislative body, does not appear. The burghs of Scotland, mentioned by Wyntown, [*Cronykil*, V. i, p. 385] as expressing, along with the barons and prelates, their disapprobation of some negotiations with the king of England, must not be supposed a collective, or legislative, body. They are not noticed in the Chronicle of Melros; and Bowar,

[*Scotichron.* V. ii, p. 90] when copying Wyntown's narrative, and comparing it with two other authorities, also omits the burghs. It may be remembered, that burghs were not then introduced into the parliament of England. Under the year 1357 the earliest known list of Scottish towns represented in parliament will be given.

‡ Stow begins his account of the ward of Farringdon by a deduction of the property of it, as follows. It belonged successively to Ankerin de Avern, Ralph Arderne, his son Thomas Arderne, Ralph le Feure by purchase in 1277, John le Feure, William Farendou by purchase in 1279, and his son Nicolas Farendou, and his heirs, whose name the two wards formed out of it still retain. Those whom Fitz-Stephen, in his affected Latin, calls *consuls* of the regions of the city in the reign of Henry II, were probably proprietary

deputed from each ward, elected the mayor, and other city officers\*. But they do not appear to have been noticed, at least by the kings, as principal constituent members of the corporation of the city, all writs or mandates (at least as far as I can find from any accessible records) being addressed to the mayor and bailifs (or bailies, 'balivis'), till now †, that the king ordered the mayor, aldermen, and whole community of London, and the mayor and bailifs, or the bailifs, of other cities and towns, to provide as many men as they were able, properly furnished with arms and horses, for his service. [*Fædera*, V. iv, p. 287.]

July—Gun-powder, which was undoubtedly made by Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century, is said to have been invented in the year 1330 by Barthold Schwartz, a German apothecary, whose process of making it became public, and was soon followed by the invention of cannons, then called bombardars. That the invention, or rather re-invention, of it was earlier, is evident from the use of it in war being now known in England, as appears from the Scottish poet Barber, who (in his *Life of King Robert*, p. 408, ed. 1758) relates, that the English now had guns of some kind, which he calls *cracks of war*, at the battle, or skirmish, on the banks of the Were, and that the Scots had never before heard any such *cracks*. But in the year 1339 the Scots used cannons to batter the walls of Stirling castle, which they probably received from France ‡. [*Froissart*, L. i, c. 74.]

proprietary aldermen. In the year 1266 the aldermen of London, together with the bailifs, became bound for the payment of £500, due by the king to some merchants of Doway. [*Madox's Firma burgi*, p. 136; and see also p. 14.]

\* See *Brady on burghs*, p. 22, who quotes the records in the city's archives, as does also Strype in his *Survey of London*, B. v, p. 73. Both these authors wrote after the great fire, which destroyed some of the records. But those still remaining, are, by subsequent misfortunes, and removals in consequence of new buildings, in such a confused state (as they appeared when I saw them by the favour of Mr. Woodthorpe, the city clerk) that they will require the labour of a person versed in antiquarian literature to arrange them, and make a catalogue of them, before they can be rendered useful.

† The last writ I find addressed to the mayor and bailifs of London, is dated 28<sup>th</sup> September 1326. [*Fædera*, V. iv, p. 234.] But the other cities and towns, as far as I can see, were governed by bailifs, either in conjunction with, or without, a mayor: nor was the title of bailif generally superseded by that of alderman, till many years after this time. [See above, p. 438, and *Fædera*, V. iv, pp. 40, 234, 288, 668, 718, &c. &c.] In the year 1336 we find the mayor, the bailif, and two aldermen, of Cambridge; and aldermen of Oxford

and some other towns appear afterwards. [*Rot. pat. prim. 10 Edw. III, m. 32; prim. 20 Edw. III, tergo, 30.*—*Fædera*, V. v, pp. 253, 254.—See also *Spelman, Gloss. vo. Aldermannus civitatis*.]

It may be observed, as a curious circumstance, that England and Scotland have in some degree made an exchange of the titles of magistracy, every city and town in the former being at present governed by a mayor and several aldermen, and almost every one in the later by a provost and several bailies, the titles of mayor and alderman being utterly forgotten. See above, pp. 297, 446, and below, under the year 1357.

‡ Some have asserted that the first appearance of guns of any kind was in the year 1350; others say that they were first used at the battle of Cressly in 1346 by the English; and Polydore Vergil was so ill informed as to say that they were first used in the year 1380 by the Venetians, who were taught by the discoverer of gun-powder. That man wrote a book expressly upon the *Inventors of things*, and also a *History of England*, without knowing any thing of the date of so important a change in the method of carrying on war. The Moorish king of Grenada in the year 1331 had guns, which shot balls of iron capable of throwing down walls. [*Zurita, Annales de Aragon*, V. ii, f. 99 b.] The use of guns was even common before the year 1334, as appears from a curious dialogue

King Edward this year granted a patent in favour of the manufacturers of stuffs made of worsted in Norfolk: and soon after an inspector and measurer of those stuffs was appointed. [*Rot. pat. sec. 2 Edw. III, a tergo, and prim. 3 Edw. III, m. 1.*] This is probably the earliest extant notice of a manufacture which has become an object of great importance in that part of the country\*.

There is some discordance in the various accounts of the introduction of silk-worms and the manufacture of silk in Italy. When the Venetians became masters of those provinces of the Greek empire, which were the chief seats of the silk trade, they surely did not neglect to transport the manufacture at least, if not also the worms, to their own Italian or Dalmatian territories: and it is also reasonable to suppose, that the Genoese, when they got possession of Galata, did not fail to transplant such lucrative branches of industry to their mother country. It is certain, that in the year 1306 the business of rearing silk-worms was so far advanced in Modena, that it yielded a revenue to the state; and as the silk of Modena was then esteemed superior to that of the other cities of Lombardy, it is evident, that other cities also cultivated that branch of industry. In 1327, whether the silk trade of Modena was then falling off, or the magistrates were desirous of augmenting the revenue derived from it, they made a law, that every proprietor of an inclosure in the city's territory should plant at least three mulberry trees, and that all the cocoons should be publicly sold in the street, the buyer and the seller paying each one shilling to the city. The Bononians (or Bolognians) alone possessed the machinery for twisting the silk; and the Modenese were obliged to send their silk to be thrown by them till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when they acquired the art of fabricating such machinery for themselves; and from them it has spread to the other cities of Italy, and in time to other countries. We are told, however, that after the year 1300 the silk manufacture flourished chiefly at Florence, where

dialogue in Petrarch. [*De remedio utriusque fortunæ, p. 84, ed. Basil.*] About the year 1344 gunners made a part of the military establishment of Edward III king of England. [*Spelman, Gloss. vo. Bombarda.*] And the idea of them was so familiar in his reign, that Chaucer (ascribing, as then usual with poets, the manners of his own age to ancient times) introduces guns in his description of Antony's ship, and also in his book of Fame. [*ff. 200 a, 282 a, ed. 1598.*] Gun-powder and cannons are supposed by some to have been used by the natives of India against Alexander the Great. But this I shall not pretend either to affirm or deny.

These brief hints of some of the early notices of gun-powder and guns, though more strictly belonging to military than commercial history, will not be deemed impertinent by those who consider how

important and universal a revolution they have effected in human affairs, and that they have in no small degree contributed to confer upon Europe, a pre-eminence over the larger quarters of the world, and especially to give the British navy an acknowledged superiority upon the Ocean, whence the British commerce derives a protection and safety beyond that of every other nation, in every quarter of the globe.

\* Camden says, that the Dutch, flying from the persecution of the duke of Alva in the sixteenth century, first introduced the manufacture of light stuffs at Norwich. [*Britannia, p. 347.*] And the president De Thou [*Hist. sui temporis, L. xlvi*] says the same. But the testimony of both those respectable writers must give way to the surer evidence of records.

many thousand people were employed in it. But Textrini says, that before the pillage of Luca in the year 1314 the silk manufacture flourished *only* in that city \*, which thereby abounded in riches; and that from it the workmen were dispersed through the other cities of Italy, particularly Venice †, Florence, Milan, and Bononia; and some went even to Germany, France, and Bretagne ‡. [*Muratori Antiq. V. ii, coll. 406, 408, 895, 896, 897.*]

1328, January—The magistrates of London having represented to the king, that criminals used to set justice at defiance by passing over to Southwark, to which their authority did not extend, he gave them a grant of the bailiwick of that burgh, at the usual yearly rent of ten pounds §. But Southwark was not properly incorporated with London till the 23<sup>d</sup> of April 1549, soon after which it was made one of the wards of the city, and had an alderman and the other officers of a ward. [*Chart. in camera Lond. quoted in Strype's ed. of Stow's Survey, V. ii, p. 1.*]

This year the ordinance of the staple was annulled by parliament; and entire liberty was given to all merchants, strangers or natives, to go and come with their merchandize, according to the tenor of the Great charter. [*Act. 2 Edw. III, c. 9.*]

The king and his council (or parliament) enacted, that all foreign cloths should be measured by the king's measurer in presence of the magistrates of the place where they were landed. The statute measure for cloth of raze ¶ was 28 elns in length, measured by the list, and 6½ quarters in breadth, and for cloth of colour 26 elns in length, measured by the ridge or fold, and 6½ quarters in breadth, to be measured without opening ('fanz defoler') the cloth ¶¶. The mayor and bailifs of the towns where the cloth was landed, were required to attend, when called by the measurer, and to mark the cloths found agreeable to the stand-

\* Muratori hesitates in giving credit to Textrini.—'Si fides Nicolao Textrino'.—And indeed his account is completely confuted by the laws of Modena, which are copied from the originals by Muratori himself. But some families of silk-weavers undoubtedly went from Luca to Venice; [*Sandi Yll. de Vinezia, V. i, pp. 247, 256*] and thence they have been supposed the founders of the silk manufacture there, just as the Flemish woollen manufacturers, who removed to England in the reign of Edward III, have almost obliterated the memory of the earlier Flemish colony in the reign of William the Conqueror.

† We learn from Doctor Moseley, [*Treatise on Sugar, p. 267, ed. 1800*] that the business of a silk manufacturer, and those of a glass maker, and of an apothecary and druggist, are the three trades which do not contaminate nobility in Venice.

‡ 'Ad Gallos Britannosque.'—In those ages *Britannia* and *Britanni* scarcely ever signified the island and people of Great Britain.—The reader,

who desires to have information concerning the various species of silk goods made in the middle ages, may peruse the twenty-fifth dissertation of Muratori's Antiquities, wherein all the luxury of dress is displayed.

§ That rent was far below what it paid in the time of William the Conqueror.

¶ Striped cloth, as it is explained by Stow, [*Survey of London, at the year 1352, in his list of temporal governors, and as the word raze is still used in French.*] Thomas earl of Lancaster (according to an account of the expenses of his household in the year 1314, given by Stow, p. 134) had 'four 'clothes ray for carpets' in his hall. And this is probably the earliest notice of the use of carpets in England.

¶¶ We are thus informed that the coloured cloths were doubled as broad cloths are now, and that the cloths of raze were folded or rolled single, as narrow cloths, called yard-wides, are at present.

ard, without any charge upon the merchants: and the measurer was directed to seize those which were deficient in the presence of the magistrates, and to account for the value of them to the exchequer. [*Act. 2 Edw. III, c. 14.*] This law appears to have been productive of much delay and trouble to the importers. [*Fœdera, V. v, p. 79.*]

August 8<sup>th</sup>—The merchants of Aragon, Catalonia, and Majorca, having petitioned the king that they might partake of the privileges bestowed upon foreign merchants by King Edward I, he granted that they should for ever enjoy all the liberties, immunities, and accommodations, conferred by his grandfather upon other foreign merchants \*. [*Fœdera, V. iv, p. 364.*]

The merchants of Dantzick appear to have had some trade with England before this time, for this year the king granted them a *confirmation* of their liberties. [*Rot. pat. prim. 3 Edw. III, m. 18.*]

1329, May 9<sup>th</sup>—The king, understanding that John of Rous and Master William of Dalby had made silver by the art of alchymy ('al-kemoniæ'), and thinking, if they really possessed such an art, that it would be of great benefit to him and the kingdom, gave orders to bring them, with all their instruments, to his presence. [*Fœdera, V. iv, p. 384.*] We do not hear of any creation of silver by those artists.

December 12<sup>th</sup>—At the request of his mother, the king gave the merchants and burghesses of Deest (or Dieft, an inland town of Brabant) a charter, permitting them to come, remain, and depart, and to trade freely with their merchandize, provided they paid the due and usual customs, and had no communication with his enemies. He exempted them and their property from being seized for any debts or crimes but their own, or on account of any war, unless the lord of their town should be at war with him, in which case they should be allowed forty days to depart from the kingdom with their property. Neither should their property be seized for any transgressions of their servants entrusted with it, nor upon the death of such servants. They should be exempted from paying pontage, pavage, or murage, for their goods, provided they did not pass the goods of any others for their own, and did nothing contrary to his father's ordinance for keeping the staple in England †. [*Fœdera, V. iv, p. 408.*] This charter, except that it was to be in force only during the king's pleasure, breathes somewhat of a more liberal spirit than had hitherto appeared in any such grants, though far short of the liberality wherewith all commercial intercourse ought to be conducted.

The merchants of Byerslete in Flanders, who appear to have already had a grant of liberties in trading to England, had those liberties now

\* Why they applied to the king, I do not see, as the charter of Edward I was to *all* foreign merchants without exception.

† As the ordinance of the staple was annulled in the preceding year, this clause must have been inserted by mistake.

amply confirmed to them by the king. [*Rot. pat. prim. 4 Edw. III, m. 50.*]

The whole of the old and new customs of all England were farmed to the merchants of the company of the Bardi of Florence for a rent of £20 per day; which, if Sundays were not reckoned, amounted only to £6,260 a-year. Next year the rent was raised to 1000 marks each month, or £8,000 a-year. [*Rot. pat. sec. 4 Edw. III, m. 7; tertia 5 Edw. III, m. 4.*] We have seen the customs for the year 1282 amount to £8,411 : 19 : 11½. Had the trade of England fallen off now, or were the king's ministers very ill informed, or blinded?

1330—The first clock we know of in this country was put up in an old tower of Westminster hall in the year 1288; and in 1292 there was one in the cathedral of Canterbury. [*Selden, pref. to Hengham.—Dart's Canterb. Append. p. 3.*] These were probably of foreign workmanship; and it may be doubted, if there was even now any person in England, who followed the business of making clocks as a profession. There was, however, one very ingenious artist, Richard of Wallingford, abbat of St. Albans, who constructed a clock representing the courses of the sun, moon, and stars, and the ebbing and flowing of the sea. That this wonderful piece of mechanism might be of permanent utility to his abbey, he composed a book of directions for the management of it. And Leland, who appears to have seen it, says, that in his opinion all Europe could not produce such another\*. [*Lel. de Script. V. ii, p. 404; Collect. V. iii, (or iv) p. 27.—Willis's Mitred abb. ap. Lel. p. 134.*]

The wars in Italy between the Guelfs, who asserted that the pope ought to be the sovereign of the world, and the Gibellines, who maintained that the emperor should be sovereign of the empire, of which they reckoned Italy a principal part, had now reduced that country to the most deplorable excess of misery. In the principal cities the people waged cruel war against their fellow citizens, and at sea they took each other's ships †. The formerly-flourishing commercial city of Genoa

\* There is a watch in the possession of his Majesty, which has a convex plate of horn instead of a glass, and *Robertus B. Rex Scottorum* marked upon the dial-plate, and has thence been believed to have belonged to Robert I king of Scotland. (See *Archæologia*, V. v, p. 419.) If genuine, it must have been made before this time, and it ought to be noticed as the first known production of the chronometric art in a more advanced state. But it is now known that the dial-plate was fabricated by the roguish ingenuity of a pedlar, in order to pass off the watch at a high price, as a relique of the great King Robert. [See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1785, p. 688.] It is universally allowed that watches were invented long after clocks: and it is pretty certain, that clocks were far from being common at this time. In Genoa, where the arts were surely more advanced than in the western parts of

Europe, a clock that struck the hours was set up in the year 1353, and was a new sight to the Genoese. [*Stella Ann. Gen. ap. Maratori Script. V. xvii, col. 1092.*]

† During the civil wars, the commander of a galley, who was chased by another of superior force in the evening, set up a lantern on a shield, which he left floating on the water, and thereby escaped in the night from his enemy. [*Stella, col. 1061.*] The same stratagem, somewhat improved, was re-invented by Commodore Walker in the year 1746, (see his *Voyages*, V. ii, p. 12) and is now common. It is not probable that either Walker or the Italian had read Ammianus Marcellinus, [*L. xviii*] who himself managed a similar escape from the Persians by a light fixed to a hoarie.

was driven to such a state of wretchedness, that marriage was neglected, women were debauched, the people were sold for slaves, and almost all were sunk in poverty. Such was their condition, till the republic became subject to Robert king of Sicily (September 1331), to whom both parties had sent advocates, entreating him to be a mediator, or umpire, between them, in consequence of which he fixed a garrison of his own soldiers in Genoa, to the commander of whom the magistrates were obliged to submit. As a proof of the prodigious wealth of some of the citizens of Genoa, even in those distracted times, it is proper to notice, that a ship taken by a fleet of Gibelline galleys in the year 1330, loaded with wool and other goods, was valued at £60,000 of Genoa money; and a Genoese galley from Flanders, taken by a Genoese pirate in 1344, loaded with cloth and other valuable merchandize, was reckoned worth £70,000. But so dangerous was navigation in this unhappy age, that when ten trading galleys sailed from Genoa for Greece and Syria, it was thought necessary, though they were armed themselves, to send ten warlike galleys to protect them. So large a convoy made very dear freights. [*Stella Ann. Gen. ap. Muratori Script. V. xviii, coll. 1054-1080.*]

Neither were the other states of Italy exempted from the miseries which follow in the train of the dæmon of civil war. Pisa was ruined by the factions of the Raspanti and Bergolini. Ravenna, formerly flourishing and powerful, was brought to nothing by external war and internal discord. Naples, which about the year 1280 abounded in riches, was reduced to such a wretched condition by the wars, that many women of once-powerful families became prostitutes, and all the inhabitants were almost perishing for want. [*Stell. col. 1063.*] Such are the fatal effects of people fighting in quarrels wherein they have no concern, and for they know not what.

The coal mines in the neighbourhood of Newcastle now became a source of revenue to their proprietors, as appears from the chartulary of the monastery of Tinemouth, which contains accounts of leases of coal-works, in several parts of the lands belonging to that community, to various people, at the annual rents of £2, £4, £5, and £5 : 4, in the years 1330, 1331, and 1334. In the year 1338 the same monastery leased a staith (or coal wharf) at Newcastle at 40s per annum. [*Brand's Hist. of Newcastle, V. ii, p. 255.*]

1331, March 3<sup>d</sup>—In a set of articles, drawn up by the king for the use of his ministers in Ireland, the following are the only ones which might have some influence on the commercial state of that country.—There should be the same laws for the Irish as for the English, only excepting the services of the betaghs \* to their lords, similar to that of the

\* Lloyd spells the word *biatach*, and translates it a farmer, i. e. one who provides food. We see here the authority of King Edward to prove that

such farmers were in the same condition with the villeins in England.

villeins in England.—Fines should no longer be levied in cows, but in money.—The collectors of the king's customs should not be strangers, but some of the most opulent and prudent burgesſes of the towns in which the customs were to be collected. [*Fædera*, V. iv, p. 475.]

May 23<sup>d</sup>—King Edward, at the request of John Pultney, then mayor of London, a renowned and opulent citizen, and for other causes, gave the merchants of Louvain in Brabant a charter of free trade, with the now-customary exemption from being arrested for any other debts or crimes than their own, provided the lord of their town should not make war upon him, or be aiding to his enemies. The merchants of Louvain, however, allowed at least seven years to elapse, before they began to avail themselves of this charter; [*Fædera*, V. v, p. 77] a circumstance which ought to put us on our guard against presuming a great trade with every nation or community, to whom we find such charters granted, which were more frequently intended to serve the interest of, what are called, politics than of commerce.

July 23<sup>d</sup>—The discontents among the manufacturers of Flanders still continued; and King Edward availed himself of the opportunity to hold out to them an invitation to transport themselves into England. The first person who thereupon removed into this country to carry on his business, and also to instruct those who desired to learn it, was John Kempe, a weaver of woollen cloth, whom, together with his apprentices bred to the business, and his servants, his goods and chattels, the king took under his protection. And in the same grant he promised the like favour to other cloth-weavers, and also to dyers and fullers, willing to settle in his kingdom. [*Fædera*, V. iv, p. 496.] This small, but valuable, colony, though not (as some have supposed) the original founders of the woollen manufacture of England, may very justly be considered as the founders of the manufacture of *fine* woollen cloths, which has for some centuries been cherished with the most anxious fostering care, as the most important branch of the industry of the country\*.

September 30<sup>th</sup>—Fairs, which were the scenes of most of the inland trade of the kingdom, were frequently protracted beyond the time limited by their charters. That irregularity was forbidden by parliament in the year 1328; and now the same prohibition was repeated, with the addition of a penalty upon the merchants, who should neglect to close their booths and stalls ('scudes et estaux') at the due conclusion of the fairs. [*Acts 2 Edw. III, c. 15; and 5, c. 5.*]

October 14<sup>th</sup>—The king having, by an act of parliament (which does not appear in the statute books) renewed his grandfather's law for pre-

\* Mr. Anderson ascribes the introduction of the Netherland cloth-workers to the king's resentment against the earl of Flanders. If that was his motive, it was a singularly happy instance of

the people of England deriving a real and permanent advantage from a quarrel of their sovereign with a foreign prince.

venting the exportation of money, and for obliging all persons arriving in, or departing from, England, to exchange their money with his exchangers stationed at the several ports, (see above p. 463) now, by his own authority, licenced fishermen bringing in herrings and other fish for the sustenance of the people of the country, to receive money in payment for their fish, and carry it away without being obliged to carry it to the exchangers, provided they gave security not to act contrary to the tenor of the ordinance, or act, referred to. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 500.] Those fishermen were apparently foreigners, and more skilful than the fishermen of England.

December 29<sup>th</sup>—A taste for foreign horses appears to have long prevailed with the kings and nobles of England. In the year 1212 King John paid no less than 58 marks for two Lombard horses, bought for him by the agency of a Flemish knight; and next year he bought 100 great horses from the countess of Flanders. [*Rymer's Coll. ms. V. i, n. 62.—Rot. pat. 15 Johan. a tergo.*] In 1241 the earl Marshal rode an Italian horse, by which he was killed; and we may suppose that Spanish and Italian horses were pretty common at this time in England, as it was thought worthy of remark, that the army of Scotland in 1244 had good horses, though they were not Spanish or Italian. [*M. Paris, pp. 565, 645.*] But even the Scots, according to the Norwegian account of Hacon's expedition, had many Spanish horses at the battle of Largs in 1263\*. In 1309 King Edward II sent to Lombardy for thirty war horses ('dextrariis') and twelve draught horses ('jumentis'). In 1313 he sent a merchant to Spain to purchase thirty war horses; and at another time he commissioned two Spaniards to buy war horses for him in Spain, and put a thousand marks into their hands. But the death of one of them having put a stop to the business, Edward III, now desiring to have it accomplished, sent an agent to recover the money, and to purchase fifty horses †: and in order to forward the business, and obtain leave to bring the horses out of Spain and through France, he wrote to the king of Spain, the magistrates of Burgos, the surviving agent employed by his father, the executors of the deceased one, and to the king of France. He also sent for six war horses, or coursers, from Sicily in the year 1335. [*Fœdera*, V. iii, pp. 124, 394; V. iv, pp. 505, 561, 658.] By such selections of choice horses out of every country has the English breed of horses been gradually brought to that degree of perfection, that they are now eagerly sought for in many parts of the continent, and contribute to swell the vast amount of the British exports.

\* The Arabian horse belonging to Alexander I, king of Scotland, in the beginning of the twelfth century, was probably a solitary rarity.

† If he allowed 1000 marks for 50 horses, the price was very liberal indeed: no less than £13,

6s, 8d for each. They must have been very costly horses by the time of their arrival in England. Many prices of horses in the time of Edward I, some as high as 70 marks, may be found in *Liber contrarot. gardenerie Edw. I, p. 173 et passim.*

December 23<sup>d</sup>—Though we know that the Saracens had some vessels of very great burthen, as appears by the number of men said to have been onboard them \*, we know nothing of their construction. The Catalans, who succeeded to their maritime eminence in their port of Barcelona, as has already been noticed, had also very large vessels, of the kinds called cogs and ships, some with two, and some with three, decks, before the year 1315; and, from the mention of castles on the decks, it appears most probable that each of the three decks ran the whole length of the vessels, as in modern three-deck merchant ships. By the original articles of agreement, preserved in the archives of Barcelona, it appears that thirteen of the citizens undertook to man a cog ('cocha') of three decks, called the Sent Climent, belonging to the community of the city, in order to cruise against the Genoese and other enemies, the magistrates agreeing to furnish bread for the crew, and to receive one third of the prizes to be taken, or, in case of loss, to bear one third of it: and the citizens engaged to ship and pay from four to five hundred men, to find all other provisions except bread, and to put no cargo onboard her for commercial purposes, her destination being merely warlike. From a very copious inventory of the stores, delivered to them along with the vessel, it appears that she was well furnished with bows, arrows, spears, and defensive armour. But there is no mention of fire-arms. One of the thirteen citizens was formally commissioned by the other twelve to be their *captain* of the cog ('capitaneum nostrum dictæ cochæ'), and also to command the other vessels of an armada fitted out by them against the enemy. The city's third of the prize-money amounted to £1,163:18:9 for a Genoese cog, and £332:3:11 for a Pisan galley, taken by the Sent Climent during her cruise. [*Capmany, Mem. hist. de Barcelona, V. i, Mar. p. 46; V. ii, Col. dipl. pp. 77, 406, 408, 415, 417.*] Some of the Catalonian vessels carried still greater numbers of men. In the year 1334 four of them, carrying 1,980 fighting men besides the seamen, and also women and horses, and having moreover cargoes of cloth and other goods onboard for Sardinia, being fitted for trade as well as war, were taken, after a battle of ten days, by ten Genoese galleys. [*Stellæ Ann. Gen. ap. Muratori Script. V. xvii, col. 1066.*]

1332, April 13<sup>th</sup>—In consequence of some dissensions between the people of England and the foreign merchants, the later had for some time withdrawn from the kingdom. In order to remove their apprehensions, the king now published a confirmation of the charter given by his grandfather to the foreign merchants in the year 1303, and added an assurance that they should not be subjected to any-undue prises, exactions, or arrests, and that nothing should be taken from them for his use without their consent. [*Fœdera, V. iv, p. 516.*]

\* See particularly above, p. 335.

July 25<sup>th</sup>—The king, intending to pass over to Ireland, sent orders to the justiciary (or viceroy) to press all the vessels in that country, and to send them to attend him at Holyhead, properly provided with bridges, clays \*, and other necessaries; and he desired him also to make agreements for the freights to be paid for them. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 524.]

The king ordained that staples for wool, hides, &c. should be held in various places within the kingdom. [*Rot. pat. tert. 6 Edw. III, m. 6.*]

1333, April 27<sup>h</sup>—King Edward, having resolved to make another attempt for the conquest of Scotland during the infancy of the king of that country, wrote two very polite letters to the earl of Flanders, representing that some of his (the earl's) subjects had confederated with the Scots, his enemies and rebels, and were committing hostilities against the English upon the sea, which he begged he would put a stop to; and he should find him ready to do every justice to the Flemings, and every pleasure to himself. He afterwards begged that the earl would release some Englishmen, whom he had arrested because several Flemish vessels had been taken by English pirates, representing the injustice of making the innocent suffer for the guilty, and the sad condition of merchants, if they must be liable to suffer for the crimes committed by thieves and pirates upon the sea (which, however, was the law, or practice, of Europe at the time †). As the magistrates of the three principal towns had nearly as much authority as the earl, if not more in matters relating to commerce, he also wrote to those of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, upon the same business. A negotiation ensued, in which mutual restitution was promised. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, pp. 556, 560, 561, 576.]

August 6<sup>th</sup>—One effect of the renewal of the war against Scotland upon the commerce of England was, that many foreign merchants, apprehending that their vessels and goods would be arrested, desisted from trading to England. King Edward, unwilling to forego the benefits flowing from their trade, thereupon ordered all the shireffs to proclaim that foreign merchants should not be abridged of any of their privileges on account of the war, and that nothing should be taken from them without their consent, nor without due satisfaction. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 574.]

October 5<sup>th</sup>—The kings of France and Aragon, sensible of the great

\* Clays, a word already noticed in an order of the year 1324, as of uncertain meaning.

† Is not the property of merchants upon the sea still exposed to capture, and themselves to ruin, in quarrels of which they were not the authors? In the barbarism of the beginning of the fifteenth century, and even in the thirteenth century at Leipsick, (*see above*, p. 418) there was a nearer approach, in this respect, to the civilization of warfare (if such a term be not incongruous) than there is now amidst all the refinement and illumination

of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (The sentiment of Rapin, the historian of England, upon the subject, will be quoted in a note under the year 1407.) It remains for a constellation of statesmen of superior illumination and virtue, endowed with courage sufficient to break through a barbarous custom, to abolish this licenced piracy, at least with respect to what are called *innocent goods*. Then, and not till then, may they boast, that war is divested of its spirit of ferocity and depredation.

interruption of commerce, and the many other abuses, proceeding from the practice of granting letters of marque to empower individuals to procure redress by means of armed vessels for injuries suffered, or alleged to be suffered, by them, had repeatedly made regulations for obtaining justice to the parties aggrieved by an amicable procedure, and agreed to give no letters of marque, unless justice should be denied by the sovereign of the aggressors. [*Capmany, Mem. hist. de Barcelona, V. ii, Col. dipl. p. 100.*] James III, the late king of Aragon, having no such regulations settled with England, a country with which he considered his dominions as no way connected by neighbourhood or commercial intercourse, had given a letter of marque against England to Berenguer de la Tone, who duely proved in his court (according to the mode of proceeding settled between Aragon and France) that he had been plundered upon the sea by an English pirate of property to the amount of £2,000 Barcelona money, besides which there were found due to him 11,333 shillings and 4 pennies for interest, and £100 for the expense of several journies to England. Alfonso, the present king, having liberated an English officer in the service of King Edward, who had been arrested at the instance of Tone's heirs, took the opportunity of writing to the king of England; and again requesting redress for his subjects: whereupon King Edward, who by no means wished to stir up any new enemies, now answered, that his father, King Edward II, had offered to do justice to Tone, who had himself neglected attending further to the business. He argued that neither equity nor justice warranted letters of reprisal in such a case; and he professed his readiness to do speedy justice, even with favour, to the parties, if they would apply for it. [*Fœdera, V. iv, p. 577.*]

October 6<sup>th</sup>—It is scarcely worth while to notice so common an event as the appointment of two English and two Flemish commissioners to settle all claims of redress between the two nations. [*Fœdera, V. iv, pp. 578, 579, &c.*]

King Edward having got possession of Berwick, and being desirous that it should be re-peopled, proclaimed that all merchants, who would settle in it, should have burgages for their residence; and some time after he gave the burgessees an assurance, that they should pay no more than the antient customs, which thence appear to have been more moderate than those of England. [*Ayloff's Calendar of charters, pp. 146, 207.*] But it may be doubted, if Berwick, even in the present day, be equal to what it was in the peaceable and prosperous reign of Alexander III, when it was the principal port of the flourishing trade of Scotland, and the seat of a company of Flemish merchants resembling the merchants of the Teutonic gildhall in London.

1334, March 3<sup>d</sup>—In a parliament, held at York, the king, at the request of his people, determined to abolish the staples, which had been

established in various parts of England, Wales, and Ireland, for wool, wool-fells, and hides. [*Rymer's Acta manuscr. Edw. III, V. ii, n<sup>o</sup>. 75.*]

April 5<sup>th</sup>—The king of England and the earl of Flanders allowed free intercourse of trade to the subjects of each-other, which was, however, to continue only till the 15<sup>th</sup> of August. But as it would not be worth while for merchants to fit out their vessels for a privilege of eighteen weeks, it was afterwards prolonged to Christmas 1336. [*Fœdera, V. iv, pp. 607, 661, 662.*]

1335, Spring—The knights, citizens, and burgessees, represented to the king the hardships suffered by the public in consequence of the people of cities, burghs, and sea-ports, engrossing the purchase of wines, ‘aver du pois,’ flesh, fish, and other victuals and merchandize, useful to the prelates, nobles, and commons. The king, with the assent of the prelates, nobles, and commons, thereupon ordained, that all merchants, aliens or denizens, should have perfect liberty in all cities, burghs, towns, sea-ports, fairs, markets, and elsewhere, within franchises or without, to sell corn, wine, ‘aver du pois,’ flesh, fish, and other victuals, wool, cloth, and all kinds of merchandize, to all persons, natives or foreigners, except the king’s enemies. The mayors and bailifs of corporations, and the lords of unincorporated places, were required, under the penalty of forfeiting their privileges, to protect the merchants in the exercise of their trade; and the persons actually obstructing them were made liable to double damages, and also to be punished by imprisonment and fine. All strangers and denizens had also equal liberty to buy and carry away any articles whatever, except wine\*, agreeable to the terms of their charter. And all charters of franchise, which might be alleged in opposition to the general freedom of trade, were declared to be of no force, as being prejudicial to the king, prelates, and great men, and oppressive to the commons. [*1 Stat. 9 Edw. III, preamble and c. 1.*]

June-August—In the war between England and Scotland there was more of maritime hostility than might have been expected in a contest between the two parts of the same island. Edward, having heard that some ships were fitting out in Calais by the Scots and other *malefactors* to infest his coasts by land and water, ordered the warden of the Cinque ports and the magistrates of Yarmouth to discover the truth of the report, and to send out a sufficient force to destroy them. These precautions, however, did not prevent a vessel belonging to Southampton with a cargo of wool, wool-fells, hides, &c. from being taken in the mouth of the Thames by some malefactors of Normandy and Scotland. King Edward, being informed by his vassal, Edward Balliol, whom he had set up as a duplicate king of Scotland in order to divide and distract that kingdom, that some foreigners, at the instigation of the Scots, were

\* Though wine is excepted from exportation, corn is left free to be exported at pleasure.

fitting out a great navy to transport men at arms and armour to Scotland, ordered his steward of Gascoigne, and the magistrates of Bayonne and Bourdeaux, to equip all the proper vessels in all the ports of the province with good men, arms, and provisions, to oppose the malice of his and his vassal's enemies. He also wrote repeatedly from Perth to the parliament assembled at London, to the magistrates of that city, and to John Pultney and Reginald of the Conduit, opulent citizens who had borne the office of mayor, that he understood, several fleets of warlike ships, filled with men at arms, were coming to invade his kingdom, and he desired them to fit out all the vessels capable of carrying forty tuns ('dolia') or more of wine, with able men and arms, without delay. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, pp. 651, 652, 656, 658, 659, 665.]

Many of the English vessels, and particularly those belonging to Yarmouth, Bristol, Lynne, Kingston upon Hull, and Ravensere, were now distinguished as ships of war ('naves guerrinæ'). But whether they were of a different construction from others, or only the largest and strongest of the mercantile vessels, we are not informed. We know, however, that they were not the property of the nation at large, as they are called the warlike ships of Yarmouth, of Bristol, &c. [*Ayloff's Calendars of charters*, pp. 139, 140, 142, 154, 155, 156.]

The king, observing that counterfeits of the English money were made abroad, enacted that no man of religion or other person whatever should carry any English money out of the country, or any silver plate, or any vessels of gold or silver, without the king's licence; and that no person should import counterfeits of English money. But all persons might carry bullion and wrought silver, and silver money of any kind, except counterfeits, to the exchanges, and there be accommodated with convenient exchange. It was declared unlawful to melt sterlings or pennies, half pennies, or farthings, for making any vessel of silver. The currency of black money was totally prohibited. The king and his council were empowered to establish exchanges at proper places. Pilgrims were ordered to take passage only at Dover. All persons going from, or arriving in, the kingdom, were to be searched to prevent them from smuggling money; and the inn-keepers were to be sworn to search their guests. [2 Stat. 9 Edw. III.]

September 21<sup>st</sup>.—In consequence of this act the king established exchanges at Dover, London, Yarmouth, Boston, and Kingston upon Hull\*, to which he ordered all florenes and other money to be carried; and he strictly commanded, that none should be carried out of the kingdom or clandestinely exported. He appointed all the exchanges

\* From this very short list we should suppose, that there were no money transactions worth notice on the south or west coasts; and yet Southampton was one of the chief ports of England, and Bristol had a pretty good share of trade.—From *Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 697, and many other records, it is certain, that there was also an exchange at Canterbury.

to be under the management of William de la Pole, who was to be answerable, for his deputies as well as for himself, to the exchequer for the profits of the exchange. And he gave notice of the establishment to the magistrates of

Yarmouth,	Chichester,	Southampton,
Dover,	Hertlepool,	Norwich,
London,	Scarburgh,	Lynne,
Boston,	York,	Ipswich,
Kingston upon Hull,	Ravenfrod,	Sandwich,
Newcastle upon Tine,	Lincoln,	Winchelsea,

and Bristol. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 668.]

William de la Pole, now appointed commissioner or manager-general of the exchanges, was one of the most illustrious of the early merchants of England. He was first a merchant at Ravenfrod, or Ravensere, and thence removed to Kingston upon Hull, for which town his (apparently elder) brother and he obtained a grant of the customs from the king. In the year 1336 he farmed some of the customs at a rent of £10 a-day. Upon Kingston being privileged to have a mayor, he was the first who was elected to that office; and he founded the monastery of St. Michael near that town. He was esteemed the greatest merchant of England, and with good reason, for he lent King Edward the prodigious sum of £18,500, when he was at Antwerp; in payment of which the king made him chief baron of the exchequer, and gave him the lordship of Holderness, with the rank of a banneret, and a promise of an estate of 1,000 marks a-year in France, as soon as it should be under his dominion. He was frequently employed in embassies along with the first men in the kingdom, who were directed by his knowledge of business. His son Michael, also a merchant, was created earl of Suffolk by King Richard II; and his posterity flourished as earls, marquises, and dukes, of Suffolk, till a royal marriage, and a promise of the succession to the crown, brought the family to ruin\*.

November 20<sup>h</sup>.—John of Cologne, who appears to have been in the king's service †, having purchased thirty tuns or cartloads ('*dolia seu plaustratas*') of choice Rhenish wine in Germany, the king took so much interest in the safe conveyance of it, that he wrote to the archbishop of Cologne, the earl of Holland, and the earl of Gelder, requesting their good offices in its passage through their territories, and exemption from customs. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 676.]

This year a licence was granted for exporting ale, and another for

\* This brief account of William de la Pole and his family is extracted from *Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 91, 92, 101, 124, 125.—*Rot. pat. prim.* 3 *Edw. III*, m. 1; *prim.* 10 *Edw. III*, m. 10; and *sec.* m. 17;

*tert.* 28 *Edw. III*, m. 9.—*Camd. Brit.* pp. 341, 578.—*Stow's Ann.* p. 367.

† He is called the king's valesst, and licensed to kernel (fortify) his house on Cornhill in London. [*Rot. pat. fic.* 11 *Edw. III*, m. 2.]

exporting corn. [*Rot. pat. prim. 9 Edw. III, mm. 37, 38.*] That for ale contains, I believe, the earliest notice of the exportation of that article.

We are indebted to Balducci Pegoletti, an Italian writer, for the following itinerary, or route, of the merchants, who traveled from Tana, or Azof, at the head of the Palus Mœotis, to Gamalecco, Cambalek, or Pekin, in China, as the journey was performed at this time\*.

To Gintarchan (Astracan) with waggons drawn by oxen - days 25  
(When horses were employed, the journey was sooner performed.)

to Sara by the river - - - - - 1

to Saracanco by water (the north coast of the Caspian sea) - 8

to Organci (supposed Urgentz on Lake Aral) with camels - 20

This place is noted for the expeditious sale of goods.

to Oltrarra (or Otrar on the Sihon or Sir) with camels - 35 or 40

to Armalecco (or Almaleg in Turkestan) with asses - 45

to Camexu, with asses - - - - - 70

to a river called Kara-Morin (or Hoang-ho) with horses - 50

to Cassai, where there is good sale for merchandize, and the  
merchants exchange their silver for the paper money of } blank  
China - - - - - }

to Gamalecco, the capital of Cattai or Cathay (North China) 30

1336, July 4<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, intent upon his great project of making himself king of France, had already taken a crowd of the princes of Germany into his service; and being exceedingly desirous of gaining the favour of the Genoese, whose naval power he viewed with desire and apprehension, he addressed a conciliatory letter to the podesta and community of that state, wherein he acknowledged, that a large Genoese ship or coch †, loaded with Oriental goods and other pretious merchandize to the value of above 14,300 marks sterling, bound to England, and provided with his father's letters of safe conduct, had been unjustly taken in the Downs by Hugh Despenser, then commander of a fleet in his father's service. Though no part of the plunder had ever come to his father's, or his own, hands, he offered, if they would engage that no other claim should ever be made on account of that capture, to assign, as a compensation to the parties aggrieved, 8,000 marks, to be allowed out of the customs payable upon merchandize to be imported or exported by merchants of Genoa in any port of England. Being further desirous of gratifying the Genoese, that they might be the readier to serve him upon occasion, he offered them free entrance for their ves-

\* Not having possession of Pegoletti's book, I have extracted this curious route from *Forster's Voyages and discoveries in the North*, p. 150 of Eng-

*lish translation*: and I have also followed him in the European, or familiar, names of the places.

† The same kind of vessel which is elsewhere called a cog.

fels, with liberty of buying and felling, in any part of his kingdom, and the further liberty of leaving any port without felling, or with felling only a part, and going wherever they pleased. The offer was accepted by the Genoese, who entered so heartily into his interest, that they burnt some gallies, which were fitting out in their port, because they conjectured, that they were intended to act against him. Edward, highly delighted with such a proof of their attachment, commissioned one of their own citizens to hire gallies and usfers\*, properly manned, armed, and equipped, for war, at Genoa. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, pp. 702, 710, 712.]

October 15<sup>th</sup>—The luxury of the table had got to such a height in England, that it was thought necessary to restrain it by a law, which prohibited all persons, of whatever rank, from having more than two courses, and more than two kinds of meat with pottages in each course; except on eighteen holidays in the year, when gluttony and extravagance might be freely indulged. [3 *Stat.* 10 *Edw.* III.]

October—Notwithstanding the recent friendly arrangements between England and Flanders, the earl, probably at the desire of the king of France, his feudal over-lord, imprisoned the English merchants in his dominions, and arrested their property. King Edward thereupon issued orders for retaliating upon the Flemings in his dominions. But being very anxious to avoid having any enemies in addition to France and Scotland, he immediately wrote soothing and expostulating letters to the earl of Flanders and the magistrates of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, requesting redress of those outrages, and professing his resolution to allow no injustice to be done to the Flemings. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, pp. 711, 713.]

November 3<sup>d</sup>—King Edward wrote to the king of Norway, and to the earls of Holland and Gelder, requesting them not to allow their subjects to hire any vessels to the Scots, his rebels and enemies. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 715.] How could the oppressed and persecuted half of the Scottish nation, with their agriculture ruined and their trade annihilated, find money to hire vessels in most of the maritime countries of Europe?

November 6<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, still alarmed with rumours of hostile armaments upon the continent, and having heard that some English vessels had actually been taken, sent orders to all the maritime cities and towns in the kingdom to oblige the owners to fit out every vessel in their ports in a sufficient manner with men, arms, and stores: and he appointed the harbour of Portsmouth to be the place of rendezvous for all vessels belonging to

\* Tancred king of Sicily gave Richard king of England four great ships called *urfers*, [*Howeden*, f. 391 b] or *uffers*; [*Bromton*, col. 1195] apparently the same kind of vessels here called *usfers*.

Bristol,  
 Christchurch,  
 Melcomb,  
 Southampton,  
 Yarmouth } in Wight,  
 St. Helens }  
 Liverpool,  
 Stonore,  
 Sidmouth,  
 Sandwich,  
 Winchelsea,  
 Exmouth,  
 Bridgewater,

Chichester,  
 Rumney,  
 Teignmouth,  
 Reculver,  
 Exeter,  
 London,  
 Dover,  
 Tollesbury,  
 Rye,  
 Seton,  
 Portsmouth,  
 Falmouth,  
 Lymington,

Pevensey,  
 Weymouth,  
 Chester,  
 Lyme,  
 Seaford,  
 Dartmouth,  
 Portchester,  
 Plymouth,  
 Faversham,  
 Shoreham,  
 Hastings, and  
 Folkestone.

He also fixed the port of Orewell for the rendezvous of the vessels belonging to

Yarmouth,  
 Lynne,  
 Kingston upon Hull,  
 Ravensere,  
 Scarborough,  
 Newcastle upon Tyne,  
 Little Yarmouth,  
 Ipswich,  
 Wallfleet,

Newbigging,  
 Whitby,  
 Alesmouth,  
 Tinemouth,  
 Blakeney,  
 Dunwich,  
 Kirklee,  
 Gillingham,  
 Coeford,

Gosford,  
 Harwich,  
 Grimsby,  
 Barton,  
 Saltfleet,  
 Boston, and  
 Waynfleet.

After meeting at the ports of rendezvous, the vessels bound for Gascoigne, or other foreign countries, were to be permitted to sail in strong fleets, so that they might protect each-other: and he sent orders to the steward of Gascoigne to oblige all the vessels of that country, bound for England, to join the English fleet. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, pp. 717-719.] We find such orders for vessels sailing in fleets repeated on many occasions; for such were then the only means of defence for merchant ships.

Edward's fears were not ill founded. A numerous fleet of ships and galleys, equipped by the Scots, who adhered to David II, the young king whom Edward endeavoured to depose, (or as probably by the king of France in their name) took a number of English vessels lying at anchor at the Isle of Wight, and plundered Guernsey and Jersey, while the seamen of the English navy were quarreling among themselves, and plundering vessels belonging to English subjects, or foreigners in friendship with their king. He therefore appointed a commission to consult with the nobles, sheriffs, magistrates, and seamen, of all the ports, on the means of repelling the enemy. He desired them to give due attention to the greatness of the impending danger, for, says he, '*As our progenitors, the kings of England, in such contests between themselves and the sovereigns of foreign countries were the lords of the sea and of the passage to the*

'continent in all times past, it would grieve us exceedingly, if our royal honour should in the smallest degree be impaired in our times.' He also wrote to all the shirreffs of England to permit no vessels to sail, even though they should have obtained his licence, except those appointed to carry provisions and arms to Berwick, Stirling, and Perth, for his service. [*Fædera*, V. iv, pp. 721, 723.]

The above list of ports, though evidently defective, as all such lists in the records are \*, furnishes an important fact in the history of the flourishing commercial town of Liverpool, which now appears, for the first time, as a port capable of contributing some vessels to the national navy. About this time the community of Liverpool were repeatedly empowered to levy duties for paving their streets; another mark of advancing prosperity. [*Rot. pat.* 2 *Edw. III*, m. 34; *prim.* 7 *Edw. III*, m. 27; *prim.* 10 *Edw. III*, m. 43.]

December 3<sup>d</sup>—The Brabanters were the principal rivals of the Flemings in the woollen manufacture: and the earl of Flanders being now in the interest of the king of France against Edward, the duke of Brabant thought the opportunity favourable for requesting King Edward to remove the staple for English wool to some town in his dominions. The king, who was very much displeased with the earl of Flanders, wrote him, that he would send over some merchants to treat with him for proper security and a friendly reception in his territories: and he required of him to engage, that none of the wool should go into the hands of the Flemings †. In a few weeks after he also sent an agent to treat with the magistrates of Brussels, Louvain, and Mechlin, upon the same business. [*Fædera*, V. iv, pp. 720, 751.]

December 12<sup>h</sup>—King Edward in the midst of his efforts to subdue Scotland, and preparations for subduing France, was not inattentive to the more rational project of establishing the woollen manufacture in his dominions. He now sent a letter of protection (from Bothwell in the west of Scotland) for two weavers of Brabant, who proposed to carry on their business at York; and he expressed his hopes of utility and advantage to result to his subjects from their industry and example. He also gave similar protections soon after to a considerable number of woollen-manufacturers from Zeland with their families and workmen. [*Fædera*, V. iv, pp. 723, 751.]

1337, January 16<sup>h</sup>—King Edward, having commissioned three admirals, conferred upon them the power of punishing all seamen in the

\* All the Welsh ports, of which seven appear in the enumeration of the year 1300, are omitted in this list, as are also many of those on the south and east coasts, owing, undoubtedly, to the loss of the writs sent to those ports. These evident omissions or losses of records show, that we ought not rashly to conclude, because some ports do not ap-

pear in such enumerations, that they did not exist, or had no shipping.

† As England and Brabant could not work up all the wool that used to go to Flanders, what did the king propose that the English proprietors of the wool should do with it?

fleet, according to justice, as it used to be in former times : and he also gave them full power of chusing, either within liberties or without, as many men as they might think necessary for manning the fleet, and seizing and imprisoning them, if they were unwilling to go onboard ; and he desired all his faithful subjects to be assisting to his admirals in that service. [*Fædera*, V. iv, p. 727.] The power of punishing the men onboard the fleet thus appears to have been already established : but this ample press-warrant seems to have been unprecedented. It would, however, be no additional hardship upon the merchants, whose vessels were all seized, or expected to be seized, for the king : neither had the seamen any choice of employment except in the king's service.

January 27<sup>th</sup>—The king, seeing the necessity of having vessels of his own, employed William de Kelin, a carpenter, to build a galley for him at Kingston upon Hull, under the inspection of the renowned merchant William de la Pole, for the use of which he ordered the prior of Blithe to furnish forty oak trees \*. Having ordered anchors to be made for his ships, called the Christopher and the Cog Edward, he directed the shirrefs of London to provide for that purpose 5,000 pounds of iron, 200 Eastland boards, and 100 quarters of sea-coal †, to be delivered to the supervisor of his works (a clergyman) at the Tower. [*Fædera*, V. iv, p. 730.]

March 18<sup>th</sup>—The Flemings being now leagued against Edward, he wrote to the king of Castile (or Spain) and to his principal courtiers, requesting that the merchants of that kingdom might have no commercial intercourse with the Flemings, and that they would rather trade to the ports of England, where, he promised, they should meet with every indulgence they could reasonably desire ‡. [*Fædera*, V. iv, pp. 736, 737.]

April 15<sup>th</sup>—Though King Edward was as eager to deprive the Flemings of commercial intercourse with other nations as his father had been to deprive the Scots of their commerce with the Flemings, it was soon discovered, that the English and the Flemings could not live without the mutual advantages they used to derive from their friendly supply of mutual wants. A treaty was therefor set on foot for marrying a son of the earl with a daughter of Edward, then in her cradle, and for re-establishing the staple of wool in Flanders. [*Fædera*, V. iv, pp. 744, 745.]

May 24<sup>th</sup>—The Brabanters, being thus disappointed of having the staple of English wool among themselves, were now allowed to purchase

\* The trees must have been very large, if no more were to be employed, or the galley very small.

† This is the earliest express notice we have of so large a quantity of coals in London. Brand (in his *Hist. of Newcastle*, V. ii, p. 254) mentions

ten shillings worth of coals bought for the coronation of King Edward III.

‡ So strangely fluctuating were Edward's politics, that we shall soon see him granting favours to the Spanish merchants for the sake of his good friends the Flemings.

at the towns in England appointed for the sale of wool, as much wool for the use of their own manufacturers only, as would be sufficient for the consumption of six months, the quantity being ascertained by the oaths of two deputies to be sent over from each manufacturing town with the duke's letters patent. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 757.]

August 8<sup>th</sup>—The king gave orders, that a thousand soldiers, levied in Wales, should be dressed in coats and mantles made of the same cloth. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, pp. 803, 810, &c.] Quere, if this is the first mention of military uniforms?

September 27<sup>th</sup>—The parliament made it felony to carry any wool out of the kingdom. They also ordered, that after Michaelmas \* no man or woman, of whatever rank, in England, Ireland, Wales, and that part of Scotland subject to King Edward, except the king, the queen, and their children, (a most injudicious and antipatriotic exception) should buy any cloth of foreign manufacture, under the penalty of forfeiture of the cloth, and arbitrary punishment besides. Neither was any person, whose annual income was not at least £100, permitted to wear foreign furs. All persons in England, Ireland, Wales, and the English part of Scotland, were licenced to make cloth without being restricted to any standard length. All merchants importing cloths after Michaelmas were also subjected to forfeiture of the cloths and arbitrary punishment. And all foreign cloth-workers were promised the king's protection to live in any part of his dominions, together with franchises to their full satisfaction. [*Acts*, 10 *Edw. III*, cc. 1-5.] These acts are strangely at variance with the many negotiations with the princes and communities of Flanders and Brabant for settling the staple in their countries, and permitting them to buy wool in England. They were immediately broken by the king himself, who seems to have adopted a new system of politics almost every month, which must have been exceedingly prejudicial to the commerce of England and the countries connected in trade with it †.

\* From the king's own mandate to the shirefs for the publication and enforcement of these acts (printed immediately after them) which is dated at Windsor the 28<sup>th</sup> day of March (no year), it appears that Michaelmas in the following year was the day proposed for the commencement of their operation: for Michaelmas next, though it is so expressed in the act, c. 2, being the next day but one, was too soon for it to be heard of even at a moderate distance from London. In the end of March 1337 Edward was at Windsor: on the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 1338 he was at Berwick. From these, and other, circumstances it appears that there is some error in the date of these acts, which, however, are rather curious, as the mark of a grand design, conceived rather prematurely, than important on account of any effect they had.

† Walsingham [p. 135] observes, that nobody paid any attention to these laws, *which he dates in 1335*. He adds, that the parliament allowed the foreign manufacturers pensions ('*vadia regis*') till they should be established in business. Indeed the law is either defective, as we have it in the editions, or the regents (in name of the young prince when warden of the kingdom) made an addition to the strength of it; for, according to them, it ordered, 'that all they (without any distinction of native or foreigner) who would engage in the manufacture of woollen cloth, might carry on their work in every part of the kingdom without any hinderance whatever.' [*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 137.]

October 3<sup>d</sup>—In direct, and (if they are rightly dated) immediate, violation of these laws, the king appointed commissioners to consult with such of his allies and friends as they should think proper, for fixing the staple for the sale of English wool in some proper place on the continent. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 813.]

It was perhaps in order to deliberate upon the same business of the staple that there was this year held a *council of trade*, which, as it consisted of deputies from the towns, might be called a *commercial parliament*: and it was apparently more numerous than a parliament, seeing the bailiffs of Buckingham (which sent no members to parliament till the year 1545) were directed by the king's precept to send three or four of the best and most prudent men of their town; and they accordingly sent three. [*Willis's Hist. of Buckingham*, p. 41.]

About November 1<sup>st</sup>—The king having taken up wool throughout all England, for which he gave the proprietors tallies at the rate of £6 per sack, shipped ten thousand sacks \* for Brabant, where they were sold at £20 each. [*Knyghton*, col. 2570.]

December 20<sup>h</sup>—Two cardinals, sent by the pope to negotiate a peace, arrived in England. They received fifty marks a-day for their expenses from the clergy, being four pennies out of every mark from every church, those claiming exemptions not excepted. [*Knyghton*, col. 2570.] We are thereby informed, that the revenue of the church amounted to 2,000 marks a-day, or, reckoning 365 days, to the enormous sum of 730,000 marks a-year, being more than twelve times the amount of the national revenue in the reign of Henry III †.

The citizens of London this year obtained from the king an order for the restoration of their exclusive privileges, notwithstanding the universal liberty of buying and selling allowed to people of all descriptions, natives or foreigners, by parliament in the year 1335.—The king about the same time ordered, that no young salmon should be taken ‡. [*Rot. pat. prim. 9 Edw. III, mm. 37, 38; et a tergo.*]

1338, January 3<sup>d</sup>—The king appointed his own two galleys, commanded by John De Aurea and Nicolas Blanc §, to cruise upon the east coast against the Scots and their allies, and also to convoy the vessels employed in carrying provisions for his own subjects in Scotland. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 835.] We have seen the merchant vessels ordered about two years before to sail only in strong fleets for mutual defence; and

\* The anonymous historian of Edward III (published along with Hemingsford by Hearne, p. 412) says, there were thirty thousand sacks, and that the vessels were detained in the harbours the whole summer and autumn waiting for them, to the great damage of the whole kingdom.

† See above, p. 423. The revenue in the reign of Edward III, I believe, is not known.

‡ The order against catching young salmon was very little observed, as appears by the very frequent repetition of new laws on the same subject.

§ At least one of these commanders may be presumed to be a native of Genoa, the name being the same with De Auria, or Doria, of which name there was a succession of eminent naval commanders in the service of that state.

this, if I mistake not, is the earliest notice to be found of an appointment of English warlike vessels to convoy and protect merchant vessels\*.

January 8<sup>th</sup>—The king of Castile, in answer to Edward's request that he would prohibit trade with Flanders, insisted that neutral merchants should have freedom to carry on their commerce with the belligerent powers without being injured by either party. King Edward, in a very smooth reply, declared, that he did not wish him to do any thing unjust, but only to prevent his subjects from assisting his enemies, and that it was his desire, that his own subjects should do no harm to those of his friends. He added, that in such turbulent times it would not be very safe for the subjects of Castile to have any intercourse with the Flemings; but that, if any injury should be done to them, he would give speedy justice, and even favour, to the complainers. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, pp. 839, 840.]

Edward, eager to conciliate the good will of all the neutral powers, and more especially of those who had the command of shipping, reminded the podesta and other magistrates of Genoa of the ancient friendship between his ancestors and theirs (a customary introduction to a request) and begged they would prohibit the equipment of a number of galleys, which, he understood, were arming in their port for the service of his enemies. But the Genoese, having an invariable eye to their own interest, and little regarding the resentment of a king so remote from them, preferred the friendship of their nearer neighbour, the king of France: and so far were they from burning the property of their fellow-citizens for his pleasure, as they had done in the year 1336, that they permitted twenty galleys to be fitted out at Genoa, and twenty at Monaco, to serve against him †. [*Fœdera*, V. iv, p. 842.—*Stella*, ap. *Muratori Script.* V. xvii, col. 1071.]

Neither was King Edward more fortunate in his attempt to get galleys built for him at Nice, a sum of money, he had transmitted thither for that purpose, having been seized by the king of Sicily, the lord of the adjacent country of Provence. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 94, 148.] The sovereign, who is ambitious of maritime power, must have his ships built in his own dominions, and as many as possible of the materials for their construction and equipment also produced at home.

February 24<sup>th</sup>—The parliament, which met on the 3<sup>d</sup> of February, granted the king twenty thousand sacks of the wool already shorn, he giving security for the payment of it. He accordingly appointed commissioners to take one half of the wool, now ready, from all persons, without exception. He ordered them to relieve the merchants, whose

\* Convoys appear to have been usual with the commercial states of the Mediterranean before this time, one instance of which is noticed above, p. 504, and a much more ancient one in p. 82.

† The Genoese sailors and soldiers were the Swifs of those days. They served the kings of France, England, Scotland, and Castile, for their money.

wool he had taken, by giving his own obligations to their creditors in exchange for those of the merchants; and he fixed the prices, payable in two years, at which the best wool of the several shires should be settled for per sack, as follows.

Hereford	12 marks, or	£8	0	0	Cambridge, Huntington,	
Salop	10½	-	7	0	Bedford, Buckingham,	
Lincoln	10	-	6	13	4	Essex, Hertford, Rut-
Glocester, Worcester,					land, Berks, Wilts,	
Chester, Flint	-	6	6	8	Southampton, Derby	£5 0 0
Leicester, Stafford, Ox-					Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Mid-	
ford, Somersfet, York					dlex, London, Nor-	
(except Craven)	-	6	0	0	folk, Suffolk, Lancaster	4 0 0
Northampton, Notting-					Craven in York-shire	3 13 4
ham	-	5	13	4	Durham	- - 3 6 8
Warwick	-	5	6	8	All inferior wool, as they could	
Dorset	-	4	13	4	agree.	

London, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Lynne, Boston, Kingston upon Hull, Newcastle, Sandwich, and Southampton, were the ports appointed for shipping the wool for the continent. [*Rymer's Acta manuscr. Edw. III, V. iii, n<sup>o</sup>. 7-9.*]

At the same time the king ordered the shirrefs to arrest all vessels, however small, that were able to stand the sea, to equip them with men, arms, and provisions, and also with accommodations for horses, and to fit up seventy of the largest of them for the reception of the nobility. He also ordered the following stores to be carried to the ports of Yarmouth and Orewell, at which he proposed to embark his army for the invasion of France, viz.

From York and the northern and eastern shires,	From London and the southern and western shires,	Total.
Wheat, or flour, - 3,600	- 600 -	} quart- { 4,200
Beans and peas - 200	- - -	
Malt - - - 4,100	- 2,200 -	} ers { 6,300
Salt - - - 500	- - -	
Bacon - - - 1,340	- 760 -	} car- { 2,100
Beef, or live oxen, - 490	- 210 -	
Mutton, or live sheep *, 4,100	- 4,000 -	} casses { 8,100
Herrings - - - 40	- 16 -	
Cheese - - - 5,900	- 5,600 -	stones 11,500
Stock-fish - - -	- 46,500 -	fish 46,500
Horse shoes with nails -	- 40,000 -	shoes 40,000

\* 'Muttones,' latinized from the French word *mouton* or *mouton*, which some explain to mean only a *wether*, but it is also applied to a *ram*, [*Gaguin, Hist. f. 152 b*] and is most commonly used for *sheep in general*, as it evidently was during this reign, (see *Fadera, V. v, p. 520*) and as the English word formed from it is for the flesh of any

sheep. If the king had been aware of the danger of losing the superiority of English wool (for surely, out of a flock of 8,100, some must have fallen into the hands of the French or Flemings, if they desired to have them) he would have expressly forbidden the exportation of rams, as indeed he did soon after.

Though the king promised to make payment for these stores in London on the first of August next, it is evident, either that the country could not spare so large a supply, or that the people were doubtful of their payment: for in several places the king's officers were resisted by force of arms: and the king, fearing the consequence of a general spirit of discontent, desired the clergy to soothe the people, and represent to them the inevitable necessity and the justice of his proceedings. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 3-14, 20, 21.] Some of the historians say, the people were never paid for their wool, which, if true, was little encouragement to them to part with their provisions. And, even if they were punctually paid, the negotiation of securities payable in London, which in modern times are generally better than money on the spot, must then have been very distressful to the country people in the distant shires.

April 28<sup>th</sup>—The merchants of Brabant having bought 2,200 sacks of wool from King Edward, who was now almost the only seller of wool in England, he engaged to convoy them safe from Ipswich to their own country; and he accordingly ordered his admiral to appoint a sufficient number of warlike vessels for that service. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 32, 51.]

May 7<sup>th</sup>—Edward, now adverting to the consequence of allowing English rams to be carried to the continent, ordered the bailiffs of Boston, and the collectors of the customs in that port, to search all vessels for live rams, and to carry them ashore, because he had heard that foreign merchants had shipped them there on purpose to improve the breed of sheep in their own country, and hurt the trade in English wool, to the great damage of his kingdom and subjects\*. [*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 36.]

May 10<sup>th</sup>—The king ordered all the tin in Cornwall and Devon-shire, whether in the hands of his own subjects or already sold to foreign merchants, to be taken for his account and shipped at Southampton for the continent, for which he promised to pay the proprietors within two years. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 39, 40.]

May 16<sup>th</sup>—In order to raise money by all possible means, he appointed commissioners, who granted freedom to the slaves, called *natives*, attached to his manors, with the rank of free men to themselves and their posterity for ever, for sums of money paid by them for account of the king. [*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 44.] This was a happy consequence, among many unhappy ones, of the attempt to conquer France.

June—He also borrowed from the abbays and other religious foundations all the money he could get from them, and also all their silver plate, which he promised to return to them, or the price of it, valuing it, however, for the most part only at its weight of metal. But this pro-

\* It was not long before this first law against the exportation of English rams was infringed by Edward himself, as well as those against the exportation of wool and the importation of woollen cloth.

ceeding, being probably represented as sacrilege, raised such a clamour, that he was glad to desist from it. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 48-50, 59, 60.—*Knyghton*, col. 2571.]

Notwithstanding King Edward's application to foreign princes in order to injure the trade of the Flemings, he was very desirous of being in friendship with them. In consequence of friendly letters sent by him to the three chief cities of Flanders, his commissioners appointed to negotiate with the good people of those towns and of the country, who, I have already observed, were in many respects independent of their earl, and who could by no means carry on their manufacture without English wool, concluded a treaty, whereby the Flemings were permitted to purchase the wool and other commodities of England, then lying in Holland, Zeland, and elsewhere, and had a promise of ample protection in all the harbours of England and the king's other dominions, and of safety upon the sea to all their vessels, except those found trading with the Scots. The Flemings promised to take no part in the war between the king of England and Sir Philip of Valois pretending to be king of France, unless for the defence of their earl, if he should be attacked by either party in their own country; and they engaged to protect the English merchants and their property in Flanders. It was stipulated, nevertheless, that the earl with his military tenants, might serve whom he pleased *out of Flanders*. Soon after this reconciliation King Edward gratified the citizens of Ghent with an exemption for the cloths, bearing the seal of their city, from being subject to the examination of the ulnators, aulnagers, or measurers, in the ports of England. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 38, 53, 59, 74.] Thus was the premature law against the importation of foreign cloth effectually repealed.

July 27<sup>h</sup>—The parliament having granted the king twenty thousand sacks of wool, he immediately, without paying the smallest attention to the recent law against the exportation of it, ordered the whole to be shipped, and vessels to be pressed for the carriage. The collection of the wool, however, went on so heavily, that only 3,000 sacks were got ready before his departure for the continent; and on his arrival at Antwerp he found there only 2,500 of them, instead of the 20,000, on the sale of which he depended for the payment of his army and the subsidies of his numerous allies. He therefor sent home orders to seize all the wool in the country, sparing no person, whether of the clergy or the laity, and to press carriages and vessels for the speedy conveyance of it to him at Antwerp. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 66, 73, 80.] The quantity of wool levied in Leicester-shire was 311 sacks, in Lincoln-shire 600, and in Northampton 300. [*Knyghton*, col. 2571.]

Among other expedients for carrying on a war of unprecedented expense, King Edward gave orders for imprisoning all the Lombard and other foreign merchants, except those of the companies of the Bardi and

Peruchi, and for seizing all their goods and chattels, wherever they could be found. [*Rot. pat. sec. 12 Edw. III. m. 5.*] He also seized the property of the Cluniac and Cistercian monks throughout all England, [*Walsingham, p. 146*] and of all the religious establishments depending upon foreign ones, called alien priories, till they bought themselves off. [*Fœdera, V. v, p. 490.—Knyghton, col. 2570.*]

August—At the request of the duke of Brabant the king granted the merchants and burgessees of Dieft, Bruffels, Tienen, Mechlin, and Lewe, freedom of buying wool and trading in England, with the privilege of being liable only for their own debts and transgressions, provided their lords should not make war upon him or assist his enemies: and he granted, that their cloths should be examined and marked by the ulnators, or measurers, within five days, at the furthest, after being unpacked\*. He also confirmed the grants made by his predecessors to the citizens of Cologne. [*Fœdera, V. v, pp. 79, 80, 82.*]

October 4<sup>th</sup>-24<sup>th</sup>—Southampton, the principal commercial port on the south coast of England, was burnt and plundered by the French. [*Fœdera, V. v, p. 99.—Walsingham, p. 512.*]

October 14<sup>th</sup>-24<sup>th</sup>—There being apprehensions of a formidable invasion from France, orders were issued for stationing a sufficient force in the island of Sheppey, for fortifying London on the bank of the river with stone or planks, and driving piles into the channel to obstruct the approach of the enemy's vessels: and all persons, clergy or laity, without any exception, were ordered to contribute, in proportion to their estates in London, to the expense. [*Fœdera, V. v, pp. 85, 86.*]

1339, March 6<sup>th</sup>—Henry Darcy mayor of London having represented to the king, that the income of fifty marks, which used to be paid annually by the merchants of Amiens, Nele, and Corbie, to his predecessors, (see *p. 389*) had now failed by the merchants leaving the country on account of the war, he ordered the shirreifs of London to pay that sum to the mayor. [*Fœdera, V. v, p. 105.*]

June 12<sup>th</sup>—A species of coin of inferior quality, called black money or turneys (probably such as had been lately prohibited in England) had been introduced in Ireland, the currency of which, being supposed prejudicial to that of the legal money, had been suppressed. But the quantity of good money in circulation being found inadequate to the wants of the country, the warden (or viceroy) of Ireland was now authorized to restore the currency of the black money, if he and his council should think it expedient, till a sufficient quantity of better money could be provided. About three months before, twenty-four pair of

\* I have been very brief in relating the grants to those cities, because the favour respecting the examination of their cloths is the only article where- in they differ from the grant to the people of Dieft in the year 1328, already inserted.

dyes for coining pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, had been ordered from the mint in the Tower for Ireland, of which no notice is taken in the present order. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 104, 113.]

June—Among the most notable of King Edward's shifts for getting hold of money, for the support of his wars with France and Scotland, may be reckoned his scheme for a marriage between his son, a child just ten years of age, and a daughter of the duke of Brabant, from whom he immediately received *fifty thousand pounds sterling* as the young lady's portion, he obliging himself to return £100,000, if the marriage should not be completed. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 113, 181.] The marriage never was completed; and it merits notice in commercial history, only as a proof of the very flourishing state of the manufactures and trade of Brabant, which enabled the prince of that country to lay down such a sum of money; a sum, though it was exceeded by what Edward himself covenanted to give with his own daughter to the prince of Spain, far greater in real effective value than is given with the daughters of any of the modern kings of Europe.

November 25<sup>th</sup>—The liberty granted by the late act, for carrying on the woollen manufacture in any part of the kingdom without impediment, seems to have been interpreted by the magistrates of Bristol as restricted to foreigners; or the act was so far disregarded by them, that they persecuted Thomas Blanket and some others of their own citizens, who had provided machinery, and hired workmen, for setting up a woollen manufactory in that city, with unreasonable exactions. Such was the discouraging reception given to the woollen manufacture on its first appearance in the center of the country which has since become the chief seat of it, till government sent orders to the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol to desist from molesting their fellow-citizens in their meritorious undertaking. [*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 137.]

December 23<sup>d</sup>—The king ordered five lasts of red herrings to be provided for the use of his household at Yarmouth, which has so long been famed for curing herrings in that manner; and 5,000 stock-fish from Boston, at which port, and also at Kingston upon Hull, those fish were then imported, whether caught by the English seamen themselves at Iceland, or bought in that island or at the fair of Bergen in Norway, the great market for the fish of the polar regions\*. [*Fœdera*, V. v; p. 146.—*Camdeni Britannia*, p. 578.—*Olaus Magnus*, L. 21.]

1340, February—The parliament granted the king the ninth part of the lambs, the wool, and the corn, to be produced in the two next years,

\* It must not be understood, that this was the earliest notice of stock-fish in England. They were a customary article of ship's stores at least as early as the year 1290. See above, p. 436, note \*.—Together with the herrings and stock-fish

the king ordered 500 'murrus' from Blakenheth. Quere, if moorfow's, and if they were then to be found in considerable quantities so near London as at Blackheath?

the ninth part of the real value of all the property (quere, if not rather income?) of the citizens and burgesſes, and a fifteenth from all others, excxpt labourers and beggars \*. [*Stat. 14 Edw. III, c. 20.—Knyghton, col. 2576.*]

April 16<sup>th</sup>—They granted him alſo a duty of 40*s* upon every ſack (containing 26 ſtones of 14 pounds each) of wool, 40*s* upon every 300 wool-fells, and 40*s* upon every laſt of hides, to be paid upon exportation, and to be continued till Pentecoſt in the year 1341. In conſideration of theſe ſupplies the king relinquished his right to the feudal tax for knighting his oldeſt ſon and marrying his oldeſt daughter † (a favour in proſpect to thoſe who held lands of him in chief): and he engaged, that after Pentecoſt in 1341, he would demand no more than 6/8 upon the ſack of wool, 6/8 upon 300 wool-fells, and 1 3/4 upon the laſt of hides. The exporters of wool were to find ſecurity, that, for every ſack of wool carried out of the kingdom, they would within three months bring in ſilver bullion to the value of two marks, and carry it to the king's exchange, where they ſhould receive two marks in coined money for it. [*Stat. 14 Edw. III.*]

Though the parliament, and probably the generality of the people, were ſo liberal of their property for the purpoſe of enabling their king to make himſelf king of France, it appears, that there were ſome who were endowed with more penetration, and ſaw that the ſucceſs of the king would be the ruin of the kingdom. In order to counteract the effect of ſuch an opinion, the king iſſued a kind of charter ‡, wherein he declared, that, being deſirous to provide for the ſecurity and immunity of his liege people of England, he had, by the aſſent of his parliament, determined, that the people of England ſhould not be bound by any commands iſſued by him or any of his heirs as king of France, and ſhould be as free of any ſubjection to that kingdom, as they were in the days of his anceſtors. [*Stat. 5, 14 Edw. III.*] He might as well have promiſed the people of Cumberland and Cornwall, that they ſhould not be controlled by the laws enacted in the capital.

April 18<sup>th</sup>—King Edward was now ſo well pleaſed with his good friends, the citizens of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, that he made ſome of their magiſtrates members of his council, and ſettled penſions on them with an allowance of robes from his wardrobe. For their ſakes alſo he

\* Knyghton [*col. 2569*] and Walingham [*p. 513*] tell us, that the king exacted from the people of England, (without any diſtinction of perſons), a tribute of a *fiſth* part of their goods in the year 1339. But I often find theſe hiſtorians inaccurate in numbers, when brought to the teſt of records. It may be queſtioned, whether it would have been poſſible to levy ſuch a contribution in an age when heavy taxes were as yet new and unknown.

† Though what is written is permanent, yet, without the aſſiſtance of printing, it is ſoon forgotten. A demand was made for knighting the prince of Wales in 1346, and in 1351 a new act was paſſed to re-eſtabliſh the claim for the oldeſt ſon and the oldeſt daughter as before. [*Fadera, V. v, p. 527.—Stat. 5, 25 Edw. III, c. 11.*]

‡ It is printed among the acts of parliament.

granted protections to the vessels of Castile, Catalonia, and Majorca, trading peaceably with Flanders, and giving security to the magistrates of those cities, that they should do no damage to him or his friends. Such was the advantage which those nations reaped from being connected in trade with the principal commercial nation in the west part of Europe: and, on the other hand, so valuable was the trade of those Spanish nations to the Flemings, that they bound themselves to indemnify them for any damage they might suffer from the English; an obligation, which Edward thought it incumbent upon him to take upon himself. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp, 179, 183, 203.]

June 24<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, understanding that the king of France had collected a fleet of 400 vessels \*, the largest of which belonged to Spain and Genoa, in order to intercept him on his passage to the continent, boldly resolved to engage them with the fleet he had, consisting of 260 vessels great and small. On the 23<sup>d</sup> of June he came in sight of the enemy lying at anchor at the Swyn on the coast of Flanders. Early in the morning of the next day the French fleet got up their anchors, and, forming in three divisions, advanced about a mile to meet the English, who, having the wind of them, bore down to the attack, which they commenced with a shower of arrows, in the management of which they excelled all other nations, and afterwards closed in with them, and fought with stones thrown from the tops, and with pikes, poll-axes, and swords. The English made but little impression upon the lofty ships of Spain, but in the French vessels the carnage was most horrible, about 25,000 men by the most moderate accounts being either slain or drowned by leaping overboard †. At the conclusion of the battle, which lasted all the day and the ensuing night, 200 ships and 30 barges fell into the hands of the English. Next day the king landed his forces amidst the shouts and applauses of his Flemish allies. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 195, 197.—*Hemingford*, p. 319.—*Knyghton*, col. 2577.—*Walsingham*, p. 148.—*P. Æmyl.* p. 276.—*Stow*, p. 369.]

The splendour of this naval victory, the only one gained by a king of England in person since the days of Alfred, dazzled the eyes of the English, and made them cheerfully exhaust their wealth in order to make their brave king the sovereign of a foreign country, and themselves the subjects of the king of France. It encouraged Edward to proceed in his career: and it induced those allies, who wished to be on the successful side, to stand by him longer than they would otherways have done. And thus were the miseries and desolation of war prolonged. The phantom of the kingdom, though repeatedly grasped, at last totally vanished: but

\* According to Knyghton, 19 very large ships and 200 other ships of war, besides smaller vessels and barges.—200 ships and many gallees. [*Walsh*.]

—300 French ships, and 80 of Bretagne. [*P. Æmyl.*]

† There was no safety for them on the shore, which was occupied by the Flemish army.

the taxes, brought upon the commerce and consumption of the country by it, remained a lasting memorial of King Edward's fatal claim upon the crown of France\*.

October 11<sup>th</sup>—The operations of war being suspended by a truce, King Edward, in letters addressed to the shirrefs of the maritime shires, observed that the navy of the kingdom (that is, the whole vessels belonging to the merchants of England) was much reduced by the war †; and, as *the security of the kingdom depended upon the vessels being kept in the hands of his own subjects*, he ordered them to make proclamation, that no person should sell, or give away, any vessel to a foreigner upon any account: and he also desired them to return to him exact accounts of all the vessels, whether great or small, in each port within their jurisdictions, with the names of their owners. [*Fædera*, V. v, p. 210.] These returns, if collected together, would constitute, apparently, the first *Register of the shipping* of England ‡.

1341, February 12<sup>th</sup>—The king wrote to the magistrates of the principal ports of England, ordering that all ships of sixty tuns or upwards, and all barges and fluves, should be equipped for war. He also ordered them to send deputies, chosen from among their most substantial and prudent inhabitants, who should assemble at Westminster, in order to inform him of the state of the shipping in their ports, and the progress of the outfit. The following is the list of the ports with the number of their deputies to this first naval parliament.

Sandwich to send	2	Plymouth	2	Shoreham	1
Great Yarmouth	2	Dartmouth	2	Hooke	1
Gosford	2	Weymouth	1	Poole	1
Lynne	2	Bristol	2	Exmouth	1
Ipswich	1	Boston	1	Teignmouth	1
Winchelsea	2	Kingston upon Hull	2	Fowey	1
Dover	1	Newcastle upon Tyne	2	Ravenfere	1
Rye	1	Falmouth	1	Little Yarmouth	1
Hastings	1	Pevensey	1		
Southampton	2	Seaford	1		

[*Fædera*, V. v, p. 231.]

April 12<sup>th</sup>—Six Genoese galleys, loaded with merchandize for Flanders, having been taken at Brest by a fleet of English vessels in Septem-

\* Though Edward, in an evil hour, assumed the title of king of France, and quartered the lilies of that kingdom with his own leopards in his armorial bearings, he seems to have been rather shy, or diffident, in using his new stile, the most of his writs about this time being begun with '*Rex omnibus*' &c. without saying what country or countries he claimed the sovereignty of.

† It is not to be supposed, that many merchants would build vessels to replace those which were lost,

as they were sure to have very little use of them during the war.

‡ The account of vessels furnished by the several ports of England for the siege of Calais (to be found under the year 1346) is nearly equivalent to such a register, as all the vessels of the kingdom (or nearly all) were assembled on that service. We there find the number of merchant vessels to be 685, but for their tunnage we have no other standard than the number of men they carried.

ber 1340, King Edward offered to pay the owners £10,000 sterling, if the duke and community of Genoa would abstain from giving assistance to his adversary of France. But this offer the Genoese appear to have declined. [*Fœdera, V. v, pp. 244, 571.*]

August 8<sup>th</sup>—The king, finding that wool was smuggled out of the kingdom without paying the duty, appointed the staple for wool and other staple goods to be at Bruges in Flanders, under the direction of a mayor and constables to be elected by the merchants of the kingdom; and he confirmed all their former liberties and reasonable customs. All persons, natives or foreigners, were permitted to carry wool and other merchandize to Bruges, on giving security to the collectors of the customs that they would carry them to no other place. The mayor and constables of the staple were directed, and empowered, to seize all goods not fairly cleared out for exportation, and to punish all offences in the staple, not according to the common law of the kingdom, but according to the mercantile law: and, for defraying the necessary charges, they were authorized to levy a duty on the merchandize imported at Bruges in proportion to the quantity belonging to each person. [*Fœdera, V. v, pp. 273, 275.*]

1342, January 22<sup>d</sup>, May 28<sup>th</sup>—The king wrote other letters to the duke of Genoa, earnestly labouring to win him to his alliance, and promising that the Genoese merchants should be treated in all his dominions as well as his own subjects. [*Fœdera, V. v, pp. 296, 316.*]

February 14<sup>th</sup>—He also endeavoured to draw the king of Majorca into an alliance with him by a proposal for a marriage, and an offer of commercial favours to his subjects. [*Fœdera, V. v, pp. 286, 298.*] The commercial proposal had probably as little effect as the matrimonial one.

1343, Spring—Another law against carrying money out of the country was now enacted. [*Acts 17 Edw. III.*] The frequent renovations of such laws were not, it seems, sufficient to convince the legislature of their inefficacy.

The chronological order of this work requires me immediately to lay before the reader the following striking contrast to this act of the English parliament.

May 1<sup>st</sup>—Pedro IV, king of Aragon, considering the great hardship imposed upon the commerce of his subjects by an order, contained in the constitutions of Catalonia, against carrying silver out of the country, now granted permission to the citizens of Barcelona to export silver, whether in bullion or in coin, except the money of Barcelona, from any part of his dominions to any foreign country whatsoever. [*Capmany, Mem. hist. de Barcelona, V. ii, Col. dipl. p. 117.*]

May 20<sup>h</sup>—The parliament ordained, that no person for the three en-

fuing years, under penalty of forfeiture of the wool so bought by him; should buy wool at any lower prices than the following, viz.

Lincoln-shire, best wool	£9	6	8	Wilt-shire,	-	-	£5	13	4			
Holland and marsh lands	7	6	8	Somerfet	-	-	7	6	8			
York-shire, best	-	7	6	8	Southampton, best	-	6	0	0			
Craven	-	-	6	13	4	Wight and New forest	5	0	0			
Kent, Suffex, Middlefex	6	0	0	Dorset	-	-	5	6	8			
Marsh wool in these three	5	0	0	Hereford	£6:13:4	to	8	0	0			
Surry	-	-	-	4	0	0	Worcester	5:6:8	to	7	0	0
Salop	-	-	-	9	6	8	Hertford	-	-	6	13	4
Oxford (Chiltern)	£6:13:4	8	13	4	Essex (Marsh wool	£5)	6	13	4			
Berks	-	-	-	6	0	0	Gloucester	£7:6:8	to	8	0	0
Nottingham	-	-	-	7	0	0	Norfolk, Suffolk	-	-	5	0	0
Northampton	-	-	-	7	6	8	Cumberland, Westmere-	-	-	6	13	4
Stafford	-	£8	to	8	13	4	land.	-	-	6	13	4
Derby	-	-	-	6	6	8	Northumberland, Lancas-	-	-	5	6	8
Leicester	-	-	-	8	0	0	ter	-	-	3	0	0
Warwick, the best	-	-	-	7	0	0	Devon	-	-	2	13	4
Cambridge, Huntington	6	0	0	Cornwall	-	-	2	13	4			
Buckingham, Bedford	7	6	8	Rutland	-	-	6	13	4			

The sellers were at liberty to take prices as much above the limited ones as they could obtain \*. [*Fœdera*, V. v. p. 369.]

1344, January 8<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, agreeable to his constant policy of conciliating the neutral powers, ordered the shirrefs of London to make proclamation, that the Portuguese should be treated in all respects as friends and favoured allies. [*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 402.]

January 22<sup>d</sup>—Hitherto there had been very little gold money coined by the kings of England †; so little, indeed, that it has been generally believed that there was none: but now the king and parliament ordered money of three sizes to be coined of gold. The largest pieces, stamped with two leopards, and equal to two small florins of Florence of full weight, were ordered to pass for six shillings. The halves had one leopard, and the quarters, a helmet. Soon after (July 9<sup>th</sup>) the king and his council ordered another coinage of gold, consisting of pieces called nobles, valued at six shillings and eight pennies, and halves and quarters of nobles. The exportation of money was *again* prohibited, with the

\* This table of prices regulated by act of parliament, together with the prices prescribed by the king in the year 1338, gives us a statistical account of the comparative quality of the wools in all the shires of England, except Cheshire, Durham, and Monmouth, the two former being palatine counties, and the later not then an English shire. It also shows us, that those parts of the county,

which produce the best wool, are not the chief seats of the woollen manufactures.

† In the year 1338 King Edward ordered that the silver, which was expected to be found in Devon-shire, should be carried to the mint, and the gold, to the exchequer. [*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 71.] Had there been any coinage of gold, he would most probably have ordered both to the mint.

exception of this new gold money. The currency of all coins of gold or silver, except the king's, was prohibited. And no person, receiving a payment of twenty shillings or more, was to refuse gold money\*. The king, in his orders to the shirreifs of London for proclaiming this last coinage, observed that hitherto people had been imposed on, because there was no fixed rate of exchange, and informed them, that he had ordered an exchange to be opened at Servate's tower† in London, where the public might receive  $6/7$  in silver in exchange for a noble of gold, or a noble of gold in exchange for  $6/8\frac{1}{2}$  of silver, and in the same proportion for the halves and quarters, thus taking to himself a profit of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent on issuing silver, and  $\frac{1}{8}$  per cent on issuing gold ‡. The first gold money having been rated so much above its value that it was impossible to get the people to receive it, the king proclaimed (August 20<sup>th</sup>) that no person should be obliged to take it but at its value as bullion. [*Fædera*, V. v, pp. 403, 416, 424.]

February 6<sup>th</sup>—The king, again desiring to be informed of the state of the navy, or shipping, of England, sent precepts to the magistrates of all the ports, ordering them to return a number of representatives, proportioned to their trade or population, well acquainted with maritime affairs, to a council of shipping, or naval parliament, to be held at London in the ensuing lent, as follows, viz.

Yarmouth to send	4	Dover	2	Exeter	2
Newcastle upon Tine	2	Winchelsea	2	Dartmouth	2
Scarburgh	1	Rye	1	Plymouth	2
Kingston upon Hull	2	Hastings	1	Exmouth	1
Ravenfrod	1	Gosford	1	Falmouth	1
Grimsbj	1	Waynfleet	1	Sidmouth	1
Boston	2	Lyme	1	Barnstaple	1
Lynne	2	Seaford	1	Weymouth	1
Dunwich	1	Chichester	2	Bristol	2
Ipswich	2	Portsmouth	1	Poole	1
Colchester	1	Southampton	2	London	4
Harwich	1	S <sup>t</sup> . Helen's in Wight	1	Blakeney	1
Orford	1	Melcomb	1	Ravenfere	1
Maldon	1	Pevensey	1	Shoreham	1
Sandwich	2	Romney	1		

[*Fædera*, V. v, p. 405.]

\* The permission to refuse it in smaller quantities shows, that it was disliked by the people, and for a very good reason, as it was rated considerably above its value according to the proportion then established between gold and silver. About a year and a half after this time we find it still refused in the north parts of England. [*Fædera*, V. v, p. 480.]

† Apparently the same which Stow calls Serne's tower and Cornet's tower in Bucklersbury. [*Survey of London*, pp. 118, 477.]

‡ Before this time the exchanges issued good silver money in exchange for such as was deficient in weight or purity, and accommodated travelers with English or foreign money, when arriving in, or departing from, the kingdom: and from these exchanges a part of the royal revenue was derived. In the third year of King Richard I the profit of the exchange ('cambii') of all England, except Winchester, amounted to £400. In the beginning of the reign of John, Hugh Oifel, a foreign mer-

We may here observe Yarmouth on a footing with London in naval pre-eminence, surely the effect of a vigorous and prosperous fishery; and that Ravensrod, formerly more opulent than Hull, and Dunwich which appears to have antiently had more trade than any of the neighbouring ports, were now outstripped by others in the progress of naval and commercial prosperity\*.

The late law for fixing the prices of wool was repealed, the buyers, whether natives or foreigners, being allowed to make such bargains as they and the sellers could agree: and so sensible were the legislators of the impropriety of the restrictive ordinance, that they decreed, that no person should be troubled for having infringed it. The sea was also declared free for the passage of all merchants of every description with their merchandize. [*Stat. 18 Edw. III. c. 3.*]

October 12<sup>th</sup>—The foreign cloth-weavers, who had settled in London upon the faith of the king's protection, were maltreated and threatened by a mob of people, who were so foolish as to think, that what was earned by those industrious and valuable strangers was taken from themselves. The king therefor ordered the mayor and shirreifs of London to proclaim that no one should do any injury to the foreigners, and to imprison all who should act contrary to the proclamation. [*Fædera, V. v, p. 430.*] If the mob had proceeded now as far in their outrages against the foreign weavers as they often did against the Jews in former times, England might have continued some centuries longer dependent upon the Netherlands for the sale of wool, and the purchase of fine cloth.

The Cistercian monks had the privilege of being exempted from all public burthens; and, in the use, or abuse, of that exemption, those of them, who were settled in Lincoln-shire, had become merchants. Having thus all the advantages that smugglers seek to have without any of their risk, and also the benefit of correspondence with the houses of their order throughout the Christian world, no other persons could enter into competition with them: and they were therefor prohibited from being merchants. [*Rot. pat. prim. 18 Edw. III, m, 37.—Bromton, col. 1256.*]

Though the people of France had contributed very liberally for supporting their sovereign against King Edward's invasion, yet the pressure

chant, farmed the exchange of all England for 850 marks a-year. But in the 13<sup>th</sup> of Henry III the farm was lowered to 700 marks. [*Madex's Hist. c. 23, § 1, notes m, n, r.*]

The charge for exchange was afterwards augmented, as appears by a petition of the commons in the year 1363, that no more than one penny might be taken for the change of a noble. The petition was refused. [*Cotton's Abridgement of records, p. 97.*]

\* Such councils were sometimes called afterwards. One in particular in the year 1347 was composed of members from only 32 places, if all the orders be preserved, Newcastle, Scarburgh, Pevensy, Exeter, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Exmouth, Falmouth, Sidmouth, Barnstaple, Weymouth, (and Ravensere, if different from Ravensrod, for one of these names seems redundant) being omitted. [*Fædera, V. v, p. 548.*] But it seems more probable that the orders are lost.

of Philip's expenses now obliged him to impose a tax upon salt\*, which rendered him very unpopular among his subjects, who thought it a horrid oppression to make them pay for water and the heat of the sun. [*Mezeray, Hist. de France, V. ii, p. 544.*—*Meyeri, Ann. Flandr. f. 301. a.*] The tax was probably at first very light, according to our modern ideas of taxation. But taxes are like snow-balls, which increase as they roll along: and the progressive augmentations of the salt taxes, the inequality of them in different districts, and the extreme rigour in collecting them, became the sources of much evasion, much tyranny, and much misery, in France.

It is said that an Englishman, named Macham (or Machin), sailing for Spain with a lady, whom he had stolen away, was driven by contrary winds upon the island afterwards called Madeira. There he landed with the lady and some of the ship's company; and they were deserted by the ship. The lady died; and Macham and his companions made a canoe, in which they passed over to the coast of Africa, and thence they were sent to the king of Castile. [*Galvano's Discoveries, in Purchas's Pilgrimes, B. x, p. 1672.*] Such is the account of the first discovery made of unknown land after the use of the compass became general †.

This same year the pope, after preaching a sermon, wherein he proved, probably to the satisfaction of his audience, that he had a right to dispose of kingdoms, created Louis of Spain, an ambassador from the king of France, *prince of the Fortunate islands* ‡. [*Hemingford, p. 376, ed. Hearne.*]

1346, March 24<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, thinking it would be advantageous to merchants and to the public in general, both in England and Flanders, if the same money were to have free currency in both countries, empowered two agents to settle with the magistrates of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and other towns, respecting a coinage of gold nobles, with their halves and quarters, like those lately coined in England, to be executed in his name in that country. [*Fœdera, V. v, p. 506.*]

\* King Edward, whose pretensions upon the crown of France made him deny the existence of the Salic law, whereby he, as claiming in right of his mother, was excluded from the succession, when he heard of the new tax, said, with a sneering pun, that Philip of Valois was the real author of the *Salic law*. Such salic (salt) laws have since been very sufficiently felt in this country, though not quite so severely as in France.

† According to other accounts, Macham also died in the island. The Portuguese say, that, when they took possession of Madeira, the monument erected by him, containing his own and the lady's names, was standing, and that the bay, where he landed, is called Machico after his name. His story, true or fabricated, is the subject of a picture in the hall of the government house in Madeira, as

we are told by Sir George Staunton. [*Account of an embassy to China, V. i, p. 74, ed. 1798.*]

‡ It would have been a laudable deed, says Hemingford, if he had put him in possession. He adds, that there are nine or ten of those islands; that the natives, who are neither Christians nor Saracens, live like beasts, and go naked; they cut their bread with stones, which are also their weapons in fighting, they having no iron, and no knives, nor any other kind of arms; corn grows there without being sowed, and trees grow to the height of 115 feet.—Purchas [*B. x, p. 1671*] says, from *Galvano's Discoveries*, that Louis de la Cerda (for that was his name) asked the king of Aragon to assist him to take possession of his new dominions: but we hear nothing further of it at this time.

July 24<sup>th</sup>—The king's high-way between the hospital of S<sup>t</sup>. Giles and the bar of the old temple\* at London, and also the adjacent road called Pourtepol†, being very much broken up and dangerous, tolls ‡, perhaps the earliest known by any remaining records, were imposed by royal authority upon all cattle, merchandize, or other goods, passing upon those roads, and also the Charing road §, for two years, at rates upon the several articles, amounting to about one penny in the pound on their value, to be paid by all persons, except lords, ladies, and persons belonging to religious establishments or to the church. [*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 520.]

September 6<sup>th</sup>—King Edward having defeated his adversary Philip at Cressy (August 26<sup>th</sup>) with a prodigious slaughter, and besieged Calais by land and by sea, sent precepts to the Cinque ports and the ports on the east side of England, desiring the merchants to carry over flour, bread, corn, wine, ale, flesh, fish, bows, bow-strings, arrows, and other stores, for which they should be paid in ready money; and he assured them, that nothing should be taken from them without a reasonable and satisfactory price. This order was frequently repeated. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 525, 575.]

As the commercial progress of the maritime towns is best illustrated by comparing statements of their shipping at different times, I here lay before the reader the following

*Account of the vessels furnished by the ports of England for the fleet employed by King Edward III in the siege of Calais.*

The king's 25 ships carried 419 mariners.

*The South fleet.*

*The North fleet.*

	<i>Vessels. Mariners.</i>			<i>Vessels. Mariners.</i>	
London sent	25	662	Bamburgh	-	9
Aylesford	2	24	Newcastle	-	414
Hoo	2	24	Walrich	-	12
Hope	2	24	Hertlepool	-	145
New Hythe	5	19	Hull	-	466
Margate	15	160	York	-	9
Morne	2	23	Ravenfer	-	28
Faversham	2	23	Woodhouse	-	12
Sandwich	22	504	Strockhithe	-	10
Dover	16	336	Barton	-	30
Wight (island)	13	220	Swinfleet	-	11
Winchelsea	21	596	Saltfleet	-	49
Weymouth	20	264	Grimsbj	-	171

\* The old temple was in Holburn without the bars. [*Stow's Survey*, pp. 752, 824.]

† Now Gray's-inn lane. [*Stow*, p. 823.] A small lane leading into Gray's-inn lane has now got the name of Portpool lane.

‡ 'Conuetudines,' customs. Duties for paving

towns were very common: but I am uncertain, whether they were levied upon the inhabitants, or upon those who used the roads, as this order, and reason, direct. The exemption of those who were best able to pay was not, however, very judicious.

§ Supposed to be now S<sup>t</sup>. Martin's lane.

<i>The South fleet.</i>				<i>The North fleet.</i>			
		<i>Vessels.</i>	<i>Mariners.</i>			<i>Vessels.</i>	<i>Mariners.</i>
Lyme	-	4	62	Waynfleet	-	2	43
Seton	-	2	25	Wrangle	-	1	8
Sidmouth	-	3	62	Lynne	-	16	482
Exmouth	-	10	193	Blackney	-	2	38
Teignmouth	-	7	120	Scarburgh	-	1	19
Dartmouth	-	31	757	Yarmouth	-	43	1095
Portsmouth	-	5	96	Dunwich	-	6	102
Plymouth	-	26	603	Orford	-	3	62
Looe	-	20	325	Gosford	-	13	403
Yalie	-	2	48	Harwich	-	14	283
Fowey	-	47	770	Ipfwich	-	12	239
Bristol	-	24	608	Merten	-	1	6
Tinmouth	-	2	25	Broughlyngfey	-	5	61
Hastings	-	5	96	Colchester	-	5	90
Romney	-	4	75	Whitbanes	-	1	17
Rye	-	9	156	Derwen	-	1	15
Hythe	-	6	112	Boston	-	17	361
Shoreham	-	20	329	Swinhumber	-	1	32
Seaford	-	5	80	Maldon	-	2	32
Newmouth	-	2	18	Barton	-	5	61
Hamilhoke	-	7	117	Ireland	-	1	25
Hooke	-	11	208	<i>Foreigners.</i>			
Southampton	-	21	572	Bayonne	-	15	439
Lymington	-	9	159	Spain	-	7	184
Poole	-	4	94	Flanders	-	14	133
Wareham	-	3	59	Gelderland	-	1	24
Swanzy	-	1	29	<i>Summary.</i>			
Ilfracombe	-	6	79	King's ships	-	25	419
Padstow	-	2	17	South fleet	-	468	9,211
Pollrewan	-	1	60	North fleet	-	217	4,521
Wadworth	-	1	14	Total, England (*or 700)	710*	14,151	
Hendefs	-	1	51	Ireland	-	1	25
Bridgewater	-	1	15	Foreigners	-	37	780
Carmarthen	-	1	16	Total †	(*or 738)	748*	14,956
Calchworth	-	1	12				
Molbrooke	-	1	12				

[MS. Bib. Cott. Tit. F. iii, f. 262.]

† The totals do not agree with the particular numbers. But, as it is impossible to discover where the error lies, I am obliged to take them as I find them in the manuscript, which is much more accurate than the list published by Hakluyt. The names of the towns are given in modern spelling, except a few which are unknown; and the desultory arrangement renders it impossible to trace

them. We may observe, that those parts of the coast, where the fishing flourished, had the greatest number of vessels. Though we find two vessels carrying 51 and 60 men, yet Gosford is the only town whose vessels average so many as 31 men, the average of the whole fleet being under 20 men for each vessel.

During the siege of Calais the king of France attempted to detach the Flemings from the interest of King Edward. He offered to supply them for six years with corn at 4*s* per quarter instead of 12*s*, which they then paid; to send them the wool of France at a low price, and to oblige his subjects to use no other cloth, while their cloths, made of French wool were to be got (thus offering to sacrifice the woollen manufacture, which, we have seen, his own subjects certainly had). He offered to restore to them the towns of Lisle, Doway\*, and Bethune, with their districts, to defend them against their enemies, to subsidize them largely, and to promote their young men. But all his offers were not sufficient to prevail with the Flemings. [*R. de Avesbury*, p. 153.]

1347—In the year 1347, and apparently in the early part of it, the king's son Lionel, as warden of the kingdom, in a council *without the commons*, imposed a duty of 2*s* upon every sack of wool exported, 2*s* upon every tun of wine, and 6*d* upon every 20*s* in value of other goods ('des avoirs'), to continue till next Michaelmas, for the protection of the kingdom and the convoy of ships. [*Cotton's Abridgement of records*, p. 52.]

April 10<sup>th</sup>—For a considerable time past we have had little notice of any commercial intercourse between England and Venice. In consequence of an application by the consul † of the Venetian merchants at Bruges and an English merchant, the king now took all the merchants of Venice, trading to England, Ireland, and his other dominions, under his protection during one year. [*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 558.]

April 13<sup>th</sup>—The king sent agents to Genoa to hire twelve galleys, completely armed and manned, for his service. In July a very prolix treaty was signed at Genoa, wherein King Edward offered, and the duke and community of Genoa (for the parties interested) accepted, £10,000 sterling in full compensation for the six galleys taken in the year 1340, and 8,000 marks for the cog taken in the year 1321 ‡; which sums were to be allowed in the customs of goods imported or exported in the ports of England, by the persons aggrieved and their heirs, for their own accounts only, till every one of them should thus retain as much as his share of the compensation should be settled at §. Moreover, what was the king's great object, each of the contracting powers engaged not to assist the enemies of the other. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 560, 569.]

August 12<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, having made himself master of Calais after a siege of eleven months, desired the shirrefs of the maritime

\* So I have ventured to call the town written *Rorvacum* in one MS. and *Borvacum* in another, apparently for *Dorvacum*.

† If I mistake not, this is the earliest notice of the office of a consul of merchants in any English record. But long before this time the commercial states in the Mediterranean had consuls in every considerable port to which they traded. Capmany, in his va-

luable *Memorias historicas de Barcelona*, gives a list of consuls commissioned by that city since the year 1270.

‡ This seems the same ship for which King Edward offered to pay 8,000 marks in the year 1336.

§ Another instance of payment in this manner occurs in *Fœdera*, V. v, p. 789.

shires, and the magistrates of the chief ports of England, to make proclamation, that merchants and others, willing to settle in Calais with their stores and merchandize, should have houses at moderate rents \*. [Fœdera, V. v. p. 575.]

November 6<sup>th</sup>—The parliament of Scotland (if we may depend on the authenticity of the laws published by Skene) confirmed to the inhabitants of the burghs, and to foreign merchants, the rights and privileges formerly enjoyed by them in good and peaceable times. They ordered that the gold and silver coins of England should be received at the full nominal value at which they passed in England †. And, agreeable to the absurd policy then generally adopted in Europe, they attempted to prevent the exportation of money by charging it with the monstrous and impracticable duty of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent, [Stat. Dav. II, cc. 32, 33, 35, 37] which, if it operated at all, could only have the effect of raising the prices of foreign merchandize upon the Scottish consumer.

1348, January 15<sup>th</sup>—The merchants and others complained to the parliament of England, that all the tin of Cornwall was bought and exported by Tidman of Limburgh, and no Englishman could get any of it: therefor they prayed that it might be freely sold to all merchants. But they received for answer, that it was a profit belonging to the prince, and every lord might make his profit of his own. Another petition was also presented, praying for a repeal of the new customs upon woollen manufactures exported, viz. 14<sup>d</sup> upon every cloth, 1<sup>d</sup> upon every worsted cloth, and 10<sup>d</sup> upon every lit (probably litted, or dyed) cloth, exported by English merchants, which were half as much more upon those exported by foreigners. But the parliament thought it reasonable, that those goods should pay in proportion to what the quantity of wool worked up in them would pay, if exported in a raw state, and refused to repeal the duties. The exportation of home-made woollen cloths thus appears to have become already an object of some importance. The commons in parliament also represented, that the duty imposed in the preceding year, without their consent, for the protection of ships, which was to be paid only till Michaelmas, was still continued, and they petitioned that it should cease. The duty upon wool was, however, still continued. The convoy duty was afterwards fixed by the king, peers, and prelates, *with consent of the merchants*, at one shilling per sack; and the money was ordered to be paid into the hands of some merchants, who thereupon undertook to maintain a sufficient force upon the sea, and to convoy the merchants safe to the staple. In a second session, held in Lent, grievous complaints were made, that, though the convoy duty

\* He had no small number of houses to let; for, of the former inhabitants, only one priest and two lawyers were permitted to remain. Thirty-six merchants from London were the most opulent

members of the new colony. [Meyer: Ann. Flandrie, f. 151 a.]

† At this time £1 : 2 : 6 of English money, was only equal to £1 : 1 : 0 of Scottish. See the tables of money in the appendix.

was exacted, the trade was not protected, many merchants having lost their lives and properties by the enemy upon the sea. The commons therefor requested, that those who had undertaken the protection of the trade might be obliged to make satisfaction to the sufferers. About four years afterwards they petitioned for a total abolition of this new duty; but they were refused. And it came in time to be firmly established under the well-known denomination of tunnage and poundage\*. [*Cotton's Abridgement of records*, pp. 56, 57, 63, 75.]

February 14<sup>th</sup>—The Flemings, having again got the staple among themselves, took upon them to hinder the Lombards and others from purchasing the wool carried thither by the merchants of England. Their conduct being complained of, the king wrote to the magistrates of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, requiring them to respect the liberties of the staple, and to permit the Lombards and others to buy wool from the English merchants, and to carry it by land or water whithersoever they pleased. [*Fædera*, V. v, p. 611.]

April 5<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, in order to promote the prosperity of his new colony at Calais, ordained that it should be a staple for tin, lead, feathers, English-made woollen cloths, and worsted stuffs, for seven years: and he ordered, that the exporters of those articles should make oath before the collectors of the customs, that they would carry them to no other place. [*Fædera*, V. v, p. 618.]

September—So earnest was King Edward to obtain an alliance with Alfonso king of Castile, the most powerful of the sovereigns of Spain, that he kept up a correspondence of several years with him, and also with his counselors, the master of his genet horses, and Leonora de Gusman his concubine, for the purpose of contracting a marriage between Alfonso's oldest son † and his own daughter Joanna, which was at last agreed upon in June 1345, and the portion fixed at the enormous sum of *four hundred thousand gold florins of the shield* ‡, Edward professing, however, that he expected some abatement of the sum, and a long indulgence of time for completing the payment. But this conjugal alliance, the labour of six years, never took place. The young princess was sent to Bourdeaux upon her way to the court of Castile; and there she fell sick, and death delivered her from being one of the wives of

\* This later sentence I conceive to be inserted by Sir Robert Cotton, or his editor, Prynne.

† Born in August 1334. His name appears to have been unknown in England till August 1345, when it is first mentioned in *Fædera*, V. v, p. 476. Neither do Edward or his secretaries seem to have known that the princess and her intended husband were so nearly related, that a dispensation would be necessary to legitimate their marriage. What

is still more surprising, Edward wrote a letter in July 1355 to Alfonso, who had been dead above five years. [*Fædera*, V. v, p. 821.]

‡ The sum was equal to £80,000 sterling, each florin being worth four shillings. (See *Fædera*, V. v, p. 485.) But the kings of England and France were bidding auction for the marriage of Alfonso's heir.

Peter the Cruel\*. [*Fadera, V. v, pp. 334, 383, 410, 414, 422, 423, 425, 426, 428, 434, 461, 476, 638.*]

In the course of this negotiation many civilities passed between the two courts; and Alfonso, understanding that Edward had given orders to purchase a Spanish genet horse for him, prevented the purchase, and sent him a pair as a present.

It was probably also during this negotiation (for, though the fact is unquestionable, the year is not known) and perhaps in compensation for the ships sent to the siege of Calais, or in part of payment of the marriage portion, that Alfonso received a flock of sheep from England, of the number of which we can only judge from more than one vessel of the large kind, called carracks, being employed to carry them over. Of their importance in the eye of their new master we may judge by his appointment of a man of rank to be judge over the shepherds employed in the care of the *royal flocks*. And thus, by a great and signal breach of the law, or order, against their exportation, was the breed of English sheep naturalized in Spain, which has since become the market for the finest wool in Europe †.

The manufacturers of worsted stuffs in Norfolk were put under the inspection of an ulnator, or measurer, soon after they obtained the king's

\* He had three wives living at once. See *Dillon's Hist. of Peter the Cruel, V. ii, p. 124.*

† That Spain received sheep from England in the fifteenth century, has been asserted by Holinshed, [*Chronicle, p. 221, ed. 1586*] (who, however, knew nothing of this cargo) and by others, apparently following him; but it has been more generally disbelieved. It is indeed certain, that the Spaniards had a very excellent breed of sheep in the time of Strabo, and probably long before and after his time. (See above, p. 128.) It is also certain, that some Spanish wool was imported into England in the reign of Henry II, but it is not easy to guess for what purpose, as the quality of it was evidently inferior to that of English wool; and England was so far from needing to import wool, that that article then, and during many succeeding ages, composed the chief part of the exports of the country. (See above, pp. 345, 347, &c. &c.) But that the Spaniards were desirous of obtaining sheep of the English breed, and actually did obtain a considerable number of them, is now certain, beyond a possibility of doubt, from a most curious Spanish letter, of which the following is an extract.

‘ Pedro Lafo said, in the king's presence, that Gomez Carillo was son to one of the king's gentlemen or pages, and grandson to King Don Enrique's chief cup-bearer, who was son of Lope Carillo, gentleman and chief huntsman to Don Juan the First, and that he was not son of a judge over shepherds. This was said as a sneer,

‘ for Juan Sanchez de Tovar is descended from Fernan Sanchez de Tovar judge of the royal flocks of sheep and folds. Fernan Sanchez de Berlanga answered, in the king's presence, that he understood the sarcasm, but that it was ill aimed, and might be retorted upon himself; for that Fernan Sanchez, whom he reproached as a judge over shepherds, was his equal; and that the office of judge and alcade of the royal flocks was always held by gentlemen of rank. That King Alfonso, when he first brought sheep from England in great ships, (‘ in naves carracas’) appointed Inigo Lopez de Orozco to be the first person to exercise that office, from whom Pedro Lafo himself was descended on the part of his mother, and now, being informed that himself was descended from a judge over shepherds, he might mock at his pleasure. Written from Medina del Campo, A. D. 1437.’ [*Epistol. de Giddareah, p. 126, a book seemingly almost entirely unknown in this country.*] For this most important extract, we are indebted to the elaborate and benevolent research of Sir Frederic Eden. See his *State of the Poor, V. i, p. 88.*

Alfonso XI became king of Castile in the year 1312, when he was only thirteen months old, and he died on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March 1350. As Edward II was dead long before he came of age, we need not hesitate to ascribe the exportation of the sheep to Edward III; and one or other of the occasions mentioned in the text may be assumed for fixing the date with a tolerable approach to certainty.

patent, as already related: but, on their petition to the king, that office was this year abolished. [*Rot. pat. prim. 3 Edw. III, m. 1; and prim. 22, m. 4.—Cotton's Abridgement, p. 71.*]

The contracted spirit of corporation monopoly so far prevailed against the acts of parliament of the years 1335 and 1337 and the king's resolution to cherish the woollen manufacture, that the weavers of Lincoln this year obtained from him a grant of, what they called, their *liberties*, which consisted in a power of depriving any weaver, not of their gild, of the liberty of working at his trade within twelve leagues of their city; a pretty ample scope for the exercise of petty tyranny. [*Rot. pat. sec. 22 Edw. III, m. 22.*] But this and other such monopolies were again abolished by the act, called the statute of cloths, in the year 1351.

This year there were great commotions in Flanders among the weavers. Six hundred of them were slain in a skirmish; and those who remained at home were dragged out of their houses and murdered. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f. 154 a.*] Such tragical excesses must undoubtedly have been very prejudicial to the manufactures of Flanders, and contributed to spread them through the adjacent countries. Though we do not meet with any formal letters of safe conduct at this time, there can scarcely be any doubt that some of the Flemish weavers now availed themselves of the general encouragement held out to them in England, and sheltered themselves there from the fury of their enemies.

1349, May 19<sup>th</sup>—The drapers of Barcelona, probably as being among the most substantial of the citizens, carried on the business of banking or changing money in that city, as the goldsmiths in an after age did in London. But, by an order of the king of Aragon, they were now obliged to give sufficient security, before they could enter upon those branches of business. [*Capmany, Mem. hist. de Barcelona, V. ii, Col. dipl. p. 125.*]

1350—The long-projected marriage with Peter, now king of Castile, being frustrated by the death of the English princess, and the young monarch being connected with the court of France by a contract of marriage, the maritime towns of Castile and Biscay fitted out a number of large warlike vessels, which took a vast number of English traders with cargoes of wine and wool. Emboldened by the success of their depredations, they collected a large fleet, and arrogantly assuming the title of *lords of the English sea*, threatened to destroy the navy of England and to invade the kingdom. It became necessary to appoint convoys to protect the English trade; and the king, with the advice of the prelates, nobles, and *community of merchants of the maritime towns* of England, ordained, that a duty of forty pennies sterling should be laid upon every tun of wine shipped in Gascoigne onboard any vessel belonging to England, Wales, or Ireland, for whatever country bound, or onboard any foreign vessel bound for England, Wales, or Ireland, as a fund for de-

fraying the expence (October 20<sup>th</sup>). King Edward, moreover, thinking such an enemy sufficiently important to be opposed by himself, collected a fleet, with which he engaged the Spaniards near Winchelsea, and, chiefly by the superiority of the English archers, gained a complete victory, took twenty-four large vessels richly loaded with Flemish cloth and other goods, and put the rest to flight. Thus did Edward a second time triumph upon that element, which is the appropriate theatre of British warfare. [*Fædera*, V. v, pp. 679, 681, 688, 691.—*R. de Avesbury*, p. 184.—*Murim. contin.* p. 102\*.]

This year 1,350 vessels sailed from Bourdeaux, loaded with 13,429 tuns of wine, being nearly 100 tuns in each vessel on an average, and paid £5,104:16:0 Bourdeloise money in duties [*Record in the exchequer in London*, quoted in *Mem. de litterature*, V. xxxvii, p. 350].

The king granted to the burgessees of Newcastle upon Tyne the right of digging coals and stones in the Castle-field and the Frith, both adjacent to their town † [*Rot. pat. tertia* 24 *Edw. III*, m. 6].

1351—King Edward, distressed by the debts he had incurred in his chimerical attempt to conquer France, and desirous of paying his creditors with less money than he had borrowed, had ordered *two hundred and sixty-six pennies* to be made out of the pound of standard silver in the year 1344: and in 1346 he further diminished the money by making *two hundred and seventy pennies* out of a pound. By these alterations his own, and all other, creditors were defrauded, at first of about a tenth, and afterwards a ninth, part of their property ‡; and the whole body of

\* The historians here quoted date the battle on the 24<sup>th</sup> of July, on which day the king was at Westminster. Later historians have other dates, and make the number of prizes twenty-six.

† It appeared afterwards by an inquest, that the lands called the Castle-field and Castle-moor, adjacent to Newcastle, had belonged to the town from time immemorial, but had not been expressly granted by any charter: therefor the king in May 1357 confirmed to the corporation the property of those lands; and, in consideration of their sufferings by the plague and other calamities, which disabled them from paying their annual fee-farm of £100, he gave them a right to dig coals and stones in those lands, without making any mention of this previous grant, which, for ought I can see, is *the first* wherein any notice of coal or stone, as belonging to the corporation of Newcastle, is found.

This observation becomes necessary, because it has been asserted, that the burgessees of Newcastle were warranted by royal authority to dig coal and stone in the Castle-field so early as in the reign of King John. But in the very ample charter given them by that king there are no such words, as I have found upon examining an *inspecimus* charter

of Richard II in the Tower [*Rot. pat. quint.* 1 *Ric. II*, m. 1], which contains charters to Newcastle by the following kings, viz. John, in his 17<sup>th</sup> year, with reference to some possessions of the corporation in the time of Henry II, but without a word of coals or the Castle-field; Henry III, in his 18<sup>th</sup> and 36<sup>th</sup> years; Edward I, in his 22<sup>d</sup> year; and Edward III in his 31<sup>st</sup> year (A. D. 1357), without any mention of this one in his 24<sup>th</sup> year. It is certain, however, that coals were dug in the neighbourhood of Newcastle and shipped from that port in earlier times, as appears by the Chartulary of Tinemouth, quoted in *Brand's Hist. of Newcastle* (see above, pp. 497, 504, and also 395): about the year 1364 we find some leases of coal mines near Gateshead (the Southwark of Newcastle) by the bishop of Durham confirmed by the king [*Rot. pat. sec.* 38 *Edw. III*, m. 26]: and in the county of Cumberland we find coal mines belonging to the priory of Carlisle in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Edward I [*Rot. pat. prim.* 5 *Edw. III*, m. 8].

‡ It may be observed, that King Edward, in his manifesto to the people of France in the year 1340, assured them, that he would not seek his own lucre by making any change in the money, when he should be received as their king, [*Fædera*,  
era,

the people, especially those of the lower classes, were further distressed by the nominal, and partly real, rise in the prices of all the necessaries of life. They do not seem, however, to have made any attempt to obtain compensation for the diminution of their incomes till after a dreadful pestilence, which originated in the Oriental regions, and began its ravages in England in the year 1348, and is said to have carried off the greatest part of the people, especially in the lower ranks of life\*. Then the surviving labourers took the advantage of the demand for labour and the scarcity of hands to raise their prices. The king, by the advice of the prelates, nobles, and others, thereupon enacted the *Statute of labourers*, which ordained, that all men and women under sixty years of age, whether of free or servile condition, having no occupation or property, should serve any person by whom they should be required, and should receive only the wages which were usual before the year 1346, or in the five or six preceding years, on pain of imprisonment, the employers being also punishable for giving greater wages. Artificers were also prohibited from demanding more than the old wages †; and butchers, bakers, brewers, and other dealers in provisions, were ordered to sell them at *reasonable* prices. [*Stat.* 23 † *Edw.* III.]

The 'servants, having no regard to the said ordinance, but to their 'ease and singular covetise,' refused to serve great men and others, unless for higher wages than the law allowed. Therefore the parliament by another statute fixed the yearly and daily wages of agricultural servants, artificers, and labourers, the payment for threshing corn by the quarter, and even the price of shoes, &c. § They also forbade any person to leave the town in summer, wherein he had dwelt in the winter, or to remove from one shire to another. [*Stat.* 1, 25 *Edw.* III.] Thus were the lower classes of the people debarred by laws, which in their own nature must be inefficient, from making any effort to improve their situa-

*era*, V. v, pp. 159, 164] apparently glancing a reflection upon the kings of France, who had done an incredible injury to their country by such erroneous avarice, which Le Blanc, the historian of French money, assigns as a main cause of the victories of the English in France.

\* Most of the historians say, that scarcely a tenth part of the people survived. Perhaps we ought to make a large allowance for exaggeration in their narratives, wherein they make attempts at being poetical. The most moderate accounts state that above half of the people perished, and Hume supposes one third, a more probable estimate. Stow says that few noblemen died; and though I do not see his authority, unless it be the words 'paucis divitibus duntaxat exceptis' in Avesbury, [p. 178 *ed. Hearne*] he may generally be trusted; as he wrote with great fidelity (though too often without quoting) and had the use of some manu-

scripts, which have never been published. The conduct of the labourers seems also to infer, that rather a greater proportion of them than of their employers had been cut off.

† In a supplement to the act, made by the king, the inferior clergy were also included.

‡ By a note in the margin of the printed statutes, the date of this one appears to be doubtful. It was as probably in the 24<sup>th</sup> year of the king's reign. For a good account of the many similar laws which followed this one, and of the political consequences of them, see Sir Frederic Eden's *State of the poor*, V. i, p. 31.

§ In the year 1355 the mayor and shireffs of London, with two persons sent by the king, were desired to compel the armourers of London to sell armour at *reasonable* prices. [*Fadera*, V. v, p. 817.]

tion in life. From these ill-judged laws, however, we learn a most important fact, that a great portion of the lower class of the people were now emancipated from bondage, and earning their bread by independent industry.

It being evident to every person, who was willing and capable to think, that the evil proceeded more from the defalcations of the money than the scarcity or perverseness of labourers \*, the parliament enacted, that no further diminution should be made in the weight or quality of the money, but, on the contrary, it should be restored as soon as possible to the antient weight. [*Stat. 5, 25 Edw. III, c. 13.*] However, William Edington bishop of Winchester fell upon a fresh device, whereby, he thought, the deception would be less perceptible, which was to introduce a new kind of silver money much larger than a penny, which was called a gros or groat, and the king ordered, (June 21<sup>st</sup>) that it should be current for four pennies †, though it weighed scarcely more than three pennies and a half of his diminished money ‡. The immediate consequence was a further rise in the nominal prices of the necessaries of life, and another consequence, naturally following the first, was an increase of cunning and fraudulent tricks among workmen and artificers. Edward, nevertheless, urged by the pressure of his accumulated debts, and having tasted, what he supposed, the advantage of making a great quantity of money out of a small quantity of silver, proceeded in the year 1353 to make seventy-five groats, or *three hundred pennies, (twenty-five shillings)* from the pound of silver, which till the later end of his grandfather's reign had never been coined into

\* As the pestilence diminished the number of employers as well as labourers, though perhaps rather in a less degree, the demand for labour could not be very much greater than before, and would have probably had no effect upon the rate of wages, if the proportion between money and food had continued the same. But, however strange it may seem, the king, the parliament (except in this one instance) and the writers of the age, acted and wrote, as if they thought it was equal to the labourers, if they had their *number* of pennies, whether they were heavy or light. Could they possibly be ignorant, that the diminution of the money, and the consequent alteration in the price of necessaries, robbed these poor people of about a quarter of their incomes?

† On this occasion a proclamation, or manifesto, was issued by the king, wherein he sets forth, that, finding the money of England was exported on account of its being *too heavy*, he had ordained, for the profit of himself and his people, to coin gold money of such impression as the former, and a new kind of silver money, which should be called a gros of the value of four pennies, and also a half gros. He orders all persons to receive his

new money in payment of their old debts. And, because the money of England is forged, clipped, and carried out of the kingdom, by the Lombards and others, he strictly commands, that no person except those appointed by himself, shall presume to deal in changing money, on penalty of forfeiture of the money changed; and that no person shall carry out of the kingdom any gold or silver, coined or uncoined, except only the new (light) money. [*Fadera, V. v, p. 708.*] It is very strange indeed, if Edward did not know, that foreign merchants would pay no attention to the nominal value he might be pleased to put upon his coins, and in setting prices upon their goods would only consider the quantity of real gold or silver, which they would be allowed to carry home.

I have called the groat a new kind of money in compliance with the king's proclamation and the writers of that age, though I have already showed, (p. 432) that some such pieces were coined by King Edward I.

‡ Fabyan says, the silver of the new groats wanted  $\frac{2}{5}$  in the pound of the old standard quality.

more than *twenty shillings* \*. [*Folkes on coins*, p. 11.—*Fædera*, V. v, p. 708.—*Murim. contin.* p. 103.]

February—The parliament enacted, what is called *the Statute of cloths*, whereby it was ordained, that the aulneger, (called elsewhere ulnator) or inspector of cloths, should be sworn to do his duty, and should be punished if he neglected it.—The act of the year 1335, for abolishing the restraints of corporation charters and giving perfect freedom to all traders, natives or foreigners, in every part of the kingdom, was renewed †; and they were declared free to sell, either in wholesale or retail, in London or any other city, burgh, or town of England, ‘notwithstanding any franchises, grants, or custom used, or any other things done to the contrary, sithence that *such usages and franchises be to the common prejudice of the king and his people.*’ The mayors and other public officers were ordered to abstain from interfering in the sale of provisions.—Forestallers were made liable to forfeiture of the value of the goods or provisions forestalled, or to imprisonment for two years.—All wears, kidells, mills, or other erections, by which the navigation of rivers was obstructed, were ordered to be removed ‡. [*Stat.* 4, 25 *Edw. III.*] The parliament abolished a kind of weight called *auncell*, and ordained wool and other wares to be weighed by the beam. They also ordered, that all measures of capacity should be agreeable to the king’s standard; that the quarter of corn should contain eight bushels; and that all corn should be sold by striked measure, excepting that paid in rent, which should be according to the former usage. [*Stat.* 5, 25 *Edw. III.*, cc. 9, 10.]

The people were allowed to make exchanges of money for mutual accommodation: but no one was permitted to take any profit upon such exchanges, that emolument being reserved to the king’s exchange. [*Stat.* 5, 25 *Edw. III.*, c. 12.]

August 1<sup>st</sup>—The quarrel with Spain, or rather with the seamen of the north coast of Spain §, was terminated by a truce, which was to last twenty years. It was agreed that neither party should do any injury to the other, or give any assistance to their enemies. The mariners and merchants of both countries were to have full liberty of sailing with their vessels, great or small, loaded with merchandize of any kind whatsoever, or going by land, to the ports or cities of each country,

\* The diminutions of the money by Edward III are mentioned here, only on account of their connection with the statute of labourers and their consequence. All the alterations of the money will be found in one clear view in the appendix.

† That is to say, the parliament enacted, that it should be ‘holden, kept, and maintained.’ As the former act was not made for a limited time, and consequently could not expire, it does not ap-

pear, what strength this could have, that the other had not.

‡ The owners, by bribes, or by favour, got them all permitted to remain. [*Walsingham*, p. 170.]

§ One copy of the treaty was in the possession of the *maritime towns* of Castile and Biscay, and another remained with the king of England and France. [*Fædera*, V. v, p. 719.]

or of any other country. Guardians were to be appointed to attend to the observation of the truce, to punish transgressors, and to give redress to the parties injured within two months. Spanish property found onboard any vessel taken by the English should be restored to the owners, and in like manner English property should be respected by Spanish captors. And the Spanish fishermen were permitted to come freely and safely to fish in the ports of England and Bretagne, paying the duties and customs \*. [*Fœdera, V. v, p. 717.*]

September 4<sup>th</sup>—The merchants of Scotland had now attained such a degree of respectability, that their oaths and securities were required by King Edward, along with those of the prelates, lords, and other principal subjects of Scotland, for the performance of some articles, of the nature of which we are not informed. [*Fœdera, V. v, p. 723.*]

It was this year ordained, that the same measures and weights should be used in Ireland that were used in England. [*Rot. pat. sec. 25 Edw. III, m. 14.*]

1352—The Genoese colony of Pera, in the pride of their commercial prosperity, had assumed the sovereignty of the Black sea, insulted the adjacent capital of the feeble sovereigns of the Roman world, and burnt two of the five galleys, which constituted the imperial navy. Afterwards, without any exertion, they defeated a fleet of seven galleys and some smaller vessels, which the emperor had collected and sent against them; and with equal ease they repulsed his military forces from their walls (spring 1349), and compelled him to cede a tract of land, which they found useful to themselves. The war between the obstinate rival republics of Venice and Genoa † being renewed, a fleet of galleys from Chio, an island lately subjected to the dominion of Genoa by a fleet of privateers, took the town of Negropont and the island of Cia from the Venetians. The later thereupon made an alliance with the Catalans: and the emperor of Constantinople, provoked by a fresh insult of his Genoese neighbours at Pera, acceded as a humble ally to those powerful maritime states, and added his fleet of *eight* galleys to *sixty-seven* vessels of war, which they sent into the narrow strait between Asia and Europe. There, before the walls of Constantinople and Pera, they were encountered by *sixty-four* Genoese vessels, stronger and larger than theirs. The allies lost fourteen Venetian, ten Catalan, and two Greek, vessels; the Genoese lost only thirteen, and claimed the victory (9<sup>th</sup> March, 1352) ‡.

\* Such a licence must have been an excellent cover for smuggling.

† I have not thought it necessary to stain these pages with the recital of all the battles between the fleets of Venice and Genoa, which were conducted with a sanguinary ferocity that would disgrace the traditional songs of the most savage tribes of America or New Zealand.

‡ Stella reckons *about* 45 Venetian, 30 Catalan, 14 Greek, and only 60 Genoese, vessels: and other writers have other numbers. Stella says that the Greeks declined the battle, and the Genoese had a complete victory. I have followed Nicephorus Gregoras, who seems the most impartial relator of the events of this war.

After the engagement the Venetians and Catalans abandoned their imperial ally, who found himself obliged to grant an increase of commercial privileges to his Genoese vassals, who were rather his masters, and to exclude all rival traders from his port. [*Nic. Gregor. L. xvii, cc. 1-7.*—*Stella, ap. Muratori Script. V. xvii, coll. 1088-1092.*]

July 25<sup>th</sup>—Alfonso king of Portugal had given a general protection to Englishmen in his dominions; and King Edward in return gave a general protection to the merchants of that kingdom for trading in England, and at the same time gave particular letters of protection to the commanders of seven vessels, four of them belonging to Lisbon, and the others apparently to Oporto. [*Fædera, V. v, pp. 740, 741, and see p. 756.*]

September 4<sup>th</sup>—The city of Pifa has not for some time furnished any materials for commercial history. It appears, however, that the Pisans had some trade with the western parts of Europe, most probably Flanders, the knowledge of which is owing to a depredation committed upon a ship belonging to them in the port of Sandwich. When they sent to demand redress and to propose a friendly intercourse, the king answered, that their merchants trading to England should enjoy his protection, and be treated like his own subjects. [*Fædera, V. v, p. 743.*]

After Arteville the famous brewer of Ghent, the most zealous partizan of King Edward in Flanders, was slain in a tumult, the king's interest in that country declined, and many of his adherents were banished. These he invited (25<sup>th</sup> September, 1351) to settle in England or his other dominions, and to carry on their merchandize or other business under his protection. This year he gave another very ample grant of liberties, more particularly to the manufacturers of cloth settling in England, who were, no doubt, others of his Flemish friends, also driven out of their country for their attachment to him. [*Fædera, V. v, p. 727.*—*Rot. pat. prim. 26 Edw. III, m. 21.*]

The staple was scarcely ever allowed to remain long enough in one place to give time to the merchants to form their arrangements agreeable to the latest establishment of it. This year \* it was removed from Flanders, and fixed at Westminster and other places in England (August 2<sup>d</sup>), which was a great hardship upon the foreign merchants, but a great advantage to the king, who thereupon had £1,102 more than his predecessors †. [*R. de Avesbury, p. 194.*—*Knyghton, col. 2606.*]

1353, September—The king and parliament, considering the great damage which had arisen from the staple being held out of the kingdom, now determined that the staple for wool, hides, wool-fells, and

\* Stow [*Survey of London, p. 841, ed. 1618*] says, that in the year 1351 the king fixed the staple of wool to be *only* at Canterbury, for the honour of St. Thomas. Quere, if a mistake?

† Knyghton mentions no other place than Westminster, and the sum stated by him seems to have been an increase arising from the business done at that staple.

lead, the produce of England, Wales, and Ireland, should be held *for ever* in the following places, and no others, viz. for England in Newcastle upon Tine, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, and Bristol; for Wales at Carmarthen; and for Ireland at Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda. All staple goods were ordained to be brought to some one of these towns, where every sack and every farpler of wool, after being fairly weighed in the presence of the officers of the customs\*, were to be marked, and the quantity attested under the seal of the mayor of the staple, previous to being shipped. The goods from the staple at York were to be shipped at Hull, those from Lincoln at Boston, from Norwich at Yarmouth, from Westminster at London, from Canterbury at Sandwich, and from Winchester at Southampton, and they were to be weighed again by the officers of the customs at those ports. The customs payable by denizens were fixed at 6/8 for a sack of wool, 6/8 for 300 wool-fells, 20s for a half last of hides, and 3d per pound of the value for lead. The natives of England, Wales, and Ireland, were most strictly prohibited, under penalty of death and forfeiture of all their property of whatever nature, from exporting any staple goods, having agents abroad for attending the sale of staple goods, or being in the smallest degree interested, directly or indirectly, in the sale of them abroad, or even receiving payment abroad for what they sold at home. Nay, the king even tied up himself and his heirs from ever granting licences to any English, Welsh, or Irish, merchants for exporting such goods, and declared, that, if he should grant any such licences, they should be null, and should not protect the exporters from the penalties of the law. But merchant strangers might carry them whithersoever they pleased, being only bound by oath to hold no staple in foreign countries. In order to replenish the kingdom with gold, silver, and foreign merchandize, full liberty was granted to all merchants, from countries not at war with the king, to sell their goods at the staple towns, or any other places, without being oppressed by purveyors forcibly taking any part of their property for the use of the king, or any prelates, lords, or ladies. All merchants, natives, or strangers, might buy staple goods in any part of the kingdom, provided they carried them to the staple. Carriers, having certificates from the mayors of the staples that they were employed in carrying staple goods, were exempted, together with their carts, beasts, and boats, from being taken to serve the king or any other person, saving the king's antient right of royal prises of carriages and victuals. The king's judges were debarred from taking cognizance of any matters within the province of the mayors and ministers of the staples. The officers of the king's household were also prohibited from executing their office in any

\* 'Noz customers.' In the beginning of the eighteenth century *customers* signified in English an officer of the customs; but it would now convey a very different meaning.

house in the staple towns, occupied by the merchants, their servants, or the staple goods. The mayors and constables of the staples had jurisdiction over all persons concerned in the business of the staples in the towns wherein they were held and their suburbs; and their proceedings in all matters of debt or contract concerning the staples were regulated by the merchant law, and not by the common law, or the customs of the towns. In trials, if both parties were natives, the juries were to consist of natives; if foreigners, of foreigners; and if one was a native and the other a foreigner, the jury was to be composed equally of natives and foreigners. In order to give validity to contracts, the mayors of the staples were directed to attest them under their seals of office, and to charge one halfpenny for every contract under £100, and one penny for every one above that sum. If the debtor failed to make payment when due, the mayor was to imprison him and arrest his property, if within his jurisdiction, and to deliver it, or the proceeds of it when sold, to the creditor to the amount of the debt. If no property of the debtor were to be found within the mayor's jurisdiction, he was then to certify it in the chancery, from which warrants should be issued against the debtor and his property according to the statute of merchants\*. The uniformity of weights and measure was *again* enjoined under severe penalties. All merchants, denizens, or aliens, had liberty to sell their wines and other merchandize, by wholesale or retail, in the staples, burghs, towns, and sea-ports: but no person was allowed to bargain for any goods before they were landed. No person, native or foreigner, was permitted to carry wool, hides, or wool-fells, to Berwick upon Tweed †, or any other part of Scotland, or to sell them to any native of Scotland, or to any person who would carry them to that kingdom, under the pain of death and forfeiture. If any goods were plundered on the sea and brought into the kingdom, they were to be returned to the merchant, who could prove them to be his property. Goods thrown on the shore by shipwreck were also to be restored to the lawful owners, on paying a reasonable salvage, to be rated by the shirrefs or bailifs of the place. All merchants, bringing gold or silver in coin or bullion into the kingdom, might receive the value of them in current money at the king's exchanges, to be established at the staples and elsewhere. No one was permitted to carry out *old* sterling, or any other money, except merchant strangers, who might carry back such part of their own money as they had not laid out. All false money became forfeited to the king. In every staple town certain streets or places were to be appropriated for storing wool and other staple goods; and reasonable rents were to be fixed upon the houses by the mayor and constables of the

\* For the statute of merchants see above, p. 439.

† Berwick was then in the hands of the English. But the king was not willing to trust English wool in the hands of the inhabitants.

staple with four of the principal inhabitants of the town. *All foreign merchants* were now relieved from the gross oppression of being made liable for the debts, and even the crimes, of other foreigners \*. But the king reserved to himself the right of granting letters of marque against any foreign prince or people, by whom his subjects should be injured: and in case of a war breaking out, the merchants of the hostile country should have a notice of forty days, or even more if necessary, to leave the country, and perfect freedom to sell, or carry away, their property. There being less resort of foreign merchants to Ireland and Wales than to England, the merchants of those countries were allowed to carry their staple goods to any staple in England; and their cockets, testifying that they had paid the customs in their own country, should clear them, and the purchasers of their goods, from any further demand. Any person shipping staple goods in Ireland or Wales, or any part of the coast of England, for a staple port in England, and carrying them to a foreign port, was condemned to death and forfeiture of property. No person was liable to lose his property for any action of his servant, done without his authority. Immediate justice was ordered to be done in all matters, wherein transient merchants were concerned, agreeable to the former usage of staples. A person, well skilled in the merchant law, was to be elected annually for the office of mayor of each staple by the native and foreign merchants of the place, and also two constables. The administration of justice in all matters concerning the staple being in the hands of the mayors and constables, particular prisons were assigned to them for the confinement of offenders; and the mayors, shirrefs, and bailiffs, of the towns; and lords of the adjacent country, were enjoined to assist the magistrates of the staple on their requisition. A certain number of men of experience and respectable character, strangers as well as natives, were appointed in each staple town as correctors, to whom all persons might apply, if they chose it, to have their bargains registered, agreeable to the former usage of staples: and they were not to be concerned in trade during their office. The mayors and constables were to make oath in the chancery, that they would faithfully discharge the duties of their offices. All merchants, natives or foreigners, trading at any of the staples, were to swear to the mayor and constables, that they would pay obedience to the laws of the staple; and the porters, packers, winders and other labourers and officers in the service of the staple, were to swear to do their business honestly. The foreign merchants were directed to elect two of their number, one for the south parts of England and the other for the north, who might sit along with the mayors and constables of the staples to judge any cause, whenever they thought proper, in order to take care that justice

\* Several relaxations of the rigour of this execrable law or custom to particular communities of foreigners have already been noticed.

should be done to foreigners. In case they could not agree upon the decision, they were to refer the cause to the chancellor and the king's council, by whom it should be determined without delay. Two Germans, two Lombards, and two Englishmen, were to be elected to do immediate justice in all complaints of the quality or weight of wool being contrary to bargain. The foreign merchants having complained of oppressions and delay at the ports, contrary to the charter of Edward I, (*see above*, p. 469) the shirrefts, mayors, and bailifs, were threatened with imprisonment and fine, if they acted contrary to that charter. All the privileges of the staples were confirmed, though they might interfere with the franchises and privileges claimed by cities, burghs, the Cinque ports, or other corporations, or individuals, saving to the prelates, dukes, earls, barons, and other lords, their fairs, markets, hundreds, wapentakes, &c. In the former year the mayors of the staple had levied 8*d* upon every sack of wool for themselves: but the wool brought to London being nearly equal to what was carried to all the other ports in the kingdom, and the quantities carried to the other staples being exceedingly unequal, it was now ordained that the mayors of all the staples should have regular fixed salaries \*, as the mayor of the staple used to have when it was held upon the continent, and that only 4*d* should be charged upon every sack as a general fund for the payment of all the salaries †. [*Stat. 2, 27 Edw. III.*]

The lords and commons represented to the king, that the seizure of cloths, on account of their varying from the statute lengths and breadths ‡, was such a hardship upon the foreign importers, that many of them had given up the trade; wherefor they prayed, that the goods seized might be restored for a reasonable recompense. The king granted their request, and enacted, that uniform lengths in cloth should no longer be required, but that his aulneger should mark the measure upon every cloth, and the seller should make a due allowance for defective measure. The aulneger was intitled to receive a halfpenny for every cloth, and a farthing for every half cloth, from the seller; and he was not to mea-

\* The salaries were as follows.

Westminster	-	the mayor	£100	0	0	each constable	£13	6	8
Lincoln	-	-	26	13	4	-	6	13	4
York, Kingston upon Hull (which, however, is not a staple in the beginning of the statute), Norwich, Winchester, each	-	-	20	0	0	-	5	0	0
Newcastle, Chichester, Exeter, each	-	-	10	0	0	-	3	6	8

† I have been much fuller in my account of the statute of the staple than my predecessor Mr. Anderson, who, contrary to his usual custom, has crusted it into a few lines. But, as it exhibits a complete view, nowhere else to be found, of the system by which the principal branches of the commerce of the kingdom were conducted, it is surely well worthy of a more particular attention.

Many parts of it are curious and interesting to the students of manners, jurisprudence, and antiquities, and might supply abundant matter for ample comments, which shall, however, be left to the reflection of the reader.

‡ See above, p. 501. The statute breadth of the cloth of raze in this act is only six quarters. There is apparently an error in one of the acts.

sure any cloth till it was sold \*. The parliament granted the king a duty of 4*d* on every plain-coloured cloth, 5*d* on those dyed half in grain, 6*d* on scarlet cloths, and in proportion on half cloths; and they ordained that the cloths should be sealed by the collector to attest the payment of the duty before they could be exposed to sale. Those, who made cloth for clothing themselves and their retinue, were exempted from paying the duty †. [*Stat. 1, 27 Edw. III, c. 4.*]

English merchants were prohibited from engrossing or forestalling wines in Gascoigne, or making any previous bargain for them, on pain of death and forfeiture of property of every kind. The steward of Gascoigne and the constable of Bourdeaux were ordered to arrest all transgressors and send them to the Tower of London. Bourdeaux and Bayonne were declared the only lawful markets for wine. Gascons and other strangers were allowed to bring their wines freely to any port of England, the king's butler having, according to antient usage, a right to take wines for the king, to be paid for within forty days. All wines were to be gauged; and for those found short of the standard measure the seller was to make allowance to the buyer. [*Stat. 1, 27 Edw. III, cc. 5-8.*]

October 15<sup>th</sup>—King Edward gave his protection to the merchants and mariners of Catalonia, coming to England to purchase wool, hides, wool-fells, and lead, at the staples or elsewhere, and to carry them whithersoever they pleased, after having them duly troned (weighed) and cocketed, and paying the due customs and subsidy. [*Fœdera, V. v, p. 762.*]

October 20<sup>th</sup>—The merchants, mariners, and communities, of Lisbon and Oporto (the king of Portugal is not mentioned) having sent messengers to King Edward, in order to negotiate a firm alliance for the advantage of both sides, it was agreed upon, and its duration fixed to be *fifty years*. It was covenanted, that neither party should assist the enemies of the other; that the vessels of both parties should be free to carry all kinds of goods from any one country to any other country, and to enter into any port of either country. All by-past damages should be sunk in oblivion, and any future damages should be amicably settled by the lords or great men without any breach of the treaty. The property of the merchants of Lisbon or Oporto, found in any place or vessel taken by the English, should be restored to them, unless they were

\* We thus see, that it was the custom to sell cloths at so much per piece or half piece, and not by the yard. In the present day, when they are sold only by the yard, the lengths, though variable, still do not differ very much from the antient standard.

† By this exemption the duty on home-made cloths would be almost wholly evaded by those

who were best able to pay it, the great chiefs, who kept armies of idle ruffians in their livery. The exemption lets us know, that the duty extended to home-made cloths; and we must believe, that there were now dyers and finishers in England capable of producing scarlets and other grain colours.

assisting the enemy. Their fishermen were licenced (as those of Castile had already been) to fish in the harbours of England and Bretagne. [*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 763.]

November 20<sup>th</sup>—The highway between Temple-bar and Westminster being already rendered so deep and miry by the carts and horses carrying merchandize and provisions to the staple, that it was dangerous to pass upon it, the king required the proprietors of houses, in consideration of the improvement of their property by means of the staple being fixed at Westminster, to repair the road between their houses and the kennel under the inspection of the mayor and constables of the staple: and for the reparation of the main road between the two kennels, and also for the construction of a bridge\* intended for the accommodation of the merchants frequenting the staple, he directed that a toll should be taken for three years upon all goods carried to or from the staple, whether by land or water †. [*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 774.]

The last year, and also this one, were remarkable for great scarcity of the fruits of the earth and the fish of the sea, so that many things were raised to double price. The duke of Zeland gave some relief by sending over several cargoes of rye to London; and considerable quantities of corn were also imported from Ireland. [*Murim. contin.* p. 104. —*Stow's Ann.* p. 398.]

A Genoese fleet of sixty galleys was this year defeated, and forty-one of them taken, by the combined fleets of Catalonia and Venice consisting of eighty galleys (August 28<sup>th</sup>). The defeat was followed by keen dissensions among the Genoese, and the ruin of their independence. They deposed their duke, and offered the sovereignty of their state to John, archbishop and lord of Milan; [*Stella, ap. Muratori Script. V. xvii, col. 1092*] and from that time their commercial splendour, and their naval power, have continued to decline.

1354, April—The parliament enacted that no iron, whether made in England or imported, should be carried out of the country; and in order to prevent the price of iron from rising too high (a consequence surely not to be apprehended from the prohibition of exportation) the sellers were subjected to the controul of the justices appointed to take cognizance of the labourers. [*Stat. 28 Edw. III, c. 5.*]

Robberies were now more frequent than formerly (a necessary consequence of the continual war) and foreign merchants were more par-

\* Mr. Anderson doubted whether this bridge was intended to go across the river, or only to be a landing place. From the description of a bridge at the New temple, evidently a landing place or wharf, [*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 778] and from *Stow's Survey* [p. 894] it seems to have been the later.

† The tolls were  
for a sarpler of wool - - - - 3d  
300 wool-fells - - - - 3

for a last of hides	-	-	-	6d
a cart of lead	.	.	.	4
a tun of wine for sale	-	-	-	4
other goods for 20s in value	-	-	-	$\frac{1}{2}$

Goods, which paid in coming, were exempted in returning. We find by the patent rolls, that this pavage duty was renewed in the years 1356, 1358, 1359, 1360, &c. 5

ticularly the objects of plunder. The king, considering the advantage derived from the resort of those merchants, therefor ordained, that the inhabitants of the county, wherein the robbery was committed, should be bound to produce the robber, or make compensation to the party injured, within forty days. [*Stat. 28 Edw. III, c. 11.*]

In case of a vessel being driven into any port of England by stress of weather or other necessity, the master or merchants were permitted to sell a part of the cargo without being compelled to land, or pay custom for, any more than the goods sold. [*Stat. 28 Edw. III, c. 13.*]

A record, preserved in the exchequer, contains the following

*Account of the exports and imports of England in the year 1354, together with the amount of the customs paid upon them.*

There were exported

	Value.	Customs.
31,651½ sacks of wool - at £6	£189,909 0 0	
3,036 cwt (120 lb each) of wool 40s	6,072 0 0	
65 wool-fells - - -	1 1 8	
<hr/>		
Total value of wool and customs upon it	195,982 1 8	£81,624 1 1
Hides - - - - -	89 5 0	6 17 6
4,774½ pieces of cloth - 40s	9,549 0 0	} 215 13 7
8,061½ pieces of worsted stuff 16s/8	6,717 18 4	
<hr/>		
Total value of exports and customs	£212,338 5 0	£81,846 12 2

There were imported

1,831 pieces of fine cloth £6	£10,986 0 0	£97 12 0
397¾ cwt of wax - 40s	795 10 0	19 17 5
1,829½ tuns of wine - 40s	3,659 0 0	182 19 0
Linens, mercery, groceries, &c. amounting to - - - -	22,943 6 10	285 18 3
<hr/>		
Total value of imports and customs	£38,383 16 10	£586 6 8

The balance in favour of England thus appears to have been £173,954:8:2. But as tin, and lead, which have been standard articles of exportation from the earliest times, besides several other smaller articles, are entirely omitted in this record, there can be no doubt that the real balance was considerably larger.

\* Mr. Anderfon, and, before him, Sir William Temple, [*Observations on the Netherlands, p. 235, ed. 1693*] Doddsley, [*Preceptor, V. ii, p. 414*] and others, though they give only the totals, have strangely slumped the customs along with the value of the merchandize, as if they wished to make a delusive balance, which is thereby raised

£81,260:5:6 above the real amount resulting from the particulars.

I have not found the particulars of this account published by any writer besides Anderfon, who, however, says it is 'published in almost all the general histories of England;' a common way of evading accurate quotation.

This great balance, the exports amounting to almost six times the value of the imports, (and, as just observed, they probably amounted to much more) has been held out as a proof of the moderation and sobriety of the age. But when we look at the articles, and find that, of raw materials for manufactures which constitute so great a part of the modern imports, there was not one single article imported, and that, on the other hand, the exports consisted almost entirely of the most valuable raw materials, and of cloths in an unfinished state, which may therefor also be classed among raw materials, we must acknowledge that it affords only a proof of the low state of manufactures and of commercial knowledge among a people, who were obliged to allow foreigners to have the profit of manufacturing their own wool, and finishing their own cloths, and afterwards to repurchase both from them in the form of finished goods.

1355, January 20<sup>th</sup>—I have already related the purchase of the Roman empire by Didius Julian, and that of the kingdom of Mann and the Isles by Alexander III king of Scotland: and I have now to relate the purchase of the kingdom of Scotland by Edward III king of England, who for the absolute sovereignty and property of it gave Edward Balliol \* five thousand marks together with an annuity for his (Balliol's) life of two thousand pounds. [*Fœdera*, V. v, pp. 832-842.] But, though Edward purchased a whole kingdom for so small a price, yet, with all his prudence, he made a very bad bargain; for the seller was not able to *give* him possession; and he, with all his power and great military talents, was not able to *take* possession.

March 12<sup>th</sup>—At this time the warden of Scotland (the king was a prisoner in England) urged by the exigency of the public affairs, and imitating the pernicious and mistaken policy of the king of England, appears to have coined money, which, both in weight and quality, was inferior to that of England. King Edward thereupon informed the shirref of Northumberland, that the new money of Scotland, though of the same figure with the old, was not, like it, of equal weight and quality with the sterling money of England, and therefor ordered him to make proclamation within his jurisdiction, that the new Scottish money should be taken only for its value as bullion, and carried to the proper office to be exchanged for current money; but that the old money of Scotland (which since the year 1344 was considerably better than that of England) should still be current as formerly †. [*Fœdera*, V. v, p. 813.]

\* Balliol had been supported by Edward in the title of king of Scotland, as his feudal vassal, since the year 1332, and had acted as king of that country a few weeks.

† This deterioration, unknown to the historians

of England and Scotland, apparently lasted but a very short time; and the money must have been very little below the standard of the English, as it required a proclamation to put the people on their guard against it.

The Scottish pearls were still an article of exportation. They were esteemed in France, but not equally with those brought from India, as appears by the manuscript statutes of the goldsmiths of Paris of this year, wherein it is ordained, that no worker in gold or silver shall set any Scottish pearls along with Oriental ones, except in large jewels \* for churches (for which probably a sufficient quantity of Oriental pearls could not be obtained, or would be too expensive). [*Du Cange, Gloss. Lat. vo. Pearlæ.*]

This year Sir John de Mandeville returned to England from his peregrination of thirty-three years through Turkey, Armenia, Egypt, Africa, Syria, Arabia, Persia, Chaldæa, Ethiopia, Tartary, *Amazonia*, India, China, and many islands. His travels, or rather descriptions of countries, written by himself, inform us that the Venetian merchants frequently went to the island of Ormus in the Persian gulf, and sometimes even penetrated to Cambalu. He distinguishes Famagusta in Cyprus as one of the greatest ports in the world, wherein the merchants of almost all nations, Christians and pagans (Mohamedans), assembled. The shortest abridgement, that could be made, of his account of the countries of Asia would be tedious, as he has raked together all the fables accumulated in the course of ages, and, if we except the single notice respecting the considerable trade of Cyprus, gives scarcely any commercial information worth noticing †.

1357, Spring—The parliament now permitted English merchants, *as well as foreigners*, to export wool, hides, and wool-fells, to any country in amity with the king, from the 5<sup>th</sup> of May to the 29<sup>th</sup> of September ensuing, on paying a duty of 50*s* for every sack of wool, 50*s* for 300 wool-fells, and £5 for every last of hides. The buyers were prohibited from refusing any other parts of the wool than what used formerly to be rejected; and the sack was *again* ordained to contain exactly 364 pounds of the exchequer standard weight. All wool, fells, and hides, wherever bought, were ordered to be carried to a staple, and there to remain at least fifteen days, after which, if they were not sold, they might be exported. Wool was not permitted to be stored or sold within three leagues of a staple, except by the owners of sheep, who might sell the wool of their own growth, where they thought proper. [*Stat. 1, 31 Edw. III, c. 8.*]

An author, who lived at this time, estimates the annual exportation of wool at above a hundred thousand sacks. [*Avesbury, p. 210 †.*]

\* In the middle ages any thing reputed precious, or made of valuable materials, or richly adorned, was called a jewel.

† Mandeville copied from all preceding writers of history and travels; and he seems particularly to be largely indebted to Marco Polo. His palaces, made of gold and jewels, are in the stile of

Ovid's temple of the Sun, and are probably the models of similar buildings in the fairy tales.

‡ He says, the duty of 50*s* was granted by the parliament for six years; and he dates the grant in the year 1355. It may be observed that the wool of the west part of England was valued at little more than 50*s*. See above p. 530.

Another attack was made upon the monopolizing charters of corporations by directing the mayor and aldermen of London to prevent the fishermen (or fishmongers), butchers, poulterers, and other dealers in provisions, from molesting those who brought provisions to the city for sale. [*Stat. 1, 31 Edw. III, c. 10.*]

At the same time was enacted *the Statute of herrings*, the preamble of which sets forth, that the people of Yarmouth made a practice of meeting the fishermen, and buying their herrings at sea; that the hostilers (keepers of lodging houses) assumed a prerogative of selling the herrings belonging to the fishermen lodged in their houses, and paying them what they thought proper for them, whereby the fishermen were defrauded and discouraged, and the price of herrings was advanced upon the public. The parliament therefor enacted, that no herrings should be sold, till the boat bringing them was made fast to the land. The fishermen should have perfect liberty to sell their herrings at the fair, openly and without any interference, between the rising and setting of the sun. No person should be permitted to buy herrings for hanging up (making red herrings) at above 40/ per last containing ten thousand herrings. Pykers\* were not to purchase herrings in the harbour of Yarmouth between the 29<sup>th</sup> of September and the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, nor to enter the harbour in the time of the fair. The hostilers were allowed to charge  $\frac{3}{4}$  upon every last of herrings sold to any other than a hostiler, in consideration of which they were to insure the payment to the fishermen †. The people of Yarmouth were prohibited from selling herrings at more than  $\frac{6}{8}$  per last above the price paid for them at the fair, and those of London were not to advance more than  $1\frac{3}{4}$  (a regulation which we may venture to pronounce inefficient). Shotten herrings were ordered to be sold at half the price of full ones, when fresh, and when made red, at  $\frac{6}{8}$  per last above the half price of full red herrings. The pykers were allowed to buy herrings and other wares from the fishermen of Kirklee and other places on the adjacent coast: but the fishermen were ordered to discharge only as many herrings at Kirklee road, as might be sufficient for loading the pykers, and to carry the rest to Yarmouth, no other sale being permitted within seven leagues of that town, except for the herrings of a person's own demesne fishery. The barons of the Cinque ports were declared to be the governors or conservators, of the fair, agreeable to the composition between them and the people of Yarmouth, confirmed by King Ed-

\* Pykers appear to have been small vessels belonging to London and other places, employed in carrying herrings and other fish.

† The hostilers were thus allowed to purchase herrings nine or ten per cent lower than all other buyers, which, with the profits they made upon

supplying the fishermen, who were not inhabitants of Yarmouth, with all their necessaries, must have enabled them to command the trade. They were required, indeed, not to charge that commission on herrings bought by themselves; but the difference in the price amounted to the same thing.

ward I. It was ordained, that this statute should also regulate the trade in the other towns of England, where herrings were caught.—The chancellor and treasurer, with the aid of the justices and others of the king's council, were required to regulate the sale of stockfish at Boston, of salmon at Berwick, and of wine and fish at Bristol and elsewhere, so that the king and the people might be better served than before. [*Stat. 2, 31 Edw. III.*]

The people of Blakeney were accused of selling their salt fish too dear. It was therefor ordained, that all the doggers and lode ships, belonging to Blakeney and the adjacent coast as far as Cromer, should deliver their fish in the harbour of Blakeney only, and that the fish should not be carried out of the vessels, till the owners had contracted for the sale of them in clear day-light; that the price of dogger fish and loche fish should be set at the beginning of Blakeney fair; that no fish should be sold by covine (secret agreement) at any other price; and that no fisherman should store up mud fish or dry fish to retail them afterwards at a higher price. No persons, but those employed in the fishery, were allowed to buy nets, hooks, or other fishing tackle in the county of Norfolk. No fisherman was allowed to give up his trade on account of this ordinance being disagreeable to him\*. [*Stat. 3, 31 Edw. III.*]

From the perusal of these, and, indeed, of most other antient statutes relating to commerce, manufactures, fisheries, and navigation, it is evident that the legislators knew nothing of the affairs which they undertook to regulate, and also that most of their ordinances, either from want of precision, or from ordering what was almost impossible to be obeyed (for example, that people should sell their fish at a price, regulated, not by the state of the market, but by authority) must have been inefficient: and hence we find many of them so very often repeated. No judicious commercial regulations could be drawn up by ecclesiastical or military men (the only classes who possessed any authority or influence) who despised trade, and consequently could know nothing of it. It was not till long after the time now under our consideration, that the representatives of towns, the only members of the legislative body who could have the smallest knowledge of commerce or manufactures, began to have any weight in parliament.

The mayor and constables of the staple in Ireland were accused of taking cognizance of causes noway concerning the business of the staple. An order of the king and council (supposed of this year) was therefor issued, prohibiting such practices, together with a vast number of other enormities, which had crept into the administration of justice in that country. [*Statutes at large, V. x, Append. p. 37.*]

\* As some compensation for this restraint, fishermen and mariners were this year exempted from being compelled to serve in any other capacity than that to which they were bred up. [*Rot. pat. sec. 31 Edw. III, m. 16.*]

The neutral nations thought it necessary to obtain letters of safe conduct for their ships from the belligerent powers. We have three instances of such letters granted by King Edward to vessels belonging to Venice, the chief seat of commerce in the Mediterranean, sailing to Flanders, the chief seat of commerce on the west coast of Europe. [*Fœdera*, V. vi, pp. 11, 92, 120.]

April 29<sup>th</sup>—We now find what is probably the earliest precedent extant of the law, or usage, of recapture, as determined by King Edward and his council. Some goods, which had been taken in a Portuguese vessel by the French, having been retaken by the English, the Portuguese owners claimed their property in virtue of the treaty of the year 1353. But the English admiral condemned them as lawful prize; and the king of Portugal thereupon wrote to the king of England for restitution. Edward, after advising with his council, answered, that, if a neutral owner were along with his goods onboard an enemy's vessel when taken, they should be restored: but the goods in question having been found as French property, and taken from the French in fair war, the captors were entitled to them. [*Fœdera*, V. vi, p. 14.]

April 29<sup>th</sup>—In a truce between England and Scotland it was agreed, that, if the ships of either nation should be forced into the ports of the other by storm or other unavoidable necessity, they might quietly rest for a reasonable time, and victual, without being liable to any arrest or hinderance. [*Fœdera*, V. vi, p. 15.]

September—Three Scottish ships of war, with 300 chosen armed men, cruised (apparently without any authority) on the east coast, and annoyed the English commerce very much, till the equinoctial gale drove them, with a number of English vessels, into Yarmouth, where the people of the place seized them, and put an end to their cruise. [*Knyghton*, col. 2617.] These were, however, powerful ships to be fitted out by private adventurers in that age, and in a country so exhausted as Scotland must have then been with almost seventy years of war: but the distracted state of the country forced the people to forsake honest industry, and fly to rapine for subsistence.

September 26<sup>th</sup>—In a parliament, or full council, of the prelates, nobles, and communities, of the kingdom of Scotland, held at Edinburgh, the following seventeen towns were represented, and may thence be presumed to have been the chief towns of the kingdom at the time, viz.

Edinburgh,	Cupar,	Dunbarton,
Perth,	S. Andrews,	Rutherglen,
Aberdeen,	Munros,	Lanark,
Dundee,	Stirling,	Dunfries, and
Inverkeithing,	Linkhgow,	Peebles.
Carail,	Hadington,	

The representatives, of whom Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen, sent three each, and the other towns two each, are all called aldermen, merchants, and burgesſes, of the towns represented by them: and it is worthy of obſervation, that of the ſeventeen towns, four were in the maritime, and apparently commercial, ſhire of Fife, and eight more upon the eaſt coaſt. The buſineſs of the meeting was to agree to, and provide for, the ranſom of their king, then a priſoner in England, which was fixed at the prodigious ſum of *one hundred thouſand marks ſterling*, to be paid by installments within ten years. For the payment of that ſum the biſhops of Scotland bound all the goods, moveable and immoveable, then belonging, or to belong in time coming, to all the clergy of Scotland; the nobles bound themſelves and all the barons (or freeholders) of Scotland, and their heirs; and the representatives of the towns bound themſelves and the other communities of burgesſes and merchants throughout the whole kingdom, and all their property, for the full payment of the ranſom, with damages, expenſes, and intereſt \*. On account of ſome delays in the payment, the ranſom was afterwards raiſed to *one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling*, a ſum equal in efficacy (the only true ſtandard of the value of money) to at leaſt *two millions* in the preſent day. We know what a lamentable picture the writers of England have drawn of the miſeries brought upon that kingdom by the ranſom of King Richard. What then muſt have been the diſtreſs of Scotland, a country inferior in extent, and ſtill more in population and fertility, to England, already drained and exhausted by wars, of which ſcarcely any man then living was old enough to remember the beginning, to raiſe a ſum nearly half as much more as that paid for the ranſom of Richard? We might be well warranted to queſtion the poſſibility of raiſing it, if there were not extant the moſt undeniable proofs that the whole of that enormous ſum was actually paid in hard gold and ſilver †. [*Fœdera*, V. vi, pp. 41-65; and V. vii, p. 417 for the *laſt* diſcharge.]

The payment of ſo great a ſum may be admitted, in the want of other evidence, as an unqueſtionable proof that the commerce of Scotland revived immediately upon the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and brought in a conſiderable balance in money from foreign countries, which apparently proceeded chiefly from wool, fiſh, hides, cattle, and probably alſo ſome iron and lead ‡.

\* As no rate of intereſt is mentioned, it is preſumed, that there was a known rate, ſo well eſta- bliſhed by cuſtom, or the laws of both kingdoms, that it was thought unneceſſary to ſpecify it.

† There was a great deal more money drawn from Scotland to England: for King Edward, not ſatisfied with the obligations of *all* the people of Scotland, had, as a further ſecurity, twenty youths, the heirs of the firſt men of the kingdom, and of

the king himſelf, and alſo three of the principal noblemen, put into his hands as hoſtages; and the money remitted for their ſupport was of itſelf ſufficient to diſtreſs a country circumſtanced as Scotland then was.

‡ ‘*Ferrifodinis et plumbicidiis, cujuſlibet etiam pene metalli, ſatis habilis,*’ ſays Fordun [*L. ii, c. 8*] in deſcribing the productions of Scotland.—As I have already mentioned exportations of dogs from.

After this time the notices of the attendance of burgeses in the parliaments of Scotland are more frequent: and in the title of the laws of King Robert III (as published by Skene) we are told, that the bishops, earls, barons, freeholders, and burgeses holding of the king, were summoned *in the usual manner*. Admitting this to be genuine, burgeses must then have been constituent members of the parliament for a considerable time back.

King David soon after his return into his own dominions appointed Adam Tore, a burges of Edinburgh, and James Mulekin of Florence, joint keepers of the exchange for all Scotland, and masters of the mint\*. It seems probable that the exchange, to which these officers were appointed, was formed upon the model of the new one lately established in England by Edward, whose example he wished, and greatly needed, to follow in all methods of acquiring money.

1358, November.—Before David was well settled in his own kingdom, he returned to England on a visit to his kind brother-in-law, King Edward. His business is said to have been to entreat an abatement of his ruinous ransom, on condition of joining Edward in his wars; and he also requested, that there might be mutual liberty for the merchants of both kingdoms to trade freely in each, and that the money of both might also pass indiscriminately in each; and these requests, we are told, King Edward agreed to. [*Fœdera*, V. vi, p. 98.—*Knyghton*, col. 2619.]

It is alleged that the merchant-adventurers of England this year obtained a grant of very ample privileges from the earl of Flanders, and thereupon established their trade in Bruges; and that Bruges and all Flanders, in consequence of that trade, grew to great wealth and prosperity. [*Wheeler's Treatise of commerce*, p. 14.] But we know from unexceptionable authority, that Bruges and all Flanders were very prosperous long before this time †.

1359, January 12<sup>th</sup>.—The trade of driving cattle from Scotland for sale in England, which has continued down to the present day, is at

from the south part of Britain, it may be proper to observe, that the greyhounds ('leporarii') of Scotland were so much esteemed, that the duke of Berry in France thought it worth while to send his valet and three other men to procure some of them, and to obtain letters of safe conduct from the king of England for them to travel through his dominions upon that business. [*Fœdera*, V. vii, p. 831.]

\* This information is from a *Table of contents of charters*, &c. MS. Bib. Harl. 4609, Roll D 2 A x, n<sup>o</sup>. 24, 25. There are no dates mentioned; but as n<sup>o</sup>. 42 of the same roll contains the charter of creation of the earldom of Douglas, which was in February 1358 (as we now reckon the commencement of the year) and the king returned from his

long captivity in October 1356, the end of 1356, or some time in 1357, seems the probable date of the appointment. In 1357 Adam Tore was one of the representatives of Edinburgh in parliament. [*Fœdera*, V. vi, pp. 44-59.] It is worthy of investigation, whether the new exchange was established for exchanging gold and silver money. See below under the year 1367.

† Wheeler, who was secretary to the company of merchant-adventurers about the year 1600, writes with great zeal for the honour and interest of his employers: he asserts roundly; but he produces no authorities, though he mentions several charters. His only original documents are some certificates, probably procured by himself, the earliest of them being dated in 1582.

least as old as the times now under our consideration: for we find a letter of safe conduct granted to Andrew Moray and Alan Erskine, two Scottish drovers, with three horsemen and their servants, for traveling through England or the king's foreign dominions for a year, with horses, oxen, cows, and other goods and merchandize. [*Fædera*, V. vi, p. 114.]

The fleet, with which King Edward this year invaded France, is said by one author to have consisted of eleven hundred well-appointed ships. [*Walsingham*, p. 174.]

November 22<sup>d</sup>—In January the Flemings banished all the English merchants in their country into Brabant, and put to death many of the citizens of Bruges, who had been favourable to them. King Edward therefor ordered all foreigners of whatever condition, except his own farmers, to leave his dominions before the 20<sup>th</sup> of July. But, as I have already observed, in those days neither the English nor the Flemings could live without the benefits derived from mutual friendly intercourse. When King Edward was this year on the continent, the Flemings were zealously attentive in providing his camp with necessaries; and he in return granted them liberty to trade in England, and to export corn and other provisions on obtaining his special licences and paying the customs. [*Knyghton*, col. 2620.—*Fædera*, V. vi, pp. 40, 47.]

1360, January—The prerogative of purveying (that is forcibly taking provisions, liquors, or other wares) was not only vested in the king and the royal family, but was also assumed, legally or illegally, by many others, to the ruin of the people and the great hinderance of trade. It was therefor now restricted by act of parliament to the king, the queen, and the king's oldest son; and several things purveyed for the queen and the prince were ordered to be paid for. [*Acts 34 Edw. III*, cc. 2, 3.]

The statutes of labourers were confirmed: new penalties were enacted for labourers leaving their service and going into another county: and they were deprived of the antient privilege annexed to residence in cities or burghs, the chief officers of which were now required to deliver them up. [*Acts 34 Edw. III*, cc. 9-11.]

All merchants and others, aliens or natives, had liberty to trade freely to and from Ireland with their merchandize, victuals, &c. without paying fine or ransom beyond the antient customs and duties. [*Acts 34 Edw. III*, cc. 17, 18.]

The exportation of corn was now restricted to the supply of Calais and Gascoigne. [*Acts 34 Edw. III*, c. 20.] From this act, and the licence granted in the preceding year to the Flemings, it appears that corn formed a part of the usual exports of England at this time\*.

\* In the year 1350 Everard Fitz-Nicol of Flarding obtained licence to purchase 800 quarters of corn in England, and to carry it to Holland:

[*Rymer's Acta manuscr. Edw. III*, V. vii, n<sup>o</sup>. 130] and there is reason to believe that still no corn could be exported without a special licence.

The permission granted to English merchants to export wool was now confirmed. [*Acts* 34 *Edw. III*, c. 21.]

March—King Edward issued orders for arresting all the vessels in the kingdom, loaded or unloaded, in order to get together a fleet for another expedition to the continent: and he directed, that the largest ships should carry 40 mariners, 40 armed men, and 60 archers; and barges should be manned in proportion. [*Fœdera*, V. vi, pp. 167, 169, 174.]

April 16<sup>th</sup>—The king, understanding that there were various mines of gold and silver in Ireland, which might be very beneficial to himself and the people of that country, commissioned his principal ministers there to order a search for the mines, and to do what would be most for his advantage. [*Fœdera*, V. vi, p. 172.]

At this time there were some considerable manufactures in Ireland. The stuffs called *sayes*, made in that country, were in such request, that they were imitated by the manufacturers of Catalonia, who were in the practice of making the finest woollen goods of every kind: they were also esteemed in Italy, and were worn by the ladies of Florence, a city abounding with the richest manufactures, and in which the luxury of dress was carried to the greatest height. [*Capmany*, *Mem. hist. de Barcelona*, V. i, *Com.* p. 242.—*Fazio delli Uberti*, L. iv, c. 26.—*Transf. of Royal Irish acad. Antiq.* p. 17.] The annual revenue derived from Ireland, which amounted to near £10,000\*, [*Waræi Hibernia*, p. 136, ed. 1654] gives a very respectable idea of the balance drawn into that country by its commerce and manufactures, though we know next to nothing of the particular nature of them; unless we suppose a great part of the money to have been drawn from the mines, for which, I believe, there is neither authority nor probability.

May 8<sup>th</sup>—The long war with France was terminated (or suspended) by a treaty of peace and friendship concluded at Bretigny, whereby King Edward gave up his claim to the crown of France, and the king of France, then Edward's prisoner, ceded many provinces and towns in France to him, and became bound to pay him three millions of gold ecus, which, at the declared value of  $\frac{3}{4}$  sterling, were equal to half a million of pounds of the English money then current. The treaty, which is very long, contains no hint of any commercial intercourse between the two countries. [*Fœdera*, V. vi, p. 178.] France, then destitute of commerce and manufactures, was prodigiously distressed by the ransom, which never was completely paid off.

We are told, that Nicolas of Lynne, an English friar and a good astronomer, made a voyage this year to the northern polar regions, which he repeated five times afterwards, and then presented an account

\* Walsingham [*Hist.* p. 350] states the net revenue received from Ireland at this time at £30,000. But that author often dashes his numbers of men and money at random; whereas Ware's information is taken from the records still remaining.

of his discoveries to King Edward \*. [*Hakluyt's Voyages, V. i, pp. 121, 122.*]

It was about the same time, if we may depend upon the authenticity of Zeno's voyage, with Doctor Forster's exposition of the geography of it, that some fishermen belonging to the Orkney islands were driven by stress of weather upon an island, situated in the Western ocean, called Estotiland, which was apparently the country called Winland by the Norwegian discoverers. (See above, p. 279). The people of Estotiland were ingenious and sensible; they raised corn; their drink was ale; they possessed the arts and handicrafts known in Europe †; they had ships, with which they traded to Greenland and to the continent afterwards called *America*; and they retained the intrepidity of their Norwegian ancestors in crossing the trackless ocean, though ignorant of the compass; but they immediately understood the prodigious advantage the Orkney-men enjoyed in possessing that wonderful guide. From Greenland they imported furs, brimstone, and pitch, and from the continent, apparently, gold. The king of Estotiland, considering the Orkney-men as superior in nautical science to his own subjects, gave them the charge of a fleet of twelve vessels for a voyage to the continent. Those vessels were driven by a dreadful storm upon a part of the coast occupied by cannibals, who devoured the most of the seamen: but the Orkney-men saved themselves from the same fate by teaching the savages to catch fish with nets. The only one of them who returned to Orkney related, that he lived thirteen years on the continent, traveling through a great number of tribes, one of whom, situated in a mild climate to the south-west, was more civilized than any of the others whom he had known, having gold and silver; cities and temples; that he afterwards got back to Estotiland, whence he made many voyages to the continent, and having acquired wealth, had fitted out a vessel to return to his native country ‡.

\* Leland says, that Nicolas wrote *Canons of tables*, an essay on the nature of the zodiak, and another on the houses of the planets, which were extant in his own time. [*De scriptoribus, p. 347.*] But he has not a word of his voyages; and, I believe, they may be considered as rather doubtful.

† The king of Estotiland had a library, wherein there were some Latin books, not understood by him, which were probably carried thither by Eric bishop of Greenland, who went to convert the people of Winland to Christianity in the year 1121, and seems to have died there.

‡ Zeno's voyage was considered as a very doubtful story, or rather a mere fable, till Doctor Forster's able and ingenious exposition removed the mist, which overwhelmed it, and poured upon it a stream of light, little inferior to historic demonstration. It is supported by, and it in return illustrates, the history of the discovery of Winland about the year 1000, an event probably not known

to Zeno, or the recorder of his voyage, or indeed to any person in Italy, before books were rendered common by printing. That the people of Orkney, a Norwegian colony, should be ignorant of the language of those of Estotiland, apparently a colony from the same parent stock, may seem a circumstance unfavourable to the credit of the narrative. But, as all languages are continually changing, we may well admit, that a separation of about five centuries since the settlement of Iceland would produce a difference in two dialects of the same language sufficient to prevent them from being mutually intelligible. Very little of the language, spoken in England five hundred years ago, can be understood in the present day by those who have not studied it; Chaucer's language is difficult to ordinary readers; and many words even in Shakspeare are obscure, if not unknown, to the most zealous and diligent of his commentators.

[*Forster's Discoveries in the North*, pp. 188, 204 *Engl. transl.*] The superior people, here described, must have been the Mexicans, who thus appear to have been known to this native of the Orkneys about 160 years before they were invaded by the Spaniards.

1361.—The traditions of the North give very pompous accounts of the commercial prosperity of Wisbuy, a city on the west side of Gothland, an island in the Baltic sea. They tell us, that after the total destruction of Winet and Julin, famous commercial cities near the mouth of the Oder on the north coast of Germany, and the subsequent conflagration of Sleswick, the whole trade of the peninsula of Yutland and the coasts of the Baltic was removed to Ripen and soon after to Wisbuy, which thereupon became the most flourishing commercial city in Europe\*; and the merchants of Gothland, Sweden, Russia, Denmark, Prussia, England, Scotland, Flanders, France, Finland, Vandalia, Saxony, and Spain, had factories there, and streets appropriated to each several nation. There all strangers were made welcome, and admitted to all the rights and privileges of citizens. The citizens lived splendidly in houses built of marble; and the greatest abundance and prosperity blessed the happy island, till, in the revolution of human affairs, the commerce, which had rendered Wisbuy rich and happy, was transferred to other places. The invention of sea charts, and a code of maritime laws, are also ascribed to Wisbuy; and we are told, that the merchants of other countries submitted their causes to be tried by the magistrates of that city.—From these exaggerated accounts it seems probable, that Wisbuy had more trade during the dark ages than any other place in the inland sea wherein it is situated. In the year 1288 the citizens had a quarrel with the other inhabitants of the island, after which they fortified their city with a wall and a ditch; a circumstance by no means agreeing with the reports of its wonderful opulence in earlier times, for, in those days of rapine and violence, no town, that contained any thing worth plundering, could be without walls. Probably we shall come nearer the truth, if we assume that date for the commencement of the commercial prosperity of Wisbuy †. After that time they became very powerful; and, conscious of their naval superiority, and intoxicated, as we are told, with their excessive prosperity, they preyed upon their weaker neighbours. Such conduct could not fail to stir up enemies. Waldemar king of Denmark invaded them in the year 1361, threw down their walls, and loaded his ships with the accumulated riches of the citizens. After doing them all the mischief he could, he entered into a treaty of friendship with them, confirmed all the privileges

\* The authors of those accounts probably knew nothing of the commercial cities of the Mediterranean.

† The conflagration of Sleswick, which is as-

signed as one of the principal causes of the population and trade of Wisbuy, is dated in 1288 by Eric king of Denmark in his *History of Denmark*, p. 167 in *Rep. Danicæ*.

and immunities which had been granted to them by the emperors of Germany and kings of Sweden, and gave them liberty to trade in his dominions on as favourable terms as his own subjects, together with the right of coining money, which they had hitherto practised without having any right \*. [*Pontani Hist. rer. Dan. pp. 376, 470, 733.—Olaus Magnus, L. ii, c. 22.—Resp. Daniæ, p. 80.*]

1362, October—Notwithstanding the act of the year 1360, the oppressive abuse of purveyance still continued. It was now enacted, that there should be no purveyors but for the king and queen; that the odious name of *purveyor* should be laid aside, and that of *buyer* substituted for it †; that ready money should be paid for all things taken for the royal household, and that the prices of them should be appraised, except those of things for the use of the horses, for which the buyers were to agree with the sellers; that commissioners should be appointed to inspect the conduct of the purveyors; and that no chator (or purveyor) for any subject should take any thing without the consent of the owner. [*Stat. 1, 36 Edw. III, cc. 1-6.*] As the purveyors, or buyers, made very lucrative jobs of their office ‡, it is probable that these laws were no better observed than the preceding ones on the same subject: and, indeed, the frequent repetitions of laws for the same things shows plainly, that they were in general very inefficient.

The statute of the staple having vested the mayors and constables of the staples with jurisdiction in matters of felony, assaults, and trespasses, in their towns, it was thought proper, that they should only take cognizance of debts and contracts between persons who were known to be merchants, and that criminal matters should be tried at common law, as formerly; only that alien merchants might still, if they chose it, bring all causes, whether civil or criminal, wherein they were any way concerned, before the mayor of the staple. It was also ordained, that the king and other lords should enjoy all the privileges they had possessed before the statute of the staples was enacted, except in pleas of debt, which were reserved to the jurisdiction of the mayor of the staple, whoever might be the parties. [*Stat. 1, 36 Edw. III, c. 7.*]

The liberty granted to *all* merchants to export wool was this year confirmed. [*Stat. 1, 36 Edw. III, c. 11.*]

The prelates, lords, and commons, represented to the king, that many people suffered exceedingly from the laws being unknown, because they

\* If they were an independent community, upon what principle could it be alleged, that they had not a right to coin money?

† New names do not change the nature of things. How long the name of *purveyor* remained proscribed, is perhaps unknown: but we see it revived, and holding its place (I suppose, very innocently) in the modern lists of the royal household.

‡ We know, that the purveyors of wine in the year 1369 were accused of detaining cargoes of wine, on pretence that they were taken for the king, to the great disappointment of intending purchasers, and damage of the owners, that they might make their own profit of them. [*See Acts, 43 Edw. III, c. 3.*]

were ‘pleaded, shewed, and judged in the French tongue,’ which was little known in the kingdom, so that the parties were ignorant of what was said in their own causes by the lawyers in the courts; and that the laws ought in reason to be expressed in the language of the country, agreeable to the practice of other nations, in order to enable the people to know how to conduct themselves.—It was ordained, that all pleadings in courts should be in English, but that *they should be inrolled in Latin*; and that the laws should be kept as they were before\*. [*Stat. 1, 36 Edw. III, c. 15.*]

The parliament fixed the duty upon wool exported at £1:6:8 per sack, and so to continue for three years. At the same time duties were also granted on wool-fells and hides. [*Cotton’s Abridgement, p. 94.—Walsingham, p. 179.*]

October 26<sup>th</sup>—As if the enormous ransom for the king and the expense of the hostages, all going out of Scotland without any return, had not been sufficient to impoverish that country, the bishop of S<sup>t</sup>. Andrews, seven earls and barons, one countess, and nine burgesses and merchants of Linlithgow, S<sup>t</sup>. Andrews, Edinburgh, and Tinedale (one of whom, however, is said to be on the business of merchandizing) were all struck with the frenzy of paying their devotions at the tomb of S<sup>t</sup>. Thomas at Canterbury, for which purpose each of them obtained a passport from King Edward. Some of them, whose devotion to the martyr still continued ardent, returned soon after with a new shole of devotees to Canterbury; and it is observable, that then, and afterwards, they were restrained by the terms of their passports from carrying any English horses to Scotland with them. So far was the king of Scotland from endeavouring to alleviate the misery, his ransom brought upon his subjects, by a wise public economy, and the discouragement of this ruinous folly, that he himself, as long as he lived, was the most frequent visitor to S<sup>t</sup>. Thomas; and, by his example, the people of all ranks in Scotland continued many years infected with the same superstition. [*Fædera, V. vi, pp. 395, 407, 576, &c. &c.*]

1363, March 1<sup>st</sup>—The parliament having ordained ‘for the profit of the realm and ease of merchants of England, that the staple of wool, wool-fells, and hides, should be held at Calais,’ it now began to be held there accordingly †. [*Acts, 43 Edw. III, preamble.*] The king appointed twenty-six principal merchants to have the custody of that town,

\* By this law we learn that English had been for a considerable time the predominant language, even among the higher classes, in England. But this law was as little within the comprehension of the great bulk of the people as all those which preceded it; for it, and also all those after it, with very few exceptions, for above a century, were written in unknown language, generally French, only a very few being in Latin.

† In the parliament held in October 1362 ‘the lords being required to speak what they thought of the repair of merchants to Calais, thought it good to have the same done. But the commons referred their answer untill conference with the merchants.’ [*Cotton’s Abridgement of records, p. 92.*] This is a good instance of the attention of the representatives to the commercial interests of their constituents.

each having under him six armed men and four archers on the king's pay. He appointed a mayor for the staple and another for the town. The impost, called maletorth, payable to the king, was fixed at 20*s*, and that payable to the merchant wardens at 3/4, for every sack of wool. [*Knyghton, col. 2626.*] Thus were the statute of the staple, and all the vast multitude of regulations relating to it, rendered nugatory, before they were fairly established, and before the people concerned were habituated to the arrangements proper for conducting their business with propriety and advantage.

June 7<sup>th</sup>—It appears that English cattle were a profitable article in Flanders, as Andrew Destrer of Bruges giternar (player on the guitar) to the queen, obtained permission to carry over twenty-five oxen or cows, without paying any duty. [*Fædera, V. vi, p. 418.*]

October—Some very extraordinary laws were now enacted. The parliament, after setting forth that many merchants, by undue arts and combinations, and by means of their fraternities and gilds, had engrossed all kinds of goods, which they kept up, till they could sell them at enormous prices, ordained that every merchant or shopkeeper should make his election before Candlemas of one particular kind of goods, and should be allowed till the 24<sup>th</sup> of June to dispose of his other goods on hand, after which time he should deal in the one kind chosen by him, and no other. Artificers were in like manner tied down to one occupation, with an exception in favour of female brewers, bakers, weavers, spinsters, and other women employed upon works in wool, linen, or silk, in embroidery, &c.\* [*Stat. 37 Edw. III, cc. 5, 6.*]

Goldsmiths were ordered to make their work of standard quality, and to stamp it with their own marks in addition to the essayer's stamp. Those who made silver work, were prohibited from gilding. [*Stat. 37 Edw. III, c. 7.*]

Luxury being come to a great height, the parliament took the trouble to prescribe a scale of victuals and clothing for the various members of the community, regulated by the rank, fortune, or profession, of each

\* If this act had been in the language of the country, we should have seen *brewster, bakster, webster*, the termination *ster* signifying a woman (not a man) who brews, bakes, weaves, &c. as I have observed in another work. When men began to invade those departments of industry by which women used to earn an honest livelihood, they retained the feminine appellations (as *men-midwives* and *men-milliners* do now) for some time: but afterwards masculine words drove the feminine ones out of the language, as the men had driven the women out of the employments. Spinster still retains its genuine termination; and the language of the law seems to presume, that every unmarried woman is industriously employed in spinning.

In the progress of improvement artificers have found it expedient to subdivide their employments, and restrict themselves, each to a particular branch, not for the purpose of preventing combinations, but for a facility in carrying every particular branch to the greater perfection by attending to one only. Thus does trade, in process of time, regulate itself, far better than the interference of any legislature can ever do. He was a wise man, who, being asked by the prime minister of France, what the merchants wished him to do for the benefit of commerce, answered him with this short and pithy sentence, '*Laissez nous faire,*' leave us to ourselves.

individual. Ploughmen and others employed in country work, and people not possessing property to the value of 40*s*, were to clothe themselves in blanket and russet lawn. Servants of lords, tradesmen, and artificers, were allowed cloth of the value of £1:6:8 per piece. Artificers and yeomen might give £2 for their piece of cloth. Gentlemen having £100 a-year, and merchants and tradesmen worth £500 of clear property, might wear cloth of £3 per piece. Gentlemen having £200 a-year, and people in trade worth above £1,000, were only intitled to cloth of £3:6:8. But knights having 200 marks of income might bestow £4 for their piece of cloth: and those having above 400 marks a-year might wear whatever they chose, except ermine. The clergy were to have their cloth equal to that of the laity of the same income. And all women were to dress in proportion to the incomes of their husbands, fathers, &c. But it would be too tedious to go into the minutiae of these short-lived and futile regulations, especially those for the dresses and trinkets of the women. We learn by them, that veils were worn, even by the wives and daughters of servants, who were not allowed to give more than twelve pennies for them. [*Stat. 37 Edw. III, cc. 8-14.*] We are told that the plunder brought from France furnished the materials of a great part of the extravagance now complained of, and an infectious example for the rest of it. [*Walsingham, p. 168.*]

These regulations were immediately followed by another, worthy to accompany them. The clothiers were ordered to make a sufficient quantity of cloth of the several prices required; and the shopkeepers were ordered to provide a proper stock of them to supply the demand. [*Stat. 37 Edw. III, c. 15.*] This law, however, seems to infer, that there was now a sufficient quantity of cloth made in England to supply every consumer, except those of the highest classes, whose number being small, their consumption of foreign-made cloth could have no influence in depressing the home manufacture.

This year the king commanded, that no man should export cloth, butter, cheese, sheep, malt, or beer. But the German merchants might export worsteds and streight cloths, and those of Gascoigne might carry woollen cloths to the value of the wines imported by them. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 96.*] In the following year several licences were granted for exporting cloths; and the merchants of Boston, in particular, were allowed to export wooled, short, and streight (perhaps narrow), cloths\*. [*Rot. pat. prim. 38 Edw. III, mm. 1, 2, 3, 17.*] From these prohibitions and limited permissions it may be inferred, that English cloth was already in great demand abroad. Probably the quantity made in Flanders was now diminished in consequence of more English wool being worked up at home than formerly.

November 27<sup>th</sup>.—King Edward having renounced his pretensions to the kingdom of France, and finding his purchase of the kingdom of Scotland from his vassal Balliol as ineffectual as his attempts to subdue it by force, bethought himself of another method of acquiring that kingdom. Before King David was born, the parliament of Scotland had settled the succession of the crown on the heirs male of King Robert, and, failing them, on Robert Stewart the son of his deceased daughter. David's wife had lately died without having ever born a child, and, as often happens, he was not upon friendly terms with his declared successor. Such being the situation of the royal family of Scotland, and the country groaning under the pressure of the king's ransom, Edward thought it a favourable opportunity for persuading David to consent, that, failing male \* issue of himself, he, or his successors, kings of England, should succeed to the kingdom of Scotland. In order to sweeten the proposal to the king, the nobles, and people, of Scotland, he offered to remit the whole balance, then unpaid, of the ransom (30,000 marks were now paid); to restore Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Lochmaben, with their annexed districts, immediately to the Scots; to restore, or compensate, to David the greatest part of the lands belonging to his ancestors in England; to make similar restitution to Douglas (a powerful earl in Scotland) and to the abbays and other religious foundations; to take upon himself to satisfy some English barons for their claims upon estates in Scotland; to swear that the king of England and Scotland should never alienate nor divide the later kingdom; to preserve the antient laws and usages of the kingdom; and to conduct the government entirely by the administration of natives of the country, and by parliaments to be held in Scotland; to lay no new impositions, prises, tallages, or exactions, besides those which were established in the times of the good kings of Scotland; that the Scottish merchants should use their own franchises in trade, without being under any compulsion to go to Calais or any other place but at their own pleasure, and they should pay no more than half a mark for every sack of wool to the great custom †. [*Fœdera*, V. vi, p. 426.]—Such was the sketch of a treaty talked over by the privy counselors of the two kings in their presence at London, and approved of by them both. But David, having already raised an insurrection against himself by proposing to his parliament to appoint Lionel, the second surviving son of Edward, to be his successor in case of his death without issue, was now more cau-

\* The word *male* is kept out of sight in the beginning of the scheme; but it appears in the conclusion of it.

† Abercromby and Lord Hailes give different expositions of this article. I presume, that half a mark per sack was the antient duty on wool exported from Scotland, and that the Scots were not

to be liable to pay the much-heavier duty then paid upon wool in England. In a proposed treaty, somewhat similar, in the year 1290, when there was a prospect of uniting the two kingdoms by a marriage, there was not a word of the commerce or merchants of either kingdom. [*Fœdera*, V. ii, p. 482.]

tious: and it appears, that he never saw any prospect of obtaining the consent of his subjects, exasperated by the miseries of an age of warfare, to an union with their inveterate enemies; and therefor he carefully kept the scheme (for it was expressly declared to be no more) a dead secret\*. Certain it is, that, under more auspicious circumstances, such an union might have been acceptable, and have greatly accelerated the improvement of agriculture and manufactures in both kingdoms, especially Scotland, and would have enabled Great Britain much sooner to assume a pre-eminent rank among the kingdoms of Europe.

The equitable mode of repairing the roads by funds raised from tolls, collected from those who used them, was now so far established, that we find, besides the renewals of the tolls for the Westminster road almost annually, tolls granted this year for the road between Highgate and Smithfield, for that from Wootton Bassett (Uxbridge) by Acton to London, and for the venel called Faytor (Fetter) lane in Holburn. [*Rot. pat. sec. 37 Edw. III, mm. 25, 44, 47.*]

It may be proper to observe, as a proof that some of the citizens of London were already very opulent, that Henry Picard, who had been mayor some years before, made a magnificent entertainment this year at his own house in the Vintry, to which he invited his sovereign the king of England, the kings of France, Scotland, and Cyprus, (all three then visitors at the court of England) the prince of Wales, and many of the nobility; his wife at the same time giving another entertainment in her apartments, I presume, to the ladies. According to the custom of the age, Picard presented rich gifts to the king, the nobles, and knights, who dined with him †. [*Stow's Annales, p. 415, ed. 1600.*]

1364, January.—The experiment of compelling the people to feed and clothe themselves according to a prescribed standard of rank and fortune was found not to answer expectation, and the acts ordaining it were repealed. The other strange law, restricting merchants or shopkeepers to one single article of merchandize, was also abrogated; and all merchants, aliens or denizens, were allowed to buy and sell all kinds of goods, and to export them on paying the customs, except that English merchants were now again prohibited from exporting wool and woolfells. All persons were again prohibited from carrying abroad any gold or silver, excepting (as before) the fishermen who sold nothing but fish. [*Stat. 1, 38 Edw. III, cc. 2, 6.*]

\* And it remained unknown to all the historians of England and Scotland, and utterly forgotten, till it was published by Rymer in the year 1727.

† Stow tells us that Picard, having won fifty marks from the king of Cyprus at play, restored them to him, and gave gifts to his retinue. Stow has dated the entertainment in the year 1357,

when he was mayor; but 1363 was the year of the visitation of the kings.—In the year 1350 Henry Picard and another person were appointed by the king to make an inquiry concerning a Genoese vessel; and in 1359 he and Hugh de Wichingham lent the king 15,000 marks. [*Fadera, V. vi, p. 692.—Rot. pat. sec. 33 Edw. III, m. 14.*]

It was enacted, that a vessel should not be liable to seizure for a little thing put onboard, without paying custom, unknown to the owner. [*Stat. 1, 38 Edw. III, c. 8.*] It is evident that the want of precision in this law (as indeed in most others of the age) left it in the breast of the judge to acquit or condemn any vessel, just as he chose to call the thing smuggled a little thing or a great thing.

That there might be the greater plenty of wine in the country, the king allowed all denizens, except artificers, to bring wine from Gascoigne, as well as the Gascons and other aliens. [*Stat. 1, 38 Edw. III, c. 11.*]

1365, May 20<sup>th</sup>—A ship belonging to the bishop of Aberdeen, having been left at anchor with only two men onboard, had been driven out to sea, and put into Yarmouth, where the admiral seized her as a wreck. On complaint being made to King Edward, he ordered the admiral to restore the vessel, which could not be adjudged to be wreck when there was any living animal onboard, and much less being in the charge of two men. [*Fœdera, V. vi, p. 462.*]

July 28<sup>th</sup>—The king, observing that many of the clergy and laity carried great sums of money out of the kingdom, by *bills of exchange*, and by way of advance, in merchandize, in coin, and by many other subterfuges, without obtaining his licence, sent orders to many of the great officers of his foreign dominions to make strict search by day and by night, and to stop all persons having money, bullion, bills of exchange, &c. except known merchants; and to make all mariners and merchants arriving from England swear, that they had no money, bullion, or bills of exchange, except for the purposes of their lawful trade. [*Fœdera, V. vi, p. 475.*] As the balance of trade is known to have been favourable to England at this time, these prohibitions, and very laborious and expensive watchings, shew clearly, that, though some remittances were made by bills of exchange, the science of negotiating them, and, indeed, all other commercial science, was scarcely known, at least in England.

The number of persons at this time in England, possessing property to the value of thirty pennies in cattle\*, was only *forty-eight thousand*, if we may venture to take it from the collection of St. Peter's pennies, amounting only to 300 marks, which the king this year took to himself. [*Stow's Annales, p. 420.*]

\* Stow says, 'All that had 30 penny worth of goods, of one manner cattel in their house of their own proper.'—The sense of this is rather obscure: but it may perhaps be explained from Knyghton's description [*col. 2356*] of the persons liable to pay St. Peter's penny in the reign of the Conqueror, viz. every person having the value of thirty pennies of live money (slaves and cattle) in

his house. Earlier descriptions may be seen in the Saxon laws, and Spelman's explanations of them in his *Concilia* and his *Glossary*: but this is the latest I find, for I do not know whence Stow has taken the passage, which I have here quoted from him, and given on the faith of his general integrity.

From the account of Bartholemew Glantville\* [*De proprietatibus rerum*, L. vi, cc. 12, 16, ed. 1481] we find, that slavery still remained with all its rigours in England; the child of a female slave was a slave; she was debarred from marrying without the consent of her proprietor; and a free man by marrying a slave reduced himself to the state of slavery. All slaves were sold like any other living property. We find, however, no accounts of slaves being imported or exported in this age.

After an interval of almost a century, a feeble attempt was made this year by the king of Cyprus to renew the holy war. He took Alexandria, and after keeping possession of it four days, burnt the greatest part of it, and, understanding that the enemy were approaching in great force, went off with a great deal of plunder, consisting of cloth of gold, silk, and other pretious articles, which his soldiers, among whom there were some Englishmen and Gascons, proudly exhibited as trophies of their valour in their own countries. But in consequence of the destruction made by those marauders, the price of spices was raised in all the western parts of the world. The crusade, undertaken on pretence of religion, being thus found destructive of commerce, the Venetians who were moreover suffering from the resentment and revenge of the Egyptians, persuaded the king of Cyprus to negotiate a peace, in which the recovery of the Holy land was entirely lost sight of. The war was soon renewed by the turbulent king of Cyprus, who interested the pope in his cause so far as to attempt to stir up some of the princes of Europe to renew the folly of the preceding century. But his holiness, finding he could not prevail with any of them to take the cross, persuaded the king of Cyprus to seek for peace, which he obtained. [*Fœdera*, V. vi, p. 533.—*Anon. Vit. Edw. III*, p. 430.—*Walsingham*, p. 180.—*De Guignes, en Mem. de littérature*, V. xxxvii, p. 513.]

We are told, that some navigators of Dieppe in Normandy this year (or the year before) discovered the coast of Africa as far as the River Senegal, where they formed a settlement, and obtained some articles of African produce, which they had formerly received by the way of Alexandria. The discoverers admitted several merchants of Rouen to share with them in the African trade; and in the year 1366 the enlarged company fitted out several vessels, and settled factories on the Rivers Niger † and Gambia, at Sierra Leona, &c. In 1382 they built the fort De la Mine d'or on the coast of Guinea, and afterwards those of Acora, Cormentin, and others: and they went on very prosperously till the year 1392, when the civil wars, together with mismanagement among

\* Better known by the name of Bartholomæus Anglicus. His book upon the properties of things is a kind of summary of the knowledge of the age, in the manner of Isidore. It is a pity, that his very frequent quotations from antient authors, and chiefly from Isidore, for what he ought to have

known better himself, render it often doubtful, whether the manners he describes are those of his own age or not.

† Rather the river which used to be supposed the mouth of the Niger.

themselves, brought on their ruin and the loss of all their settlements, except the one on the Niger. These establishments (if they were unquestionably authenticated) might be considered as a renovation of the antient commerce carried on by the Carthaginians on the African coast, and the first rudiments of the discoveries, which, extending along the whole coast of that continent, and at length to India, entirely unhinged the system of antient commerce, and paved the way to those mighty revolutions which have affected the whole surface of the globe\*.  
[See *De Guignes, en Mem. de litterature, V. xxxvii, pp. 518-521.*]

The Flemings, who knew, better than any other people in the west parts of Europe, how to turn all raw materials to the most profitable uses, this year (and probably long before and after) received rabbit skins from England, which, we may suppose, they made into hats. [*Rot. pat. prim. 39 Edw. III, m. 28.*]

1367—Some writers have thought it worth while to inform us, that a thousand citizens of Genoa, all dressed in silk, welcomed the pope to their city, when he stopped there in his way from Avignon to Rome: and the exhibition of so much finery is adduced as a proof of the great opulence of the city †.

May 15<sup>th</sup>—It is worthy of notice, that Galeaz, lord of Milan, offered his second daughter in marriage to Lionel, the second surviving son of King Edward, and to give, as her portion, lands in Piedmont of the annual value of 24,000 gold florins (then equal to three shillings sterling each) together with 100,000 in ready money; or, if it were more agreeable to the king and his son to have all money, he offered to give 250,000 gold florins, besides furnishing his daughter magnificently with dresses and jewels, and even furniture, and conducting her and the mo-

\* ‘The ivory brought from the Tooth coast by the merchants of Dieppe gave birth to the works in ivory, by which that town was enriched as long as the ware continued to be esteemed by the public.’ [*Speſtacle de la Nature, V. iv, p. 429, ed. 1739.*]—Notwithstanding the very respectable authority of De Guignes, the author of the *Speſtacle de la Nature*, &c. the whole history of the French colonies on the African coast is controverted; and it is generally asserted, that no European ever sailed beyond Barbary before the Portuguese. It is said that the Portuguese kept their discoveries as secret as possible; but, admitting the authenticity of the French discoveries, the secret of them must have been much better preserved, as it seems pretty certain that the Portuguese had no knowledge of any voyages made by the French to the coast of Africa previous to their own. But a continuation of a secret trade for above a hundred years was not so practicable in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as when the Phœnicians of Gadir

and Carthage enjoyed their secret trades to the Cassiterides and the African coast.

† Quere, if not rather a proof that 1,000 dresses of silk appeared in the eye of the writer a very extraordinary display of magnificence? When silk was more worn by the ladies of this country than it is at present, would it have been worthy of notice, even in a newspaper, that 1,000 ladies appeared in silk gowns in Hyde park or Kensington gardens? Neither was the display of silk beyond some others of much earlier ages. In the year 1130 all the attendants at the coronation dinner of Roger king of Sicily were dressed in silk. [*Alex. Tenec. ap. Muratori Script. V. v, col. 622.*] Sicily, it is true, was then a chief seat of the silk manufacture. But even in the remote island of Great Britain the display of silk and other finery at the marriage of Alexander III king of Scotland to the daughter of Henry III king of England in the year 1251 (See above, p. 400) was rather superior to this boasted exhibition of Genoa the Stately.

ney to Calais at his own expense. The bargain was struck for the lands and 100,000 florins. [*Fædera*, V. vi, pp. 547, 564.] We have here a notable proof of the vastness of the mass of the precious metals circulating in Italy at this time, the fruit of flourishing commerce and manufactures: for it is idle to suppose, that any great proportion of the wealth of Italy could be acquired by the trade of lending money upon usury or interest, as some have asserted. Productive industry must necessarily provide the funds for the payment of interest, which, unless in the case of interest paid by the state, and provided for by national estates or taxes\*, is truly a participation of profits between the proprietor of the capital and the actual conductor of the business supported by that capital.

June 1<sup>st</sup>—King Edward licenced a German merchant to import eight horses from Flanders, and to sell them for his best advantage in England, or to carry them to any other country, except Scotland, to which he did not allow any horses to be taken out of England †. [*Fædera*, V. vi, p. 566.]

The parliament of Scotland had in the preceding year ordered the money of the kingdom to be coined of the same quality and weight with that of England, viz. twenty-five shillings out of the pound of standard silver. But this year, considering the scarcity of silver money, and thinking, according to the strange erroneous notion of the age, that it was in their power to increase the quantity of it, merely by diminishing its intrinsic value, they ordered that the pound of silver should be coined into twenty-nine shillings and four pennies, or rather (as there were no such coins as shillings) into 352 pennies, pennies with their halves and quarters, together with some groats and half groats, being hitherto the only silver coins struck either in Scotland or in England. They also ordered that no person, whether native or foreigner, should carry any money of gold ‡ or silver out of the kingdom, except what might be sufficient for his necessary expenses, without paying a duty of

\* Interest arising from national estates or taxes does not enrich the community, as it only transfers money from one hand to another, generally within the same territory. But manufactures and commerce enrich the country by money drawn from foreigners; and of the wealth so acquired, this marriage portion, and the one given by the duke of Brabant to King Edward in the year 1339, are illustrious examples and proofs.

† When Lionel went from England to marry the daughter of Galeaz, he took with him 1,280 horses, though he had only 547 men, and was going to Lombardy, a country from which England used to import horses. On that occasion the king also sent some horses as a present to Galeaz. [*Fædera*, V. vi, p. 590.—*Madox's MS. Coll.* V. i, p. 63, in *Mus. Brit.*]

‡ It is generally agreed, that no gold money was coined in Scotland before the reign of Robert II, the successor of David II. If the laws of David II, published by Skene, were unquestionably genuine, here would be a proof, or at least a strong presumption, that he coined gold.—But the laws are not to be depended upon; and I even hesitate in transcribing the regulations concerning the Scottish money, though supported by the example of the diligent and accurate Ruddiman. See his learned *Preface to Anderson's Diplomata et numismata Scotie*. The antient laws of Scotland stand much in need of a new edition; but the work ought to be undertaken by an editor, very different in knowledge and industry from Skene.

half a mark for every pound (or  $16\frac{2}{3}$  per cent), the duty imposed in the year 1347 being thus lowered to one half: but foreigners were permitted to carry away the money brought by themselves without paying any duty. They also further enforced the duties, formerly imposed, of forty pennies in the pound on the price of horses, and twelve pennies on that of oxen and cows, carried out of the country: and they made some regulations respecting the payment for things taken for the royal household, similar to those lately enacted in England. [*Stat. Dav. II, cc. 37, 38, 46, 48, 49, 52.*]

1368, January.—That the armourers of England were superior to those of Scotland, and probably also to those of some other countries, appears from the petitions of two Scottish gentlemen to King Edward for leave to purchase armour in London for a duel, which they were engaged to fight in Scotland. Their petitions were granted: but so much was armour an object of the jealous attention of government, that the various pieces they were permitted to buy were carefully specified. Further proofs of the superiority of the armour, and of the jealousy of government respecting it, also appear in some of the passports granted to Scottish travelers in England; wherein they are charged to carry no armour out of the country. [*Fædera, V. vi, pp. 582, 583, 584, &c.*]

May 1<sup>st</sup>—The permission, lately granted to the English to import wine from Gascoigne, was now revoked; and they were not even allowed to bargain for any wine, till after it was landed by the foreign importer. [*Acts, 42 Edw. III, c. 8.*] As the natives of England were now debarred from exporting wool and wool-fells, and from importing wine, the chief articles of the trade of the country, we need not wonder, that they looked upon foreign merchants with an evil eye. I believe, no writer has ever attempted to account for these extraordinary prohibitions, so glaringly and diametrically opposite to the most obvious principles of commercial policy and common sense.

May 4<sup>th</sup>—King Edward took under his protection John Uneman, William Uneman, and John Lietuyt, clock-makers from Delf, who proposed to carry on their business in England: and he ordered all his subjects to protect and defend them from all injuries\*. [*Fædera, V. vi, p. 590.*]

May 24<sup>th</sup>—The king had promised by a charter to the burgeses of Berwick upon Tweed, that they should be governed by the same laws and customs, which had been established in the reign of Alexander king of Scotland. On their complaint of encroachments upon their rights, he ordered his warden and chamberlain of that town to pay due attention to the laws of Scotland, and regulate their proceedings by them,

\* These were probably the first professed clock-makers in England. Wallingford, abbat of St. Albans, who constructed a wonderful piece of me-

agreeable to his charter. But his order was not obeyed; for the same complaint, and the same order, were repeated a year after. [*Fædera*, V. vi. pp. 593, 620.]

November 20<sup>th</sup>—In a treaty of alliance between Charles, king of France, and Henry, the new king of Castile, the latter engaged to contribute, and keep at sea, twice as many gallies as France, to act against England. [*Fædera*, V. vi, pp. 598, 622.] Though the war was chiefly on Henry's account, in consequence of the assistance given by the prince of Wales to Peter the Cruel, we shall, perhaps, not err very much, if we suppose that Castile had twice as much trade and navigation as France.

1369, March 20<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, understanding that some artificers refused to work for the wages appointed by him and his council, ordered the keepers of the peace and the shirreffs to punish all recusant artificers, and also all employers who gave any more than the limited wages. [*Fædera*, V. vi, p. 615.]

May 10<sup>th</sup>—The merchants and other people of Flanders and Lombardy being injured and insulted in London, the king declared, that they were under his protection, and that the kingdom was benefited by them; and he commanded, that all who molested them should be imprisoned. [*Fædera*, V. vi, p. 618.]

Summer—In consequence of the renewal of the war with France, it was thought unsafe to continue the staple for wool, wool-fells, and hides, any longer at Calais: and therefor the king and parliament ordained, that staples for those articles should be held at Newcastle, Kingston upon Hull, Boston, Yarmouth, Queenburgh, Westminster, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, and Bristol, and also in those towns in Ireland and Wales, wherein they had formerly been\*. All merchants, denizens or aliens, were permitted freely to go over all the country to buy and sell all kinds of goods, carrying the staple articles to the staple towns, there to be weighed, cocketed, and customed, and the sacks of wool to be sealed by the mayor of the staple of the place. The staple goods of Westminster and Winchester were obliged, as formerly, to undergo a second weighing at London and Southampton, the ports of shipping. Alien merchants were at liberty to carry their merchandize to any port whatever: but denizens were not permitted to export any staple goods on pain of forfeiture of vessel and cargo, besides imprisonment for three years. [*Stat. 43 Edw. III, preamble, and c. 1.*]

Though it was alleged that the law for allowing foreigners only to import wines was found advantageous to all the kingdom, nevertheless, as the prince of Wales, who was also prince of Aquitaine (or Gascoigne), complained, that his revenue was impaired by the absence of the English

\* Stow [*Annales*, p. 423] mentions only Queenburgh, Kingston upon Hull, and Boston, as the staples ordained by parliament: and it may be observed that Sir Robert Cotton [*Abridgement*, p. 110] notes the printed act as varying much from the original record.

buyers of wine, and great quantities of wine remained unsold, it was now enacted, that any native of England, Ireland, or Wales, not being an artificer, might go to Gascoigne to buy wines, on finding security to the magistrates of the port of departure, that he would buy at least one hundred tuns of wine, and carry them to no other country but his own, on pain of forfeiture of vessel and cargo, besides imprisonment. [*Stat. 43 Edw. III, c. 2.*]

A war, almost entirely maritime, between Waldemar king of Denmark and the citizens of the Hanse towns was this year concluded. By the treaty of peace Waldemar agreed to put into their hands the towns of Helsingburg, Malmog, Schanore, and Falsterbo, being almost the whole of Schonen, for fifteen years, during which they were to enjoy the revenues as a compensation for the injuries done to them by him\*. [*Pontani Rer. Dan. Hist. L. viii, p. 499.*] Thus was the dominion of the Baltic sea evidently in the hands of the merchants of the Hanse.

King Edward, having resumed the title of king of France, sent ambassadors to confirm the alliance with the earl and people of Flanders. He also ordered all his subjects to be very careful in preserving the truce between him and his subjects on the one part and his brother David of Bruys of Scotland † and his subjects on the other part. The truce with Scotland was soon after extended to fourteen years; mutual liberty of trade was confirmed, letters of safe conduct being even declared unnecessary. [*Fædera, V. vi, pp. 624, 625, 632, 635.*]

1370, April 22<sup>d</sup>—The king also ordered his admirals to protect all Venetian ships, carracks, and galleys, coming to England, provided the Venetians gave no assistance to his enemies, nor took their goods on freight in order to screen them from capture. [*Fædera, V. vi, p. 653.*]

August 4<sup>th</sup>—By a new treaty, between King Edward and the earl and people of Flanders, the Flemish merchants, and all other merchants of countries in amity with both parties, were permitted to trade as freely as in time of peace. The Flemings engaged to carry no goods belonging to the French or Spaniards, and to make no Frenchmen nor Spaniards burgessees of their towns to enable them to sail with Flemish papers. All Flemish vessels should have clear papers exhibiting the contents of their cargoes, the real proprietors or shippers, and the intended port of discharge, attested by the magistrates of the port of departure and by

\* Others say, they were to have only two thirds of the revenues. Some date the commencement of the Hanseatic league from the beginning of this war. So very uncertain is Hanseatic history; and therefore I trust the judicious reader will not blame me for giving fewer particulars of it than Mr. Anderson has done. I am not quite so well assured, as I wish to be, of the authenticity of some parts of their history which I have admitted.

† Notwithstanding the strong political necessity

of courting the friendship of David at this time, Edward could not find in his heart to give him his proper title of *king of Scotland*, nor even any of those additions which were usually given to princes of rank inferior to royalty. In like manner Richard II refused the title of king to his *most dear father of France*, whose infant daughter was married to him. See *Fædera, V. vi, p. 756; V. vii passim* in A. D. 1396, &c.

the earl. The Flemings also engaged to carry no armour, artillery, or stores, to the king's enemies. [*Fœdera*, V. vi, p. 659.] From this treaty we learn, that the expedient used by merchants and mariners for screening their property from capture, when their sovereigns engaged in war, by becoming nominal denizens of neutral powers, is at least as old as the year 1370.

1371, January 1<sup>st</sup>—A ship and two cogs or carracks, belonging to Genoa, and loaded with merchandize belonging to Genoese, Florentine, Lucan, Venetian, and Valentine\*, merchants, had been seized by the English in the years 1369 and 1370: and now the king ordered that they should be restored, and that each of the merchants should receive the packages appearing by the marks to be his property. Soon after (February 3<sup>d</sup>) the treaty with Genoa of the year 1347 was renewed, and all damages and hostilities on both sides were consigned to oblivion, the king adding, as a condition, that the Genoese should give no assistance by land or sea to his enemies. It appears that 2,000 marks were paid to the Genoese in the following year by the king; and at the same time a perpetual peace, or alliance, between England and Genoa on the above terms was concluded, or confirmed (26<sup>th</sup> January, 1372). [*Fœdera*, V. vi, pp. 663, 670, 673, 676, 679, 682, 706, 707.]

Lent—The parliament, apparently in consequence of the duty, intended to defray the expense of guarding the sea, being imposed by the king's authority, enacted, that any new imposition laid upon wool, wool-fells, or hides, without their assent, should be null. [*Stat. 45 Edw. III*, c. 4.]

The commons represented in parliament, that ships were often taken up for the king long before they were wanted, and the merchants ruined by supporting their seamen in idleness; that by the merchants, the supporters of the navy, being so often deprived of their ships, the mariners were driven into other trades; and that the masters of the king's vessels took up (pressed) the masters of other vessels, as good men as themselves, whereby the men were also obliged to seek other means of living, and the ships were rendered useless; and that by these means the navy was reduced. [*Cotton's Abridgement*, p. 113.]

1372, February 7<sup>th</sup>—Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the king issued orders for all vessels in England and Wales to enter into his service, and to assemble on or before the first day of May in the harbours of Southampton, Portsmouth, Hamel in the Rys, and Hamel Hoke, all on the coast of Hampshire opposite to the Isle of Wight. [*Fœdera*, V. vi, p. 708.]

April 7<sup>th</sup>—A merchant of York obtained leave to ship four pipes of Rhenish wine at York for Kingston upon Hull, and thence to carry it to Prussia for sale; he being bound to bring home wood for bows in re-

\* Apparently of Valencia in Spain.

turn for the value of it. [*Fædera*, V. vi, p. 718.] By this very circuitous carriage we might suppose, that the merchants of England carried on a most active foreign trade, when they would undertake to supply the Prussians with wine, which grew in a country between themselves and York. But this was only a rare instance for a particular purpose.

May 24<sup>th</sup>—The race of architects, who erected the magnificent cathedrals and abbays in Scotland, the ruins of which are contemplated even in the present day with reverence and admiration, seem to have been extinct at this time; for we find, that six men were licenced to go from England to erect a tomb for David II, the deceased king of Scotland; and Scottish agents were licenced to travel through England on their way to the continent to procure a stone (most probably a slab of marble) for it, which, we thus see, could not be procured in all Great Britain\*. [*Fædera*, V. vi, p. 721; V. vii, p. 10.]

There were two considerable naval engagements this year. In the first the English fought with the Flemings, without knowing whom they were engaged with, as it is said, and took twenty-five of their vessels, loaded with salt †. The other battle was fought before Rochelle (23<sup>d</sup> June) with the Castilians, who by the superior bulk of their vessels, and also by the execution of some cannon, now for the first time (as far as we know) used at sea, had such a superiority, that, after fighting almost two days, the most of the English vessels were burnt, sunk, or taken. [*Anon. Hist. Edw. III*, p. 438, ed. Hearne.—*Froissart*, L. i, cc. 302-304.—*Murim. Contin.* p. 127.]

July 19<sup>th</sup>—In a league offensive and defensive between King Edward and his son-in-law, the duke of Bretagne, reciprocal freedom of intercourse upon land and water, and free trade in all parts of both countries, were stipulated. [*Fædera*, V. vi, pp. 738, 750.]

It is worthy of notice, as illustrative of the growth and progressive prosperity of the great commercial capital of the British empire, that at this time at least twenty of the houses in Burcher (Birchouer or Birchyn) lane, in the very heart of the city, came under the description of cottages, and under that denomination were conveyed to S<sup>t</sup>. Thomas's hospital in Southwark. [*Rot. pat.* 46 *Edw. III*, m. 2.] It may be also observed, that about this time shops in London appear to have been detached and separate tenements, or at least separate properties, unconnected with houses ‡, as they are at this day in several cities and towns.

\* The mountains of marble in Scotland were, it seems, unknown to the king and his ministers. Yet marble is mentioned among the productions of Scotland by Fordun, [*L.* ii, c. 8] who survived King David but a few years.

† This seems the same battle, which Meyer, the annalist of Flanders, dates in 1371. He says, the Flemish ships were loaded with wine from Rochelle; and he adds that the English fleet afterwards blocked up the Straits of Dover, where-

upon the citizens of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, without regarding the king of France or even their own earl, accommodated matters with the English, whom they considered as their best friends and allies, connected with them by the mutual benefits of daily commercial intercourse.

‡ Of many documents, which might be adduced in support of this observation, one grant by King Edward III to William Latimer may be sufficient. It conveyed to him 2 messuages and 4 shops in the

The citizens of London this year represented to the king and his council, that by their industry and their franchises they had gained their livelihood by land and water and in various countries, from which they had imported many kinds of merchandize, whereby the city and the whole kingdom were greatly benefited, and the navy supported and increased: but that lately their franchises were taken from them, contrary to royal grants and Magna charta, which would be of ruinous consequence to the city, the kingdom, and the navy, and disable them from paying their taxes. They therefor prayed, that they might have relief, and that the relief might be extended to all the cities and burghs in the kingdom \*. [*Brady on burghs, Append. p. 36.*]

1373, January—King Edward having engaged a number of Genoese galleies in his service, and appointed the brother of the duke of Genoa to command them, also employed Genoese officers, soldiers, and mariners, who received certain pay, and were moreover to have all the prisoners and merchandize they should take, together with all things that could reasonably be called pillage, to be divided among themselves, the castles, towns, and ships, taken from the enemy being reserved to the king. [*Fædera, V. vi, pp. 753, 762, 763.*]

November—The city of Bristol with its suburbs was detached from the counties of Somerset and Gloucester, in both of which it is situated, and made a county of itself by parliament; and all its liberties and charters were confirmed. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 119.*] Bristol, seated in the heart of the clothing country, was at this time unquestionably the second commercial city in England.

By a new regulation for the measurement of woollen cloths it was now enacted, that cloths of raze should be 27 elns long and 5 quarters broad, and cloths of colour 26 elns long measured by the ridge, and 6 quarters broad; and half cloths in proportion. Those who made cloth for their own use, or for clothing their retinue, were not bound by this law. [*Stat. 47 Edw. III.*]

1374, July 24<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, observing that the money of Scotland was now inferior to that of England, ordered the chancellor of Berwick to proclaim that the Scottish groat should be taken for only three pennies, and other coins in proportion †. [*Fædera, V. vii, p. 41.*]

parish of St. Dionis, Langburn ward; 3 messuages and 5 shops in St. Andrews, Billingsgate; 1 messuage and 1 shop with a quay adjoining in St. Mary at Hill, Billingsgate; 3 messuages with a cellar in St. Botulph's, Billingsgate; and 1 messuage and 2 shops in St. Mildred's, Bread street. [*Rot. pat. sec. 47 Edw. III, m. 18.*]

\* All the annalists say, that the merchants of London, Norwich, &c. were inclined to rebell this year: but there is nothing in the preceding or subsequent events to warrant such an assertion.

† This was but a lumping way of fixing a

standard of exchange. By the best information we are possessed of, the silver money of both kingdoms was of the same standard. The English coined £1:5:0, and the Scots £1:9:4, from a pound of standard silver. So, if the Scots had submitted to King Edward's regulation, and given £1:9:4 of their own money for £1:2:0 of English, they would have sustained a loss of about 14 per cent.—Therefor we are sure that the people of Northumberland disregarded the proclamation, or evaded it by collusive prices.

1375, January 31<sup>st</sup>.—Some Scottish traders having been plundered at sea by pirates from Normandy, King Robert directed his ambassadors, then going to the court of France, to demand compensation. [*Robertson's Index of charters, &c. p. 100.*]

February 16<sup>th</sup>.—The Scots had very often occasion to import grain and malt, of which many instances might be adduced from the records, but one may suffice.—King Edward licenced James, son of the earl of Douglas, to purchase for the use of his own household 100 quarters of wheat and 300 quarters of malt in Lincoln-shire and Norfolk, and to ship them at any port for Scotland. [*Fœdera, V. vii, p. 58.*]

February.—Though King Edward in the year 1370 had ordered his naval commanders to respect the Venetian flag, the duke of Venice thought it necessary again to apply for letters of safe conduct for the Venetian vessels trading to Flanders, and particularly for five gallies, which were soon to sail for that country\*. The merchants of Catalonia also about this time applied for letters of safe conduct, before they would venture to sail for Flanders. [*Fœdera, V. vii, p. 52.—Rot. pat. prim. 48 Edw. III, m. 21.*]

June 27<sup>th</sup>.—The war with France was suspended by a truce, wherein it was provided, that the subjects of both powers might go and come unarmed in either kingdom, and exercise merchandize or any other business. [*Fœdera, V. vii, p. 68.*]

1376, January.—It being usual for fraudulent debtors to make over their tenements to their friends in confidence, and live upon the rents of them in the sanctuaries of Westminster, St. Martins le Grand, and other such privileged places, in order to compell their creditors to accept trifling compositions in full payment of their debts, the parliament enacted, that all tenements or chattels, collusively conveyed, should be liable to the just claims of the creditors. [*Stat. 50 Edw. III, c. 6.*]

It was enacted, that no woollen cloths should be exported without being fulled; nor should any subsidy be demanded for them before they underwent that operation. [*Stat. 50 Edw. III, c. 7.*] Thus we see the English, who had hitherto been generally only the shepherds, spinners, and weavers, for the foreign manufacturers, making a considerable advance towards getting the manufacture entirely into their own hands. But it was not till a very long time after that a law against exporting cloths, before they were completely finished, could be enacted.

The parliament also ordained, that neither subsidy nor aulnage should be charged upon the cloth called frise, made in Ireland, or in England of Irish wool brought to England; and also that they should not be sub-

\* In a similar application in the year 1382 the duke promises, not reciprocal favour to English merchants in Venice, for there were apparently none, but liberal treatment and favour to the nobles

and other subjects of England traveling to that city, [*Fœdera, V. vii, c. 354*] the superior splendour of which thus appears to have already attracted the notice of English travelers.

ject to the law, lately passed, for regulating the lengths and breadths of cloths. [*Stat. 50 Edw. III, c. 8.*]

The magistrates and community of London petitioned the parliament, that they might enjoy their liberties, and that strangers might not be allowed to have houses, to be brokers, or to sell goods by retail. Soon after, in the same parliament, the community of the city represented to the king and council, that their franchises were invaded, merchant strangers acted as brokers, and sold goods by retail, and also discovered secrets to the enemy; and they prayed that a stop might be put to those enormities. Their petition was granted, 'saving to the German merchants of the Hanse the franchises granted and confirmed to them by the king and his progenitors.' [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 133.*]

July 23<sup>d</sup>—The staple was again fixed on the continent. The inhabitants of Calais having complained to the king, that their city was declining, he ordained, that the staple for wool, hides, wool-fells, and also lead, tin, worsted stuffs, together with cheese, butter, feathers, 'gaulæ \*,' honey, peltry ('felpariæ'), and tallow ('cepi' apparently for *sebi*), should be held there; and he ordered that all those articles †, exported from any part of England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed, should be carried to Calais, and to no other place. [*Fœdera, V. vii, pp. 116, 118.*]

Licences were required for bringing corn into England as well as for carrying it out, as appears by a permission granted this year to import 400 quarters from Ireland to Kendale in Westmereland. [*Rot. pat. prim. 50 Edw. III, m. 5.*]

1377, January 30<sup>th</sup>—Some Florentine merchants being persecuted by the pope, King Edward took under his protection all those who were in England or Calais by putting them in the Tower and taking all their property into his own hands. He then declared that they were his own real and unfeigned servants, and that the property, which he again put into their hands, belonged to him, and was to be improved by them for his advantage, wherefor he ordered all persons to abstain from doing them any injury ‡. [*Fœdera, V. vii, p. 135.*]

January or February—The parliament granted the king a capitation tax of four pennies from every lay person of either sex in the kingdom above fourteen years of age, real known beggars only excepted. The unpromoted ecclesiastical persons of either sex, except the brethren of the four mendicant orders, paid the same tax, and those who were promoted, twelve pennies §. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 145.—Walsingham, p. 191.*]

\* Gaulæ, in French, a switch, rod, or pole.—  
Qu. if osier branches for the coopers and basket-makers on the continent?

† They probably comprehended almost all the exports of the kingdom, except some cloth, and sometimes corn.

‡ Walsingham [*p. 190*] says, the pope gave them the option of being slaves to the king of England, or submitting to the mercy of the papal court; and of two evils they chose the least.

§ Walsingham [*p. 191*] observes, that this was an unheard-of tax.

From the accounts of the produce of this tax, happily preserved \*, we are enabled to form a pretty good estimate of the population of the whole kingdom, and particularly of the following cities and towns.

	Lay persons, above 14. Estim. total †.			Lay persons, above 14. Estim. total.	
London, a city	23,314	34,971	Cambridge	1,722	2,583
York, a city	7,248	10,872	Exeter, a city	1,560	2,340
Bristol	6,345	9,517	Worcester, a city	1,557	2,335
Plymouth	4,837	7,256	Kingston upon Hull	1,557	2,336
Coventry	4,817	7,225	Ipswich	1,507	2,260
Norwich, a city	3,952	5,928	Northampton	1,477	2,216
Lincoln, a city	3,412	5,118	Nottingham	1,447	2,170
Salisbury, a city	3,226	4,830	Winchester, a city	1,410	2,160
Lynne	3,127	4,691	Stanford	1,218	1,827
Colchester	2,955	4,432	Newark	1,178	1,767
Beverly	2,663	3,995	Wells	1,172	1,758
Newcastle upon Tyne	2,647	3,970	Ludlow	1,172	1,758
Canterbury, a city	2,574	3,861	Southampton	1,152	1,728
S <sup>t</sup> . Edmundsbury	2,442	3,663	Derby	1,046	1,569
Oxford	2,357	3,536	Litchfield, a city	1,024	1,536
Gloucester	2,239	3,358	Chichester, a city	869	1,304
Leicester	2,101	3,152	Boston	814	1,221
Shrewsbury	2,082	3,123	Carlisle, a city ‡	678	1,017
Yarmouth	1,941	2,911	Rochester, a city	570	855
Hereford, a city	1,903	2,855	Bath, a city	570	855
Ely, a city	1,722	2,583	Dartmouth	506	759

The counties of Bedford, Surrey §, Dorset, Middlesex exclusive of London ||, Westmerland, Rutland, Cornwall, Berks, Hertford, Huntingdon, Buckingham, and Lancaster, contained no towns thought worthy of particular enumeration. Chester and Durham, being palatine counties and having their own collectors, are not included in the roll; neither is Wales.

The whole number of lay persons taxed in the shires and towns inserted

\* For the publication of them we are indebted to Mr. Topham and the Antiquarian society. See their *Archeologia*, V. vii, p. 340.

† As many people would endeavour to pass their children of 15 and 16 as under 14, and many must have been omitted by the collectors, we shall probably come very near the truth, if we reckon the untaxed persons, exclusive of beggars, equal to one half of those who paid the tax. Those, who have made the duration of human life their study, agree that one third of the persons living are under sixteen.

‡ It is recorded in the patent rolls [*sec.* 14 Ric. II, m. 3] that *one thousand five hundred houses* were burnt in the three principal streets of Car-

lisle. But, notwithstanding the high authority of a public record, and though the number is expressed fully in words, there must be a mistake. Carlisle, like almost every other town in the kingdom, is surely much more populous now than in the fourteenth century: and in the year 1780 the city and suburbs contained only 1,605 families, or 6,299 persons, who lodged in 891 houses. See Sir Frederic Eden's *State of the poor*, V. ii, p. 64.

§ Southwark seems to be included in London.

|| It is surprising that Westminster is not noticed. We can scarcely suppose it included in London; and yet the taxables of Middlesex, only 11,243, seem too few to comprehend the inhabitants of that city, or large suburb.

in the roll, agreeable to the addition * at the bottom of it, is	1,376,442
Chester, supposed equal to Cornwall	34,274
Durham, to Northumberland, including Newcastle	16,809
and Wales, including Monmouth-shire, to York-shire with its towns †	181,040
	<hr/>
	1,558,565
Proportion assumed for children under fourteen, and omissions	779,282
Ecclesiastical persons, male and female, except mendicant friars	29,161
Suppose the number of ecclesiastics in Wales and Durham, mendicant friars, and other beggars	132,992
	<hr/>

The whole people of England and Wales appear to have been about 2,500,000

The parliaments very often granted taxes of tenths and fifteenths to be levied upon personal property. In a record of the year 1373, when both a tenth and a fifteenth were collected, the following appear to have been the only cities or towns which paid separately from the shires ‡.

London paid	£733 6 8	Kingston upon Hull	£33 6 8
Bristol	220 0 0	Bath	13 6 8
York	162 0 0		

During the long reign of Edward III the commerce and manufactures of England appear to have been in a progressive state of advancement, notwithstanding the rapid succession of contradictory laws by which they were harassed. The merchants began to open their eyes to the beneficial effects of taking the exportation of wool and other English produce into their own hands; and consequently they possessed more shipping §, and carried on more active trade, than their ancestors had ever done. The woollen manufacture, which almost ever since the reign of Edward has been esteemed the chief support of England, made such a progress, that before his death the people seem to have been almost entirely clothed with it; we see English cloths even a considerable article of export, and have reason to believe that no great quantity of Flemish or other foreign cloth was imported. The regulations for the fishery, though far from being judicious, show that it was at least an object of attention. But the rage of conquest swallowed up every other consideration: to that the interests of commerce were unhesitatingly sacrificed upon every occasion; and even the marriages projected || for his children were directed by belligerent politics. Thence, though he got vast sums by marriage contracts and by the ransoms of two captive kings, he expend-

\* The total disagrees with the particulars, and also with the sum. But it is impossible to say, where the errors lie. The appearance of four pairs of towns, perfectly equal to each-other, is at least a strange circumstance, if not erroneous. That Boston, a town of considerable foreign trade, should contain only 814 people above 14 years of age, is also very surprising. But it must be acknowledged, that there is much inaccuracy in the numbers, and also in the words, of many of the records of the middle ages.

† In the numbers assumed for Chester, Durham,

and Wales, I have followed Mr. Chalmers in his *Estimate of the strength of Great Britain*, p. 14, ed. 1794.

‡ This tax-roll was presented to the society by Mr. Topham at the same time with the others, and is also published along with them.

§ The proof of the increase of shipping is found, notwithstanding the assertion to the contrary, in the first *Navigation act*, passed in the beginning of his successor's reign.

|| Many marriages were projected, which did not take place.

ed more of the money of his subjects (who, dazzled with the splendour of his fruitless victories, generally gave it with good will) than any of his predecessors. The acquisition of the crown of France was the darling wish of his heart, and the great object of all his politics. But, of all that he had conquered in that kingdom, there remained subject to him at his death only the single town of Calais, an useless incumbrance upon the treasury of England\*: and, fortunately for Great Britain, his attempt to conquer France deprived him of almost all the territories inherited by him from his ancestors in that kingdom, except Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and the islands in the Channel. In his reign the integrity of the sterling money was lost sight of, and permanent taxes became familiar to the English; but that hardship was in some degree alleviated by the representatives of the commons, the branch of the parliament most connected with commerce, beginning to feel and assert their own political importance as an essential part of the legislative body, and trustees for the purses of their constituents. If Edward had set himself down quietly (and there was nothing to hinder him) to mind the best duty of a king, and the best interests of his subjects, the English might very soon have become a great agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial, people.

November—Before the introduction of manufactures created profitable employment for the people not necessarily engaged in agriculture, (for the population of Europe, though far short of the numbers now maintained in the more civilized parts of it, was more than sufficient for cultivating the ground, as cultivation was then managed) the superfluous people attached themselves to chiefs, by whom they were maintained in idleness in peaceable times, and whose standard they followed in battle, to defend the country, to convulse it by civil war, or to attack a neighbouring chief, just as their lord commanded them. In this state of society even the smaller barons found it impossible to live in safety in the neighbourhood of a great lord without connecting themselves with him by an obligation of military service on their part and a promise of protection on his. Thus was a kingdom, though nominally united under one sovereign, actually divided into a number of independent territories, the lords of which paid no more obedience to the king or the laws than what their own inclinations or interests prompted them to: and thence we find the personal character of the sovereign in those ages have a much greater effect in exalting a kingdom to a transitory superiority, or sinking it into a temporary decline, than ever appears in the better constituted and consolidated governments of later times. It appears, that some people of small estates in England, perhaps desirous of imitating the condottieri, or leaders of the companions, who,

\* In the second year of King Richard II it was asserted in parliament, that Calais cost £20,000 a-year. [*Cotton's Abridgement*, p. 174.]

independent of any sovereign authority, about this time rendered themselves the terror of France, Spain, and Italy \*, also set themselves up as chiefs of retinues of armed idlers. The retinues or bands of each chief were distinguished by uniform hats and clothing, which were called liveries †, and served as a symbol of union and attachment. The parliament, sensible of the pernicious tendency of such associations, prohibited the use of liveries under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture. [*Statute 1 Ric. II, c. 7.*] But the law, though several times renewed, had little effect ‡, till the extension of manufactures and commerce, by which the lower classes of the people found useful employment and were enabled to eat the bread of independent honest industry, and the nobles found more agreeable means of employing their redundant wealth, gradually, but much more effectually, relieved the kingdom from the nuisance of chiefs, who were above the law, and vassals, who knew no law but the commands of such chiefs.

1378, Summer—John Mercer, a merchant of Scotland §, who used to trade to France, and was in great favour with the king of that country on account of his prudence and good services, when returning home to Scotland in the year 1377, was driven by stress of weather upon the coast of England, seized, and confined in the castle of Scarborough, till an order from court effected his discharge ||. His son, to revenge the injury, cruised before Scarborough with a fleet composed of French, Scots, and Spaniards, and took several vessels. John Philpot, an opulent citizen of London, thereupon took upon himself the protection of the trade of the kingdom, neglected by the duke of Lancaster, who, without the name of regent, governed the kingdom in the minority of his nephew, and having hired a thousand armed men, sent them to sea in search of

\* The companions consisted chiefly of English and French soldiers, disbanded after the peace of Bretigny in the year 1360, who, unwilling or incapable to return to honest industry, associated under the banners of profligate chiefs, and supported themselves by plunder. The king of France seized the opportunity of the civil war in Spain to persuade them to enter into the service of Henry of Trastamare, who by their means became king of Castile. The two daughters, legitimate or illegitimate, of Peter the Cruel, the dethroned tyrant, were brought to England, and married to King Edward's two sons, John and Edmund, the former of whom immediately assumed the title of king of Castile and Leon, and thereby drew the enmity of King Henry upon England.

† The name and the uniformity of dress still remain in the small retinues of noblemen and gentlemen.

‡ So little regard was paid to this law by the courtiers, that Simon Burley, warden of the Cinque ports and a great favourite with King Richard, every Christmas gave from 140 to 220 pieces of

cloth, some of them scarlet and others gilded ('deauratos'), among knights, squires, valets, and others, his dependents. [*Knyghton, col. 2727.*]

§ He seems to have been a burgher of Perth, apparently the chief port of Scotland after the loss of Berwick, till the royal residence, permanently fixed at Edinburgh, gave Leith a superiority over the other ports of the kingdom. He obtained charters for several tenements in and near Perth; and he also held lands of the earl of Douglas, who calls him his vassal in a letter sent to King Richard, remonstrating upon the injustice of the seizure. [*Robertson's Index, pp. 66, 74, 120, 129.—Original letter in Bib. Cott. Vesp. F vii, f. 34.*]

|| Walsingham says, if he had been released as a captive for a ransom, the king and the whole kingdom would have got *inestimable* riches by it, and he regrets the loss of it. This is surely overrating the opulence of Mercer at a prodigious rate. The narrow-minded monk, blinded with, what he supposed, patriotic zeal, did not see any injustice in detaining a man a prisoner in time of peace.

Mercer, whom they took together with his prizes and fifteen Spanish vessels, his consorts, all richly loaded \*. [*Walsingham*, p. 211.]

October—The act of 1376 having abolished the liberties formerly granted in England to foreign merchants, except those of the Hanse, it now appeared, that the franchises, claimed by the cities and burghs, were destructive of trade and hurtful to the community. The parliament therefor, perceiving the advantages derived from the resort of merchant strangers, revived the acts of the years 1335 and 1351, and gave the foreign merchants liberty to remain in the kingdom as long as they had occasion, instead of being restricted to forty days, with permission to buy and to sell, either in wholesale or retail, corn, flesh, fish, and other provisions, and also spiceries, fruits, furs, silk, gold and silver wire or thread, coverchefs, and other small wares, from or to any person whatever, native or foreigner. But wines were to be sold in the casks wherein they were imported, and not to be retailed by any but the freemen of cities and burghs. Cloth of gold or silver, stuffs of silk, fendal †, napery, linen, canvases, and other large articles ‡, might be sold by foreign importers to any person, native or foreigner, in any city, town, fair or market, London not excepted, but in quantities not less than a piece, only the freemen of cities and burghs being allowed to sell those articles by retail as well as by wholesale. All charters and franchises, containing any thing contrary to this act, were annulled, as prejudicial and oppressive. The prelates and lords, however, still retained their oppressive prerogative of purveying victuals and other necessaries, as they were wont to do in old times §: and the ordinances for the staple at Calais were maintained in full force. Strangers were permitted to buy and sell wool, wool-fells, mercery, cloth, iron, and other merchandize, at fairs and markets in the country as formerly. All magistrates and others in authority were desired to protect the foreign merchants in the enjoyment of the privileges now conferred upon them.—The laws against forestalling wines, victuals, mercery, and other merchandize, were also renewed. [*Stat. 1, 2 Ric. II, cc. 1, 2.*]

The parliament in the very next act made an encroachment upon the privileges of the staple at Calais, by granting permission to the merchants of Genoa, Venice, Catalonia, Aragon, and other countries situated to the westward, and in amity with the king, who brought carraks, ships, gallies, or other vessels, to Southampton or other ports of England, load-

\* By this enterprize Philpot got much envy and illwill among the nobles and military men, but much applause among his fellow-citizens, who chose him for their mayor at the next election.

† A thin silken stuff. [*Du Cange Gloss. vo. Cendalum.*]

‡ It is well worthy of notice, that woollen cloths are not mentioned, which, considering their former importance in the list of imports, may be regarded as a good proof, that, if any were now

imported, the quantity of them was very small indeed.

§ That oppressive and unjust prerogative was taken away from all persons, except the king and queen, in the year 1362, and even for them it was modified so as to be pretty tolerable, if the law had been adhered to; but similar acts in succeeding reigns show that it was not adhered to, and the legislators of 1377 appear not to have known any thing of it.

ed or light, to sell their merchandize freely, to load with wool, hides, wool-fells, tin, lead, and other merchandize of the staple, and to carry them to their own countries, on paying the customs payable on goods carried to the staple at Calais, and giving security not to carry them to the east countries\*. [*Stat. 1, 2 Ric. II, c. 3.*]

A further infraction of the ordinance of the staple was a permission to merchants of Gascoigne and England to carry to the king's friends in Gascoigne and also in Brest, which had been lately ceded to the king by the duke of Bretagne, corn and other victuals, together with leather gloves, purses, caps, and some other petty articles. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 157.*]

1379, March 6<sup>th</sup>—Formerly when the kings of England borrowed money, they got it chiefly from the clergy, because they were almost the only people who had any money, the wealth of the nobles consisting of lands and the produce of them with the services of their vassals, and the commons being generally too poor to have any money to lend. The loans, made by King Richard, show that a happy change in the circumstances of the people had already begun to appear. In the first year of his reign he borrowed 'infinite thousands of pounds from certain merchants:' [*Rot. pat. prim. 1 Ric. II, m. 12*] and at this time we find in a list, evidently defective †, of 145 subscriptions, as we would now call them, to a loan, that 55 of them were by six bishops, and by abbats, priors, and others belonging to ecclesiastical establishments, eight of them being for £100 each; 74 by noblemen and gentlemen from £100 down to £2 ‡; and 17 by the communities of cities and towns, as follows.

London	£5,000	0	0	Winchester	£40	0	0	Hadley	£50	0	0
Gloucester	40	0	0	Brentwood	10	0	0	S <sup>t</sup> . Edmundsbury	33	6	8
Bedford	20	0	0	Coggeshale	40	0	0	Alderton and	} 33	6	8
Northampton	40	0	0	Cambridge	66	13	4	Baudsey, Suffolk			
Cirencester	33	6	8	Maldon	40	0	0	Ipswich	40	0	0
Salisbury	100	0	0	Retford	33	6	8	Bristol §.	666	13	4

[*Fadera, V. vii, p. 210.*—*Rot. pat. sec. 2. Ric. II. m. 17.*]

\* Genoa, Venice, &c. though situated to the eastward of England, were accounted western countries, because their ships passed the west parts of France and England in coming to the latter. The Netherlands and the countries adjacent to the Baltic sea were the east countries. This act permits English wool to be exported to Spain. How the times are altered!

† I call it defective, because we may be assured, that no bishop or earl could excuse himself from contributing on such an occasion, and many towns, of more importance than those which appear, are omitted.

‡ Several of the subscriptions are by two or more persons conjunctly; but, as they are not distinguished as merchants or by any professional addition, we are not warranted to suppose them partners in trade.

In the year 1346 there was a loan, not by sub-

scription, but by prescription, the king sending his mandate to each person to advance such a sum as he thought proper to order. Of 89 lenders 19 seem to be laymen, one of whom, John of Cherleton of London (apparently the mayor of the merchants of the staple, and the only one in the list who can be supposed a citizen, merchant, or trader) was charged with £1,000, by much the largest sum in the list. On that occasion the towns were not required to advance money but to furnish prescribed numbers of men. [*Fadera, V. v, pp. 491, 493.*]

§ To a less general loan in the year 1377 the city of Bristol subscribed £621 : 13 : 4; Robert Spicer, a merchant of Bristol, £45; and some other laymen, very considerable sums. The archbishop of Canterbury on that occasion subscribed £333 : 6 : 8, and now only £100. [*Fadera, V. vii, p. 177.*]

June 6<sup>th</sup>—The king, considering the great force of warlike ships, which the French had upon the north (or rather east) coast of England, and the damage suffered by the people of Scarborough in particular by captures, and by paying £1,000 in ransoms within two years, whereby they were brought almost to ruin, ordered two ships, two barges, and two balingers, properly fitted for war, to cruise upon that coast. For supporting the expense of those vessels he, at the request of the commons in parliament, ordered the admiral and wardens of the North sea to levy a duty of six pennies per tun upon every ship and crayer for each voyage outward and homeward upon that sea, except those trading between London and Flanders or Calais (which on the other hand were not intitled to the protection of the Squadron); six pennies per tun from fishing vessels for every week they should be employed upon the herring fishery, or for every three weeks upon any other fishery; six pennies per tun upon all vessels with coals from Newcastle to be paid quarterly; and six pennies per last of grain for each voyage from all ships, crayers, and vessels, trading to Prussia, Norway, Sconen, or the adjacent countries. [*Fœdera*, V. vii, p. 220.] We here see the Newcastle coal trade an object of the attention, and also of the favour, of government, being taxed the lowest, while the herring fishery was very unwisely taxed the highest. The attention of government to the coal trade appears further in an order issued soon after this time for measuring the keels \* at Newcastle. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 8 Ric. II, *a tergo*, 34.] And that coals, together with grindstones, were then, as at this day, the chief objects of the industry of the country adjacent to Newcastle, may be presumed from their being first mentioned among the things swept away by a great flood in the rivers of Northumberland about the beginning of the year 1377. [*Walsingham*, p. 191.]

This year an opulent merchant of Genoa offered to raise Southampton to a pre-eminence above every port on the western coasts of Europe by making it the deposit of all the Oriental goods, which the Genoese used to carry to Flanders, Normandy, and Bretagne, which countries would thenceforth be supplied from it, to the great advantage of England, provided the king would allow him to store his goods in the castle of Southampton. If this plan had been carried into execution, it was supposed, that pepper would have been sold in England at four pennies a pound, and other spices in proportion. But the Genoese merchant was murdered upon the street in London; and the English merchants, who are said to have thought his scheme ruinous to their own trade, are charged with having hired the assassins. [*Walsingham*, pp. 227, 533.]

It must be acknowledged, that the people of England, especially those engaged in any kind of trade or manufactures, were so far from being sensible, that an accession of well-employed capital, or of industrious

\* River craft for carrying the coals onboard the ships, and used as measures then, as now.—

hands, is a powerful encouragement to every branch of the industry of the country in which they settle, that they were continually persecuting the foreign traders and workmen with every insult and injury in their power. The weavers in particular were perpetually quarreling with the Netherlanders, whose example was destined to exalt their trade to a surprising height of affluence and dignity. After a long succession of squabbles, embittered by national pride and a collision, real or supposed, of interests, between the weavers of London and those from the Netherlands \*, an agreement was effected between them this year, which was confirmed by royal authority, as were also at the same time the liberties granted to the foreign weavers by Edward III. [*Rot. pat. sec. 3. Ric. II, m. 7.*]

1380, February 10<sup>th</sup>—The accident of a Catalan ship bound from Genoa to Sluys, the port of Bruges in Flanders, being driven onshore at Dunster in Somersetshire, where she was seized, and the application of some Genoese merchants for the restoration of their property shipped onboard her, gives us a specimen of the articles carried from Italy to Flanders in those days. They consisted of

Green ginger ;	White sugar, perhaps sugar-candy ;
Ginger cured with lemon juice ;	Empty boxes, 6 bales ;
Arquinetta, one bale ;	Dry prunes ;
Dried grapes, or raisins ;	' Octo balas risarum,' qu. rice ?
Sulphur ;	Cinnamon, 5 bales ;
Wadde (perhaps woad) 172 bales ;	One pipe ' pulveris salvistri ;'
Writing paper, 22 bales ;	Bussus †, 5 bales.

[*Fœdera, V. vii, p. 233.*]

Summer—Some privateers of Hull and Newcastle took a Scottish ship, the cargo of which was valued by the captors at *seven thousand* marks. [*Walsingham, p. 239.*] But there were probably very few vessels, belonging either to England or Scotland, which had cargoes of such value ‡.

September 8<sup>th</sup>—What must have been the condition or management of the navy of England, when the French, after having insulted many parts of the south coast, went up the Thames as far as Gravesend with only four galleys, burnt some houses in that town, and after plundering and destroying on both sides of the river, carried off their prey and prisoners with impunity ? [*Murim. Contin. p. 150.—Stow's Ann. p. 449.*]

November—The king in parliament, ordered, that all kinds of wine, oil, honey, and other liquors, should be gauged on importation, agreeable to the law formerly made for gauging wine. [*Stat. 4 Ric. II, c. 1.*]

\* Some years before this time the Netherland weavers in London were so numerous, that different places were appointed for their deliberations on the affairs of their communities, those of Flanders having the church-yard of St. Laurence Pultney, and those of Brabant that of St. Mary Somerset. [*Stow's Survey, p. 407, ed. 1618.*]

† Probably the finest Egyptian flax (*B<sub>95502</sub>*) car-

ried to Flanders for making cambrics. See Sanuto, p. 24, or above, p. 491. There are some other articles unknown, which I have left in the original Latin.—A further specimen of Genoese exports to Flanders will be seen under the year 1386.

‡ I have already had occasion to observe that Walsingham dashes his numbers at random.

About this time, according to the account of Zeno's voyage, with Doctor Forster's geographical illustration of it, the chief port of the Orkney islands was frequented by many vessels from Flanders, Bretagne, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark, attracted by the vast abundance of fish caught there, by means of which the inhabitants got great wealth. [*Forster's Discoveries in the North*, pp. 183, 202, *Engl. transl.*]

1381—Capitation taxes, begun in the last year of King Edward III, now followed each other in rapid succession. In the year 1379 those of the higher ranks were made to pay for their titles as well as their property; for example, a duke or archbishop £6 : 13 : 4, an earl, countess dowager, mayor of London, £4; other mayors from 6/8 to 40s; merchants from 1/6 to 20s, &c. and every person, male or female, above sixteen, 4d. In 1380 a tax of twelve pennies was imposed upon every person of either sex above the age of fifteen, except mere beggars. [*Parliam. hist. V. i*, pp. 346, 358.] These taxes were exacted with much tyrannic rigour, indecency, and brutal insult, infinitely more galling than the payment itself. The consequence was an insurrection of the lower class of the people, whom the severity of depression, and perhaps some faint glimpse of the independence which commerce and manufactures were destined to confer upon their posterity, disposed to engage in any desperate attempt to meliorate their condition. For some little time they carried all before them, and were, as may be supposed, guilty of many atrocities. They obtained from the king charters for the abolition of slavery, for freedom of trade, and for the substitution of money rents for lands in place of oppressive services. But Walter, a Kentish tiler, who was their leader, being killed by William Walworth mayor of London (June 15<sup>th</sup>), the unorganized multitude were immediately dispersed: and similar tumults in other parts of the country were also quelled. Then the king, or rather his counselors, considering the charters of liberty as extorted, and 'prejudicial to the king, the nobles, and the church,' revoked them, and ordered the villeins and others, who were under feudal subjection to superiors, to return to the accustomed duties and labours of their condition (July 2<sup>d</sup>). But those convulsions were not without beneficial consequences: they admonished the feudal lords to be more moderate in the exaction of services, which had no foundation in mutual agreement, and were not warranted by reciprocal advantages; they induced them to consent to the emancipation of their villeins on moderate terms\*; and, though they were to all appearance completely suppressed, the remembrance of them inspired the vassals with a desire for the independence enjoyed by their brethren employed in trades in cities and burghs, and particularly in the woollen

\* Simon Burley demanded 300 pounds of silver for the freedom of one of his bondmen; a price perfectly equal to an absolute denial: and his seizure and imprisonment of the man, according to Stow, [*Annales*, p. 451] provoked the insurrection in Kent.

manufactures, now become pretty extensive, which never ceased to operate, till manufactures finally banished slavery from the land, and liberty became the inherent birthright of every British subject. [*Knyghton*, col. 2633.—*Walsingham*, p. 247.—*Fædera*, V. vii, pp. 316, 317, 371.]

November—The parliament, after premising, that, in consequence of the grievous mischief of carrying abroad money and bullion, there was scarcely any gold or silver left in the kingdom, strictly prohibited all merchants and clergymen, aliens or natives, from carrying abroad any gold or silver in coin, bullion, or vessel, or by exchange. But money for paying the king's garrisons on the continent might be exported. Prelates, great lords, and some others, having occasion to make payments beyond the sea, might remit money by exchange on obtaining the king's special licence for the express sum. But the negotiators of the exchange were to be sworn, that they would send no gold nor silver out of the country for the purpose of answering their bills. No person, either of the clergy or laity, except lords and other great men, real known merchants, and the king's soldiers, was to be allowed to go out of the kingdom \*: and to render the prohibition the more effectual, London and some other principal ports were declared the only places, whence any person could pass over to the continent. The infringers of this law were to be punished by heavy forfeitures. [*Stat. 1, 5 Ric. II, c. 2.*]

In order to augment the navy of England, which was now said to be greatly reduced, it was enacted, that no subject of the king should ship any merchandize, outward or homeward, except in ships of the king's allegiance, after the next Easter, on penalty of forfeiture of vessel and cargo. [*Stat. 1, 5 Ric. II, c. 3.*] This was the first *Navigation act* passed by the parliament of England.

If any Englishman passed over the sea to import wines, he was prohibited from selling them in England at above £5 per tun for the best wine of Gascoigne, Osey, or Spain, and £4 for the best Rochelle wine, or above 6d per gallon for any of them in retail. Rhenish wine, being imported in casks of various sizes, was to be sold by the gallon only, and not above 6d, whether in wholesale or retail. Inferior wines to be sold in proportion. The king strictly commanded, that no sweet wine or claret ('clarree') should be retailed in the kingdom after the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1382 †. [*Stat. 1, 5 Ric. II, cc. 4, 5.*—*Fædera*, V. vii, p. 378.]

The citizens of Cork in Ireland this year obtained from the king an ample confirmation of their liberties. [*Rot. pat. sec. 5 Ric. II, m. 32.*]

1382, January—The parliament granted liberty to all foreign merch-

\* This prohibition was in direct opposition to the 42<sup>d</sup> article of the Magna charta, which used to be formally ratified, without paying any other attention to it, at the beginning of every session of parliament.

† By Stat. 1, 6 Ric. II, c. 7 they were permitted to be retailed at the price of Gascoigne and Rhenish wines.

ants, of every nation in amity with the king and kingdom, to come into England, to reside as long as they pleased in franchised places or others, to manage their business under the king's protection, and to return to their own countries at their pleasure. [*Stat. 2, 5 Ric. II, c. 1.*] It appears from the statutes, that this liberty required to be re-enacted in the year 1387.

The parliament also permitted all merchants, natives or foreigners, to carry wool, hides, and wool-fells, to any country, except France, if they chose to pay the Calais subsidies and duties before-hand, for which they offered a discount of  $\frac{6}{8}$  from the duty on each sack of wool,  $\frac{6}{8}$  on every 240 wool-fells, and in proportion on hides, to continue till Michaelmas 1383. [*Stat. 2, 5 Ric. II, c. 2.*] This was, I believe, the first attempt to anticipate the revenue.

At the request of the merchants, who found themselves much injured by the French cruizers, the parliament imposed a subsidy of 2*s* per tun on all wines imported, and six pennies per pound on the value of woollen cloth and other merchandize imported or exported, except wool, hides, and wool-fells, over and above all other customs and subsidies, which were to constitute a fund for the express purpose of guarding the sea. [*Stat. 2, 5 Ric. II, c. 3.*] \*

May 4<sup>th</sup>—I know not whether we may venture to consider all the articles, which the pope's collector was allowed to ship at Bristol without paying duty, as specimens of English manufactures. They consisted of 6 pieces of green tapestry powdered with roses, a present for the sovereign pontiff; 1 great curtain of green serge; 2 blue bancals † of tapestry work; 5 pairs of sheets ('lintheaminum'), 2 blankets, and 6 blue curtains, for beds; 1 large coverlet for a bed; and 6 cushions for a chamber; 5 red bed-curtains; 2 long and 2 short pieces of red stuff for ornaments to a chamber, with a blue bancal; 2 large pieces of red serge, worked with the arms of the pope, the king, and the church ‡, for adorning a hall; 2 large bancals and 1 small piece of red serge for a hall; 1 piece of red and black tapestry; 1 palat, 5 mantles of Irish cloth, one of them lined with green cloth; 1 mantle of mixt-coloured cloth likewise lined with green; 1 garment of ruffet lined with Irish cloth; 1 green woollen cloth for counting upon; 3 covered beds § with testers; 1 blue striped cloth for a valet; 5 elms ('alas') of blue cloth, and 16 of mixt cloth of two kinds; 6 elms of blanket; 1 mantle of mixt colour lined with vair

\* Walsingham [*p.* 281] after a very brief account of the acts of this parliament, cries out, 'What is the use of statutes of parliament, when they have not the smallest effect? The king with his privy council used to change or abolish all that was done in parliament by the community of the whole kingdom, and even the nobles themselves.' The rapid changes of the laws by the legislators was sufficiently distressing to the people, and especially to those engaged in trade, without

the additional uncertainty produced by such an interference (which would now be called unconstitutional) of royal authority.

† *Bancal* is translated *bench* or *seat* by the glossarists. But it must here be some kind of stuff, perhaps a covering or cushion for a bench.

‡ The women of England were famous from very remote ages for their superior skill in embroidery. See above, *pp.* 290, 348.

§ 'Cooperta lecta,' apparently for *cooperati lecti*.

(‘bayro’), with a supertunic and capuce lined with their own stuff; 1 blue mantle lined with grife (‘grifeo’) with a supertunic of the same colour lined with its own stuff; 1 garment lined with squirrel (‘calabre’), with a tunic lined with blanket, and a capuce lined; 1 garment without sleeves, lined with vair, with a tunic lined with lamb-skin; a fur of vair for a supertunic; a cap and a pair of gloves lined with grife, and a pair of beaver gloves; a tunic of mixt colour lined with blanket; 2 round mantles, one mixt, and one black; 2 garments of Norfolk cloth, one lined with black cloth, and one with green; and a cassock of another form; 4 strait tunics of blanket; 1 entire blue robe lined with fine linen; 1 garment of bloody colour lined with fine linen; 1 violet capuce lined with scarlet \*; 10 elns of blue, with hand-towels and other linen cloths; a tabard † with a supertunic and capuce of the same stuff, lined with blue linen; 1 blood-coloured capuce lined with black; 1 scarlet capuce lined, and 1 blood-coloured one unlined; and 30 books belonging to the collector.—He had also licence to ship at Southampton a parcel of images of saints, with many vessels of pewter, knives, &c. which seem, as well as the books, to have been his own traveling equipage. In the year 1388 a similar licence was given for shipping a bed of cloth of gold on a red ground, with gold foliage worked on a white ground (‘frecto’) with covering, &c. and curtains of red tartarine ‡, and some other articles of furniture §. Such exemptions from custom in favour of foreign ecclesiastical dignitaries occur pretty often. [*Fœdera*, V. vii, pp. 356, 357, 577, 590.]

October—It was now enacted, that English merchants, being in foreign ports, and not finding any sufficient English vessels there, might ship their goods onboard foreign vessels. [*Stat.* 1, 6 Ric. II, c. 8.]

Aliens were permitted to bring fish and all other kinds of victuals into any city or town, and to cut them and sell them in any manner they thought proper. [*Stat.* 1, 6 Ric. II, c. 10.]

Landlords, or hosts, in London, Yarmouth, Scarborough, Winchelsea, Rye, and other coast towns, were ordered to desist from their noxious practice of forestalling herring or other fish, or provisions of any kind, on pretence of any custom or charter, all such being hereby abrogated: and they were upon no account to hinder fishermen or victualers, natives or foreigners in friendship with the king, from selling their wares, as they might think proper. The fishmongers of London were prohibited

\* There seems to be no doubt, that scarlet cloths were now dyed and completely finished in England: and we find eight cloths, scarlet, black, and russet, (English manufacture undoubtedly) thought worthy of being sent as presents to the great lords of France in the year 1383. [*Fœdera*, V. vii, p. 415.] It is also worthy of observation, that Irish cloth makes some figure in this enumeration.

† The tabard was a dress worn by knights over

their armour, having their armorial bearings represented on it in embroidery. It is still worn by the heralds on solemn occasions.

‡ Quere, if the party-coloured stuff, now called tartan, with red the predominant colour?

§ This list of articles, which throws light upon the costume, as well as the manufactures, of the age, will be very acceptable to some readers, and will prove tedious to others. The later have only to skip over it.

from buying any fresh fish to sell again, except eels, lucas\*, and pikes, which either they or the foreigners might sell in London. [*Stat. 1, 6 Ric. II, c. 11.*]

October 22<sup>d</sup>—The exportation of corn appears not to have been lawful without special licences; but now a general proclamation was issued, prohibiting, under penalty of vessel and cargo, any exportation of corn or malt to any foreign country, except to the king's territories in Gascoigne, Bayonne, Calais, Brest, Cherburg, Berwick upon Tweed, and other forts held for the king. [*Fœdera, V. vii, p. 369.*]

1383—In the beginning of this year a large Genoese carrack was driven by stress of weather into Sandwich †. It was reported, that the merchants of London, who had on hand great quantities of fruit, various spicery, oil, &c. fearing that their goods would be rendered unsaleable by the arrival of so great a quantity of fresher articles, bribed the Genoese to sail for Flanders: and it was said, that their cargo, if it had been landed, was sufficient to make a glut of the articles it consisted of throughout the whole country. [*Walsingham, p. 296.*] But we may be permitted to doubt, if one cargo, though a very large one, could have had such an effect, especially as the Genoese were under no obligation to sell their goods under their value.

October.—There being great complaints of frauds in cloth, the parliament ordered, that all cloths exposed to sale, and found contrary to law, should be confiscated, and the informer should have one third of the value ‡. [*Acts 7 Ric. II, c. 9.*]

The restraints put upon the sale of wines, victuals, fish, &c. were repealed: and the dealers were placed under the controul of the mayor and aldermen of London. [*Acts 7 Ric. II, c. 11.*]

No person was permitted to carry armour, corn, malt, or any other victuals or refreshments to Scotland. [*Acts 7 Ric. II, c. 14.*]

1384, January 26<sup>th</sup>—A truce was concluded between King Richard and his adversary of France, to continue till sun-rising on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1384. The merchants of both countries were allowed to trade in either country in lawful merchandize, but not in armour or other pro-

\* A luce is a pike in the last stage of his growth. The gradation of names is frie, gilt-head, pod, jack, pickerel, pike, luce. [*Harrison's Description of Britain, p. 224 in Hollisted, ed. 1586.*]

† Sandwich has apparently arisen in place of Rhutupis, the principal port of Britain in the time of the Romans, when there was a navigable arm of the sea, open at both ends, between Thanet and the main land. The strait was much diminished in the age of Bede, and has since dried up entirely, its place being now mostly occupied by two small rivers; and I apprehend this great carrack must have rode in the bay before Sandwich, but could not enter the river, which probably never was capable, since it became a mere river, of re-

ceiving a large ship. In the year 1385 two French prize ships, which were too large to get into Calais, were brought over to Sandwich. [*Walsingham, p. 319.*] See an account of the changes, this strait, or river, has undergone, by Doctor Campbell, [*Political Survey, V. i, p. 392*] who would have been glad to add the arrival of these ships to the facts he has collected.

‡ It appears, that the aulnage, or ulnage, was farmed: [*Rot. pat. sec. 8 Ric. II, m. 27*] and thence it is probable, that the duty was not very faithfully performed. About this time there are very frequent orders in the patent rolls for a strict inspection of cloth offered for sale.

hibited goods; and vessels driven on either coast by stress of weather, or putting in for want of provisions, were not to be maltreated. The truce was afterwards prolonged to the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1385, and the kings of Castile and Scotland became parties to it. [*Fœdera*, V. vii, pp. 419, 441.]

Both kingdoms immediately felt the happy effects of the suspension of hostilities in a brisk commercial intercourse, wherein the Normans were distinguished as the most active traders. By them was England supplied in the spring of this year with an extraordinary abundance of wine, fruits, spicery, and fish, which were all sold wonderfully cheap; and, as gold and silver were given by the English in exchange for them, the reciprocal advantages of the intercourse made the people on both sides very desirous of a permanent peace\*. [*Walsingham, Hist.* p. 308.]

About this time Edinburgh, though lately become the general residence of the kings of Scotland, was reckoned by Froissart, a French author who had visited it, rather inferior to Tournay or Valenciennes, cities in the Netherlands, and estimated to contain scarcely four hundred houses†. The houses, according to Walsingham, [*Hist.* p. 308] were thatched with straw ('stramentum'), as, indeed, those of the cities of England generally were. Edinburgh was this year destroyed in consequence of an English invasion: and its situation, so near the border, whereby it was exposed to a frequent repetition of such disasters, was sufficient to prevent the citizens from erecting valuable houses, though they had had the means. It is not probable that any other town in Scotland, unless perhaps Perth, contained even so many houses as Edinburgh.

King Richard in his seventh year appointed William Brampton of London to be governor ‡ of the merchants of the wool-staple at Middleburg; and he directed him to search all merchants, natives or aliens, ar-

\* This spirited trade of the Normans, who with respect to the spiceries appear to have been the carriers between the Mediterranean ports and England, gives some support to what is said of their early adventurous voyages and settlements on the coast of Africa. (*See above*, p. 572.) The Normans were undoubtedly the greatest merchants on the west coast of France, as those of Marseille were on the south coast. Robert Bremville was at this time distinguished as the most opulent and powerful merchant in Normandy. [*Walsingham, Hist.* p. 318.]

† Though the houses, and consequently the population, of Edinburgh are rated so low by Froissart, we find he places it nearly on a level with the opulent manufacturing city of Tournay. And from the tax-roll of England in the year 1377 it is presumable, that the cities of Exeter, Worcester, and Winchester, were not larger or more populous than Edinburgh, if, indeed, they were equal to it, and that Litchfield, Chichester, Carlisle, Rochester, and

Bath, were certainly much smaller. Such were cities in those days. There is, therefore, no need to suppose Froissart mistaken, and to correct his account by altering it to *four thousand*, a number scarcely inferior to that of the houses in London, and vastly too great for any other city or town of England in that age; or to suppose that he must mean *lands*, as they are now called in Edinburgh, each floor of which is a separate habitation, nearly similar to a set of chambers in the inns of court in London. The very substantial stile of building, necessary for such large edifices, was apparently then confined to ecclesiastical and military architecture in both the British kingdoms.

‡ The title of *governor* seems to have come in place of that of *mayor of the staple*. This is probably the first establishment of the staple at Middleburg, of which, I believe, we have no other record, except the return *from it* to Calais in the year 1388.

iving there, for gold or silver carried out of England. [*Rot. pat. sec. 7 Ric. II, m. 13.*]

1385—This year the governor of Calais, the seamen of the Cinque ports, and others, took above 800 vessels of various kinds, ships, galleys, cogs, carracks, barges, lines, balingars, &c. from the French\*. Of these some, which were taken near Calais, in consequence of the fleet being dispersed by a storm in September, were remarkably large and lofty: one in particular had been recently built for the Norman merchants in the East country at the expense of 5,000 francs (£833 : 6 : 8 sterling) for a protection to the rest of the fleet; and they had sold her at Sluys to Clisson, the constable of France, for 3,000 francs (£500). Another ship belonging to the same Clisson, taken by the Cinque-port vessels, was valued at 20,000 francs, which must have comprehended her cargo, and is therefor no great sum, if compared with the value of some of the Mediterranean ships and cargoes. (*See above, p. 504.*) Two of them were loaded with spices, and some of them with *white herrings* to the amount of 400 lasts †. [*Knyghton, col. 2676.—Walsingham, p. 318.*]

1386, March 28<sup>th</sup>—In an order for pressing vessels and seamen into the king's service, the fishermen of Blakney, Cley, Cromer, and the adjacent coasts, were exempted. [*Fœdera, V. vii, p. 507.*] As a contrast to this indulgence, it may be observed, that the fishermen of Suffex and Kent were taxed three pennies upon every boat-load for fortifying the town of Rye. [*Rot. pat. sec. 8 Ric. II, a tergo 32.*] The fishermen of Rye moreover gave a share of their fish to the king: and those of Winchelsea gave a share to the rector of the church. Probably both those taxes were general, at least on that part of the coast; and in most places the fishermen have been obliged to give a share of their earnings to their superior lords ‡.

June 27<sup>th</sup>—In a truce between England and Scotland 'it is accordit, that speciale assurance sal be on the fee frá the Watir of Spee to the Watir of Tamyse, for all marchandes of báth the roialmes and here godes §.' [*Fœdera, V. vii, p. 527.*]

September 16<sup>th</sup>—Loans to the king were now much more frequent than formerly. There was one in the year 1382; and in that year the king

\* Walsingham says, 'There were taken and slain in those ships 226 seamen and mercenaries. Blessed be God for all things.'

† It is pretty generally believed (notwithstanding this and many other authentic proofs of the contrary, to be found in this work) that no herrings were cured in any other way than what are called *red herrings*, till Van Beukelen invented the method of curing *white herrings* in the fifteenth century.

‡ Edward III granted to the abbat of Stanley for ever the profits arising from the 'kingshare' in the fishing boats of Rye. The tenth part of the fish caught at Winchelsea, called 'Christshare,'

was granted, probably rather confirmed, to the rector of St. Thomas's church in Winchelsea by Henry IV. [*Rot. pat. prim. 37 Edw. III, m. 22; tertia 2 Hen. IV, m. 30.*] Prises of fish were due from the fishermen of Hertlepool to the lord of the place. [*Fœdera, V. viii, p. 573.*]

§ *Spee, Spey—Tamyse, Thames*—here *godes, their goods*, and especially *cattle*.—This is the second appearance of the native language of the country in Rymcr's *Fœdera Anglia*, the first being also a truce between the two British kingdoms, dated 15<sup>th</sup> March 1384-5, [*p. 468*] which contains nothing relating to commerce.

repaid £2,000, which he had borrowed from the city of London by laying his crown and some valuable trinkets in pawn. The king now made a loan, wherein the sums subscribed, or demanded, were larger than in any preceding one. Of 51 subscriptions there were 25 by ecclesiastical persons, from £433:6:8, the sum lent by the archbishop of Canterbury, down to £13:6:8; none by the barons; and 26 by cities and towns, as follows.

London *			Chichester -	£ 40 0 0	Nottingham	£ 50 0 0
formerly £5,000	} £9,000	0 0	Lynne -	100 0 0	Norwich -	100 0 0
and again 4,000			Worcester -	20 0 0	Ipswich -	40 0 0
Cambridge -	60 0 0	Leicester -	66 13 4	Winchester	50 0 0	
Cirencester -	20 0 0	Gloucester -	54 0 0	Shrewsbury	66 0 0	
Salisbury -	200 0 0	Lincoln 100 0 0	} 170 16 0	Derby -	20 0 0	
Coventry 133 6 8	} 315 16 8	and 70 16 0		York -	100 0 0	
and 82 10 0		St. Edmundsbury -	66 13 4	Hereford	50 0 0	
and 100 0 0		Bristol -	200 0 0	Oxford -	40 0 0	
Bristol -	200 0 0				Litchfield	13 6 8

Whether the people of Boston were refractory, or it was the general form, we find, by a mandate directed to that town, that every person living in it and its suburbs, possessing property to the value of £20, was ordered under pain of imprisonment, to contribute his proportion of £200, the sum demanded by the king. [*Fœdera*, V. vii., pp. 341, 359, 543, 544.] It does not appear that interest was ever paid upon any of those loans, which were therefor in effect taxes, even if they were punctually repaid, of at least the value of the interest. In the preceding year the king borrowed £1,600 from a Lombard merchant. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 9 Ric. II, m. 31.] Whether he had the use of that money without interest, depended upon circumstances between him and the lender.

September 25<sup>th</sup>—The king observing that the increased demand had raised the price of armour and horses, which he thought wicked and unreasonable, directed proclamations to be made in the counties of Lincoln and Cambridge, and the East and North ridings of York-shire, ordering that they should be sold no higher than formerly †. [*Fœdera*, V. vii., p. 546.]

This year some Genoese cogs and carracks, loaded with wines, spices, stuffs of gold and silk, gold, silver, pretious stones, &c. bound for Flanders, were seized on the coast of Kent, and carried into Sandwich. By the intercession of Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk and chancellor of the kingdom, the captors were ordered to give up the vessels to the owners, who were moreover indemnified for the damage sustained by them ‡. [*Knyghton*, col. 2678.—*Walsingham*, p. 322.]

\* The London loans do not appear along with the rest in the *Fœdera*; but they are found in the patent rolls, *prim.* 9 Ric. II, m. 42 and *prim.* 10 Ric. II, m. 5.

† Though the proclamation was probably of no avail for the purpose intended by its author, it serves to let us know, that those parts of England mentioned in it were then, as they are at this day, the chief breeding countries for horses.

‡ With the same blind avarice, wherewith he

had inveighed against the restoration of Mercier (*see above*, p. 586) Walsingham now reprobates this act of justice of the earl of Suffolk, whom, intending to dishonour him, he calls a merchant, the son of a merchant, more engaged from his infancy in commerce than in military affairs, more acquainted with bankers than with soldiers. In those days the church and the army engrossed all respectability to themselves.

The king of France got together a fleet of about *twelve hundred* vessels for an invasion of England, which he stationed at Sluys and along the adjacent coast, having also a great army \* encamped upon the land. Though the Flemings saw their country devoured by so many myriads of consumers, so important was the herring fishery in their estimation, that the safe arrival of all their fishermen was thought a consolation for all the hardships they had suffered. [*Froissart*, L. iii, c. 35.—*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f.* 207 a.—*Walsingham*, p. 325.]

1387, March 24<sup>th</sup>—A great fleet of Flemish, French, and Spanish, vessels, sailing together, as usual in those days, for mutual protection, was attacked by the earl of Arundel, who took 126 vessels, loaded with between twelve and thirteen thousand tuns of wine †, the whole of which the citizens of Middleburg offered to purchase at £5 per tun, ready money, which was no slight proof of their opulence: but their offer was declined, and the prizes sent to England. Some time after he attacked the harbour of Sluys, where he took several Flemish, and also some Scottish, vessels. [*Knyghton*, col. 2692.—*Walsingham*, pp. 326, 539.]

1388, February—Some laws favourable to commerce, enacted by Edward III, were now renewed, whereby foreign merchants were allowed to sell in wholesale or retail in London or any other city, burgh, &c. in England, notwithstanding any claim of exclusive privileges, and all new impositions upon merchandize were declared to be illegal and of no effect. [*Stat. 11 Ric. II, ec.* 7, 9.]

August 21<sup>st</sup>—That some English merchants traded to Prussia, has been noticed under the years 1372 and 1379. Outrages, as usual, were committed on both sides in the reign of Edward III, probably in the very infancy of the trade. The Prussians complained, that six of their vessels had been plundered by the English at the Swyn in Flanders. At the prayer of his subjects the grand master arrested some English vessels at Elburg and Dantzic: and, in return, some Prussian vessels were arrested at Lynne. Conrad Zolner, now the grand master of Prussia, desiring to have matters amicably adjusted, had sent ambassadors to England, and English ambassadors had also been sent to him. After long negotiation, it was now agreed upon at Marienburg, the residence of the grand master, that justice should be done to the Prussian complainants at London, and to the English at Dantzic; that English merchants should have free access to every port of Prussia, with liberty also to carry their merchandize to any part of the country, and to trade freely, ‘as it used to be in antient times,’ the Prussians having equal liberty in England. If any dispute should arise, the king and the grand master were to use

\* Some writers, who think nothing worth notice that does not at least border upon the incredible, have increased the fleet to 1,400 ships, and the army to 600,000 men.

† Walsingham makes the wine 19,000 tuns;

but the lowest numbers are generally the truest; and Knyghton is the earlier writer.—Stow says, the wine was sold in England for 13/4 a tun; but that seems a mistake; for the king paid 20s for the wine taken by prerogative as his prise.

their best endeavours to accommodate it; and, if they could not conciliate matters, the merchants were to be allowed a year to withdraw with their property from either country. [*Fædera*, V. vii, pp. 525, 579, 581, 588, 599.—*Rot. pat. prim.* 9 *Ric. II*, m. 11.—*Hakluyt*, V. i, p. 148.]

The English ambassadors, who were sent to Prussia, were also directed to adjust some disputes with the merchants of the Hanse. [*Fædera*, V. vii, p. 602.]

September—Ever since the insurrections in the year 1381 the court and parliament had been intent upon depriving the inferior classes of the people (or rather *the people*, for the barons and clergy were but a small part of the whole population) of any opportunity, or even hope, of bettering their condition. In this session the parliament enacted, that no servant should remove from one hundred to another, unless traveling upon his master's business, and not even in pilgrimage for the good of his soul, without a testimonial under the king's seal, which it must have been next to impossible to obtain.—The penalties for taking more than the prescribed wages were renewed; and the wages for country labour were fixed by law\*.—Boys and girls, who were employed in husbandry till they were twelve years of age, were to be confined to it for life †.—Servants in husbandry were prohibited from carrying armour, except bows and arrows for practice on Sundays and holidays.—No beggars were permitted to travel about, except certified people of religion, hermits, and 'scholars of the universities' having the letters of the chancellors. Impotent beggars were to be provided for by the people of the towns, if they were able and willing.—Beggars, alleging that they had been imprisoned beyond sea, were required to have testimonials.—The statute of labourers was to be in force, as well in cities and burghs as in the open country. [*Stat.* 12 *Ric. II*, cc. 3-9.]

It was enacted that striped or coloured cloths and half cloths, made in Bristol and the counties around it, should be agreeable to the law of the year 1373 in length and breadth. [*Stat.* 12 *Ric. II*, c. 14.] This law is mentioned here, only because it proves that the country around Bristol was then, as it has ever since continued, the chief seat of the clothing trade.

The staple was ordered to be removed from Middleburg, and to be again established at Calais by the first of December. [*Stat.* 12 *Ric. II*, c. 16.]

1389—In the year 1379 a general privateering commission was given to the people of Dartmouth. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 3 *Ric. II*, m. 10.] In 1385 they brought away some rich vessels from the mouth of the Seine, one of which, called Clifton's barge, had not its equal in England or France.

\* See them in the Appendix.

† This law was made for preventing the children of villeins from becoming free by being artificers in burghs. It was evaded by the villeins,

who put their children apprentices, when very young, to trades, which they afterwards followed or not, as inclination or circumstances directed.

[*Walsingham*, p. 315.] And this year, after Easter, a merchant of Dartmouth, with a fleet fitted out by himself, is said to have taken 33 vessels loaded with about 1,500 tuns of Rochelle wine \*. [*Knyghton*, col. 2735.]

June 18<sup>th</sup>—In another truce with France the articles for mutual freedom of trade were inserted, as in that of 1384. [*Fœdera*, V. vii, p. 627.]

The king licenced Hugh of Hulme in Middlewych and his sons to boil salt † and brew ale, and to sell them and other merchandize. [*Rot. pat. sec. 12 Ric. II, m. 11.*]

He also granted to Thomas Scot the fishery of the Thames from London bridge down to Yenlade. [*Rot. pat. sec. 12 Ric. II, m. 21.*] This seems an invasion of the jurisdiction of the city: and it subjected the inhabitants to the extortion of a monopolist of river fish.

1390, January—The parliament considering, that the prices of provisions could not be permanently fixed ‡, directed, that the justices of peace should every year ascertain the wages to be given to tradesmen and labourers, and also limit the price of provisions §. [*Stat. 1, 13 Ric. II, c. 8.*]

Because the cloths called cogware and Kendal cloths of the breadth of three quarters or one yard, made in several parts of England, and usually sold from  $\frac{3}{4}$  to 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  per piece to poor people, or for exportation, were made of wool which was fit for no other use, they were allowed still to be made of the accustomed lengths and breadths, notwithstanding the law for regulating the finer cloths, provided they were made of wool no better than had hitherto been used for them. [*Stat. 1, 13 Ric. II, c. 10.*]

Frauds were now beginning to disgrace the woollen manufacture in the counties of Somersset, Dorset, Bristol, and Gloucester, then, as in a great measure now, the chief seats of it; and a common mode of evading detection was to tack the cloths so as to render it very difficult to inspect the inner part of the piece, which was sometimes of inferior wool, different colour, deficient breadth, or otherways dishonestly made. By these deceptions the merchants, who had the misfortune to export such cloths, were exposed to great losses; even their lives were in danger from the resentment of foreigners; and the national character of the manufacture was sinking in foreign countries. It was therefor enacted, that all cloths should be sold, agreeable to the practice in Essex, without any such tacking: and the cloth-workers, weavers, and fullers, were re-

\* These seem the prizes, which, according to De Witt, [*Interest of Holland*, p. 235 *Engl. transl.*] the English carried into Dort and Zirczee; and, as those towns had refused to join their earl in the war against England, the vessels belonging to merchants living in them were restored by the English captors.—If the numbers are near correct, the vessels carried less than 50 tuns each, which is not likely. This capture exceeded in number, though probably not in value, the French fleet from Martinique, taken by Commodore Walker

in a single privateer, also from Dartmouth, in the year 1745.

† Those salt-works made a part of the revenue of the Saxon kings, as noticed above, p. 295.

‡ Such I conceive to be the meaning of the words, ‘pur ce que homme ne purra mye mettre en certain les pris des bledz et autres vitailles.’

§ This act orders that no hosteller should make bread for horses, but it should be made by the bakers. The hostellers are allowed a profit of a halfpenny upon a bushel of oats.

quired to affix their several seals to every cloth passed through their hands. [*Stat. 1, 13 Ric. II, c. 11.*]

November—The parliament now ordered the staple to be removed from Calais by the 6<sup>th</sup> of January, and to be established in those towns in England (and, I suppose, also in Wales and Ireland) wherein it was settled in the year 1353\*. Every foreign merchant, bringing goods into England, was required to give security to the officers of the customs at the port of landing, that he would invest one half of the proceeds of his goods in wool, hides, wool-fells, lead, tin, butter, cheese, cloth, or other English commodities. [*Stat. 14 Ric. II, c. 1.*] From this act it seems presumable, that they were allowed to carry off half the proceeds of their sales in money or bills of exchange, if they chose it †.

Every merchant, drawing a bill of exchange payable at Rome or elsewhere, was required to lay out the whole money received for it, within three months, upon the above-mentioned English commodities. [*Stat. 14 Ric. II, c. 2.*]

In order to keep up the price of wool, it was enacted, that no denizen of England should buy wool from any person but the owners of sheep or of tithes, unless in the staple, nor regrade wool or other staple merchandize. No Englishman was allowed to buy wool, except on his own account for sale at the staple, or for making into cloth. The exportation of wool, hides, and wool-fells, was prohibited to denizens, and allowed only to foreigners. [*Stat. 14 Ric. II, cc. 4, 5.*]

It was enacted, that the merchants of England should export their merchandize in English vessels *only*: and the owners were desired to carry them for *reasonable* freights. [*c. 6.*]

Dartmouth was declared the only port for the exportation of tin. [*c. 7.*]

In order to encourage foreign merchants to come to England, the parliament assured them of a courteous reception and fair treatment. [*c. 9.*]

Officers of the customs were prohibited from being owners of vessels. [*c. 10.*]

The parliament ordered, that the Scottish money should be taken in England for only half its nominal value ‡. [*c. 12.*]

1391, January 17<sup>th</sup>—The English merchants trading to Prussia, the Hanse towns, and the adjacent countries, imputing the many troubles

\* Some new staple towns were appointed in the 44<sup>th</sup> year of Edward III. (*See above, p. 576.*) It is observable, that some places in England were called staple towns, when the sole legal staple was at Calais, e. g. in the year 1377 the staple was removed from Queenburgh to Sandwich; [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 157*] and in 1385 King Richard removed the staple of wool and wool-fells from Ipswich and London to Yarmouth. [*Table in the town hall of Yarmouth, published with Leland's Collectanea, V. vi, p. 286.*] It is probable that the

exportation of staple goods was then confined to certain ports, and that they were thence called staple ports.

† Their right to carry away one half of their money is explicitly declared in an act, 2 Hen. IV. c. 5.

‡ Unless there was some great, but short-lived, diminution of the money of Scotland, unknown to historic or antiquarian research, this law was drawn up with still less regard to accuracy than the order of 1373. See the table of money in the Appendix.

and disputes, which had happened in former times, to the want of a proper direction of their community, and, doubtless, observing the advantages foreign merchants enjoyed by having regulated companies established in England, had elected John Bebys, a citizen of London, to be governor of the English merchants in those countries\*. Their election was now ratified by the king, who also gave the governor full power to dispense justice to all the English merchants in those countries, to accommodate all disputes between them and the natives, or to demand redress from the sovereigns of the countries: he authorized the governor and his deputies to make ordinances, with the consent of the English merchants, for the regulation of their affairs, agreeable to the privileges granted to them (apparently in the year 1388) by the grand master of Prussia: and he empowered the merchants to meet annually in all time coming for the election of a governor †. [*Fœdera*, V. vii, p. 693.]

May 24<sup>th</sup>—The fame of Richard's profusion attracted to England every thing that was eminently magnificent and costly. We now find two merchants of Luca obtaining permission to import two crowns of gold with jewels, and a set of furniture of cloth of gold and silk for a chamber, to be offered first to the king, or sold to others if he should decline purchasing them, without paying any custom for them, unless they should sell them ‡. [*Fœdera*, V. vii, p. 699.]

After some years of abundance there was a comparative scarcity of corn this year in England, and the price was consequently very high: but it would have been much higher, if there had not been as great a scarcity of money, occasioned by the restraints laid upon the exportation of wool §. On this occasion London enjoyed the advantages flowing from superior commerce and police: for, while wheat was selling at Leicester from 13/4 to 16/8 per quarter, it was sold in London for about 10/. Some vessels || arrived with corn from the continent in various

\* The present British consul in Prussia is probably the successor of this governor. The name of consul, however, was used before this time, as appears by the mention of it already in this work, p. 536, to say nothing of other proofs, which might be adduced, if necessary.

† The mercantile companies, who formerly carried on very fierce contels for priority of dignity and antiquity, without knowing any solid foundation whereon to build their claims, might apparently have found something in this grant to guide them to a knowledge of their antiquity.

‡ In the year 1409 Henry IV licenced a Genoese merchant to import an expensive collar or necklace on similar terms. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, p. 569.]

§ We thus see, that the sheep of England produced more wool than was required for the manufacture of cloth and other woollen goods for the consumption of all the people, and the export trade besides: and it seems pretty certain, that

few people in England were now clothed in foreign cloth.

Knyghton dates this scarcity in 1390; and he says, that the wool had lain unsold in many places two, and three, years, in consequence of the English merchants not being allowed to export it, and the sale of it being confined to twelve places for all England. But, as the restraints were not enacted till November 1390, they could not produce such effects in 1391, and far less in 1390. Stow places the relief procured by the magistrates of London in the mayoralty of Adam Bamme, which commenced in November 1390; and thence Walsingham appears more accurate than Knyghton in the date.

|| Knyghton says, 'xi naves.' But I apprehend, the numerals are erroneous. The cargoes of eleven ships, unless they were much above the usual burthen, could have but very little effect in reducing the price or alleviating the calamity.

parts of the kingdom: and the magistrates of London, with 2,000 marks borrowed from the orphans' chest \*, together with £480 contributed by the twenty-four aldermen, purchased a stock of corn, wherewith the poor of London and the adjacent country were supplied on easy terms. [*Knyghton, col. 2737.—Walsingham, p. 346.*]

In the year ending 21<sup>st</sup> June 1391, during which the quantity of wool exported is said to have been much less than usual, the customs on it amounted to £160,000, over and above tunnage, poundage, aulnage, peltage, &c. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 472.*]

November—It was enacted, that all merchants, denizens, or aliens, might buy wool from any person whatever till the 24<sup>th</sup> of June next, they bringing to Calais one ounce of gold in bullion for every sack of wool †. After the 24<sup>th</sup> of June the staple, now held at the towns appointed by parliament in the year 1353, should be held in such towns upon the coast as the lords of the council should direct. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 341.*]

The act of the preceding year, for shipping tin at Dartmouth only, was now repealed. Tin might now be shipped at any port; but it was to be carried only to Calais, as long as wool should be carried thither. [*Stat. 15 Ric. II, c. 8.*]

From these restrictions Calais appears to have been still a staple, at which all wool and tin were to be landed; staples and restraints in England, and a second staple and other restraints at the same time on the continent! The condition of the merchants, who were obliged to deal in staple goods, was truly pitiable in those days of perpetual changes.

It was represented in parliament, that the cloths manufactured at Gildford and the adjacent parts of Surrey, Suffex, and Hampshire, called Gildford cloths, which used to have great reputation as well-made goods, were now much depreiated in consequence of fullers and others buying them unfulled, and injuring the substance by overstretching them in length and breadth. It was therefore now enacted, that no Gildford cloths should be sold, till they were completely finished and sealed. [*Stat. 15 Ric. II, c. 10.*]

The people of Amsterdam had for some time past traded to Schonen for herrings ‡, and they had obtained from the king of Denmark a grant of a piece of land for transacting their business. This year the earl of

\* This is believed to be the earliest notice, given by any historian, of the orphan's fund in the city of London. But it may be presumed to be much more ancient, as we find an establishment for the orphans of Sandwich in the year 1290. [*Rot. pat. 18 Edw. I, m. 35.*]

† In the year 1397 the parliament ordered the ounce of gold to be carried to the Tower of London; and in 1399 Calais was again appointed to be the place for it. [*Cotton's Abridgement pp. 362, 393.*]

‡ Schook [*Differt. de harengis, § 34*] says, that the Hollanders had not yet begun to fish on the British coast. We know that the Flemings actually fished on the coasts of England and Scotland above 100 years before, and that the Hollanders obtained a licence in the year 1295 to fish on the coast of England; and they were probably among the Belgians who frequented the fishery in the Firth of Forth in the twelfth century. See above, pp. 325, 427, 455.

Holland gave a charter to his faithful scabines and senators of his city of Amsterdam, authorizing them to elect a prefect, and to govern their lands in Schonen by their own laws\*. [*Chart. ap. Pontani Dan. hist. p. 522.*]

1392—The merchants of the Hanse obtained from the king a declaration, that they should be subjected to no new impositions in any town. [*Rot. pat. sec. 15 Ric. II, m. 36.*]

The magistrates of London having refused to lend the king £1,000, he took occasion to quarrel with them, deprived them of their offices, rescinded the city's privileges, and got a fine of £100,000 imposed upon it. He was encouraged in these oppressive measures by the nobles, who, not knowing that the improvement of their own lands depended upon the prosperity of trade, envied the growing opulence of the citizens. It was probably thought at court, that the payment of such an exorbitant fine would be impossible; and the king hinted a desire to be reconciled to the citizens, who were so transported with joy at the news, that they begged to be honoured with his presence in the city. He accordingly made a procession through the city (August 29<sup>th</sup>); and the citizens strained their abilities to receive him with splendour and magnificence. Two crowns of gold (probably those imported from Luca in the preceding year), two tables or plates of gold, one representing the Trinity, and valued at £800, and the other a picture of St. Anne, with a vast profusion of other costly baubles, were presented to him and the queen, and graciously received. The fine of £100,000 was remitted, and all offences were pardoned, *except treasons and felonies* (September 19<sup>th</sup>). The citizens now rejoiced in the belief that the storm of royal indignation was blown over. But they were soon convinced of their mistake by a demand of £10,000, to be paid for obtaining the king's good will: and that sum, sufficiently distressing, was collected by an assessment upon all the inhabitants, and actually paid to the king †. [*Fœdera, V. vii, pp. 735, 739.—Knyghton, col. 2740.—Walsingham, p. 348.*]

\* According to some authors, it was not before the year 1400 that the sea made a breach through the ridge of hills, which guarded the north coast of Holland and Friseland, into the lakes formed by the stagnation of the north mouth of the Rhine, which, according to Pliny, [*Hist. nat. L. iv, c. 15*] was called the Flevis, and converted them into an inland sea, well known in modern times by the name of the Zuyder zee, the chief entrance of which is at the island called the Texel. Before that irruption took place, Amsterdam could have no other navigation than by boats upon the fresh-water lakes and the rivers connected with them. We here see undoubted proof that it was earlier than the year 1400: but it is impossible to ascertain the precise time on account of the numerous inundations discordantly and indistinctly recorded by the Dutch writers. [See *Schook de inundationibus*, and *Junii Batavia*, p. 122.] De Witt [*p. 301 Engl. transl.*] quotes Pantaleon (published by M. Vossius) who dates it in 1170, but without pre-

ferring him to those who place it in 1400. Perhaps it may have happened in the great inundation in January 1198-9 recorded by *Hoveden, f. 326 b.* —*Ann. Waverl. and Chron. Melros, ad an. 1198.* Meyer [*Ann. Flandr. f. 117 b*] is so distressed by the carelessness of writers respecting the inundations, that he is quite angry with them: and, to be sure, there can be little dependence upon the early history of a country, wherein an event of such importance is so very discordantly related.

† The present citizens of London, accustomed to turn much larger sums in their private concerns than what is here stated as perhaps impossible to be paid by the community of the city, will not blame me, or rather Walsingham, for saying, that the collection of £10,000 distressed the whole city, when they recollect that £10,000 contained 8,000 pounds or 96,000 ounces of standard silver, and could purchase 50,000 quarters of wheat at an average price.

1393, January—London, and the other incorporated communities, were now indulged with an act of parliament, prohibiting all foreign merchants from buying and selling with each other, and from cutting up or retailing any goods \*, except provisions ('vivres et vitales'). No spices were to be carried out of the kingdom, either by denizens or aliens. [*Stat. 16 Ric. II, c. 1.*] Thus, after being unfairly deprived of their just rights, were the citizens of London, in return for what ought not to have been demanded from them, gratified with what ought not to have been granted to them.

March 8<sup>th</sup>—Some merchants of Plasencia, a city on the north coast of Spain, having plundered Nicholas Collyng of Chepstow, the king had granted him letters of reprisal to the amount of £3,200, that he might recompense himself by taking vessels belonging to Plasencia; and he had moreover, at his suit, imprisoned all the Plasencians found in England. But at the request of the earl of Virtues ('comitis Virtutum'), the lord of that city, who appears to have undertaken to compensate the damage, the letters were now suspended. [*Fœdera, V. vii, pp. 740, 749.*]

April 20<sup>th</sup>—Margaret, queen of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the countries whose naval power four centuries before this time had been a terror to all the western coasts of Europe, finding her fleet scarcely able to make head against that of the Hanse towns, and having applied to the king of England for his assistance, he licenced three large warlike ships of Lynne, with their commanders and mariners, to enter into her service. [*Fœdera, V. vii, p. 744.*]

April 22<sup>d</sup>—The following articles, which were permitted to be shipped at London for the duke of Bretagne without paying any duty, may apparently be considered as specimens of the manufactures, fishery, and trade of England, viz. 1 piece and 15 elns of scarlet cloth; 9 cloths of various colours; 15 elns of blanket †; 15 elns of black cloth; 16 saddles; 3 butts of Malvesey wine; 132 pounds of sugar; 50 grelings, 50 lings, 3 barrels of white herrings, 4 cades of red herrings, 120 stock-fish; 12 brass pots with covers, and sundry other articles of metal; 1 bed of bloody colour and green with 8 'tapetis' (figured cloths, or perhaps bed blankets) and curtains; 1 image of alabaster, and several small articles. [*Fœdera, V. vii, p. 745.*] From some other such licences, occurring in the subsequent parts of the *Fœdera* (and particularly *V. viii, p. 117*) it appears, that the goldsmiths of England still kept up their reputation as excellent workmen.

1394, January—It was enacted that no silver money should be melted for making vessels or any other things; and that Scottish, or other

\* It may be remarked once for all, that the transient foreign merchant, who could submit to the petty drudgery of retailing his goods, must have had but a very trifling cargo.—The restraint

upon foreign dealers in fish, &c. was repealed by Henry IV in the first year of his reign.

† Blanket, a coarse kind of cloth, allotted for the dress of country labourers by parliament in the year 1363.

foreign, money should not circulate, but be carried to the mint. [*Stat. 17 Ric. II, c. 1.*]

All persons were now permitted to make cloth and kersey of any length and breadth, the quantity (and apparently also the sufficiency of the fabric) being certified by the aulneger's seal, before it might be offered for sale. [*c. 2.*]

The merchants, and the makers of the stuff called *single worsted*, were allowed to export bolts of it to any country not at war with the king, paying only the customs and subsidies without the Calais duties, notwithstanding the charters granted to the burghesses of Calais and the merchants of the staple of Calais. But they were not permitted to carry any *double worsteds* or *half doubles*, or *striped* or *mottled worsteds*. [*c. 3.*]

All the subjects of England were allowed to export corn to any country not hostile, on paying the due customs. A power was however reserved to the king's council to stop the exportation, if necessary. [*c. 7.*]

According to the ordinances of Edward II and Edward III, the aldermen of London continued in office only one year. But now it was enacted, that they should not be removed out of office at all, unless for some just and reasonable cause\*.—The ward of Farringdon being lately very much increased in houses and inhabitants †, it was enacted, that there should be one alderman for the division within the walls, and another for the division without, in all time coming, and that they should thenceforth be called the wards of Farringdon within and Farringdon without. [*cc. 11, 13.*]

August 29<sup>th</sup>—The king, understanding, that, in consequence of the failure of herrings in other places ‡, many foreigners, with vessels, salt, and other requisites for curing herrings, had come last year and this year upon the coast of York-shire, where they had bought up great quantities of herrings, which they salted and barreled, or cured red, and carried away for their own advantage, to the great hurt of the whole kingdom by raising herrings to an extravagant price, but especially of the inhabitants of Whitby, who supported themselves chiefly by curing herrings, he therefor ordered the magistrates of that town § to proclaim, that no strangers should thenceforth be permitted to carry away any herrings. [*Fædera, V. vii, p. 788.*] We do not, however, see, that any attention, adequate to the importance of the object, was

\* Stow, in his list of temporal governors at the end of his *Survey* dates this alteration in the constitution of the city in the year 1354.

† We must not suppose, that this ward then approached to any resemblance of its present crowded state. In the second year of Henry IV the bishop of Salisbury leased two gardens in St. Brides parish, Fleet street for 80 years to George Cresley, a citizen of London, at a rent of 20*s* a-year. [*Rot. pat. fec. 2 Hen. IV. m. 15.*] Perhaps a part

of those gardens may be the modern Salisbury square.

‡ Werdenhagen [*p. 366*] says, the fishery on the coast of Schonen was interrupted by the pirates, who infested the Baltic sea. But King Richard's mandate is far better authority.

§ Similar orders, we may presume, were sent to the other towns on the coast visited by the herrings, though they do not appear.

paid to the fishery, so as to make herrings a considerable article of exportation.

1396, October 25<sup>th</sup>—The Genoese, formerly raised by prosperous commerce to such a height of power and insolence that they pretended to prohibit the neighbouring states from navigating the Mediterranean sea, were so far reduced by their intestine divisions as to be incapable of conducting their own government, and now surrendered themselves to the dominion and protection of the king of France, under which they remained till the year 1409, when the French, unwilling to be at the expense of maintaining a sufficient force in their city, obliged them to resume their independence. [*Stellæ Ann. ap. Muratori Script. V. xvii, col. 1151.*—*Muratori Ann. V. xii, p. 473.*]

It was not long before the king of France found himself obliged to his new vassals for a piece of service, which his own subjects could not perform for him. The religious and military ardour of some of the princes of France and Burgundy had plunged them into a kind of crusade against the Turkish sultan Bajazet, and in the battle of Nicopolis their own impetuous valour made them his prisoners. In the presents, sent to the sultan by the king of France to induce him to ransom his captives, we have a specimen of the most valuable manufactures of Europe. They consisted of scarlet cloth, fine linen of Rheims, and tapestry of Arras representing the battles of Alexander the Great. The ransom was fixed by Bajazet at 200,000 ducats: and the merchants of Genoa became bound for their sovereign in an obligation for five times the sum, 'a lesson to those warlike times, that commerce and credit are 'the links of the society of nations,' [*Gibbon's Roman hist. V. xi, p. 453*] and also a proof, that the commerce of Genoa was still very great and respectable in the eyes of the Oriental princes, who, however, might estimate it rather by its former fame than its actual state at the time.

1397, August 10<sup>th</sup>—We hear of no loans for some years past. But there was one made now, the contributors to which were more numerous, and the sums larger, than in any preceding one. Of 193 subscriptions there were 78 by the clergy, from £1,000 by the bishop of Winchester down to £13:6:8; 45 by gentlemen from £400 by Sir Robert Knollys down to £3:6:8; and 70 by cities and towns, as follows.

London	£6,666	13	4	Cambridge	£100	0	0	Chichester	£66	13	4			
Bristol	-	800	0	0	Winchester	-	100	0	0	Northampton	-	66	13	4
Norwich	-	333	6	8	Colchester	-	100	0	0	Yarmouth	-	66	13	4
Boston	-	300	0	0	Kingston upon Hull	100	0	0	Abingdon	-	66	13	4	
Lynne	-	266	13	4	Hereford	-	100	0	0	Scarburgh	-	66	13	4
York	-	200	0	0	Shrewsbury	-	100	0	0	Nottingham	-	66	13	4
Gloucester	-	200	0	0	Canterbury	-	66	13	4	Worcester	-	66	13	4
Salisbury	-	200	0	0	Sandwich	-	66	13	4	Leicester	-	66	13	4
Lincoln	-	133	6	8	Stanford	-	66	13	4	Cirencester	-	60	0	0
Southampton	-	113	6	8	Grantham and	}	66	13	4	Oxford	-	53	6	8
S. Edmundsbury	-	106	13	4	Harlaxton					Wells ('Walleys')	-	53	6	8

and others for sums under £50 down to £6:13:4. [*Fædera, V. viii, p. 9.*]

This list, though evidently very defective \*, shows that the people were much richer, or the king much greedier, now than a few years before.

1398, January—The commons represented in parliament, that the staple was appointed to remain at Calais, and that all wool, wool-fells, hides, lead, tin, cheese, butter, honey, peltry, and tallow, from England, Ireland, and Wales, ought to be carried to Calais and no other place; but that some persons had purchased licences to carry those articles to other ports, which gave them an unfair advantage over other traders, to the destruction of the staple, and detriment of the coinage and customs of Calais. The king thereupon ordained that the statute should be observed with respect to wool, hides, wool-fells, tin, and lead, and that no licences should be granted to the contrary, unless by his own especial grant †. [*Stat. 21 Ric. II, c. 17.*]

February 21<sup>st</sup>—The grand master of Prussia complained to King Richard, that his subjects could get no redress at his court for damages done to them by the English: and he therefor renounced the commercial alliance formed in the year 1388, allowing the English merchants a year to withdraw from his dominions agreeable to the terms then stipulated. Such prohibitions were repeatedly issued by the grand masters against the English merchants: but it is not necessary to particularize every one of them. [*Hakluyt, V. i, pp. 153, 154.*]

The city of London this year purchased Blackwell hall, which was thereupon appointed to be the only place in the city wherein any foreigner or stranger ‡ should be permitted to sell woollen cloth. [*Stow's Survey, p. 518, ed. 1618.*]

1399, April 16<sup>th</sup>—King Richard, while preparing for an expedition to Ireland, made his will, whereby it appears, that he had amassed a treasure of 91,000 marks. He was very particular in ordering the ceremonial of his funeral, for which he allotted £4,000. [*Fœdera, V. viii, p. 75.*] Within ten months the unhappy Richard was deposed, murdered, and buried without any pomp. He was succeeded (September 30<sup>th</sup>) by Henry duke of Lancaster, who had no hereditary right, though Richard had been dead; and that usurpation was the direful spring of innumerable woes to England; the royal family was almost exterminated, and the kingdom depopulated, by the slaughters in the civil wars which ensued, whereby the manufactures and commerce of the country were grievously depressed, and their advancement retarded.

During the reign of Richard several projects for mining were set on foot in England, but we know not with what success. [*Rot. pat. passim.*]

\* The bishop of Winchester for £1,000, and the bishop of Hereford for £66 : 13 : 4 are the only bishops in the list, and there is not one nobleman: but we may be sure, that no bishop or nobleman could be excused. Walsingham [*p. 353*] says expressly, that no prelate, no city, no citizen reputed to be rich, in the whole kingdom escaped.

† We find the merchants of Newcastle in possession of such a licence in the year 1401. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 408.*]

‡ Foreigner or stranger must here mean one not a citizen of London.

It may be observed, that England must at this time have had no strength of shipping besides those attending the king in his Irish expedition, when the duke of Lancaster, after showing himself on several parts of the coast, merely for the sake of discovering what resistance he was to expect, and thereby giving very sufficient warning, could land deliberately and unopposed, with a very trifling retinue.

October—For the ease of the poor it was enacted, that cloth, kersey, Kendal cloth, Coventry frise, cōgware, or any other English cloth or Welsh cloth, of value not exceeding  $1\frac{3}{4}$  per dozen \*, should not be required to be sealed, or to pay any duty, for the space of three years. [*Stat. 1 Hen. IV, c. 19.*]

It was enacted, that the staple for wool-fells, skins, lead, and tin, should be held *only* at Calais; saving that the merchants of Genoa, Venice, and other places towards the West, in friendship with the king, might discharge their merchandize at Southampton, and take in such staple wares; and saving also to the people of Berwick their liberties for their wool †. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 393.*]

October 27<sup>th</sup>—Letters of marque and reprisal were granted not only for revenging or compensating hostile aggressions upon individuals, but also for procuring payment of debts due to them in foreign countries, as appears by such letters now granted to John of Waghen of Beverley against the subjects of the earl of Holland, because he had not compelled two of them to pay some money due to Waghen. King Henry moreover ordered his admirals to detain all vessels and property found in England belonging to Holland and Zeland, till the earl should determine the affair according to justice ‡. [*Fœdera, V. viii, p. 96.*]

December 6<sup>th</sup>—King Henry summoned the grand master of Prussia, and the governors of Lubeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, and Grippefwald, to appear in person, or by deputies, before his council to answer to the merchants of England, who complained, that they were not treated in those places so well as the merchants from them were treated in England, though the express condition, upon which they had obtained their privileges in England, was, that English merchants should enjoy the same advantages in their countries §. He also warned the merchants of the Hanse, that if they allowed others to enjoy, under colour of their name, the privileges granted only to themselves, he would totally abolish and annull their charter. [*Fœdera, V. viii, p. 112.*]

About this time Timour (corruptly called Tamerlane) completed the

\* It appears by an act 11 Hen. IV, c. 6, that a dozen of cloth was a half piece consisting of fourteen yards.

† Their liberties authorized them to export all the wool produced on the north side of Coquet river to any place whatsoever. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 482.*]

‡ Waghen, however, got no satisfaction, and

his letters of marque were renewed in 1412 and 1414. [*Fœdera, V. viii, p. 733; V. ix, pp. 125, 188.*]

§ When those conditions were stipulated, the reciprocity was merely nominal, for there were very few Englishmen who traded to foreign countries: but there were now many, and thence more frequent occasions of quarrel.

conquest of Hindoostan, a country, which, by the great riches and un-military temper of its inhabitants, has repeatedly invited, and fallen a prey to, those scourges of the human race called conquerors.

1400—About this time the fishery on the coast of Aberdeen-shire, which in later ages has been almost abandoned to the Dutch, was frequented by the English. The Scots fitted out a small fleet under Sir Robert Logan to drive away or destroy the English vessels. But Logan's force was apparently insufficient, for he himself was taken by the vessels belonging to Lynne. [*Walsingham, p. 364.*]

The Roman world comprehended now but a few miles beyond the walls of Constantinople, the peninsula of Peloponnesus or Morea, and some trifling spots and islands. Manuel, the unhappy emperor, was driven by the terror of the Turkish arms to mendicate pecuniary assistance from the descendents of those *barbarians*, who had usurped his western provinces. From the observations of the emperor, or his attendants, on the different countries visited by them, I select such particulars as show the state of commerce and manufactures, at least as they appeared to the Greeks.—The natives of Germany excell in the mechanic arts, and they boast of the invention of gun-powder and cannons. Above two hundred free cities in it are governed by their own laws.—France contains many flourishing cities; of which Paris, the royal residence, is pre-eminent in wealth and luxury.—Flanders is an opulent province, the ports of which are frequented by merchants of our own sea (the Mediterranean) and the Ocean.—Britain (or rather England) is full of towns and villages. It has no vines and but little fruit, but it abounds in corn, honey, and *wool, from which the natives make great quantities of cloth.* London, the capital, may be preferred to every city of the West for population, opulence, and luxury. It is seated on the River Thames, which, by the advantage of the tide, daily receives and dispatches trading vessels from and to various countries.—Venice \* excells all the cities of Italy in the opulence of its citizens and the magnificence of its buildings. The Venetians send every year ten triremes † to the Ionian and Ægean seas to protect the ships trading to Egypt and Africa against pirates; and they are relieved by other ten at the end of a year's cruise. Twenty-two vessels, larger than others, trade to Alexandria, Syria, Tanaïs (or Asof), the British islands, and Africa, under the care of the sons of the nobles, for such is the custom. [*Laon. Chalcocondyles, L. ii, pp. 36-50; L. iv, p. 105.*]

1401, January 11<sup>th</sup>—King Henry proposing to go to war, and under-

\* The description of Venice is taken from the emperor's visit to it in the year 1438, and brought in here for the sake of connection.

† From Sanuto [*p. 57*] and many other Italian authors it is pretty certain, that the *terzaroli* (gal- lies with three men to an oar) were the vessels, to which they, and this Greek writer imitating them,

gave the classical name of *triremis* or *τριημις*. Stella, the Genoese chronicler, says expressly that the triremes were the same vessels, which in his time were *historically* called gal- lies. The real triremes were then as much unknown and forgotten, as if they had never existed.

standing that barges and balingers were the vessels most proper for that purpose, ordered the community of the city of London to provide one of each at their own expense. The other considerable towns, inland as well as maritime, were taxed, some to find a barge, and some a balinger; and the smaller towns were made to join, two, three, or more, according to their abilities, to find a barge or a balinger \*. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, p. 172.]

January—In order to put a stop to the frauds committed by means of the currency of Flemish and Scottish coins in England, it was enacted, that they should be all coined into English money in England or Calais; and that no more should be admitted into the kingdom †. [*Stat. 2 Hen. IV*, c. 6.]

June 8<sup>th</sup>—Notwithstanding the complaints on both sides, and the formal renunciation of the grand master, the commercial intercourse between England and Prussia was still kept up, and many English merchants were settled in that country. But the harmony was interrupted by the capture of a Prussian vessel by the Scots, which being retaken by some vessels belonging to Lynne, it was reported in Prussia that she was taken by the English, and, in consequence thereof, all the English subjects found in that country, with all their property, were arrested. King Henry, therefor, now wrote to the grand master in order to correct the misrepresentation, and requested him to take off the arrest from his subjects and their property. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, p. 203.]

This year the magistrates of Barcelona established their bank of exchange and deposit, called *Taula de cambi* (Table of exchange), upon the security of the funds of the city, and with the intention of extending the accommodation afforded by it to foreigners, as well as to their own citizens. And it appears, from records still extant, that foreign bills of exchange were usually negotiated in it, and that the directors of it gave assistance to the manufacturers, when making their purchases of raw materials, such as *English wool*, &c. The Spanish writers call this bank the first establishment of the kind in Europe ‡. [*Capmany*, *Mem. hist. de Barcelona*, V. i, *Com. pp.* 144, 213; V. ii, *Col. dipl. p.* 203.]

1402, August 11<sup>th</sup>—The magistrates of Bruges complained to King Henry's council of several injuries, and particularly, that a fisherman of Ostend, when fishing for herrings in the North sea, and also one belonging to Briel in Holland, had been taken by the English, and carried into Hull, though *they lowered their sails* § the moment the English called to them. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, pp. 273, 276.]

\* In the preceding year several of the barons found vessels for the king at their own expense. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, p. 125.]

† The meaning must be, that they should no longer be current. A refusal to admit money would have been in direct opposition to the policy of the age.

‡ I have not been able, even with the assistance of a Venetian gentleman, to find any information

concerning the constitution and management of the bank of Venice in the early ages of its existence. Capmany and the authors preceding him must have considered them as very different from those of the bank of Barcelona. The creditors of the republic of Genoa were not yet incorporated as a banking company.

§ This acknowledgement of the dominion of the sea is marked with capital letters by Rymer.

October—All importers of merchandize, whether English or foreigners, were ordered by parliament to invest the *whole* proceeds of their cargoes in English merchandize for exportation, reserving money only for their necessary expenses. Neither was any person whatsoever permitted to export gold or silver without the king's special licence. [*Stat. 4 Hen. IV, cc. 15, 16.*]

It is probable that the Canary islands, which were undoubtedly known to the Phœnicians of Gadir, and by report even to the Romans, were never entirely forgotten in Europe\*. The French and Spaniards claim the merit of having discovered them in the year 1395, and seem to acknowledge that they were put upon the search for them by the report of Macham's discovery of Madeira. Jean de Bethencourt, a Norman gentleman of Dieppe, now made a conquest of those islands. [*Hakluyt, V. ii, part ii, p. 1.—Mem. de littérature, V. xxxvii, p. 521.*]

1403, March 10<sup>th</sup>—It is vexatious to find the records filled with complaints, made by the continental merchants and especially those of the Hanse, of outrages and depredations committed by English seamen, who, it must be acknowledged, seem too often to have considered power as the only standard of right. The aldermen and jurates of the Hanse merchants residing at Bruges complained of the capture of a Prussian vessel loaded with wine in July 1402; and the consuls of the maritime cities of the Hanse assembled at Lubeck represented, that a vessel belonging to Stetin was taken by the mayor of King Henry's city of Bayonne, who presumed to detain her in defiance of the king's order for restitution †. The magistrates of Lubeck, and those of Hamburgh, also represented, that a vessel loaded with 29 lasts of herrings ‡ was taken on her way from Malmo to Flanders in Autumn 1402 by some vessels belonging to Lynne and Blackney. [*Fœdera, V. viii, pp. 269, 270, 284, 287, 297.*]

June 27<sup>th</sup>—It was agreed, in a truce with France, that all persons, vessels, and property, should be mutually and freely restored; that merchants and others might go about their business in either kingdom without any hinderance, and without needing letters of safe-conduct; and that, for the security of navigation, all armed vessels should be called into port. It was afterwards further stipulated, that during the approaching herring season the fishermen of both kingdoms might fish freely and together from Graveling and Thanet down to the mouth of the Seine and Southampton; and, if they should be obliged to go into port, they should be kindly received on either side. [*Fœdera, V. viii, pp. 305, 336.*] But all these harmonious measures were very soon broken.

\* See above p. 112 for Gadir, &c. and p. 327 for a voyage made to them by the Saracens in the twelfth century.

† The vessel was still detained in April 1404, when the aldermen and jurates of the Hanse at

Bruges again requested the king to enforce restitution. [*p. 354.*]

‡ We thus see, that the capricious herrings had again returned to their old station on the coast of Schonen.

This year treaties, containing stipulations for mutual freedom of trade, were entered into with Castile, Portugal, and Flanders. [*Fædera*, V. viii, pp. 312, 327, 329.] All of them were frequently renewed; and the renovation is a sufficient proof of their inefficiency.

1404, January—The parliament made it felony to multiply gold or silver, or to practise the art of multiplication. [*Stat. 5 Hen. IV, c. 4.*]

The parliament, in their anxiety to keep money within the country, obliged all foreign merchants to give security that they should lay out their money on English merchandize, and moreover compelled them to sell their goods within three months after their arrival, and to Englishmen only, but upon no account to other foreigners. The magistrates of the sea-ports were also directed to assign lodgings to foreigners\*. [*c. 9.*]

To prevent deceptions in putting off gilt or plated locks, rings, beads, candlesticks, harness for girdles, chalices, sword-pomels, powder-boxes, and covers of cups, for solid metal, all such workmanship upon copper or latten was prohibited, except ornaments for the church, of which some part should be left uncovered to show the copper or latten †. [*c. 13.*]

May 13<sup>th</sup>—King Henry borrowed 1,000 marks from ten merchants of Genoa, and for payment he allowed them to retain the duties on goods to be imported, and on wool, hides, wool-fells, cloth, and other goods, to be exported, by them in London, Southampton, and Sandwich, for four months; and he engaged to pay them the balance, if any, at the end of four months by the hands of his treasurer. Five merchants of Florence lent him 500 marks on the same terms. And in the following year sums to the same amount were lent by the same parties, and on the same terms. [*Fædera*, V. viii, pp. 358, 359, 383.]

June 6<sup>th</sup>—The king empowered the English merchants trading to Prussia, Schonen, and other places within the limits of the Hanse, to meet, as often as they should think proper, for the purpose of electing governors; to whom he delegated the same authority over the English merchants, and for obtaining justice in disputes between them and the natives of the places of their residence, consistent with the privileges and authority granted to them by the grand master of Prussia or other potentates, which had been conferred on a single governor of the merchants in the year 1391. [*Fædera*, V. viii, p. 360.]

December 4<sup>th</sup>—The commercial reader will undoubtedly be pleased to see how nearly the tenor of bills of exchange, and the circumstances attending the non-payment of them, about four centuries ago resembled those of the present day. Antonio Quarti, a merchant of Luca resid-

\* The restraints of this law, being found destructive to the trade, were partly repealed in the ensuing year, with a saving of the privileges of London, and a prohibition of exporting foreign

goods imported by foreigners; a prohibition apparently unnecessary.

† This act deserves notice merely as an evidence of the perfection to which gilding and plating were then brought in England.

ing at Bruges, the center of the commerce of the western parts of Europe, had sold two bills of exchange for 1,000 scutes each to John Colombo, a merchant of Barcelona also residing at Bruges, to be paid by Francisco de Prato a merchant of Florence, in the usual manner, at Barcelona. The following is a close translation of one of the bills\*.

*Francisco de Prato and Company at Barcelona.*

*In the name of God, Amen, the 28<sup>th</sup> day of April 1404.  
Pay by this first of exchange at usance to Piero Gilberto and Piero Olivo one thousand scutes at ten shillings Barcelona money per scute; which thousand scutes are in exchange with John Colombo at twenty-two grosses per scute. Pay on our account, and Christ keep you.*

*Antonio Quarti sal. of Bruges.*

The other differs only in the date, 18<sup>th</sup> of May, and being payable to Piero Gilberto and Piero de Scorpo.

The bills were sent to Barcelona, but were not paid by Prato; and William Colombo, as agent for Gilberto, Olivo, and Scorpo, purchased scutes in Barcelona to pay the bills, for the expense of which he claimed reimbursement from Antonio Quarti, and for that purpose returned the bills protested to John Colombo at Bruges. But Quarti alleged that William Colombo ought to have got money for the bills at the bank (*taula di cambi*) of Barcelona, according to the custom of the city in such cases, which would have been less expensive, and that therefore he was liable only for the expense attending the re-exchange in that form, and not for the expenses and interest demanded by John Colombo. Thus the matter rested at this time, when the magistrates of Bruges wrote to those of Barcelona, requesting information upon the usage respecting bills of exchange in their city: and to their letter we are indebted for this curious relique of commercial antiquity. [*Capmany, Mem. hist. de Barcelona, V. ii, Col. dipl. p. 203.—above, p. 612.*]

1405, July 16<sup>th</sup>—The king had ordered some pirates of Whitby to make restitution to two Danish merchants, whose vessels they had taken. But they paid no attention to the mandate; and an officer was now ordered to bring them before the king, that they might answer for their disobedience.—The Scottish traders were also harassed by lawless English cruisers, some of whom, belonging to Cley on the coast of Norfolk, showed themselves as regardless of their sovereign's commands, and of their own contracts, as if they had been subject to no government, and might act as independent of controul upon the land, as they did upon the sea. [*Fœdera, V. viii, pp. 404, 450.—MS. Bib. Cott. Vesp. F vii, n. 22, 89, 116, 117, 118.*]

\* For the satisfaction of the reader I here add the original bill.

*Francisco de Prato & Comp. à Barsalona.*

*Al nome di Dio, Amen, a di xxviii Aprile 1404.*

*Pagate per questa prima di camb. à usanza a Piero Gilberto è Piero Olivo scuti mille à sold x Barselonesi per scuto: i quali scuti mille sono per cambio che con Giovanni Colombo a grossi xxii d. g. scuto: & pag. a nostro conto, & Christo vi guardi.*

*Antonio Quarti sal de Bruggiar.*

September 4<sup>th</sup>—The king, desiring to anticipate the receipt of the taxes voted by parliament, commissioned the shirref and some other gentlemen in every shire to oblige the richest men to advance the money for the taxes to be collected in their district, which should be repaid to them by the collectors. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, p. 412.]

October 12<sup>th</sup>—In the Scottish court of the Four burghs, held at Stirling, it was ordained, that every royal burgh on the south side of the River Spey should annually commission two or three sufficient men as members of the parliament of the Four burghs, which, I have already observed, was a board of trade\*. [*Regiam majestatem*, &c. f. 153 b.]

1406, March—The magistrates and traders of London having taken upon them to prevent the cloth-makers and the dealers in wine, iron, oil, wax, and other articles, from selling their goods by wholesale in London to any but the citizens, the parliament enacted, that they might freely sell their goods by wholesale in London to any of the king's subjects. [*Stat. 7 Hen. IV*, c. 9.]

It was enacted, that those, who did not possess twenty shillings yearly in land or rent, should not put their sons or daughters to be apprentices. But such persons were allowed to send their children to school †. [c. 17.]

April 6<sup>th</sup>—The parliament having assigned to the merchants the guard of the sea from the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1406 to the 29<sup>th</sup> of September 1407, they were empowered to receive 3/ upon every tun of wine, and one shilling in the pound of the value, besides a quarter of the subsidy, upon wool, hides, and wool-fells, they being bound to keep 2,000 fighting men sufficiently armed, and 1,000 mariners, upon the sea. The merchants were also directed to appoint an admiral for the south and another for the north, to be invested by the king with the usual powers of admirals to punish all offenders, take up vessels, press men, and appoint deputies ‡. In a few months the funds allotted to the merchants were stopped in consequence of complaints of the many losses sustained for want of a sufficient guard upon the sea. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, pp. 437, 439, 449, 455.—*Cotton's Abridgement*, p. 452.]

October 5<sup>th</sup>—The king again granted his protection till the 2<sup>d</sup> of February to all fishermen of France, Flanders, and Bretagne, for their fishing business only, and provided they did nothing contemptuous or prejudicial to him or his kingdom. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, p. 451, and see 459.]

1407, February 5<sup>th</sup>—The English merchants trading to Holland, Ze-

\* Skene, in his title, most thoughtlessly calls Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, and Roxburgh, *the four burghs*, though he ought to have known, even from the opposite page of his own book, that Lanark and Linlithgow were at this time substituted for Berwick and Roxburgh, which were in the hands of the English.

† The poor would fully comprehend the oppressive tendency of this law, which was to prevent their children from acquiring the small por-

tion of freedom enjoyed by mechanics. The permission to learn to read was of little avail before the art of printing brought books within the reach of the poor.

‡ Together with the maritime towns, to which the king sent notice of this regulation, we find not only Lincoln, Norwich, Beverley, and Nottingham, which were accessible by boats, but Grantham, which could scarcely have any connection with the sea.

land, Brabant, and Flanders, feeling the inconvenience of a want of regulation and government, obtained authority from the king to elect governors, on whom he conferred the same powers, which had been given to the governors of the merchants in Prussia, &c. they acting agreeable to the privileges and authority granted to them by the lords of the places of their residence\*. [*Fœdera, V. viii, p. 465.*]

March 10<sup>th</sup>—In a convention between the ambassadors of King Henry and those of the duke of Burgundy, who was also earl of Flanders, it was agreed, that the king's subjects of England, Calais, Ireland, &c. and those of Flanders or other parts of France †, whether dealers in wool, hides, provisions, or other goods, except cannon and other warlike stores, should have mutual freedom of trading by land between Calais and Flanders ‡.—All merchants, mariners, and vessels, should have free entrance into the ports of either side with their goods, they carrying no cannon or other warlike stores beyond what were needful for their own defence.—No reprisals should be made on either side on account of alleged hostilities or pillage; but all such should be duely redressed by the sovereigns on both sides.—The liberty lately granted to the fishermen on both sides, was confirmed, and extended to the whole coast of France.—Pirates were not to be allowed to enter the ports on either side, nor to go out of them to prey upon the subjects of the other side, nor to sell, or land, their plunder in any port.—In case of any infraction of the treaty, commissioners, appointed by the king of England, the captain of Calais, or the company of the staple, on the one side, or by the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, or the four members of Flanders, on the other, should have free passage by sea or land to demand redress.—The merchants of Brabant, Holland, Zeland, Italy, &c. who were accustomed to frequent the wool staple at Calais, should have free passage to and from it by land or water with their wool or other merchandize, except cannon and other warlike stores.—This treaty was to be in force for one year, and not to be broken, even though hostilities could commence between England and France within that time.—On occasion of one of the several renewals of this treaty, King Henry observed, that the sustenance of the Flemings depended upon trade, and very much upon drapery. We may thence infer, that the chief dependence of their manufactures was still upon English wool. The policy of the kings in keeping up the commercial intercourse of their sub-

\* This is the charter, by which the company of *merchant-adventurers* claimed the exercise of exclusive trade. But there is here no mention of any exclusive privilege, nor any hint of a corporate body, or a collective name, whether of *St. Thomas Becket* or *adventurers*. Wheeler, Misselden, Malynes, and other keen disputants on both sides of those now-dormant contents, seem all to have asserted boldly without giving themselves much

trouble in searching for records to substantiate their pretensions.

† Flanders is here reckoned a part of France, of which it was a fief: and this treaty is expressly said to be authorized by the king of France, as the duke's over-lord.

‡ The merchants were to have no dogs with them, and to catch no rabbits on the downs between Calais and Graveling.

jects, even when themselves should be at war, shows, that they were beginning to discover that their own welfare depended on the prosperity of their subjects\*. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, pp. 469-477, 530, 548.]

July 11<sup>th</sup>—It was also stipulated, in a truce of one year between King Henry and his step-son the duke of Bretagne, that the merchants of either party should have freedom of trade in the dominions of the other, without being concerned in any hostilities. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, p. 490.] This treaty was also frequently renewed.

June 27<sup>th</sup>—The king again anticipated his revenue by borrowing on the security of his subsidies on wool, hides, and wool-fells, for the payment of his garrison at Calais. The transaction merits notice only as showing that laymen were now become more able to advance money than formerly, the happy effect of the silent influx of commercial opulence. The sums were as follows.

The bishop of Durham	£ 66 13 4	John Norbury †	£2,000 0 0
The earl of Westmerland	500 0 0	John Hende †	- 2,000 0 0
William lord of Roos	166 13 4	Richard Whityngton †	1,000 0 0
Hugh lord of Burnel	166 13 4	The merchants of the staple	4,000 0 0

The Italian company of the Albertini also lent £1,000, for which they were allowed to retain the customs on wool, &c. exported by them at London, Dover, and Southampton, till their debt should be paid up. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, p. 488.]

The bank of Genoa may be properly said to have commenced this year. It had been usual for the republic to borrow large sums from the citizens, and to assign certain branches of the public revenue as funds for the payment of the interest, which were put under the management of some of the most respectable citizens, who were to pay the interest to the creditors, and account to the state for the funds entrusted to their care. In process of time the multitude of those funds, there being apparently as many as there had been loans, bred confusion; and it was now thought proper to consolidate the whole into one capital stock, to be managed in one bank, called *the chamber of St. George*, and to be governed by eight protectors elected annually by the creditors or

\* On a somewhat-similar occasion it was observed by Rapin, that England and the Netherlands were so closely connected in trade, that it could not be interrupted without remarkable prejudice to both, and therefor treaties for guarding the interests of commerce were often made even in times of the hottest war. He adds, that ‘*this maxim was infinitely better than what has been followed since of making a prey of the merchants, which proves to their ruin.*’ [*Rapin’s Aïa regia*, V. ii, p. 367, 8vo ed.]

†† Norbury was treasurer of the exchequer in the last year of Richard II, and first of Henry IV, and afterwards king’s treasurer, as appears by the Patent rolls. The other two gentlemen were ci-

tizens of London, and great builders of churches, colleges, &c. Hende was elected mayor in 1391 and 1404. Whityngton was substituted by royal authority in place of Adam Bamme, who died in his mayoralty in 1397, and he was elected mayor in that year, and also in 1406 and 1419, so that he was in office at the time of this loan, and in all three years and five months. He seems to have been also mayor of the staple at Calais, but residing in London, about 1420. [*MS. Bib. Cott. Galba*, B i, no. 172.] The manufacturers of books for children have most unaccountably taken it into their heads to make Whityngton originally a scullion boy, and have very consistently provided a great fortune for him by means of a cat.

stock-holders. Under this form of government the affairs of the bank were conducted very prosperously, till the further increase of the public debts, and the accession of whole towns and territories, among which was the little nominal kingdom of Corsica, made them sensible of the inconvenience of annual successions of new protectors, and determined them, in the year 1444, to elect eight new governors, of whom only two were to go out every year. [*Bizari Ann. Genuens.* pp. 205, 797.—*J. De Laet de princip. Ital.* pp. 175, et seqq.]

Emden is noted as a retreat of the northern pirates in the year 883. [*R. Hoveden, f.* 240 b.] At this time the citizens, being distressed by their too-powerful neighbours, applied for assistance to the associated cities of Hamburgh and Lubeck, whose maritime power was now very respectable. They were the first of their nation, who were assumed into that confederacy; and, in consequence of the support of their new allies, they in their turn became formidable to their enemies. [*Pontani Rer. Dan. hist.* p. 539.]

1408, March 1<sup>st</sup>—The English merchants trading to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, were empowered to elect a governor, whose functions and authority were made similar to those of other governors of merchants, already specified. It appears, that his residence was at Bergen, and that he was also called alderman of the merchants. [*Fædera, V.* viii, pp. 511, 685.] The office of governor of the English merchants trading to a particular country now beginning to be general, it will not be necessary to particularize any more of them.

The city of Wisbuy with the island of Gothland, after being jointly possessed by the northern heroine, Margaret queen of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and by the Vitalian pirates, was wrested from them by a fleet equipped by the citizens of Lubeck, Dantzic, Thorn, and Elbing, and put into the hands of the grand master of Prussia, from whom Eric, king of Sweden (under Margaret), endeavoured to take it. But, by the mediation of the emperor Wenceslaus, he agreed to pay the grand master nine thousand *English nobles* for the surrender of the island, which accordingly took place in the year 1408, Eric not being able to raise the money before that time\*. [*Pontani Rer. Dan. hist.* pp. 531, 532, 539.]

The people of Holland were now beginning to lay the foundation of that commercial importance, which afterwards astonished the world.

\* Olaus Magnus [*L.* ii, c. 22] makes the price 20,000 nobles or dubbloons; and he makes Queen Margaret the purchaser, as does also Puffendorf, who states the sum 10,000 nobles. Thus it appears, that all the acts of the English parliament could not prevent the gold of England from finding its way to the continent: and the English nobles continued to be current money in the Netherlands, as appears by a payment of 100,000 of them

to the duke of Burgundy at the current rate in the year 1431. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f.* 278 a.]

After this we hear little or nothing of the celebrated commercial city of Wisbuy, which in the sixteenth century, perhaps earlier, was only known by its ruins, among which the fragments of polished marble, doors made of iron, brass, and copper, and windows made of copper covered with gold and silver, exhibit proofs of the magnificence of the antient inhabitants. [*Ol. Mag. L.* ii, c. 22.]

The frequent squabbles between the cities and villages of Flanders and Brabant, respecting the right of the villages to make woollen cloth, had driven many of the manufacturers to take refuge in England and Holland, and especially in the later, whereby the towns of that province were greatly increased in magnitude and population. The Hollanders also engaged in maritime commerce: but their trade was much infested by piratical vessels fitted out by their neighbours of East Friseland. The earl and the barons, thinking themselves not at all interested in the prosperity of the commerce of their country, used to pay no attention to those depredations; and they went on with impunity, till the citizens of Amsterdam and some other places in North Holland, with the assistance of those of Lubeck, Hamburgh, and Campen, cleared the sea of those pirates\*.

1409, May—The magistrates of Norwich were authorized to inspect and measure all worsted stuffs made in their own city and in all Norfolk, and to affix their seal, without which they should not be offered for sale †. [*Cotton's Abridgement*, p. 474.]

August 23<sup>d</sup>—King Henry granted permission to the merchants of Venice to bring their carracks, gallies, and other vessels, loaded with merchandize, into the ports of England and his other dominions, to transact their business, to pass over to Flanders, to return to his dominions, to sell their goods without impediment or molestation from his officers, to load their vessels with wool, cloth, or other English merchandize, and to return to their own country. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, p. 395.] We find frequent renewals of this permission, with the same routine of the trade, in the subsequent years.

October 10th—A negotiation and correspondence were kept up during several years for the purpose of effecting an amicable compensation for the damages sustained by the subjects of England on the one side, and those of Prussia and the Hanse confederacy on the other, from the freebooters of both sides. As the complaints brought forward on each side in the course of this business contain many curious facts illustrative of the nature of the trade between England and the East country, a brief enumeration of them will not, I trust, be deemed tedious. At the last meeting, held at the Hague in Holland in August 1407, the English complained, that in the year 1394 a ship of 200 tuns belonging to Newcastle, valued at £400, having onboard woollen cloth, wine, gold, and money, to the value of £133 : 6 : 8, was taken.—An inhabitant of Hull, being passenger onboard a Prussian vessel, was robbed of goods to the amount of £53 : 6 : 8.—In 1395 an Englishman was robbed of 5

\* See *Vossii Annal. L.* xv, p. 126, or *De Witt's Interest of Holland*, p. 161, and also p. 47, of *Engl. transl.* and *Meyeri Ann. Flandr. passim*.

† Sir Robert Cotton observes, that the grant

contains all the terms, fabrics, and quantities, of the various kinds of worsted stuffs. They are probably the same as those which the reader may find under the year 1422.

pieces of wax, 4 hundred of werke, and half a last of ofmunds\*, near the coast of Norway.—In 1396 a cog of Hull, with 300 woollen broad cloths and 1,000 other cloths, value £200, was taken.—In 1398 another vessel of Hull, with oil, wax, and werke, value £300, was taken.—In 1399 an English passenger in a Dantzic vessel was robbed of two cakes of wax, value £18.—In 1394 werke, wax, ofmunds, and bowstaves, to the value of 1,060 nobles, belonging to three citizens of York, were taken out of a vessel of Elbing.—140 woollen cloths, worth £2 : 13 : 4 each, besides other things, were taken from another citizen of York onboard a vessel of Holland.—In 1393 a citizen of London was robbed of woollen cloth, green cloth, meal, and fish, to the value of £133 : 6 : 8.—In 1405 another citizen of London was plundered of 5 lasts of herrings in the North found.—In 1398 eleven packs of woollen cloth, value £366 : 13 : 4, the property of merchants of Colchester, were plundered out of a Prussian vessel.—In 1394 four merchants of Yarmouth and Norwich were robbed of woollen cloth to the value of £666 : 13 : 4, which they had onboard a Prussian vessel.—In 1401 a vessel belonging to Zeland was plundered of hides of oxen and sheep, butter, masts, spars, boards, questring stones, and wild werke, value £66 : 13 : 4, the property of a merchant of Yarmouth.—In 1402 a barge belonging to Yarmouth was taken near Plymouth, with 130 weys of salt and 1,000 pieces of canvass of Bretagne, value £333 : 6 : 8.—In 1405 another vessel of Yarmouth was taken in Selaw, a port of Norway, loaded with salt, cloth, and salmon, value £40.—Six vessels belonging to Cley, chiefly loaded with salt fish, were taken, and most of them carried over to Norway.—The people of Wiveton lost two doggers and another vessel employed in the fishery, with their fish, &c. and two vessels of Zeland, loaded in Prussia with masts, spars, &c. for account of a merchant of that town, who also lost a pack of woollen cloth, plundered out of a vessel belonging to Lynne.—In the year 1394 the pirates took Bergen in Norway, and burnt twenty-one houses, value £146 : 13 : 4, belonging to the merchants of Lynne, whom they also plundered of property to the amount of £1,815.—In 1394 four vessels of Lynne, loaded with cloth to the value of £3,623 : 5 : 11, besides wine and other goods, were taken on their way to Prussia.—In 1396 a crayer belonging to Lynne, with ofmunds and other goods to the value of £643 : 14 : 2, was taken between Bergen and the Scaw ; and two vessels were robbed of cloth and other goods, also belonging to merchants of Lynne.—In 1399 many articles of considerable value, belonging to a merchant of Lynne, were plundered out of a vessel, apparently foreign, belonging to Michael Van Burgh. The complainants further stated, that many men were killed, and many carried away as prisoners, and forced to pay heavy ransoms : and the English commissioners asserted, that those outrages were perpetrated by pi-

† I can find no satisfactory explanation of *werke*, *ofmunds*, and some other articles mentioned in these complaints.

rates fitted out by the Hanse towns, and chiefly by the citizens of Wismar and Rostock\*.

From this statement we learn, that woollen cloths now formed a considerable part of the exports of England, and that there was some exportation of wine notwithstanding a law against it. From the frequent mention of English property onboard foreign vessels, it also appears, that the *navigation act*, which has been pretty generally supposed to have remained in full force ever since its first enactment, was but little attended to.

The complaints of the merchants of the Hanse turned chiefly upon infringements of their chartered privileges by the communities of London and other corporations. They also stated, that besides the antient duty of  $\frac{3}{4}$  upon every sack of wool paid by them in addition to the duty paid by English exporters, they were of late compelled to pay  $\frac{1}{7}$  as an impost for the town of Calais, contrary to the terms of their charter; that the officers of the customs over-rated their goods for the payment of poundage duties, and exacted duties for some kinds of cloth, which were exempted by the charter of merchants; that they were compelled to pay the duties twice upon goods, which they had occasion to remove from one port of England to another; that the officers augmented their fees, and demanded new ones; and also created unnecessary delays, whereby the merchants often lost their markets, and got their goods damaged by lying three or four weeks upon the wharfs; that the officers at Southampton overcharged them  $2s$  for every last of herrings †, pitch, and soap-ashes,  $2d$  for every hundred of bow-staves and wainscot boards, and  $4d$  for every hundred of Richolt boards, imported by them; and that they had also been imposed upon by the magistrates of Newcastle. The English commissioners, on the other hand, affirmed, that the Hanse merchants had combined to distress the commerce and manufactures of England by refusing to hold any intercourse with English merchants in the Hanse towns ‡, or to buy any English cloth from Englishmen, and had even imposed fines upon those who had English cloth in their possession. They accused them also of passing the goods of people not belonging to the Hanse under their names, in order to shelter them from paying the proper duties; and they demanded a list of the cities, towns, and companies, claiming the privileges granted by the kings of England to the Hanse association, and also, if the general association disavowed the hostile proceedings now complained of, the names of the cities wherein the English were so maltreated.

\* Krantz [*Hist. Norweg. L. vi, c. 8*] also says, that those pirates, whom he calls Vitalians, acted by the authority of the cities of Wismar and Rostock.

† Herrings thus appear to have been imported, as well as exported, in those times.

‡ To such excess did they carry their barbarity in one of their principal cities, that they refused to purchase cloth from some English merchants, who had arrived destitute of provisions or money, though they desired to sell it only for the purpose of obtaining food.

The people of Hamburg claimed restitution to the amount of 9,117 nobles 1 shilling and 8 pennies; and upon examination their demand was reduced to 416 nobles 5 shillings.

Bremen demanded	4,414 nobles		not settled.
Stralsund	7,415 1 8	reduced to	253 nobles.
Lubeck	8,690 3 4		550
Griepswald	2,092 3 4		153 3 4
Campan	1,405 0 0		not settled.

At last the commissioners, or ambassadors, having made the best settlement they could, King Henry now gave his obligations as follows, viz. To the grand master of Prussia for his subjects of Prussia and Livonia,

payable 11 <sup>th</sup> November 1409	-	<i>English nobles</i>	5,318	4	5
2 <sup>d</sup> February 1410	-	-	5,318	4	5
2 <sup>d</sup> February 1411	-	-	10,637	2	2
2 <sup>d</sup> February 1412	-	-	10,637	2	2
and to the magistrates of Hamburg, due 2 <sup>d</sup> Feb. 1411			416	5	0

At granting these bills he stipulated that the money should not be carried away in gold or silver, but in bills of exchange\*.

The grand master, on the other hand, became bound to pay 766 nobles to the English sufferers. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, pp. 601-603.—*Hakluyt*, V. i, pp. 154-179.]

December 4<sup>th</sup>—The commercial treaty with Prussia was renewed. Mutual freedom of trade, and oblivion of past injuries, were agreed upon. In case of any subsequent outrages the sovereigns were bound to make satisfaction for the aggressions of their subjects; failing which, the sovereign of the party injured was at liberty to arrest any subject of the other power, found in his dominions, within six months after preferring the complaint. It was also settled, that several sums, particularly expressed (and all reckoned in nobles), should be paid for outrages committed by the seamen of Hull, Scarborough, Blakney, Cromer, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Calais, and Bayonne, and also by a vice-admiral of England for provisions taken from a Prussian ship of 300 tuns, together with 838 nobles due by Henry de Percy for corn bought for the castle of Berwick upon Tweed in 1403. On the other side only 200 nobles were found due for an outrage committed by a man of Dantzik. [*Hakluyt*, V. i, p. 181 †.]

1410, April 28<sup>th</sup>—In a royal grant of tolls for paving the streets of

\* I remember reading in a newspaper a speech, made in reply to a remonstrance against continental subsidies, wherein it was asserted, that this country suffered nothing by such subsidies, as they were paid in broad cloth and bills of exchange. The antient politicians of England, like this modern one, must have supposed that bills of exchange could be got for nothing.—The statement of all the accounts in English nobles affords an addition-

al proof of the common currency of that species of English gold coin upon the continent, contrary to act of parliament.

† The king's commission for treating is in the *Fœdera*, as is also the treaty itself, but without the stipulations for compensation, in a confirmation of it in December 1410 by the succeeding grand master. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, pp. 612, 664.]

Cambridge and the adjacent roads, there are some things worth notice. Coals (sold by the chalders), turfs, reeds, and fegs (sedges), appear to have been articles of fuel; salmon, fresh or salted, and *porpuses*, paid one farthing each; herrings, a halfpenny per barrel; a large boat ('navis') loaded with herrings or other fish, 4*d*; a fishing boat with fish, oysters, or mussels, 2*d*; a cart-load of fish, fresh or salted, 2*d*. Irish cloth must have been pretty common in England, as we find it here charged, equally with worsted stuffs, canvas, and some other articles, 2*d* per hundred ('centena'). [*Fœdera*, V. viii, p. 634.]

This year Sir Robert Umfraville, vice-admiral of England, with ten ships of war, entered the Firth of Forth, both coasts of which he plundered, the Scots having apparently had no naval force fit to oppose to him. He burnt many vessels, among which was one, probably belonging to the crown, distinguished by the name of the Galliot of Scotland; and he carried off fourteen vessels (called good ships), with prizes of woollen and linen cloth, pitch, tar, woad, meal, wheat, and rye. Unfortunately we are not able to distinguish, what part of those goods were Scottish manufacture and produce, and what imported: but, if there is no exaggeration, the quantity of them was so very great, that the sale of them lowered the prices in England; and thence Umfraville got the name of Robin Mend-market. [*Stow*, *Ann.* p. 549.]

1411, June 25<sup>th</sup>—Guns were now become an article of English manufacture and exportation, as appears by a licence for sending two small guns for a ship, along with the king's great gun, to Spain. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, p. 694.]

1412, February 3<sup>d</sup>—The share, which the English had now obtained of the active commerce of Europe, was such as aroused the jealousy of those mercantile communities, who, in virtue of long, and almost unrivaled, occupancy, conceived the commerce and navigation of Europe to be their own patrimonial inheritance: and, agreeable to the ferocious and unprincipled manners of the age, they had recourse to the most atrocious measures for crushing the English adventurers, before they should acquire much wealth and power. William Waldern and a considerable number of other principal citizens of London\* had shipped wool and other goods, to the amount of £24,000, onboard several vessels † for the Mediterranean ‡, under the care of factors, or super-

\* William Waldern was elected mayor in 1412 and 1422. His partners were Drue Barantyn, mayor in 1398, 1408, who lent the king £1,500 in 1409; [*Rot. pat. sec.* 11 *Hen. IV*, m. 5] John Reynewell, mayor in 1426; and other gentlemen, who had been sheriffs, &c.

† We are not told, whether the vessels were English or foreign; and Mr. Anderson supposes them Venetian, and thereby accounts for the seizure by the Genoese. But there seems no reason to suppose them any other than English.

‡ 'Versus partes occidentales per Districtus de 'Marrek' (to the western countries by (or through) the Straits of Morocco); that is to say, within the Mediterranean. For the application of western to countries really south-east from England, see above, p. 588 note, and p. 610. There is not a shadow of a reason to suppose the voyage intended for Morocco, a country which never had occasion to import wool. The ships were probably destined to Catalonia or Tuscany.

cargoes, to whom, as it was a great, and apparently a new, undertaking, the king gave letters recommending them to the friendship and good offices of the Genoese government. But so little respect did the Genoese pay to the king's letters, that they seized the vessels, and publicly sold their cargoes in Genoa. In consequence of this act of hostility, the king ordered proclamation to be made in London and the other ports of England, and in Calais, that none of his subjects, nor any stranger within his dominions, should send abroad any merchandize, money, or bills of exchange, for account of the Genoese, or receive any merchandize brought in Genoese vessels, except such as should be brought in as prize in virtue of the letters of marque, which he had granted to the injured merchants, empowering them to take all Genoese vessels they could find, till they should be reimbursed of £24,000, their prime cost, and £10,000 for damages. Thus were a few merchants of London at war with the whole republic of Genoa. [*Fœdera*, V. viii, pp. 717, 773.]

In the North sea the Hanseatic association, actuated by the same spirit, and utterly regardless of that probity, which constitutes the principal feature of the modern commercial character, committed many outrages upon the English. About the year 1390 they entered the harbour of Bergen in Norway with a fleet of armed vessels, attacked the English merchants settled there under the charter of the sovereign of the country, and burnt their houses and merchandize to the value of £2,000, together with securities for debts to the amount of above £1,000\*. Notwithstanding the interposition of the king of Denmark in favour of the English, the Hanse pirates continued to harass and abuse them, and, in mere wantonness of cruelty, drowned 100 fishermen belonging to the coast of Norfolk, who had fled to a Norwegian port for safety from enemies. A shipmaster of Bremen, whose vessel was chartered by some merchants of Lynne, was threatened with death, if he should perform his contract. Some English merchants were robbed of hard fish to the value of £100 in Bergen, where the sovereign of the country seems to have exercised no government. The Hanse merchants at Bergen entered into a combination to have no intercourse with the English settled there; and by such means they hoped to drive them out of the North sea. King Henry repeatedly arrested the merchants of the Hanse at Boston, in order to make them answer for the aggressions of their brethren in Norway; for, according to the representation of the merchants of Lynne, the whole of the Hanse confederacy were combined in a determination to distress the English trade: but they found means somehow to get out of his grasp. He then wrote to the alderman † of the English merchants at Bergen, and also to the alderman of the Hanse merchants there, desiring them to inquire into the truth of the complaints,

\* Perhaps this is the same outrage, which is already noticed, under the year 1409, as committed in

1394.

† The same who was formerly called governor.

and send him information. We are not informed, what effect these measures produced : but we find by a letter from Henry to the magistrates of Bergen, dated 22<sup>d</sup> September 1411 \*, that the English had been treated as the aggressors : and the affair appears to have been still unsettled in December 1415. [*Fædera*, V. viii, pp. 684, 700, 722, 736 ; V. ix, p. 415.]

March 5<sup>th</sup>—The English were also insulted in Portugal. A ship of 200 tuns belonging to a merchant of London, and carrying a merchant or supercargo, and a purser, besides her commander, was seized in Lisbon on a false information, after having taken in a cargo of oil, wax, and other merchandize ; but there is no mention of wine. Her commander and people were loaded with irons, and obliged to support themselves at their own expense in the prison, wherein they were kept several weeks, till the error was discovered. Thomas Fauconer †, the owner, stated that the freight of his ship amounted to 6,000 crowns of gold, for which, and the damage and expenses, he got King Henry to make a demand upon the king of Portugal. [*Fædera*, V. viii, p. 727.]

June 11<sup>th</sup>—King Henry having written to the magistrates of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and the free territory of Flanders, desiring to know, whether they would adhere to the terms of their truce with him, or assist their earl against him, they, preferring the prosperity of their trade to the gratification of their earl, answered, that they wished to preserve peace with England : and the truce was thereupon proclaimed on both sides. [*Fædera*, V. viii, pp. 737, 751, 756.—*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f.* 238 b.]

June, July—The king borrowed 10,000 marks from the community of the city of London, 400 from Norwich, and other sums from the prelates and nobles, for an expedition to Guienne. [*Fædera*, V. viii, pp. 747-767.]

July 5<sup>th</sup>—The king, having given letters of reprisal ‡ to some merchants, from whom two vessels loaded with wine, &c. to the value of 5,250 marks, had been taken by a French lord, at the same time declared, that merchants going to, or returning from, the staple at Calais should not be liable to seizure in virtue of those letters. [*Fædera*, V. viii, p. 755.] Thus did this favourite town enjoy the privileges of a neutral port §.

Notwithstanding the turbulent state of England during the reign of

\* It is worthy of notice, that in this letter the king appears to rank the English merchants of Lynne trading to Bergen among the merchants of the Hanse ;—‘ Mercatores villæ nostræ de Lemn, partes de North Berne prædictæ mercantiliter usitantes, ex una, caterosque mercatores de Hanfa, regnum nostrum Angliæ modo confinili frequentes, antes, parte ex altera.’

† This gentleman was elected mayor in 1414 ; and in his mayoralty the city lent the king 10,000 marks, for which he received jewels in pledge.

[*Stow's Survey*, p. 934.—*Fædera*, V. ix, pp. 298, 405.]

‡ Letters of marque or reprisal were generally granted for the recovery of private property, where by the execution of justice, perhaps injustice, was put into the party's own hands. Of a general privateering commission one instance has occurred in the year 1375. See above, p. 600.

§ Another instance of the trade with Calais being protected from capture occurs in *Fædera*, V. ix, p. 156.

Henry IV, the commerce and manufactures of the kingdom appear to have been in a state of progressive improvement. The guard of the sea (to the neglect of which by his predecessor he owed his elevation) was more strictly maintained; piracy was more rigorously suppressed; and more attention was bestowed in terminating the quarrels, or petty wars, of the seamen and merchants of England with those of the continent, than in any preceding reign.

1413—The book of duties on imports and exports, compiled at this time under the authority of Fernando I, king of Aragon, gives a good idea of the trade and commercial policy of the ancient and flourishing city of Barcelona.—All goods, imported or exported, paid a duty of two thirds per cent ad valorem, except those imported from Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt, which paid only one third.—Corn and all vegetables, wine, and pork, were free from duty on importation; but they were charged with five per cent on exportation, except to Majorca, Minorca, and Iviza. Wrought silver, jewels, arms, and wearing apparel, exported as merchandize, paid two and a half per cent.—Cloth and other manufactures paid no duties on exportation: and the like goods, imported for fairs, paid only at the place of sale, where a duty of three quarters per cent was levied on the sales, the home manufactures being charged three eights.—Ships built for foreign countries, and all ship timber exported, paid three per cent on the value.—Small parcels, not exceeding in value five sueldos (twenty reals of modern money), paid no duty, either inward or outward.—Neither was any duty charged on casks, wrappers, or other packages.—Vessels arriving in port, and neither landing nor trans-shipping any goods, were not required to pay any duty. [*Capmany, Mem. hist. de Barcelona, V. i, Com. p. 231.*] The wisdom and liberality of these regulations, in an age wherein customs were generally imposed with no other view than merely to raise a revenue for the sovereign, must impress us with a very high opinion of the commercial policy and experience of the Barcelonians, in which they appear to have been nothing inferior to the most enlightened legislators of the present age\*. It is a pity that we have no similar documents of the commercial jurisprudence of Venice or Genoa, or of the Hanse towns. In all such matters our own country, now so pre-eminent, was then exceedingly deficient.

King Henry V, in the beginning of his reign, confirmed the privileges granted by his predecessors to the Venetians and to foreign merchants in general. [*Fœdera, V. ix, pp. 26, 72.*]

\* Other proofs of the commercial wisdom and liberality of Barcelona have already appeared in this work. But the general wise policy of the other duties and exemptions seems to render the genuineness of the duty on silver ware, jewels, &c. exported for sale ('si se extrahian por via de comercio') rather doubtful. Capmany has not inserted the original in the *Coleccion diplomatica*,

which occupies almost the whole of his second volume: and I observe that Sir John Talbot Dillon, when mentioning these duties in his *History of Peter the Cruel*, has written 'imported' instead of 'exported', perhaps from the original *Llibre dels IV senyals del general de Catalunya*, which certainly is more consistent with sound commercial policy.

1414, May 26<sup>th</sup>—The king farmed the sole right of drawing bills of exchange for the use of persons going to the papal court, the city of Venice, or other foreign places, for three years, to Louis John, at an annual rent of £153 : 6 : 8 ; and he bound him down to export no gold or silver on account of his bills. The merchants were, however, allowed to draw bills for their merchandize, but upon no other account. But no person was permitted to carry money to Bruges or any other place for remittances to the papal court or elsewhere. The lease of the trade of exchange was afterwards renewed to Roger Salvern and Louis John, and the rent raised to £200. [*Fædera*, V. ix, p. 130.—*Rot. pat.* 5 *Hen. V.* m. 1.]

September 26<sup>th</sup>—It is probable that gun-powder was not made in England in the year 1386, as we find a quantity of it esteemed more valuable than all the other articles found onboard two French ships taken at that time. In 1412 the ambassadors of the earl of Alençon were licenced to export 400 pounds of saltpetre and 100 pounds of sulphur, along with other military stores, whence we may infer, that powder was then made in England : and now we find the exportation of gun-powder strictly prohibited. [*Walsingham*, p. 323.—*Fædera*, V. viii, p. 754 ; V. ix, p. 160.]

November—The parliament ordained, that goldsmiths should take no more than £2 : 6 : 8 for the Troye pound of standard silver gilded ; and that they should charge only a reasonable price for gilding\*. [*Acts* 2 *Hen. V.* *stat.* 2, c. 4.]

The exemption from the obligation of carrying the staple goods to Calais, granted to the commercial states of Italy and Spain by the act of the second year of Richard II, was renewed. The parliament also confirmed to the merchants and inhabitants of Berwick their privilege of purchasing wool, hides, and wool-fells, of the growth of Tiviotdale and the adjacent part of Scotland then subject to England, and of England as far south as the River Cocket, and to sell the same in Berwick, or to export them. The merchants of Jersey, Guernsey, Bretagne, and Guyenne, having made a practice of buying unfounded tin and flotten tin in Cornwall, and carrying it to France, the Netherlands, &c. all persons, except those above-excepted, were strictly ordered to carry all kinds of staple goods to Calais. [c. 6.]

1415, March, April—King Henry, having determined to assert his claim upon the crown of France by the sword, sent commissioners to hire vessels for him in Holland and Zeland. He also ordered all the vessels in England of twenty tuns burthen and upwards to be taken into

\* By this act the goldsmiths were allowed £1 : 1 : 8 for the gold and workmanship. If that was too little to pay for sufficient gilding, they had only to make it slight ; for the law did not, like the one now in force, ascertain the quantity of gold to be laid on a given surface. Neither did

it determine, what was a reasonable price for gilding. Butler, the author of *Hudibras*, who understood that matter better than our ancient legislators, says, that the worth of any thing is so much money as 'twill bring.

his service; and the whole, English and foreign, were directed to assemble in the ports of Southampton, London, Sandwich, Winchelsea, and Bristol. The commanders of several ships, which, being distinguished as *belonging to the Tower*, may be presumed to have been *royal ships*, were commissioned to press men for their vessels. The whole fleet, collected for the invasion of France, consisted of 1,500 vessels. [*Fœdera, V. ix, pp. 215, 216, 218, 238.—Walsingham, p. 390.*]

November.—The parliament ordered, that none of the foreign coins, called galley halfpennies because imported in the Genoese galleys, those called seshkyns and doydekyns, nor any of the Scottish silver money, should any longer be current in England \*. [*Acts 3 Hen. V, st. 1, c. 1.*]

November 28<sup>th</sup>—King Henry, in order to conciliate the favour of the king of Denmark and Norway, ordered proclamation to be made in all the ports on the east side of England, that none of his subjects should go to any of that king's islands, especially Iceland, for the space of a year, to catch fish, or do any other business, except what used to be done in antient times. [*Fœdera, V. ix, p. 322.*] It may be observed, that stockfish, which were common in England above a century before this time, were all brought from the Norwegian territories.

This year John king of Portugal, with the assistance (according to Walsingham) of some English and German merchants, took the city of Ceuta, situated on the south shore of the Straits of Morocco (or Gibraltar), from the Saracens of Africa. If it be true, that by conversations with the Saracen captives John's son Henry first conceived an idea of the practicability of a route to India by sailing round the south end of Africa, the capture of Ceuta is of great importance indeed in commercial history. [*Walsingham, p. 393.—Purchas's Pilgrims, B. ii, p. 5.*]

Henry, the fifth son of King John by Philippa the daughter of John duke of Lancaster, was a prince enlightened beyond the standard of the age; and he spread the illumination of science all-around him by the munificent encouragement he gave to learned men and artists, whom he endeavoured to attract from all countries to his residence at Sagres near Cape S<sup>t</sup>. Vincent, where he erected an observatory, and established schools for the sciences conducive to the improvement of navigation. James, a man eminently skilful in geography, navigation, and the use of the instruments then known, whom he invited from Majorca, instructed the Portuguese youth in those sciences: and, cherished by the beams of royal favour, a number of artists quickly sprung up, who composed maps, wherein all parts of the world, known by report as well as by discovery, were inserted, with very little attention to correctness in their configuration or position. Those maps, such as they were, disse-

\* The currency of the galley halfpennies had already been prohibited by an act 11 Hen. IV, c. 5. Stow, however, says, that they continued current in some degree even in his own younger

days, being somewhat broader, but thinner, than the English halfpennies of his time, which were much inferior in weight of silver to the halfpennies of the age of Henry V. [*Survey of London, p. 262.*]

minated among the Portuguese a science hitherto scarcely known to any Christian nation, except the commercial states of Italy \*, and contributed to nourish that spirit of enterprise, which in time accomplished the greatest revolution that ever happened, or probably ever can happen, in the commercial world.

Prince Henry, being desirous of making discoveries upon the west coast of Africa (but whether with the expectation of finding a passage to India, I will not venture to say) sent out two vessels, with orders to proceed as far as possible along the coast, which they traced only as far as Cape Bojador in 27 degrees north latitude. [*Purchas's Pilgrims, B. i, c. 2, § 1; B. x, c. 1; and authors there quoted.*]

1416, March—The crimes of clipping, washing, and filing, the money of the kingdom were declared by parliament to be treason; and the punishment of them, as well as of importing base money, was committed to the judges. [*Acts 3 Hen. V, stat. 2, cc. 6, 7.*]

It has been observed (p. 515) that merchant vessels used to sail in fleets in time of war, that their united force might enable them to repel the attacks of the enemy. Before they sailed, they elected admirals among themselves, and all the commanders, in presence of the magistrates of the port of departure, swore to stand by their admirals. In consequence of a separation of the vessels of a fleet from Bourdeaux, one of the admiral ships, a vessel belonging to Hull with a valuable cargo, was taken: and the owner of her applied to parliament to oblige the owners of the other vessels to indemnify the loss sustained by their desertion. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 548.*]

It appears from the rolls of the king's wardrobe, that the greatest part of the linen used in England, especially by those of the higher ranks, was imported, and was chiefly of the fabrics of Reynes (or Rennes) and

\* If we may credit the accounts given of maps executed in this age, especially the Venetian ones, not only the Cape of Good Hope, under the name of the *Fore front of Africa*, but even the Straits of Magellan, called the *Dragon's tail*, were now known. Pedro, an elder brother of Henry, is said to have got a map of the world at Venice in the year 1428, wherein those southern extremities of the old and new continents were delineated: and Galvano relates, that Francis de Sosa Tavares told him, that in the year 1528 he saw a map, drawn in 1408, containing 'all the navigation of the East-Indies with the Cape of Bona Sperança (Good Hope) according as our later maps have described it.' [*Purchas, B. x, p. 1673.*] To these may be added the maps, still preserved in the library of St. Mark at Venice, bearing the name of Andrea Bianco and the date of 1436, and pub-

lished by Formaleoni, wherein Africa appears with a *clear sea to the southward of it*, one of the Açores, or Western islands, has the name of *Brasil* \*, and to the westward of them there is actually delineated a great island called *Antillia*. But it may well be doubted, whether envy of the naval pre-eminence, snatched out of their hands by the Portuguese and Spaniards, may not have instigated the Venetians to make interpolations upon, and give fictitious dates to, some antient maps; for islands can easily be inserted in the void space representing the sea long after the original construction of a manuscript map, without the overcrowding or erasure, which detect interpolations in a manuscript book; and we, who see them only in engraved copies, have not the smallest opportunity to judge of their genuineness.

\* In Terceira, one of the Açores, there are two hills called *Brazil*. [*Lisfebaten's Voyages, pp. 181, 186.*] I know not if it be worth while to observe, that 'Hij Brazil, or

'the enchanted island, the paradise of the pagan Irish,' was supposed to be situated in the Ocean to the westward of Ireland. [*Flattery's Coll. de reb. Hibern. No. xi, p. 282.*]

Champagne in France, and of Flanders and Brabant in the Netherlands \*.  
[*Fœdera*, V. ix, pp. 334, 335.]

‘ Henry Barton (mayor of London) ordained lanthornes with lights  
‘ to be hanged out in the winter evenings betwixt Hallontide and  
‘ Candlemasse.’ [*Stow’s Survey*, p. 935.]

This year the Hollanders in their herring fishery began to use the  
vessels called buffes. [*Schoockii Differt. de hareng.* § 35.]

1417, July 31<sup>st</sup>—The truce with the duke of Burgundy, who was  
also earl of Flanders, Bologne, &c. was renewed till Easter 1419. It  
was agreed, that during war with Genoa all goods, belonging to the  
Flemings or others, found onboard Genoese vessels, should be liable to  
seizure and condemnation; but that the property of the English in Flan-  
ders and of the Flemings in England should not be liable to any arrest,  
unless for debts contracted, or crimes committed, after the date of the  
truce. In the subsequent confirmation by the duke, it was also provid-  
ed, that no damage should be done to the merchants, seamen, pilgrims,  
clergymen, and fishers, on either side; that vessels belonging to either  
party, taken by corsairs, and carried into the ports of the other party,  
should be restored to their owners, or the value be made good to them;  
provisions and merchandize might be imported in neutral vessels into  
either country without molestation; unarmed merchant vessels chased  
by enemies should be freely admitted into the ports of either party;  
the English should make a spacious road from Calais to Gravelings, and  
the Flemings should continue it along the Downs of Flanders, for the  
use of merchants and other persons of both countries, who were to have  
no dogs with them, and not to molest the rabbits on the Downs; the  
English should have the liberty to make fast their vessels in the Flemish  
ports, as practised by the French, Hollanders, Zelanders, and Scots, the  
Flemings having the like liberty in the English ports; neither party  
should carry goods belonging to the enemies of the other. The duke  
moreover engaged, that the four members of Flanders should become  
bound for the due execution of this treaty, and that he would obtain  
the confirmation of his over-lord, the king of France. It was also de-  
clared, that the treaty should be observed in all his territories from the  
coast of Flanders to Cologne on the Rhine; and that no infringement  
of any of the articles by individuals of either side, nor even war be-  
tween France and England, should effect any breach of it. [*Fœdera*, V.  
ix, pp. 476, 483.]

August—King Henry, observing that the ships, brought to assist the  
French by the Castilians and Genoese, were much larger than those of  
his fleet, had got some large vessels, called *dromons*, built at Southamp-  
ton, such, says an old writer, as were never seen in the world before,

\* The excellence of the linens of those coun-tries is celebrated in many romances and poems composed before the age now under our consider-

ation. Fine linen of Rheims made a part of the presents sent by the king of France to Bajazet, as already noticed, p. 608.

three of which had the names of the *Trinity*, the *Grace de Dieu*, and the *Holy Ghost*. But the principal vessels of the whole fleet, wherewith he now made his second invasion of France, were two large ships, most magnificently fitted up. One of them, called the *King's Chamber*, in which he embarked himself, carried a sail of purple silk (surely only for holiday exhibitions) whereon the arms of England and France were embroidered; and the other, called the *King's hall*, was also very sumptuously adorned\*. [*Fragment, and Libell of English policy, in Hakluyt, V. i, pp. 185, 203.—Tit. Liv. Vit. Hen. V, p. 33.*]

We have already seen that the Normans were the most spirited merchants in France; and, as commerce and manufactures mutually support each other, we find them also the greatest manufacturers, at least in the woollen branch. The arrival of the English army in Normandy struck such a terror throughout the province, that above twenty-five thousand families fled from it into the adjacent province of Bretagne (whose duke was then in friendship with King Henry) and carried the art of making woollen cloth among the Bretons, who were hitherto ignorant of it: and thus was Henry's invasion the means of spreading that manufacture more widely through France. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f. 250 b.*]

1418, May 4<sup>th</sup>—King Henry, having got possession of Normandy, and understanding that his subjects of that country had been grievously oppressed by heavy duties imposed upon salt in times past by his adversaries, and tyrannically compelled to buy salt at exorbitant prices, gave notice, that he, being desirous to relieve his poor people from such oppression, and to govern them according to justice, licenced the Normans and his other French subjects to buy whatever quantities of salt they should think proper in places to be appointed by him. And forasmuch as it was usual in all Christian kingdoms to levy custom upon every kind of merchandize bought or sold, and salt among others, and he was in great need of money to carry on the war, he imposed a duty of one fourth part of all salt sold, to be levied in kind or in money at his option, and ordered that all salt should be stored in warehouses to be established by him, and measured by his measurers, under penalty of forfeiture of the salt, the flesh salted, carts, horses, harness, &c. [*Fædera, V. ix, p. 583.*]

September 24<sup>th</sup>—Alfonso king of Aragon having about a year before granted protection to the subjects of England with their vessels and merchandize in his territories, which seems to have been little, if any thing, more than a shadow of favour in order to obtain a substance by way of reciprocration, King Henry now granted similar protection to the sub-

\* As the Libell of English policy has no mention of the King's chamber and the King's hall, it is not improbable, that those names may have been given on the occasion to two of the three large ships particularly named in it.

jects of Aragon, [*Fœdera*, V. ix, p. 622] who, as we shall see afterwards (A. D. 1438), knew how to make the best use of the privilege.

1419, July 14<sup>th</sup>—The truce or treaty with Flanders for the security of trade was renewed. King Henry having made a demand of £10,000 as a compensation for merchandize taken from some merchants of England and Ireland in the port of Sluys, and also several privileges respecting the conveyance of money through Flanders to the staple at Calais, the Flemish ambassadors declared, that those matters were not within their commission; and it was agreed, that they should be adjusted in a subsequent meeting to be held at Calais. [*Fœdera*, V. ix, pp. 769, 779.]

October 12<sup>th</sup>—King Henry accordingly appointed commissioners to meet those of the duke of Burgundy. But the Flemings were prevented from attending by the troubles consequent upon the murder of their duke, till January 1420, when the treaty was renewed till the 1<sup>st</sup> of the ensuing November, and a commission was appointed to liquidate the claims for damages on both sides. [*Fœdera*, V. ix, pp. 804, 843.]

This year Schahrok, the son of the great Timour, sent ambassadors to the emperor of Cathay, or China. Some merchants went in their train; but no commercial transactions are noted in a pretty circumstantial account of the embassy, from which we learn, however, that the arts were then in as high a degree of perfection in that great empire as they are at this present day. [*Thevenot*, *Voyages curieux*, partie 4.]

1420, December—The parliament gave a new proof of their anxiety to stock the kingdom with gold by an act obliging every merchant stranger buying wool in England, to be carried to the western countries\* without previously going to the staple, to deliver to the master of the mint in the Tower one ounce of gold bullion for every sack; and the same was also to be delivered for every three pieces of tin. [*Acts 8 Hen. V*, c. 2.]

The Portuguese began this year to cultivate the island of Madeira. The first settlers did not think of planting vines, but gave their attention chiefly to sugar canes, brought from Sicily, which succeeded very well, the prince's fifth part amounting in some years to 60,000 arobas, or about 15,000 hundredweights †. [*Purchas*, B. ii, c. i, § 2.]

We have the following picture of the commerce of Venice about this time in a speech addressed by the duke Tommas Mocenigo to the senators.—The annual value of goods exported was ten millions of ducats, and the profits, outward and homeward, were about four millions. The shipping consisted of 3,000 vessels of from ten to two hundred amforas burthen carrying 17,000 seamen, 300 ships carrying 8,000 seamen,

\* In the second year of Richard II the parliament explained which countries they comprehended under the term *Western*. See above p. 587.

† I do not pretend to give a clear account of

the discovery and settlement of every island occupied in this age on the west side of Africa. The Portuguese and Spanish accounts are apparently irreconcilable.

and 45 galleys, great and small, manned by 11,000 seamen\*: and there were 16,000 carpenters employed in the dock-yards. The mint of Venice coined annually 1,000,000 of ducats in gold, 200,000 pieces of silver of various sizes, and 800,000 foldi. Every year 500,000 ducats were sent into Syria and Egypt, and 100,000 ducats to England (the balance of the Venetian trade with England being thus one fifth of the sum paid for the oriental productions, for it may be observed that the Venetians assuredly carried a great deal of merchandize to England, and probably very little to Syria and Egypt). The Venetians received annually from the Florentines 16,000 pieces of cloth, from middling quality to the very finest, which they sent to Apulia, Sicily, Barbary, Syria, Cyprus, Rhodes, Egypt, Romania, Candia, and the Morea through Istria. Though the Florentines sold so much cloth to Venice, they also carried thither 7,000 ducats weekly, and purchased French and Catalonian wool, crimson, and grain, silk, gold and silver thread (or wire, 'filati'), wax, sugar, and violins. The value of the houses in Venice was estimated at seven millions of ducats, and the annual rents at half a million. [*Sanuto, Vite de duce di Venezia, ap. Muratori Script. V. xxii, col. 959.*]

1421, May 6<sup>th</sup>—As we can have but few opportunities of seeing any account of the antient revenue and expenditure of the kingdom of England, the following statement of them for one year ending with Michaelmas, presented to the king by the treasurer of England, appears worthy of notice, especially as it shows, that, even in those days, the greatest part of the public expenses were supplied from the trade of the country.

The revenue consisted of

Customs on wool	-	-	-	-	-	£3,976	1	2
Subsidy on wool	-	-	-	-	-	26,035	18	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Small customs	-	-	-	-	-	2,438	9	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Duty of 12 pennies on the pound in the value of goods (the whole amount of which thence appears to have been £164,750:15:10)						8,237	10	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
						40,676	19	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Causual revenues paid into the exchequer	-	-	-	-	-	15,066	11	1
Total revenue	-	-	-	-	-	55,748	10	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Out of the above were to be supported								
The custody or defence of England	-					£5,333	6	8
—————of Calais and its marches in time of war						19,119	5	10
—————of the marches of Scotland and Roxburgh, in war	-	-	-	-	-	19,500	0	0
—————of Ireland †	-	-	-	-	-	1,666	13	4

\* The 3000 vessels carried only five or six men each on an average, and the 300 ships about twenty one each. Of the 45 galleys some must have been formidable vessels, each of them having, upon an average of the whole 45, about 244 seamen, a sufficient complement for a very respectable modern frigate.

† With respect to the marches of Scotland we have the corresponding testimony of the historian of Croyland, [*ap. Gale, p. 563*] that the keeping of Berwick alone cost about this time 10,000 marks annually; and thence he concluded, that the possession of it was a loss, rather than an acquisition, to England. Thus those two antient

The custody of the castle of Frounsake	-	£666	13	4
Salaries of the treasurer, keeper of the privy seal, judges, barons of exchequer, and and other officers of the court		3,002	17	6
——— of the officers of the customs, &c.		547	0	0
——— of dukes, earls, knights, esquires, abbes of Shene, &c.	- - -	7,751	12	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Annuities charged on the customs	-	4,374	4	3
Salaries of officers of the customs in the several ports*		274	3	4
Total expenditure	- - -	† 52,235 16 10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Surplus of revenue	- - -	£3,507 13 11 $\frac{3}{4}$		

out of which were to be defrayed the charges of

The king's and queen's household and wardrobe ('camera—hospitio—  
'garderoba'); The king's works, the new tower at Portsmouth—clerk  
of the king's ships—the king's lions and the constable of the Tower—  
artillery—the king's prisoners—ambassadors—messengers, parchment,  
&c.—the dukes of Holland.

There remained unprovided for

Old debts for Harfleur and Calais—the king's wardrobe, and clerks of  
the king's ships and works—arrears to annuitants—debts of King Henry  
IV, and of Henry V when prince of Wales. [*Fædera*, V. x, p. 113, ex  
*MS. Bib. Cott. Cleop.* F iii.]

May—It being customary to build the keels, used at Newcastle for  
carrying coals onboard the ships, larger than the standard measure of  
twenty chaldrons, in order to evade part of the duty of two pennies,  
payable by all persons not free of Newcastle, it was enacted, that their  
burthen should be measured and marked by commissioners appointed  
by the king †. [*Acts 9 Hen. V, stat. i, c. 10.*]

Notwithstanding the late law against vitiating the money, it was now  
in so bad a state, that the parliament enacted, that the gold money of  
England should only be taken by weight. And the people were ordered  
to carry their light and vitiated money to the tower to be recoined, the  
king, in consideration of their loss, foregoing the emolument due to him  
upon the coinage †. [*c. 11.*]

May 29<sup>th</sup>—Peace being made with the king of France (May 21<sup>st</sup>), it  
was immediately followed by a reconciliation with the Genoese, and by

Gibraltars, Calais and Berwick, appear to have  
cost almost sixteen times as much as the whole  
kingdom of Ireland.

\* As the officers must have been very numer-  
ous, this very small amount of all their salaries ac-  
counts for the frequent complaints of their extor-  
tions.

† In this account we find the very usual disa-  
greement between the totals and the particular  
numbers: but, as it is impossible to trace the error,  
we must take them as they stand in the record.

‡ The parliament seem to have known nothing  
of an order similar to this act in the reign of Rich-  
ard II. See above, p. 589.

§ Stow [*Survey of London*, p. 85] says, that the  
nobles were taken this year in payment of the fif-  
teenth granted to the king at the full value of 6/8,  
if they were worth 5/8. That regulation was  
probably subsequent to the diminution of the mon-  
ey, for which see the appendix.

a new treaty, whereby all past injuries were consigned to oblivion. Each party was at liberty to trade with the enemies of the other, but not to give them any assistance by sea or land. In case of a breach of this *perpetual* alliance the subjects of either party were to be allowed eight months \* to retire with their property. The subjects of each power might import and export in the ports of the other all kinds of merchandize not prohibited, on paying the usual customs, and freely transact their business. Infractions of this treaty by individuals should be duly punished, but should make no breach of the friendship between the contracting powers. The duke and community of Genoa became bound to pay to William Waldern and his partners, who had obtained letters of marque against them, (see above, p. 625) £6,000 sterling, as the full balance for damages remaining unsatisfied †. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 117.]

December—The parliament enacted that exchanges for gold and silver money should be established in London and other places in the kingdom, where money should be coined for the public on paying 5*s* for the Tower pound of gold, and 1*s*3 for the same weight of silver, as the dues of seignorage and coinage. [*Acts* 9 *Hen. V*, *st.* 2, *c.* 2.]

For the ease of the merchants and others residing at Calais, it was enacted, that a mint and coinage should be established there during the king's pleasure, saving to him his dues from the coinage, &c. [*c.* 6.]

1422, August 31"—It pleased God to cut off King Henry in his brilliant career of victory, and to save the British islands from becoming provinces of the French empire. I say the British islands; for not only Ireland, as an appendage of England, would have been subject to the king of France and England, but Scotland also, as soon as the French should have perceived, that, instead of being a conquered and depressed people, they were really the predominant nation, and had acquired a great and valuable addition of territory and of naval and military power along with their new king, must have submitted to the irresistible united naval and military forces of France, England, and Ireland: and then the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, of the British kingdoms would have been as completely subservient to the interest and policy of France, as ever those of Ireland and the colonies were to these of England. By the invasions of France England was depopulated ‡; and Henry, like his predecessor who first started the fatal pretension to the sovereignty of that kingdom, found himself reduced to the miserable and illusory expedient of diminishing the value of the current money of the kingdom ||. In short, the interests of commerce and the

\* In the treaty with Prussia in 1387 the merchants were allowed *twelve* months to settle their business in case of a rupture.

† In the year 1414 the Genoese made offers of compensation to the injured merchants, which were probably not satisfactory: [*Fœdera*, V. ix, p. 160.] It is observable, that this treaty, which contains but little matter, is almost as prolix as a modern one.

‡ One proof of the depopulation is recorded by parliament, in the act 9 *Hen. V*, *st.* 1, *c.* 5, where, by the sheriffs, instead of being changed annually, were to continue several years in office, *because a sufficient number of persons duly qualified for the office could not be found.*

|| See the appendix.

happiness of the people were equally disregarded during this splendid reign of conquest and desolation. The Scots, by their strenuous exertions against Edward III, and their opportune assistance to France against Henry V, contributed largely to prevent the subjection and ruin of Great Britain.

October—In the first year of Henry VI several laws respecting money and the staple of Calais were confirmed by parliament. [*Acts 1 Hen. VI.*]

The Genoese had obtained from the Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, a lease of a mountain on the coast of Asia Minor, containing a mine of alum; and near it they built a small fort, which gave birth to a town called New Phocæa, being nearly on the site of the ancient Phocæa, a city of some note in the early annals of commerce. The Turks, when they became masters of the country, permitted the Genoese to enjoy their trade in alum as before. The French, Germans\*, English, Italians, Spaniards, Arabians, Egyptians, and Syrians, were their purchasers; and the factory, or colony, continued to prosper, till their trade was interrupted by the war with Catalonia, which prevented the Genoese vessels from transporting the alum to France, Spain, England, and even to their neighbouring ports of Italy †. [*Ducas, c. 25, pp. 89-91.*]

1423, October—The parliament permitted gold and silver to be carried out of the kingdom for military expenses, and to pay for horses, oxen, sheep, and other things, bought in Scotland for the service of the adjacent parts of England, and for those purposes only. In order to prevent alien merchants from smuggling money out of the country, every company was obliged to find security that none of the partners should export gold or silver. [*Acts 2 Hen. VI, c. 6.*]

Frauds in the sizes of several kinds of casks having become common, the parliament ordained, that no person should import, or make within the realm ‡, a tun of wine measuring less than 252 gallons English mea-

\* The Flemings are surely comprehended here under the name of Germans.

† I am here obliged to differ from Mr. Gibbon, an author, whose general accuracy, strict attention to authority, and extent of research, are almost unequalled. He says, [*V. xii, p. 52*] that the English are mentioned by Ducas among the nations that resorted to New Phocæa; an early evidence of Mediterranean trade.—I was myself very much pleased to think that the English were now carried by the spirit of commercial enterprise almost as far from home, as their ancestors had been by the frenzy of superstition, till I consulted the original author, who only says, that the mariners sailing from the east to the west thought alum a useful and convenient cargo for their ships, (as, I suppose, it has, like common salt, the virtue of preserving the timbers) and that the French, Germans, English, &c. purchased the alum dug from the mountain, which is very valuable to fullers and dyers. In

this passage Ducas does not expressly say, where those nations bought the alum; but the subsequent information in p. 91 leaves no doubt, that they received it in their own ports from the Genoese vessels. In the year 1450 we shall see alum to the value of £4,000 delivered by the Genoese to Henry VI king of England.

‡ ‘ Si est ordeinez et establez, qe null homme \* \* \* \* apporte en le royaume d’Engleterre, de quel pais qe ceo soit, ne face deins mesme le royaume, tonell de vyn, s’il ne conteigne del mesure d’Engleterre  $\frac{252}{100}$  et xii galons.’—Does the verb *face* (*make*) apply to the tun, or to the wine? Was wine made in England at this time in such quantities as to be an object of trade and legislative regulation, or was it only mentioned from superabundant caution? Doctor Henry [*V. viii, p. 270*] thinks that this act indicates, that the wines made in England were considerable in quantity, and of the same kinds with foreign wines.

sure, the pipe 126, the tertian and hoghead in proportion; that the barrel of herrings or eels should contain 30 gallons, the butt of salmon 84 gallons, and smaller casks in proportion, the fish in all of them, whether imported or cured at home, being fully packed. [c. 11.]

The laws for regulating the standard quality of silver were renewed. The silversmiths were ordered to affix their own mark to their work. Keepers of the touch (or assay-masters) were appointed in London, York, Newcastle upon Tyne, Lincoln, Norwich, Bristol, Salisbury, and Coventry, who were to stamp all silver work of the due standard with a leopard's head. In other places the silversmiths were allowed to sell their wares with their own stamp only, but liable to a penalty of double the value of any silver found under the standard of sterling money. [c. 14.]

1424, February—James, king of Scotland, having bound himself and his kingdom to pay £40,000 sterling, by installments in the course of six years, to Henry VI, king of England, for his board or keeping\*, gave his own obligation, and delivered a number of hostages of the first families in Scotland; and moreover, as if those securities were not sufficient, the communities of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, as the most opulent towns of Scotland, gave their obligations for 50,000 marks each, every one of them thus taking burthen for the whole, which, by an allowance of 10,000 marks as the portion of Lady Jane, daughter of the duke of Somerset, married to King James, was reduced to that sum instead of the original 60,000 marks. In a truce of seven years, which accompanied this pecuniary transaction, the only article, in the smallest degree connected with commerce, provided that the merchants, pilgrims, and fishers, of either party, driven by stress of weather into the ports of the other, should not be seized. [*Fœdera*, V. x, pp. 324, 329 †.]

May—James I, king of Scotland, was distinguished by a bright genius, a vigorous mind cultivated in the school of early adversity, and an eager desire to improve the condition of his kingdom, which had been in a retrograde state since the death of King Alexander III. With his restoration commences the regular series of the written laws of Scotland ‡, which will henceforth furnish authentic materials for the commercial

\* 'Pro tempore quo dictus dominus Rex Jacobus stetit in presentia regum Angliæ'. The commissioners carefully avoided the word *ransom*, as they did not chuse to say that James was a prisoner.

† The pages here quoted are only those containing the obligations of the four towns, which had the heavy honour of being securities for their sovereign, and the article of the truce referred to. Of the hundreds of writings concerning the liberation of King James, those printed in the ninth and tenth volumes of the *Fœdera*, though only a part, are far too numerous to be particularly quoted.

‡ It is worthy of observation, that the laws of Scotland, which had hitherto all been written in Latin, were after the restoration of James, with the exception of about half a dozen, all expressed in the language of the people, who were to be governed by them, and the shirefs were directed to make them sufficiently public throughout the kingdom. In England the laws were either in Latin or French, and mostly French, till the reign of Richard III, when the first English statute was enacted, which was long after the French language had become obsolete even among the upper ranks.

history of that kingdom. In his first parliament the great and small customs and the burgh mailles (or rents) were annexed to the crown.—The slaughter of salmon in the improper season was strictly prohibited \*—Cruives and yairs (engines for catching fish) were prohibited in tide rivers; and those, who had right to set them in rivers above the tide, were enjoined to observe the laws for preserving the breed of the fish.—All mines, yielding three halfpennies of silver out of a pound of lead, were declared the property of the king †.—The exportation of gold and silver was permitted, but loaded with the prohibitory duty of  $\frac{3}{4}$  per pound ( $16\frac{2}{3}$  per cent); and foreign merchants were to prove by the evidence of their hosts, that they had invested the proceeds of their imports in Scottish merchandize, or paid the duty for exporting the money.—The following duties were imposed upon cattle and other goods carried out of the kingdom.

		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		
Horses, oxen, and sheep, one shillings } per pound of the value . . . . . }	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>			
Herrings, per thousand . . . . .	0	1	Skins of mertriks (martins) each. . . . .	2	0
Herrings, barreled, taken by natives, per last	4	0	— of fowmarts (weasels) — . . . . .	0	1
— by foreigners, —	6	0	— of cunnings (rabbits) per hundred . .	1	0
Red herrings, cured in Scotland, per thousand	0	4	— of otters and foxes per daker . . . . .	0	6
			— of harts and hinds . . . . .	1	0
			— of does and roes every ten . . . . .	0	4

—The parliament empowered the king to restore the money to an equality with that of England †.—Able beggars were not to be permitted to infest the country; and those esteemed proper objects of charity were to be furnished with tickets by the shirrefs in the country, and by the aldermen and bailies in the towns ||. [*Acts Jac. I, cc. 8, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, 27.*]

These regulations were intended to be permanent. But as it was necessary to make provision for the payment for which the kingdom was bound to the king of England, a temporary law of this session [*cc. 10, 11*] imposed a tax of twelve pennies on every pound of rent and other branches of income, and also of the annual increase of corn and cattle, to be paid agreeable to a standard valuation fixed by parliament §: and this tax was to be paid by the clergy as well as the laity. We learn from Walter Bowar, one of the commissioners for this taxation, that it

\* From an act of the next session the prohibited season appears then to have begun on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August and ended on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November.

† This law is somewhat obscure. It says, 'Gif ony myne of gold or silver be fundin in ony lordis landis of the realme, and it may be previt that thre half pennyis of silver may be synit out of the pund of leid: the lordis of parliament consentis, that sic myne be the kingis, as is usual of uther realmes.'—Was the lead, with the silver, or only the silver, to belong to the king? Though gold is mentioned, no provision is made respecting it. There was probably no expectation of ever finding any: but some gold was afterwards found in some of the rivulets of Scotland.

‡ The impoverished state of the country, not

yet recovered from the calamity of King David's ransom, and now further drained by the contribution for the board-money, ransom, or finance, of King James, together with the erroneous ideas of the age concerning money, operated more powerfully than any act of parliament, and produced a diminution, instead of an improvement, of the money of Scotland. See the appendix.

|| The repetition of this act in less than a year shows that it was inefficient.

§ For the rates see the appendix of prices. But it must be observed, that the articles are all much undervalued, e. g. a boll of wheat only 2s, which is much below the price in England, and, allowing for the diminution of the money, below the usual price in the happy days of Alexander III.

amounted in the first year almost to fourteen thousand marks, which, without making any allowance for short returns usual in such cases, makes the annual income of the people of Scotland, independent of the lands and cattle employed by land-holders in their own husbandry, which were exempted, amount to near 280,000 marks, equal in effective value to about three millions of modern sterling money. Next year, the zeal of the people being cooled, the tax was less productive; the people grumbled (for taxes, except in customs, which became part of the apparent price of the goods on which they were charged, were unknown) and no more was levied. [*Scoticron. V. ii, p. 482.*]

1425, March—The parliament of Scotland prohibited the exportation of tallow.—No person was allowed to go abroad as a merchant, who had not three serplaihs\* of wool, or other goods of equal value, either of his own property, or consigned to him.—A duty of 2*s* in the pound on the value was imposed on woollen cloth exported; and a duty of 2*s*/*6* in the pound was laid upon salmon exported by strangers. English goods imported were charged with a duty of 2*s*/*6* in the pound, also of the value. [*Acts Jac. I, cc. 35, 41, 44.*] These laws show, that there was some manufacture, and even exportation, of woollen cloth in Scotland. And they also show, how much the principles of commerce were mistaken by one of the most enlightened and patriotic kings of the age: but those principles were not then known on this side of the Alps and the Pyrenees, unless perhaps by the Flemish and Hanseatic merchants.

May—It was now a common practice to carry sheep from England to Flanders, whereby the price of wool was lowered, to the great damage of the king and the kingdom. The parliament therefor strictly prohibited all persons from carrying sheep beyond the sea, except for victualing the town and marches of Calais. [*Acts 3 Hen. VI, c. 2.*] If the exportation of live sheep was really so considerable as to depress the price of wool in England, it proves, that there was still more wool exported than was worked up in the home manufactures. The uncontrollable opportunity of smuggling sheep from Calais (which might as well have received carcases from the butchers at Dover) was one of the evils attending the possession of that post.

We find an instance of attention to inland navigation in an act enforcing the ordinances formerly made for removing all impediments to the passage of boats on the River Lea, whether by abstraction of the water in ditches, by kidels, wears, or mills. [*c. 5.*]

October 11<sup>th</sup>—The Lombards traded to Scotland in very large car-

\* The quantity of the serplaih probably varied in the course of ages. In the year 1527 the lords of council in Scotland determined its contents to be eighty stones of wool. [*Skene de verb. sign. in vo.*] Murray in the alphabetical abridgement at the end of his edition of the *Laws of Scotland, vo.*

*Merchant*, explains three serplaihs to be 224 stones of wool. Qu. if not an error for 240?—In England a sarpler (apparently the same word) was equal to two sacks and a half in the year 1449, as appears by the act 27 Hen. VI, c. 2, to be noticed in due time.

racks, one of which ('navis immanissima') was wrecked near Leith by a sudden storm with a spring tide on the change of the moon \*. [*Scoticbron. V. ii, p. 487.*]

The Flemings, as allies of England, having committed several hostilities against the Scots, the allies of France, King James had ordered the staple of the Scottish commerce in the Netherlands to be removed to Middleburg in Zeland. About the end of this year the Flemings sent ambassadors to Scotland to solicit the return of the trade, which was granted in consideration of more ample privileges stipulated for the Scottish merchants in Flanders †. [*Scoticbron. ib.*]

The Florentines having acquired the port of Leghorn by purchase, were desirous of participating in the lucrative commerce of Alexandria, then almost entirely in the hands of the Venetians. Their first ship carried ambassadors with presents for the sultan of Egypt, who granted them permission to establish settlements in his dominions, with a church, warehouse, bath, &c. and a consul, at each, with all the privileges granted to the Venetians ‡. [*Leibnitz, Mantissa. Cod. jur. gent. dipl. pars 2, p. 163.—Roscoe's Life of Lor. de Medici, V. 1, p. 136.*]

1426, February 18<sup>th</sup>—Formerly one of the aldermen of London used to act as a judge in mercantile causes, wherein the German merchants of the Hanse residing in England were parties: but for above seven years the magistrates of London had refused to appoint any one of their number to act in that capacity. After repeated applications of the Hanse merchants to parliament, the king now nominated Alderman Crowmer to the office of alderman and judge of the Hanse merchants §. [*Fædera, V. x, p. 351.*]

March—The Scottish parliament directed the merchants returning from foreign countries to import harness (defensive armour), spears, shafts, bows, and staves.—They renewed the unavailing law for confining money within the kingdom, and subjected foreign merchants, not only to the inspection of their hosts, but also to the controul of two supervisors in every port.—They ordained, that uniform measures of the boll, firLOT, half firLOT, peck, and gallon, conform to standards kept at Edinburgh, should be used throughout the kingdom; that all goods sold by weight should be weighed by the stone, containing fifteen lawful Troye pounds, equal to sixteen lawful Scottish pounds, and that the

\* The sailors of this great ship, accustomed apparently only to the almost-tideless Mediterranean sea, were not aware of the great rise of the spring tides on our British shores, and their ship seems to have been lost by dragging her anchors or parting her cables. She was wrecked at Granton about three miles above Leith.

† Bowar mentions, without any date, a pacification between King James and the Hollanders, with some circumstances similar to those of this

treaty with the Flemings. [*Scoticbron. V. ii, p. 509.*] Perhaps he is confusedly repeating the same transaction a second time.

‡ A specimen of the sales of the Florentine woollen manufactures has already been given in the view of the commerce of Venice under the year 1420.

§ In the year 1442 we find the king making a similar nomination of Alderman Frowyk. [*Fædera. V. xi, p. 16.*]

alderman and bailies of each town should appoint a sufficient person to measure coals and other goods sold by the water mete, with whom the sellers should not interfere.—Lastly, they ordered that the acts of this and the two preceding parliaments should be registered, and that the shirrefs should use the proper means to render them sufficiently known in every part of the kingdom. [*Acts Jac. I, cc. 52, 55, 63, 64, 65, 77.*]

July 29<sup>th</sup>—In a treaty between James, king of Scotland, and Eric, king of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, the antient treaties were renewed or confirmed; mutual freedom of trade in the ports formerly frequented, and agreeable to the rights and approved customs of both kingdoms, was agreed upon; and all damages, transgressions, and defaults, on both sides were forgiven and cancelled, the annual rent for the vassal kingdom of Mann and the Isles being still payable to Norway. [*Tract. ap. Fordun, p. 1353, ed. Hearne.*]

July 30<sup>th</sup>—The commanders of some English ships, alleging that the Flemings passed the goods of Spaniards, Bretons, and other enemies, as their own, had seized several Flemish vessels; and the duke of Burgundy had interposed in behalf of his Flemish subjects. The council of England thereupon promised, that justice should be done to the Flemings, and ordered the king's subjects to abstain from doing any injury to them. [*Fœdera, V. x, pp. 360, 361, 367.*]

1427, March—The parliament of Scotland decreed, that the elne should contain thirty-seven inches, agreeable to the law of King David I; and they made some alterations on the corn measures\*, which have repeatedly been altered since. [*Acts Jac. I, cc. 78, 79, 80 †.*]

July—They also ordained, that causes concerning the property of Scottish merchants or pilgrims dying in Zeland, Flanders, or other foreign countries should be tried in Scotland before their ordinaries, by whom their wills should be confirmed, though some part of the property might be in England or beyond the sea. [*Acts Jac. I, c. 99 †.*]

October—The parliament of England passed an act, whereby all merchants, whether denizens or aliens, were permitted to ship wool, hides, wool-fells, and other merchandize, at the port of Melcomb for Calais on paying the due customs, &c. [*Acts 6 Hen. VI, c. 6.*]

1428 March—The parliament of Scotland permitted merchants for a year ensuing to ship their goods in foreign vessels, where Scottish ones were not to be found, notwithstanding the statute made to the contrary. [*Acts Jac. I, c. 117.*] This law, copied from the English act of the 6<sup>th</sup> of Richard II, (as, indeed, almost all the Scottish laws were copied from

\* The measures are contradictorily described in the act by the blunder of the original clerk, the transcriber, or printer.

†† There is an error in the numeration of these

two sessions of parliament, between which another one, belonging to the preceding year, is placed in the editions.

those of England) necessarily infers the pre-existence of a Scottish *navigation act*, whereof we find no traces in any edition of the acts\*.

March, May—Some idea of the progressive state of the manufactures of England may be obtained from a comparison of the articles now shipped, without paying custom, for the use of the king of Portugal and the countess of Holland, with a similar list of articles in the year 1393. For the king, 6 silver cups, weighing 6 marks each, gilded; 1 piece of scarlet cloth; 1 piece sanguine dyed in grain; 1 piece blood colour; 2 pieces mustrevilers; 2 pieces of marble colour; 2 pieces of russet mustrevilers; 2 pieces black cloth of lyre; 1 piece white woollen cloth; 300 pieces Essex straits for liveries; 2,000 platters, dishes, sawcers, pots, and other vessels, of electrum †; a number of beds of various kinds and sizes with curtains, &c.; 60 rolls of worsted; 12 dozen of lances; and 26 ambling horses. For the countess, several cut quantities of various woollen cloths; 12 yards of red figured satin; 2 pieces of white kersey; 3 mantles of rabbit's fur; 1½ timber of martin's fur; a quantity of rye, whole and ground, in casks. [*Fœdera*, V. x, pp. 391, 398.]

July 1<sup>st</sup>—The merchants of Holland, Zeland, and Flanders, had for some time in a great measure given up trading to England in apprehension of being arrested on the complaints of some English subjects. The council of England, therefor, sensible that commerce was useful and necessary to all the world, and in compliance with the request of the merchants of England, declared, that all people of Holland, Zeland, and Flanders, coming in a mercantile manner, with provisions, merchandize, gold, silver, coins, silver vessels, jewels, and all other goods whatever, should be freely admitted in the king's dominions to sell their goods, and purchase any other lawful goods in return. [*Fœdera*, V. x, pp. 403, 404.]

1429, February 18<sup>th</sup>—The king's subjects of Bayonne in France were prohibited from exacting toll, lastage, pavage, pontage, or murage, from the citizens of London, the charters of former kings having exempted them from those imposts. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 411.]

May 13<sup>th</sup>—The establishment of Bergen in Norway ('Norbarn'), as the staple for the trade in fish and other merchandize, by the king of Denmark, was announced by the council, who strictly prohibited the English seamen from going to Finmark, or any other place in the Danish dominions than Bergen. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 416.]

September—The weight called *uncel* being found a means of fraud, it was prohibited ‡; and all cities and burghs were required to provide

\* The omission need not surprize, when we find a similar want of some acts of the parliament of England, where the records have been preserved, probably with more care than in any other country in Europe. See below in the year 1463.

† What kind of substance or metal is here meant by the name of electrum, I suppose, it is now impossible to tell.

‡ Though the uncel weight, which seems to have been something of the nature of a stelyard,

was

balances and weights made conform to the standard of the exchequer and sealed, for weighing wool and other merchandize. None but makers of cloth were permitted to buy woollen yarn. [*Acts 8 Hen. VI, c. 5.*]

The parliament, observing, that many merchants for their own profit carried to Flanders, Holland, Brabant, and other places, the wool and other staple goods of England, which ought all to have been carried to Calais, whereby the payment of the duties was evaded, and the king's mint at Calais was almost at a stand, strictly prohibited all persons from carrying any such goods from England, Wales, or Ireland, to any other place than Calais, on penalty of forfeiture of double value and imprisonment for two years. The merchants of Genoa, Venice, Tuscany, Lombardy, Florence, and Catalonia, were, nevertheless still allowed to ship wool, &c. for their own countries; and the burghesses of Berwick were also still allowed to retain their former privileges. [*c. 17.*]

For the profit and wealth of the kingdom it was ordained, that the prices of wool, wool-fells, and tin, should be raised;—that they should be sold only for gold and silver;—that three quarters of the price should be carried to the mint at Calais to be coined;—that the merchants should account faithfully to those concerned with them;—and that the sellers should give sealed discharges to the buyers, and make no collusive agreements for giving them credit. [*c. 18.*]

The parliament, observing that the people of Flanders, Holland, Zealand, and Brabant, in order to avoid carrying wool and other English merchandize of the staple to Calais, frequently packed them in tuns, pipes, &c. and stowed them in their vessels under wood, wheat rye, &c. (whence the exportation of corn appears to have been pretty common) all such smuggling was now prohibited under the penalty of confiscation of vessel and cargo, permission being still granted, as formerly, to carry such goods into the Mediterranean\*. [*c. 19.*]

The merchants of Calais having lately made a practice of preventing strangers from buying the staple goods from the importers, that they might get them into their own hands, whereby they made great profits, to the prejudice of both parties, the parliament, in their zeal for the welfare of trade, prohibited them from buying any staple goods beyond the sea, on pain of forfeiture. [*c. 20.*]

The exemption, enjoyed by the men of Newcastle and Berwick, from the obligation of carrying their staple goods to Calais, being found pre-

was now prohibited by parliament, it appears to have been still used; for we find the clergy in the following year adding their authority to that of the parliament by a canon enjoining the suppression of it under the terrible penalty of excommunication. [*Wilkins' Concilia, p. 516.*]

\* 'Outre les estoites de Marrock.' Though *oultre* is written in this act instead of *par*, the word used in others which have a similar clause, there seems no reason to believe that any place really *beyond* (or to the *southward* of) the Straits could be intended.

judicial to the kingdom, and it being alleged that they imported no money (their proceeds being apparently invested in goods wanted at home, and yielding a profit upon importation) they were now ordered to carry their goods to Calais, as other subjects of England were obliged to do. Persons conveying staple goods into Scotland, in order to evade this law, were to be punished by confiscation of their goods with double value, and a year's imprisonment. [*c.* 21.]

Some regulations against fraudulent practices in exporting and packing wool, and against felling the ends of woollen yarn, called thrums, were now enacted. [*cc.* 22, 23.]

It was usual with foreign merchants to stipulate with the buyers, that the payments should be made in gold, apparently for the convenience of carriage, as the laws subjected them to the expense and risk of smuggling their money out of the country. The parliament, in order to counteract their purpose, ordained that no person should be compelled to pay in gold: and they also enacted, that no person in England should sell any goods to a foreigner, unless for ready money, or goods in exchange immediately delivered. [*c.* 24.]

All these fetters upon commerce, imposed, as the legislators sincerely believed, for advancing the prosperity of it, were like attempts to prevent the rivers from running in their natural courses.

1430, March—In Scotland the parliament enacted, that no persons under the rank of knights, or having less than 200 marks of yearly income, should wear clothes made of silk or adorned with the finer furs. The sons and heirs of the noble and opulent were allowed to dress as fine as their fathers.—In case of vessels being wrecked on the coast of Scotland, the preservation of the property for the owners, or the confiscation of it to the king, was regulated by the law respecting wrecks in the country to which they belonged.—All proprietors of land within six miles of the west and north coasts, except those who held their land by the service of finding vessels, were now ordered to contribute to the building and equipment of galleys for the public service, in the proportion of one oar of the galleys to every four marks worth of land. [*Acts Jac. I, cc.* 133, 138, 140.]

July 12<sup>th</sup>—The superiority of the English commerce and manufactures over those of Scotland appears by King James employing two citizens of London to ship for his own use 20 tuns of wine, 12 bows, 4 dozen yards of cloth of different colours and 12 yards of scarlet, 20 yards of red worsted, 8 dozen pewter vessels, 1,200 wooden bowls (or caps) packed in 4 barrels, 3 dozen coverels, a basin and font, 2 summer saddles, 1 hackney saddle, and 1 woman's saddle with furniture, 2 portmanteaus, 4 yards of motley, 5 yards of morrey, 5 yards of black cloth of lyre, 12 yards of kersey, 12 skins of red leather, and some trifling articles. These goods, shipped onboard a vessel belonging to Lon-

don, were secured by a royal order from being molested by English cruifers ; but they were to pay the customary duties \*. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 470.] About this time a great cannon, made for King James in Flanders, and called the Lion †, was carried to Scotland. [*Scotichron*, V. ii, p. 490.]

May 19<sup>th</sup>—The king, or rather the council, borrowed £50,000 for the expenfes of a coronation in France. We find only fifteen cities and towns in the records as lenders, whereof London gave £6,666 : 13 : 4½, Bristol £333 : 6 : 8, York £162, Coventry £100, Sarum £72, and the others fmaller fums, down to £4. Of the clergy, the bifhop of Winchester, cardinal of England, fubfcribed the enormous fum of £9,950 1s, the prior of S<sup>t</sup>. John of Jerufalem £333 : 6 : 8 ; and feveral others contributed fmaller fums. Sir John Cornwall was the only lay individual, whofe fubfcription was fo high as £500. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 461.]

July 19<sup>th</sup>—The fubjects of the crown of England were prohibited from attending any market in Brabant, efpecially Antwerp, till proper fteps fhould be taken for the fecurity of their perfons and property. They were alfo ordered to purchafe no linens of Flanders or Hainalt, nor any napery or bokeram made in thofe countries, except according to the regulations made by the four members of Flanders, and lately proclaimed in Ghent, Bruges, and other places in that country. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 471.]

November 8<sup>th</sup>—A truce, to laft one year from the firft of May, was concluded with the king of Caftile, wherein mutual freedom of trade was ftipulated ; and it was agreed, that any depredations committed on either fide fhould be punifhed, and juftice done to the party injured, by the fovereign of the offenders, without a breach of the treaty. It was alfo mutually agreed, in order to prevent piracies, that no armed vefTel fhould be allowed to fail out of the ports of either kingdom, till fufficient fecurity were given, that fhe fhould commit no hoftilities on the fubjects of the allied king, nor carry any prizes whatever into any port, but that from which fhe was fitted out. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 473.]

December 15<sup>th</sup>—A further truce of five years, reckoning from the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1431, was concluded between England and Scotland, which is moftly occupied with expedients for reftaining the border marauders. The merchants, pilgrims, and fifhers, of either kingdom were, as in the former truce, not to be feized in the ports of the other, if driven in by ftrefs of weather ; and fhipwrecked men were to be allowed to pafs to their own home. In cafes of piracy not only the princip-

\* Though James had been fo profitable a boarder to King Henry's grandfather, his father, and himfelf, the compliment, ufually paid to foreign princes and prelates, of exempting their goods from cuftom, was withheld from his moft

dear coufin the king of the Scots ('cariffimo con-  
'fanguineo noftro Jacobo rege Scotorum').

† Grafton fays, this Lion was the gun, which burft and killed King James II at the fiege of Roxburgh.

als, but also their receivers and encouragers, were made liable for compensation to the persons injured, or to punishment. It was agreed, that aggressions by the subjects of either king should not occasion a breach of the truce. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 482.] These were all the mutual accommodations afforded to each-other's commerce by the governments of the sister kingdoms.

1431, January 5<sup>th</sup>—\* King James soon gave a proof of his sincerity by acting apparently beyond the spirit of the treaty. On the complaint of three English merchants he issued letters empowering all persons in authority in the ports of England, Holland, Zeland, and Flanders, to arrest several of his own subjects, therein named, accused by those merchants of having, about the end of November 1428, taken two vessels belonging to them with their cargoes, valued at £1,500, which they conveyed to some foreign country in contempt of the former treaty. The king, in his eagerness to do justice to the injured persons, desired, that not only the four principal malefactors particularized by name, but also (if there is no error in transcribing or printing) any other merchants or mariners of Scotland, should be arrested at the request of the English claimants. Surely justice did not require that the innocent should suffer for the guilty.

At this time Bruges was the staple of the Scottish trade in Flanders, which was found so beneficial on both sides, that the merchants of Scotland, authorized by their sovereign, entered into a treaty with the magistrates of Bruges (undoubtedly also sanctioned by their sovereign the duke of Burgundy) for the continuance of their commercial intercourse, and for certain privileges to be enjoyed by the Scots at Bruges, during a period of one hundred years †.

January—The law of the 8<sup>th</sup> year of Henry VI, which prohibited all sales to foreigners except on the terms of receive and deliver, having produced a stagnation in the woollen manufacture of England and a deficiency in the customs, the English merchants were now permitted to give credit to foreigners, but not to let it exceed six months. [*Act 9 Hen. VI, c. 2.*]

1432, May—Many of the English merchants complained, that their merchandize was seized by the king of Denmark, apparently for violating his laws of the staple. Within a year past the merchants of York and Hull had lost £5,000, and those of other ports of England £20,000, by such seizures. As no Danish subjects traded to England, no reprisals

\* King James's letter is dated 5<sup>th</sup> January 1430 (that is 1431 reckoning the 1<sup>st</sup> of January the beginning of the year), and the twenty-sixth of his reign. The twenty-fifth year did not expire till 5<sup>th</sup> April 1431. But the corresponding date in King Henry's order to his own subjects shows that 1431 is right, and *sexto* printed instead of *quinto*.

† This treaty is known from the mention of the

expiration of it in a treaty for renewing it for another term of one hundred years, dated at Brussels 24<sup>th</sup> July 1531. [*MS. Bib. Harl. 4637 V. iii.*] It is also mentioned in several letters of the year 1531 (as appears by their contents, for the year is omitted in the date of every one of them); preserved in the Cotton library.

could be made within the kingdom; and the king and parliament ordered, that letters should be sent to the king of Denmark, requiring restitution of the property. [*Acts 10 Hen. VI, c. 3.*]

The commons in parliament proposed (or petitioned) that the Hanse merchants settled in London should be made liable for compensation to those whose property should be seized by the Hanse merchants in their own countries. But the king would not consent. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 604.*]

1433, July 10<sup>th</sup>—The silversmiths and gilders of England still retained their superiority of workmanship, as appears by a pretty considerable number of articles, partly of plain silver, and partly gilded, exported to France and Navarre. [*Fædera, V. x, p. 553.*]

July—The parliament prohibited the usual practice of accounting nine, instead of eight, bushels of corn to a quarter.—They also ordained, that no woollen cloth should be offered to sale without being measured and sealed by the king's measurer. They moreover ordained, that only broad cloths should be subject to the regulations of the seventh of Henry IV, and that the cloths called *straits* might be made only 12 elns in length and one in breadth. [*Acts 11 Hen. VI, cc. 8, 9.*]

November 21<sup>st</sup>—The citizens of Barcelona claim the honour of having made ordinances for regulating the important business of maritime insurance before any other community in Europe. The counsellors and chief men of the city now ordained, that no vessel should be insured for more than three quarters of her real ascertained value; that no merchandize belonging to foreigners should be insured in Barcelona, unless it were freighted onboard a vessel belonging to a subject of the king of Aragon. Merchandize belonging to subjects of Aragon, freighted in foreign vessels, should be insured only to the extent of half the real value: and no merchandize whatever, except corn and wine, should be insured for more than three quarters. The words *value more or less*, and the like, sometimes inserted in policies ('*feguretats*'), were declared unlawful, and prohibited. If a vessel were not heard of for six months, she should be considered as certainly lost. The insurance-broker's commission should not exceed two shillings on the hundred pounds, to be paid by the party insured; and no broker, nearly related to, or connected by marriage with, either of the contracting parties, should be employed to negotiate an insurance. [*Orden. ap. Capmany, Mem. hist. de Barcelona, V. ii, p. 383.*]

1434—It may appear ridiculous to introduce religious pilgrimages as subjects of commercial history. But as great sums of money were exported and imported by means of those supposed acts of devotion, they seem to merit some notice. A pilgrimage to the Holy land, being an arduous and expensive undertaking, was now only performed upon very extraordinary occasions: but a summer trip to Compostella in Spain

was merely a pleasure sail, especially from the southern ports of England. At this time the rage for visiting the shrine of S<sup>t</sup>. James of Compostella, which became very prevalent about the year 1428, had got to such a height, that permits were granted by the king for carrying sixty-three cargoes of pilgrims, consisting of above three thousand persons, with the money necessary for their charges and their devotional offerings; for the saint was very fond of money. It may be here noted, in order to make an end of this transport trade, that, on a new rage for S<sup>t</sup>. James breaking out again in 1445, the ship-owners, who apparently found the trade profitable, fitted out larger vessels than formerly, some of them being capable of carrying 200 pilgrims\*. [*Fœdera*, V. x, pp. 386, 396, 401, 407, 567-582; V. xi, pp. 77, 78.] The balance of this commerce of superstition is, however, supposed to have been in favour of England, owing to the great veneration in which S<sup>t</sup>. Thomas of Canterbury was held by foreigners, whose offerings at his shrine, it is believed, amounted to more than all that was carried abroad by the English pilgrims. Thus it may have sometimes happened, that he, who was a pest to his country while alive, might be of some service to it when dead. But the pecuniary advantage, derived from an exchange of idlers for idlers, was a miserable compensation for the perversion of the pursuits of so great a number of people from useful industry.

1435, June 26<sup>th</sup>—The law, enacted in Scotland in the year 1424, whereby those mines of lead, which were rich in silver, became the property of the crown, apparently put such a check upon the operations of mining, that King James, having occasion for thirty fadders of lead, was obliged to purchase it in the bishoprick of Durham. The council of England permitted it to be carried either by land or water, on paying the usual customs. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 615.]

1436, April 18<sup>th</sup>—Though the duke of Burgundy had withdrawn his support from King Henry, the people born in his dominions, settled in England, were not molested by government † on that account, provided they acted as good subjects; whereupon 1738 aliens, among whom were many born in Holland, Germany, &c. as well as those born in Flanders, took the oath of allegiance, and obtained letters of protection. [*Fœdera*, V. x, pp. 636, 637.]

September 8<sup>th</sup>—In consequence of the defection of the duke of Burgundy an order had been issued, that no Englishman should sail to any foreign country, and particularly Flanders, without a special licence: and the merchants, of neutral nations had availed themselves of the prohibition, and imported linen cloth ('pannum lineum'), madder, &c.

\* In the year 1434 most of the vessels carried about 60 pilgrims. The smallest cargo was 24; and the Mary of Southampton was the only vessel which carried 100. Only two vessels sailed from London in this transport trade with cargoes of 80

and 60. Most of the vessels carried two cargoes in the season.

† In the first transport of the fury, excited by the defection of the duke, some of his subjects residing in London were plundered and murdered by the populace. [*Monstrelet*, f. 120.]

But the king's council, determined to cut off all communication or intercourse, forbade all foreigners to import any goods whatever from Flanders. The orders were addressed to the warden of the Cinque ports, to the shirreifs of London, and to the mayors and bailiffs of Kingston upon Hull, Southampton, Chichester, Bristol, Lynne, Orwell, Boston, Yarmouth, Colchester, and Pool.

October—The parliament of Scotland enacted, that the exporters of wool should give security to bring home, and deliver to the master of the mint, three ounces of bullion for every sack of wool, nine ounces for a last of hides, and three ounces for such quantity of any other goods as paid freight equal to a ferplaith\*.—No person was allowed to purchase English cloth or other goods from Englishmen; and Englishmen, having permission to enter Scotland, were not permitted to carry any goods with them, unless specified in their safe-conducts.—The Scots were prohibited from selling salmon to Englishmen by previous contract, and were directed either to sell them in Scotland for present payment in gold, or to export them to Flanders, or any other foreign country except England.—They were also prohibited from buying wine in Scotland imported by the Flemings of the Dam. [*Acts Jac. I, cc. 160, 162, 163, 164.*]

William Elphinston, who is reputed the founder of the commerce of Glasgow, flourished in the reign of James I †. His trade is supposed to have consisted in exporting pickled salmon. [*Gibson's Hist. of Glasgow; p. 203.*]

1437, January—As the law stood in England, no corn could be exported without a special licence from the king, whereby the prices of corn were sometimes kept rather under their fair value. For relief to the farmers, it was now enacted, that all persons, without applying for licence, might ship corn for any country in friendship with the king, whenever wheat should not exceed 6/8, and barley 3s, per quarter. [*Acts 15 Hen. VI, c. 2.*]

The English merchants were so much offended at being prohibited from sailing to Iceland, that they got a petition presented in parliament, praying the abolition of the privileges of the Easterlings (or Hanse

\* This law, besides the impolicy of preventing the merchants from bringing home such goods as their own judgement and interest might direct, regulated the delivery of the silver by the scale of the freight, that is, by weight or measure, and not by value.

† Gibson dates the commencement of Elphinston's trade in the year 1420. But that seems too early, as he lived till the year 1486, being then indeed an aged man, as his son, the founder of the university of Aberdeen, who was born in 1437, was a bishop some years before his death. [*Crawford's Officers, p. 47.*] Macure, the earlier historian

of Glasgow, [*p. 115*] says, the next considerable merchant in Glasgow was Archibald Lyon, who traded to Poland, France, and Holland, with great success. The notions of dignity in Scotland, we may well presume, were then at least as strongly infected with feudal pride, as they have been in later times, and are in some degree in the present day. It was therefore a proof of great heroism in Elphinston and Lyon, both born of honourable families afterwards ennobled, that they surmounted the silly prejudices of education, and dared to be useful to the community and themselves.

merchants) in England. But the king would not agree to it. [*Cotton's Abridgement*, p. 616.]

March 22<sup>d</sup>—The commissioners of King Henry settled a treaty with those of the grand master of Prussia, the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, and the Hanse towns, whereby the ancient privileges were confirmed on both sides. The merchants of Prussia and the Hanse towns were exempted from the jurisdiction of the admiral of England, and were indulged with an option of having any causes, wherein they should be concerned, tried with dispatch, and without the bustle and formality of a law-suit, by two or more judges to be appointed by the king: and a similar mode of trial was stipulated for the causes of English merchants in their countries. There being still 19,274½ English nobles unpaid of the sum settled in the reign of Henry IV as due to the Prussians, (see above, p. 623) it was agreed that King Henry should pay it off by annual installments and assignments of the customs upon their goods. It was stipulated on both sides, that in case of any depredation at sea, the inhabitants of the port, from which the piratical vessel sailed, should be obliged to make compensation, agreeable to an ordinance of King Edward, and that sufficient security to that effect should be given before any armed vessel should go out of port. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 666.]

A politico-commercial poem, called *the Libell of English policie*, written about this time\*, gives the following view of the commerce of Europe.

The exports of *Spain* consisted of figs, raisins, bastard wine, dates, liquorice, Seville oil, grain, Castile soap, wax, iron, wool, wadmole, skins of goats and kids, saffron, and quicksilver, which were all shipped for Bruges, the great Flemish emporium. Of these wool was the chief article. In return the Spaniards received fine cloth of Ypres, which is noted as superior to that of England, cloth of Curtrike (or Courtray), much fustian, and linen †.—The Flemings could not make good cloth of the Spanish wool by itself, and were obliged to mix it with the English, which was the chief support of their manufacture, and without which, indeed, they could not possibly carry it on, or support their numerous population, their country not producing food sufficient for one month in the year.

With *Portugal* the English had considerable intercourse, and used to make voyages to it. The commodities were wine, osay, wax, grain, figs, raisins, honey, cordovan, dates, salt, hides, &c.

\* The poem mentions the precipitate retreat of the Flemings from Calais, which was in July 1436, and the loss of Harflew, which Hakluyt has dated in his margin in 1449. But if he has rightly given the author's text, where he says, the emperor Sigismund '*yet reigneth*' (for in the Harleian manuscript it is written '*reigned*') that loss of Harflew must be the capture of it by the French in 1432; and the poem must have been written in the later

end of 1436 or in 1437, in which year Sigismund died.

† It is necessary to remember that Spain at this time contained several kingdoms, often at war among themselves. The trade here described is apparently that of Castile. Catalonia possessed flourishing manufactures in wool, cotton, linen, silk, &c.

*Bretagne* exported salt, wine, creft cloth, and canvafs. The Bretons, efpecially thofe of St. Malo, were much addicted to piracy, and cared very little for the authority of their duke. They often plundered the eaft coafts of England, and levied contributions; or ranfoms, from the towns.

The exports of *Scotland* confifted of wool, wool-fells and hides. The Scottifh wool, mixed with Englifh, was made into cloth at Popering and Bell, manufacturing towns in Flanders. The Scottifh veffels carried home from Flanders mercery, haberdafhery ware, and even cart-wheels and barrows.

The exports of *Pruffia* were beer, bacon, ofmunds, copper, ftel, bow-ftaves, wax, peltry, pitch, tar, boards, flax, thread of Cologne, fufian, canvafs, cards, buckram, and alfo filver purchafed from Bohemia and Hungary. The returns from Flanders were woollen cloths of all colours. And many of the Pruffians ufed to fail to the Bay of Bifcay for falt.

The *Genoefe*, in great carracks, imported into England cloth of gold, filk, black pepper, woad in great plenty, wool, oil, wood-afhes, cotton, roche-alum, and gold for paying their balances. They took in return wool, and woollen cloth of all colours, which they fometimes carried to Flanders, where the chief ftaple of their trade was.

The *Venetians* and *Florentines* imported into England, in large gällies, all kinds of fpiceries and groceries, fweet wines, apes and other foreign animals, and many trifling articles of luxury. In return they received wool, cloth, and tin. The balance appears to have been in their favour; for the author is much difpleafed, that

‘ Thei bere the gold out of this lond,  
 ‘ And sowketh the thrifte out of our hond,  
 ‘ As the waspe sowketh hony of the be.’

The Venetians were alfo dealers in exchange and lending money at intereft, which they found fo profitable, that, when they bought the Englifh wool on credit, they did not mind felling it at Bruges five per cent under the coft, in order to have the command of the money for lending, till it fhould fall due. They alfo ufed to travel to Cotfwold and other parts of England to buy up the wool, cloth, tin, &c. Thereupon the author regrets, that they were not compelled to unload in forty days, and to load in other forty, nor obliged to act under the controul of an hoft or landlord-broker, as formerly, and as the Englifh at Venice were obliged to do\*.

In the marts or fairs of *Brabant* the Englifh (and probably other foreigners alfo) were obliged to fell their cloths, &c. in fourteen days, and make their purchafes, confifting chiefly of mercery, haberdafhery, and groceries, in as many more, on pain of forfeiture. Thofe fairs were frequented by the Englifh, French, Dutch (or Germans), Lombards,

\* Qu, Is there any earlier notice, equally authentic, of Englifhmen trading to Venice.

Genoese, Catalonians, Spaniards, Scots, and Irish. The author affirms, that the English bought more in the marts of Brabant, Flanders, and Zeland, than *all* other nations.

*Brabant* and *Zeland* exported madder, woad, garlick, onions, and salt fish. The *Hollanders* bought the English wool and wool-fells at Calais. In the marts of Brabant were also sold the merchandize of Hainault, France, Burgundy, Cologne, and Cambray, which were brought in carts over land.

The exports of *Ireland* were hides, wool, salmon, hake, herrings, linen, falding, and the skins of martins, harts, otters, squirrels, hares, rabbits, sheep, lambs, foxes, and kids. Some gold ore had lately been brought from Ireland to London. The abundant fertility and excellent harbours of Ireland are noted by the author, who laments that the island was not made more profitable to England by a complete conquest.

The trade to *Iceland* for stock-fish, hitherto almost confined to Scarborough, had for about twelve years past been taken up in Bristol and other ports, and seems at this time to have been overdone, as the vessels could not obtain full freights.

The main intent of the author was to exhort his countrymen to maintain the command of the sea, 'which of England is the towne wall,' and especially of the strait between Dover and Calais, whereby they might easily intercept the shipping of any of the above-mentioned nations, who all made Flanders the station of their trade, and thereby compell the Flemings (who at this time were hostile in consequence of the reconciliation of their soveraign, the duke of Burgundy, to the king of France) to see their own interest in amity with England\*.

It will not be deemed foreign from our subject to give the character of the English noblemen about this time, as drawn by Poggio, an Italian, who resided some time in England with the cardinal-bishop of Winchester.—'The nobles of England think themselves above residing in cities. They live retired in the country among woods and pastures. He who has the greatest revenue is most respected. They attend to country business, and sell their wool and cattle, not thinking it any disparagement to engage in rural industry †.' [*Poggii Opera*, p. 69.]

1438, March 10<sup>th</sup>—It appears that some English merchants imported goods from the Mediterranean on their own account; and at this time there was at least one instance of shipping them in foreign vessels by reason of the war with Flanders, as we learn from the circumstance of a fraud being committed by the commander of a Venetian carrack, who, instead of proceeding to England according to contract, put into Lisbon, where he contrived to embezzle the goods. [*Fædera*, V. x, p. 751.]

\* The extract here given is taken from Hakluyt [*V. i*, pp. 187-208] corrected by a manuscript n<sup>o</sup>. 4011 in the Harleian library.

† The attention of the upper ranks in England

to agricultural pursuits, the most valuable part of the character here delineated, is happily reviving in the present day.

March 21<sup>st</sup>—An agent of the king of Portugal was licenced to ship sixty sacks of Cotswold wool, *without paying any custom*, for Florence, in order to procure stuffs of gold and silk for the use of that king. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 684.]

March 31<sup>st</sup>—Soon after the accession of James II, king of Scotland, the truce between the British kingdoms was prolonged till the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1447. In addition to the stipulations against seizing vessels driven into port, or hindering shipwrecked men from returning home, it was now agreed, that, if any vessel belonging to either kingdom were carried by an enemy into a port of the other kingdom, no sale of the vessel or cargo should be permitted without the consent of the original owners;—that no vessel driven into any port should be liable to arrest for any debt of the king, or of any other person \*, but all creditors should have safe-conducts in order to sue for and recover their debts with lawful damages and interest;—that in cases of shipwreck the property should be preserved, and delivered to the owners;—that goods, landed for the purpose of repairing a ship, might be reloaded in the same or a different vessel, without paying any customs, except for such as might be sold;—that no wool or wool-fells should be carried from the one kingdom to the other, either by land or by water;—vessels of either kingdom, putting into the ports of the other in want of provisions, might sell some goods for that purpose, without being liable to pay customs for the rest of the cargo.—In cases of depredation not only the principals, but also the receivers and encouragers, and even the communities of the towns in which the plundered goods were received, were made liable for compensation to the sufferers, who might sue for redress before the conservators of the truce or the wardens of the marches.—No acts of individuals should be allowed to produce an infraction of this truce. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 688.]

November 21<sup>st</sup>—We have already seen several unquestionable proofs of the wool of England being superior to that of Spain. A further, and a most authentic, evidence of its superiority appears in a body of laws, drawn up at this time by the municipal magistrates of Barcelona, for the express purpose of regulating *the manufacture of cloths made of fine English wool* ('*lanes fines de Anglaterra*') and other fine wools. The first section (exactly like the ordinance in the patent given to the weavers of London by King Henry II) prohibits the mixture of any other wool with the English. The other sections, to the number of thirty in all, are entirely filled with precautions for preserving the purity of the wool in spinning and through the other stages of the manufacture, and against debasing the fabric, rules for the inspection of the finished goods and for ascertaining the quality by known authorized marks. [*Capmany*, *Mem. hist. de Barcelona*, V. ii, Col. dipl. p. 427.]

\* This article seems intended to provide a remedy against the superabundant zeal for compensation lately manifested by King James I.

As belonging to the same subject, I will here add, that in March 1441 the municipal magistrates of Barcelona wrote to their agent in Bruges to purchase four hundred quintals of the finest English wool to be shipped at Southampton or London, to endeavour to get it weighed by the London weight, which was above five per cent heavier than that he had formerly bought by, and to buy it ten per cent lower than the last parcel (but how could he do that and get the finest wool?) and moreover to stipulate, in order to guard against deception, that the wool should be at the risk of the seller till landed in Barcelona. [*Capmany, V. ii, Col. dipl. p. 241.*] The English wool was sometimes sent back to its native country in the form of manufactured cloth; as appears from a record, still preserved in the archives of Barcelona, which informs us that 250 sacks of fine English wool, weighing eight arobas (about two hundred-weight) each, imported by a Barcelona galley returned from England, were distributed about this time to different manufacturers, in order to be made into cloth to be sent to England. [*Capmany, V. i, Com. p. 144.*]

We thus see that the English had not yet attained the art of making the *finest* woollen cloths, that Ypres was not the only place which excelled England in the manufacture, (see above, p. 651) and that the finest cloths of Catalonia were in demand in England, long after English cloths had become a considerable article of exportation. On the other hand, we find (from *Capmany, V. i, Com. p. 242*) that some of the English fabrics, and those of Florence, were afterwards thought worthy of imitation by the manufacturers of Barcelona, as some of those of Rheims, Flanders, and even Ireland, were before this time. We shall soon see the subjects of Aragon, whose principal errand to England was the purchase of wool, treated with peculiar favour in this country.

We have already seen that Castile, the principal kingdom in Spain, obtained a large flock of fine-wooled sheep from England, in the reign, and apparently by the act, of that very king, Edward III, who has generally obtained the praise of being the great preserver of the wool, and founder of the woollen manufactures, of England. In process of time, the exportation of wool having never been prohibited by the government of Spain, that country, by unremitting attention to the royal flock, has acquired the reputation and the established market for the finest wool in Europe: and the Spaniards now receive their own wool from England, made into cloth. What a wonderful change in the state of the commercial intercourse between the two countries in the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries!

1439; February—The crops of corn, especially wheat and rye, having been very deficient in England, while they were more abundant in the Danish dominions and the East country, Robert Chapman a merchant of York, being furnished with a letter from King Henry to the king of Denmark, sailed to that country for a cargo of grain. Sir Stephen Browne, mayor of London, also imported several cargoes of rye from

Prussia, which gave great relief. [*Fadera, V. x, p. 717.*—*Stow's Survey of London, p. 937.*]

November—The parliament, considering that butter and cheese could neither bear long keeping nor heavy expenses, permitted them to be exported, without any special licence, to other places as well as to Calais. [*Acts 18 Hen. VI, c. 3.*] The parliament must undoubtedly have thought that some good effects arose from the system of imposing the hardships of long keeping and heavy expenses on wool, hides, tin, &c.

The parliament now prohibited merchant strangers from buying and selling with each other in England. They also enforced the law obliging them to live under the survey of hosts, who were to be sufficient Englishmen, experienced in business, but not concerned in the branch which their guests were engaged in, and to be appointed by the magistrates of the towns wherein the strangers transacted their business. The merchant strangers were obliged to do all their business of buying or selling, landing or shipping, under the inspection of their hosts, and to make sale, within eight months after their arrival, of all goods imported by them, except cloth of gold and of silver, or of silk. They were bound to lay out all the proceeds of their sales in English goods. The hosts were required to lodge in the exchequer twice a-year attested accounts of all the transactions of their guests in buying and selling; and they were entitled to two pennies out of every twenty shillings of goods bought and sold. [*c. 4.*]

An abuse had crept in of measuring cloths, not by the yard and full inch, but by the yard and full hand, which the buyers alleged to be the measure of London, and thereby got 2 yards in every cloth of 24 yards. It was now enacted, that one inch only should be allowed in addition to the yard. [*c. 16.*]

The parliament, considering that oil and honey were not by law liable to be gauged \*, ordered that they should be gauged as well as wine, and that the buyer should have allowance for any deficiency of the standard measure of 252 gallons in the tun, and in proportion in the pipe and tertian or tierce. [*c. 17.*]

The commons proposed in parliament, that the Italians and others living within the Straits of Morocco should not be permitted to import into England any other merchandize than the produce of their own countries †. They also desired, that all spiceries, sold in the out-ports by merchant strangers, should be as clear garbled as in London. But both propositions were rejected by the king. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 626.*]

1440, February 2<sup>d</sup>—King Henry addressed an expostulatory letter to

\* If the parliament had looked back to the act 4 Rich. II, c. 1, they would have seen, that oil and honey were already on the same footing with wine in respect to gauging. That oversight was

one of the innumerable evils, to which the art of printing has applied a remedy.

† The reader will perceive that a principal part of the famous navigation act was proposed by the merchants in the year 1439.

the grand master of Prussia, stating, that in former times no duties were exacted for vessels or cargoes in Prussia, but of late the merchants of England had been often compelled to pay a duty upon the value of their vessels and cargoes in Dantzic, and been oppressed with other arbitrary exactions, detention of their vessels, &c. Some English merchants having complained of being wrongously imprisoned and plundered in the towns of Stetin and Cosselyn, the king wrote also to the burgomasters, proconsuls, &c. of the Hanse towns, demanding redress. [*Fœdera*, V. x, pp. 753-755.]

February 8<sup>th</sup>—A more productive method of making salt was now introduced in England: and, for the advancement of that manufacture, John of Schiedam, a native of Zeland, was encouraged to bring over from Holland and Zeland a number of people, not exceeding sixty, who were taken under the king's protection. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 761.]

February 26<sup>th</sup>—After the restriction of the foreign trade of Norway, &c. to the one port of Bergen by the king of Denmark, we find several licences granted by King Henry to the two bishops of Iceland for sending English vessels to that island on various pretences\*, which seem to have been schemes of collusion between the bishops and the owners of the vessels for carrying on illicit trade, though that was ostensibly guarded against in the licences. However, one now granted to the bishop of Skalholt authorizes him to load *two* vessels with 200 quarters of corn, and with other provisions, and cloth, for Iceland, which the king was told, possessed neither cloth, wine, ale, corn, nor salt, and to reload them with the produce of the island. [*Fœdera*, V. x, pp. 645, 659, 682, 711, 762.]

June 17<sup>th</sup>—The manufactures and commerce of the Netherlands being almost ruined by the war with England, the duchess of Burgundy wrote to King Henry, to whom she was nearly related †, earnestly entreating that he would renew the friendly intercourse, which had so long subsisted between the two countries. Commissioners were accordingly appointed on both sides, and a truce of three years was concluded with the people of Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin, whereby they were again admitted to commercial intercourse with all the king's subjects on both sides of the sea. The hostilities committed before the declaration of war were considered as piracies, and commissioners were appointed to ascertain the compensations due on both sides, who found the Flemings indebted to the English on that account 32,000 riders, each of the value of four shillings of Flemish money ‡; and for that sum the four members of Flanders gave their obligations. [*Fœdera*, V. x, pp. 730, 761, 791.]

\* One was, that the new-appointed bishop of Holar, an Englishman, was afraid to go so far, and therefor employed the master of an English vessel to inspect his bishoprick as deputy bishop. Both bishops were connected with John Weston a stock-fishmonger in London.

† This active pacific princess was grand-daughter of John duke of Lancaster and sister of Dowry Henry, the prince of discoverers.

‡ The Flemish rider was worth  $\frac{3}{4}$  of English money, as appears from an act of the parliament of Scotland in the year 1451.

October 13<sup>th</sup>—In a treaty between King Henry and the duke of Bretagne a mutual freedom of commercial intercourse between the subjects of both was stipulated: and, in order to guard against piratical depredations at sea, the commanders of all vessels, fitted out in the ports of either country, were obliged to find security before their departure, that they should not commit any depredations on the subjects of the other, and judges were to be appointed in each port, who, without the formalities of law, should do summary justice upon the offenders and their securities, or, failing them, upon the inhabitants of the place. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 803.] Such securities for the peaceable conduct of vessels upon the sea were now become so common, that it will henceforth scarcely be necessary to mention them.

October 28<sup>th</sup>—The duke of Orleans, after a captivity of twenty-five years in England, agreed to pay 100,000 nobles for his ransom, whereof he paid 40,000 in hand, advanced to him by four Florentine merchants in London. Having represented to King Henry, that he never should be able to pay up the remaining 60,000, unless his vassals had the liberty of trading to the dominions of England, the king granted licences to a great number of them to import wine, iron, salt, linen cloths ('toilles'), and other merchandize, from any place in the obedience of his adversary of France, in vessels not exceeding 200 tuns burthen nor carrying above 20 men, or in carts, &c. to his dominions on either side of the water, they paying the usual customs, &c. [*Fœdera*, V. x, pp. 777, 783, 812-826.]

Pliny observes that paper confers immortality upon the works of man. That beautiful and just eulogium may with still more propriety be applied to the art of printing, which bestows surer immortality, together with universal circulation, upon all works worthy of preservation; which, by rendering books cheap, has brought knowledge within the reach of all mankind, and has done a thousand times more than the lectures of all the philosophers of antiquity in dispelling the thick mist of ignorance, diffusing the lights of learning and science, and enlarging the powers of the mind. This most valuable art appears to have been invented about this time: and the honour of the invention has been very keenly contested by the partizans of Gutenberg, Fust, and Laurence. Gutenberg is said to have printed at Strasburg in the year 1440, and afterwards at Mentz, his native city, where he assumed John Fust as a partner. According to others, Fust was the original inventor. And John Laurence of Harlem is also said to have invented the art some years before this time\*. The first rude essays were made with wooden

\* Gutenberg has the most numerous, and the most antient, evidences in favour of his priority of invention. In honour of him, the invention has been commemorated by a jubilee held in the fortieth year of every succeeding century: and the

first types, rudely cut in wood, among which there are some containing whole words, (so that the modern logography is no new invention) are still preserved in that city along with some impressions of the first printing, which exhibit the imperfec-  
tion

blocks containing the whole letters of a page in one piece : and this kind of printing is apparently of very high antiquity among the Chinese, who still use no other. Moveable types of lead, tin, &c. were very soon substituted : and the various improvements upon the manufacture and management of them in a very short time brought printing to a considerable degree of perfection.

1441—A furious war broke out in the year 1438 between Holland and Zeland on the one side, and the cities of Lubeck, Hamburgh, Lundenburg, Wismar, Rostock, and those of the Sound, assisted by the Venetians, Spaniards, and Prussians, on the other ; and the Netherlanders suffered very much from the frequent captures made by their enemies. In vain the duke of Burgundy endeavoured to accommodate matters by a convention of deputies. The claim of his subjects for compensation, amounting to 50,000 florins of gold, was haughtily received by the Esterlings, and the meeting broke up with mutual defiance. The Hollanders and Zelanders, with the consent of the duke, immediately built a number of stout ships (but not equal in size to those of the Esterlings) at Harlem, Amsterdam, Horne, Enkhuysen, Dort, Gouda, Rotterdam, Middelburg, Vere, Flushing, Armuyden, Ziriczee, and some other towns, and sent them out, well armed and manned, against their enemies. These cruisers took twenty large hulks, three carracks from Prussia, and a great Venetian carrack loaded with all sorts of goods, by which the damages of the Netherlanders were compensated. At last a truce of ten years, concluded with Lubeck and five other principal cities, terminated, or suspended, this war of commercial rivalry. [*Petit, Chron. de Hollande, p. 399.*]

1442, January 26<sup>th</sup>—It was apparently in order to avoid the hardships imposed upon foreign merchants by the late law, that Jeronimo Dandulo of Venice and his son Marino paid forty marks for a licence, whereby the king made them denizens of England, and invested them with all the privileges of native subjects \*, and leave to export wool, tin, and cloth, without being obliged to carry them to Calais, paying in that case the duties paid by aliens. [*Fœdera, V. xi, p. 2.*]

January—The parliament enacted, that denizen merchants, having the king's licence to export wool, wool-fells, and tin, to any other place than the staple at Calais, should pay the same duties, which aliens paid upon such goods. [*Acts 20 Hen. VI, c. 4.*]

It had become usual for the officers of the customs to employ, as their clerks or deputies, persons who were owners of ships, engaged in trade, occupiers of wharfs and quays, tavern-keepers, brokers, &c. where-

tion of an art in its infancy. [*Schepfin, in Mem. de Pacad. V. xvii, p. 762.*] The advocates for Fust and Laurence are equally satisfied in the justness of their claims to the honour of the invention. The contest will never be decided. Perhaps each of them invented some improvement. As for

printing figures upon blocks, there can be no doubt, that it is at least as old as the year 1423.

\* The king says, they shall be *natives* ('indigenæ'); and that word continued for some time to be used instead of *denizen*.

by the regular merchants were hindered in their business, and many frauds were committed. It was therefor enacted, that no person concerned in such branches of business should have any employment whatever in the customs. [c. 5.]

It being represented, that the worsted goods of Norwich and Norfolk were unfairly made, and had lost their reputation in foreign markets, the parliament directed that six wardens should be annually chosen to inspect the sufficiency and uniformity of the fabric, and the due measure of the goods \*, and to seize all found defective †. [c. 10.]

The legal restraints put upon the wool trade at Calais were found to have very much reduced the sales, to the great injury of the king's revenue, of the merchants and mariners of England, and of the country in general. The laws respecting the bullion were also attended with the bad consequence of producing retaliating laws in other countries, which it is wonderful that the parliament did not foresee. It was now decreed, that merchants might sell their wool at Calais under the rules of the staple, whenever they should think proper. But still they were ordered to carry a third part of the price to the mint at Calais, to be coined, and to bring the coined money into England. [c. 12.]

1443, January 18<sup>th</sup>—King Henry, desirous of conciliating the favour of the king of Aragon, granted all the Aragonese trading to England, an exemption from the late act of parliament, obliging merchants to transact their business under the inspection of hosts. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 18.]

June 25<sup>th</sup>—The water formerly brought to London from Tyburn (see above, p. 389) being found insufficient in the year 1439 for the increased population of the city ‡, the magistrates obtained from the abbat of Westminster a perpetual grant of a fountain in the manor of Paddington, together with right to break up the ground for laying their pipes, for an annual rent of two pounds of pepper. The king now confirmed the abbat's grant, and moreover authorized the magistrates to break up any public road, and any ground belonging to himself or to any other person, to purchase 200 fadders of lead for their pipes, &c.

\* The following were the standard measures of Norwich stuffs, agreeable to the act.

Beds of the greatest size	14 yards largely,	by 4 yards.
Beds of middle size	12	- 3
Beds of the smallest size	10 largely,	2½
Monk's cloths	- 12	- 1½
Canon cloths	- 5	- 1½
Cloths called cloths	6	- 2

(In act 23 Hen. VI, c. 4, they are called canon cloths of the other size.)

Double worsteds	10	- 1½ largely.
Half doubles	- 6	- 1½
Roll worsteds	- 30	- ½ largely.

† This law was renewed, and declared to be in force for three years by an act 23 Hen. VI, c. 4.

‡ The king's confirmation says, that the fountains were defective and dried up. But they continue running to this present time.

and to press plumbers, masons, and other workmen, into their service: [*Fœdera*, V. xi, pp. 29-33.]

The Portuguese, in the progress of their discoveries along the coast of Africa, having kidnapped some of the Moors, Prince Henry this year ordered the commanders of his vessels to carry them home to their own country. His officers, however, instead of obeying his humane and judicious order, obliged the friends of the captives to redeem them, and received in exchange ten Negro slaves and a quantity of gold. These two kind of new objects, thus unexpectedly offered to the avidity of the Portuguese, silenced the murmurs against Prince Henry's schemes of discovery, and immediately filled all Europe with eagerness to embark under the flag of the Portuguese, to whom the pope had very liberally granted all the countries between Cape Bojador and India. A company of merchants at Lagos obtained from the prince a charter for the exclusive right of trading with the Moors of the African coast for a limited time; and in the following year (1444) a few vessels belonging to this first *Royal African company* arrived at a small island called Nar. But instead of trading with the Moors, they made a hostile attack upon them, slew many, and brought off 155 captives. Prince Henry afterwards built a fort on the little island of Arguin for the accommodation of the company; and there they established their factory, to which they sent regular annual ships with woollen cloth, linen, corn, &c. and some silver. These they exchanged with the Moors, or Arabs, for Negro slaves (to the number of seven or eight hundred annually about the year 1456) and gold dust. Such was the commencement of the European trade on the coast of Africa for slaves, who were then all carried to Portugal. [*Faria y Sousa*, V. i, p. 10.—*Cada Mosto's Voyage*, p. 55.—*Purchas*, B. x, p. 1674.]

1444, May 28<sup>th</sup>—After an age of warfare the ambassadors of England and France concluded a truce to last till the 1<sup>st</sup> of April 1446, whereby the subjects of both kingdoms were allowed reciprocal freedom of trade, and it was agreed, that their property, being in any town belonging to the opposite power at the expiration of the truce, should be preserved inviolate. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 59.]

1445, October 21<sup>st</sup>—Notwithstanding the repeated injunctions of councils against ecclesiastical persons being concerned in trade, many of them were merchants and traders of every denomination; and, being exempted from most of the taxes paid by the laity, they underfold and ruined the regular traders, who contributed to support them. In order to give some check to the preposterous conversion of monasteries into warehouses, work-shops, inns, and tap-houses, Philip duke of Burgundy now issued a placard; wherein he sets forth, that many more convents for monks and nuns had been founded within a few years in his territories of Holland and Zeland, than were proportioned to the extent of those countries; that all trades and handicrafts are carried on in

them, whereby they accumulate estates, which remain with them for ever, and all the land in the country must in time come into their hands. He therefore prohibits them from receiving or purchasing any more estates in his dominions, till commissioners, to be appointed by him, shall determine in what manner they may hold lands. [*Brandt's Hist. of the reformation, V. i, p. 23 Engl. transl. \**] This perversion of the privileges and wealth, obtained from the mistaken piety of princes and devout persons or the remorse of opulent criminals, this licenced smuggling, was by no means peculiar to the Netherlands: it was common in other countries, and perhaps in none more than in England †.

1446, August 4<sup>th</sup>—A truce between King Henry and the duchess of Burgundy, acting for her husband, was followed by another treaty, whereby a free commercial intercourse was continued till the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 1459 between the king's subjects and the merchants of Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin, whether dealers in wool, hides, provisions, or whatever other merchandize, (except armour, artillery, powder, and other warlike stores) on paying the customs usual in the ports of each country.—The fishermen of either country were to have liberty to fish where they pleased, and, if obliged to take shelter in the ports of the other, they were to be admitted freely on paying the usual duties.—No privateers were to be permitted to issue from the ports of either country to prey upon the subjects of the other: neither should they be permitted to land their plunder in the ports of the contracting powers.—Neutral vessels, bringing provisions or other goods from the East country to the dominions of either party, should not be molested in any manner.—Vessels of either country, not fitted for war, being driven by storm or enemies into the ports of the other, should be allowed to enter and depart at their pleasure, but not to land any goods without a licence

\* Brandt next gives a book of rates, or table, of the regulated prices of pardons for a variety of sins, wherein it is observable, that the murder of the nearest relations is the cheapest sin in the catalogue.

† In the reign of Henry I the abbat of St. Albans was a fishmonger. See above, p. 384. In the reign of Henry II the bishop of Ely owned a vessel of the kind called an esneek; and in that of Richard I the bishop of Dutham was owner of a ship remarkably large. [*Madox's Hist. of the exch. c. 17, § 3; Note on Dial. de faacc. L. i, c. 6.*]

A. D. 1316—The bishop of Nidaros (Drontheim) in Norway traded to England as a merchant. See above, p. 479, note †.

1340—In the famous battle near the Swyn there was a ship belonging to the prior of Canterbury. [*Stow's Ann. p. 370.*]

In the same year King Edward III licenced a cardinal to export sixty sacks of wool every year of his life, [*Fadera, V. v, p. 215*] which was a very good annuity. It was moreover a violation

of the king's own law against the exportation of wool: but that law was never kept.

The Cistercian monks were great wool-merchants, till their trade was prohibited in 1344. See above, p. 533.

The smuggling schemes of the two bishops of Iceland have been noticed, p. 657.

It is not necessary to add to these examples a long list of the very usual grants enabling the popes and other foreign priests to export wool and other customable goods without paying customs.

Neither was Scotland without some examples of trading bishops.

1365—The bishop of Aberdeen was owner of a vessel. See above, p. 571.

1404—A rich vessel, which the bishop of St. Andrews owned, or was largely interelled in, was taken by the English. [*MS. Bib. Cott. Vesp. F vii.*]

The succeeding bishop of St. Andrews built the finest ship then in Scotland, which was called The bishop's barge. [*Leff. pp. 303, 304.*]

from the proper officers.—The English might make fast their vessels in the ports of Brabant, Flanders, &c. in the manner practised by the French, Hollanders, Zelanders, and Scots; and the Flemings, &c. might do the same in the English ports.—The vessels of either party were prohibited from carrying the property of the enemies of the other.—In case of the vessels of either country being wrecked on the coasts of the other, the property should be delivered to the owners on paying reasonable expenses.—The road along the coast from Calais should be renewed; and the merchants were, as in former treaties, forbidden to take dogs with them, or to catch the rabbits on the Downs.—The English merchants should have inns, or hotels, for themselves in the cities of Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin, and enjoy all the privileges they enjoyed in former times\*.—Any infraction of the treaty by individuals should be compensated by the sovereign, but should not produce a rupture of the truce.—Lastly, it was agreed, that the four members of Flanders should bind themselves to observe this treaty: and they accordingly did so in a few days after. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, pp. 140-146.]

King Henry granted the mayor of Bristol the privilege of being exempted from the jurisdiction of his admirals and other ministers. [*Rot. pat. sec. 24 Hen. VI, m. 23.*]

1447—It is impossible to reconcile the various æras assigned by the writers of the Netherlands to the improved method of curing herrings, invented by William Beukels, or Beukelens, of Biervliet in Flanders, who, by the most probable account, died this year. From a variety of notices, dispersed through the preceding part of this work, it is evident that they are mistaken, who represent him as the first who ever cured those fish. The truth seems to be, that he introduced some improvement in the manner of treating the fish, or perhaps of preparing the salt, concerning which the information is very obscure†, which, being adopted by his countrymen, procured a superior reputation to their fish

\* The return of the English at this time to enjoy their former privileges in Antwerp, the chief city of Brabant, is related by Wheeler [*Treatise of commerce*, p. 16] as their first arrival in that city, which he ignorantly says, consisted of thatched huts, contained only four poor and ignorant merchants, and had only six small vessels for the river, but none fit for going to sea. What he and others say of the order of the golden fleece, being instituted by the duke of Burgundy in honour of the English wool and cloth, is unsupported, or rather is contradicted, by his diploma of the original creation of the knights, dated 27<sup>th</sup> November 1431, which is recited verbatim by Meyer in his *Annales Flandriæ*, f. 274. The duke appears to have had the fleece of Gideon, the judge of Israel, in his eye, when chusing his device. [*Marchantii Flandria*, p. 285.]

† The most distinct account of the process that I have been able to find, after bestowing much re-

search upon it, is the following.—‘Ceux de Byervliet, [no mention of Beukelens] isle de Flandres, qui premierement inventerent (pour le mieux garder etant salé) de l’egorger, et lui offer les machoires, qui le faisoient autrement bien tost corrompre, ce qu’en langue du pays se disoit *kaken*, c’est a dire demacheler.’ [*Chronique de Hollande*, &c. par Petit, p. 184.—See also *Marchantii Flandria*, L. i.—*Olai Magni Hist. sept.* L. xx, c. 22.—*Schoock de harengis*, § 36.—*De Witt’s Interest of Holland*, pp. 49, 50, *Engl. transl.*] Beukelens seems one of those characters, who, by some accidental circumstances, have obtained higher places in the temple of Fame, than their real merits entitled them to. Such a circumstance was the visit of the emperor Charles V and his sister to the tomb of Beukelens, where they offered up their prayers for his soul. Goguet moreover says, that the emperor erected a statue to him.

at Rome and other foreign markets, where they were distinguished by the name of *Flemish herrings*. The herring trade, together with other branches of Flemish industry, passed afterwards into the hands of the Hollanders, who have been wonderfully enriched by it.

According to Galvano, the crew of a Portuguese ship reported, that they had been driven by a storm to the westward, and had arrived at an island, wherein there were seven cities inhabited by people speaking Portuguese, who said, their ancestors had fled from Spain on the death of King Roderigo (about the year 700), and asked, if Spain was still troubled by the Moors. Some sand, brought from the island, produced a good quantity of gold. Galvano adds, that this island was supposed to be the Antiles, or New Spain \*. [*Galvano, copied in Purchas, B. x, c. 1.*]

1448, July 24<sup>th</sup>—From King Henry's appointment of commissioners to settle all disputes with the grand master of Prussia and the people of the Hanse towns, and to confirm or renew the antient treaties with them,

\* These seven cities, which afterwards became golden cities, and filled the heads of the Spanish discoverers, and also that of Sir Walter Raleigh, with golden dreams, perhaps grew out of Zeno's report of a nation possessing gold and silver, cities and temples, in an unknown western part of the world, (probably Mexico, *see above, p. 563*) incorporated with some obscure tradition of an antient migration from Spain. That the story was not invented after the discovery of the western lands by Christopher Colon, is evident from a letter written by Paolo (Toscanelli) a physician of Florence, 25<sup>th</sup> June 1474, to Fernando Martinez, who, at the desire of the king of Portugal, had consulted him on the shortest course by sea to India. He sent him a chart of the western coasts of Europe and Africa from Ireland to Guinea, exhibiting all the known islands, and also containing the coast of India and the Spice islands in the western part of the chart: and, after a pompous description of Catai and Mango (north and south parts of China) he observed in his letter, that 'from the island of Antilia, which you call *the island of the seven cities*; and of which you have the knowledge, to the most noble island of Cipango, there are ten spaces, making 2,500 miles, which island abounds with gold, silver, and precious stones.'—He afterwards sent a copy of the same letter, and also of the chart, to Christopher Colon, and added descriptions and arguments, tending to inflame his ambition of being the first European to accomplish a western passage to those regions of riches. [*Hist. de Don Christ. Colon, por su hijo Fernando, c. 8.*] Toscanelli was the artist, who about the year 1460 constructed the celebrated gnomon at Florence, which is esteemed one of the noblest astronomical instruments in the world.

Somewhat similar to Galvano's story, but still more improbable, is the following, which I

have therefor thought proper to place in a note.—In the year 1450 Phranza went as ambassador from the last emperor of Constantinople to the king of Iberia, and was told by Ephrem, a native of that country of about 100 years of age, that he had been carried off when a boy by barbarians, and sold in Persia to one of a company of merchants traveling to India. In India he found an opportunity of leaving his master, and, after long traveling through deserts, at last arrived at islands inhabited by people who generally lived 150 years, and enjoyed a perpetual spring and harvest of aromatics and large nuts. Their country also produced the magnet; the animals in it were of a stupendous magnitude; and the springs of the Nile were in it. (How could the Nile rise in an island?) After living among those happy people long enough to be master of their language, he wished to return home, and was conducted to a place, whence vessels from the farther India sailed with aromatics. He embarked in one of them, and afterwards found a great Iberian ship, which carried him to Portugal, whence he sailed to the British islands, and from them to Iberia. [*Phranza, l. iii, c. 1.*] Phranza wrote in the year 1477, [*L. iii, c. 30*] and therefor this story 'is spurious or wonderful.' [*Gibbon, V. xii, p. 178.*] Of Phranza's work we possess only a Latin translation, made by Pontanus, who has suppressed such parts as he thought useless digressions. Quere, If he has taken the further liberty of introducing some improvements? If Ephrem ever was in Britain, he might sail for Genoa, and thence to the Black sea, and so travel by land to Iberia, which is an inland country between that sea and the Caspian. But that Iberia should have any ships (if in the strange confusion Iberian does not mean Spanish) is as incomprehensible, as that a voyage from the Indian ocean to Portugal should be invented by any Iberian or Greek before the year 1498.

it appears, that some depredations or other enormities had been committed, probably on both sides\*. [*Fœdera*, V. x, p. 217.]

At this time flourished Cardinal Cusa, the first European after Pythagoras and his disciples, who conceived the truth of the system of cosmography, by which Copernicus, whose name is attached to it, is immortalized. [*Nouveau Dict. hist. art. Nicholas (de Cusa)* V. vi.]

1449, February—English cloths were now prohibited in Brabant, Holland, and Zeland, which being judged contrary to the subsisting treaty, and found very distressing to the men weavers, fullers, and dyers, and the women websters, carders, and spinners, and all others concerned in the trade, it was resolved in parliament, that, if the duke of Burgundy did not repeal the injurious ordinance, no merchandize of the growth or manufacture of his dominions should be admitted in England. [*Act 27 Hen. VI, c. 1.*]

The parliament remarked, that the revenue arising from the staple of Calais in the reign of Edward III was above £68,000 a-year, and the kingdom was enriched by the trade of the merchants of the staple, who were numerous and opulent: but that, by frauds and abuses crept into the trade, and by the great number of licences exempting individuals from the law of the staple, the revenue was now sunk to £12,000†. Therefor it was enacted, that the mayor, constables, and merchants, of the staple at Calais should enjoy all their antient privileges unimpaired, and that no licence to be henceforth granted by the king for carrying wool, wool-fells, or tin, from England, Ireland, or Wales, should be of any avail, except for shipping them for the Mediterranean upon paying alien's duty. There were, however, reserved in full force, a licence granted to the marquis of Suffolk (grandson of the famous merchant William de la Pole) for shipping 2,000 sacks of wool of the growth of Norfolk, a licence to the convent of S<sup>t</sup>. John of Bridlington for shipping 12 farplers containing 30 sacks, and licences to three other persons, all these being still permitted to carry their wool to the best market according to the direction of their own judgements. [*c. 2.*]

The law against carrying money out of the kingdom had been frequently broken by English and foreign merchants importing cargoes of grain. The parliament now directed, that all merchants importing grain should give security, that they would faithfully bestow the money arising from their sales in the purchase of English goods. [*c. 3.*] A scarcity of corn must immediately have broken this law.

March 20<sup>th</sup>.—William Canynge, an eminent merchant of Bristol, like the Italian merchants, sent factors to transact his business in foreign

\* Werdenhagen, in his careless composition called a *History of the Hanseatic republics*, has magnified those piracies into a great and serious war.

† The sums paid for the licences probably made up the deficiency.

countries, as we learn by two letters of King Henry, addressed to the grand master of Prussia and the magistrates of Dantzik, recommending to their good offices two persons described by the king as factors of his beloved and honourable merchant, William Canyngs. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, pp. 226, 227.]

April 1<sup>st</sup>—The proposed marriage of James II, king of Scotland, with Mary, the daughter of the duke of Gelder, and niece of the duke of Burgundy, with whom, as the more powerful prince, the treaty was negotiated, and also, the consideration of the friendly commercial intercourse maintained between the Scots and the people of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and other territories, all now subject to the duke of Burgundy, from the most remote ages, produced a treaty of *perpetual* alliance, wherein each prince promised to compell aggressors upon the subjects of the other, whether by land or sea, to make compensation to the party injured. [*MS. Bib. Harl.* 4637, V. iii, ff. 5 b, 11 a.]

July 17<sup>th</sup>—The English merchants and seamen, in defiance of the orders of the king of Denmark, frequently resorted to the coasts of Iceland, Halgaland, and Finmark, in consequence of which some of them had been seized about the year 1447, and were still detained as prisoners. The ambassadors of the kings of England and Denmark, having met at Copenhagen \*, now agreed that all injuries on both sides should be redressed, that the subjects of both kings should have mutual freedom of navigation, and particularly that the English merchants should enjoy their antient liberties and privileges, and pay the antient customs. But they were expressly debarred from sailing to Iceland, Halgaland, and Finmark, on any pretence whatever, without having a special licence from the king of Denmark; and it was declared, that the seizure and punishment of contumacious interlopers should not be considered as a breach of the treaty. In a few days after, the king of Denmark moreover granted the English, trading to or from Prussia or any part of his own dominions, the privilege of traveling or sailing through his territories, either in English or German vessels. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, pp. 264, 273.]

December 2<sup>d</sup>—John Taverner, a mariner of Kingston upon Hull, by the help of God and some of the king's subjects, had built a ship as large as a great carrack, or even larger, which he called the Grace Dieu (Grace of God). The king directed that she should be called the Carrack Grace Dieu; and he granted Taverner the more solid advantage of taking onboard his carrack wool, tin, lamb-skins, wool-fells, passelarges and other hides raw or tanned, and any other merchandize, the property

\* Bertius [*Res. Germ. L.* iii, p. 139] says, that this city was put on a footing with the other towns of Denmark in respect to municipal privileges so late as the year 1443. His information is sometimes defective; and this date seems too late.

Copenhagen appears by this treaty to have been the royal residence, and to have had several churches, in the chapter-house of one of which, called the *greater* church, the ambassadors met.

of English or foreign merchants, in the ports of London, Southampton, Kingston upon Hull, and Sandwich, or in any of them, and carrying them direct to Italy, on paying alien's duty. The king expected, that he would import bow-staves, wax, and other foreign produce necessary for the country, to the great benefit of the revenue and of the nation. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 258.] The exemption of an English subject from the law of the staple, in consideration of the extraordinary size of his ship, is a clear proof, that no such vessel had hitherto been built in England.

1450, November—In consideration of alum to the value of £4,000, delivered to King Henry by some merchants of Genoa, the parliament licenced them to ship any staple wares from the south part of England, till they should be repaid by the amount of the customs. The king sold the alum for £8,000 in ready money to some merchants, to whom the parliament gave a monopoly by prohibiting all persons from importing, buying, or selling, any other alum during two years. [*Cotton's Abridgement*, p. 647.]

December 16<sup>th</sup>—William Canyns, merchant in Bristol, already mentioned, had obtained letters from the king of Denmark, authorizing him to load certain vessels with lawful English merchandize for Iceland and Finmark, to take in return fish and other merchandize, and to make as many voyages as he should think proper during a limited term, in order to recover debts due to him in those countries. The trade was prohibited by an English act of parliament: but King Henry, considering the good services rendered to him by Canyns while mayor of Bristol, gave him leave to employ two ships, of whatever burthen, during two years, in the trade to Iceland and Finmark, and to export any species of goods not restricted to the staple of Calais. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 277.] It is known that Canyns possessed ships of 400, 500, and even 900 tuns burthen: but it is not likely that he employed them in that northern trade, even though the limited number of vessels would tempt him to have them as large as possible. Those very large ships probably transported timber and other bulky articles from the Baltic, where, we may believe, they were purchased, as the extraordinary notice taken of Taverner's great ship in the year 1449 renders it improbable that they were built in England\*.

According to a roll preserved in the Tower, the king this year bor-

\* Canyns was five times mayor of Bristol, and founded the church of St. Mary Radcliff on the outside of the walls, the most magnificent parish church in England in the opinion of Camden. [*Brit. p. 173.*] From his monument in that church we learn, that King Edward IV, on some occasion of displeasure, took from him 2,470 tuns of shipping, among which were the three great

ships mentioned in the text. That the king's displeasure was not incurred by piracy, as has been supposed, or by any dishonourable deed, is evident from the fact being recorded on his monument. His memory has lately been revived, as connected with Rowley, the alleged author of most of the poems published by Chatterton, and as author of some of them himself.

rowed infinite sums from the merchants of the staple and other merchants \*. [*Rot. pat. prim. 28 Hen. VI, m. 2.*]

About this time, the Azores, or Western islands, said to have been previously discovered by some Flemish navigators, were occupied by the Portuguese under the auspices of the enlightened prince, Don Henry †.

1451, August 14<sup>th</sup>—The truce between the two British kingdoms was renewed. The promise not to plunder wrecked vessels, and to permit vessels in distress to purchase provisions, was again mutually repeated; and each sovereign engaged, that the enemies of the other, bringing prizes into his ports, should be prohibited from disposing of their plunder without the consent of the original owners. It was agreed that vessels, showing by cockets and other sufficient documents that they belonged to either nation, should not be compelled to lower, or take in, their sails, or be any way impeded in their navigation, by any vessels of the other nation. [*Fœdera, V. xi, p. 293.*] Truces, nearly in the same terms, were repeatedly renewed during the reigns of Henry VI and James II, which both terminated in the year 1460.

1452, January 20<sup>th</sup>—In a diet, which had been held at Utrecht by commissioners from King Henry and representatives of the grand master of Prussia and the Hanse towns, the matters in dispute were adjusted in a manner satisfactory to the king and the grand master. But the citizens of Lubeck refused to abide by the determination of the diet, retained a number of English subjects in prison, and even prescribed to the king rules for the conduct of his subjects. The other Hanse towns appear, in complaisance to Lubeck, to have also neglected to accept, or ratify, the acts of the diet. The magistrates of Cologne, however, apprehending the displeasure of King Henry, had written to him requesting the continuance of his favour, and the merchants of the Teutonic gildhall in London impórtuned him to the same effect. The king now wrote, in answer to the magistrates, that nothing should be wanting on his side to the faithful preservation of the antient friendship between England and Cologne, and he desired to know, whether the Hanse towns were to take part with Lubeck in the hostile conduct of that city towards England, or to comply with the decrees of the diet. He also wrote in the same manner to the grand master, in answer to his letters signifying his approbation of the proceedings of the diet. [*Fœdera, V. xi, pp. 304, 305.*]

\* We afterwards find other loans from the merchants of the staple; for example; 10,000 marks in the 31<sup>st</sup> year of King Henry VI, and £20,000 in his 33<sup>d</sup> year. [*Cotton's Abridgement, pp. 653, 659.*]

† The discovery of those islands is variously dated in 1449, 1455, 1460, and 1481. Mr. Otto [*Amer. philos. transf. V. ii, p. 263*] says, that in

1460 Martin of Nuremberg, under the auspices of the duchess of Burgundy (who thereby proved herself a worthy sister of the illustrious Don Henry of Portugal) occupied Fayal, the principal island, for the truth of which he appeals to the records of Nuremberg. See also *Forster's Discoveries in the North, p. 257 Engl. transl.*

November 2<sup>d</sup>—King Henry granted a safe-conduct for four years to three skilful miners, with thirty other persons, from Bohemia, Hungary; Austria, and Micia (rather Misnia or Meissen), who were to be employed in his mines in England. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 317.] The mines in those countries had been worked many centuries, and the miners were probably the most expert in Europe.

1453, March—The parliament granted the king the duties of tunnage and poundage for life. They also granted him, during his subsidy of wool,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  from denizens and £5 from aliens on every sack, with proportional duties on other staple wares. And they imposed an annual tax of 40*s* upon every alien merchant keeping house in England, and 20*s* upon those who remained only six weeks in the country, and moreover £6:13:4 to be paid annually by every alien merchant during the king's life. [*Cotton's Abridgement*, p. 649.] Whether these taxes operated as real burthens upon the English consumers and sellers, or were, as intended, actually taxes upon the foreigners, depended upon the English merchants being capable, or not, of competing with them.

May 29<sup>th</sup>—The imperial city of Constantinople was taken by assault by Mohamed II, emperor of the Turks. Constantine Palæologus, the last of the many successors of the first Constantine, who transplanted the seat of empire to the shore of the Bosphorus, was found buried under a mountain of his slaughtered subjects: and the Roman empire, after dragging out many centuries in the imbecillity of extreme old age, was finally extinguished. Constantinople was no longer an emporium or connecting point for the commerce of the eastern and western regions of the world. The Genoese were obliged to abandon their settlement at Pera, adjacent to that city; and they soon after lost all their other factories or colonies in the Ægean sea. Their eastern trade, which had been chiefly supported by those settlements, declined rapidly; and the Venetians, almost without a rival, supplied the increasing demand of Europe for the productions of the East, which they were enabled to obtain on the most advantageous terms by their connections with the sultan of the Mamelukes.

One good consequence of the overthrow of the Greek empire was, that many men of literature and science, and along with them many works of the learned of former ages, were dispersed through the western countries of Europe; and the knowledge disseminated by their instructions, and by their books, which were multiplied, and rendered attainable by people of moderate wealth, by the late happy invention of printing, wonderfully enlightened Europe, and had great influence in bringing on a state of civilization, favourable to the advancement of commerce, the arts, and the happiness of mankind.

October 17<sup>th</sup>—The city of Bourdeaux was a second time taken by the French; and the English were finally expelled from every part of France, except Calais and its small district. Without detracting from the won-

derful effects of the patriotic enthusiasm of the Maid of Orleans, or the military talents of the French generals, an historian of commerce may be permitted to observe, that this event, happy for France, and infinitely more happy for England, was in a considerable degree owing to the unexampled opulence and patriotism of Jacques Coeur, who, at a time when trade was scarcely known in France, is said to have employed three hundred factors \* to manage his vast commerce, which extended to the Turks and Persians of the East, and the Saracens of Africa, the most remote nations then known to the merchants of Europe. His exports consisted chiefly of woollen cloths, linens, and paper, then the principal manufactures of France; and his returns were silks, spiceries, &c. But some say, that his dealings were chiefly in gold, silver, and arms †. This illustrious merchant was treasurer ('argentier') to the king of France, and lent him 200,000 crowns, without which he could not have undertaken the reduction of Normandy. Being sent on an embassy to Lausanne, his enemies took the opportunity of his absence to bring false charges against him; and the king, regardless of his multiplied services and zealous attachment, abandoned him to their malice. Though nothing could be proved against him in a trial conducted by his enemies with acknowledged unfairness, he was condemned (19<sup>th</sup> May 1453) to the *amende honorable*, to confiscation of all his property, and imprisonment. Having escaped from confinement by the grateful assistance of one of his clerks, he recovered some part of his property which was in foreign countries; and, being appointed by the pope to command a division of his fleet, he died in that service at Chio in the year 1456. [*Mezeray, V. ii, p. 703.*—*Villaret, V. viii, pp. 237-243.*—*Nouveau Dict. hist. V. ii, p. 704.*]

In the year 1448 the duke of Burgundy exacted a duty of 18 shillings, money of Paris, upon every sack of salt. The citizens of Ghent, unaccustomed to arbitrary impositions, refused to pay any new taxes. Next year he laid a tax upon wheat, which they also refused; and in 1451 they refused payment of the duty on herrings at Sluys and the duty on wool. The consequence was a very furious war, which proves the great power and resources of the citizens, derived entirely from their flourishing manufactures. But the superior power of the duke, whose territories equaled in extent, and exceeded in population and wealth, some of the kingdoms of Europe, obliged them to submit to the conditions dictated by him (in which the taxes are not mentioned), to pay him a fine of 300,000 riders, and moreover to pay 50,000 riders for the restoration of some churches destroyed in the war. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. ff. 301-314.*]

\* Probably all the clerks employed under the factors, and even the porters and menial servants ought to be comprehended in this number.

† Both accounts may be true, as, after he be-

came treasurer to the king, his attention would necessarily be turned to the importation of the precious metals and the supply of arms.

1454, April—The parliament having granted a subsidy of twelve pennies in the pound of the value of all merchandize exported, whether by denizens, aliens, or merchants of the Hanse, and raised the duty on wool and wool-fells from  $3\frac{3}{4}$  to  $4\frac{3}{4}$ , it was represented, that the imposition of twelve pennies per pound would diminish the sale of woollen cloth \*, and the augmentation of the other duties would lower the value of wool. It was therefor enacted, that the exporters of wool and wool-fells to the staple at Calais, or by licence to the Mediterranean, should be exempted from paying the additional ten shillings. [*Acts 31 Hen. VI, c. 8.*]

1455, March 15<sup>th</sup>—It has already been observed, that the northern nations built large vessels in the tenth century, when even the Italian states had probably none equal to them; and they still excelled in the construction of ships. The king of Sweden at this time owned a trading ship of near 1,000 tuns burthen, called the *King's barge*, which he sent to England with a request, that she might be permitted to trade, and to reload with lawful merchandize, which was granted, provided the due customs were paid. [*Fœdera, V. xi, p. 364.*]

July—The silk-women of London complained to parliament, that the Lombards and other foreigners, seeking to deprive women of their honest employments, imported the articles made by them, instead of bringing unwrought silk as formerly. To prevent the ruin of those industrious women, it was enacted, that during the five ensuing years no person whatever should import any wrought silk, twined ribands or chains, girdles, or any other article interfering with the manufactures of the silk-women, except girdles of Genoa. [*Acts 33 Hen. VI, c. 5.*]

The lords, to whom the guard of the sea had been entrusted, resigned their charge; and it appears to have been afterwards put into the hands of the mayor and merchants of the staple, to whom we find the tunnage and poundage, duties expressly appropriated to that object, ordered to be paid †. [*Cotton's Abridgement, pp. 652, 657.—Rot. pat. prim. 35 Hen. VI, m. 14.*]

1456, March 5<sup>th</sup>—The misunderstanding with Lubeck seems to have proceeded to an open maritime war, which, at the intercession of the other Hanse towns, was now terminated, or suspended, by a truce of eight years, during which both parties should have liberty of commerce, and the differences, it was hoped, might be amicably adjusted ‡. [*Fœdera, V. xi, p. 374.*]

\* I am here obliged to notice an oversight of Mr. Anderson, who supposes this the first subsidy on woollen cloth. I see no reason to believe, that it was exempted from paying duty on the very first exportation of it: and, not to multiply proofs, I may only refer to the act of parliament in 1348 for new (apparently additional) duties on the exportation of woollen cloth, and that of 1353 for other duties, which were to be paid by English consumers as well as exporters.

† I am obliged to omit some matters concerning the merchants of the staple and the merchant-adventurers, mentioned by Malynes and Wheeler, because their assertions are sometimes found contradictory to record, and I dare not trust to such zealous advocates, when unsupported by better authority.

‡ Notwithstanding this truce there was an engagement between the Lubeckers and the ships of the earl of Warwick in the year 1458. [*Fœdera, V. xi, p. 415.*]

May 31<sup>st</sup>—Though King Henry had in former years commissioned at least three pretended philosophers to make the pretious metals, without receiving any return from them in gold and silver, his credulity was unshaken by disappoinment; and he now issued a pompous grant in favour of three philosophers, who boasted, that they could transubstantiate the meaner metals into gold and silver, and could also cure all diseases, preserve the life of man to the utmost term with unimpaired powers of body and mind, &c. &c. all by means of a most pretious medicine, called *the mother and queen of medicines, the inestimable glory, the quintessence, the philosopher's stone, or the elixir of life*. In favour of those three 'lovers of truth and haters of deception' he dispensed with the law (5 Hen. IV, c. 4) against multiplying gold and silver, and empowered them to transmute other metals into those more pretious ones. This extraordinary commission had the sanction of parliament, now a common corroboration of the king's grants. [*Fœdera, V. xi, pp. 68, 128, 240, 309, 379.*] These impostors, perhaps imposing even upon themselves, kept the king's expectations wound up to the highest pitch; and in the following year he actually informed the people, that the happy hour was approaching, when, by means of the *stone*, he should be enabled to pay off all his debts in a few years\*. [*Tovey's Anglia Judaica, p. 257.*]

1457, March 2<sup>d</sup>—The king of Portugal obtained a licence to ship from the port of London 3,000 pounds of tin and 2,000 pounds of lead, paying the due customs †. [*Fœdera, V. xi, p. 387.*]

1458, March—The parliament of Scotland enacted, that gold and silver ware should be examined and stamped by the deacons of the goldsmiths, or in towns, where there were no deacons, by the principal officers.—They prohibited dyers from buying cloth to sell again, or being drapers.—They also decreed, that none but persons of good credit, and having at least the value of three serplaiths of their own property or consigned to them, should go abroad as merchants.—They also enacted a sumptuary law, prohibiting merchants, unless they were aldermen, bailies, or members of the council of a town, to wear silk, scarlet, or fur of martins. Landed men, having within £40 a-year of old extent, were to dress as merchants. Labourers and husbandmen were to wear grey or white, and on holidays light-blue, green, or red. Women were directed to dress in proportion to the condition of their husbands and fathers. The clergy were also prohibited to wear scarlet or martin's furs, unless they were dignitaries of the church.—The parliament also ordained, that, as there was but one king and one law, there should be but one measure, agreeable to the standard kept in Stirling, and that

\* After all the proofs King Henry had of the ignorance or knavery of those projectors, he continued to encourage others of the same class to the end of his reign. Nor was his successor exempt from the same credulity. See *Fœdera, V. xi, pp. 462, 637, &c.*

† Were the mines now exhausted or forgotten, which produced those metals in his own country, probably before the British mines were known?

measures of the standard should also be kept in Aberdeen, Perth, and Edinburgh.—Several acts were passed for improving the agriculture of the country, for prohibiting the capture of fish in improper seasons and by illegal engines, for destroying wolves and birds of prey, and for preserving the breed of hares and rabbits.—Lastly, the parliament wisely ordered, that copies of their acts should be taken by the shirrefts and the representatives of burghs, and be duely published throughout the kingdom, that the people might not be ignorant of the laws, by which they were to be governed\*. [*Acts Jac. II, cc. 73, 74, 75, 78, 82, 91-99, 101, 102.*]

At this time the Scots entered into a friendly treaty with the citizens of Embden, which, like that with Flanders, was to be in force for one hundred years †. [*Leisl. Hist. Scot. p. 488.*] A treaty with a commercial city could only regard matters of commerce.

The attention of the Scottish government to the interests of commerce is further manifested by a grant of duties upon vessels for repairing the harbour of Dundee, a port advantageously situated at the mouth of the Tay ‡. [*Skene de verb. sign. vo. Fercosta.*]

About this time George Faulau and John Dalrymple, merchants of Scotland, and undoubtedly eminent in their profession, were frequently employed, in conjunction with the clergy, the only men of learning, and the nobles, in embassies and other public negotiations by King James II. [*Fœdera, V. xi, pp. 213, 277, 389, 400, 403, 421.—Acts Jac. II, cc. 34, 72.*]

These various notices, when added to the zeal for the commerce and improvement of the country appearing in the acts of the parliament of Scotland, infer that the country must at this time have enjoyed some degree of commercial prosperity.

This year all the Genoese merchants in London were imprisoned, and condemned to pay 6,000 marks. The reason assigned was said to be the injury done to England by plundering a ship belonging to a merchant of Bristol, called Sturmyne, who was trading to various ports of the Levant and other parts of the East, on the pretence that he had growing plants of pepper and other spices onboard, which he proposed to propagate in England. [*Fabyan's Chronycle, V. ii, f. ccii b.*] Eng-

\* Some of the acts of this parliament are repetitions of acts of James I, which thence appear not to have been duely enforced: but that need not surpris us, when we see similar repetitions common in the acts of the parliament of England, a country more advanced in civilization.

† This, like the Flanders treaty, is only known from its renewal in the year 1557.

‡ Hardyng, a contemporary English traveler in Scotland, [*f. 236 b*] calls Dundee the principal

burgh benorth the Scottish sea (Firth of Forth).

The port duties were, 10*s* on every ship, 5*s* on every crayer, buss, barge, and balinger, 1*s* on every fercost, and 6 pennies on every large boat, as copied by Skene from the original record. *Fercost* occurs as a kind of vessel in England, [*Fœdera, V. xi, p. 44*] and is apparently the same with *fercost*, one or other being erroneously transcribed from the record.

lish voyages to the Levant were as yet very rare; nor is this one unquestionably authenticated\*.

1459—The merchants of the staple, probably finding the act of parliament of the year 1449 not sufficient to guard their monopoly at Calais against the licences, which had been so prejudicial to their trade, obtained from King Henry a promise, that he would grant no more of them. [*Rot. pat. prim. 37 Hen. VI, m. 17.*]

1460, February 13<sup>th</sup>—In a treaty with the Genoese it was agreed, that they should have free admission in every part of the king's dominions, and leave to export all lawful goods, they having none of the king's enemies in their service.—They should give no assistance to the king's enemies.—They should not carry in their vessels any property of the king's enemies; and, if they had any such onboard, they should surrender it to the commanders of his ships, who would pay them the stipulated freight.—For the sake of form it was agreed, that all these advantages should be reciprocal; and it was added, that the misconduct of an individual should not break the treaty. [*Fœdera, V. xi, p. 441.*]

February—Jerom Lynch, goldsmith of London, was appointed master of the mints of Dublin and Trim in Ireland †, and ordered to coin copper money, which was apparently the first of the kind in the British islands since the days of the Roman dominion ‡. [*Rot. pat. 39 Hen. VI, m. 7.—Waræi Hibernia, p. 137, ed. 1654.*]

May 9<sup>th</sup>—It seems that Caen in Normandy was the most convenient place known, from which stones proper for the reparation of Westminster abbay could be got: and they were imported in a vessel belonging to that foreign port. [*Fœdera, V. xi, p. 451.*]

1461—The earliest notice, I believe, of the manufacture of beer in England, is found in a patent appointing John Devenish and others to be supervisors of all the beer-brewers in England, with a fee of half a silver penny for every barrel of beer. [*Rot. pat. tert. 1 Edw. IV, m. 16.*]

King Edward granted to the mayor and citizens of London the package of all woollen cloths and skins within the liberties of the city. [*Rot. pat. tert. 1 Edw. IV, m. 16.*]

That the woollen manufacture of York-shire was now somewhat considerable, may be inferred from a grant of the ulnage of woollen cloths in York, Hull, and throughout the shire, to Lord Montague. [*Rot. pat. quart. 1 Edw. IV, m. 1.*]

\* Fabian, who relates this story of Sturmy with some hesitation, observes, that, of all the nations who traded to England, the Genoese were the least concerned in the spice trade in his time (he was sheriff of London in 1493), and that it was therefore improbable that they should have attacked Sturmy from apprehension of spices being naturalized by him in England. He might have added, that the importation of live plants from Ind-

ia, considering how many hands they must have gone through, was exceedingly improbable, or rather impossible.

† Drogheda ('Drodath'), Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and some other places in Ireland also had mints in the year 1474, and probably now also. [*Rot. pat. sec. 14 Edw. IV, m. 22.*]

‡ The Saxon slycas were made of brass. [*Hickes, Dissert. epist. p. 182.*]

1463, March 9<sup>th</sup>—King Edward gave the merchants of the Teutonic gildhall in London a confirmation of all the privileges granted by his predecessors; and he also exempted them from all new taxes imposed, or to be imposed, on imports or exports. These privileges they were to enjoy during two years and a half, to be computed from Christmas 1462, provided they should not attempt to pass the goods of others as their own, nor commit hostilities or depredations against himself or his subjects. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 498.]

April 29<sup>th</sup>—The parliament, for the defence of the realm, and especially for the guard of the sea, granted the king for life a subsidy, called tunnage, of 3*l* upon every tun of wine imported, and 3*l* more upon every tun of sweet wine imported by any foreign merchants, those of the Hanse not excepted. They also granted a poundage duty of twelve pennies on the prime-cost value of all goods exported or imported, to be paid by natives, as well as merchants of the Hanse and other strangers, who should, however, pay double poundage on tin. From this duty were excepted woollen cloths, made by English-born subjects, wool, wool-fells, hides, and provisions for Calais, exported; and also the flour of all kinds of corn, fresh fish, animals, and wine, imported. [*Act 3 Edw. IV*\*.]

June—The parliament, considering that the wool of England was the principal commodity of the kingdom, and desirous of promoting the industry of the people and the prosperity of the towns, prohibited foreigners from buying or shipping any wool, wool-fells, morlings, or shorlings†, from England or Wales. But those produced in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland, Durham, and the districts of York-shire called Alverton and Richmond, might be shipped, at the port of Newcastle only, for any foreign port: and the wool, &c. of the rest of the kingdom might be exported, by denizens only, and only to the staple at Calais. The merchants of the staple at Calais were directed not to sell any wool or other staple goods without receiving immediate payment, whereof one half should be in English money, or bullion, which should immediately be coined at the mint in Calais, and in three months be imported into England.—They also enacted fines to be levied upon those found guilty of fraudulent package of wool.—And they ordained, that no English merchant should ship any goods, outward or homeward, in foreign vessels, unless sufficient freight could not be found in English shipping. [*Acts 3 Edw. IV*, c. 1.]

The importation of corn, except the produce of Wales, Ireland, or

\* This act does not appear in its proper place in the collections of the statutes; nor is it even mentioned in *Cotton's Abridgement of the records of parliament*. But it is quoted in an act 12 *Edw. IV*, c. 3, in the grant of King Henry to the Genoese in 1471, and in that of King Edward to all

the Italians in 1476, which will be found in their proper places.

† *Morling*, wool taken from the skin of a dead sheep. *Shorling*, a fell after the the fleece is shorn off. [*Coles's Dict.*]

the islands belonging to England, was prohibited, whenever wheat did not exceed 6/8, rye 4s, and barley 3s, per quarter. [c. 2.]

The male and female artificers of London, and other cities, towns, and villages, of England and Wales, having represented that they were grievously injured by the importation of foreign articles of quality inferior to those made by them \*, the parliament prohibited for a time to be limited by the king's pleasure, the importation or sale of woollen caps, woollen cloths, laces, corsets, ribands, fringes of silk or thread, laces of thread, silk twined, silk embroidered, laces of gold, tires of silk or gold, saddles, stirrups, harnesses belonging to saddles, spurs, bosses of bridles, andirons, gridirons, locks, hammers, pinsons, fire-tongs, dripping-pans, dice, tennis-balls, points, purses, gloves, girdles, harnesses for girdles of iron, latten, steel, tin, or alkmine, articles made of tawed leather, tawed furs, buscans (probably buskins), shoes, galoches or corks, knives, daggers, wood-knives, bodkins, sheers for tailors, scissors, razors, sheaths, playing cards †, pins, pattens, pack-needles, any painted ware, forciers, caskets, rings of copper or of latten gilt, chafing-dishes, hanging candlesticks, chafing bells, sacring bells, rings for curtains, ladles, scummers, counterfeit basins, ewers, hats, brushes, cards for wool, and blanch iron wire, commonly called white wire. The manufactures of Ireland and Wales might be sold in England as freely as before; and also goods taken from enemies, or found in wrecked vessels. The tenants of the precinct of the chapel of St. Martin le Grand in London were exempted from the operation of this act ‡. [*Ars 3 Edw. IV, c. 4*] By it we are informed, what articles were then in request, and what manufactures were then established, in England.

By the king's patent, granted to the mayor and citizens of London, the tronage (weighing) of wool was transferred from Westminster, where Henry VI had established six wool-houses, to Leadenhall in London §. [*Rot. pat. sec. 3 Edw. IV, m. 17.—Stow's Survey, pp. 304, 843.*]

Hitherto all people bringing corn, fish, salt, fuel, onions, &c. to London by water, had been ordered to land them at Queenhithe: but the trouble and hinderance occasioned by delays in taking up the draw-bridge had induced many of them to risk the penalty by unloading at Billingsgate. It was now thought expedient to authorize what had

\* The application to parliament gives reason to suspect that the foreign goods were of superior quality; and thence the home-made goods required the protection of a monopoly against the foreign manufacturer and the English consumer. The quantity of foreign goods poured into the country as soon as the prohibition expired (see below in the year 1483) proves, that they were more acceptable to the consumers.

† Playing cards were invented in Germany before the end of the fourteenth century. At first used only for amusement, they were afterwards made subservient to superstition by stamping on

them, by means of wooden blocks, the figures of saints with inscriptions. Some such, executed so early as the year 1423, may be regarded as the first specimens of printing. [*Idée generale d'une collection d'estampes, pp. 239-250.*]

‡ The same exemption is repeated in all the acts containing restraints upon trade about this time, so that St. Martin's tenants were the only free traders. Stow, in his *Survey*, gives some account of the privileges claimed by this college or chapel.

§ A pretty ample history of Leadenhall is given by Stow in the account of Lime-street ward in his *Survey of London*.

hitherto been done against authority; and a part of the vessels, bringing salt, wheat, rye, or other corn, from beyond the sea; or other grains, garlick, onions, herrings, sprats, eels, whiting, plaice, cod, mackerel, &c. were permitted to unload at Billingsgate. But still the greater number were to proceed up to Queenhithe. [*Stow's Survey*, p. 682.] This is apparently the origin of a legal market for fish at Billingsgate.

1464, January—King Edward owed £32,861 to the company of merchants of the staple at Calais, for payment of which he assigned them a yearly rate (or installment) out of the subsidies of wool. [*Cotton's Abridgement*, p. 678.]

The commencement of the Oriental trade of Florence about the year 1425 has been noticed. The Medici, a race of successive eminent merchants (and the ancestors of many families of sovereign princes) were, it is believed, deeply concerned in that trade. Cosmo de Medici was the greatest merchant of the age, or equaled only by Jacques Coeur in France. In every part of Europe he had houses established for conducting his vast commerce, and his extensive money concerns, whereby he served all Europe with the accommodation of borrowing and remitting. Nor were his agents less assiduous in collecting for him the treasures of antient learning, and the choicest productions of art, than in procuring the rich merchandize of India; for this illustrious merchant, who dedicated his riches to the service of mankind, was the most munificent, unassuming, patron of arts, sciences, and literature. He employed his wealth and his literary treasures for the service of his country and his friends with such effect, that, when Naples and Venice combined against Florence, he deprived them of resources for carrying on the war, merely by calling in the vast sums due to him in those states; and by a manuscript of Livy, sent as a present to the king of Naples, he conciliated his friendship. Nor were the politics of Italy only governed by the commercial operations of Cosmo: even the distant kingdom of England was affected by the power of his pecuniary influence, and the sums, lent by his agents to Edward IV, amounting to 120,000 crowns, contributed in a great measure to support him in his contest with the house of Lancaster. This truly-great man died, with the justly-merited title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1464\*.

\* For a more complete account of this great merchant, and for the authorities, see *Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, his grandson. See also *Gibbon*, V. xii, p. 135.—and *Comines*, L. vii, c. 6. The later, after noticing the wonderful extent of the credit of his commercial houses, as he himself had had occasion to see them in France and England, says, that, to his knowledge, Gerard Quaresse, one of Cosmo's agents, was the chief instrument in supporting Edward IV by furnishing him at a time above 120,000 crowns, not much to the advantage of his principal, who, however, recover-

ed his money at last. He also knew another of Cosmo's agents, called Portunary, who became security for King Edward to the duke of Burgundy for 50,000 crowns, and at another time for 24,000.—Comines's hint of the damage sustained by delay of payment is supported by a grant of King Edward, dated 30<sup>th</sup> November 1466, whereby it appears, that £5,254:19:10 of the money lent him by Gerard Canzian (whom Comines calls Quaresse) still remained due; for payment of which Edward permitted him to herd, cack, and clean, any wool whatsoever, and export it, or any other

1465, January—The parliament, observing that many frauds had crept into the manufacture of cloths, by reason of which their reputation in foreign countries was much impaired, and foreign cloths were even imported into England, enacted, that every whole cloth, when properly finished for sale, should measure 24 yards in length, and 2 yards, or at least 7 quarters, in breadth within the lists: if longer, the buyer should pay for the extra measure. Straits, properly finished, should measure 12 yards in length and 1 yard in breadth; kerseys, 18 yards in length and  $1\frac{1}{8}$ , or at least 1 yard, in breadth. Half pieces of each in proportion, and all measured with an allowance of an inch to every yard in the length. The makers were prohibited from putting lamb's wool, flocks, or cork \*, in any cloth. Cloth might be made, however, all of lamb's wool: and cork might be used in dyeing cloth or wool woaded, or cloth perfectly boiled and maddered. They required, that cloths should be perfectly uniform in their fabric from end to end, and they ordained, that cloths of unequal fabric, and those of irregular lengths, should be distinguished by leaden seals, different from those put upon goods of standard dimension and quality.—Another abuse, complained of, was, that the manufacturers compelled their carders, spinners, and other work-people to take 'a great part of their wages in pins, girdles, and other unprofitable wares,' and also delivered wool to them by excessive weight; wherefor it was now ordained, that they should pay their labourers in money only, and use just weights.—The parliament also now declared, that all foreign-made cloth, found in England after the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1465, should be forfeited to the king, except cloths made in Ireland or Wales, or taken from enemies upon the sea without fraud or collusion. [*Acts 4 Edw. IV, c. 1.*]

In order to abolish the trade of smuggling wool, which was openly shipped off in defiance of the law by day-light, as well as secretly by night, it was enacted, that it should be exported at no other ports or creeks, than Pool, Southampton, Chichester, Sandwich, London, Ipswich, Boston, Hull, and Lynne, at all which ports collectors of the customs were stationed, and beams and weights provided; and also that it should be shipped only in gallies and carracks, except what was to go to the Mediterranean. The custom-house officer at Calais was directed to give every merchant a certificate of the wool landed by him there,

other wool, to the Mediterranean, and also to export woollen cloth, in grain or without grain, to any country whatever, and to retain in his own hands all the customs (which for the wool should never exceed four marks per sack) till they should amount to the sum owing to him: and he also exempted him from the obligation of bringing hulkion to the mint in proportion to his exports. [*Rymer's unpublished records, Edw. IV, Vol. i, p. 467.*] In the following year Canzian had a

similar assignment for the payment of £8,468. [*Rot. pat. prim. 7 Edw. IV, m. 19.*] This was apparently a new debt. Edward was forever borrowing; and we shall again find him receiving further supplies from the house of Medici.

\* Martin in his *Description of the Western Islands* [p. 135] mentions a plant called *corkir*, which is used by the islanders to dye their yarn of a crimson colour, which is probably the same with the *cork* of the act.

which the merchant was required to lodge in the exchequer, as a proof that he had not carried it to any other port. [c. 2.]

In consequence of the licence of shipping the north-country wools at Newcastle, those of the counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham, were frequently carried to that port, and shipped as the produce of the northern counties; which practice was now prohibited under a heavy penalty. [c. 3.]

In favour of the woollen manufacturers it was enacted, that they alone should have a right to make contracts for wool before it was shorn. All other persons were prohibited from making any such contracts in the counties of Berks, Oxford, Gloucester, Salop, Hereford, Worcester, Wilts, Somersset, Dorset, Hants, Essex, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Surrey, and Suffex. [c. 4.]

The duke of Burgundy had published another ordinance, *never to be repealed*, ordering all woollen cloth and woollen yarn made in England to be banished out of his dominions, in consequence of which it was apprehended, that the weavers, fullers, dyers, spinners, carders, and winders of yarn, in England would be thrown idle. The parliament, in retaliation, prohibited the importation of any produce or manufacture of the duke's territories, except provisions, in England, Wales, or Ireland, till he should repeal his ordinance. In the meantime, the merchants, possessing such goods, were ordered to take no advantage of the scarcity by raising the price. The merchants of the Teutonic gild-hall were not bound by the prohibitions of this act: [c. 5.] Therefore the non-importation act was in fact a charter of monopoly to them; and the duke's subjects would feel no inconvenience from it.

The foreign merchants were so much embarrassed in finding security for their faithfully investing the proceeds of their cargoes in English goods, or perhaps so unwilling to comply with the law, that many of them gave up trading to England. In order to mitigate the hardship, the officers of the customs were directed to require no other security of the merchants than their own. [c. 6.]

For the encouragement of the horners, especially those of London, it was enacted, that no horns should be exported, except what might be to spare after supplying their demand, provided the horners should take no advantage of this act to lower the price of horns\*. [c. 8.]

October 13<sup>th</sup>—In a treaty of alliance between England and Denmark, the merchants on both sides were allowed free access to the ports of each country: but still the English were excluded from sailing to the coasts of Iceland, Halgaland, and Finmark; nor was their being driven upon

\* In those days spoons and other utensils made of horn were more in use than now. It is also certain that horn plates then answered many of the purposes, for which window glass is now employed. That glazed windows were by no means common at this time, appears pretty cer-

tain: for Richard Benyngton was thought worthy of honourable commemoration by the historian of Croyland for liberally bestowing £40 for glazing a window in that abbay. [Hist. Croyl. ap. Gale, p. 536.] Though the window may have been large, so great a sum shows that glass was very dear.

them by stress of weather to be admitted as a pretence for trading. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 551.] So anxiously did the king of Denmark seek to preserve the fishery, apparently the only object of attraction to those hyperborean regions, to his own subjects. Walter Cony and Henry Bermycham, merchants of Lynne, were two of the ambassadors appointed to negotiate this treaty, they being, it may be presumed, well acquainted with such commercial matters as might fall under discussion.

1466, April 30<sup>th</sup>—A treaty between King Edward and the duke of Bretagne stipulated for the subjects of both princes a mutual liberty of trade in merchandize not prohibited. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 567.]

August 6<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, desirous of fortifying himself against the rival house of Lancaster by the friendship of the sovereigns on the continent, entered into treaties of offensive and defensive alliance with as many of them as possible. Some negotiations (whereof, I apprehend, no record remains) had taken place between him and the king of Castile before October 1464; and now he concluded a perpetual alliance with that prince, wherein it was agreed, that the merchants of either kingdom might freely buy and sell any merchandize whatsoever in the other, and should be treated in all respects as well as the natives of the country. [*Fœdera* V. xi, pp. 534, 569, 572, 583.] This treaty, though not of itself very important in commercial history, merits notice, because the eagerness for cultivating the friendship of Spain, which produced it, probably also occasioned an exportation of the sheep of Cotswold in Gloucester-shire to Spain about this time, which, though asserted by annalists who lived not very long after, has been ridiculed by some late writers, only because they thought it unlikely. It is enough to say, that the several unquestionable exportations of English sheep, already related and to be related in this work, sufficiently warrant the belief of the exportation said to have taken place at this time\*.

October—The parliament of Scotland authorized a committee of

\* Harrison in his *Description of Britain*, prefixed to *Holinshed*, [f. 109 a ed. 1577] complains of the practice of exporting sheep in his own days. These are his words.—‘So much are our woolles to be preferred before those of other places, that, if Jason had knowne the value of them that are bredde and to be had in Englande, he woulde never have gone to Colchos to looke for any there. What fooles then are our countrymen, in that they seeke to bereve themselves of this commodity by practizing dayly howe to transferre the same to other nations, in carying over their rammes and ewes to breede an increase among them.’ In the edition of 1586 [p. 221] he adds, ‘—The first example hereof was given under Edward the fourth, who not understanding the botome of the sute of sundrie traitorous merchants, that sought a present gaine with the perpetuall hinderance of their countrie, licenced them to carie over certeine numbers of them

‘into Spaine, who having licence but for a few, shipped verie manie.’—Holinshed in his *Chronicle* [p. 1317, ed. 1577] relates the exportation thus. ‘—Kying Edwarde concluded an ametic and league with Henrye king of Castile and John king of Aragon, at the concluding whereof hee granted licence for certayne Cortelolde sheepe to be transported into the cuntry of Spayne (as people report) whych have there so multiplied and increased, that it hath turned the commodity of England much to the Spanishe profite’.—Stow [*Ann.* p. 696 ed. 1600] nearly repeats Holinshed’s words; as does also Speed, [p. 854, ed. 1632] who adds, that clothis made from the wool of the descendents of the sheep now carried to Spain, were (in his own time) a great hinderance to the English merchants adventuring to the Levant seas.—The other authors, whom I have examined for this fact, are silent upon it.

their own body to ratify, or annul, as they might think expedient, the statutes advised in the session of burghs (or court of the four burghs) for the good of merchants and the advantage of the kingdom.—They repealed the unavailing law against carrying money out of the country; and, thinking nothing else so valuable, they ordered all merchants to bring two ounces of pure silver to the mint for every sack of wool exported by them, and in proportion for skins (apparently wool-fells) and hides.—They ordered copper coins to be made, whereof four should be equal to a penny, and also another kind of small money, to the amount of only £300, with a mixture of silver in it. No person was obliged to receive more than twelve pennies in the pound of those inferior kinds of money.—The coinage of the mixed, or black, pennies was abolished in the following year\*. [*Acts Jac. III, cc. 2, 10, 11, 12, 22.*]

1467, January.—The Scottish parliament passed several acts, all intended for the advancement, but most of them probably operating for the obstruction, of commerce.—They ordained, that none but burghesses, or their factors living in their families, should go abroad as merchants. But prelates and other clergymen, lords, and barons, might export their own goods, and import what they had occasion for, by the agency of their servants †.—Handicraft tradesmen were particularly debarred from sailing as merchants, or using merchandize, without obtaining special leave, and renouncing their former employment without dissimulation.—The smallest quantity of goods, in property or trust, qualifying a person to sail as a merchant, was now fixed at half a last.—They ordained, that no ship should be freighted without a charter party, wherein should be expressed, among other conditions, that disputes between the master and merchants should be submitted to the jurisdiction of the town to which they were bound, that goods should not be crushed or damaged by unreasonable stowing; if the master carried any goods upon deck, he should have no freight for them, and in case of their being thrown overboard or lost, the goods in the hold should not be liable to pay average for them; and the master should receive no drink-money. Vessels carrying less than five lasts should pay the freight of half a sack,

\* Ruddiman, on the authority of Buchanan, inclines to believe, that copper money was coined by some of the earlier kings of Scotland. [*Præf. ad Dipl. Scotia, pp. 66, 67, 71.*] But Buchanan's assertion, if unsupported by other vouchers, is no sufficient authority (as has repeatedly been proved by Ruddiman himself in his valuable notes on that author, and as I have also had occasion to remark in another work) especially, as he confounds the copper money with the mixed or black money. There were scarcely any innovations, in which the Scots preceded the English.

† Some of the Scottish barons were concerned

in trade and were even owners of vessels, as appears by a receipt (dated 8 May 1475) for 100 marks English money paid by King Edward's agent, Lye, for a ship loaded with merchandize, belonging to Sir John Colquhoun the chamberlain of Scotland, which had been taken by Lord Gray. [*Rymer's unpublished records, Edw. IV, Vol. ii, p. 589.*] Unless the compensation was very inadequate indeed, the vessel and cargo must have been very trifling, merely for the service of his own household. In this age the kings also interfered in trade, as will appear afterwards.

and those of a greater burthen the freight of a sack, to the chaplain of the nation in the country failed to, and on their return home should pay the freight of a tun to the church of the port of delivery.—Vessels were prohibited from sailing to any foreign country between the 28<sup>th</sup> of October and the 2<sup>d</sup> of February.—The merchants of Scotland were now prohibited from sailing to the Swyn, the Sluys, the Dam, or Bruges, and were required to remove their property from those places before the 1<sup>st</sup> of August ensuing, and thenceforth to have no intercourse with them. [*Acts Jac. III, cc. 14-19.*] The interruption of trade with these towns was an infraction of the hundred-years treaty, owing to some cause of displeasure, which the historians of the age have not informed us of.

July—In England also the attention of the parliament this year was chiefly turned to trade.—Notwithstanding the act for enforcing uniformity of fabric and quantity in the worsted-stuff manufactures of Norwich and the adjacent country, passed in the 20<sup>th</sup>, and repeated in the 23<sup>d</sup>, year of Henry VI, there were now fresh complaints of the delinquency of the manufacturers of those goods; whereupon a new act was made, which was little more than a repetition of the former ones. [*Acts 7 Edw. IV, c. 1.*]

The clothiers in the hundreds of Lifton, Tavistock, and Rowburgh, in Devon-shire were permitted to mix flocks with their wool, they having represented, that, on account of the grossness and stubbornness of the wool in that district, no cloth could be made without such a mixture. [*c. 2.*]

The exportation of woollen yarn and unfulled cloth, whereby the king lost the customs payable upon finished cloths, and the people a part of their employment, was prohibited. [*c. 3.*]

August 29<sup>th</sup>—King James allowed the merchants of Scotland to sail to Middleburg, but not to establish their trade in that city as a staple, as he intended to send commissioners to negotiate privileges for them in whatever place should be found most advantageous for a staple.—They were also at liberty to sail to Rochelle, Bourdeaux, and the other ports of France. [*Acts Jac. III, cc. 20, 21.*]

October—The parliament of Scotland, after having lowered their money of account by making a nominal rise upon their own and all foreign coins current in the kingdom, or, in their own language, making their money equivalent to the currency in Flanders, next obliged all debtors to make payment in the full value originally contracted for. In a few months the parliament observed, that that change answered no good purpose, that the pennyworth rose with the penny, and that landlords were defrauded of the fourth or fifth part of their rents\*; and

\* However obvious these consequences might be to the eye of reason, none of the nations of Europe seem to have had any idea of them in those

days. But such ignorance of the nature and causes of the wealth of nations in those ages need not surprise us, when, even in the present enlightened age, we

therefor they reduced most of the foreign coins current in Scotland to a smaller numerical value than they had lately set upon them (January 1468). [*Acts Jac. III, cc. 22, 23, 29, and see also 58.*]

November 24<sup>th</sup>—The English and the people of the Netherlands feeling the bad effects of turning the trade of the two countries into a circuitous channel, the commercial intercourse between them was now revived, and regulated by a new treaty between King Edward and the duke of Burgundy, which was to be in force thirty years. The subjects of both princes, whether dealers in wool, hides, or provisions, or other articles, were to have free access by land or water with liberty to buy and sell all kinds of merchandize, except warlike stores, on paying the duties, established when commerce formerly had free course between the two countries.—Each prince, in case of scarcity, might prohibit the exportation of provisions.—The fishermen on both sides might freely fish in any part of the sea, without needing formal licences or safe-conducts, and, if driven by necessity into any port on the opposite coast, they should be kindly treated, provided they paid the customary dues, committed no fraud, and did no damage.—No corsairs should be allowed to sail from the ports of either prince to prey upon the subjects of the other: neither should they be allowed to sell, or even to land, their plunder in any harbour, and the officers of any place, permitting such sale or landing, should be bound to make compensation to the party injured.—Neutral vessels, carrying provisions or other merchandize from the East-country to the territories of either prince, should not be molested by the subjects of the other.—Merchant vessels, driven into port by storms or enemies, should be kindly treated, but should not land any merchandize without permission.—Mariners should be allowed in the ports to fasten their vessels to the shore.—The subjects of either prince should not carry the property of the enemies of the other.—Vessels stranded or wrecked on either shore, wherein a human creature, or even a dog, cat, or cock, remained alive, should be preserved with their cargoes as safely as possible, and restored to the owners for a reasonable salvage.—The road from Calais to Gravelings should be kept up; the English should have inns or hotels, with all their former privileges, in the towns of Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin; and the merchants of those countries should have the like in England.—The treaty should not be infringed for the action of any individual.—Lastly, the four members of Flanders should bind themselves to preserve the treaty inviolate on their part. [*Fœdera, V. xi, p. 591.*]

1468, June—The clothiers in Norfolk and Suffolk having got into a practice of making their cloths, called set cloths, very deficient in length,

we see (and feel) the race of depretiation, though by different means, proceeding with a most destructive career, and men, who assume the character of philosophical politicians, holding up that very depretiation as a triumphant evidence of national

prosperity. But the very same men do not blush to ask, and receive, an augmentation of emoluments, drawn from the necessities of those who are sinking under the depretiation, to shield themselves from the baneful effects of their boasted prosperity.

breadth, and substance, the parliament enacted, that every broad set cloth, properly finished for sale, should measure 28 yards and 28 inches by the fold in length, and 7 quarters in breadth within the lists in all parts, and should weigh at least 38 pounds; and strait set cloths, duely finished, should measure half as much in length and breadth, and weigh at least  $9\frac{1}{2}$  pounds. All set cloths were to be inspected and sealed by the king's aulneger with the seals of the subsidy and aulnage. [*Acts 8 Edw. IV, c. 1.*]

In consideration of £33,000 due by the king to the company of the staplers at Calais, he assigned to them for eight years the subsidies of the port, and all his other revenues in Calais, for payment, they allowing out of them the pay of the soldiers and maintenance of the works\*. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 681.*]

An account was presented to parliament of the money exchanged in the Tower by the keeper of the king's exchange in three years, whereof the following is an abstract.

Years ending 29 <sup>th</sup> September.	GOLD.		SILVER.		TOTAL.	whereof paid to the king,	and remain- ed to the keeper,
	Old nobles,	Emption for the king's farm at 1 <i>d</i> each,	Troye pounds weight,	Emption at 1 <i>7</i> / <sub>16</sub> <i>d</i> p' pound weight,	Emption,		
1466	137,875	574 9 7	3,845	72 1 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	646 11 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	400 0 0	246 11 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1467	60,153	200 13 7		183 19 9	384 13 4	200 0 0	184 13 4
1468	33,400						

[*Cotton's Abridgement, p. 685.*]

July 2<sup>d</sup>—A treaty for commercial intercourse with Bretagne for thirty years was now settled, almost upon the same terms as that with the duke of Burgundy, except that the trade was allowed to be more general and free; wool, cloths, linens, wines, fruits, hides, provisions, and also harness, armour, artillery, horses and other animals, and all other merchandize whatever, were lawful. Plymouth, Dartmouth, Winchelsea within the chain and its little harbour, and Calais, were excepted from the general liberty granted to the merchants of Bretagne of making fast their vessels in the harbours, and having hotels or inns in the towns, of England; the duke of Bretagne having an equal right to except any of his towns from the similar liberty to be granted to the English merchants. [*Fœdera, V. xi, p. 618.*]

September 8<sup>th</sup>—The purchase of the vassal kingdom of Mann and the Western islands by Alexander III king of Scotland in the year 1266 has been related. The stipulated annual payment of 100 marks, perhaps as too trifling to merit attention on either side, had been allowed to run in arrear for twenty-six years. In consequence of the advice of Charles, the late king of France, a very amicable settlement was now effected be-

\* This loan, and that of 1464, show that the merchants of the staple were very rich (£33,000 being still a great sum) and that the king knew they were. In the following year he borrowed

£10,000 for payment of a part of his sister's portion to the duke of Burgundy: and on many other occasions King Edward resorted to them for pecuniary assistance. [*Cotton, pp. 683, 692, &c.*]

tween the parties concerned. Christiern king of Denmark, who, as successor to the kings of Norway, had the right to the *annual*, gave his daughter in marriage to King James, with a portion of 60,000 florins, together with a full discharge of the arrears of the *annual*, and also of all demands on that account in time coming. Of the sum stipulated, he engaged to pay down 10,000 florins before his daughter's departure for Scotland, and to give a mortgage of the sovereignty of the Orkney islands, which should remain subject to the crown of Scotland, till he should pay the remaining 50,000. When the time appointed for the embarkation of the princess arrived, Christiern, being much harassed with war, could only pay 2,000 florins; and therefor (20<sup>th</sup> May 1496) he offered a further mortgage of the islands of Hialtland, or Shetland, till he should find it convenient to redeem them by paying 8,000 florins. None of the money was ever paid; and all the islands, scattered in the Northern ocean in the vicinity of Scotland, remain to this day attached to that kingdom. [*Torfæi Orcades*, pp. 185 et seqq.]

December—The arrival of one hundred and fifty vessels at once was beheld by the inhabitants of Sluys with wonder and delight: for very seldom so many arrived at once\*. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f. 347 a.*]

1470, March 23<sup>d</sup>—A proclamation of King Edward, offering a landed estate of £100 a year, or, in the option of the receiver, £1,000 in ready money, as a reward for apprehending the duke of Clarence or the earl of Warwick, [*Fædera*, V. xi, p. 654] has been adduced as a proof, that land was usually worth only ten years' purchase. But it is only a proof, that Edward was rich in lands from the very numerous forfeitures, and poor in money, as appears from his constant borrowing. Neither was forfeited land, in those days of sudden revolutions, a very secure or eligible property †.

December 24<sup>th</sup>—Several merchants and mariners of the north coast of Spain sought redress for vessels and cargoes, which, they declared upon oath, were piratically taken from them by the people of Sandwich, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Fowey. The vessels and their cargoes were valued by them as follows ‡.

a ship of 100 tuns, value	£107	10	0;	total of vessel and cargo	£565	:
a ship	70	-	100	0	0	- ditto, ditto 350:
a carvel	40	-	70	0	0	- ditto, ditto 250:
a ship	120	-	110	0	0	ditto, ditto, and freight 300:
a carvel	110	-	140	0	0	ditto, ditto, ditto 380:
a carvel	110	-	150	0	0	ditto, ditto - 2,500:
a carvel	120	-	180	0	0	ditto, ditto, ditto 450:

\* This arrival has been related by succeeding writers as a common occurrence, and as a proof of the vast commerce of Bruges, of which Sluys was the sea-port. We thus see, what mistaken inferences may be drawn from an erroneous statement of a simple fact.

† We have already seen (p. 448) a life-rent, not a property, in lands valued at ten years' purchase in Scotland in the thirteenth century.

‡ The sums here stated are taken from the complaint of the merchants addressed to the king: but the particulars, sworn to in the court, give totals somewhat different, and in general amounting to greater sums. The wool was valued at £4 per sack of 1½ quintal, the iron at £4 per tun, the wines at £4 to £5 per tun.

The cargoes consisted of iron, wine, wool (440 sacks), raisins, liquorice, spicery, incense, oranges, marfac, and 4 sacks of cheese intended for presents. The most valuable vessel with wool, iron, &c. was bound for Flanders, and all the rest for England. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, pp. 671, 672.] We do not see, what was decided by the court. But the merchants of the northern ports of Spain declined trading to England, as appears by an invitation held out by Edward IV in the year 1471, assuring them, that they had nothing to fear in his kingdom.

December 29<sup>th</sup>—King Henry VI, being restored for a few months, gave the merchants of Cologne, who, with other merchants of Germany, possessed the Teutonic gildhall in London, a grant similar to that, given in the year 1463 to the merchants of the Hanse in general, by his antagonist Edward IV: but this was to the merchants of Cologne only\*, and was to last for five years, instead of two and a half, the term granted by Edward. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 678.]

During the short second reign of King Henry, the earl of Warwick, who then governed the king and the kingdom, sent an army over to Calais to act against the duke of Burgundy and the exiled king Edward IV. But the English merchants of the staple, whose greatest sale for wool was to the clothiers of the duke's provinces of Flanders and Holland, knowing the ruinous consequences to their trade to be expected from a war in the Netherlands, found means to divert the earl from his purpose. [*Comines*, L. iii, c. 6.]

1471, February 16<sup>th</sup>—King Henry entered into a treaty, or truce, with the king of France, which, being merely calculated for his own personal safety, an object which left him no leisure to attend to any other consideration, contains very little relating to commerce. As an article of course, the merchants and all other subjects of both kings were to have freedom of going into either kingdom on the business of merchandize, fishing, or any other occasion. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 683.]

February 22<sup>d</sup>—He also granted the Genoese an exemption from the additional duties laid upon foreign merchants by an act passed by himself as well as by another of the third year of King Edward. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 696.] But a few weeks terminated his life and reign, and their privileges.

August—The parliament of Scotland thought it expedient, for the benefit of the kingdom, and in consideration of the great riches which might be acquired from other countries, that certain lords spiritual and temporal, and burghs, should build large ships, busses, and pink-boats, and furnish them with nets and other apparatus proper for fishing †. [*Acts Jac. III*, c. 60.]

\* Cologne courted the friendship of England in the year 1452, when Lubeek was hostile, and the other Hanse towns were not friendly.

† The very brief acts of the Scottish parliament sometimes suppress a part of what they ought to

contain, as supposing it already generally known. It is from a subsequent act (c. 133) that we learn, that the fishery was intended to be on the west coast, and for catching and curing herrings and other fish.

November 9<sup>th</sup>—King Edward, mindful of the friendship shown to him in his exile by Peter Bladelyn, lord of the town of Middleburg in Flanders, granted for ever to all the traders ('mercatores') of that town, though not associated in the Teutonic Hanse, as well those working at the mechanic trade called battery, as those engaged in other trades, an exemption from all duties and imposts on their wares throughout all England, with all the liberties and privileges which had been enjoyed by the people of Dynant, before it was destroyed \*. [*Fædera*, V. xi, p. 729.]

December 22<sup>d</sup>—He also granted for ever to Henry of Borsel, lord of Vere in Zeland, and to the inhabitants of that town, liberty to import their merchandize and export those of England, staple goods excepted, paying only three pennies per pound on the exports, except cloths on which they should pay twelve pennies for the piece of 28 yards, and for ingrained cloths the same duty paid by the Esterlings; and he assured them, that no other or higher customs should ever be demanded of them. This grant was made on the condition, that his own subjects should be exempted in the port of Vere from all duties already imposed, or afterwards to be imposed. [*Fædera*, V. xi, p. 730.]

This year the merchants of Lubeck, Rostock, Wismar, Stralsund, Dantzik, Koningsberg, Riga ('Rigla'), Revel, and all the other Hanse towns of Germany, Prussia, and Livonia, bound themselves, under the penalty of forfeiting all their rights and privileges, to make Bruges the sole staple for all their goods, and to ship them all onboard certain vessels, sufficiently armed for beating off pirates, which should be regularly stationed at Hamburg and Sluys for the accommodation of the trade. On the other hand the citizens of Bruges engaged, that the customs ('portoria') should be lowered, that brokers or others employed by the merchants should ask no exorbitant recompense, and that the due depth and other accommodations of their port of Sluys should be preserved. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandriæ*, f. 354 a.]

1472, February 12<sup>th</sup>—King Edward licenced his sister, the duchess of Burgundy, to berd, clack †, and clean, fifty sacks of wool, and export them in any vessels whatever to the Mediterranean sea, without paying any customs, or being obliged to import bullion on account of them. This active trading princess obtained frequent repetitions of such grants; and as she never paid any customs and was not obliged to bring bullion to the mint, her traffic, which by herself or her proxies was very extensive, must have been very injurious to the fair traders. [*Fædera*, V. xi, p. 735.—*Rymer's MS. records*, *passim*.]

\* Of the privileges of Dynant in England, I suppose, we have no further memorial extant. In 1359 some merchants of that town had a safe-conduct from Edward III. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 33 *Edw. III.*, m. 10.] It was famous for pots, pans, and other articles made of copper, which were called *Dynandrie*. It was a new town, founded by the same Peter Bladely, and it was destroyed by the

duke of Burgundy in 1466. [*Comines*, L. ii, p. 74.—*Meyeri Ann. Flandr.* f. 337 b.]

† To *clack wool* is to cut off the sheep's mark to make it lighter. [*Coles's Dict.*] Berding, I presume, is also an operation of sorting and rejecting the inferior parts; so the duchess's wool was all of prime quality.

October—The parliament obliged the foreign merchants to import four sufficient bow-staves along with every tun weight of goods imported by them. [*Acts 12 Edw. IV, c. 2.*]

In order to put a stop to the practice of smuggling cloth of gold, cloth of silver, bawdekyns, velvet, damask, fatin, farcenet, tarteron\*, cham-elets, and other stuffs of silk and gold, and of silk, whereby the subsidies, voted in the year 1463 for the guard of the sea, were rendered inadequate, and the law obliging foreigners to invest the proceeds of their sales in English merchandize was evaded, the parliament ordained, that all such goods, now being in England, or hereafter to be imported, should be sealed and countersealed by the collector and comptroller of the subsidies of tunnage and poundage in the port of delivery, before they could be exposed to sale, on penalty of forfeiture †.—Precautions were also taken against another practice of shipping fine cloths as coarse ones, owing to the negligence of the officers of the customs, who were now ordered to examine the contents of every package. [*c. 3.*]

The parliament, finding that wool of other parts of the country was still smuggled to the Netherlands under colour of the permission to ship the wool of the northern shires from Newcastle to any foreign country, now ordained, that those northern wools shipped at Newcastle should go to Calais or New Middleburg in Flanders, and to no other place, and that all other wool, wool-fells, morlings, and shorlings, exported, except those shipped in gallies and carracks for the Mediterranean, should be carried to Calais only, on pain of felony. [*c. 5.*]

1473, June 20<sup>th</sup>—Though the bishops of Durham had for many ages enjoyed the privilege of coining sterlings, or pennies, the present bishop did not think himself fully authorized to coin halfpennies without obtaining the king's special permission, which was granted. [*Fœdera, V. xi, p. 783.*]

1474, March 31<sup>st</sup>—William Caxton, a mercer of London, being a man of great ingenuity and unwearied application, and having resided about thirty years on the continent as agent for the company of mercers of London, and in the year 1464 as one of the ambassadors sent by King Edward to the duke of Burgundy, found means to make himself master of the new art of printing. He actually undertook to print a *History of Troy*, translated by himself from the French, which he finished at Cologne in the year 1471. In the following year he returned to England with some copies of his book, and set up a press in the almonry of Westminster abbay, where he now produced the *Game at Chess*, the first book printed in England. ‘ From this time to his death, A. D. 1491, he applied with so much ardour to translating and printing, that, though he was an old man, he published about fifty books, some of

\* Was this the chequered stuff, now called *tartan*, and thought peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland?

† Formerly the penalty had been only double payment of the subsidy.

‘ them large volumes, and many of them translated by himself. How  
‘ productive is incessant labour, and how worthy are such men as Cax-  
‘ ton of a place in the history of their country \*.’

Several foreigners, probably brought over as workmen by Caxton, and also Thomas Hunt and some other Englishmen, succeeded him in the business of printing in England, which prospered so well in their hands that we shall soon see printed books an article of exportation. [*Middleton's Origin of printing in England.*]

There is no certainty of any establishment of a printing press in Scotland before the year 1507, when Walter Chepman, a merchant of Edinburgh, obtained the king's patent for himself and Andrew Myllar to carry on the business of printing †.

May—The Scottish parliament, still anxious to fill the country with money, and thinking they could command it to flow in, directed the officers of the customs to make the merchants give security, that they should bring to the mint two ounces of silver for every serplait, four ounces for a last of hides, two ounces for a last of salmon, and proportional quantities for cloth or other goods, before they should give them cockets for their exportation. [*Acts Jac. III, c. 63.*]

October—In the parliament of England the act 12 Edw. IV, c. 5, against smuggling wool was renewed: and, instead of Middleburg, the town of Byrwick in Brabant was declared the only place, besides Calais, to which the northern wools might be shipped from Newcastle, a power being however vested in the king to name any other port instead of Byrwick, upon giving three months notice. [*Acts 14 Edw. IV, c. 3.*]

December 19<sup>th</sup>—King Edward acknowledged himself indebted to the merchants of Guipuscoa in Spain in the sum of 11,000 crowns, as a compensation for damages done to them by the English: and he assigned to them half the customs payable on goods imported and exported by the merchants of Spain, till the debt should be discharged at the rate of  $3/4$  sterling for every crown. [*Fœdera, V. xi, p. 841.*]

1475, February 3<sup>d</sup>—A large ship built by James Kennedy bishop of S<sup>t</sup>. Andrews, called the *Salvator*, and also, by way of eminence, the *Bishop's barge*, as being the finest vessel hitherto built in Scotland ‡, was wrecked in March 1473 at Bamburgh, where the cargo was plundered,

\* The two last sentences are taken verbatim from Doctor Henry, *Hist. V. x, p. 203.*—See also Ames's *Hist. of printing, p. 2.*—*Middleton's Origin of printing in England.*—*Astle's Origin of writing, p. 222.*—There was a book printed at Oxford by Corfelis, a foreigner, dated mccccxviii: but Doctor Middleton, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Astle, who have bestowed much attention upon the subject of printing, are of opinion that an x must have dropt out, and that mccccxxviii is the real date of the book printed by Corfelis.

† The original patent was discovered a few years ago by Mr. William Robertson of the Register office, who made the search in order to gratify Mr. Chalmers: and the later, by mentioning it in his *Life of Ruddiman, p. 80*, has given the knowledge of it to the public.

‡ So the great ship belonging to the king of Sweden (*see p. 671*) was called the *King's barge*.

and the men made prisoners, by the people of the country \*. In the year 1474 the parliament of Scotland had ordered that redress should be demanded from the king of England; and it was now finally settled by a payment of 500 marks sterling made at Edinburgh by Lye, King Edward's agent, to the bishop of Aberdeen, as a composition to be divided among the merchants concerned. [*Acts Jac. III, c. 62.—Fœdera, V. xi, pp. 789, 820, 850.—Lest. Hist. Scot. pp. 303, 304.*] It is not improbable that the interest of the Scottish merchants was in some degree sacrificed to a marriage treaty now going on between the two kings.

February 28<sup>th</sup>—However desirable the management of the trade of the country by foreign merchants may have been in the early ages, when, if there had not been a trade of that kind, there would have been none, the English merchants of this age, who owned many good vessels, could not contentedly behold the merchants of the Hanse invested with privileges equal, in some cases superior, to those enjoyed by themselves, which, together with their extensive connections upon the continent, their mutual support, and other less justifiable means, enabled them generally to command the market. The reciprocal ill will, arising from such a state of affairs, had during many years past produced frequent disputes and many captures of vessels and other acts of open hostility on both sides. Neither was the policy of King Edward, who, in his several renewals of the privileges of the Hanse merchants, gave them very short terms, sometimes only one year †, calculated to give satisfaction, either to them, or to his own subjects.

The citizens of Lubeck, who had formerly distinguished themselves beyond their confederates by a spirit of hostility to England, had in April 1473 sent deputies to a general assembly of the representatives of the Hanse towns held at Bruges, with instructions to ratify the articles agreed upon with King Edward's commissioners. After several adjournments, three commissioners from the king, with the representatives of Lubeck, and two or three from each of the cities of Bremen, Hamburgh, Dortmund, Munster, Dantzic, Daventer, Campen, and Bruges, the secretary of the merchants of the Hanse in London, and the secretary of those in Bergen in Norway, met at Utrecht in order to settle the terms of a permanent amicable intercourse, and now concluded a treaty, in substance as follows.—All hostilities should cease, and a free intercourse by land and water should be restored.—All suits for compensation on either side should be dropt, and all injuries be buried in oblivion: no claims should be made upon vessels or other property by

\* The people of Northumberland and Durham must have been much addicted to plundering vessels: we find a complaint of the same kind brought against Lord Lumley and his vassals of Hartlepool by the citizens of Lubeck. [*Fœdera, V. xii, p. 38.*]

† Some of the grants are in the *Patent rolls of Edward IV, tert. 1, m. 18; prim. 9, m. 12; prim. 12, m. 6; sec. 14, m. 16.*

those from whom they had been taken, nor the captains of ships \* or others be liable to arrest for any by-past quarrels.—This general amnesty should be confirmed by the king and parliament † of England; and all obligations entered into by the Hanse merchants in England for compensation of damages should be cancelled.—The merchants of England might trade to Prussia and other places of the Hanse as freely as in former times, and should be charged with no customs or exactions but what had been a hundred years established; and the merchants of the Hanse should enjoy all the privileges in England granted by any of the kings to their predecessors.—The king and parliament of England, and the Hanse confederacy, by letters under the seal of the city of Lubeck, should certify, that no pretence of forfeiture of privileges on account of the late hostilities should be advanced on either side.—In civil or criminal causes, wherein the Hanse merchants might be concerned in England, the king should appoint two or more judges, who, without the formalities of law, should do speedy justice between the parties, the merchants and mariners of the Hanse being entirely exempted from the jurisdiction of the admiralty and other courts; and similar provision should be made for the easy and speedy dispensation of justice in the Hanse countries.—As part of the recompense, found due by the English to the Hansards, the king should convey to them the absolute property of the court-yard called the *Staelboef* or *Steelyard* ‡ with the buildings adhering to it, extending to the *Teutonic gildhall* in London, and also a court-yard called the *Staelboef* or *Steelyard* in Boston, and a proper house for their accommodation, near the water, in Lynne §, they becoming bound to bear all the burthens for pious purposes, to which the *Staelboef* was made liable by antient foundation, or the bequests of the faithful ||, and having full power to pull down and rebuild, as they might

\* ‘Capitanei navium.’—This is the first time I find the commanders of vessels called *captains* in any English record. For an example of it in a Barcelona record of the year 1331 see above p. 507.

† The precaution of demanding the sanction of parliament, which occurs several times in this treaty, shows that foreigners did not now think the king's patent of itself a sufficient security.

‡ Kilian, in his *Etymologicum Teutonice lingue*, explains *Stael-boef* to be the place where dyed cloths are sealed with the *stael loot* (seal of lead). Quere, if the English word *steelyard* be not rather a corrupt translation of the same name than any way connected with steel?—Kilian finished his work in 1598.

§ In the transactions of the year 1412 we find the merchants of the Hanse settled at Boston, and apparently at Lynne. Quere, if the rich merchants plundered at Bolton in 1288, whose opulence was undoubtedly much exaggerated, were of the Hanse?—The grants to the Hanse merchants for

their tenements in Windgoose lane in London, and for their place in Lynne, appear in *Rot. pat.* 15 *Edw IV*, *prim. m.* 6, and *sec. m.* 12.

|| The *Steelyard* (*Staelboef*) and the *Teutonic gildhall* have been supposed by Hakluyt and others to be different names of the same building; and thence the appellation of *merchants of the Steelyard* has been used as synonymous with *merchants of the Teutonic gildhall* and *merchants of the Hanse*, but improperly till after this time, as appears from this treaty.—Stow [*Survey*, p. 433, ed. 1618] says, that a great house called the *Steel-house*, near the *Teutonic gildhall*, (though he seems to confound them a few paragraphs higher) was given to the city as a fund for deeds of piety, and that it was confirmed to the merchants of the *Teutonic gildhall* by the king and parliament in the 15<sup>th</sup> year of Edward IV for a rent of £70 : 3 : 4, payable to the city. But no parliament of that year appears in the statute books, nor in Cotton's Abridgement of the records of parliament, nor in Stow's own Annals. There was, indeed, in that year an explanation

find convenient.—After discussing the claims for pillages of ships and cargoes and other outrages committed on both sides, the sum of £15,000 sterling was found due, as a balance of compensation, from the English to the Hansards, besides the above-mentioned houses: but in consideration of the protection against suits for by-past grievances assured to them by the king, they agreed to reduce the sum to £10,000, and to receive the payment in the customs falling due on their subsequent imports and exports\*.—If any city should be dismembered from the association of the Hanse, the king, upon receiving due intimation, should put the merchants of that city upon a footing with other foreigners, till he should be duly certified that they were re-admitted into the association.—The city of London should be bound by the present treaty in transactions with the Hanse merchants, whose ancient privileges should not be impaired by any later grants made to the city; and the Hanse merchants should still have the keeping of Bishopsgate, as formerly.—The king should oblige the public weighers and measurers to do justice between the buyers and sellers; and he should prevent vexatious delays at the custom-house, and the repeated opening of the packages containing federatures and other pretious furs and merchandize, (after being sealed, as having paid the customs) at Canterbury, Rochester, Gravesend, and elsewhere, and should abolish the exaction of prince-money and some other unlawful charges.—Wrecked vessels should be preserved for their owners on the usual conditions.—The king should make diligent provision against defects in the length or breadth of cloths, or in the quality of the wool.—The merchants of the Hanse, after giving security to abide the law in such cases as their property used to be arrested for, should have perfect liberty of selling their goods as they pleased, and of retailing Rhenish wine, according to ancient usage: neither should the mayor of London claim a portion of their salt, as he used to do. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, pp. 544, 645, 739, 765, 779, 780, 793.—*Cotton's Abridgement*, p. 692.]

June 6<sup>th</sup>—The commercial and political dignity of the family of Medici was now supported by Lorenzo the Magnificent, the grandson of Cosmo. King Edward, who was perpetually in want of money, had now borrowed £5,000 from him and his brother Giuliano, together with Thomas Portunary, and others, stiled merchants of Florence, probably agents of the Medici, for which, as usual, he gave an assignment

emphatication of an act of the 12<sup>th</sup> parliament of Edward IV, concerning the merchants of the Hanse in London, [*Rot. pat. prim. 15 Edw. IV, mm. 16, 17*] which is perhaps what Stow alludes to: and the sum, mentioned by him as *rent*, was apparently a composition for the pious payments to be made out of the tenements, for which the magistrates of London were trustees.

\* This mode of payment was even introduced in the king's private transactions. In 1482 he bought jewels from some merchants of Genoa, who were to receive their payment in the same way. [*Rymer's Unpublished records, Edw. IV, Vol. iii, no. 102.*] He died soon after, and it depended on the pleasure of his successors, whether the Genoese were paid or not.

upon the customs to fall due\*. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, pp. 7, 9.] Though we possess ample notices of Lorenzo's munificence in patronizing the arts and literature, and of his political negotiations, in all which his fame has even transcended that of his grandfather, yet very little knowledge of his commercial transactions has been transmitted by the writers of the age: and we are indebted to our own public records for some of the most important of them that are known to us †.

This year Caffa, the chief settlement of the Genoese in the Black sea, was taken by the Turks ‡. The trade of the Genoese, already declining, was reduced very low by the loss of all their eastern possessions; and their state being also convulsed by internal discord, they were obliged to court the protection, or submit to the dominion, of their more powerful neighbours. [*Uberti Folietæ Hist. Gen. f. 243 b.—De Guignes, Hist. des Hunes, V. iii, p. 378.*]

1476, July 10<sup>th</sup>—King Edward favoured all the merchants of Italy with an exemption from most of the additional duties, imposed upon the persons and the trade of foreigners by the acts of 31 Henry VI and 3 Edward IV, reducing the duty payable by them on wool from 66/8 to 53/4, and that on tin from 2*s* to 1*s* 3/4. [*Rymer's MS. records, Edw. IV, Vol. iii, p. 55.*]

November 6<sup>th</sup>—We have seen the citizens of Cologne in friendship with England, when all the other members of the Hanse association were hostile, or at least unfriendly: and they alone enjoyed the privileges of the Hanse in England, though for very short terms, subject to the trouble and expense of frequent renewals||. In consequence of that distinction they had either withdrawn themselves, or been expelled, from the confederacy. But now that all the Hanse towns were in friendship with England, Cologne was again received into the association; and, agreeable to the treaty, due notice of the re-admission was sent to King Edward by the magistrates of Lubeck in the name of the whole Teutonic Hanse ¶. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 36.]

At this time, and perhaps long before, the Hanse towns were divided into four regions or classes, according to the following arrangement.

LUBECK, by general consent, was placed at the head of the whole confederacy, and invested with authority to convoke assemblies of the

\* The grant is nearly a copy of those formerly given to Camzian, an agent of Cosmo de Medici, abridged in the note in p. 677.

† We shall afterwards see a proof of the great and extensive credit of the bank known by the family name of Medici, at the head of which Lorenzo undoubtedly was.

‡ The inhabitants of Kubeschah, a village among the mountains of Derhend, who call themselves Franks, are supposed to be descended from the Genoese of Caffa.

§ This indulgence was repeatedly renewed, par-

ticularly by Edward IV in December 1482, and by Richard III in January 1485. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 255.]

|| Their privileges were generally for only one year, agreeable to the rule followed by King Edward. [*Rot. pat. Edw. IV, prim. 11, m. 13; sec. 12, m. 17; prim. 14, mm. 10, 14, 16.*]

¶ Bertius [*Reer. Germ. L. iii, p. 25*] dates this re-admission of Cologne (which he inadvertently supposes the original accession of that city to the confederacy) in the year MCCCCLXXXI, whereas LXXXI is evidently a mistake for LXXVI.

neighbouring cities, and there the archives of the Hanse are preserved. To this city, as the more immediate head of the first division, there were annexed

Hamburgh,	Lunenburg,	Gripswald,
Rostock,	Stettin,	Colberg,
Wismar,	Anclam,	Stargard, and
Strålsund,	Golnaw,	Stolpe.

COLOGNE was the chief city of the second region, in which were comprehended

Wesel,	Hervorden,	Venlo,
Duesburg,	Paderborn,	Elburg,
Emmerich,	Lemgow,	Harderwick,
Warburg,	Bilefeld,	Daventer,
Unna,	Lipstadt,	Campen,
Ham,	Coesfeld,	Swolle,
Munster,	Nimeguen	Groningen,
Osnaburg,	Zutphen,	Bolswert,
Dortmund,	Ruremond,	and
Soest,	Arnheim,	Stavern.

BRUNSWICK, the capital of the third region, had under its jurisdiction

Magdeburg,	Hildesheim,	Stade,
Goslar,	Hanover,	Bremen,
Einbeck,	Ulsa,	Hamelen, and
Gottingen,	Buxtehude,	Minden.

DANTZIK, the chief city of Prussia, was at the head of the fourth region, consisting of

Koningsberg,	Brunsbereg,	and also sundry towns in
Colmar,	Riga,	Slavonia.
Thorn,	Dorpt,	
Elbing,	Reval,	

There were also some cities, whose right to the privileges of the Hanseatic association was controverted, viz.

Stendale,	Breslaw,	Halberstadt,
Soltwedale,	Cracow,	Helmstadt,
Berlin,	Hall,	Ryla,
Brandenburg,	Aschersleben,	Nordheim, and
Frankfort on the Oder,	Quedlinburg,	Dinant*.

The four chief factories of the Hanse merchants were established at NOVOGROD in Russia, LONDON in England, probably the most antient as well as the most important of the whole, BRUGES in Flanders, and BERGEN in Norway. All the merchants of every one of the Hanse towns had a right to trade to those factories, and to enjoy all the privileges obtained from the sovereigns of the countries, conforming to the regulations enacted for the general good of the whole confederacy †.

\* Dinant was at this time in ruins, but afterwards revived. Werdenhagen extends the number of cities of this description to forty-four, among which are Lisbon and Stockholm.

† These lists and other notices are taken from Bertius, who wrote a book upon the cities of Ger-

many, which is sometimes followed by Werdenhagen, the professed historian of the Hanse republics. But, though accuracy and unquestionable authenticity might be expected from the records preserved at Lubeck, such is, notwithstanding, the uncertainty of Hanseatic history, that of the lists

This year, or perhaps a little earlier, Louis XI king of France established posts for the speedy conveyance of letters; an institution apparently unknown in that country ever since it became independent of the Roman dominion. But those posts were not intended for the accommodation of merchants, or the public, but only for the king's own service. [*Comines, L. v, c. 10.*]

1477, August—The duke of Burgundy, unwilling that his subjects should suffer by the loss of any of their commercial connections, had written to Scotland, expressing his wish for a renewal of the alliance entered into by that kingdom with his predecessors. The parliament of Scotland, in return, ordered an embassy to be sent to the duke at the expense of the burghs, in order to renew the alliance, endeavour to obtain some additional privileges for the merchants, and ask redress for damages sustained. [*Acts, Jac. III, c. 90.*]

Provisions being very scarce in Scotland, and the supply depending chiefly upon importation, the foreign merchants, importing corn and other lawful merchandize, were assured, that they should find an honourable reception and favourable treatment, and that they should not be harassed with new impositions and arrestments, which, it was acknowledged, had lately prevented them from continuing the trade; that, as soon as their cargo was entered at the tolbooth (custom-house), the king and the lords of the council should be first served, at the price fixed with the merchants, and the remainder should be sold to the public with perfect freedom. [*c. 91.*]

The Scottish curers of salmon having diminished their barrels, whereby the reputation of the article in foreign countries was impaired, they were strictly enjoined to use no barrels smaller than the old assise of Hamburgh\*. [*c. 95.*]

1478, January—There had been many abuses committed in the courts of piepoudres held at the fairs in England, chiefly by the avarice and injustice of the stewards, bailiffs, and others, whose province it was to hold the courts and administer impartial justice in all cases arising during the continuance, and within the jurisdiction, of the fairs, but who took cognizance of contracts and trespasses unconnected with the fairs, and frequently having no foundation in truth. These enormities pre-

given by Bertius, Werdenhagen, John Cluverius (who copies from Huitfield's Chronicle, a book I have not been able to find) and the writer of an essay on the Hanseatic confederacy in the second volume of the *Respublica Germanica*, no two agree in the names or numbers of the towns. The last-mentioned author (who got his materials from Henry Suderman, ambassador from the Hanse confederacy to Holland, England, and various parts of the empire between the years 1550 and 1590) says, that it clearly appears from the charter of Henry III king of England, dated in the year

1206, that seventy-two cities were then comprehended in the Hanse confederacy. [*Resp. Germ. V. ii, pp. 366, 370.*] But that charter, dated before Henry was born, is evidently spurious. We have already seen, that Henry's charter to the merchants of the Teutonic gildhall is dated in 1259.—Where is any charter of 1206 to be seen?

\* The measure is explained in an act of a subsequent parliament [*c. 131*] to be fourteen gallons. By the regulation of measures enacted in the reign of James I, [*c. 80*] the gallon measure contained 328 ounces of clear river water.

vented merchants from attending the fairs, whereby the people of the country were deprived of the convenience of purchasing goods, and the lords of the fairs lost their customary profits. It was therefor enacted, that in such cases the plaintiffs should swear, that their causes originated in the time of the fair and within the jurisdiction of it. [*Acts 17 Edw. IV, c. 2.*]

Tile-makers were required to have their tiles sufficiently wrought, well whited and anealed, and of standard dimensions. [*c. 4.*]

March 5<sup>th</sup>—King Edward renewed the antient friendship and free commercial intercourse with Friseland, which had been interrupted. [*Fædera, V. xii, p. 51.*]

May 3<sup>d</sup>—In this age it was customary for sovereigns to be concerned in merchandize. We have seen a great ship, belonging to the king of Sweden, in England in the year 1455. The king of Naples had a galeasse now in Southampton, the commander of which obtained King Edward's protection for himself and his vessel from arrest for any debt or transgression. The king of Scotland was owner of at least one vessel, a carvel, which was taken at Cadfant in Flanders by a vessel belonging to the duke of Gloucester, for which King Edward ordered his ambassador Lye to promise reparation. But King Edward went beyond all the contemporary sovereigns in commercial transactions: he owned several vessels \*, and, like a man whose living depended upon his merchandize, exported the finest wool, cloth, tin, and the other commodities of the kingdom, to Italy and Greece, and imported their produce in return, by the agency of factors, or supercargoes. [*See above, p. 671.—Fædera, V. xii, p. 59.—MS. Cott. Vesp. C. xvi, ff. 119, 120.—Hist. Croyl. p. 559.*] But the trade of these royal merchants, when they carried it to a great extent, as King Edward actually did, must have been very oppressive and ruinous to the real merchants, who could not possibly compete with rivals, who paid no customs, and had the national force to assist and protect their trading speculations.

June 1<sup>st</sup>—Agreeable to the treaty between England and the Hanse towns, notice was given, under the seal of Lubeck, that the citizens of Colberg had desired to withdraw from the confederacy. [*Fædera, V. xii, pp. 60, 91.*]

July 12<sup>th</sup>—The treaty of thirty years, entered into with the duke of Burgundy in 1467, was now renewed, and declared perpetual. In addition to the articles of the former treaty, it was stipulated, that the merchants of England should be at liberty to carry the gold or silver, acquired by them in countries not subject to Burgundy, through the

\* He took from William Canynge of Bristol 2,470 tons of shipping, as already observed in a note under the year 1450. A list of six vessels, called *the king's ships*, appears in the year 1481. [*Fædera, V. xii, p. 139.*] But as they were to

be fitted out for an invasion of Scotland, it is doubtful, whether they had been all employed in trade, or were built on purpose for war, as those now called *king's ships* are.

Burgundian territories, and the subjects of Burgundy should have similar liberty in England:—that the court-master of the English merchants should not presume to fix the prices to be paid for goods at the fairs of Antwerp or any other place in the dominions of Burgundy, or to make ordinances against buying from the inhabitants of any town or any individual, or against buying till near the end of the fair, by which the sellers, tired out with attendance, had formerly been obliged to let their goods go at an under-value; neither should they use different weights in buying and selling, as they had formerly done:—in case of any English merchant being injured by a Netherlander, no other Netherland merchant should be liable to be arrested or injured on that account. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 67.]

At the same time the commissioners made many regulations, respecting the recovery of debts, and against frauds in the package, shipping, and sale of wool. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 76.]

October 22<sup>d</sup>—King Edward followed the example of his predecessor in infringing the act of parliament respecting the staple of Bergen, and the treaty with Denmark, which had recently been renewed, as appears by two licences to Robert and Thomas Alcock, authorizing each of them to employ a ship of 240 tuns in carrying goods, not belonging to the staple, to Iceland, and trading for fish or any other commodities of that island, during a year. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, pp. 57, 94.]

1479, February 14<sup>th</sup>—In the year 1475 King Edward landed with an army in France, having previously promised to give some provinces of that kingdom to the duke of Burgundy for his assistance in the conquest of it. But ‘Lewis the XI, being a very wise prince and philosopher ‘above the common sort\*,’ diverted the threatened calamity from his kingdom, without the effusion of any blood but that of the grape, by agreeing to give Edward a present payment of 75,000 ecus (scutes or crowns), 50,000 more as a ransom for Margaret the widow of King Henry VI, and an annual pension of 50,000 for life †. Neither was he sparing of entertainments, presents, and pensions, to Edward’s counsellors, nor neglectful of his soldiers, whom he gratified by a present of 300 cart-loads of wine. The king of France paid the annuity very regularly for several years, and now even entered into a new treaty, whereby he bound his successors to continue the same payment during one hundred years after the decease of himself or Edward, whichever of them

\* These are the words of Rymer in his dedication of the eleventh volume of the *Fœdera* to Queen Anne.

† The following rates of currency for the coins of England, as settled by the commissioners of the two countries in January 1480 may be useful for understanding some of the transactions of the age.

English rose noble	£3	5	0	French money.
angel	2	3	4	
silver groat	0	2	6	

Old ecu of France 0 4 2 English.

new ecu of the sun 0 4 3½

great groat 0 0 4½

[*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 115.]

There were two commissions in 1474 and 1478 for settling the rates of the money of England and that of the Burgundian dominions. But the settlements do not appear. [*Rymer’s MS. records*, *Edw. IV*, Vol. ii, no. 117; Vol. iii, no. 28.]

should die first. What connects this singular transaction with commercial history, is the proof it furnishes of the great reputation of the commercial house of Medici, it being expressly stipulated in the treaty, that the king of France should engage the partners of the bank of Medici to become bound for the faithful and regular performance of the agreement on the part of himself and his heirs\*. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, pp. 804 *et seqq*; V. xii, p. 101.] In the year 1487 a house of the Medici in Naples, apparently a branch of this bank, paid a bill drawn by Marchioni, a Florentine in Portugal, to Covillan, the Portuguese traveler and discoverer of India. [*Purchas*, B. vii, c. 5, § 15.]

1480, September 16<sup>th</sup>—Whatever doubt there may be respecting the sheep sent from England to Spain in the reign of Edward IV, there can be no doubt that that prince now gave permission to his sister, the duchess dowager of Burgundy, and her assigns, to transport one thousand oxen † and *two thousand rams* out of the kingdom *every year, as long as she should live*, without even paying any custom. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 137.] Thus it plainly appears, that Edward III and Edward IV had little or no apprehension of any bad consequence from the breed of English sheep being naturalized on the continent: and it may be believed, that neither the duchess, who well understood, and keenly pursued, her own interest, nor the sagacious Netherlanders acting under her assignment, allowed the grant to lie dormant during the reigns of her two brothers. Her enemy Henry VII, we may be assured, would put an end to her exportation as soon as he got the power.

1481, February 15<sup>th</sup>—A war with Scotland brought into action the greatest *royal navy*, hitherto known to have existed in England since the Norman conquest, as appears by orders addressed to eleven naval commanders to press mariners for manning their vessels, *six* of which are distinguished as king's ships. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 139.]

It was in this war that King Edward introduced an establishment of riders with post horses, to be changed at every twenty miles, who, by handing letters from one to another, in two days forwarded them two hundred miles, apparently the farthest extent of the establishment ‡. [*Hist. Croyl. ap. Gale*, p. 571.] This improved mode of conveyance, like that in France from which it was copied, had no connection with commerce or public accommodation, unless it may be considered as the first rudiments of an establishment, which, when properly extended, might

\* The Medici were to give their bond to King Edward within eighteen months. But as he very soon after made an alliance with Burgundy against France, it is probable that the bond was never executed. The stipulation in this treaty, so illustrative of the commercial splendour of the house of Medici, has escaped the attention of Valori, Bruni, Tenhove, Roscoe, Noble, and Clayton, the

historians of the Medici, and, if I mistake not, of all other historians.

† 'Mille boves.' This latin word comprehends bulls and cows as well as oxen.

‡ We find an order of the Scottish parliament in April 1481 for expediting couriers to every part of the kingdom; but it does not express, whether they had the changes of horses, without which rapid conveyance is impracticable.

become one of the greatest and most essential accommodations, that ever was given to commercial and friendly intercourse.

The Portuguese still prosecuting their discoveries along the west coast of Africa, which too often degenerated into voyages of piracy and slave-hunting, this year built the fort of St. George de la Mina in 5° north latitude: and soon after the king of Portugal assumed the title of *lord of Guinea*. [*Barros, Dec. i, L. iii, c. 1.—Fœdera, V. xii, p. 380.*]

1482, January—The parliament ordained the following standard measures and regulations for fish cured for sale.—Salmon to be packed in butts of 84 gallons, barrels of 42, and half barrels of 21.—Herrings in barrels of 32 gallons, half barrels, and firkins (quarters) in proportion.—Eels in barrels of 42 gallons, half barrels and firkins in proportion.—Merchantable salmon were to measure 26 inches at least from the bone of the fin to the third joint in the tail, and to be split open and freed from the bone as low as the navel. Grils (small salmon) were to be packed by themselves; and thokes (broken-bellied salmon) were not to be packed with sizeable or sound fish.—The herrings in a barrel were required to be all caught at one time, salted at one time, and to be as good, and as well packed, in the middle of the cask as at the ends.—No gall-beaten, starved, or pulled, eels, or red eels, were to be packed with good eels.—The magistrates of towns were required to appoint sufficient inspectors to examine the quality and measure of fish. [*Acts 22 Edw. IV, c. 2.*]

The act prohibiting the importation of several kinds of silk goods being no longer in force, such an inundation of corsets, ribands, laces, call silk, and Coleyn silk, poured into the country, that all the English makers of such goods, men as well as women, were thrown idle; a clear proof that the English goods were still of inferior quality. The parliament, in consideration of their distress, prohibited the importation of all such goods for four years. [*c. 3.*]

Machinery was so far improved in England, that hats, bonnets, and caps, were thickened and fulled by mills. This abridgement of labour gave such an alarm to those engaged in the old method of thickening them by the action of the hands and feet\*, that they petitioned parliament to prohibit the use of the mills, which, they alleged, deprived them of employment, and broke the fabric of the hats, &c. The parliament indulged them so far as to forbid the use of the mills for two years. [*c. 5.*] This is, I believe, the first known instance of an opposition to the improvement of manufactures by machinery in England, which has regularly ever since risen up against the introduction of every succeeding improvement tending to make goods cheaper by abridging labour. Upon the same principle corn ought not to be ground by water

\* Apparently the same method, which is described by Martin about a century ago, and by Pennant in our own days, as still practised by the

female manufacturers of the Western islands and Highlands of Scotland.

or wind mills, but only by hand mills, corn fields ought to be dug rather than ploughed, heavy loads ought to be carried by men rather than drawn by horses in carts or waggons, and all canals ought to be destroyed.

March 9<sup>th</sup>—King Edward entered into a treaty with the inhabitants of Guipuscoa in Spain \* (they having the consent of their sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella) wherein, besides mutual freedom of trade, and security to be given for the friendly conduct of vessels on both sides before their sailing, it was stipulated, that, in case of letters of reprisal being issued by the kings of England or Spain, the Guipuscoans should not be injured by the English cruisers, and they should permit no Spanish letters of reprisal against the English to be put in force in their province. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 148.]

August 4<sup>th</sup>—When King Edward was preparing for an invasion of France in the year 1474, he concluded a treaty with James king of Scotland for a marriage of their infant children; and so desirous was he of being on friendly terms with that prince, that he agreed to pay his daughter's portion by installments to commence immediately, and actually made several payments. It was, however, stipulated, that, if the marriage should not be accomplished, the money advanced should be restored. A new system of politics having induced Edward to break with Scotland, the provost, fellowship of merchants, and community, of Edinburgh †, in consequence of his declaration, that he did not chuse to complete the marriage, now bound themselves and all their property, at home or abroad, for the return of the money. [*Fœdera*, V. xi, p. 824; V. xii, pp. 161, 165, 167.] It was probably this large and patriotic payment made by the citizens, that induced the contemporary historian of Croyland [*ap. Gale*, p. 562] to call Edinburgh a very opulent town. But, though the merchants were evidently engaged in foreign trade, and had property consigned in foreign countries, its opulence was probably much inferior to that of some of the maritime villages (or burghs of barony) at no great distance from it in the present day. From this time, however, Edinburgh continued to improve with a slow, but gradual progress till the year 1603, when it lost the advantages flowing from the presence of the sovereign.

September 12<sup>th</sup>—King Edward confirmed the existing treaty, or truce, with the king of Portugal. The Portuguese ambassadors requested him to prohibit John Tintam and William Fabian, who were fitting out ships, at the desire of the Spanish duke of Medina Sidonia, for the coast of Guinea, from proceeding on the voyage, as their sovereign, the lord of

\* We have already seen an instance in the year 1351 of the people of the north coast of Spain entering into a treaty for themselves.

† In the obligation, &c. the chief magistrate of

Edinburgh is called *provost* as at present, and not alderman as in the earlier ages. The *fellowship of merchants* is now called the *merchant company*.

that country, reserved the trade of it for his own subjects: and he granted all they required of him\*.

December—The parliament of Scotland ordered, that no corrupted or mixed wine should be imported or sold in the kingdom; and they prohibited all mixture of wine or beer, under pain of death. [*Acts Jac. III, c. 89* †.] This act merits notice chiefly as containing, perhaps, the earliest extant notice of *beer* in Scotland.

1483, April 24<sup>th</sup>—The only matter worth notice, any way connected with commerce, which occurs in the very short reign of Edward V, is a renewal for one year to Robert Alcock, merchant of Kingston upon Hull, of the permission to trade to Iceland with a ship, which he is now allowed to have as large as 250 tuns ‡. [*Fœdera, V. xii, p. 180.*]

1484, January—In the only parliament of King Richard III grievous complaints were made of the many frauds introduced in the clothing trade. What they were, will appear from the following regulations and prohibitions.—*Whole cloths* were now to measure only 24 yards in length by the fold, and to be two yards broad. *Half cloths* to be of the same breadth, and run from 12 to 16 yards. The buyer to allow for any measure above 24 yards in whole cloths, or 12 in half cloths §. Cloths called *streits*, 12 yards long and 1 yard broad. Kerseys, 18 yards long,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  yard broad. One inch was to be given in addition to every yard: the cloths were to measure the required breadth within the lists, and to have the same breadth and goodness throughout the whole piece. Cloths not made according to law were to be cut asunder, and the owner of them was to be fined. Seals of lead, stamped on one side with the arms of England, and on the other with the arms of the town or name of the county wherein the cloth was made, should be affixed to every cloth by aulnegers of sufficient skill and reputation. No cloths should be offered to sale, or be exported, without being fully watered; and no cloth should be drawn in length or breadth after being fully watered ||. No flocks or other deceitful material should be put in cloth; neither should chalk be put upon white cloths or kerseys. No cloth should be sheared or cancelled before being fully watered. Tenters for stretching cloths should not be set up within houses, but in open places. The practice of exporting picked wool to the Mediterranean and leaving the locks and

\* This transaction, of which I see no traces in any accessible English record, is transcribed from the Portuguese historian Garcias de Resende by Hakluyt. [*Voyages, V. ii, part ii, p. 2.*] According to Doctor Campbell, [*Pol. Survey, V. ii, p. 626*] some say, that Tintam and Fabian actually accomplished the voyage, and were great gainers by it. But, though he is generally very copious in quotations, he has not given us the name of any one narrator of that voyage.

† As numbered by Murray. This act and two

others, passed in December 1482, are published by Murray, but do not appear in the edition of 1566.

‡ It is probable that Alcock had got annual renewals ever since 1478.

§ Surely it would have been much better to say, that the cloth should be sold at so much a-yard.

|| The complainers alleged, that it was common to draw a cloth of 24 yards out to 30, and from 7 quarters to 8 in the breadth.

other refuse at home, being found prejudicial to the finer branches of the manufacture, was prohibited; and the exporters were obliged to take the whole fleece as it was clipped. No orchel or cork of the kind called jarecork should be used in dying woollen cloths; but woaded wool and cloth made of wool only, if they were perfectly boiled and madered, might be dyed with English cork. The practice of fastening rushes upon the list, in order to make cloth dyed in the piece appear as if dyed in the wool, was prohibited. To all these prohibitions suitable penalties were attached.—From the operation of the act the parliament exempted cloths called *ray*, and cloths made in Winchester and Salisbury usually joined with ray; cloths called *vervise*, *plonkets*, *turkins*, or *celestrines*, with broad lists; *packing whites*; *vestes*; *cogware*; *worsted*s; *florences* with cremil lists, broad lists, or small lists; *bastards*; *kendals*; and *frise ware* \*. [Acts 1 Ric. III, c. 8.]

The merchants of Italy, including the Catalans †, were accused of keeping houses, warehouses, and cellars, in London and other places, in which they packed and mixed their goods, and kept them till they got great prices for them; they sold by retail; they bought English commodities, and sold them again in England; and they sent part of the money arising from their sales to their own country by exchange; they received other foreigners to lodge in their houses, and made secret bargains with them; they bought up wool, and sold part of it again to the king's subjects, and employed people to make part of it into cloth on their account; foreign artificers with their families resorted to London and other parts of England in greater numbers than formerly, and they engaged in the manufacture of cloth and other easy handicraft occupations, and also in the business of importing foreign goods and selling them by retail in fairs and markets; but they declined the more laborious occupations of ploughing and carting ‡; they employed none but their own country people as workmen and servants, whereby the king's subjects were driven into idleness, beggary, and vice; and, after making fortunes in England, they retired to other countries to enjoy them.—In order to remedy those evils, the parliament enacted, that all Italian merchants, including Catalans, not being denizens, should sell the goods they had now in England, and invest the whole proceeds, their reasonable expenses excepted, in English commodities, before the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1485; all goods arriving after Easter 1484 should be sold within eight

\* There was an ordinance for the length and breadth of cloths during the short reign of Edward V, [Rymer's MS. records, Edw. V], which was probably the foundation of this act. The enumeration of names in it, now mostly obsolete, will not be thought useless by those who wish to trace the progress of the manufacture, and may afford some assistance to antiquarian research.

† The English in those days used to include all

the people bordering on the Mediterranean under the name of Italians.

‡ To foreigners England is indebted for the degree of perfection, which the boiled woollen manufacture has attained. Several protections for foreign woollen manufacturers had been given by Edward IV. Surely, if ploughmen or carters had come from the continent, there would have been as much reason for an outcry against them.

months after their arrival, and all goods unfold at the end of eight months should be carried abroad within two months more, unless prevented by the weather, on pain of forfeiture\*. They were allowed to remove the goods imported by them from one place to another within the eight months. They might take their own countrymen to lodge with them, but no others. They were prohibited from selling woollen cloth in England, and from employing people to convert wool into cloth for their account; and they were enjoined to carry all the cloth and wool bought by them to countries within the Mediterranean. Foreigners were also prohibited from exercising any handicraft occupation in England, except as servants to English masters; and they were particularly debarred from having any concern in the clothing trade. Foreign artificers or handicraftsmen were obliged to sell their wares by wholesale only, and only in the place of their residence; and they were not to have any apprentices or servants but natives of England, except their own children †. —A dawning attention to the interest of literature suggested an exemption from the rigour of this act in favour of the importers of books written or printed, and the writers, illuminers, and printers of books. [c. 9.]

The prohibition of the importation of many foreign articles, first enacted in the year 1463, and continued for four years in 1482, was now extended to ten years. And, at the request of the girdlers, point-makers, pinner, purfers, glovers, cutlers, blade-smiths, blacksmiths, spurriers, gold-beaters, painters, saddlers, lorimers ‡, founders, card-makers, hurers †, wire-mongers, weavers, horners, bottle-makers, and copper-smiths, the parliament prohibited the importation of all kinds of girdles, points, laces, leather purses, pouches, pins, gloves, knives, hangers, tailors' sheers, scissors, andirons, cobbards, tongs, fire-forks, gridirons, stock locks, keys, hinges and garnets, spurs, painted glasses, painted papers, painted forciers, painted images, painted cloths, beaten gold or beaten silver wrought in papers for painters, saddles, saddle-trees, horse-harnes, boots, bits, stirrups, buckles, chains, latten nails with iron shanks, turnets, standing candlesticks, hanging candlesticks, holy-water stopps §, chafing-dishes, hanging lavers, curtain rings, cards for wool (those of Rouen excepted), clasps for gowns, buckles for shoes, broches, bells (those for hawks excepted), tin and leaden spoons, wire of latten and iron, candle-

\* Eight, or probably rather in reality ten, or even twelve, months, when compared with forty days, the time formerly limited, may be reckoned a liberal allowance. The time, now shortened, does not seem to have been enjoyed by any law, but only in virtue of that silent repeal, which permits laws of evident absurdity to sink quietly into oblivion.

† This sentence is contradictory to a preceding one, which allows no foreign handicraftsmen at all.

But it is obscurely expressed; and the prohibition was perhaps restricted to those who should arrive after Easter 1484.

‡‡ *Lorimers*, makers of bits, spurs, &c. I know not, what kind of trade *hurers* followed, unless they were workers in hair: *Hure* is hair in North-country dialect. [*Coles's Dict.*]

§ Probably rather *stoups*, deep vessels with handles for carrying liquids.

flicks, grates, horns for lanterns, or any article pertaining to any of the crafts above mentioned. [cc. 10, 12.]

The bowyers also complained of a ' seditious confederacy of the Lombards,' who had raised bow-staves from 40*s* to £8 a hundred, and obliged them to take the good and bad together without garbling. It was therefor enacted, that no Venetian or other merchant should be permitted to import merchandize without bringing ten good bow-staves for every butt of malmsey or tyre, and that bow-staves should be garbled, and sold only to natives of the king's dominions. [c. 11.]

It was represented in parliament, that till about the year 1450 malmsey wine (apparently in consequence of a glutted importation) used to be sold from 50*s* to 53¼ per butt, running from 126 to 140 gallons, the payment being made, two thirds in cloth, and one third in money; but now, by the *subtilty* of the sellers who were *rade denizens*, the importation was so proportioned to the demand, that the butt, running only about 108 gallons, sold for £5 : 6 : 8, paid all in money. The parliament (without interfering with the price) enacted, that no malmsey should be imported in butts smaller than 126 gallons, nor any wine or oil in casks smaller than the standard measures\* ; and in case of defective measure they only obliged the feller to allow for it to the buyer. They also renewed the law for gauging all casks of wine or oil imported, before they should be sold. [c. 13.]

Of fifteen acts, passed in the only parliament assembled in the reign of Richard III, there were seven † for the regulation of commerce and manufactures, of the condition of which they exhibit a pretty good view, and also of the situation of foreigners trading to, or residing in, England, which, though to us it appears hampered with ungenerous, impolitic, or unavailing, restrictions, was much ameliorated in comparison of what it had formerly been.

All the laws of England prior to this session of parliament were written in barbarous Latin or French, and laterly most of them in a jargon compounded of English and French, but all unintelligible to the great bulk of the people, whose lives and properties were to be disposed of by them. This parliament first gave the people of England laws in their own language; and ever since mongrel Latin and French have been discarded from the acts of parliament. Richard's acts were also the first that were printed.

February 21<sup>st</sup>—King Richard gave the magistrates of Kingston upon Hull permission to export and import all kinds of goods, wool and wool-fells excepted, and out of the customs of them to retain £60 annually for twenty years, to be applied for the support of the harbour and other public expenditure of the town. [*Fadera*, V. xii, p. 213.]

\* They are particularized in the act, and are already inserted from the *act 2 Hen. VI, c. 11*.

† One of them [c. 6] was a perpetuation of the law of Edward IV respecting courts of piepoudre.

February—The parliament of Scotland prohibited for two years the exportation of tallow, and hides, salted, dried, or barked. [*Acts Jac. III, c. 115.*]

Martin Behem of Nurenberg, after having resided about twenty years in his island of Fayal, one of the Azores, is said to have this year applied to John II king of Portugal for the means of undertaking extensive discoveries. Having obtained some vessels, he discovered Brazil, and ranged along the coast as far as the strait since known by the name of Magalhães, or Magellan. But this discovery is not so well authenticated as we could wish so important an event to be\*.

The same Martin, in conjunction with Rodrigo and Joseph, two Jewish physicians in the service of king John, first applied the astrolabe, hitherto used only by astronomers †, to observations of the sun's altitude at sea, and composed *tables of declination* for ascertaining the latitude. [*Purchas's Pilgrimes, B. ii, § 3.*] Before these improvements were introduced in navigation, seamen must have had very little confidence in their *conjectures* of their position.

1485, June 4<sup>th</sup>—As some English merchants *intended* to trade to foreign countries, and especially Italy, with their own or chartered vessels and their merchandize, King Richard, observing from the practice of other nations the advantage of having a magistrate appointed for settling disputes among them, and also understanding that the city of Pisa was most convenient for the residence of the English merchants, he, at the request of the merchants trading, or intending to trade, to Pisa and the adjacent countries, appointed Lorenzo Strozzi, a merchant of Florence, to be consul of the English merchants in those countries, and delegated to him the power of hearing, and summarily determining, all disputes between English subjects in those parts, and doing all other things pertaining to the office of a consul, with a right to receive one and a quarter per cent on all the sales and purchases of the English in the city and port of Pisa ‡. [*Fœdera, V. xii, p. 270.*] This was pretty certainly the

\* Mr. Otto [*Amer. Phil. transact. V. ii, p. 268*] says, that this discovery is authenticated by Martin's own letters dated in 1486, which are preserved in the archives of Nurenberg, and also by the delineation of a terrestrial globe constructed by himself in 1492, and still preserved in the library of Nurenberg. Doctor Robertson, the historian of America, denies the discovery. If genuine vouchers of the truth of it still remain at Nurenberg, it is surely very unworthy of the literary industry of Germany to allow them to lie in obscurity and concealment.—Quere, has not Mr. Otto mistaken the delineation of the Nurenberg globe? In the engraved copy of it, the only lands delineated in the ocean, which has the Azores and the Canary islands on the east side of it, and Cipangu (Japan) and the Indian islands on the west side, are a small island, called Antilia, with the famous seven cities in it, and a larger one, of about

400 miles from north to south, all on the north side of the equator, which is probably drawn from fancy for the fabulous Atlantis of antiquity, but could never have been drawn by a man who had ranged along the coast of South America as far as the Straits of Magalhães.

† Chaucer, the father of English poetry, in the year 1391 addressed an essay on the astrolabe to little Louis his son.

‡ According to Roscoe [*Life of Lorenzo de Medici, c. 10*] a Lorenzo Strozzi, probably the same person, was alive after the year 1538, and wrote the Life of his brother Filippo Strozzi, which is published along with *Benedetto Varchi's History of Florence*.—Henry VII, desirous of undoing whatever was done by his predecessor, appointed another Florentine merchant, called Christopher Spene, to be consul at Pisa. [*Fœdera, V. xii, p. 314.*]

first appointment of a consul for the merchants of England in any of the countries within the Mediterranean : and the custom of appointing foreign merchants to be consuls for the English in those countries continued for a considerable time, and continues in some instances to the present day.

Soon after the invention of the art of printing the industry of Venice made it an object of commercial advantage, so that, in every part of Europe, those who could read had books imported from Venice. And in England also, the business of printing, though so lately introduced, appears to have been already so well established, that books from the English presses now began to be articles of exportation\*.

November—The first parliament of King Henry VII, observing, that in the reign of Edward IV a great number of foreign merchants had obtained letters and acts of denization, whereby they were put upon a footing with the native subjects in the payment of customs, and also that they frequently entered the merchandize of other foreigners in their own names, and thereby defrauded the revenue, enacted, that all foreigners made denizens should pay the full duties payable by foreign merchants. [*Acts 1 Hen. VII, c. 2.*]

Considering the danger to be apprehended from a decay of the navy, and the seamen being unemployed, they enacted a law, the very reverse of that of Edward III in the year 1368, which entirely excluded Englishmen from the carrying trade; for now no person was allowed to buy or sell any wine of the growth of Guienne or Gascoigne, in England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, or Berwick, unless it were imported in a vessel belonging to England, Ireland, or Wales, and navigated principally by natives of England, Wales, Ireland, or Calais.—This law, being apparently intended as an experiment, was to be in force only till the next parliament. [*c. 8.*]

The prohibition of the importation of a variety of foreign articles, enacted in the year 1482 was confirmed, and twenty years added to it, the addition of ten years by the act of Richard III being set aside, as the act of an usurper. [*c. 9.*]

The Italian merchants, availing themselves of the king's disposition to undo the acts of his predecessor, obtained a repeal of the 9<sup>th</sup> act of Richard. But the fines, incurred by transgressions of it, were still to be paid to the king. [*c. 10.*]

1486, January 17<sup>th</sup>—King Henry very soon after his accession issued orders to all his subjects to receive the merchants of France in a friendly manner, without requiring the production of safe-conducts or licences.

\* This information concerning the progress of the art of printing in England is derived from the colophon at the end of a Latin translation of the *Epistles of Phalaris*, printed at Oxford in the year

1485, wherein there are the following lines :

‘ Celatos, Veneti, nobis transmittere libros

‘ Cedite, nos aliis vendimus, O Veneti.’

[*Middleton's Origin of printing in England, p. 10.*]

And now a more formal truce of three years (not a peace) was concluded, whereby all grievous exactions, imposed upon commerce in the last two-and-twenty years, were abolished in both kingdoms, except the local duties of towns, &c. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 281.]

July 3<sup>d</sup>—A truce of three years was also concluded between England and Scotland, in which the seizure of persons and merchandize shipwrecked was more particularly guarded against than formerly, the preservation of the property being, however, now made to depend on the survival of a human creature, and not on that of a cat, dog, or cock, which, it may be believed, were never allowed to live to the prejudice of depredators. The other articles were nearly the same as in former truces between the two kingdoms. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 285.]

July 22<sup>d</sup>—Henry was particularly desirous of cultivating the friendship of the duke of Bretagne, and therefor renewed the truce with him, with nearly the same conditions respecting commerce, which were in the former treaty of the year 1468; the towns of St. Malo, Brest, and Tonque, being now excepted from the general liberty granted to the English of having hotels in the towns of Bretagne, as, on the other hand, those towns in England, which the king should name by his letters, were to be excepted from the similar liberty enjoyed by the Bretons in England. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 303.]

1487, October—A dispute between some citizens of Cologne and some subjects of Scotland had been decided by the king of Scotland and his council. The foreigners were dissatisfied, and obtained from the emperor a letter of marque against the Scots, which was now suspended (probably upon the king's interposition) till Easter 1488. In the meantime the Scottish parliament ordained, that a clergyman and two burghesses should go, at the general expense of the burghs, to the emperor's court with an authentic copy of the sentence, in order to show that justice had been done to the Cologners, and to obtain a revocation of the letter of marque. [*Acts Jac. III*, c. 126.]

The representatives of the burghs of Scotland, acting as a separate body, or committee, requested, and obtained, a ratification of the acts for the qualifications of merchants, for regulating charter parties, the measure of salmon barrels, the prosecution of the herring fishery in the west sea, &c. [c. 127-131, 133.]

They also ordained, that commissaries (representatives) from all the burghs should assemble at Inverkiething on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July every year, in order to consider the interest of merchandize and the burghs, and to make regulations for their general welfare \*. [c. 132.]

November—King Henry, in his detestation of avarice, with the assent of the parliament, prohibited and annulled 'all dampnable bargayns

\* This is apparently the origin of the convention of the royal burghs of Scotland, which is still kept up. I do not find, when the convention removed from Inverkiething to Edinburgh.

‘grounded in usury,’ however disguised under the name of new chevysance, dry exchange, &c. by which the lender was to have more or less for the use of his money, and imposed a fine of £100 on the offenders, besides committing to the church the correction of their souls. [*Acts 3 Hen. VII, c. 5.*]

The magistrates of London, in order to oblige the people to resort to the city for all their purchases, had made an ordinance, that no citizen should carry goods for sale to any fair or market out of the city. The assortment of goods in London appears to have been so commanding, that those interested in the fairs of Salisbury, Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge, Nottingham, Ely, Coventry, and other places, and also the people of the country in general, were alarmed, and represented to parliament the destruction of the fairs, and the great hardship of being obliged to travel to London to procure chalices, books, vestments, and other church ornaments, and also victuals for the time of Lent, linen cloth, woollen cloth, brass, pewter, bedding, osmond, iron, flax, wax, and other necessaries. The London ordinance was annulled; and the citizens were permitted to go with their goods to the fairs and markets in every part of England. [*c. 9.*] In this act we have a good picture of the inland trade of England.

The shearmen, fullers, and others concerned in the clothing trade, represented, that the act of 7 Edward III, against exporting woollen yarn and unfulled cloth, had not provided against cloth being exported without being rowed and shorn. For the encouragement of those trades, the parliament enacted, that no cloths should be carried out of the country till they were barbed, rowed, and shorn, except those called *veffes, rays, sailing cloths*, and others sold at or under 40*s*. [*c. 11.*]

At this time the commercial intercourse between Florence and Egypt, which began in the time of Cosmo de Medici, was greatly extended and improved under the direction, and by the example, of his grandson Lorenzo. So highly was this illustrious merchant esteemed by the sultan of Egypt, that he sent an embassy to him (a mark of respect very seldom bestowed by Mohamedan princes on the most powerful Christian sovereigns) with magnificent presents, among which were a fine bay horse, probably an Arabian, balsam, civet, lignum aloes, large vases of porcelain\*, fine cotton cloths of various kinds, and other rich Oriental manufactures. [*Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo, V. ii, p. 60; and original letter in V. iii, p. 271.*]

John II king of Portugal, who was very desirous of completing the discovery of the route to India, had already sent two agents to obtain information respecting the nature of the trade of that country, who went no farther than Jerufalem, having there discovered that their want of the

\* Porcelain was far from being common, or even generally known, in Europe in this age, though it is one of the articles enumerated in the 44<sup>th</sup> chap-

ter of the maritime laws of Barcelona among the imports from Egypt. [*Capuany, Mem. hist. de Barcelons, V. i, C.m. p. 44.*]

Arabic language rendered their further progress impracticable. This year he sent Pero de Covillan and Alfonso de Paiva, who were both masters of the Arabic, with instructions to travel to the country of Preste Janni (or Prester John), to learn whether his dominions extended to the sea, and where the pepper, cinnamon, and other spices, which were brought to Venice, were produced. Along with their instructions, and money and bills for their subsistence, they received a chart drawn by the king's best geographers, who said, they had found some memorial of a passage between the eastern and the western seas. Having bought a cargo of honey at Rhodes, they proceeded in the character of merchants to Alexandria, and thence by Cairo, the desert, and the Red sea, to Aden in Arabia, where they separated: Paiva crossed over to Ethiopia, and Covillan sailed for Cananor, and thence to Calicut, where he saw ginger and pepper growing, and learned that cloves and cinnamon were brought from countries still more remote. He then returned by Goa and Ormuz to the Red sea, and thence sailed in company with some Moorish merchants on the Ethiopian sea, which he found represented in his chart, as far as Sofala, where he learned, 'that the coast might be sailed all-along toward the west,' and heard of the Island of the Moon, 900 miles in length. Having now acquired more knowledge of India and the eastern seas than any European of that age, he returned to Cairo, where he heard that Paiva was dead, and found two Jews, sent to him with letters from the king. One of them he sent back to the king with an account of what he had discovered, and his opinion, that the ships, which traded to Guinea, by keeping along the coast might get to Sofala and thence to Calicut, for there was a clear sea. With the other Jew he returned to Ormuz, and thence back to Aden, which was still, as in antient times, the center of commercial intercourse. There he dispatched the Jew home to Portugal, and bent his own course to the court of Preste Janni, where he was well treated and enriched, but never permitted to leave the country till the year 1520. [*Barros, Dec. i, L. iii, c. 5.—Purchas, B. vii, p. 1091; B. x, p. 1675.*]

In the meantime, before the arrival of Covillan's very encouraging information, Bartholomew Diaz, one of the many Portuguese commanders, who, during almost a century, had been endeavouring to reach the southern extremity of Africa in the hope of finding an open navigation to the Oriental regions, returned (December 1487) from a voyage in which he had made a stretch along 1050 miles of the coast, and actually passed the southern extremity of the continent, to which, from the stormy weather he met with when off it, he gave the name of *Cabo Tormentoso* (or Stormy cape): but the king, understanding that the land beyond it trended to the eastward, and full of hope that the greatest difficulty in the route to India was now surmounted, changed the name to the more auspicious one of *Cabo de Boa Esperança* (Cape of Good Hope),

by which it has ever since been called. [*Barros, Dec. i, L. iii, c. 4.—Purchas, B. ii, p. 7.*]

1488—While the Portuguese were endeavouring to get to India by an eastern route, Christopher Colon (or Columbus) a Genoese navigator, whose nautical knowledge was much enlarged by residing among the Portuguese, was induced by Ptolemy's geography, wherein the eastern parts of Asia are extended so far into the opposite hemisphere as to leave only about one third of the circumference of the globe between them and the west parts of Europe, by the discoveries of Marco Polo, and accounts of land accidentally seen by several navigators in the Western ocean, to believe that the easiest access to India, must be by sailing to the westward\*. Strongly impressed with this idea, he applied for the means of accomplishing his discovery to the king of Portugal, who, he might well suppose, would gladly encourage a project for attaining his grand object, the trade of India, by a shorter route than that which had so long baffled all the endeavours of his predecessors. But the Portuguese court very ungenerously and unfairly kept him in suspense till the return of a carvel, which they secretly sent out to make the discovery suggested by him; and then, as their own vessel had found no land, they refused to pay any attention to his scheme. It is to the credit of England, that Colon next turned his thoughts to that country, to which he sent his brother Bartholomew, while he himself made application at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, the sovereigns of Spain. In his passage to England Bartholomew was taken by pirates, plundered of his all, and made a slave. Having at last escaped from them, he arrived in England, but in no condition to obtain access to the royal presence. Thus circumstanced he applied himself to drawing sea charts for a livelihood, and, as soon as he got himself decently clothed, he presented a map of the world to the king, and laid before him his brother's scheme. King Henry was so far pleased with the proposal, that he desired him to bring his brother to England. But so much time had been lost, that when Bartholomew got to Paris in his way to Spain, he was informed that his brother had sailed upon his voyage, and was returned, having accomplished the discovery, not of India or the spice islands, but of the islands of the West-Indies. [*Hist. de Don Christ. Colon por su hijo Fernando, cc. 6-9, 11, 60.*]

The capture of Bartholomew Colon by pirates thus turned out, under the direction of Providence, the means of preserving the English from losing their industry and commercial spirit in the mines of Mexico and Peru.

\* The usual belief, that Colon set out with a view to discover a *new continent*, is not warranted by any good historian, and is in direct opposition to the History of his life by his own son, whose authority must certainly be preferred. His ideas of

geography, received from Ptolemy and other ancient authors, scarcely left sufficient space for such a continent as America in the sea between the east part of Asia and the west parts of Europe and Africa.

February 18<sup>th</sup>—The first parliament of Henry VII had granted him the duties of tunnage and poundage with the extra duties payable by foreigners, as usual in the preceding reigns. The merchants of Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Luca, now obtained from him an abatement for the space of three years; and the whole duties of every kind payable by them were fixed at £3 : 6 : 8 for every sack of wool, and 1/3 for every twenty-shillings worth of tin. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 335.]

October—The first parliament of James IV king of Scotland, in a set of new regulations for money, stated the obligation upon the merchants exporting Scottish commodities to import bullion as follows, viz. for each serplaith of wool, each last of salmon, or each four hundred cloth\*, four ounces of fine silver; for each last of herrings (now apparently an export of some consequence) two ounces; and for other goods paying custom, in proportion. [*Acts Jac. IV*, c. 10.]

They restricted the arrival of vessels, whether Scottish or foreign, to the free burghs, whereof Dunbarton, Irwin, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, and Renfrew, (all on the west side of the country) are mentioned, apparently as the most considerable. Foreigners were, prohibited from buying fish, till they were salted and barreled, and from having any dealings at the remote island of Lewis, or any place whatever except at the free burghs. [c. 11.]

The navy of Scotland at this time consisted of two vessels, the Flower and the Yellow carvel. They were adapted chiefly for war, being well provided with guns, cross-bows, lime-pots, fire-balls, two-handed swords, and also with good seamen under the command of Sir Andrew Wood, a brave and experienced officer: but I cannot venture to affirm, whether they belonged to the public, or were Wood's own private property. [*Buchanani Hist.* L. xiii, cc. 1, 3, 6.—*Pitcottie*, pp. 145, 155, ed. 1778.] During the reign of James IV several warlike ships were added to the Scottish navy, one of them particularly remarkable, as being longer than any other vessel that has been built from the time of Ptolemy Philopator to the present day.

1489, January—The parliament of England undertook to regulate the prices of several articles, which, they conceived, were exorbitant. Drapers and tailors were not allowed to take for the finest broad cloth of scarlet or other in-grain colours above 16s per yard, or for cloths of the best quality of plain colours, or ruffets, above 11s†. The hatters and cap-makers were accused of charging 3s or 3/4 for hats which cost them only 1/4, and from 3s to 5s for caps which cost them only 1/4. They were now ordered to sell the best hats at 1/8, the best caps at 2/8, and those of inferior quality as they could agree. [*Acts 4 Hen. VII*, cc. 8, 9.]

\* The act does not express, whether this was a kind of cloth so called, or 400 pieces, or 400 yards.

† The in-grain colours were thus about 46 per cent higher than the others. The smaller differ-

ence of prices in the present day is owing to the great abundance of cochineal now brought from America.

It is very certain, that the greatest part of the foreign trade of England had hitherto been carried on by foreign merchants in foreign vessels, though some faint and transient indications of a sense of the danger and impolicy of resigning the most valuable interests, and the best means of the defence, of the country into the hands of strangers had sometimes appeared. The parliament, now considering, 'that where  
' great minishing and decay hath been nowe of late tyme of the navye  
' of this realme of Englande, and ydelnes of the maryners of the  
' same, by the whiche this noble realme within shorte processe of  
' tyme, without reformation be had therin shall not be of abylytye ne  
' of strengthe and power to defend itselfe,' enacted, that no wines of Guienne or Gascoigne, nor woad of Tholouse, should be imported into England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, or Berwick, unless in vessels belonging to the king or some of his subjects of those territories, and navigated by seamen of whom the greater part should be natives of the same territories. They also prohibited the king's subjects from shipping goods in England or Wales onboard any vessel owned by a foreigner, unless when sufficient freight could not be found in English vessels. Foreign vessels, loaded with wine or woad, if driven into English ports by storm or enemies, were allowed to sell as much as would pay for necessary provisions or repairs, and no more. [c. 10.]

The act [4 *Edw. IV*, c. 4] against forestalling contracts for wool produced in the counties of Berks, Oxford, &c. was continued for ten years longer. [c. 11.]

The parliament, considering the desolation of the country, the destruction of houses and towns, and the idleness of the people, occasioned by turning corn lands into pasture, some towns, wherein formerly two hundred persons earned their livelihood, being now occupied by two or three herdsmen \*, enacted, that all houses, having twenty or more acres of land in tillage annexed to them, should be kept up by the proprietors, whether they leased the land to farmers, or cultivated it for their own account, on pain of forfeiting half the rent to the king or other over-lord. [c. 19.] Though the parliament ascribed the excessive predilection for pasturage to the avarice of the land-holders, it was more probably a necessary consequence of the depopulation of the country by the civil wars between the rival families of York and Lancaster following immediately after that occasioned by the repeated invasions of France, the proprietors being compelled by want of hands to feed sheep upon the fields which used to be cultivated by their predial servants, as the steady demand for wool presented the only means of obtaining any emolument from their estates: and moreover, in those calamitous times, living stock, which could easily be conveyed out of the reach of an ene-

\* Many of the greater towns were also so much decayed as to need parliamentary aids to preserve them from utter desolation, which were frequently granted in the reign of Edward IV, as appears by *Cotton's Abridgement of the records*.

my, was a much more desirable property than corn, which, whether in the field, the stack-yard, or the barn, was doomed to inevitable destruction or pillage.

The embroiderers having complained to parliament that the pound packets of the gold thread of Venice, Florence, and Genoa, contained only about seven threads instead of twelve, that the thread was of unequal thickness, and colour, and the price was raised from  $3\frac{3}{4}$  to £3, to the great prejudice of them and also of the buyers of 'broudered warke,' it was enacted, that gold thread, deficient in weight, or of unequal quality, should be forfeited. [c. 22.]

February—In the scarcity of Scottish commercial treaties we must be content with observing, that the parliament of Scotland ordained, that ambassadors should repair to France, Denmark, and Sweden: and that their instructions directed them to endeavour to obtain friendship, liberties, and freedoms for the good of the kingdom and the course of merchandize. [*Acts Jac. IV, c. 22.*] In consequence of one of those embassies some commercial privileges were obtained in the Danish dominions. [*Leff. Hist. p. 319.*]

1490, January 20<sup>th</sup>—A treaty between England and Denmark had been made in the year 1489 at Westminster. A more ample one was now concluded at Copenhagen by a doctor of laws, a herald, and two merchants of Lynne, for England, with the ministers of the king of Denmark. Besides the usual freedom of trade on both sides, it was agreed, that the merchants and fishermen of England might freely repair to Iceland for the purpose of merchandizing or fishing, they paying the customary dues in the ports, and acknowledging the sovereignty of the king of Denmark by applying at the end of every seven years for renewals of their licences. They might purchase fresh fish of all kinds, and salt them, at Sconen, Seland, Dragor, and other usual places in the kingdom of Denmark, on paying the due customs. English vessels, obliged by stress of weather 'to go through the Baltic sea, that is, 'through the Belts,' on giving security at Nyburg for the toll payable on passing at the Ore-found, should be no way molested for infringing the law or custom of Denmark. It was agreed, that before vessels sailed, sufficient security should be given (as now usual) for their peaceable demeanour at sea, unless they were licenced by either of the kings, who should thereby become liable to redress any acts of piracy committed by them.—The English, whether buying, selling, or fishing, in the Danish dominions, should enjoy as much liberty as any other foreigners. They should also freely enjoy for ever the property of the lands and tenements acquired by them in Bergen in Norway, Lunden, and Landskrone in Sconen, Dragor in Seland, and Loyfa in Sweden, or afterwards to be acquired in any part of the Danish dominions. They should have perfect liberty at Bergen and other places to elect their governors or aldermen, who should have the power of administering justice to English

subjects agreeable to the rules enacted by themselves; and any Englishman, refusing to submit to their jurisdiction, should be deprived of the privileges granted to the English in the Danish dominions.—The executor, or next of kin, or failing both, the aldermen or governors, should have the custody of the effects of English subjects dying in the Danish territories.—The merchants of England should have liberty to sell their cloths without the interference of any Danish officer; and they might appoint their agents in Copenhagen, Malmo, and Landskrone, who, if they resided a year or more, and paid the local dues, might transact business for absent merchants, and sell cloths by the piece or in smaller quantities.—No English merchant should be liable to arrest for the debt or fault of another; nor should his goods be arrested for crimes or debts charged against himself, if he gave sufficient security to stand trial.—In cases of wreck the property should be carefully preserved for the owners, and no person should be permitted ‘in such melancholy cases’ to claim any right to the property on pretence of a damned custom, ‘or make profit of the calamities of others,’ beyond a reasonable reward for labour.—Every possible means should be used on both sides to prevent the depredations of pirates.—Any infractions of this treaty should be punished by the sovereign of the offenders\*. [*Fœdera V. xii, pp. 375, 381.*]

April 15<sup>th</sup>—Florence, under the wise administration of the illustrious merchant, Lorenzo de Medici, was now in the zenith of prosperity. The inhabitants, freed from wars and tumults, exerted their active spirit in commerce and manufactures. Their Oriental trade by the way of Egypt, was extended and improved by Lorenzo. Their linens and silk goods were made from materials produced in their own territories, but their woollen manufactures depended on importation from Spain and England. [*Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo, c. 6.*] The trade of the later country with Italy had undergone a very important change in the short space of five years since King Richard commissioned the first consul for the English merchants at Pifa. From that commission we learn, that they *proposed* to trade in their own or chartered vessels; and now we find English vessels established in the trade, and the English merchants even extending their ideas to the employment of their vessels in a mere carrying trade. A treaty of six years for the regulation of this commerce, so important to the manufactures of Florence, was now concluded by a doctor of laws and an alderman of London with the delegates of Florence, as follows.—The English might freely resort to the territories of Florence, and carry thither all kinds of merchandize, whether the pro-

\* It has been very properly remarked by Mr. Anderson, that this treaty supposes the trade between the two countries to be entirely in the hands of the English, there being no reciprocation of advantages stipulated for the Danes in England

(except in cases of shipwreck). How prodigious an alteration had taken place since the ages in which the Danes and Norwegians domineered upon the Ocean!

duce of England or of other countries, not even excepting countries which might be at war with Florence, and might there buy and sell, with the Florentines or any other people, all goods not already prohibited, and might carry prohibited goods through the Florentine territories to any other country whatever, whether friendly or hostile to Florence.—The Florentines agreed, not to admit any wool produced in the English dominions, if imported in any other than vessels belonging to subjects of England, the English on the other hand engaging to carry every year to Pifa, the appointed staple port, as much wool as used to be imported annually, on an average of former years, to all the states of Italy, except Venice, unless circumstances, of which the king should be judge, should render it impracticable.—The English merchants should have liberty to hire or acquire houses for their residence in Pifa, and should there enjoy all the privileges enjoyed by the citizens of Pifa or those of Florence: they should also be exempted from several municipal burthens, and even from many duties upon merchandize, in all parts of the state, except Florence, they being only liable to pay the excise and other duties upon wine, corn, and other food, and not even upon those when bought for ship's stores.—The English in Pifa should have a right to form themselves into a corporate body, with governors and other officers, funds, &c. agreeable to their own regulations: and the magistrates of Florence engaged to give them either a suitable edifice, or a piece of ground for erecting one, proper for their joint accommodation.—It was agreed, that in all matters concerning the subjects of England only, they should be independent of the jurisdiction of the city; in controversies between them and any others, the podesta of Pifa, in conjunction with the chief magistrate of the English, should determine; and in criminal cases, the English should be amenable to the justice of the country.—The Florentines promised to endeavour to procure for the English a full participation of the benefits of any commercial treaty they might afterwards engage in.—The king of England engaged to allow no foreigners to export wool from any part of his dominions\*, except the Venetians, who should be allowed in each voyage to England to carry away 600 sacks in their gallies, and no more, merely for the use of the city and territory of Venice.—If the English should at any time fail in carrying the agreed quantity of wool to Pifa, the Florentines should be at liberty to receive it, either from the English or from others, as before.—It was finally stipulated, that the wool should be faithfully cleaned and packed, as in former times. [*Fœdera, V. xii, p. 389.*] Though by this treaty the Florentines were to have all the English wool that went to Italy, except the quantity allotted to Venice, at their own disposal, the advantages allowed by them to the English show a spirit of liberality, much beyond the usual tenor of the treaties of the age.

\* Surely it was not intended, that foreigners should be prevented from buying wool in the staple at Calais.

The English merchants engaged in the trade to Italy, of which Pisa was the staple, appear to have been a regulated company, like the merchants of the staple, and perhaps the merchant adventurers: but how long they existed as such, I suppose, is utterly unknown\*.

1491, May—Notwithstanding the treaty so formally concluded with the Hanse confederacy in the year 1475, the jealousies and collisions, which became more frequent, as the English came more and more into the situation of rivals in trade, had again broken out in hostilities, captures, and slaughters. A meeting of deputies from both sides was now held at Antwerp in order to adjust pretensions and compensate damages. But the assembly broke up without coming to any accommodation. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 441.—*Werdenbagen*, V. ii, part iv, c. 10.]

October—King Henry, intending to invade his antient enemies of France, granted several exemptions from the oppressive burthens of the feudal constitution to those who should accompany him, particularly a right to alienate their honours, castles, manors, lands, and other hereditary possessions, by licence from the king, without paying any fine or fee. [*Acts 7 Hen. VII*, cc. 2, 3.] These, and some other acts of similar tendency, laid the foundation of a most important change in the circumstances of all the people in the kingdom. The great nobles being permitted, as a favour, to squander away their enormous estates, gradually declined from that dangerous superiority, which had made them the terror of the kings, and the oppressors of the people, ever since the Norman conquest: and an opportunity was offered to the successful merchant and manufacturer to acquire the respectability and influence annexed to the property of land; a kind of property more particularly desirable in an age, wherein the greatest and most opulent unlanded merchant was esteemed inferior to the smallest land-holder.

The Venetians, for the maintenance of their own maritime power, having imposed a new duty of four golden ducats (18*l* sterling) on every butt of malmsey shipped at Candia onboard English vessels, an equalizing additional duty of 18*l* was imposed by parliament on every butt imported into England by any foreign merchant, to continue as long as the Venetians should persist in demanding their new duty. It was moreover ordained, that no malmsey should be sold above £4 per butt of 126 gallons with abatement for any deficient measure †. [c. 8.]

1492, March 1<sup>st</sup>—King Henry gave two French merchants a licence to import wines, woollen and linen cloths made in France or elsewhere, and any other merchandize, excepting wine of Gascoygne and woad, in a vessel of 140 tuns and 64 men; and to export tin and other merchandize, not

\* Though the public have been formerly stunn'd with the fierce contests of those two companies, we hear nothing at all of the *company* of merchants trading to Italy.

† This act begins with setting forth the great trade of English ships to Candia *time out of mind*. But we know not how to trust to the chronology of such representations.

belonging to the staple of Calais \*, to any country whatever, repeating the voyage as often they pleased during the year, and duely paying the customs, &c. [*Fœdera*, V. xii, p. 471.]

The Christian provinces of Spain, almost entirely united by the marriage of Ferdinand king of Aragon with Isabella queen of Castile, which took place in the year 1469, had for some time been in a very flourishing condition. About ten thousand people were employed in the manufactures of silk and wool in Toledo. In Catalonia, before the union of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon (an event fatal to the commercial prosperity of that province) many of the towns were filled with industrious and skilful manufacturers in wool, cotton, flax, silk, leather, tin, copper, iron, steel, silver, &c. The ship-carpenters of Barcelona built vessels, not only for their own countrymen, but also for other nations. All these branches of industry, together with the produce of a fertile soil diligently cultivated, supplied the materials of an extensive commerce with every port of the Mediterranean sea, and also to Portugal, the west coast of France, Flanders, and England. [*Schott. Script. Hist. V. ii, pp. 308, 844.*—*Capmany, Mem. hist. de Barcelona, passim* †.] But all the Christians of Spain were surpassed by the Saracens of Granada in the cultivation of their lands, the excellence of their manufactures, particularly those of silk, (which, as already observed, were in a flourishing condition in Almeria before any of the Christian states to the westward of Greece possessed a single silk-worm) the extent of their commerce, their riches and magnificence ‡. That kingdom was finally subdued in the beginning of January 1492 by Ferdinand, who by the treaty secured to the Saracens the free exercise of their religion with the use of their mosques, their own laws, and their property of every kind, including even their arms, except cannon. Ferdinand has generally obtained the character of a wise king: but, with submission to the wisdom of those who have given him that character, it may be observed, that he had now an opportunity, by a prudent and conciliatory treatment of his new subjects, to render his kingdom the first manufacturing and commercial country in Europe, and that his conduct was quite the reverse. Urged by bigotry and infatuation, he had already established the horrible tribunal of the inquisition, of itself sufficient to destroy all spirit of industry and enterprise; and, not satisfied with so great a sacrifice of the inherent rights of the human mind on the altar of superstition, he com-

\* The king's complaisance to the French merchants made him forget that tin was a principal article of the staple, and admit not only French-made woollen cloths, but even those of other countries imported by French merchants: and yet he is said to have understood, and acted upon, the principles of the act of navigation.

† For this and the preceding quotations from the important collection of records, published by

Don Antonio de Capmany, I have to acknowledge the kindness of Sir John Talbot Dillon in favouring me with the use of his copy, perhaps the only one in Great Britain: nor should I even have known of the work, but by his mention of it in his valuable History of Peter the Cruel.

‡ The magnificence of their buildings appears in the remains of them still existing.

manded (March 1492) all the Jews in Spain to become Christians or to leave the kingdom in four months; and 170,000 families\*, all industrious and valuable members of society, by whom a great part of the trade of the country was conducted, were driven out to enrich other countries with their arts and industry, and as much of their property as they could save. With respect to the Saracens, or Moors, instead of imitating the wise and liberal conduct of the ancestors of those people, who, when they conquered Spain, permitted their Christian subjects to enjoy their religion and laws, or that of the Christian conqueror of Sicily, who gave the Saracen inhabitants the same indulgence, or paying any regard to his own treaty, Ferdinand the Catholic † resolved to compel all his new subjects to become Christians ‡. Many of them professed the Christian religion, while they retained their own: but those hypocrites were soon exterminated by the burning zeal of the holy fathers of the inquisition. Others, by far the greatest number of them, were either murdered, or plundered and driven out of the country. Most of the exiles took refuge among their brethren on the opposite coast of Africa, and, in revenge for the miseries inflicted on them by the Spaniards, resolved to carry on a perpetual predatory war against their oppressors. But their war of just reprisals has been perverted by their descendents into indiscriminate piracy against every nation professing the Christian religion, excepting only those, who by bribes, or superior naval power, allure or compel them to respect their flags: and thus it happens, that a private merchant in the United States of America, a country not known to exist when Granada was conquered, is ruined in consequence of that event. By these depopulations with the subsequent drains to the colonies, by blind and furious bigotry, and the lazy pride introduced by the acquisition of the American mines, Spain, from the time of entering upon possession of the greatest opportunities of improvement, has been falling back in civilization, industry, and commerce, while all the other countries in Europe were rapidly advancing: a memorable and dreadful example of the fatal consequences of persecution for religious opinions. [See *Mariana*, Ll. xxv, xxvi, xxvii.]

It has been observed that the commerce of the Venetians acquired a very great extension by the depression of their rivals, the Genoese, upon the establishment of the Turkish empire in Europe. The wealth of Europe, and, along with it, the taste for the spices, jewels, pearls, and other rich productions and manufactures of the East, continued to increase. Those articles of luxury were almost entirely supplied by the

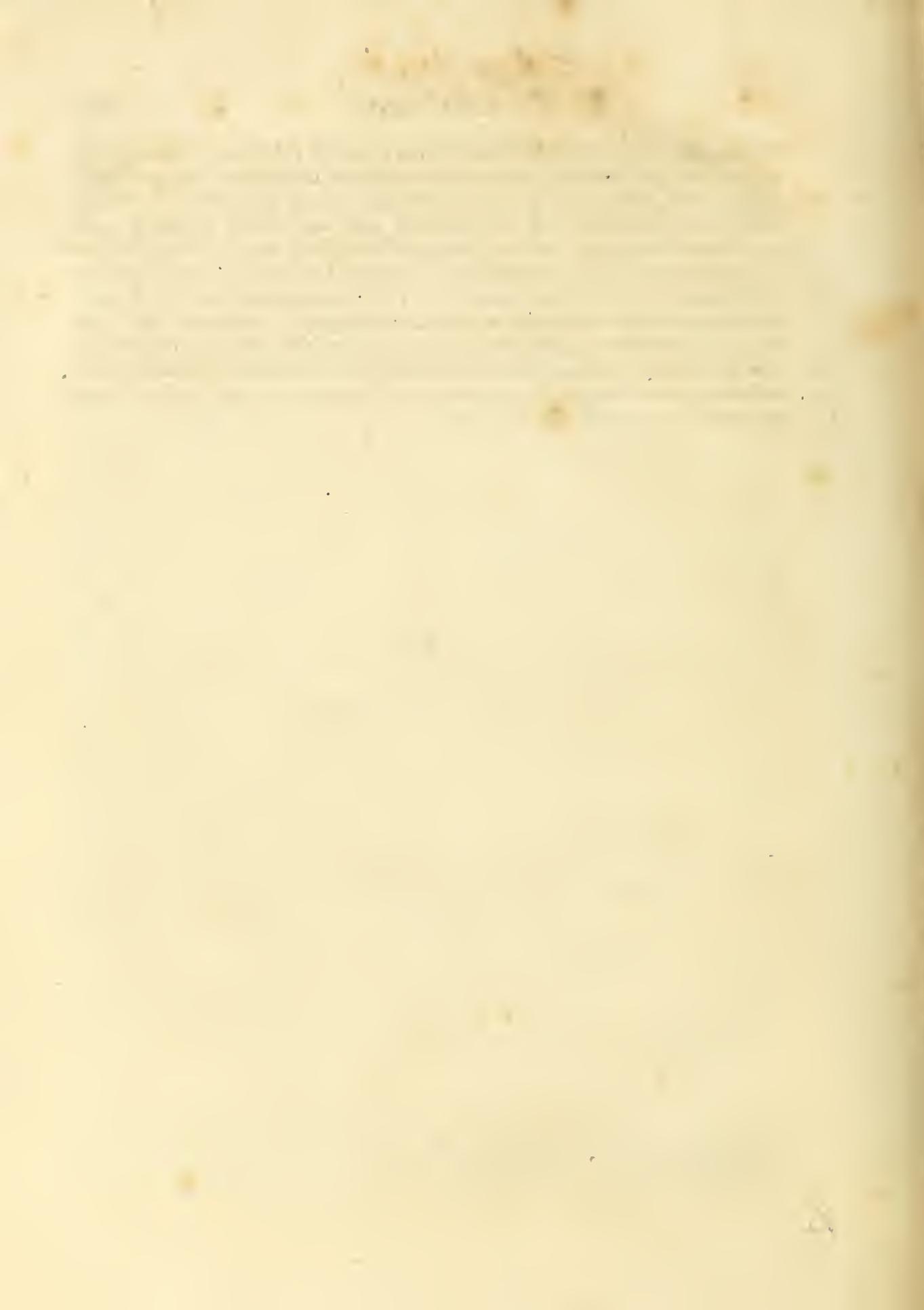
\* This is the most moderate estimate. Some authors make the number much greater.

† He was the first king of Spain who had that title, which was doubtless given to him as a reward for his zeal against heretics.

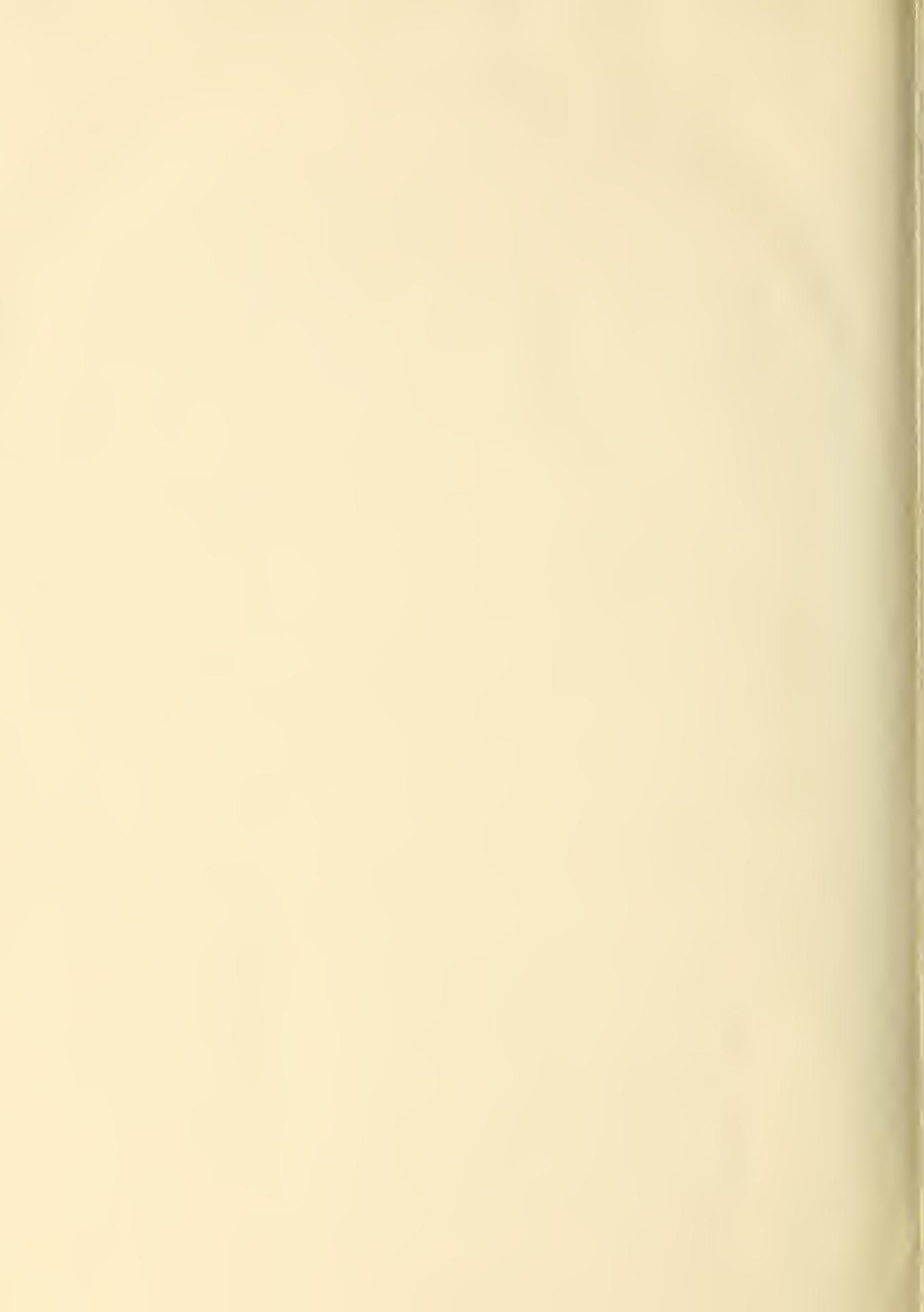
‡ This conversion did not begin till the year

1499; but I have introduced it here for the sake of connection. The archbishops of Toledo and Granada were the chief advisers and executors of this persecution, which, as Mariana acknowledges, was the source of all the subsequent troubles.

Venetians, whose vessels visited every port of the Mediterranean, and every coast of Europe, and whose maritime commerce was probably greater than that of all the rest of Europe taken together. In Venice the rich manufactures of silk, cloth of gold and silver, vessels of gold and silver, and glass, were carried to the highest degree of perfection. The Venetian navy was sufficiently powerful to repress the piracies of the Turkish and Barbary corsairs. The government was beneficent: the people were numerous, opulent, and happy. Such was the commercial splendour and prosperity now enjoyed by Venice, from which she was soon to decline, without a possibility of recovery, in consequence of events, which no errors in commercial policy produced, and no human prudence could possibly avert.









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