



THE
DEFENCE OF
TRADE.

In a Letter

TO SIR THOMAS SMITH Knight,
Gouernour of the EAST-INDIA
Companie, &c.

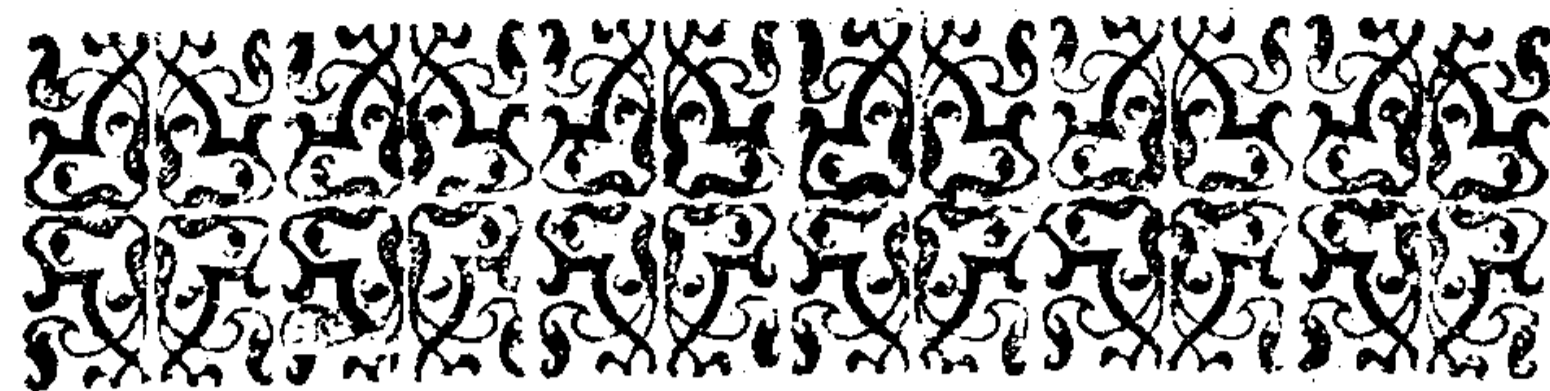
From one of that Societie.

— *Vexat censura Columbas.*



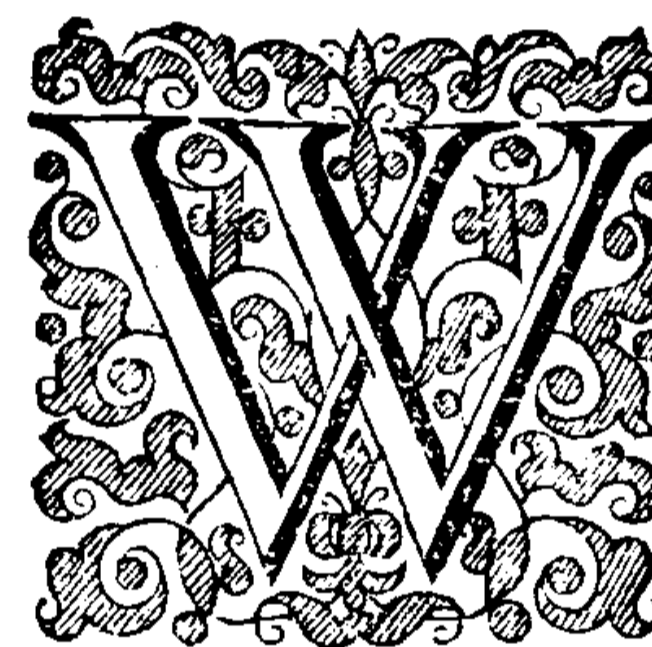
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be sold at his shop ouer against Saint *Sepulchres*
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1615.



TO THE RIGHT
WORSHIPFULL,
SIR THOMAS SMITH,
KNIGHT, &c.

Right worthy Sir,



When I first heard of an Inuectiue
publisht by some vnknowne
busie Person, against the *East-
Indian Trade*: I must confesse, I
held it, *In eorum genere quæ vi-
lescant spreta*, worthy only of
that Companies contempt,
whose blest indeuour, with
good seruice to the State, hath surely freed them
from the poyson. Why should they then regard
the hissing of those lurking Serpents, that when the
Itching humour takes them, will be doing *brenibus &
carcere dignum*, euen with the State it selfe?

But hauing since perused the *Pamphlet*, I finde vn-
der the pleasing title of *Increase of Trade*, and gilded
ouer with that *Commendable* Proposition of the *Her-
ring-fishing*, a sort of Pills are put to swallowing, that
perhaps may worke weake stomacks to distaste our
B Course

Course of *Traffick* by Societies in *London*, especially that now of greatest hope and profit to the *East-Indies*. And though the *Author* handle the particulars with such confused *Contradictions*, as assure mee hee conceived not what he writ: Yet sure, some *Ape* hath put the *Catt* foot in the fire, some cunning and malicious persons, for priuate ends, or *lewd* purposes infused the *Quicksilver* that set that running head a work. Remembring therefore that a wiseman should not onely keep himselfe from hurt of the *Brute Beast*, but feed and clothe, that is as *Plutarch* notes, make profitable vse of enemies: out of my loue to you that spend so much of your *Time*, for the good of the worthe *Marchants* liberall *Aduentures*, to aduance the reputation and reueneue of the *Common-wealth*, I wish some one of our *Committies* best experienced in that businessse, would take this oportunitie to shew how wrongfully they are traduced, whose voluntarie hazards in such long and costly voyages, for such euen by their enemies confession, dangerous and slow returnes were rather thankfully to be commended.

Good men, well-minded *Marchants*, while the idle *Drone* and greedie *Catterpillers* prey vpon the substance of the *Subiect* here at home, with eating vsurie and harmefull arts, while such a *Spider* in a corner spends his fruitlesse dayes perhaps in weauing weak obiectiōns against them, from furthest parts abroad, they fetch and bring the hony to the *Hīue*, laborious *Bees*, they clothe and feede the poore, and give the willing man employment to gaine with them, and with the *Common-wealth*, the honour, and the riches that *Venice* first enjoyed by their *Trade* ouer land,

along

along the *Mediterran*, and then the *Portingals* (poore *Portingals* till then) procured by their more aduantageous farre *Sea-trafficke* with those *Easterne* Countries.

This was the first intention, this is still the endeavour of that famous fellowship, best knowne to you that were their first, and are by well deseruing, still their *Gouernour*; and if it please *Almightie God* to continue his wonderfull blessing, and our good King his gracious countenancing of their industrie, I make no doubt, but by discovery of some neerer passage, or if the worst fall, through the *Aduantage* of our multitude of able bodies, and most commodious *Sea-situation*, euen the way wee haue that rich *Trade* may receiue yet our turne more, and in few yeares a *Staple of Commerce* for all the *World* be setled in these *Northerne* parts with as much life and quickning to the navigation and affaires of this whole *Iland*, as *London* and all sorts of *Marchants* in it found by one returne from thence last sommer, *Qua nobis placet experientia veri*.

But Sir, this honourable enterprisc, like *Hercules* yet in the *Cradle*, in the infancie hath beene assailed by *Serpents* slie aspersions, which * *Ennie* long since whisped in the eares of ignorance, of killing *Mariners* and carrying out the treasure of the land, in answer whereunto had the *East India Marchant* then but told a truth like *Martia's, Bella, Diues, Puella, Fabulla*, hee might haue beene (it may bee iudged) neyther faire nor rich, nor chaste, but only forward to commend himselfe: but now when as the poore *Snake Ennie* growes to be a *Monster*, *Malice*, when the pratler late a creeping *Worme* is waxt a winged *Goose*, a setter forth in print of *slanders*. Now (me thinkes) you are,

* *Natiua generi humano pestis que vepres nunquam desinit in alienis agris licet purgatissimi sint queritare. Pet. Mart.*

if not infort, at least muted happily to shew the world the well deseruing of that worthie Companie, whose innocence will shine more gloriously euen to the eye obscur'd of him that dwels farthest from *London*, by passing through those vapours of an idle or corrupted braine these forst or forged imputations.

A worke for truths sake worthie of a seruent spirits careful handling; but were it recommended to my weaknesse; though I dislike as much as any man, to see one, by transcribing only in effect, an honest Gentleman's good * Fishing-Project, steale occasion to censure all our Trades, and giue intelligence what Shippes of ours, how manned, and at what seasons yearly passe from place to place, with such particulars of our Sea-states decay, as must be eyther true, and so the secrets, or false, and so the slanders of our Countrie.

Though I condemne his folly, that proclaimes such weakenesse and such want of Marriners and Shipping in our Ports from fond reports of idle fellowes, Informations certainly as false in these particulars, as we know they are in our *East-India* matters, especially at this time, when cleane contrarie, the power and greatnesse of our Royall M^r. and the reputation of his strength by Sea and Land, is for the good of Christendome, composing of those stormes which Armies both in *Italy*, and *Germanie* doe threaten.

Though I detest the hollow-hearted cunning, that doth looke on *Holland*, but yet rowes for other Countries, girding still and glancing at our Neighbours of the vnited Prouinces, those in reason of state; and through band of Religion, best assured friends, with

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ouer sedulous insinuating into euery care, their eating vp of our prosperitie, their supplanting of vs in our Trades, and such like seedes of Disaffection, preiudiciall to vs both. Whereas an honest subiect, well disposed in Religion, well affected to the State, would rather rest content with this assurance, that our King hath power enough, when it shall please his wisdom to curbe insolence. Our State may when it will, meet with vnthankfulnesse, and they that made the * Em- * Their word was, *Si collidimur frangimur.*

Though more particularly, out of many Touches, I obserue such inclination, such a secret variation in the Compasse of that *Pamphletors* discourse, as makes me very iealous, for all his faire conclusion that hee framed his Almanacke for the Meridian of *Toledo* rather then our Ilands good fortune: witness his willingnes to haue vs Trade into those Countries, where wee must bee euer vnder the Lee, in awe and subiect to much inconuenience, rather then make double the profit to our selues and to the Common-wealth by fetching frō the wel-head, from the *Indies*, rather then weaken them, their wealth and shipping, that in all their Moderne Treaties with all Nations shew, how much account they make of that sweet Trafficke.

Though last of all that *Pamphletors* malignant raking vp all sorts of rayling arguments, and spleenefull vrging euery thing against the *East-India* Marchant, might very well prouoke from one of that Societic, the lashes which his often fond excursions fit him for; yet surely I should leaue him to the Riual-free fruition of those errors, and apply my penne to satise an ho-

next minde, rather then make him smart or carelesse Readers smile. And as a ground-worke of Integritie, first I would set downe what hee sayes euen in his owne Apparell, Scarfe, and Feather too, As thus.

East Indies.

Now followeth the consideration of the East Indie Trade, into whose Seas, not onely the Riuer of Volga, as before you heard, disembouqueth it selfe, but euen the bottom of the Straights is emptied to fill vp those gulfes, and not so onely, but besides that many of our best Marchants haue transported their Staples thither; it hath also begot out of all Callings, Professions, and Trades, many more new Marchants. When where there is increase of Marchants, there is increase of Trade; where Trade increaseth, there is increase of Shipping; where increase of Shipping, there increase of Mariners likewise: so then rich and large East Indies. The report that went of the pleasing notes of the Swannes in Meander foud, farre surpassing the records of any other Birdes in any other places whatsoeuer, drew thither all sorts of people in great confluence, and with great expectation to heare, and enjoy their sweet singing. When they came thither, they found in stead of faire white Swannes, greedie Ravens, and deuouring Crows; and heard instead of melodious harmonie, untuneable and loathsome croaking. In indignation that they were so receiued and deceiued, in stead of applauding, they hissed, and of staying, fled away. You are now by cause East Indies Meander foud, your Trade is the singing of Swannes, which so many iourney so farre to enjoy. God forbid you should bee found so discoloured, and wee so ill satisfied. And howsoeuer that I may bee sure to auoide any detraction, whereby my nature might haue any imputation, or by calling vp more Spirits into the circle then I can put downe againe, I might incurre some danger, and be taxed likewise of indiscretion, for that we onely hitherto haue complained of the want of Shipping; we desire now but herein to suruey the floze, and see how you

you helpe the increase. You haue built more Shippes in your time, and greater farre then any other Marchants Shippes; besides what you haue bought out of other trades, and all those wholly belonging to you; there hath bene entertained by you since you first aduentured, one and twentie Shippes, besides the now intended Voyage of one new Ship of seuen hundred Tunne, and happily some two more of increase. The least of all your Shipping is of furescore Tunne: all the rest are goodly Shippes, of such burthen as neuer were formerly used in Marchandize; the least and meanest of these last is of some hundred and twentie Tunne, and so goe upward euen to eleuen hundred Tunne. You haue set forth some thirteene Voyages, in which time you haue built of these, eight new Shippes, and almost as good as built the most of the residue, as the Dragon, the Hector, &c. So that at the first appearance you haue added both strength and glorie to the Kingdome by this your accession to the Naue. But where I pray you are all these Shippes? foure of these are cast away, of the which one was of three hundred Tunne, another of foure hundred, the third of three hundred, and the fourth of eleuen hundred; two more are docked by there as Pinaces to Trade by and downe: the rest are eyther employed in the Trade in the Indies, or at home out of reparations; which if true, if the Kingdome should haue neede of them on any occasion, it shall surely want their seruice; and so then there is not onely no supply to the Naue this way, but hurt euen to the whole Kingdome, the Woods being cut downe, and the Shippes eyther lost, or not seruiceable. Surely Stoories can shew vs, which we may reade in the courses of Common weales, how tolerable, nay how laudable it is in all States, to enlarge Commerce. Marchants, whome wee should respect, can tell vs of the casualties which not onely by the Shippes, but their Estates are subiect to by aduentures. Mariners, whom we must pittie, can teach vs of the ordinarie dangers not onely that Shippes and goods, but their liues are subiect to by Sea. I must not then expro-

brave that to them which is to be imputed to the Sea; nor are they to be blamed out of reason for that which deserteth in humanitie, commiseration; nor is England bounded by our Horizon, to goe no further then we see. Wee haue learned long since, that Mercatura si tenuis sordida, si magna, splendida: the Stranger the Countrey, the greater the aduventure; the more famous our Nation, the more worthie the Marchant. Before wee were, euen Horace writ, Currit Mercator ad Indos. Loath then am I to borrow that saying of Demosthenes on his courting of Lais, to pay it to the Indian Trade, by alleaging, that Non tantum emam poenitentiam, only hauing now in common that Roman Prouiso, Ne quid detrimenti Respub. capiat. Let vs examine that which may mooue patience, that our Woods are cut downe, and the Ships either lost or not seruiceable: Our Woods, I saie, cut downe in extraordinarie manner, neither doe the Ships die the ordinarie death of Shippes. Our Woods extraordinarily cut downe, in regard of the greatnesse of the Shipping, which doth as it were deuoure our Timber. I am able out of sufficient testimonie to affirme, that since the Indian Trade, and merely through their building of their Ships of so great burthen, and their repairing, (the building notwithstanding beganne but five yeares since) that Timber is raised in the Land five Millions, and more, in the load, nay, almost not to be had for monie, which the Companie (no question) being sensible of, very wisely sake to helpe themselves in, by building of Ships in Ireland for their seruice: yet it seemeth their incouragement that way, is but necessitous, in regard by their owne saying, besides the hazard, the charges are little lesse; and which is worse, that kind of Timber is but vntoward for that vse, being so extreame heauie, that a Ship of a small burden draweth much Water. In five yeares space their building, together with their repairing of Ships almost equall to building, beget such a scarcitie, what will a little continuance bring forth? Bring forth I cannot say ought, but a priuation will follow euen of all
our

our Timber Wood. The Kings Maie must be maintained, other Merchants of lower ranks must haue shipping, and the Sea-trade may increase, and then eyther we must Trade without shipping, or make Shippes without Timber.

When the Norman Conqueror hauing subdued the most part of the Kingdome, passed from Essex into Kent, which then made head against him, the Kents, hauing by the aduice of their politike Bishoppe and their Abbot, cut downe great boughes, and with them in their armes marched towards the Conqueror; whereby, besides the novelty of the sight, the Armie appeared double as bigge: William himselfe so conceiuing it, as also amazed to see Woods walke; more feared and discontented with that sight, then other wise assured with his former successe, condescended to what demands sooner were made by those people, to haue such weapons laid downe, and to gaine such ingenious Subjects; whereby, to their eternall benefit, and credit, their persons were neuer in bondage, nor their Lawes altered. In this their Land-Stratageme, I see our Sea-Arts, in that and these Woods being the fatall instrument of our fortunes, Boughes of Trees kept the Kentish-men out of seruitude, when they held them in their hands, and but for these; their bodies will keepe vs in libertie when they containe vs, and are for seruice, and by their moving on the water they will amaze both French and Spanish, and whomsoever, and keep them, and all others, from coming nere vs: Out of which prouident foresight, our most worthy Princes formerly raigning, haue made diuers Lawes in fauour of Timber Trees: and our most noble King ^{35. Hen. 8. 17. 13} hath provided thereto with new accessions for the prefer- ^{Elizabeth. 25.} uing and increasing of them; but that a parricide of Woods should thus be committed by building of Shippes, it was neuer thought on by any of our Royall Solons, and therefore there was no prouiso for it: Nay, this inconuenience was so little suspected, that our said famous Princes haue provided cleane contrarie, with great bountie and indul-
gence,

gence haue encouraged by reward out of their owne pur-
 les the builders of great Ships; as bestowing on the buil-
 ders five shillings on the Tunne for enery Tunne that is
 builded aboue one hundred Tunne in a Ship; so necessary
 did the Prince thinke his maintenance of shipping, the ac-
 cession thereof consisting much in their greatnesse, to the
 honour and safetie of the Kingdome; and such vse he made
 account he should haue of them. Whereas now this waie
 he contributeth, to the spoile of his Woods, to the losse of
 the Shippes, and to the hurt of the Kingdome. I heard a
 Shipwright say on the losse of the Trades Increase,
 that if you ride fortie miles from about London, you
 could not find sufficient Timber to build such another. It
 was a Ship of eleuen hundred Tunne: for beautie, bur-
 then, strength, and sufficiencie, surpassing all Marchants
 Ships whatsoeuer. But alas! shee was but shee one, out
 of a cruell destinie shee was overtaken with an untimely
 death in her youth and strength, being deuoured by those
 Iron Monnes of that Countrie, that pierced her heart,
 and brake many a mans withal memorabile in her misfor-
 tune, onely redounding to the Common-wealthes losse.
 For as for the Marchants, though I pittie their aduen-
 tures with all my heart, yet in this their part of losse was
 least; for all their goods were on boord, and shee had brought
 abundance out of the Mecha Flote, which shee did both
 tithe and toll: And thanks be to God, they are more then
 serues by what is returned from her, and more then that
 often, by the grace of God, will come from her to the Mar-
 chants gaine.

The like untimely fall had the other three of great bur-
 then, gallant Ships, neuer having had the fortune to see
 their native soile againe, or the honour to doe their Coun-
 trie any seruice, in respect of all other Ships that wander
 ordinarily to other Countries, therefore I may iustly say
 that they die not the ordinary death of Shippes, who com-
 monly haue some rest, and after long seruice die full of
 yeares, and at home, much of their timber seruing againe
 to

to the same vse, besides their Iron-wooke, and the rest, o-
 therwise seruiceable, and not in this bloudie and vnseaso-
 nable fashon, rather indeed as coffins full of liue bodies,
 then otherwise as comfortable Ships. For the rest that liue,
 they come home so crazed and broken, so maimed and br-
 manned, that whereas they went out strong, they re-
 turne most feeble: and whereas they were carried forth
 with Christians, they are brought home with Heathen.
 What the profits are to the Marchants, for so great an ad-
 uenture, I know not. I am sure amends cannot easily be
 made for so great losse, euen in this point which is our spe-
 ciall subiect, for wast of Woods, and spoile of shipping.

Our Ships are
 faine to take in
 the natives of
 the Indian
 Countries to
 supply the
 wants of our
 dead Sea-men
 to bring home
 their Ship.

The last assistance of shipping propounded, was that of
 the East Indies: which though yongest was found in the
 and state to haue ouer-topped all the rest; as a Bird that
 maketh her selfe gay with the feathers of all other Foules;
 hauing borrowed, nay, hauing bought the best Ships out of
 other Trades to honour their Voyage, and plumed euen
 Constantinople her selfe, of her shipping: therefore that
 men are entertained extraordinarily in this Voyage, it is
 apparant out of the greatnesse of the shipping; the enter-
 tainment of them increasing, it should be a consequent that
 Sea-men increase this way: But that we may not by am-
 bages triumph in their losse, or our calamities, we see this
 way that our Shippes perish, and therefore our men they
 thinke. Nay, though Ships come home, yet they leaue the
 men behind: so in this Voyage, there is a two-fold way
 towards our want of Mariners.

In that Ships, nay great Ships, are extraordinarily sub-
 iect to be cast away, and then there must be lost likewise of
 men; In that though they come home emptied of their
 men.

By the losse of foure Ships, we haue lost at the least foure
 hundred and fiftie men: and in the aduenture of some three
 thousand that haue beene imployed since that Voyage be-
 ganne, we haue lost many aboue two thousand.

David refused to drinke of the Well of Bethelam,
 which

which the strong men had fetched, when he thirsted and longed, because it was the price of blood. This Trade, their commodities are at a farre dearer rate, being bought with so many mens lives.

But happily some will say, that the greatest losse of these men was at the beginning, when as all things are difficult: but since our men framed to a better composition of themselves, to the varietie of this Climate, and heartned to the tediousnesse of this Voyage, haue better endured and overcome those difficulties, and returned more comfortably. Wherein the latest Voyages will informe vs best, and we will instance in the three last that haue made returnes.

The Trades Increase,

The first was vnder Sir Henrie Middleton, whose former government in that kind of Voyage, had approoued his wisdom and moderation. His ship was that famous and infortunate *Messell* of eleuen hundred Ton; his company in that ship some two hundred and twentie men. After foure yeares errors by and downe the Sea, wherin he vnder-went many constructions at home, and ouerrame strange difficulties abroad; hauing, to his eternall reputation of policie and courage, out-gone the perfidious Turke, and reuenged their barbarous wrongs, to the Marchants gaine, and the Kingdomes repute: After he, and his, had, I say, bene accompanied with many sorrowes, with laboz, hunger, heate, sicknesse, and perill; That worthie Commander, with many a sufficient Mariner, with the whole number (ten excepted) of his liue Cargazon, perished in that Acheldama, in that bloudy field of Bantam.

Captaine *Pemerton* that escaping imprisonment at *Moha*, journeying in that vn-known Countrie 15. miles by night, got to the Sea-side and finding a small Canow, made a saile of his shirt, and a mast of a stick, and so recouered the Ships.

Nicholas Dounton, the Vice-admirall of that Flotte returned, and of seuentie he carried forth, brought home some twentie; the rest, their labozs and liues were sacrificed to that implacable East Indian *Nepune*: the Darling of that Voyage is yet there, no; neuer will the master, and approued sea-man, returne, with diuers others.

The second was that of Captaine *Saris*, and Captaine *Towerson*, men formerly exercised in those iournies, and there-

therefore thought meet to command. Whether they were short of the opinion conceiued of them or no, I know not; if they were, I should attribute part of the losse of their men to their insufficiencie, but that the destinie of that Countrie challengeth all to it selfe. Captaine *Towerson*, who first returned, hauing left behind him of some hundred and twentie carried forth, fourescore and five; and Captaine *Saris* of 90. & odde not hauing brought home aboue two or three and twentie: the *Thomas* of that voyage, which went forth with some 60. men, was brought home by way of a wreck, you know the destruction of men that name importeth.

The third, that of Captaine *Thomas Best*, Admirall of the Flotte, a man, whose former behaviour in sea-affaires drew into that iourny with great expectation, and which is very seldome and hard, his carriage in this employment went beyond that great expectation of a reposed *Demarano*; indulgent to his men, vigilant in his charge, his courage like to his carriage, and his fortune aboue all, hee checked the Indians, he mated the Portugals: those honoz our King, these feare his forces, he settled a trade in *Cambaya*, reduced things in order in *Bantam*, brought riches home for the Marchants, and kept reputation for himselfe; yet for all this, he had *Nemesin* in doise, the Indian vengeance haunted his ship euen to our Coasts; of some hundred and eightie men vnder him when he went forth, depriuing him of one hundred and odde men for euer. Some foure or five and twentie of the remainder are left, on the desperate account of men, for the Countries *Factoridge*, onely thirtie are returned. In two great Sea-fights with the Portugals and their Gallions, which continued foure whole dayes, he lost not foure men. It was not then the fortune of war; neyther out of want of ought that victuals and good government could afford; imputations to some other Voyages: No; had the length of time any fault, part of others share; he hauing made the voyage in shorter space then any other ordinarily; the dogged Starre of those Climates, the blutch of those Countries were his fatalitie.

By staying an Armenian ship, wherin at least were some 400 men bound to the Indies, and commanding the Port, hee drew from the plaine dealing and made honorable conditions for the Marchants. He encountered foure gallions, wherin might be some two thousand men.

As one Swallow maketh no summer, so it is not much to be marvailed, that in al these Voyages some one Ship hath but bene scarred, and not else much hurt in this iourne: Shee indeed but even seeing those Coasts, and presently on so great a glut of our men and ships, with the which it seemeth the sea and Land was then busied and full: when as Captaine Newport returned with little losse and in short time.

Now then as wee haue said befoze, that the Indian ships die not the ordinary death of ships: and that wee haue shewen likewise befoze, that men doe die extraordinarily in this Voyage, which is almost incredible: they are distressed likewise after their death, and that is very apparant by the meane account made to their heires of what they had in possession in their life time, by what should otherwise be due to them in their purchase, by the calamities of their wiues, children, and friends, after their death. Fabulous and phantasticall Legends haue bene made of the restless death of many concealed Extortioners, and Murderers, whose Ghosts haue bene said to walke in paine and penance. On the contrary, how many liue bodies, indeed the true Images of the deceased, complaine on the death, call for the due of their friends: Fathers, Husbonds, Children, Kinsfolks, & Creditors: Woe Ratife, Limehouse Blacke-wall, Shadwell, Wapping, and other sea-townes abroad can sensibly tell. The Marchant hee is at home, and therefore hee cannot embezell the goods abroad: and it is likely that what is directly proued due is paid here to theirs. Then is the calamitie of that iourne more fearefull, because out of his owne ill Planet it maketh so many miserable. Now this is recompenced it is neyther my purpose, nor my part to examine: For certaine there is want of Trade: the Hollander would grow greater, if hee had all this Trade in his owne hands. The Kings Customs are now aduanced: this way Shipwrights are set on worke, which must be maintained; and other Mechanicall Trades liue hereby, with a number of poore busied.

And

And surely hee that would not haue the poore to liue, I would he might begge: And hee that would not aduance the Kings profit in all liberall manner; and Marchandize is a faire meanes, I would hee might die: and hee that regardeth not his Countries good, it is pittie hee was euer borne. I desire not, like a second Phacton, to make a combustion. All that I would enforce at this time is, that in this trade our men are consumed, and thereby more want of Mariners. Let the Straights-men, and the Lisborne-Marchants complain of their hinderance this way, and say their Trafficke befoze was more beneficiall by much, and more certaine to the Custome-house then the Indies bee now. Let others report that the foundation of this Trade was laid in the ruine of a Carick that Sir James Lancaster took in the first Voyage, and that the maine of this after-iollitic proceeded of the forced Trade bynen with the Mecha Flot by Sir Henry Middleton, whereby diuers durst not goe presently after to the Straights, as the Angell, and other ships, out of rumor of reuenge for violence offered by our Indian men to the Turkes in the Red sea. Let the common people say that their commodities are vnsuccessful: aske the Trademen, nay all men, what they haue cheaper: ioke into the price of victuals how it riseth out of their great provisions. Let the whole Land murmure at the transport of treasure, and bring in Charles the fifth his opinion, speaking to the Portugals of their Trade to the East Indies, who said that they were the enemies to Christendome, for they carried away the treasure of Europe to enrich the Heathen. Let goe the speech of the small reliefe thereby to the poore, and they whom it doth concerne may suggest the Indian home state and particular profit. Once I am sure, that as Vespasian the Emperour sayd, Hee had rather saue one Cittizen, then kill one thousand Enemies; so his Royall Maiestie had rather haue his subjects, then Custome for them: and you see plainly, that his Maiesties subjects, our Countie-men, fall this way, and this way is want of Mariners.

Wherein hee was his owne Trade-caruer out of tenne hundred thousand pounds worth of goods.

Hall Chron. An. 15 Hen. 8.

Now

Now Sir, imagine that you were the Reader to be satisfied, and you shall see, how while the froth of his *Meander* floud and such like following fuming stuffe-uaporates it selfe, out of the residence, Drosse as it is, I will extract all his Obiections, which now like folded sheepe, or as raw Souldiers in a rout, stand faces euerie way, but I will put them in aray, in order Sir, and yet defeat them, fairely as I goe.

First, comes a very forlorne Hope, two light, slight charges, were they true, of the Riuer *Volgas* disimboquing, and the *Streights* emptying, but I will take the former rather from the fifth page of his Booke where he speakes English.

The first Obiection.

The marchant formerly trading Ruffia, hath for warmth and profit seated himselfe in the East Indies, and transported thither much of the Muscouie Staple, &c. To which I answer.

Answer.

IF here, as some imagine, hee haue look't asquint vpon Sir *Thomas Smith*, an Honourable Gentleman, whose constant and continuall readinesse to spend both time and monie in any action that may good the Common-wealth, doth merit as much praise as modestie may giue a liuing man: How much is hee to blame, to wrong a worthie member of this Citie of the Kingdome, that (besides many other publike busineses) hath bene long, and is still Governour of the *Muscovia* Companie, and with them continually as great a Venturer as any? If he intend it by the Companie, how ignorantly doth hee taxe that bodie, the Discouerers of the *Northerne* World, that all the last

* With the expence of 120000. pounds in discoueries onely.

* Discouerers of the *Northerne* World, that all the last

last age honoured our whole Nation with their famous Navigation, that farre from letting full their Trade, after so many yeares of losse by reason of the troubles of that Land, doe yet make good a stocke, not onely to ^a defend ^b their fishing of the Whale in *Greeneland*, against all other Nations, but at this present able to beare the charge of sixe or seuen thousand pounds extraordinarie, to defray a *Muscouite* Ambassador al the last Winter here, and Sir *John Merrick*, one of ours now there, in hope to settle once more Priuileges for our Nation, and in time to bring ouer the *Caspian Sea* along that Riuer *Volga*, whose name (it seemes) he onely knowes, a Trade for *Indico* and *Sille* so rich, that the *East India* Marchant may perhaps be glad for so much to ioyne purse with them.

^a With twice as many ships, as they need fend for fishing.
^b At their charge it was first discouered, and by their great charge *Viscamiers* sent for, and our Nation taught to kill the Whales.

His second Obiection is of the *Streights* emptying, &c. or from his sixth Page. The Trade into the bottome of the *Streights* is lessened by the Circumvention of the East Indie Navigation, which fetcheth the Spices from the *Well-head*, &c. but marke.

The second Obiection.

IF this he sayes were true, so long as by the change the Kingdome gaine, and onely *Turkes* doe lose, of what faith is hee that complains? The *Turkie* Marchant is too honest and too wise, he knowes that when the great *Imbargo* and the warre that followed with *Spaine*, had forc't vs from the Marchant-strangers hand, to take our Spices (which were fetched from *Lisbone* formerly) ^c at extreme rates, His wittie Predecessor plotted, by his Factors, with the *Carauan*, to bring those Spices to *Aleppo* ouer Land, and so a while did helpe to serue the subiect here at lower prices,

The Answer.

^c As when lowest Pepper eight shillings a pound, &c.

ces, vntill the *Hollander*, by the *Cape Busma Esperancia* found the meanes to bring such store of those Commodities, that the ^d low price beat the *Streights*-Marchant from that ^e Marchandize: And then our Marchants, (that what euer ill men say, do scorne to weare the shooes of other Nations) resolu'd vpon an *India Voyage* for themselues, with foure good Ships, & some of them that wanted now imployment to the *Streights*: by the returne whereof, and by continuance of that Trafficke, our Spices are not onely cheaper to vs * halfe in halfe, but the *Straights* Marchant, long before this Pamphlet was put forth, out of our ouerplus hath serued the *Turkes* with Spice, and ^f carried in one yeare much more into the *Streights* then euer was imported thence: The proceed whereof, as *Turkie* Marchants know, besides the increase of shipping to export it, will returne Wares, to imploy at least twice as much shipping more: so much hath God Almighty blest vs, if we can bee thankefull. So opposite to truth is all he sayes of the *East India Trades* decaying of the *Streights*.

Besides, if the *East India* Marchant (that would he looke at private profit onely, can imploy his stock for swifter, and for surer, and perhaps more gaine) should, through discouragement of such malignant tongues, now giue that Trafficke ouer, liues there any (in the Citie among Sea-men) else so simple, as to thinke, that while the *Dutchmen* hold their Trade, there will bee any more Spice brought from *Turky*? Certainly that course is now for euer ouerthrowne, and so I thinke, are these two forlorne accusations.

Next then, to ouerpasse his Firworkes of triumph onely

d Though not vnder foure shillings the pound for Pepper, &c. e Which when it was at best, imployed not passe 200. Tun of shipping yearly. * As Pepper 2. shillings the pound when dearest, &c. f Of that which came home 1613. already 2628. bagges of Pepper, 5549. of cloues 2270. of Nutmegs, &c. which imploy'd outward at least 600. Tun of shipping & will freight at least twice as much home.

only, before Victorie, after some crackling noise, and no hurt, his Vantgard comes vp vpon our *East-India* Nauie, and like one of the wise Captaines of old time, he would cosen his Souldiers with false enumeration of their strength; I will therefore disproue him with a truer Catalogue of their ships.

Per Tonne & Tonnage.

The Dragon — 1060. } An old worne ship bought by the Companie, but by their cost made so strong, that shee is now gone her fifth voyage to the *Indies*.

The Hector — 800. } An old ship bought too, and made new and warlike, and now gone her 5. voiage too.

The Suzan — 400. } A very rotten ship, when shee was bought, and likely to haue beene broke vp for firewood, yet shee made one voyage, and in her second, foundred in the Sea, as wee thinke.

The Ascension — 400. } An old ship bought, Ordinance, Tackle, Furniture, and all for five hundred pound, shee yet made two voyages, and in her third was wilfully runne aground vpon the sholes of *Cambaya*

Per Tonne & Tonnage.

The Consent — 150. { A bought ship, she brought
some Cloues, &c. but be-
ing found too litle, was sold
away.

The Vnion — 400. { An old Hulke, bought from
carrying Masts and Dele,
yet made a warlike ship, and
lost in *Brittanie*.

The Expedition — 320. { Gone out her third voy-
age.

The Trades Increase 1293 { New built, and ouerswaid
as she was careening at *Ban-*
tam, &c.

The Peppercorne — 342. { New built, and now gone
her second voyage.

The Darling — 150. { New built, and now Tra-
ding and discovering in the
Indies.

The Globe — 527. { Bought and Rebuilt for
Trade and Discouerie in
Bengala, whence shee is not
yet returned.

Per

Per Tonne & Tonnage.

The Cloue — 527. { She was at *Japan* with Cap-
taine *Saris*, a new strong
ship, and going againe her
second Voyage.

The Thomas — 342. { New built and gone her se-
cond Voyage.

The James — 600. { New built, but not yet re-
turned from the *Indies*.

The Oceander — 213. { New built, and not yet re-
turned.

The Salomon — 400. { And now gone her second
Voyage.

The Concord — 213. (Gone out lately.

The new yeares gift — 867. (New built of *Irish* Timber.

The Hope — 533. (New built in *Ireland*.

The Samaritan — 543. (

The Thamazin — 133. (New built.

The Aduise — 160. (New built.

The Lyon — 386. (

D 3

The

The Great Defence-400 } Readie to goe out with the
 } Clause.

And two more now building at Depford, one of 1100. Tunne, the other of 900. Tunne, &c.

Out of these ships, the Companie haue set forth alreadie 17. voyages. Neither may he excuse his mentioning only 13. with pretence of his bookes being writtea long before his friend (no doubt) put it forth, since in the booke hee speakes of Captaine *Saris returne, &c. But let that passe. What saies he to these ships?

Page 29.

The third objection.

Four of these ships are lost, and that not by the ordinarie death of ships. The Trades Increase, that gallant shippe, was overtaken by vntimely death in her youth and strength, being deuoured by those iron-hearted worms of that Countrey, &c. The like vntimely fall had the other three gallant ships, neuer having had the fortune to see their native soile, nor the honour to doe their countrey any seruice, &c.

Answer.

And is foure of so many ships, so long at Sea, so great a losse, especially in foureteene yeares of our yet infant and discovering trade, while in the farthest and vnknowne parts of the world

Ignari hominumq; lacorumq;

Erramus, vento vastis & fluctibus acti,

Incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur,

while we seeke for trafficke with strange Nations? Surely wee esteeme it Gods great blessing, that wee lost no more, and wee are thankfull for it. He hath not dealt so

so with some other Nations. Looke on the *Portin-
gall or Dutch beginnings. Nay now they are so well experienc't, the first lost in a manner all their *China* Fleet and riches very lately, in returne to *Goa*; and the other, the very last yeare, out of foure ships richly laden, the returne of many more set forth, saw the ruine, ships, goods, men and all, of two; and one of them euen at their doores in *Holland*. And if this Vulture that thus followes wreckes and dead mens bodies, should but reckon other Marchants losses in that time, which I had rather pitie, he would, it may be, in his so approued *New-castle* coasting course, finde as great losse of Mariners and shipping.

* What worke would hee make, if wee should lose so much wealth, and so many men, in so lamentable a manner as the *S. Iohn* or *S. Benoit*, Carrickes of *Portingal* were cast away in At the Tef-

And for the extraordinarie death, I know not well what he intends: but sure the Companie, euen in the losse of most of them, for some things, found Gods extraordinarie blessing. Witnesse a true narration.

First, for the *Trades Increase*, when that thrice-worthie Generall Sir *Henry Middleton* (that neither tithed nor tolled the *Mecha* Fleet, as malice would haue men belecue, but like true Iustice, with the Sword and Ballance in his hand, made the beginning, laid the true foundation of our long desired *Cambaya-Trade*) had made the false *Turks* pay for his most barbarous imprisonment at *Mohia*, he conceiued, a twelue moneths stay, by that misfortune, longer forth, might peradventure bring his shippe in danger, and therefore more for prouidence then need, hee purposed to careen her at *Bantam*, our then greatest Factorie, where he was no stranger. But such was Gods good pleasure, as it hath done here, and may doe any where, a mortall and infectious sicknesse raged then among the natives

tiues of that land, and fell on him and many of his people vnto death, so as the shippe (that by the breaking of a Cable ouer-swaiied) was left halfe ruind aboue water, for want of skilfull hands to helpe her.

The *Ascension*, though an old Shippe bought, made for the Companie two voiajes to *India*; but in her third, by the wilfulnesse of a lewd Master, that would not suffer a Pilot to be entertained, shee was runne aground vpon the shoales of *Cambaya*, where yet all the men, with the best marchandize, were saued.

The *Union*, bought from carrying Masts and Dele, was by their cost made warlike, and so strong, that notwithstanding her vnhappy losse of the Captaine, and eleuen more of her principall men, through foolish breach of their * commission, yet shee had come richly laden home, if first a mutinie had not fallen among those new vnfit Commanders, and then fourteene of her ablest men had not forsaken her distrest, to goe for *Rochell* with a shippe of *Alborough*. And yet, good shippe, almost at home vpon the Coast of *Brittanie*, where shee droue in with her weake men, the lewd Inhabitants first drew her on the Rockes, then boarded her full of holes, and with more difficultie farre then would haue saued her, made a wreccke, as since vpon their execution for it, some of the actors haue confest in *France*.

The fourth and last, was the old rotten shippe, the *Susan*, ready to haue beene broken vp for fire-wood, when the *East-India* Marchant bought her for their voyage, which shee yet performed, though in returning home vpon her second voyage, shee foundred in
the

Yet the goods were safe.

In going on land at *Gongomora* in the Island of *S. Lawrence*, contrary to expresse instructions.

the Sea, as men suppose : so that (as *Neptune* in the Poet said)

*Vnus erit amissum tantum quem in gurgite quarent,
Vnum pro multis, &c.*

This only one shippe properly was lost. Now let him then but reade what hee hath written of these ships, and if he can forbear to blush.

But the rest of their ships are either out in the Voyage, or here at home out of reparations, returning so crazed and broken, &c. that if the Kingdome should haue need on any occasion, it shall surely want their seruice, &c. And this in truth is an obiection worthie of an answer.

Although before this Trade grew quicke, the Companie had leisure, and were forced to new-build, and bestow great cost vpon their old bought ships; yet now for diuers yeares, since they built new, there is no shadow of a truth in that hee saies: for that their ships, some after two yeares and a halfe, some after three, and longer voyages, come home so strong and seruiceable, that without cost of Planke or Timber (except only sheathing, due to euery Marchants good shippe, and performed easily in thirtie daies) they haue beene found fit to send out againe vnto the *Indies*. And thus without new building

E

The

The fourth obiection
Answered.

The }
Dragon
Hector
Expedition
Cloue
Salomon
Peppercorne
** Thomas*

was only dock't and sheath'd for the new Voyage.

* This ship hee saies came home by way of a wreck, is it not likely?

And that this point of sheathing may bee fully understood, The *Cloue* one of the greatest, that had been at *Japans* longest and farthest out, was for a triall sheathed and fitted perfectly in fourteene dayes: who then can doubt of their abilitie to serue the State at home vpon our Coasts, or at the most, litle aboue a Summers Voyage out?

The fifth Obiect:

But they are not here, &c.

Answer.
 * How much is the whole Kingdome bound vnto him for his care, not onely with infinite charge to keep his royal nauy in better state then euer, but to worke out wisely such addition of strength in shipping euen from his Marchants?

YEs commonly six Moneths, and when our Nauie is compleat, and our Trade settled, by Gods grace we shall haue many ships returning euery Summer, as well as those preparing in the Winter to goe forth: and see this mans ill luck, euen this last mustering yeare, before the putting out of that same Pamphlet, besides those seuen aboue set-ships. The *Samaritan*, the *Lion*, and the great *Defence* lay many moneths within the Riuer, readie, if neede had beene, to doe the seruice which his Maiestie in his Princely wisdom * provides for, in his letters Patents of the Companies Incorporation.

Tenne goodly shippes and such as (not to meddle with our Marchants ships, our friends at home) being all

all together, well provided of munition and men, would not much feare the Royall Nauie of some Kings in Christendome. A Squadron that within our narrow Seas, hauing the Land and Ports to friend, might stop the furie of another selle conceited inuincible *Armada*: what meanes this poore man then to write hee knowes not, and it seemes, hee cares not what?

I thinke our *Kentish* boughes that got vs Guel-kind of the *Cauquerer*, like Bees in his brains haue made him wood: In a wood I am sure he is now, & like to lose himselfe, for his next forces, like *Benzo* his naked *Indians* come to fight *Ligneis Telis*, with wooden Arguments. But any Wood will serue his rancor for Arrowes to shoot at the *East India* Companie: and would hee flie into the *Irish* bogges, as hee doth into their Woods, I must now pursue him. Hee saies,

Our Woods are extraordinarily cut downe, in regard of the greatnesse of their shipping, which both, as it were, deuoure our Timber, &c. King Henry the eight, and Quene Elizabeth, by Lawes, and our King by Proclamation, sought to preserve and increase our Woods, but that a parricide of Woods should thus bee committed, by building of Ships, &c. and so on, but

The sixth Obiect.

Thinks he, these royall Princes cared to keep their Woods for any nobler vse, then to build gallant ships, and those not to lie still and rot his ordinarie death, but such as round about the World disperse the honour of the Crowne they serue, and then returne with wealth for King and Kingdome, and for those that set them forth, in stead of Wood?

Wee must with thankfulness acknowledge, though hee coldly set it downe, that our most gracious Soueraigne hath not by Proclamation onely helpt the Kingdome in that point, but with a prouidence beyond his Predecessors, besides his recommending bills in Parliament, and speaking eloquently for them, He hath vrged good husbandrie of Planting to vs all, the onely meanes to breede vp shipping Timber, since tall and goodly Trees doe neuer proue of Tillers, second springers out of olde decayed stockes, how well soeuer kept by statute husbandrie in Woods.

But was this Care (thinkes he) for Trees to looke vpon? The prouidence that bids vs go and plant, commands vs too to vse our wel-growne Timber ere it rot, as that would soonest that is fittest for great shipping. His Maiestie was loth to haue our Timber spent on Beggers nests (that growing scurfe vpon this Citie) new tenemets, whose rotten rents make many Gentlemen before their time, or that our Woods should bee consumed in fire & Furnaces for glasses & such bables when God hath blest vs with a Fuell in the bowels of the earth, the wast whereof can doe no hurt: but as for building ships, his wisdomes likes that well, and out of royall bountie, for encouragement giues them the most that build the greatest, A policie of his Princely Predecessors. If then these Eagles could foresee no inconuenience, what is he? that professeth himselfe

Able

Able out of sufficient testimonie (questionlesse) to affirm, ^{The seventh Obiection.} that since the East India Trade, and merely through their building and repaying of their Ships (their building though begunne but five yeares since) Timber is raysed in the Land five shillings in a load, nay almost not to bee had for monie. This makes the Companie flie into Ireland, And hee heard a skilfull Shipwright (doubtlesse) say, that all the Timber within fortie miles of London would not build such another Shippe, as the Trades Increase, &c.

I Know what men in *Kent* esteeme of him, that said ^{Answer.} (because they agreed in time) that the building of *Tenderden* Steeple was the cause of *Goodwin* sands increasing: but if there be a man so neere of kind vnto a blocke, that hee thinkes cutting downe of Timber, Parricide: His tender conscience shall haue some more satisfaction.

It is no newes to heare the price of Timber rise, with most things else (perhaps through monies falling,) It did so, long before the *East India* Companie beganne, It doth so now within the Land, where neyther they nor any can build shippes: but to confound that poore Conceite, that they haue caused dearth, the *East India* Marchants Bookes will shew, that to this daie they haue in all of *English* Timber spent but five thousand, sixe hundred, twentie three loades, and one thousand, eight hundred, fortie two of plancks. Whereas I know of my particular acquaintances within his Shippewrights limits, the Companie are offered at this present more then that, at as cheape rates as when they built the *Trades Increase*:

E 3

And

I know where
in one Corner
of a Countrey
2000. Tunne
of Timber
must be spent
vpon one
Marsh-worke,
yet no man
dreames of
dearth.

m They haue
a stock of Tim-
ber, Trees
and Planke
cut downe,
and seasoning
there, and as
the old is fet-
ched away,
still new is
prouided.
n I am sure it
is a great
deale too for-
uiceable for
the stranger.

The eight
Obiection.

And they that best can iudge the *East-India* Ship-
wrights, sent to bargain for the *Companie*, auerre
vpon their credits, that they know within that fortie
miles, Timber enough to build not onely many a
Trades-Increase, but to vse their wordes, Ten times
as many ships as the *East-India* Marchants haue.

Yet they foreseeing store can be no store, especially
neere home, and hearing how the stranger daily fet-
ched away our Timber out of *Ireland*; out of an ho-
nest good affection to their Countrey, put their foot in
there, and now prouide the most part of their shipping
and materials^m thence, in which they finde noⁿ fault
at all, saue (as he only truly saies) the charge and ha-
zard: and if it shall seeme good vnto his Maiestie to
keepe our *Irish* Timber from the stranger, for to build
Busses and fishing Vessells for our selues; This ready
Companie, to doe him seruice, and to good their
Countrey, may perhaps finde meanes, to saue home-
store, by trying a conclusion in *Virginia*, which this
worthy Author thinkes, men know not what to doe
withall. Since therefore their prouision out of *Ire-
land*, neither is for neede, nor to saue charges: What
is he that requites that industrie of theirs, and hazard,
with ill wordes?

Now Sir, wee are vpon his next Inuestiues, his
maine battaile, nothing now but death of men, only
a certaine loose Wing, a stragling Obiection about
shipping comes first in the way, and saies that

The *East India* Marchants haue bought the best ships out
of other Trades, and plum'd euen *Constantinople* her
selfe, of her best shipping, like a Bird that makes her
selfe gay, &c.

But

But if the *Poet were aliue (from whom hee bor-
rowes that conceit) to reade first a Gentlemans
Fishing-Proiect, and then this Trades increase, assu-
redly, His *Quæ moueat Cornicularisam, Furtiuis nudata
volaribus*, in the proper sence, should not neede to force
it selfe vpon the *East-India* ships: but to the matter of
the Obiection; if he had his will, that the *East-India*
Marchants might neither build nor buy: what had
become of those old ships they bought, as the *Hector*,
the *Ascension*, and the *Suzan*, of Turkie Marchants,
and some others of other men? had they not lye
and rot for want of worke, or beene broke vp for fire-
wood, as well as others since? Or would he rather that
they had beene alienated into *Spaine* with the *Alceder*,
a ship of foure hundred Tunne, the *Beatis* of *Southamp-
ton*, a ship of three hundred Tunne? or into *Italie*
with the *Royall-Marchant*, of foure hundred. The
May flower, of three hundred. The *Prosperous*, of
two hundred and threescore. The *Suzan-Parnell*, of
two hundred and fiftie. The *Gold Noble*, of two
hundred and fortie. The *Consent*, of two hundred
and fourescore. The *Concord*, of two hundred and
fiftie Tunne. Surely, an honest man would rather
haue said somewhat of this sale, if hee must needs
complaine, then quarrell that, which was but change
with gaine vnto the Kingdome. Where then, good
friend, in the Epistle is that *Candor animi*, in all Parti-
culars? In all particulars it shewes it selfe alike, and e-
uen as charitably in his following clamor, about losse
of men: a subiect worthy of a little meditation.

It is a precious thing the life of man, and would to
God our single Combatants, for idle wordes, would
wey

Answer.
* Horace, lib. 1.
Epist. 3.

wey it well, at least those ioyes, that are expressed by the terme of Life to Come: Yet the true sweet thereof is not in length, but vse; a month of health more worth then yeares of sicknesse; an idle weeke not worth one houre well spent. And if wee looke vpon it, for it selfe or for our selues, to stay from Sea for feare of death, and starue at home, or pine away in pouerty, were foolish superstitious cowardize: But as wee are the Bodies of our King, and of our Countrie (though in truth their greatest treasure, witnesse a *Pohatan*, or a *P Virginia*, without them yet.) This necessarie Relatiue of Soueraigntie. Liuing bodies, vnimploied, are nothing. And if vnhealthinesse or danger of mortalitie, should keepe vs from a course, wherein we may enrich vs, or our Masters, or serue the King, or good the Common-wealth: Who then shall liue in Rummie-Marsh, or Holland, or our Cinque Ports, or Cities visited with sicknesse, or goe vnto the Warres? There is an Author that can make all these the price of bloud; with phrases: But perfect wisdom in all Common-wealths, hath honors, pay and priuiledges, to invite the priuate man into such dangers, for the publique good; And God hath giuen men wit and vnderstanding to finde out preseruatiues, as armor against euery perill, which In-bred courage, or obedience to Commanders, or care of those we must provide for, makes vs vnder-goe. Besides, the common-wealth esteemes not of the life of any but good men, such as doe good, the rest are *Tacitus* his *Purgamenta Urbium*, their death to her is nothing but an ease. Nay Mariners themselues admitting them to bee so scarce, were better die in the *East-Indies*, then here at home at Tybourne

o A poore naked King of p The goodliest Countrie in the world, were it well inhabited.

Tybourne, or at *Wapping*, for want of meanes to liue; or else be forced to turne Sea-robbers, and (besides their other hurts) giue this mans *pen occasion to cast such shamefull and vnnaturall aspersions on our whole Nation. But I will spinne out this no farther: the paradoxe is needlesse; for the ground our Author tooke to fight this battaile on, will faile him. Vnskilfull Sericant-Maior, he is mistaken in his numbers. He saies,

That by the losse of foure ships, we haue lost at least foure hundred and fiftie men: and in the Adventure, of some three thousand, since that voyage began, wee haue lost many aboue two thousand.

But how many soeuer haue bene imploied since that Voyage began, vpon a true examination of our bookes, it doth appeare, that in all our ships that haue returned or bene lost, vnto this day, there were at first set forth but three and twentie hundred, thirtie and three men of all conditions, Captaines, Preachers, Chirurgians, Marchants, Nouices and all: so that they are reckoned that are out in very many Factories abroad, and those that did come home in 19. ships that haue returned safe, there will not rest much likelihood of many aboue two thousand cast away. As for his at least foure hundred and fiftie, lost in the foure ships,

The *Trades Increase* } had but } 211 } In al foure hundred thirtie and fiftie, when they set forth. } 70 } } 70 } } 84 } } F And

34. page.

The ninth objection.

Answer.

Whereas hee speakes of Heathen mens bringing home our ships, it is a meere toy, for that they come as well to see our Country, and not neere so many as wee leaue for the. The *Cloue* brought home the most, from *Iapan*, yet not the fift part of the ships compaie.

And three of these, the *Trades Increase*, the *Vnion*, and the *Ascension*, although the body of the ships were lost, as you haue heard, lost not thereby one man. But hee perhaps will mend this grosse account in the particulars. He saies,

The tenth
obiection.

That Sir Henry Middleton carried out two hundred and twentie in the *Trades Increase*, all which liue Cargazon, ten only excepted, perished in that bloudy field Bantam, &c.

Answer.

But Sir Henry Middleton had but two hundred and seuen at first; and notwithstanding the losse of his Monson, by his imprisonment, for all his afflictions, and the accidentall infection you heard of, besides foure that should haue beene executed for malefactors, that therefore ran away vnto the *Portingals*, and five that were drowned, and many that were slaine, when hee was so barbarously captiued by the *Turkes* at *Moha*, and sixteene that were left abroad in Factorie, there returned with Captaine *Best* thirteene more then the ten he speakes of. But he saies further,

The eleuenth
obiection.

That Captaine Downton, of seuentie which hee carried forth, brought home but twentie: the rest, their liues were sacrificed to that implacable East-India Neptune, &c.

Answer.

But Captaine Downton, for all his dangers with Sir Henry Middleton, besides diuers left in Factorie, brought home twentie and seuen. But hee saies further,

That

That Captaine Saris and Captaine Towerson, whether through insufficiencie or no, he knowes not, but Captaine Towerson of 120. carried forth, lost 85. and Captaine Saris of ninetie and odde, brought home but two or thre and twentie. And the *Thomas* was brought home by way of a wrecke, &c.

For the sufficiencie of men alieue, & able to answer for themselves, I will say nothing, let their actions speake. But for the reckoning, Captaine Towerson carried out but one hundred and twelue, of which he left diuers abroad in Factories, and brought home 35. And the Generall of that Voyage, Captaine Saris, that carried out but 87. *English*, and 4. *Indians*, did leaue at *Bantam* eight in Factorie, and fifteene in *Japan*, and yet brought home many more *English* then he speakes of, besides three *Indians* for the foure that went out. Neither may one without a name, name the *Thomas* a wrecke, whose men brought shippe and goods into safe Port in *Ireland*, which if she had done sooner, as she might, and not striuen in the cold stormie winter, to come about for *London*, two moneths together, she had not lost so many men. But he saies further,

That by reason of the dogged starre of those Climates, of one hundred and eightie men carried forth by Captaine Best, there returned only thirtie, ouer and aboue foure or five and twentie left on the desperate account of the Countries Factoridge, &c.

But first, to satisfie this desperate account of Factors, you may know, that their returnes in euery shippe of ours, likely, many men, (ten at a time, and

The twelfth
obiection.

Captaine Saris would haue M. Pamphleter know, that he is not to learn the dutie of a Sea-commander from any of the wise Masters his Informers. He saies his voyage was the longest, and hardest, and costliest, and yet wealthiest of any returned hitherto, and that hee brought home aboue 40. men besides 15. *Japoneses* for those left at *Japan*, where he obtained certainly ample and honourable priuileges for our Nation. The 13. obiection.

Sometimes more) sent out in other Voyages, which I doe neuer reckon, but onely giue a true account of those that did proceed in the same shippe. And so besides those which Captaine *Best* did leaue abroad in Factorie, he put eight into the *Darling*, (the Pinnace that attended on Sir *Henry Middleton*, and is now discovering in the *Indies*) and foure hee lost by his accidentall fight with the *Portingall*, and yet brought home sixtie and foue. Who then can thinke this man had any minde to publish truth, that would not once conferre with Captaine *Best*, well knowne vnto him, as it seemeth by his friendly commendation, and one that could haue told him both the truth of our mens dying, and that the true cause (sauiing *Bantam*) is their owne disorder? Therefore

Certainly neither the dogged starre of those Climates, nor that implacable *East-India Neptune*, nor that bloudie field *Bantam*, is so fatall, so mercileffe, so murderous, as the malice of this man, that to slander the *East-India* Voyage, hath kild many that came home in safetie, and some that were neuer there. But I resolued to giue you satisfaction, and not laugh at him. Know therefore,

It is the Marchants grieffe (and hee that knowes what hazard they doe runne, that haue their goods in Heathen Countries, in the hands of dying men, that must expect rich ships to come from places so remote, so weakly man'd, thorow Seas of dangers, besides Pirates, will beleue it is their grieffe) vnspeakable, that hitherto they cannot absolutely cleare themselves from this (to them indeede great) mischief. For though they put their wealth into the hands

hands of such as come by sute and friends into their seruice, though they giue them entertainment, and imprest for their prouisions, beyond all other Marchants; though they prouide what ere it cost, all that the wit of man, helpt by continuall experience, can inuent, for victuals, clothing, physicke, surgerie, to keepe them in good health, besides good Preachers, and the best Commanders, al that may be to preserue them: yet if (as for the most part through their owne abusing of themselves, with the hot drinckes and most infectious women of those Countries) they come vnto vntimely death, the Marchants, that by that meanes lose much of their goods, and hazard all, when they haue paid the friends or creditors not only all their due, but oft times giuen more out of charitie to such as want, shall yet haue such a man as this raise ghosts, rather then they shall not be haunted.

But by the blessing of Almighty God, now that we are acquainted better with that Voyage, and so taught to settle Factories in healthier places; now that our Factors are more staid, and better knowne vnto vs, then many of those young men were that first aduentured on that then discovering Trade; now that our common Mariners, in effect the food of that mortalitie, (as may appeare by the often Voyages of our Captaines, Masters, Mates, and men of gouernment) shall neither be so long at Sea, nor stay longer on Land, then to unlade and lade, and so return in fifteene or sixteene moneths, as in *Straights* Voyages; wee are in good hope that our ships will come as safe from losse of men, as the *Consent* did first, and Captaine *Newport* since, whose happie Voyages

f This place is vnhealthie to our people, as time hath taught vs. So is *Scandarone* in the months of *Iune, Iulie, and August*, to those that goe into the *Straights*. We therefore change our Factorie from *Bantam*, where though some (as Captaine *Saris* 6. yeares) liue well, yet more haue died then in all our other Factories, if wee reckon not them that die of the &c. women.

taught vs the experience. And so, Sir, our Pamphlet-ter is now come *ad Triarios*, to his Reregard, his last Refuge, his owne Regiment, and that a ragged one.

The foure-teenth ob-jection.

Friends, Fathers, Widowes, Childzen, Kinsfolkes, and Creditors, out of p^oze Ratcliffe, Limenhouse, B'ackwall, Shadwel, Wapping, and other Sea-Townes, clamoring fo^r the due of the dead, &c.

Answer.

I Would some other poore, yet honest businesse, could as well shake off this clamour, as the *East-India* purse doth, that giues such extraordinarie wages, and still paies so readily, that men for many moneths out in this Voyage, in continuall pay, although in their returne they chance to die, and leaue perhaps to the suruiuors their extraordinarie gaine by priuate Trade, yet the good money due soone dries the eies of friends and creditors, as it might doe widowes, but that the Marchants carefull chusing by their good willes none but single men, doth for the most part saue that labour. For my part, I that often visit *Phil-pot Lane*, professe, I meet few sorrowfull *East India* Clients, but such as are refused to goe the Voyage.

e Sir Thomas Smiths house, where the Companie en-tertaine and pay their men.

And though I would not wish the *East-India* Marchants to answer this imaginarie clamour with setting truly downe how many Hoggetheads of good Beefe and Porke, how many thousand weight of Biscuit they haue giuen to the poore, euen in the parish-es and places which hee names; nor yet with telling what proportion weekly in pottage, beefe, and bread they send to the *Fleet, Ludgate, Newgate*, the two *Counters, Bedlem, the Marshalsea, Kings Bench, White Lion*, and *Counter* in *Southwarke*, besides good summes of

of money yearely to relecue poore painfull Preachers of the Gospell, whose meanes are small, and charges great. For which and other workes of charitie, God hath so wonderfully blest their labours. Yet if they should awhile forbear their almes, and let the poore soules want it, because this man thus raild vpon them, thinke then but what an armie of complaints and curses would fall on him and all his fained rabble, which he brought to fight like Satans seeming souldiers in the aire.

Poore man, his case was desperate, and like the Cap-taine of the Fort that *Monluc* speaks of: he did but set vp old clothes stuf with straw, to winne a little time to runne away: for harke, hee is alreadie in his violent retrait, with

For certaine there is want of Trade. The Hollander would grow greater, if he had all this trade in his own hands: the Kings Customs are aduanced: this way Shipwrights are set awozke, &c.

And so forth with a *Misericordia*, till he leaue vs to examine the Baggage ——— Arguments remain-ning.

In printis, Complaint of the Straights Marchant, &c.
Dead alreadie.

Item, The foundation of this trade was laid in the ruine of a Carricke taken by Sir James Lancaster, &c. The fifteenth obiecti^on.

Sore wounded, and not worth the knocking in the head.-- Yet for full satisfaction, it was founded by Queene Elizabeth of famous memorie, before Sir James

James

James Lancaster went to Sea: and that I may set downe her reasons in the Patent, for the honour of her Realme of *England*, for the increase of her Navigation, for the aduancement of trade of marchandize, and for other important causes and reasons, &c. But alas, she wanted this mans wisdom to assist her Counsell, &c. What haue we next?

The sixteenth
objection.

The iollitie of this trade proceeded from Sir Henry Middleton his trade comming out of the Mecha Fleet, whereby diuers Ships, as the Angell, durst not goe after into the Straights, &c.

Answer.

First then, for iollitie of trade, the seventh, the eighth, and the ninth Voyages at least, were gone to Sea before we heard one good word from the sixt, which was Sir *Henry Middletons*: and before returne of any goods, the tenth, the eleventh, the twelfth were likewise gone, if not the thirteenth, with a resolution of the settled great Ioint stocke. The iollitie I thinke he enuies. Nor finde we fault with Captaine *Middleton*, although his Voyage proue one of our worst. But sure the Heathen man that said,

Tibi innocens sit, quisquis est pro te nocens,

will much condemne this man, that blemisheth, as much as in him lies, Sir *Henry Middletons* good seruice for our Country, to take the part of Heathen men, that haue more conscience, that complaine not, for they know the wrongs which they had done our Nation, and that Captaine, for whose valiant iustice sake they vse our people better euer since. As for the feare
of

of some one ship, if it were true, wee wey it not, sith the whole bodie of the *Turkie* Companie, on good deliberation, were secure, as men that knew, Our *Lidger* at *Constantinople* now shall find a readier care to all Complaints since that example taught them, that our Nation can (as farre as 'tis) stoppe vp the mouth that giues them sweetest sustinance.

But, their commodities are vnnecessary, &c.

The seuen-
teenth Obie-
ction.
Answer.

HE meanes not this, I hope, by *Indico* and healthfull drugges, though *Callicoes*, and Silkes, and peradventure Spice be censured. The truth is, in strict tearmes of need, our Land that flowes with foode and rayment may *Bee*, without all other Nations, but to *Bee Well*, to flourish and grow rich, wee must find vent for our abundance, and seeke to adorne vs out of others superfluities. So other Marchants bring in *Wines*, and *Sugars*, *Currons*, *Raisons*, *Oyles* and such like, that while we eat them, doe eat on vs, and so of manufactures wearing: But I shall shew you now a Mystery of the *East India* Marchants merit of the Commonwealth, euen out of their vnnecessary Wares.

In any of their Voyages, The Commonwealth payes nothing for the victuals nor the wages of the men, nor for the worke of Shippwrights, Smiths, Coopers, Ropemakers, Porters, Lighter-men, &c. and such like infinite number of Labourers which they haue continually in pay; but hath the imployment of all these, and the keeping of many Factors abroad, for the materials, out of which they rayse their shipping and prouisions, so that there rests to reckon vnto
G her,

her, onely the stocke of Marchandize and monie sent to barter.

This stocke in two yeares doth not rise vnto the summe of that which yearely since the *East India* Trade (as I shall shew you by and by) the Kingdome saues, in the price onely, of the Spice it spends, so that the Common-wealth hath more then two for one, euen in the first returne for her Aduenture. Now then marke further, ouer and aboue that which was left to serue the Land, from *Michaelmasse* 1613. vnto *Christmasse* 1614. There was exported of *East India* goods, out of the Kingdome.

This stock in the greatest yeare, was but 36000. and The kingdome saues yearely in the price of Pepper, Cloues, Mice and Nutmegs 70000. pounds besides al other wares.

As much In

Pepper, as at two shillings the pound amounted to	} — 209623 ¹ — 14. s. d
Cloues, as at foure shillings the pound amounted to	} — 4338 — 16 — 0
Nutmegs, as at two shillings eight pence the pound amounted to	} — 740 — 16 — 0
Mace, as at six shillings the pound amounted to	} — 3613 — 4 — 0
In all	218316 — 10 — 0

So that by the *East India* Marchants happie charge and

and industrie, besides the Custome paid for it to the Crowne, and the imployment of many Shippes and Marriners, in sending it abroad, into *Germanie*, and the *Neiberlands*, *France*, *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Turkie*, and other places, there was already in fifteene moneths, out of foure sorts of Spice onely (not to speake of the *Indico*, *Callicoes*, *China Silkes*, *Beniamin*, *Aloes-socotrina*, &c. then exported) aboue two hundred thousand pounds sterling, added to the stocke of the Common-wealth, to proceede for the enriching of the Kingdome in the nature of Cloth, Lead, Tinne, or any of our owne Staple Marchandize. Which I hope was no vnecessary commoditie.

But you that read may iudge by this what great Increase the Common-wealth will haue, now the Joint stocke is settled, and are long, returns by Gods grace, to be look't for yearly of many ships with many hundred thousand pounds worth of Spice, *Indico*, *Callicoes*, *China* and *Persia* Silkes both raw and wrought, and other Marchandize, to serue our selues, and most partes of the World as wee beginne already, and should more easily, if such busie men as this Pamphletor would let the Martchant doe it without noise. But

What haue wee the cheaper?

I Le shew you Sir, and since I so began, in Spices onely, which before our *India* Trade, were often accidentally sold dearer much, but constantly, the lowest price.

The eighteenth Objection. Answer

Pepper, was foure shillings the pound, at which rate, fifteene hundred bagges, containing foure hundred & fiftie thousand pounds, (the smallest quantitie, that the Kingdome yearely is esteemed to spend) amounted to ninetie thousand pounds sterling. But since our trade, the highest price is but two shillings the pound, so that the Kingdome saues in Pepper yearely halfe, that is

>45000l.00s.0d.

Cloues, was eight shillings the pound, at which rate, two hundred Hogheads, containing fiftie thousand pounds spent in the land) amounted to twentie thousand pounds---But till the Dutchmen interrupted that part of our Trade, our greatest price was but foure shillings, so as the kingdome saued in Cloues

OR

>10000l.00s.0d.

Mace, was ten shillings the pound, at which rate one hundred Hogheads, containing fifteene thousand pounds, the Kingdomes spending came to seuen thousand and five hundred pounds--But we haue already brought the price to sixe shillings the pound, and so the Land, in Mace saues yearely

>3000l.00s.0d.

OF

Nutmegs, was five shillings the pound, at which rate, foure hundred Barrels, containing one hundred thousand pounds, our yearely spending amount to twentie & five thousand pounds, but by our price of two shillings and eight pence for a pound, the Kingdome saues.

>11666l.13s.4d.

So that this Trade in onely Spice, doth yearely saue the Land -----69666l.13s.4d.

And if (as some perhaps for their particular aduantage of returning Spices out of *Holland*, would haue vs) we should trust vnto the *Dutch*, and leaue this Trading for our selues, how soone the price would rise, you shall perceiue by this particular Example.

About some two yeares since, our Marchants brought in a good quantitie of Cloues, which to ship out againe, they sold wet-dryed for two shillings and eight pence the pound, and the dryed for foure shillings: But by our next ships failing, we were forced to fetch from *Amsterdam*, where sodainly the Dutchmen tooke the aduantage, so that wee could not get (as all men know) the very wet-dryed sold by vs so lately for two shillings and eight pence, vnder seuen shillings sterling for a pound. Iudge then by this, how deare strangers would quickly make vs pay for all things, if we should giue this Traffique ouer. But,

Looke into the price of Victuals, how that riseth through their great provisions, &c.

The nineteenth Obiection.

G 3

To

Answer.

TO which I answer, that no sober man can doubt, but that the mouths the *East-India* Merchant sends to Sea, would eate at home: but further, hee that is acquainted with the finding and the feeding men at Sea, knowes well it would bee riches infinite vnto this Land, and vnto euey priuate Master of a Familie, if men would wast no more in victualls here at home, then Sea-men doe abroade, yet since hee sayes this is the poores complaint, in truth a poore one, it shall haue some further satisfaction.

The greatest fleet that euer yet the Companie set forth, was this last yeare 1614. the charge whereof amounted to one hundred thousand pounds.

In {	Shipping and their Furniture.	34000 ^l .05.04.
	Victualls, imprest mony and o- ther ordinarie and extraor- dinarie charges.	} 30000 ^l .05.04.
	Natiue and forraine Marchan- dize, and readie mony, sent to Trade.	} 36000 ^l .05.04.

More particularly this Cargazon of thirtie and sixe thousand pounds, was:

In {	Bayes, Kerseys, and most broad clothes dyed and drest to the Kingdomes best aduantage.	} 14000 ^l .05.04.
	Lead, Iron, and forraine mar- chandize.	} 10000 ^l .05.04.
	Readie mony, in all the ships, but	} 12000 ^l .05.04.

And

And it is worth the noting that this twelue thou- sand pounds, was scant one third part of that, which the Companie paid that yeare for the Kings custome, impost, and other duties, and not one third part of that which they paid Marriners for wages: but for the victuall, that is thus prouided.

The Bread of corne sent for of purpose out of France:

The Drinke, all in a manner Spanish Wines and Si- der, little or no Beere.

The Flesh is Beeffe and Porke, proportion'd into ship-messes, and that onely but for three dayes of se- uen in the weeke, and but for twentie moneths of thirtie, the other ten moneths, which proues often more, is prouided in *India*, or parts abroad.

Now then, if our Obiecter bee none of those, that rise vpearly to follow drunkennesse, and continue vn- till night, till the Wine doe inflame them, &c. if he be free from *Seneca* his *Fædisimum patrimoniorū exitium culnia*: if he be no *Fucus*, & *Piger*, & *Vorax*, no vnprofi- table burdē, that cōsumes the good fruits of the earth, but labors not at all: yet in his best sobrietic and tem- perance, let him but consider his owne mouth, and he shall finde it iustlier to be blam'd for making victualls deare, then the prouision of the *East-India* voyage, and yet this mouth will not be stoppt, but how. How now?

What Monsieur Transportation of Treasure in the Reare, among the baggage? with the Victualler of the Campe? You that heretofore haue serued so resolutely, before the King, before the Parlia- ment, at the Councell Table; nay, almost euey Table, now dying in a Ditch? Alas.

The twentieth Obiection.

Answer.

A Las Sir, his deare brother in Armes Death of men, is runne away wounded to death by Captaine *Newport*: what would you haue him doe? When hee saw, that the *East-India* Companie, by the Bookes of Entrie with his Maiesties Officers, by their own books of Accompts, belides a sodaine and secret searching of their ships, had manifested that they neuer in any yeare (no not when they went to discover what of our Commodities would vent in those parts) carryed nere so much, as his Maiesties gracious Letters Patents doth permit. When he found that some particular Marchants of that Companie, did at one time bring into the Kingdome more siluer, then the whole Companie together did at any time carrie out. When hee perceiued, notwithstanding, that the *East-India* Marchant, to auoid all colour of scandall, did prouide, That forraine ^u coine, beyond the Seas, with much hazard (as lately at *Sandwich*) by bringing of it ouer in small Pinkes, and paying dearer for it, then others, yea, strangers here at home doe buy it to steale ouer for want of their licence. When hee beheld, to his great grief, such daily increase of broad clothes dyed and drest, with other marchandize, and such decrease of readie money, in the Cargazon or stock they sent to Traffique. When last of all, he heard for certaine of a Factorie setled at *Iapan*, and of such store of siluer there, as is not onely like to serue the Trade in all those parts, but to returne perhaps some good part hither, what would you haue him doe, but hide his head? And yet you heare, he holds his manly words, he talkes of murmuring and * *Charles* the Fifth.

But sure, men will not murmure, when they know the

the truth, and would these bawtie Writers fill their braines a little better, ere they presse them, by reading the Records of *Spain* and *Portugall*, and better Stories then *Hals* Chronicle for *India* matters, they might finde reasons, to make more reckoning of the *East-India* Traffique then th'Obiector doth; The sole fruition whereof hath yeelded many Millions yearely to those Nations, and as they say themselves was worth more to that *Crowne*, then the *West-Indies*. I am sure the sweet thereof was such euen in the Infancie, that * *John* the Third of *Portugall*, gaue to that *Charles* the Fifth he mentions, before his going into *Italie*, three hundred and fiftie thousand Duckats, onely not to interrupt his Peoples then beginning Trade with the *Moluccaes*: Which summe of mony, a few Subiects in *Castile*, did offer to repay (on strange easie conditions) rather then their Emperour should sell the hope they had of wealth, from those rich countries.

x By an agreement made at Zaragosa 22. of Aprill, 1529

But I haue done, and now it may be mine Author, that in his first Page, cald himselfe, a Fresh-water Souldier, if he should chance to see the Martiall order his Obiections haue appeared in, might belecue himselfe to bee some great Commander, whereas the Truth is hee was but a Trumpet of Defiance to the *East-India* Marchant, according therefore to his dutie, I would send him back to take a view of all his Falsehoods, scattered in the field, which I perswade my selfe, will shew him his ouerthrow was shamefull.

At least, Sir *Thomas Smith*, iudge what it may bee, if some able Marchant vnder-take the Argument, when so much hath beene said (and more that comes

H

too

u It was euer the money of forraine Nations, which they exported, and that which Marchants brought in not our owne coyne.

* Out of *Hals* Chronicle.

The Defence

too neare matter of State, secret of Marchandize,
hath beene omitted) by your faithfull
Friend and Kinsman, that wisheth
well to Trade and
Marchants.

Dudly Digges.

Post.



Post-script to the Reader.

SInce hee that may dispose of
mee, will haue these rough
lines printed for your satis-
faction, & that am neither
ashamed of my loue to the East-India
Trade, nor the truth I haue written,
must (if but for fashion sake) say some-
what vnto you () Reader. It
may please you then to know, that the
substance of this which you haue read,
was taken out of Custome-bookes, out of
the East-India Companies bookes, out
of Grocers, Warehouse-keepers, Mar-
chants bookes, and conference with men
of best experience. As for errors of pen
or presse, you will either not marke them,
or can mend them; all I aske for my
paines.

*paines. And so I leave you, to commend
(if you list) piperi & scombris, that
Trades Increase to packe up fish, and
this Defence of Trade to wrappe up
spice : a couple of Inke-wasting toies in-
deed, that if my heartie wishes could
haue wrought it, should haue seene noo-
ther light then the fire. So farre from
the ambition of your acquaint-
tance was*

D. D.