APPENDIX

NOTE A. TRADE TO BRAZIL.—The account of these numerous voyages affords an interesting example of the complicated trade developments of the late sixteenth century. Brazil had at first been a possession less valued by Portugal than the spice countries of the East. In the negotiations between England and Portugal culminating in the treaty of 1576, there was no mention of Brazil; and as late as 1582 (after the annexation of Portugal by Spain), the English Council regarded Brazil as one of the countries where English merchants had a right to trade. (*Sim. Trans.*, pp. 385-6, No. 275). Many English merchants on their part were anxious to take advantage of this presumed right. By 1578 an English merchant, John Whithal, was already established in Brazil, and wrote full instructions for a voyage thither to his London correspondent, Richard Stapers (*see* Introduction). This letter, which appears in *Hakluyt's Voyages* (Hakluyt Soc. ed., Vol. xi, pp. 26-30), directs that the ship shall come by way of the Canaries; but, unlike the vessel mentioned in the text, it is *not* to touch at Guinea. The ship demanded by Whithal was to lade for the Canaries with Hampshire and Devonshire Kersies, which were to be sold in the islands and replaced by wine, coloured Cordovan skins, and oil. For Brazil, the lading (taken in at London) was to be holland, and other textiles, iron, hardware, glass, hats, etc., with spices and Canary pitch. A somewhat similar list appears in a "Note of all such wares as are good and necessary for the parts of Brazil" in the *Dom. St. P.* for 1582 (Vol. 153, No. 43); though this includes many more small articles of haberdashery and so forth.

The Spanish jealousy of this growing trade was, however, soon awakened; and was stimulated by the fear that the traffic would provide the English with an excellent cover for their plundering expeditions to the West Indies.

Mendoza proposed that all English ships taken off the coasts of Brazil or the West Indies should be sent to the bottom. The case of the "Mignon," of London, which was taken off the coast of Brazil in 1581, created much excitement; the English Government maintained her right to trade there, the Spaniards denied it. She suc-

ceeded at all events in landing several men on the Brazilian coast, whose presence probably facilitated English trade (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 302, 356, etc.). From this time there are frequent notices of English ships sailing for Brazil, either for trade or plunder. Hence the account of the voyage given in the text is probably correct. The most notable point about it is the suggestion of touching at Angola to take in negroes for Brazil. Up to this time the English seem to have had far less share in the slave trade between Guinea and Brazil than in that between Guinea and Hispaniola. In none of the lists quoted are negroes mentioned as good merchandise for Brazil; but by 1589, according to the statement in *The Adventures of Andrew Battel of Leigh* (Hakluyt Soc. pub., E. G. Ravenstein ed., 1901, p. 4), Spanish ships traded every year between Brazil and Angola; and in 1587 the French Governor sent a ship to the Mina and Brazil (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 100, No. 101). Possibly the development of the Brazilian trade in sugar rendered a supply of labour necessary, and so gave an impetus to the slave trade. Moreover England, up to the time of the annexation by Spain of Portugal, had some hesitation in trading to Guinea; hence the Portuguese, lords both of Guinea and Brazil, probably had the whole Brazilian slave trade in their hands. In this point of view it is significant that both the ship mentioned in the text and that set forth by the governor of Dieppe were manned by Portuguese. Thus the annexation of Portugal not only gave other countries the opportunity of trading to Portuguese colonies, but in the persons of Portuguese refugees supplied them with pilots and traders, already expert in the traffic, and able to carry it on with small risk of detection.

NOTE B. SUPPLY OF PROVISIONS TO HERETICS.—This scruple on the part of the Spaniards as to supplying heretics with provisions was by no means general. Export of oil and wine from Spain to England continued throughout the Spanish War; and the English on their part had so little scruple in supplying "Papists" that in 1593 Burghley's correspondent in Bayonne declared that English, Irish and Scotch would load corn in England as if for the south of France, and discharge it in Spain (*Hist. MSS. Com. Hatfield MSS.*, vol. iv, p. 347). Perhaps the nearest parallel among Englishmen to the moral indignation expressed by this witness, appears in the anger to which certain English traders gave vent at the conduct of one Richard Wheeler. The latter was accused of having obtained undue influence with the Sultan by furnishing him with

ordnance, muskets, swords and so forth, "which," declared the merchants, "we will not do, being an un-christian thing." (*Lansd. MSS.* 112, No. 30).

NOTE C. BARBARY AMBASSADOR.—The identity of this person is hard to discover. No ambassador to any part of North Africa about this time had any name even distantly resembling "Harbas." Harborne, the English ambassador to Constantinople, had at this time returned to England. The whole story of the ambassador may be mere fiction on the part of the sailors, designed to afford them the security of being part of an ambassador's suite; but just previous to this time, agents and messengers had been sent to the Barbary States—especially Morocco—by Queen Elizabeth on behalf of Don Antonio. Thus Edward Prynne was sent to Constantinople in 1590 and thence to Morocco, where he remained for about a year. (*St. P. Foreign. Barbary States, Morocco*, vol. XII, No. 31); and in 1589 Don Antonio sent an Englishman from Cascaes to Barbary (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 550, No. 554). It is just possible that we have here a trace of some similar negotiation; but perhaps the most probable conjecture is that this unknown "Harbas" was not an ambassador at all, but an agent or consul for the merchants trading to Barbary. The latter, who had been incorporated in 1582, found their trade attended with considerable risk. Thus Prynne in Morocco reported that three English merchants had been killed and no redress had been granted; and this "Harbas" may have been sent to remonstrate on the subject of these and other enormities.

NOTE D. EVIDENCE OF HANS ANBURQUE.—It may seem superfluous to comment on any acts of piracy committed by any persons whatsoever in the year 1592; but it is interesting to note that at this time England was involved in a dispute regarding contraband of war with the Hansa merchants. The Privy Council declared that the Armada could never have been launched but for the provisions, materials for shipbuilding, and general munitions of war supplied by the Hansa towns; and remonstrated pretty sharply with the Alderman of the Steelyard, declaring that the English were justified in confiscating ships and goods of such a nature intended for Spain. They had already put their theory into practice by seizing a large number off the coast of Portugal in 1590. The Hansa merchants who had preserved their neutrality in European

quarrels complained of this conduct on the part of the English; but the Privy Council stuck to its point and declared the following goods in our modern phrase, "contraband of war": cables, masts, anchors, cordage, pitch, tar, tallow, timber, ordnance, copper, lead, arms, corn, bacon and canvas (*Admiralty Court Act Book 21, February 27, 1591-2*). As a large proportion of these goods were the produce of the Baltic provinces, it will be seen that the Hansa merchants were hard hit; so were the Irish, who also traded with Spain in timber and provisions; and so, too, were the English themselves, who were reputed to produce the best ordnance in Europe, and who smuggled it over to Spain oftener than was consistent with patriotism (*see Dom. St. P. Eliz.*, vol. 239, No. 92, *Cal.*, p. 73, No. 92, etc.); but the chief offenders were certainly the Hansa merchants, and English sailors therefore no doubt viewed the plunder of a German vessel not merely as a congenial occupation, but as a patriotic duty.

NOTE E. SCOTCH TRADE.—The trade of Scotland with Spain and its dependencies may have received an impetus from the Anglo-Spanish War; at all events it was exceedingly active during the last twenty years of the sixteenth century. Scotch exports to Spain usually consisted of coarse cloths and provisions, and these sufficiently resembled English exports to facilitate the use by the English merchants of this safe channel for the transmission of their goods. One William Hunter was a well-known Scotch agent in Spain; he called himself the banker of the King of Scotland (*Sim. Trans.*, 1587, p. 62, No. 62); and in 1588 it was said that Scotch ships were trading from Norwich to Spain in his name, loaded with English goods (*ib.*, p. 280, No. 286). In 1589 the Earl of Cumberland found the "Falcon," of London, at the Azores trading under the name of its Scotch pilot (Raymond Beazley, *Voyages and Travels*: vol. II., p. 188), and in 1588 two Scotch ships with Scotch crews left London for San Lucar and Cadiz, carrying goods belonging to Richard Sapers, presumably Richard Stapers, the well-known Turkey and Brazil merchant (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 186, No. 191). The trade was encouraged on the English side by licences to the Scotch to export cloth and corn; and at a later date the Spanish Government so far yielded to the exigencies of commerce that in 1593 they are said to permit Scotchmen to carry English goods to Spain (*Hat. MSS.* iv., pp. 338, 350). Hence a Scotch ship trading to the Canaries was probably an every day matter; and that it should

be employed in carrying English goods was likely to the verge of certainty.

NOTE F. COLE'S CONFESSION.—Bartholomew Cole's account of the English trade with Spain is fully borne out by other evidence. The war had been a great blow to English merchants, especially to those of the West Country. In 1586 England was said to have been almost deprived of trade by the war (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 651); and the next year Bristol and Southampton were said to be suffering heavily from loss of trade (*Dom. St. P. Cal.*, p. 402, Nos. 5, 11, 12). The loss was serious to both parties—especially to Spain. England sent thither corn, textiles, lead, and skins; and received fine leather, oil, wine, raw silk, alum, and fruit in exchange (*Dom. St. P.*, 1585, vol. 185, No. 102). Thus as far as concerns the actual commodities received, English trade was more necessary to Spain than Spain's to England; on the other hand, Spain was one of England's best customers for her chief manufactures, and thus the impulse on both sides towards trade was too strong to be entirely thwarted by war. Already in 1587 various merchants of Bristol were accused of supplying Spain with provisions (*Dom. St. P. Cal. Add.*, p. 232, No. 62). In 1588 an English merchant of London was reported to have received three cargoes of oil and wine from St Lucar (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 220-21, No. 229). The spies in the English service, such as Bernaldo Luis and Hector Nunez, constantly cloaked their communications under the guise of trade (e.g., *Sim. Trans.* 1588, p. 253, No. 255). Richard May, one of the principal merchant adventurers, was mentioned as one of those carrying on a correspondence with Portugal and Flanders to the injury of Spain (*Sim. Trans.* 1588, p. 326, No. 331). As time went on this traffic received something even resembling encouragement from the respective governments. In 1589 Don Alonso, of Placentia, was reported to have bought the right to export any English goods except cloth to Spain (*Dom. St. P. Cal. Add.*, p. 288, No. 73). In 1594, Michael Stanhope was licensed to bring in Spanish wool to make Spanish felts (*Dom. St. P. Cal.*, p. 256), and in the same year the Book of Rates mentions Spanish iron, green woad, and Seville oil as among the goods on which an increased duty might reasonably be expected to secure an increased revenue (*Dom. St. P.*, vol. 250, No. 30); thereby suggesting that the trade in Spanish produce was recognized as normal. This might well be, seeing that in 1591 ninety-eight English merchants were recorded to have freighted ships

to ports within the Straits, which included Malaga and Alicant (*Dom. St. P. Cal.*, p. 63, No. 62).

Still such trade was hazardous; and to avoid this hazard the English merchants found it expedient to employ foreign vessels. The use of Scotch vessels and crews in this connexion has already been noticed (*Note E*). Trade through Germany was another obvious resource. The wars in the Netherlands had caused the merchant adventurers to seek their chief markets for cloth at Hamburg and Stade, whence, as Cole alleges, it was frequently carried to Spain. The colouring of cloth—or disguising it by dyeing—was a frequent practice in Germany, and one which caused great complaint; but the English manufacturers, whose market for cloth would otherwise have been cut off, must have found considerable advantage from it. Besides cloth, corn and munitions of war were also transported from England in the face of the proclamation which made such trade treasonable. It was said that “every day” English ordnance arrived in Spain by way of Lubeck, Bremen and Hamburg (*Hatfield MSS.*, iv, p. 103). In England itself, German ships were often laden with goods which were supposed to be intended for Italian ports, but were really discharged in Spain. Foreign merchants and ship masters in England were frequently among the exporters. In 1592 Hans Castel loaded his ship with herrings, wheat and ordnance at Harwich for Spain (*ib.*, p. 246). Pilchards and butter were shipped from the West of England to Spain (*Dom. St. P. Cal.*, p. 72, No. 92). This disguised trade was encouraged by Philip’s proclamation in 1593–4, that English goods might be freely sold in Spain if they were not sent in English vessels or by English factors (*Lansd. MSS.*, 76, No. 1). Returns were not wanting; a Danish ship trading in wine from St Lucar to London was taken in 1591 (*Dom. St. P.*, vol. 239, No. 162). Ships from Lisbon are frequently noted as arriving in English ports (*Sim. Trans.*, p. 253, No. 255, etc.) and, in 1592–3, over 23,000 lbs. of Spanish and other fine silk were brought to London by English and foreign merchants (*Hatfield MSS.*, iv, p. 574).

Through France as well as Germany the English merchants found their way; as Cole points out, the Breton towns were exceedingly convenient for their purpose; the West of England seems to have traded energetically with Brest and Morlaix; though their commerce was endangered by the wars of the League, with the result that they petitioned for the transfer of this trade to the Channel Islands (*Dom. St. P. Add. Cal.*, pp. 299–300). Altogether it seems

probable that though the Anglo-Spanish trade was severely injured by the war, yet the efforts of both sides preserved it from absolute destruction, and thereby lessened the misery which the war inflicted on both countries.

NOTE G. IRISH TRADE.—Irish trade with Spain and its dependencies was tolerably active about this period. The Irish as Catholics, and possible rebels against Elizabeth, were not prohibited by Philip II from trade, as were the English. Provisions of various kinds, hides and timber (including pipe staves) were the chief Irish exports to Spain. In 1588 it was reported that all the previous year Irish vessels had been coming to Bilboa, St Sebastian, and Corunna laden with wheat and hides from Waterford (*Dom. St. P. Add. Cal.*, p. 255, No. 110), and in 1592 Edmund Palmer at St Jean de Luz wrote to Burleigh that the "Irish will altogether feed Spain with grain" under pretence of going to Rochelle (*Hatfield MSS.*, iv, p. 177); and about the same date there were said to be thirty Irish merchants in Seville, all friends of Spain (*Dom. St. P. Cal.*, p. 236, No. 57). Dangerous as such a trade must be to England, it offered too many opportunities for English traders to be foregone. Thus in 1591 a Spanish vessel took a ship from Cork laden by Sir Thomas Norris (*Dom. St. P.*, vol. 238, No. 133); and Sir Walter Raleigh was the chief mover in procuring the English Government's permission for the trade in pipe staves from Ireland to the islands; it was stated in 1593 that in the past three years twelve ships with 340,000 pipe staves had gone from Waterford to the islands, and in return two ships had come from the Canaries with goods on which the customs amounted to £300 (*Hatfield MSS.*, iv, p. 464). With Irish trade to the Spanish dominions thus licensed on both sides, it is inevitable that numerous instances should occur of English traders disguised as Irish, as Cole asserts.

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