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THE EMBASSY OF WILLIAM HARBORNE TO
CONSTANTINOPLE, 1583-8

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THE Turkey Company, one of the many commercial ventures started during the reign of Elizabeth, was first organised in order to break the monopoly in Eastern commodities which had fallen into the hands of the Venetians, to the great detriment of English trade. The early history of the Turkey Company has already been submitted to detailed investigation, and need not be recapitulated here.¹ The object of the present paper is to throw some light upon an aspect of the subject which has hitherto received little attention, namely, the part played in the foundation of the Company by William Harborne, our first Ambassador to the Porte, but for whose courage and perseverance the whole enterprise must have fallen to the ground. His services to the Turkey Company may be compared to those of Sir Thomas Roe to the East India Company; but whereas the journals and diaries of the latter have been worthily edited, those of Harborne remain almost entirely unknown.² Harborne,

¹ M. Epstein, *Early History of the Levant Company* (1908); H. G. Rosedale, *Q. Elizabeth and the Levant Company* (1904).

² The only account of which the writer is aware is the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, viii, 1200-1, which has been supplemented by this Paper.

during his six years at Constantinople, kept up a close correspondence with Lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Walsingham and Mr. Secretary Davison. He was a voluminous but not an elegant letter-writer: his style is so cumbrous and involved that at times it is difficult to understand exactly what he means, and one is tempted to wish that he had written in Latin. He was, however, a man of singularly penetrating and far-sighted views, and his advice upon the trade and policy of the Levant was welcomed by the acute statesmen who directed Queen Elizabeth's government. His letters and memoranda furnish a mass of information upon affairs at Constantinople, the intrigues of the French, Spanish and Venetians against what they considered to be the intrusion of the English, and the interesting question of the relations between the Company and the Crown. A few documents of Harborne's, relating chiefly to his journeys to and from Constantinople and his experiences when there, have found their way into Hakluyt's *Voyages*; the bulk of them, however, remain unprinted. They are to be found in Foreign State Papers, Turkey, Bundle I, in the Public Record Office; the Burleigh MSS. in the Lansdowne Collection, and the Harleian Collection, both in the British Museum; and the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library. One of the main sources of the Tanner Collection is the Hobart family papers; and the presence of a private letter from Harborne to Sir John Hobart, dated 1605, seems to suggest that Harborne's letters came into Tanner's possession as part of these. The principal headings in Hackman's Catalogue¹ are as follows:

"(i) Draughts of sundry letters from William Harborne to Mr. Secretary Davison, giving an account of affairs in the East, 1587. (MS. Tanner 79, fol. 100, *et passim*.)

(ii) Draughts of various letters and papers written by him during his embassy at Constantinople. (MS. 78, fol. 133 *et seqq.*)

(iii) Sundry papers concerning the services done by him during his travels in Turkey. (MS. 77, fol. 1-9.)"

¹ *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ pars quarta*. Ed. Alfred Hackman, index p. 950.

Harborne was born at Yarmouth in 1572, and like Sir Thomas Roe, served his apprenticeship in public affairs as a Member of Parliament. At this time trade with the Levant, which early in the sixteenth century had been started by the Gonson family, had dwindled away until it was "in manner quite forgotten." This effort to revive it was due, in the words of Hakluyt, to "the discreet and worthy citizens Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper,¹ seriously considering what benefit might grow to the commonwealth by renewing the aforesaid discontinued trade, to the enlarging of Her Majesty's customs, the furthering of navigation, the venting of diverse general commodities of this realm, and the enriching of the City of London." The initial step was obviously to send an envoy to Constantinople in order to come to terms with the Sultan: for this purpose, as Walsingham pointed out in his *Consideration of the Trade into Turkey*,² "the first thing that is to be done . . . is to make choice of some apt man to be sent with her majesty's letters unto the Turks to procure an ample safe conduct, who is always to remain there at the charge of the merchants . . . whose repair thither is to be handled with great secrecy, and his voyage to be performed rather by land than by sea, for that otherwise the Italians that are here will seek underhand that he may be disgraced at his repair thither. . . ." Acting on this advice, Osborne selected Harborne, who was already his factor, for the mission. A preliminary precaution had to be undertaken, and before Harborne started, John Wright and Joseph Clements were sent to Constantinople to obtain for him a safe-conduct.³

¹ Edward Osborne (1530-1602) was Lord Mayor of London 1583 and M.P. for London 1586. Richard Staper is justly described on his monument in St. Helens, Bishopsgate, as "The greatest merchant in his tyme; the chieftest actor in discovere of the trades of Turkey and East India." They were the pioneers of English commerce in the reign of Elizabeth, and despatched Ralph Fitch and his companions on the epoch-making mission to Akbar (1583).

² *S.P.D. Eliz.* 144, No. 70. Given in Epstein, *op. cit.* Appendix viii, 2.

³ Hakluyt, *Voyages*, ed. Maclehose, Glasgow, 1903, vol. v, 168.

The following undated document, found among the Lansdowne MSS.,¹ probably states, *inter alia*, the terms obtained from the Sultan on this occasion :

Articles for Capitulations with the Gd Signior of Turkey to be specified in her Majesty's letters and referred to her Ambassador and Nuncio.

1. That her Majesty shall still have free liberty to make wars and take peace with all princes Christian.

2. That her Majesty's Ambassador have as great allowances as have the best of other princes Christian.

3. That her Majesty's Ambassador may remain there five years, without change, if her Majesty please, and at his departure may leave an agent there for 3 years.

4. That her Majesty's Ambassador, with her Nuncio, be admitted with XII gentlemen to the presence of the Grand Signior at delivering of her Majesty's present and at departure of her ambassador out of that country.

5. That her Majesty's own ships may be free of all taxes and customs in all his dominions.

6. That her merchants and people, and their goods may freely go in and come out at their will paying the customs that shall be agreed upon.

7. That her merchants and their goods be free from all customs and taxes, during H.M.'s wars with Spain.

8. That her merchants and people in causes of justice may appeal to himself, from all his Justices and Governors of his Dominions.

9. That her Majesty have licence to bring out thence such things as are requisite for her service, though they be Contraband.

This having been satisfactorily settled, Harborne, with Clements as his servant and guide, set out from London in July, 1578, and travelling overland, reached his destination on October 28. On his arrival, he "behaved himself so wisely and discreetly, that within few months after, he obtained not only the Great Turk's large and ample privileges for himself and the worshipful persons aforesaid, but also procured his honourable and friendly letters unto Her Majesty."² The subsequent negotiations between the

¹ 112, No. 26.

² Hakluyt, v, 221.

Sultan Murad III and Elizabeth are given in full in Hakluyt and need not be recapitulated here. In June, 1580, Harborne succeeded in procuring a *farman* securing the full rights and privileges of Englishmen trading in all parts of the Turkish Empire.¹ The chief items were as follows :

(1) British subjects, their vessels and goods, to be free to come and go without hindrance in all parts of Turkey.

(2) If any Englishman is arrested when travelling in any part of Turkey, he is to be released at once.

(3) Ships arriving at Turkish ports are to be allowed to come and depart without hindrance ; they shall be allowed to load and unload goods : if in want of food or water, or in distress, they are to receive every assistance from local authorities.

(4) If any Englishman dies in Turkey, his will is to be carried out : if he dies intestate, his estate is to be disposed of by the Consul of his nation.

(5) In the case of legal disputes, the evidence is to be carefully taken down in the presence of a qualified Judge.

(6) Any slave found to be a British subject is to be released.

(7) No Englishman shall pay poll-tax.

(8) The English are to be at liberty to appoint consuls and establish factories at Aleppo, Damascus, Tunis, Tripoli and other Turkish ports.

(9) Disputes between Englishmen and Turks are to be settled in the presence of an interpreter : disputes among the English themselves by their consul.

Walsingham was right, however, in supposing that this would meet with strenuous opposition from our rivals. The French King was convinced that "not commerce, but some deeper design, was at the root of the Queen's action."² His surmise was correct. Queen Elizabeth regarded Harborne first and foremost as her ambassador, though she made the Company pay his salary. She had already formed the plan, afterwards unsuccessfully renewed in 1587, of an alliance with Turkey against the "idolatries" of the King of Spain. She hints at this in the preamble of her letters

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

² *Catalogue of State Papers, Venice*, by H. F. Brown, vol. iii, p. 30, *Introd.*

to the Sultan, in which she describes herself as "the most invincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all kinds of idolatries of all that live among the Christians and profess the name of Christ."¹ She defrayed the expenses of Harborne's first voyage, amounting to 1,500 ducats. Harborne returned to England on the completion of his task, but in his absence M. de Germigny, the French Ambassador, intrigued so successfully that he induced the Sultan to cancel his *farman*. Harborne again went to Constantinople, but could effect nothing. The Company had anticipated this. In an undated letter to the Privy Council,² they point out that it is necessary to have something more than a mere envoy at the Porte, if their interests are to be effectually safeguarded: "Her majesty promises by her letters to send thither her ambassador to gratify his goodwill and confirm the same, whose presence accordingly is hourly expected, which except it be speedily performed (for that the Grand Signior will otherwise think himself deluded) . . . may offer him occasion to repeal the said Charter and also make frustrate our private licence. . . ." Accordingly, it was decided to send Harborne back to Constantinople as Elizabeth's ambassador, with power over all British subjects trading in Turkey, and authority to enact laws and appoint consuls. On June 9, 1581, Harborne writes to the Lord Treasurer as follows:

"I perceive myself your Lordship to have been informed . . . of my proceeding here . . . and the fruit of my labour, namely in attaining this great lord his charter, for free intercourse of traffic into all parts of his dominions by Her Majesty's subjects in so ample a manner as to pass that of any other Christian Prince whatsoever. Which thing (denied to sundry others with so great expense procuring it by their Ambassador, as some of our nation present can testify) God (I hope to His glory and the

¹ Even Charles II describes himself as "Defender of the Christian Faith against those that worship Idolls and Images." (Sir John Finch to the Kaimakam at Constantinople, May, 1674.)

² Turkey Papers, Bdle I. Given in Epstein, *op. cit.* Appendix viii, I.

benefit of Her Majesty's kingdom) hath wrought by me above my expectation." ¹

On September 11, Queen Elizabeth issued letters patent to Sir Edward Osborne and other merchants to trade with Turkey for twelve years, and the Turkey Company was formally constituted. Harborne received his patent on November 20, and sailed for Constantinople by the "Susan," the first vessel despatched by the new Company, leaving Cowes on January 14, 1583. The voyage was not without adventures.² When the "Susan" put into Majorca harbour, the Spanish Governor, warned of Harborne's mission, tried to lure him ashore and capture him, and failing that, mounted guns to prevent the vessel from leaving port. However, she managed to slip away unharmed, and cast anchor off the Golden Horn on March 29. Harborne carried letters to Ali Pasha, the High Admiral, and the Sultan. These he presented on May 3. Negotiations at an Oriental Court were impossible without handsome presents, as Sir Thomas Rowe, profiting by his own experiences at Constantinople, afterwards warned the East India Company to remember when dealing with Jāhangīr at Agra. The value of the gifts in the present case was £1,018. An amusing account of the proceedings is given by Hakluyt from contemporary sources.

Harborne on landing presented the "Grand Turke" with bales of cloth and holland, and sundry pieces of plate, including "two poppinjaves of silver, the one with two heads," "three faire mastifs in coates of redde cloth, three spaniels, two bloodhounds, one common hunting hounde, two greyhounds, two little dogges in coats of silke ³ : one clocke valued at five hundred pounds sterling : over it was a forrest with trees of silver, among which were deere chased with dogs, and men on horseback following, men drawing of water, others carrying mine oare on barrows :

¹ Harleian MSS. 6993, No. 2.

² Hakluyt, *loc. cit.*

³ The money expended on the dogs "with their provision for sea and other things for their cost," was £26. *S.P.D. Turkey*, Bdle I.

on the toppe of the clocke stood a castle and on the castle a mill." The Sultan entertained the party at a sumptuous feast, with "Rice diversly dressed, fritters of the finest fashion and dishes daintily dight with pritty pappe." The meal was eaten in oriental fashion, sitting on the floor, and the drink, consisting of "Rose water and Sugar and spices brewed together," was served from bags carried on the servant's back, like the *masak* of the Indian *bhisti*. Among the sights of the Court was a "prophet of Mahomet" (no doubt a dancing dervish) "in the manner of a foole," who was dressed in fantastic clothes and "cried Hough very hollowly." After dinner, the dishes were cleared away by certain people called Moglans, "like those of the Blacke guard in the Court of England," who behaved "like rude and ravening Mastifs." Harborne was then conducted into the Presence, where "the great Turke sat sumptuously alone," and made his obeisance. He was graciously received.

Harborne's success was very striking. The cancelled treaty was renewed, much to the chagrin of M. de Germigny and his Venetian and Spanish colleagues. Many new concessions were obtained for the members of the Company. His own impressions are reflected in his correspondence. Writing to the Queen on January 15, 1583-4, he says, "For that the Grand Signior and his vizier expect with the next ships answer of their letters sent to Her Sacred Majesty . . . by the 'Susan' of London, it may please your Highness of the same to give him thanks generally of our honourable entertainment, particularly both for his liberality to her subjects, merchants here resident, in the release of two in the hundred custom to them . . . and also for the delivery of captives, freed *gratis* at our request." ¹

To the Lord Treasurer, on May 12, 1584, he writes as follows :

"The Grand Signior most gratefully accepted and highly esteemed the present made him in Her Majesty's name, commanding the Viceroy especially to favour our proceedings, who contrary-

¹ *S.P.F. Turkey*, Bdle I.

wise complained secretly at his as not sufficient. We suppose his hollow heart, filled up with the Venetian their gold, is in such sort putrified, as we expect at the best, nought else but forced favour of him, unless we should drive out one nail with another, which in some respects we accompt over hard for us, notwithstanding hereafter Cerberus must have his sop for a time to stop barking." ¹

Harborne now established his official residence at Rapamat, near Pera, and turned his energies to the organisation of the Company's affairs. Henry Millers was appointed Consul in charge of Alexandria, Cairo and other places in Egypt. Richard Forster was sent out in a similar position to Tripolis in Syria, a great *emporium* for trade with Asia Minor, with jurisdiction over Aleppo, Damascus, Aman and Jerusalem, the commercial possibilities of which had been explored by Anthony Jenkinson in 1553. Hakluyt has preserved some of the quaint instructions which Harborne issued to the latter. On his arrival, he is to pretend that he is "crazed" with his long journey, in order to gain time to receive the Turkish officials with becoming dignity. He is to take the greatest care that he shall be treated with the same courtesy and distinction as is accorded to the Venetians and French and he is to keep a wary eye on these "subtile, malicious and dissembling people." If in trouble, he is to "call for God's divine assistance." He is to treat all "outlopers" with the greatest severity. Their officers are to be imprisoned, and the remainder expelled the country. He is to run the business of the Company economically, and "carefully to foresee the charge of the House, that the same may be in all honest measure to the Company's profit and your own health through moderation in diet."

Harborne had soon an opportunity of showing that his presence in Constantinople was of practical value to members of the Company. This was the brutal seizure, in defiance of the treaty, of the Company's vessel the "Jesus." She was

¹ Lansdowne MSS. 42. *Art.* 15.

a ship of 100 tons, chartered by Osborne and Staper to go to Tripolis in Barbary for a cargo of sweet oil. When she was on the point of sailing, a merchant-factor named Romaine Sonnings, smuggled on board the vessel a friend of his named Patrone Novado, who owed a Turkish merchant 450 crowns. This came to the notice of the governor, who ordered the harbour batteries to open fire on the "Jesus" and cripple her. She was then boarded, her crew made prisoners and her cargo confiscated. The master, Andrew Dyer, was brutally hanged, as well as Sonnings, the real culprit. The rest of the crew were turned into galley-salves. For a long time the fate of the "Jesus" was wrapped in mystery, until one of the prisoners contrived to smuggle home a letter to his father at Tavistock in Devon. Intense indignation was aroused at this flagrant breach of the Capitulations. Osborne brought the case before the Queen, who herself wrote to the Sultan. Harborne took vigorous action and sent Edward Barton with a strongly-worded letter to the Bey of Tripolis. "You shall answer in another world to God alone, and in this world to the Grand Signior, for this heinous crime committed by you against so many poor souls, which by your cruelty are in part dead, and in part detained by you in most miserable captivity." As a result of his action, the surviving captives were liberated and full restitution was made. This was a great diplomatic triumph for Harborne, who thereupon appointed one Tipton as British Consul at Algiers, Tunis and Tripolis, to prevent a recurrence of these abuses.

Not only was the Ambassador useful in safeguarding the liberties of British subjects in the East, but he was also of great use in counteracting intrigues of foreign nations at the Porte. He "twice repulsed the King of Spain's ambassador sent to obtain a truce of the Grand Seignior."¹ Harborne himself writes from Constantinople, May 12, 1584 :

"The French and Venetian have to the uttermost opposed themselves against us, but their malice contraried, the Venetian

¹ *S.P.D. Eliz.* 232, No. 54.

denieth such his proceedings, and dissembling pretendeth friendship, having personally visited us, and the French now reporteth it was only for prerogative . . . according to His Majesty's order and hopeth upon receipt of his second letters to renew former amitie, but as they intend to expel their venom, when occasion . . . through some sinister chance (which God defend) may happen, so the doubt thereof will cause us ever have them justly for suspected. . . ." ¹

Again, on June 11 : ²

" . . . We rest (thank God) presently in equal degree every-way with the French as our former affirmeth, and also, if we may credit the common fame and the better sort, with more favour of the Grand Signior, though his Viceroy be much addicted to his and the Venetian their devotion, yet notwithstanding, neither the countenance of the one or the great liberality of the other, wherewith in most matters he prevaieth, hath hitherto (God be praised) been of force to harm us anyway, not doubting but with time to use the expedient required to attire the said Viceroy unto us. . . . Outwardly the Venetian hath and doth use many Spanish compliments tending to courtesy, offering both generally and particularly by commandment his service as he said, of the Signorie, especially in the sure conveying of any packet of letters, etc. So if we were not truly informed of his secret proceedings otherwise, whereof burden he utterly denieth, we had cause more than sufficient in thinking well of him . . . but as his leaves be fair words and his fruit foul deeds, so accordingly we esteem the tree." ³

Harborne's position at Constantinople, however, was ambiguous and unsatisfactory. He was at the same time the Company's Agent and the Queen's Ambassador: and Elizabeth, while employing him in the latter capacity, with her usual parsimony left the Company to pay him, contributing nothing herself towards his expenses. For this reason, somewhat like the early envoys of the East India Company, he was in danger of losing the influence he had acquired with the Sultan, and was "disgraced" by his rivals, who never lost a chance of lowering his prestige, as a "stipendiary of the merchants."

¹ Lansdowne MSS. 42. Art. 15.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

Harborne's salary was, moreover, irregularly remitted, and according to his account, insufficient for his position. On the other hand, the Company, which was now reduced to the verge of bankruptcy by the unfair competition of the rival Venice Company, thought that he was an unnecessary expense, which should properly be borne by Government, and petitioned for his recall. It should be remembered that according to the sixteenth century standard, Harborne was not badly off. At Constantinople, it was possible to buy bread enough for three meals for a halfpenny, and sufficient mutton for a robust man for about the same sum, a pheasant for fivepence, and a brace of partridges for twopence halfpenny.¹ A century later, the East India Company paid to its President at Surat only £500 a year, factors £300 to £100, Surgeons £50, and writers or apprentices £10.² But the subject was a perennial grievance to Harborne, to which he continually reverts. In the memorandum entitled *Ten years of foreign travel*, in the Lansdowne MSS.,³ he writes :

In recompense . . . to this present I have only received for those six years I was employed for her Majesty £1200 whereof they sent me in clothes for my private account as also I took by exchange upon them during my residence eighteen hundred ducats, which is six hundred pound sterling, and the same for the advancement of Her Majesty's greatness according to my place. I spent at Constantinople and coming overland more than ever I charged to account. And whereas for the first four years I was to have had the quarter part of the expected profit and Sir Edward Osborn and Mr. Star the rest in respect of their charge, the same contrary to expectation falling out to loss by robberies by land and shipwreck by sea, the charges of Sir Edward and Mr. Star was restored them by such as after were admitted to be traders but no recompense made to me for those four years travail. So as for my great cares and travail of mind and body during the term of ten years spent in the best of my

¹ Abbot, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, p. 57, n. 2.

² The author's *British Beginnings in Western India*, chap. ix, *passim*.

³ No. 57. *Art. 23*, para. 6.

life I have received de clarc of this Company six hundred pounds.

Again, in the Tanner MSS. occurs the following document : ¹

I Proceeded on the Jornie to Constantinoble in A^o 1578 and cam hether wth the Preveledge in an^o. 1582, and the same yeare was sent thether againe, to establishe the trade, whence I returned in An^o 1588, soe as my travell continued x yeare, ffor w^{ch} I have received at my last retorne twelve hondrethe pounds, whereof I disbursed there (more then I ever charged to accompt) in thadvancement of hir mag^{ties} service according to my place xviiiij^c duckette, being vj^{c.ii} ster. ; and on the waye retorning home through Poweland and oth^r contries fflowre score eleven Pounds : so resteth to me for my said tenn years travell about v^{c.ii}. whereas Thagent of Moscovie hath of that companie presentlie for three yeare Stipend one thousand poundes, aft^r w^{ch} rate I should have iii^{as}. cccxxx.ⁱⁱ neyth^r dothe he incurr anie waye soe great dangers of boddie or travell of speritt (conversing wth Christiens in a long continued traficq,) as I, whoe have not onlie bin subiect to the spightfull malice of the Christien ambassato^{rs} genneralie opposing them selves against my proceedinge, su^m ffor prerogative of their m^{ts} dignitie, other for nondecreasing of their contries Comon Wealthe ; and jointlie togethre ; ffor contrarietie of religion and to favo^r the spaniard his greatnes : But also to the p^rverse condic^on of thoes turquishe infidell^e wth whome forcedlie so long I was Conversante p^rfectlie to finishe this trade now firmlie establisshed : wth other X^{tie}nⁿ princes (not wthstanding their great expencē) could not obtaine. And ffurth^{er}more I procured of the gran sig^{or} his especiall Comandm^t, that whereas his propp^re subiect^e and all oth^r nacons doe paie him for Custome ffyve vppon everie hundreth, wee alone doe aunswere but three vppon the hundreth, by w^{ch} the traders have alredie p^rffited by three shipps sent theth^r iii C^t of w^{ch} is xi^{c.ii} str ; and are continuallie to reape that benefitt, & more ov^r whereas the gran. s. gave me ccc duckett^e at my dep^rt^e I have put the sume to the said trad^e their accompt & converted noe porcon to my privat vse. Soe as hereby thei have benefitted alredie xijcⁱⁱ to equall y^e some thei have paid me.

Yet another note from the same source runs as follows : ²

¹ 77, fol. 1.

² *Ibid*, fol. 5.

The Companie were by agreem^t: to have allowed thambassator, after 200^{li}. the yeare, 1200^{li} ffor vi yeares he staid in that contrie whereof—

They paide oute for him and by his order onelie 400^{li}. The overplvs remayned in theire Handes vnto his retorne wthout any proffett allowed him therefore: Notwthstandinge that he is charged for his parte of thintereste of the monie ffrom time to tyme taken vpp in the gennerall accompte and therefore oughte at the leaste to be allowed by them thinterest of vii^{c.ii}, which if they had wanted, they mvste have taken vpp the same, as they did the overplus.

The said Ambassato ^r made of certaine clothes carred w th him by the companie there licence - 240476 & more received ffor a Cloche w ^{ch} he sovlde, 5640 [w ^{ch}] all amounteth to	500 du ^o
More was made of 5 clothes y ^e comp: sent for his accompt	500 du ^o
Moer he tooke vpp per exchainge by waie of Venice w ^{ch} the companie have charged to his accompte	800 du ^o
	<hr/>
	1850 - d ^o

W^{ch} some of 1850 du^o he spente there moer then he charged to the said companie theire accompte and comynge home over lande thoroughe powlande more then was charged in thacco^t of the voiadge £91 18. 6*d*.

[In another hand, almost illegible :—]

pceedings were taken vpp by the . . . phil. ngs geyne & paid hereby in staple.

An interesting document in the Lansdowne MSS.¹ sums up the actual receipts and expenditure incurred by Harborne during his term of office:

¹ Vol. 61, No. 32.

Charges of Mr. William Harborne, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople and those attending on him from 1582 that he went on the voyage till his return again to London which was in December, 1588, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
Charges of Diet and Housekeeping . .	4496	5	3
Servants' Wages . .	1372	13	7
Rents & Reparations of Houses . . .	455	8	0
Dragomen's Wages .	1028	3	2
Household Stuff in Pera	362	18	4
Janissaries' Wages .	323	5	8
Charges of the Stable	607	13	6
Apparel for the Ambassador	1028	6	9
Charges at the Turks' Court	2683	0	6
Presents given . . .	1442	0	5
Charge of the Ambassador's sickness .	162	19	8
Clothes and presents delivered him . .	175	0	4
Captives redeemed in all places	1203	13	0
<hr/>			
Sum Total	£15341	8	2

29 Aug. 1589.

Toward which charges here against the Emperor His Majesty did allow & pay to Mr. Wm. Harborne, Her Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Received by the Ambassador the allowance of the Emperor in the time of his being in Constantinople . . .	2094	14	0
The rest of his charges there was paid by the Company is	13246	14	2
<hr/>			
Sum Total	£15341	8	2

The rest of the Ambassador his charges, paid by the merchants at Constantinople as above .	13246	14	2
More for his charge home from C'ple to London & those in his company .	1103	15	0
And more that is paid to the said Mr. Wm. Harborne for his salary	1230	17	6
<hr/>			
	£15581	6	8

Harborne was on the whole thoroughly dissatisfied with his position and anxious to be released. He was, however,

anxious that the post of Ambassador should be retained, and the structure he had so laboriously built up should not fall to the ground. On February 17, 1588-9, he writes as follows to the Privy Council :—

“ Some of the chief trading Turkey, right honourable, had conference with me this day for retorne of the agent from Constantinople, whereby they might be unburthened of his great charge and so end the traffic. I wished them first better to weigh how hardly and with what great travail I obtained it, and the rather for that so many and great were their enemies contrarying the same, as it were once given over, could not hereafter be recovered with any charges or by other means whatsoever, which if it should accordingly succeed would not little grieve me, having carefully spent ten years of my best age to so vain effect, remaining frustrate of the good conceived hope that the traffic during the difference with Spain might incur for vent of our own contrie commodity in this so hard and dead time, and the same should so much the more increase my said grief, by how much her Majesty’s enemies in those parts shall be eased of their exceeding jealousy and fear which I am fully assured they have hitherto conceived in the residence of any one there for Her Majesty. A marvellous eyesore to such suspicions, which I perceive no way to be maintained other than at Her Majesty’s charge, except all and whatsoever intercourse into the Straits might be comprehended within our privilege to supply so great a charge by a greater stock than accustomed, both for the more profit and also security thereof, otherwise open to the captivity of infidels and many other dangers at large, to be certified to your honour more largely after my return. In the meantime, this much I thought it my duty to impart to your Honour, lest Her Majesty’s letters for repeal of the said Agent should before my return be granted them or else the Venice Company procure the dismemberment of this joint traffic by renewing their former patent.”¹

A similar opinion is expressed in an undated memorandum (probably 1587-8),² entitled *The sundry harms ensuing to the realm if the amitie with the Great Turk by reclaiming of the Agent should be given over, without whose*

¹ *S.P.F. Turkey*, Bdle I, No. 60.

² *Ibid.*

residence in that Court there can be neither friendship nor intercourse. It runs as follows :

(1) *Imprimis*, the loss of divers ships of Her Majesty's subjects which yearly will be captured as well within as on this side of the Straits, which former times have verified, whose ransomes have cost this realm great sums of money and yet divers by their torture and extreme dealing forced to turn Turk, whereof some made excuses, to the shipwreck of their bodies and souls.

(2) *Item*, the loss of divers ships taken and sunk with their whole lading, of no small value and likely to increase, for that the Turks at this present be more expert in their piracies than ever heretofore, for then they did not use to go out of Algiers . . . till the month of May, whereas now they go out in January, . . . (being enemies) they will cut off our whole trade into the Straits, which at this present not only we have thither, but also owners of ships and mariners by strangers which do freight English ships. . . .

(3) *Item*, Her Majesty shall lose much by the customs and duties which generally the trade into the Straits do pay her, which shall be well approved to have been in some one year, ten thousand pounds at the least,¹ for the Turkey Company have paid for one ship six and twenty hundred pounds, a great part of which commodities were transported hence into other countries, whereby in effect this realm of late years hath served as the only staple to and for other countries as formerly Antwerp did, to the great commodity and setting awork of our people, both for the unloading, relading and transporting thereof.

(4) *Item*, for the voyages into the Straits there be above thirty tall ships builded of late, and if the said trade do surcease, the owners might be suitors to Her Majesty to buy them or otherwise crave leave to sell them out of the realm, for other trade there is none for them. . . .

(5) The commodities Vented within the Straits be all sorts of clothes and kersies dyed and dressed to the best proof, tin, lead, silk, spices, drugs, currants, wines of Candia, cotton-wool and yarn, grograms . . . and divers other things, and now that the peace is made between the Turk and the Persian, there will

¹ In the five years 1583-8, the Levant Co. paid £11,359 6s. in customs dues. *S.P.D. Eliz.* 233-13. No wonder they had petitioned "to be discharged for the yearly sum of £500 in consideration of the Agent his great charges." *S.P.F. Turkey*, Bdle I.

be much more vent of other said commodities. And where it may be objected that the Venetian will fetch away from us the said commodities, if we vent them not, it will prove contrary, for the Spanish wool usually brought out of Spain into Flanders and there dressed is now carried over to Alicante, a port of Spain within the Straits, and from thence transported into Italy, Venice and those parts, where it is dressed, and whereof in Venice they make so much cloth that the clothiers and drapers of that city did offer at Constantinople to the Viceroy and by other Bashas thirty thousand chequins, which is above ten thousand pounds sterling. . . .

(6) *Item*, experience hath verified that the Venetians, to cut off our ancient trade into the Straits in the time of King Henry VII, did set an impost of four ducats upon every butt of wine which our nation should lade in their port, for obviating of which discommodity it pleased the King in the seventh year of his reign by act of parliament to set an impost of 18s. upon every butt they should bring hither, to continue so long and no longer than theirs did; ¹ which therefore presently they surceased and yet not withstanding for so much as after that the Turk took Scio and other lands within the Archipelago, he drove our nation clean from the said trade, so as for thirty years and more the same was wholly left off and no English ship durst pass into the Straits till that of late the same hath been removed again and increased much more than ever it was before. And now the said Venetians have set a greater imposition upon English ships lading in their ports, but none upon themselves, so that if the English merchants should pay the same both here and there, the Venetians should bring all their commodities hither a third penny better cheap than we, to their great commodity and the increase of their ships.

(7) *Item*, if this amitie with the Turk, being dissolved, might again upon the discommodities be removed, the proof might be hazarded with little peril, but for so much as it is most certain that it will not, both for the displeasure he himself in particular will have by calling home the Agent, who is thought of him to be only maintained by Her Majesty, and that rather for causes of estate than of traffic, for which he hath himself out of his own coffers [paid . . .] pounds per year, which he would not do if he knew the contrary, as also for the profit which will ensue to the Viceroy and Bashas by the Venetians, French and

¹ Cf. *Statutes of the Realm*, 7 Hen. VII, Cap. 7, preamble.

other Christian traders thither, who will offer great rewards to keep us out, and in like manner the Admiral, for his duty of the tenth part of all prizes of the spoil of our ships and men.

(8) *Item*, the great charges that have been defrayed by the traders into Turkey, finding out and continuing the said trade unto this day, namely; the first present, the charge of the Ambassador, and placing of consuls in Scio, Patras, Tripoli, Aleppo, Alexandria and Algier, which may amount to above thirty thousand pounds sterling . . . which is utterly lost if the same trade be given over.

(9) *Item*, the trade into Turkey is had in great price with all nations, especially the Venetian, and French King who . . . maintaineth an ambassador at Constantinople at his own cost and charge, and both the Spaniard and Florentine have sought the same with great charge and could never to this day obtain it.

(10) *Item* lastly it would be much marvelled at of all nations that we, such trade being so profitable, . . . should so suddenly give over the same, which will be thought to be either lost for fear of the Spaniards or else that Her Majesty doth it in respect of the charge of her Agent there, and so diversely spoken of that other nations may consider the great commodity that this realm enjoyeth by the said Amitie, especially in that we are favoured in Turkey more than any other nation whatsoever, nevertheless according to our duties we content ourselves with Her Majesty's determination . . . and so craving pardon do thereunto humbly submit ourselves.

In 1588 Harborne retired and was succeeded by Edward Barton. Of his journey home, via Dantzic, he wrote an account which will be found in the pages of Hakluyt. Soon after his return he published an account of his mission to Constantinople and its results, which is important enough to deserve reproducing in full: ¹

William Harborn his service to her Magestie and Commons, in his tenn yeares forrayne travell and residence att Constantinoble; herevnder specefied.

1. Imprimis the great honor observed to her Mag^{tie} by the Gran Sig^{or}, in his first heroiycall letters procured by me, inuiting her to ffrendshipp.

2. Thobteyning of his gennerall priueledge, in soe ample

¹ Tanner MSS. 77, fol. 8.

manner, as ever formerlie graunted to anie christians, wthowt chardge to her Mag^{tie}.

3. The greatnes of her Mag^{tie} not heretofore in anie sorte knowen, now gennerally admired in thoes parts, butt especiallie for her sex.

In thees three Articles maye Appere, the great regarde and dutifull respecte I caried in all my proceedings to her Magesties greatnes, w^{ch} caused the Gran Sig^{or} althoughe of his owne nature a most haughtie proude pagan prince, admiring the same, in submise and most Curteous manner, by letters to crave her Amitie, nottwthstanding that he soe well as his predecessors (in his owne regarde) lightlie esteemed all other Christian princes, eyther ever did the like to anie of them, And noe lesse is Alsoe to be considered, the difficulltie of this highe cause, handled by me then A private parson, uncomended from his soveraigne and vnassisted of ffrends and Cownsell, nott daring trust anie Christian herein, whereas to the contrarie I mighte wth great reason have bin discourradged from thoes hard attempts, seeing att that instant the Florentine Ambassador, Gio fillaccio, spending the name, creeditt, and wealthe of the great duke his m^r to the like effectt reiected, as noe less foreseeing that I shoulde bee (as indeed I was) wthstood by the cheife publicq ministers there resident for the christian princes, as of the ffrenshe for non deminishing of his m^r his greatnes, wherevnto itt was ever formerlie supposed (as the saide ffrenshe falslie gave to vnderstand) her Mag^{tie} and Dominions to be subiect, partlie confirmed in that all Inglishe Travellers thether, durst not butt vnder the ffrenshe protexcōn affirme to be ffrenshe, by the Venetien and Ragusien, for that they hauing thonlie trade of the Leuant seas, reaped in thoes turquishe dominions the benefitt of our Inglishe comodities, vented in that countrie for returne of turkie and Leuant wares, w^{ch} in England they raised to extreem prises, soe noe lesse att their pleasers abated the prises of ovr saide native comodities, enriching in manifoulde manner themselves and their navie, and impoverishing vs and ovr shipping; wherefore they wieslie foreseeing the comon harme w^{ch} this Inglishe intercourse shoulde inferr, joyned their wills, witts and wealths, wth the ffrenshe his couradge and countenance to wthstande the same; Asscocyated wth themperor his Ambassador for Alliance withe the Spanyarde ill Affected to her Mag^{tie} w^{ch} if to anie of them thees my daungerouse proceedings had bin reuealed, beffore I obtayned A turquishe janisurie for my guard, they woulde

vndoughtedlie (as they mighte wthout their harmes) by taking awaye my life, have prevented thees occurrents.

4. The great Augmentacōn of her Magesties Customes by this intercourse.

5. Vtterance of o^r Inglishe Comodities in A dead time of traffiqs, forbidden in other fforrayne countries.

6. Thincrease of serviceable shipps, breeding good marriners inured to thees long voyadges ;

Herein layethe hidden the salving of A sore, for whereas the Spanyarde enuiouslie wayed the benefitt reaped of o^r clothe, kersies, and tinn vttered in his dominions, and for w^{ch} we returned A great part redie coyne ; and Alsoe Oyles cheiflie here needed, knowing the welfare of o^r countrie to depend verie muche of the vent of thoes o^r saide native comodities, nott onelie forbad the vse and bringing into anie parte of his dominions, butt alsoe then practised wth themperor and his Haunce townes, and noe lesse wth theasterlie countries to the like effectt, whoes intents were cleanlie prevented by this turquishe intercourse, better seruing ffor vtterance of the same then Spaigne, w^{ch} otherwiese mighte have redounded to A festered canker or open wounde, bothe for that this realme wanting former vent for and of the same, shoulde necessarilie have fforced the merchant to surcease his trade, and the great number of pore people (thereby sett to worke) vnemployed to hard extremeties, And alsoe great shipps and perfect marriners, A strengthe of the Lande and terror to o^r enemies (sithens mightelie encreased by thees long voyadges) dailie have decreased, to the great weakning of her Magesties dominions and customes, bothe w^{ch} by this trade more then ever heretofore be highelie Augmented ;

7. The Redemption of manie her Mag^{ties} subiects from Captevetie, wth A future gennerall freedome throughout all thoes heathen countries.

8. The release of two of five vpon everie Cth due to the Gran Sig^{or} for his custome, obteyned for o^r nacōn onelie for ever.

9. The gennerall proffett of her subiects traders thether, beffore time reaped by the straunger.

Ytt pleased god to give me such favor wth the Gran Sig^{or} that by especiall pourefull comaundements I redemed att Constantinoble, Argier, Tripolie in Barbarie, and other places, fiftie fower of her subiects from long miserable captevetie, neyther

att my departure wthin his dominions (where Justice mighte take place) were there anie of o^r nac^õn remayning, Notwthstanding that there then rested A verie great number of frenshe and venetiens in league wth him, whereby great somes of monie heretofore collected in this realme and expended in thees vses is saved, And alsoe by like seuer comaundement, procured gennerallie to all governors of his empire For restraynte of his subiects from ill intreatie of o^r people, that in all places they be more frendlie entertayned then anie other christians, as prooffe doth verifie and the traders thether can trulie Affirme, howe muche the Gran Sig^{or} himselfe regardethe them, wth A greater ffavor then ever he shewed to his oune subiects, required and obteyned by me viz.: the remitting them Almost halfe his customes att Constantinoble, and the ports thereto, by his especiall comaundements for ever dothe Affirme, and towching my-selffe, modestie forbidding me to penn downe in what reputac^õn I ever remayned doe therein reffer me to [a good deal crossed out] the issue of thees my actions.

10. The excessive chardge of the Spanyarde, obteyning ffive years truce att my first arrivall in that countrey.

11. The saide Spanyards and Adherents gellious suspico^õn of my proceedings, scynce my second Arriuall, whereby her Mag^{tie} for sondrie considerations hath bin the more feared of her forraigne foes, and as of the most is thoughte, nott onlie to have bin thoccat^õn to restrayne the venitien ffrom entring the Cursed league, butt other estates of Italie noe lesse mistrusting the same, nott to departe wth soe great succour in the spanyards aide Agaynst her, as otherwiese they mighte and is thoughte woulde have done.

12. Thopprobious repulse of Gio Antonio the Spanyarde his last Ambassador, sent to renue A fformer expired truce, thereby to have more securlie prosecuted thinuasion of this realme.

Herein be touched some harmes procured in thoes parts to the Spanyarde, att that time the highest capitall enemye to her Mag^{tie}, whoe being by the emperor his Ambassador certified my first couert coming thether, (as he and the rest of the Christian Ambassadors falslie imagined, to be for procuring the turke by sea to have inuaded the Spanishe dominions, to divert him from the conquest of Portugall,) sent thether the Earle Gio Marillano to craue A truce for five years, wthin thend of two years, corrupting the Bassaes, and not gaineaide of me then in private estate, or of anie other (then the ffrenshe nott prevayling) he obtayned but after

that Gio Antonio the above mencioned Marillano his secretarie was sent Agayne to renue that truce expired : I being certefied [

] ¹ of the saide Spanyarde his great preparation to inuade this realme confirmed by often letters of M^r. Jn^o wrothe from Venice, and of others from divers forrayne parts, As no lesse certainelie learning by Paulo Marianj A venetian dailie conversing wth the Agents of Ragusa, trulie receaving itt in secrett from the spanishe, that his m^r shoulde nott onlie Assure all his dominions wthin the Levant seas, from Accustomed feare of the Turquishe navie, butt alsoe gayne himselfe thirtie thowsand souldiors morte paiz in garrisons of Castells and towers of defence, soe well in Allicant and Valencia, as Corsica, Maiorqz, Minorqz, Calabria, Cicilia, Naples and Paglia, freelie wthout chardge, w^{ch} by noe means he coulde doe butt wth conclusion of the saide truce. As became A faithefull servant and true subiect to her Mag^{tie}, I performed my vttermost endeuor [*sic*] not onelie to breake of the same (*sic*) [

] ¹

and through god his Assistance, soe prevented his craftie deuices in that courte, that neyther his trauell or muche exhausted treasuer preuayled, ffor Althoughe the Gran Sig^{or} his letters, had bin deliuered to the saide Gio Stefano according to his oune request, the same vpon my earnest suite were Agayne taken from him in open courte, and he wth his retinue wthin ffoorteen daies, comaunded vpon payne of deathe to Auoide the countrie, all w^{ch} accordinglie was performed, w^{ch} done I discovered to the Gran Sig^{or} thaccord the saide Agent had made wth the viceroye and Admirall, promising them one hundrethe thowsund ducketts, to keepe their m^r from presentlie sending owt anie nauie against his m^r the Spanyarde, then pretending of England, (*sic*) [

] ¹ Nor w^{ch} as alsoe for that two years beffore I had accused the saide viceroye and Admirall to have in like manner promised the Venetian, for CLXth thowsund ducketts to breake of o^r intercourse and expell vs that his m^r his countrie, bothe the saide viceroye and Admirall became my vtter enemies, and had nott god, whoe be ever praised, bothe brideled their mallice, and stirred me up for helpers the Hosu and Beglerby in greater

¹ Deleted in MS.

fauor wth their m^r, neyther coulde this trade have continued or I escaped their crueltie, whereof A powlishe Ambassador for like causes, vnexpectedlie murdered in his waye returning home ffor merlie had tasted ffaithefullie protesting during the Spanyarde was noe open enemie to her mag^{tie}; I extolled his greatnes next to my soueraigne m^{ts}, and Aboue all other christian princes, butt after when I knew certainlie he soughte the subversion of my saide her gratiouse mag^{tie} and dominions, then as reason and dutie guided me, I performed my vttermost endeuor, (sic) []¹ to impeache the same, yett not wthowt my continuall earnest praier to god, w^{ch} blessed be his holie name he granted that her Mag^{tie} in her iust defence mighte never have []¹ this heathen tirant his Assistance; As alsoe that during my there residence, he mighte neuer make him the executioner of his feirce wrathe and scourdge of christendome for their sinns, crying owt wth Ezekias give peace & truth Lorde in my daies, hauing alsoe thadmonition of the Apostell saynte Paule in remembrance, to refrayne to doe evill that good mighte ensue thereof. I Cease to enlardge my manie great escaped daungers, my continuall great Cares of minde, to obuent and frustrate the subtill secrett deuises of my manie mightie enemies, bothe christian and heathen, and the neglect of private gayne for my fiuture pore estate att my retorne hether, for knowing liberallitis the chepest price of heathen people their harts, I therefore spent A great part of my oune pore portion aboue that allowed me of the merchants, having onlie respect (after my waightie chardge of place) to god, my prince, and countrie.

A similar memorandum, entitled, *The relation of my ten years of foreign travel in procuring and establishing the intercourse into the Grand Signor's Dominions begun A.D. 1577 and finished 1588, specifying the service done to Her Majesty and Commonwealth with such particular profit as the traders thither have and do enjoy thereby*, which covers somewhat different ground from the above, may be found in the Lansdowne MSS.²

Harborne, after he retired, still took an active interest in the Companies affairs. In 1591, he wrote a valuable minute on the incorporation of the Levant and Venice

¹ Deleted in MS.

² 57. Art. 23.

Companies in a common concern, with many practical suggestions :¹

Mr. Harborne's opinion of the New Incorporation of the Venetian and Turkey Merchants 1591.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord, Whereas according to your honourable commandment, I certified those needful observations in my simple judgment seeming requisite for the continuance of the Turkish intercourse, procured by my former long and great travail viz. that no ship under the burden of 160 tons and of them 6, 3 or more to go out and return together and that also (with your Honour's good liking) *some of the most sufficient merchants not free, might upon reasonable contribution, be received into the said fellowship*, the traffic to be continued as formerly in one joint purse. I hereby with your honourable licence as hereunder followeth continue these my assertions :—

1. Inprimis this trade increasing, the Spaniard (no doubt as already he hath done) will no less increase his forces to stop the same, in the mouth of the Straits which is very narrow, where being served of his City and Road of Gibraltar, situate over against the same, he may in temptuous weather safely keep both gallies and other vessels to expect our fleet, which although by means of the current setting into that gulf, be sooner carried through and so take their time and pass in the night with less hazard, yet notwithstanding at their return they shall lie open to the enemies their sight, keeping a watch to that purpose upon the high hills and retarded by the contrary current and therefore it is very needful, the above said number of these great and defensible ships to withstand his gallies, strengthened lately (according to credible report) . . . with galeasses, not formerly there employed.

2. Those voyages being long and therefore the freight very chargeable, is required a great provision of merchandise, whereof . . . it can not be done without a great stock, which furnished by a few adventurers and the same (which God defend) taken by the enemy, is to be feared the . . . losers might be terrified from continuing the same and the now number utterly impoverished, unable to proceed farther therein, whereby . . . discontinuance of traffic ensuing and the Agent not after Her Majesty's greatness maintained, our adversaries the Venetians and others greedily gaping after nothing more than the over-

¹ Lansdowne MSS. 67. Art. 106.

throw of this profitable trade, will by bribes so corrupt the Viceroy and others . . . in that your Majesty's subjects continuing their trade into other parts of the Levant, as in time passed, shall be subject to heathen captivity, to the endangering of their soul and body and loss of their goods. Whereas on the contrary part, if this Turkey Company strengthen themselves with some other merchants not as yet admitted by contribution, they shall together be so able to undergo this burden, as with no such injustice dismayed, but rather encouraged . . . whereby our native commodities in this weightest time, may as formerly have issue and be vented.

3. And if so be this stock for Turkey should not be . . . in one joint purse (as formerly it was) the traders shall lose rather than profit thereby . . . and . . . the weaker witted inveigled by the malicious Turk and crafty Moor and faithless Greek (other brokers than which be not in those parts) shall by selling at under prices, not only bring those our commodities out of estimation but also through their overhasty imprudence, either to prevent the others, raise the foreign commodities to excessive price and hereupon such contention and emulation shall arise between themselves, as in that pagan country, in lieu of Christian charity, envy (through ill counsel) shall stir them up to hinder and harm one the other, besides every injury (wherewith that country for want of justice aboundeth) repulsed and withstood heretofore by the Generalitie, now to one particular offered, shall be his overthrow while . . . the rest counting his loss their gain, be not moved with pity both to help and contribute towards so great charge, needful to repress such common insolency by sufferance daily increasing. Moreover if the Consul be not of the more honest, they may to great harm use their office, with great partiality, favouring some and harming others. . . .

Neither shall the Agent be well provided or duly respected after the place but continually troubled with their differences. Whereas to the contrary, all this and other enormities omitted, for not wearying too much of your Honour, which there may ensue, shall by occupying a joint purse as heretofore, be clearly taken away, when every one in his degree as members of one Council . . . shall mutually assist one the other and together through good counsel, prefer generally the common benefit, nourished with fear and hope that the Company in England will well reward the good endeavours of the virtuous and severely chastise the ill demeanours of the malicious, after their merits.

And in this sort shall the Turk his dominions be traded to profit ; and by experience of ten years residence, I do truly affirm upon my certain knowledge, a common purse shall utter twice so much commodities and to more profit than when everyone shall draw apart by himself. . . .

Harborne's recommendations bore good fruit. The two struggling companies were amalgamated under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of the Levant." They received a Charter on January 7, 1592. Of the prosperity of this great mercantile association, which raised England to the position of the leading power in the Mediterranean and the Near East, and indirectly led to the establishment of the English in India, it is not necessary to say anything here, except to point out that these magnificent results were to a great extent due to Harborne's untiring energy and wise counsels.

After his retirement, Harborne settled in his native county. Nash, in his *Lenten Stuffe*, 1598,¹ quaintly remarks that "the mercurial-breasted Mr. Harborne hath echoing noised the name of our island and of Yarmouth so tritonly that not an infant of the cur-tailed, skin-clipping pagans, but talk of London as frequently as of their Prophet's tomb at Mecca." He died at Mundham in Norfolk. The entry in the parish register, 1617, states that "Mr. William Harborne died the 6, buried Nov. 20." A previous entry, "Toby Chimney, S^t. to Mr. Harborne," apparently refers to a native servant whom he may have brought from the Levant with him. Harborne was buried beneath a slab west of the rood screen in Mundham church, with the following epitaph :

BEHOLD A DEAD MANS HOWSE WHO FVLL OF DAYS
RETIRDE HERE FROM THE WORLD. DESERT AND PRAISE
SHOVL D SITT VPPON HIS GRAVE, IN VERTVOVS STRIFE :
THIS TO INSTRVCT AND THAT TO WRITE HIS LIFE.
HEIRES SPARE YOUR COST HE NEEDS NO TOMBE IN DEATH
WHO EMBASSAGDE FOR QVEEN ELIZABETH.
HIS NEXT WILL BE WHEN AT THE GENERALL DOME
GOD SENDS HIS SOVLE TO FETCH HIS BODYE HOME.²

¹ Ed. Park, *Harl. Misc.* VI, 156.

² Information kindly supplied by the Rev. W. B. A. Chandler, M.A.