## 114-1

# NAVIGATION AND Commerce,

ORIGINAL

PROGRESS,

A succined Account of Traffick in General; its Benefits and Improvements: Of Discoveries, Wars and Conflicts at Sea, from the Original of Navigation to this Day; with special Regard to the ENGLISH Nation; Their several Voyages and Expeditions, to the Beginning of our late Differences with HOLLAND; In which His Majesties Title to the DOMINION of the SEA is Asserted, against the Novel, and later Pretenders.

## By J. EVELTN Eig; S.R.S.

Ciceroad Attie. L. 10. Ep.7. Qui MARE tenet, eum necesse est RERUM Potiri.

LONDON

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TO

# The King.

SIR,

Boldness to Inscribe Your Majesties Name on the Front
of this little History,
is to pay a Tribute, the
most due, and the most becoming my Relation to
our Majesties Service of
any that I could devise;
since Your Majesty has
been pleas'd among so
many

many Noble and Illustrious Persons, to name me of the Councel of Your Commerce, and Plantations: And if it may afford Your Majesty some diversion, to behold, as in a Table, the Course, and Importance of what Your Majesty is the most Absolute Arbiter of any Potentate on Earth, and Excite in Your Loyal Subjects a Courage, and an Industry becoming the Advantages which God and Nature have put into their Hands, I shall have reach'd my humble Ambition, and Your Majesty will not Reprove

prove these Expressions of it in

SIR,

Your Majestie's Most

Dutiful, Most Obedient,

and ever Loyal

Subject and Servant,

J. EVELYN.



#### NAVIGATION

AND

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THEIR

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Hosoever shall with seri-

ous Attention Contemplate the divine Fabrick of this Inferiour Orb, the various, and admirable Furniture which fills, and Adorns it; the Constitution of the Elements about it, and, above all, the Nature of Man (for whom they were Created) he must needs acknowledge,

2. The Earth, and every Prospect of her Superficies, presents us with a thoufand Objects of Utility and Delight, in which consists the Perfection of all Sublunary things: And, though, through her rugged and diffever'd Parts, Rocks, Seas and remoter Islands, she seem at first, to check our Addresses; Yet, when we ag'en behold in what ample Baies, Creeks, trending-Shores, inviting Harbours and Stations, she appears spreading her Arms upon the Bordures of the Ocean; whiles the Rivers, who re-pay their Tributes to it, glide not in direct, and præcipitate Courses from their Conceil'd, and distant Heads, but in various flexures and Meanders (as well to temper the rapidity of their Streams, as to Water and refresh the fruitful Plains) methinks she seems, from the very Beginning, to have been dispos'd for Trafick and Commerce, and even Courts us to visit her most folitary Recesses.

3. This Meditation sometimes affeding my Thoughts, did exceedingly confirm,

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confirm, and not a little surprize me: when reflecting on the Situation of the Mediterranean Seasso aptly contriv'd for Inter-course to so vast a part of the World) I concluded: That if the Hollanders themselves (who of all the Inhabitants in it, are the best skill'd in making Canales and Trenches, and to derive Waters ) had joyn'd in Consultation, how the scatter'd parts of the Earth might be rendred most Accessible, and easie for Commerce: They could not have contriv'd, where to have made the In-let with so much advantage, as GOD and Nature have done it for Us; Since by means of this Sea, we have admission to no less than Three Parts of the habitable World, and there feems nothing left (in this regard) to humane Industry, which could render it more consummate; So Impious was the faying of Alphonsus (not worthy the Rhoderigo de name of Prince ) That had he been of Toledo, lib. 1. Counsel with the Creator when he made the Universe, he could have fram'd it better.

4. If we cast our Eyes on the Plains and the Mountains; behold them naturally furnish'd with goodly Trees; of which fome there are, which grow

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as it were, spontaneously into Vessels and Canoes, wanting nothing but the Launching, to render them useful: But, when the Art of Man, or of God rather (for it was he, who first instructed him to Build) conspires, and that he but fets his divine Genius on work, the same Earth furnishes Materials, to equip, and perfect the most Beautiful, Useful, and Rupendious Creature (so let us be permitted to call her)the whole World has to shew: And if the Winds, and Elements prove Auspicious (which was the Third Instance of our Contemplation) this enormous Machine (as if inspir'd with Life too) is ready for every Motion, and to brave all encounters and adventures, undertakes to fathom the World it felf; to visit strange, and distant Lands; to People, Cultivate, and Civilize un-inhabited, and Barbarous Regions, and to proclaim to the Universe, the Wonders of the Architect, the Skill of the Pilot, and, above all, the Benefits of Com-

5. So great, and unspeakable were the Blessings which Man-kind received by his yet infant Adventures; that it is no wonder, to see how every Nation contended,

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contended, who should surpass each other in the Art of Navigation, and apply the means of Commerce to promote and derive it to themselves; God-Almighty (as we have shew'd) in the Constitution of the World, prompting us to awaken our Industry for the supply of our Necessities: For Man only being oblig'd to live Politickly, and in Society, for mutual assistance, found it would not be accomplish'd without Labour and Industry; Nature, which ordains all things necessary for other Creatures, in the place where she produces them, did not so for Man; but ennobling him with a superiour Faculty, supply'd him with all things his needs could require. Wheresoever therefore Men are born (unless wanting to themfelves) they have it in their power, to exalt themselves, even in these regards, above the other Creature; and the Lillies which spin not, and are yet so splendidly clad, are not in this respect, so happy as an Industrious and prudent Man; because they have neither knowledge, or sense of their Being and Perfections: And, though few things indeed are necessary for the Animal life; yer, has it no prerogative by that alone, above

6. To Demonstrate this in a most conspicuous Instance, we need look no farther than HOLLAND, of which fertile (shall we say) or Inchanted Spot, 'tis hard to decide, whether its Wants, or Abundance are really greater, than any other Countries under Heaven; Since, by the Quality, and other Circumstances of Situation (though otherwise

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otherwise productive enough) it affords neither Grain, Wine, Oyle, Timber, Mettal, Stone, Wool, Hemp, Pitch, nor, almost, any other Commodity of Use; and yet we find, there is hardly a Nation in the World, which enjoyes all these things in greater affluence: and all this, from Commerce alone, and the effects of Industry, to which not onely the Neighbouring parts of Europe contribute, but the Indies, and Antipodes: So as the whole World (as vast as it appears to others) seems but a Farm, fcarce another Province to them; and indeed it is That alone, which has Built, and Peopl'd goodly Cities, where nothing but Rushes grew; Cultivated an heavy Genius with all the politer Arts; Enlarg'd, and secur'd their Boundaries, and made them a Name in the World, who, within less than an Age, were hardly consider'd in it.

7. What Fame and Riches the Venetians acquir'd, whilft they were true to their Spouse, the SEA (and in acknowledgment whereof, they still repeat and celebrate the Nuptials) Histories are loud of: But, This, no longer continu'd than whilst they had regard to their Fleets, and their Trasick, the

proper business, and the most genuine to their Situation. From hence, they Founded a glorious City, fixt upon a few muddy, and scatter'd Islands: and Thence, distributed over Europe, the product of the Eastern World, 'till changing this Industry into Ambition. and applying it to the Inlarging of their Territories in Italy, they lost their Interests, and Acquists in the Mediterranean, which were infinitely more considerable. Nor in this Recension of the advantages of Commerce, is her Neighbour Genoa to be forgotten; whose narrow Dominions (not exceeding some private Lordships in England) have grown to a considerable state; and from a barren Rock, to a proud City, emulous for Wealth and Magnificence, with the stateliest Emporiums of the World.

8. The Easterlings, and Anseatick Towns (famous for early Traffick) had perhaps never been heard of, but for Courting this Mistress; no more than those vaster Tracts of Sweden, Norway, Muscovy, &c. which the late Industry of our own People, has rendred considerable. The Danes, 'tis confess'd, had long signaliz'd themselves by their importunate

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portunate Descents on this Island, and universal Piracies; whilst negligent of our Advantages at Sea, we often became Obnoxious to them; But, when once we set-up our moving Fortresses, and grew numerous in Shipping, we liv'd in profound Tranquillity, grew opulent, and formidable to our Ene-

mies. 9. It was Commerce, and Navigation (the Daughter of Peace, and good Intelligence) that gave Reputation to the most noble of our Native-staples, WOOL, exceedingly Improv'd by Forreigners; especially, since the Reigns of Edward the Second, and Third; and has been the principal occasion, of Instituting, and Establishing our Merchant-Adventurers, and other worthy Fraternities; to mention onely the esteem of our Horses, Corn, Tin, Lead, Iron, Saffron, Fullers-Earth, Hides, Wax, Fish, and other Natural, and Artificial Commodities, most of which are Indigene, and Domestick, others Imported, and brought from forraign Countries. Thus, Afia Refreshes us with Spices, Recreates us with Perfumes, Cures us with Drougs, and adorns us with Jewels: Africa fends

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sends us Ivory and Gold; America, Silver, Sugar and Cotton: France, Spain and Italy, give us Wine, Oyl and Silk: Russia, Warms us in Furrs; Swethen, supplies us with Copper; Denmark, and the Northern Tracks, with Masts, and Materials for Shipping, without which, all this were nothing. It is Commerce, and Navigation that Breeds, and Accomplishes that most honourable and useful Race of Men (the Pillars of all Magnificence) to skill in See Mr. coock the Exportation of Superfluities, Importation of Necessaries; to settle Staples, with regard to the Publick Stock: What 'tis fit to keep at Home, and what to fend Abroad: To be Vigilant over the Course of Exchange; to employ Hands for Regulated Salaries; and, by their dexterity, to moderate all this, by a true, and folid Interest of State, which, without this Mystery, cannot long subsist, as not alwaies admitting permanent, and immutable Rules: In a word, the SEA (which covers half the Patrimony of Man, renders the whole VVorld a stranger to it self, and the Inhabitants, for whom 'twas made, as rude as Canibals) becomes but one Family, by the Miracles

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Miracles of Commerce, and yet we have faid nothing of the most Illustrious product of it; That it has taught us Religion, Instructed us in Polity, Cultivated our Manners, and Furnish'd us with all the delicacies of Virtuous and happy Living.

To. VVhether the First Author of Traffick were the Tyrians, Trojans, Lydians; those of Carthage; or (as Josephus will) the Mercurial Spirits Antiq.1.1. soon after the Flood, to repair, and supply the Ruines of that universal Overthrow, we are not solicitous:

That it entered with the Earliest, and best daies of the restored-VVorld, we shall prove hereaster, by the timely applications of Industrious Men, to inlarge, and improve their Condition. The Romans indeed, were not of a good while, favourable to Merchandizing; For, the Patricians, Senators and Great-Men might not be Owners in particular, of any considerable Vessel, besides small Barks, and Pleasure-Boats, and the most illustrious Nations have essented the gain by Trassick and Commerce incompatible with Nobles: Not,

for being Enemies to Trade; but, be-

cause they esteem'd it an Ignoble way of

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Tit.Latinis,

Gain, Quastus Omnis indecorus Patri-Lib.1. Dec. 3. bus, faies Livy, and were all for Conquest and the Sword; for, otherwise, they so encourag'd this Industry, that Latini multis the Latins (whom for a long time, they held under such servitude, that they tatem Roma- might not devise their Estates when they dyed) if any one of them came to be able to build an handsome Ship, fit rum Millium for Burthen and Traffick, he was Libertate donatus, and obtained his Free-Ulpian. Inflie. dom, with power to make his Testament, and capable of bearing Office: And one would wonder that Traffick being so profitable, Lycurgus (that great Law-giver amongst the Lacedemanians) should prohibit it; some believe it was for its being so obnoxious to Corruption, and the Luxury introduc'd amongst the People by Commerce with Strangers; the Lying and Deceit, Perjury and Theft, in buying, felling, and making bargains; for which reason Plato design'd the Towns of his Common-wealth to be built far distant from the Sea; and our Saviour scourg'd the Mony-Changers out of the Temple; fo difficult a thing it is for those who Deal much, to preserve their hands clean: But, 'tis faid, Plato changed his mind;

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mind; and we all know, that as the Romans themselves grew Wiser, so they dignified it, and took-off that illunderstood Reproach, as the Orator has himself told us, when (condemning the Pedlary, and fordid \* Vices of Re- \* offic.1.12 tailers) he acknowledges, That where Mercatura, st Staple, and Useful Commodities can be dida putanda brought in to supply the Needs of eff. brought in to supply the Needs of estimates, whole Countries, it is a commendable ficient, nist ad-Service, Videturque jure optimo, posse modum mentilaudari; nay, shew'd by their own Example, that for the Greatest Men to turn Merchants, did less taint their Blood, than their Sloth and Esseminacy; and upon this account, the Wisest of the Heathens (for such were Thales, Solon, Hippocrates, and even Plato himfelf) have honour'd Merchandize; and, of later times, many Kings and Princes; and then indeed, does Traffick rise to its Ascendent, when 'tis dignisted by their Example, and defended by their Power: This, the Dukes of Florence, and other Potentates have long since understood; and, now at last, the French King: witness the Repair of his Ports, Building of Ships, Cutting new Channels, Instituting Companies, Planting of Colonies, and Universal encourage-

ment of Manufactures by cherishing, and ennobling of Sedulous and Indu-Arious persons: But, more yet than all this, or rather all this in more Perfection; His Majesty (our glorious Monarch) by whose Influences alone (after all the Combinations of his late powerful Enemies ) fuch a Trade has been Revivid, and Carried on, and such a Fleet, and Strength at Sea to protect it, as never this Nation had a greater, nor any other of the past Ages has approach'd; Witness, You Three mighty Neighbours, at Once, taught to submit to him! For the Blessings of Navigation, and visiting distant Climes, does not stop at Traffick only; but (fince 'tis no less perfection to keep, than obtain a Good) it enables us likewise with means to defend, what our honest Industry has gotten; and, if necessity, and Justice require; with Inlarging our Dominions too: Vindicating our Rights, Repelling Injuries, Protecting the Oppress'd, and with all the Offices of Humanity, and good Nature; In a word, Justice, and the Right of Nations, are the Objects of Commerce: It maintains Society, disposes to Action, and Communicates the Graces, and Riches which

which God has Variously imparted: From all which Considerations, tis evident; That a Spirit of Commerce, and strength at Sea to protect it, are the most certain marks of the Greatness of Empire, deduced from an undeniable Sorites; That whoever Commands the Ocean, Commands the Trade of the World, and whoever Commands the Trade of the VVorld, Commands the Riches of the VVorld, and whoever is Master of That, Commands the World it self; so as had the Spaniard treble his VVealth, he could neither be Rich, nor Safe with his prodigious Sloth; since, whilst he has been sittingstill; VVe, and other Nations have driven the Trade of the East-Indies, with his Treasure of the West, and, uniting, as it were, Extreams, made the Poles to kiss: They are not therefore finall Matters, you fee, which Men fo much contendabout, when they frive to Improve Commerce, and, by degrees, promote the Art of Navigation, and set their Empire in the Deep, from whence they have found to flow such notable Advantages. Instances of this we might add in abundance; and that it is not the vastness of Territory, but

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the Convenience of Situation; nor the Multitude of men, but their Address and Industry which improve a Nation. Cosmo di Medices would often say; That the Prince who had not the Sea to friend, was but half a Prince: And, this, Charles the Fifth had well considered, when he gave it for a Maxime to his Son Philip, That if ever he would fit quiet at home, and advance his Affairs abroad, he should be sure to keepup his Reputation on the Waters. The truth is, this great Emperour had neglected his Interest at Sea, and it laid the foundation of the Rebellion of his Low-Country Subjects, against his Successor: To pretend to Universal Monarchy without Fleets, was long fince looked on, as a Politick Chymara, and was wittily infinuated to Antigonus by Patroclus, when (being a Commander under Ptolomy Lagus's Son) he sent him a Present of Fish and green Figgs, intimating, that unless he had the Sea in his power, he had as good fit at home, and trifle: it was but labour in vain: And this was the sense of another as great a Captain, when reckoning up the infinite prerogatives which the Sea afforded; Xenophon seems to despise the Advan-

In Repub.

ipnosoph.1.8.

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Advantages of the Land in Comparifon: Truly the Romans themselves, were longer in struggling for a little Earth in Italy only, than in Subduing the whole World, after once their Eagles had taken flight towards the Sea, and urg'd their fortune on the deep. When once they had subdu'd Agrigentum, Carthage was Folibyus. no longer impregnable; and after they had pass'd Gades and the Herculean Streight, nothing was too hard for them, they went whither they would, and cruiz'd as far as Thule.

11. We shall not adventure to divine, Illirobur do who the hardy Person was who first as triplex circa resolv'd to trust himself to a Plank Pelluswithin an inch of Death, to compel the digitis à morte Woods to descend into the Waters, remotus quaand to back the most impetuous, and unconstant Element; though probably, and formany Reafons, some-body long before the Deluge; Isti sunt potentes: 6.Gen.4. Grotius on the place will have the Navigationis repertores, piratæ, such as in succeeding Ages were Jupiter, Cretensis, Minos, &c. Since it is not imaginable, the World, that must needs be fo Populous, and was fo Curious, should have continu'd so many Ages without Adventures by Sea: But, the

first Vessel which we read of, was made by divine Instinct and direction, and whilst the Prototype lasted (which Histories tell us was many hundred years) doubtless they built many strong, and goodly Ships: But, as all things are in continual flux and Vicifitude; fo the Art in time impair'd, and Men began anew to Contrive for their Safety or Necessity in Rasts, and hollow-Trees; nay, Paper, Reeds, Twigs and Leather (for of fuch were the rude beginnings of the finish'd Pieces we now admire) till advancing the Art, by making use of more durable Materials, they then began to Build like Ship-Wrights, when Pyrrhon the Lydian invented the bending of Planks by Fire, and made Boats of several Contignations; nor contented with the fame Model, the Platenses, Mysians, Trojans and other Nations, contended for the various Shapes. Thus to Sefoftris is ascribed the Long-Ship firted for Expedition: Hippus the Tyrrian devis'd Carricks and Onerary Vessels of prodigious bulk, for Trafick or Offence: Athenaus speaks of some that for their enormous structure had been taken for Mountains, and floating-Islands; such was that of Hiero

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Hiero describ'd by the Deipnosophist, a Oneraria Ceremooving Palace adorn'd with Gardens &c. of the Choicest Fruit, and Trees for shade: Hippagines is said to have transported the first Horses in larger Boats; Others ascribe it to Darius, when he retir'd into Thrace; though we think them rather of antienter date; for what elfe means, the Ferrying over King David's Goods and Carriages, mention'd in the Second of Samuel? 2 Sam. 19. Thus far the Keel; for to the divers parts of Vessels, for better Speed, and Government, feveral were the Pretenders. The Thasis added Decks; Pisaus the Rostrum or Beak-head; Tiphys the Rudder; Epalamius compleated the Anker, which was at first but of one Flook: But, before all these, was the Use of Oars, which from the Bireme, Biremis Fiinvented by the Erythrai, came at last strix, vailata to no less than fourty Ordines, or Banks Turrita, &c. (for fo many had Ptolomy Philopater's Plutarch. in Gally) which, how to reconcile with Demet. Athepossible(though that famous Vessel were built for Pomp, and Oftentation only, and therefore with a double Prow ) together with those monstrous Ships of War set forth by Demetrius, which had in them 4000 Rowers, let the Curious confult C 2

Phoc. 717.

consult the most learned Palmerius, in his Diatriba upon a fragment of \* Memnon: and for portentous and Costly Vessels, The late Vendosme built by Lewis the XIIIth. of France; the Swedish Magaleza, the Venetian Bucentoro; not to omit those Carricks which the Spaniard emploies yearly to his Indies. But, neither did all these helps suffice, 'till they added Wings too: They attribute indeed the Invention of Masts, and Cross-Yards to those of Creete; but to Thefeus, Icarus, and Dedalus the application of Sails, which 'tis said, Proteus first skill'd to manage, and shift with that dexterity, as he was fain'd to turn himself into all shapes: and it was doubtless, no little wonder, to see that a piece of Cloth (or, as Pliny, wittily, a despicable Seed, for so he calls that of Hemp, of which Sails were made) should be contriv'd to stir such a Bulk, and carry it with that incredible celerity, from One extream of the Earth to the Other: Of that esteem was this ingenious Invention, that, besides Prometheus, and the rest we nam'd, whole Countries challeng'd it, and the Rhodians, Ionians, Corinthians, those of Tyrus, Ægypt, Ægineta,

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Ægineta, Boetia with innumerable

other, vaunt themselves Masters of the Science, nor is there any end of their Names. It were a thing impossible, to investigate by whom the several Riggings of Vessels, and compleat Equipment were brought into Use: The Skill vegetus, Polof Pilotage has aids from the Mathe- lux, Laz. Bajimatics, and Astronomy; and that of fine, Cresenti. governing Ships in Fight is another, &c., Fournier, and a different talent. These, and many more, were the Daughters of Time, Necessity, and Accident; so as even to our Daies, there is ever something adding, or still wanting to the Complement of this incomparable Art. Of the Magnet we shall speak hereafter. nor are we to despair in the perfecting of Longitudes, Dies, Diem docet, and whilst many pass, Science shall be still improv'd: We shall onely observe, concerning Men of War, Fleets, and Armada's for Battel, that Minos was reported to be the Author, which shews that manner of desperate Combat on the Waters, to be neer as antient as Men themselves, since the Deluge: Indeed, to this Prince do some attribute the piod rue, 1. 6.

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first knowledge of Navigation, and Strabo, 1.10.

that he disputed the Empire of the Seas

Seas with Neptune himself, who, for his Power on the Watry Element, was esteem'd a God: But, however these particulars may be uncertain, we are able to make proof, That the first Fregats were built by the English, and generally, the best, and most Commodious Vessels for all fort of Uses in the World; and, as the Ships, so Those who Man them, acknowledg'd for the most Expert, and Couragious in it. But,

12. From the Building of Ships, we pass to the most Celebrious Expeditions that have been made in them. The Gentiles (who doubtless took Saturn for Noah, and his Sons, for other of the Deities) magnifie fundry of their Adventures by Sea: And, if from the immediate Off-spring of that ancient Patriarch, Sem, and Japhet, the Matick-Iles, and those at remoter distance in the Mediterranean and European Seas, were peopl'd (whilst the Continent, and less diffever'd Africk, was left to Cham) we have a certain Epoche, for the earliest Expeditions, and, shall less need to infilt on those of the Mythical, and Heroic Age; the Exploits of Osiris, Hercules, Cadmus; the Wandrings of

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Ulysses, and the Leaders that expugn'd Troy. To touch but a few of these; Bacchus, whose Dominion lay about the Gulph of Persia, made of the first Adventures, when from him (after the Rape of Ariadne) the Tyrrian Pirates learned the Art of Navigation, or rather to become more skillful Rovers; If at least, they were not of the first for Antiquity in this Art; Since the Phænicians (whether expell'd by Joshua, or transported by their Curiosity) having spread their name in the Mediterranean, were admir'd as Gods for their boldness on the Waters, and esteem'd among the first that Navigated, according to that of the Poet,

#### Primaratem ventis credere docta Tyrus. Tibullus.

That Cadmus sail'd into Greece, Peopl'd those Iles in the Ægean, taught them Letters, and Sciences, as he had learn'd them from the Hebrews, we have undoubted testimony: Some affirm that the Phanicians circl'd the World long since, and Herodotus has something to that purpose, where in his Melpomene, he speaks of those whom King Necus caus'd to Embark C 4

Procopius.

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from the Red Sea, and that ten years after return'd home by the Columns of Hercules through the Streights: However, that they penetrated far beyond the Western Ocean, and the Shores of Africk, the Expedition of Hanno in a Navy of LX. Ships makes out by Grave Writers; so their coming as far as our Britain, the Pillars which they fixt at Gades, and Tingis, to which some report they were crept in early daies: And as towards the West, so Eastward, taking Colonies from Elana and the Persian-Gulph. As to what they might be for Merchants, illustrious is the proof out of Esay, where Tyrus is call'd the Growning City, whose Merchants are Princes, and whose Trafickers-the honourable of the Earth; when under the pretence of Transporting Commodities into Greece, they carried away 16, Daughter of Inachus, which the Cre-\* Vide Valer, tans requited, when shortly after, their Flaccum A- amorous God, sail'd away with the genaut. 1.8. fair Europa in the White-Bull; for so Herodot. Hesy- was the Vessel call'd, which gave Occadam, Seneram, sion to the Fable, and serves to prove, how antient the giving Names, and Amongst the \* Badges is. Indeed so expert were Poets, Virgil those of Crete in Sea-Affairs, and so numerous their Original and Progress.

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numerous in Shipping, as by the suffrage of ancient times, there were none durit contend with them for Sovereignty: let us hear the Tragadian,

O maria vasti Creta Dominatrix freti, Sen. Trag. in Cujus per omne littus innumere, Rates Hippolyto. Tenuere Pontum: quicquid Assyria tenus Tellure Nereus pervium Rostris secat.

12. The Colchick Exploit in the famous Argo (so call'd from her nimble Sailing) was perform'd by above 50 Gallants, of which Nine were Chief under Jason, and Glaucus his Experienc'd Pilot: But, whether they went to those Countries about the Euxine Shores in hopes of Golden Mines ( shadow'd by the Fleece) or in expectation of the Philosophers Stone (faid to be in possession of King Æta) we leave to the Romancers: There is in Homer a List of Hero's, and Ships under their command, mention'd to be set out by the Havaxaios, or States-General of those Provinces, reported to have been no less than a Thousand;

(rina. Non anni domuêre decem, non mille Ca- Iliad 2.

And

\* Hooorot A

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And that this Number is not fictitious; not onely the wondrous exactness of the Poet in describing the Commanders by Name, but the Number of Ships under each Flag, as the Learned Mr. Stanleymakes it good beyond exception in his excellent Notes upon Æschylus, and we propose the Instance, because it is so very remarkable for its Antiquity.

14. But, to quit these dark, and less certain Memorials, and mingle that of Commerce with Martial Undertakings: The First for whom we have Divine, and Infallible Record, is of the Greatest, and the Wisest Prince, that ever fway'd a Scepter: For, though it appear, the Phænicians had us'd the Sea before, and, perhaps, were the \* first surregins à- Merchants in the World fince the De-Aldive & in- luge: Yet, it was Solomon doubtless, viourle. Di- who open'd the Passages to the South, enys. Theen an imated by his directions, and now leaving-off their Rafts, and Improving their Adventures in Ships, and Stouter Vessels, they assay'd to penetrate the farthest Indies, and visit an Unknown Hemisphere: or if haply, they prevented him; yet, were now glad to joyn with this glorious Monarch; because of those advantagious Ports

Ports his Father had taken from the Idumeans, which might otherwise interrupt their Expeditions. What a Mass of Gold, and other precious things (the peculiar Treasure of Princes) this Fleet of his brought home, the fucceeding story relates; and there is farther notice of Mariners, whose Trading was for Spices and Curiofities; and the Voyage to Tarshish (which by some is interpreted the Ocean, as indeed it signifies in the Chaldean Language, but doubtless, means Tartessus in Spain) is again repeated. Jehoshaphat, after Solomon, neglected not these prosperous beginnings, though, not with equal Success; for the Ships were broken at Ffion-Geber: We shall onely remark, upon the Account of Commerce, that Solomon had no less than two Fleets destin'd for Trafick, of which, One went to Ophir (perhaps Sophra, Taproban, or Geilon) in the East-Indies, and the Other pan. 10.5. to Tarsis, that is (Tartessus) Cales; which being Then, and long after esteem'd for the utmost Confine of the World, had its name from the Phænicians, as well as divers other places, and Ports of Eu-

rope (even as far as Italy, France, and

Britany it self) which both They, and

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Phaleg. 1. 3. c.7. Canaan. l. i.c.34.

We reserve to this day in no obscure footsteps: And that Spain abounded in plenty of Gold too (whatever some su-See Bochartus perficial Searchers think) we learn from Strabo, Diodorus, Mela, Pliny, and several Grave Authors, whose attestation may be of good weight; the Tyrians, and Phanicians frequently Sailing into those Parts. But, though we had yet no print of this from the Sacred Volumes, it is not to be devis'd, how the Isles of the Gentiles, and other Places of inaccessible distance could be planted and furnish'd, without those early Intercourses by Sea, which, by degrees (as in part is shew'd) accomplish'd the Dominions of Warlike-Men, and States, and encourag'd fome to stupendious Attempts.

> 15. To proceed to Instances of unquestionable Credit, we have those of the Perhans, and Greeks both before, and fince the Peloponne fiack War: And, indeed the Greeks were the first of the Heathens that joyn'd Learning with Arms, that did both Do and Write what was worthy to be remembred; and that finall parcel of Ground, whose greatness was then onely valu'd by the vertue of the Inhabitants, planted Trapizond

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pizond in the East, and divers other Cities in Asia the Less, the protection of whose Liberties was the first Cause of War between them and the Persians: As to Exploits, the Athenians, and smaller Islands of the Ægean, exceedingly amplified their Bounds with their Naval-Power; so as Thucydides enumerates their Annual descents upon Peloponnesus, during that Quarrel: But, the Exploits of Alcibiades, both when so ungratefully Exiled from his Country, and after he was again restored to it, were celebrated in story, as well as gustin.1.5. those of Conon, under whom, we first hear of a Treasurer of the Navy, for the better Paying of the Sea-men, even in those early daies: But, these Conflicts did many of them concern the Persian by Tissaphernes under Darius, Artaxerxes, and others: The Differences also with the Megarenses, where Pisistratus obtain'd the Victory, and the Exploits of Themistocles; but, especially that decretory Battle in which Xerxes's Fleet of 1500 Men of War, was vanquish'd by less than 400, which gave the absolute Dominion of the Sea to one City, and so inrich'd it, that the Lacedemonians (envious at her prosperity)

prosperity) maintain'd a War against it, to the almost ruine of both, see the . effects of Avarice! But this was indeed before the Peloponnesian War, between the LXXX and LXXXIV Olympiad, and first commenc'd against Strangers, and then the Lacedemonians, Corcyreans, and other their Neighbours for the fpace of Seven years continuance, till by the Courage, and good Conduct of Lysander, a Peace was at last concluded, with the destruction of Athens, as it usually happens to the First who give the Occasion, and are the Aggresfors. She was yet fet-up once again, by that gallant Exile whom we nam'd, under the Banner of Artaxerxes; but fo to the desolation of poor Greece (weakn'd by her many Conflicts) that King Philip, and his Son Alexander, foon took their Advantage, to make themselves, first Masters at Sea, and then of the World; for they are infallible Consequents. And here we might speak something of Corinth, a City (if ever any) emulous of the highest praises for Traffick, and Exploits at Sea; but we involve her amongst the Grecians, and passover to the opposite floar; where, upon division of the MaceMacedonian Empire, we find the Carthaginians (a People originally from Tyrus) of the earliest same for Commerce, and so well appointed for the Sea, as gave terrour to Rome her self: Nordo we forget the Syracusans, renown'd for their many glorious Actions at Sea, which continued to the very Punick War, the most obstinate that History has recorded.

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16. It was 492 years from the Foundation of the City, before they had Archieved any thing confiderable on the Waters; when finding the wonted Progress of their Vidories obstructed by those of Carthage (then Lords at Sea) they fell in earnest to the Building of Ships of War, and deviling Engines. of Offence, which before they hardly thought of. Their first Expedition by Sea, was under Appius Claudius, against the Sicilians, which made those of Africa look about them, and gave rise to the Punick War under Cajus Duillius, and his Collegue, with an hundred Rostrated Vessels, and 75 Gallies: But, the most memorable for number, was, when the two Admirals Regulus, and L. Manlius, with above an

hundred thousand Men (in Ships that

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had every one 300 at the Oar) were encounter'd with a yet more prodigious force, in the Battle at Heraclea, unfortunate to the Carthaginians: But, neither did it so determine: For, when Hannibal (returning out of Spain) invaded Italy: The Romans found no better expedient to divert him, than by dispatching Scipio, with a Fleet into Africa. The third, and last Contest (after a little repose) determin'd not till the utter ruine, and subversion of that emulous Neighbour. These several Conflicts with this hostile City (which lasted near Twenty years) are admirably describ'd by Polybius; especially that of M. Regulus, who, with that unequal Power, fought three Battles in one day; and, in another, Æmilius (with about the same number of Ships) took, and funk above an hundred more, and flew near 40000 of the Enemy, though by the terrible and unfortunate Wrack, which afterwards furpriz'd him, fuch another Victory had undone them. They made War, after this, with the Achaians, Balearians, Gilicians, Sertorians, and those of Grete; indeed, wheresoever they found Resistance, dissident yet at sirst,

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of this unaccustom'd manner of Com-, bate, and which for sometime, caus'd them to lay it by; but, they quickly resum'd it, and overcoming all difficulties, then Onely might be faid to speed Conquerours of the World. when they had Conquer'd the Sea, and subdu'd the Waters.

17. The Piratick-War of Pompey we find celebrated by Tully, pro Lege Manilia: He invaded the Cyclades; won Corcyra, got Athens, Pontus, and Florus, Plus Bithynia, and cleared the Seas with tarch. that wonderful diligence, that in forty daies time, he left not a Rover in all the Mediterranean, though grown to that power, and number, as to give terrour to the Common-wealth. We forbear to speak of Sextus his unfortunate-Son, vanquish'd by the Treachery of his Libertus + Menodorus, and + Call'd also pass to the great Augustus, who in many race Epod. Sea-Conflicts signaliz'd his Courage; especially, in that Decretory Battail at Actium, where the Contest was de summa Rerum, and the World by Sea, first subdu'd to the Empire of a single Person. What discoveries this mighty Prince made, did as far exceed his Prædecessours, as the frozen North,

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and horrid Coasts of Cimbria, the milder Clime of our Britain, which. was yet in those daies esteem'd another World, and her Boundaries, as much unknown, as those of Virginia to us: 'Twas call'd Alter Orbis; and Grave \* Authors, who speak of the unpassaclem. Romanus. bleness of the Ocean, mention the See also clan- Worlds that lay beyond it: Morino-Josephus, Dio, rum gentem ultimam esse Mortalium, fays Ptolomy; and the Prince of Poets,

\* Especially dins, Servius, Eutropius, Scaliger,&c.

#### Extremique hominum Morini.

For it appears no late fancy, that all was not discover'd long before Columbus; though those who took the Heavens for a kind of hollow-Arch, covering onely what was then detected, little dream'd of Antipodes: 'Tis famous yet what the Prophetick Tragedian has offer'd at, and a thing beyond dispute, that the Antients had the same notions of our Country, as we of America: But to leave these Enquiries at present (till we come more particularly to speak of our Country in the following Series) we shall onely, as to the Romans, give the Curious a tast, what Care these Wise People

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had of their Naval Preparations, when once (as we have flew'd) they found the Importance of it, and after how prudent a Method they dispos'd ic.

18. Augustus had in his Military Establishment one Squadron of Men of VVar at Ravenna, as a constant Guard of the Adriatic; and another riding at Misenum, to scowr the Tyr- c.49. rhen-Sea, together with a Brigade of Foot-Souldiers at either Port, to clap on Board upon any sudden occasion. The Misenian-Fleet lay conveniently for France, Spain, Morocco, Africk, A- Vegetius. gypt, Sardinia, and Sicily; That at Ravenna, for Epirus, Macedon, Achaia, Propontis, Pontus; The Levantine Notitia Impeparts, Creete, Rhodes, and Cyprus, &c. rii. So as by the Number of their Veffels, and Arms, they made a Bridge (as it were) to all their Provinces, and vast Dominions at what distance soever: And many of these particulars we MIL. CL.P. could farther Illustrate by Medals, R.AR. Miles and noble Inscriptions, to be gather'd ria Ravennaout of good Records, did we need the fis. PRÆTOR. Ostentation of any farther Researches: MAR. ET VVe shall only observe, that they had CL. M. R. their Pratorio Prafectus, who In-Militia Ra-

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speded

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spected all this. Marine Laws and Customes they also had: Whence was it else that the Corn-fleet was still from Alexandria to make Puteoli, as it were by Coquet bound? So the Ships of that Port: See Acts 28. 11, 12, 13. VVhence else was it that onely the same Corn-fleet, as being of so absolute necessity for the sustenance of the Imperial City, had the Priviledge to come into Harbour with Top and Top-Gallant; unless the rest did Supparum dimere, or strike Sail to the Ports of the Empire? So early was the claim to the Flag, and the Ceremonies of Naval-Honour stated. Yet higher; Their Rostrate-Crowns; and that pretty Infolence by Act of Senate allow'd to C. Duillius after having won the Romans their first Victory at Sea, that he should, all his life after, be brought to the publick Entertainments in the Town-Hall with a Pipe playing before him; and Flambeaux on each side; that Column too, whose Fragments yet preserv'd, exhibit with the memory of that Illustrious Action, perhaps the Ancientest piece of Latin now extant, at least in the Originals. All these allegations do abundantly testifie with what trans-

Gruter's In-

scriptions.

See Tully de

Senett.

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ports of joy that aspiring people received the Accession of Power by Sea. They also had their Decuriæ Fabrorum Rhavennatium, Master Ship-Wrights of the Dock at Rhavenna; and, we find Fire-Ships mention'd in \* Fronti- Front. Strata; nus; Stink-Pots, nay Snake-Pots, and gem, 1.4 c.7. False-Colours; for such, we read, were us'd by Cassius, Scipio, Annibal, M. Portius, Iphicrates, Pisistratus, and others: And, if the Trajan Port at Ostia were now extant, we might fee fuch a patternof a Mole, Lantern, Magazine for Ships, and Accommodation for Merchants Goods, as was never before in the World, and would put to shame all modern Industry of that Nature; to shew the care they had, and the prodigious Expences they made, for this fo important, and necessary a VVork: But these things hapning in her early and best daies, the fervour quickly abated; for from the Death of Augustus, and some few of the succeeding Emperours (as in that + decline, by the Con- + vide Procoduct of Belizarius, Artabanes, and fime pium, 13. of the later Captains) the Romans, as Paulus Discopowerful by Land as they were, performed not much at Sea: Those glorious Actions were the Consequents of

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a frugal and vigilant People; But, when Softness, and Prodigality took off their Minds from the great, and noble Enterprizes of their Ancestors, and the Defence of their Country was discompos'd by Factions among themselves, the Goths, Vandales, Lombards, and Saracens broke in upon them, to the utter ruine, and subversion of that

renowned Empire.

19. But the Business of Navigation, and Commerce (which could not long be Eclips'd, so soon as a Magnanimous Prince appear'd) was again Reviv'd under Charles the Great; about whose time, it were not hard to find out the Original of almost all the Naval-Offices, and Thalassarchia or Admiralty, to this Day continuing; as appears in both the Notitia Imperii Occidentalis & Orientalis, wherein there occur divers notable Particulars concerning them, even till the loss of Constantinople, and the Imperial Scat it self: But, to trace this great Article from its source, and shew the Progress it has made in the Ages past, we have but to look over the Catalogue which Eusebius has given us, adjusted to the Epoche in which they had successive Dominion of the Sea: namely,

In Chron.

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namely, the Lydians whom (as appearing the most Conspicuous) he sets in the Van: Then the Pelasgi, Thraces, Rhodians, Phrygians, Phanicians, the Ægyptians, Milesians, those of Caria, Lesbia, the Phocenses, Naxii, Eretrienses, Æginetæ and others too long to recite: Let us look back to the Ægyptians, who we read, were so addicted to Traffick, as they essayed to joyn the Mediterranean with the Red-Sea, and thereby open a passage to the Commerce of Arabia, Ethiopia, and the Shoars of India: VVhich attempt (unfuccessful as it prov'd ) did not yet impeach the Alexandrian Staple, from whence Rome of Old, the Genoezes, Venetians, and others of later date, have inricht themselves: For the Eastern Scale being in Cafars time at Coptos, and afterwards, remov'd to Alexandria: when the Arabs and Goths overran the VV orld (and the Indian Trade interrupted) was convey'd to Trebezond upon the Euxine, and from thence by Caravan to Aleppo, thence again recover'd to the Red-Sea, and Alexandria by the Sultan, who then possessed Cairo, where it was long Monopoliz'd by the Venetians, of whom we

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+ Lib. 17.

give a more particular Account. VVhat immense Treasure the Romans received out of Asia, and Syria; out of Africa from Ægypt, and by the Nile; the Perfian Gulph, and from India, we are told out of Strabo +. This Merchandize was first convey'd over-Land from Berenice, by Philadelphus (to avoid the perils of Navigating the Red-Sea) to Popta on the Nilus; and thence (with the Stream) to Alexandria, though many Ships adventur'd to pass from Muris (or the Berenice above-mention'd) even to the very Indies; by which means there came Yearly to Rome, no less than 1000 Tuns of Gold, besides other precious Commodities. But, when the Empire fell to decay, the Venetians (as we noted) took their advantage, till then a few scatter'd Cotages of poor Fisher-men, and others, Fugitives from the Gotic Inundation, and setling by degrees upon a Cluster of divers muddy, and almost, inaccessible Islands: See what Commerce can effect! But, these Industrious People affay'd another way, namely, from Ganges through Bactria, and the River Oxus, and so the Caspian Lake, Astracan and the Volga; thence

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to Tanais by the Euxine, and so to Venice; truly an immense Circle, and which foon wearied them out, when even of later times, the Negoce of India was supplied from Tripoly, and Alexandretta (Cities of Syria) and from Aleppo by Caravan, to which Scale Merchants came from Armenia, Arabia, Ægypt, Persia, and generally, from all the Oriental Countries. From Aleppo again they return'd to Bir near the Euphrates: thence to Badaget, or Ophram in Media: Balsara, and the Gulch all down the Stream: To this Balsara is yet brought all sorts of Indian Commodities, as far as Æthiopia, and the Islands of that Ocean; where being charg'd on smaller Vessels, they are tow'd up against the Euphrates to Bagdet; in which Passage, being now and then interrupted by the Thievish Arabs (especially at the Frontiers) Intelligence is familiarly convey'd by the Inter-nunce of Pidgeons trained up for the purpose, that is, carried in open Cages from the Dove-houses, and freed, with their Letters of Advice (contriv'd in narrow scrowls about their bodies, and under the wing) which they bring with wonderful Expedition:

tion: as they likewise practice it from Scanderoon to Aleppo upon the comingin of Ships, and other Occasions. These were the later Intercourses from Venice to, and from the Oriental Parts, till in the Year 1497, that the famous Vasco de Gama (that fortunate Portugueze, and whom we may truly call the Restorer of Navigation ) found out a nearer VVay, by going farther about: For Henry, the Third Son of John the First of Portugal, hearing that Bethen-Court, a Norman, had deteded certain Islands in the Atlantick Ocean some years before; sent two Ships in search

·1344.

of the Africa Shoars Southwards: Ten Years after this, Consalvo, and Tristan Vaz made discovery of \* Madera, and certain Genoëzes had sail'd as far as English min. the Sierra Lione, within eight Degrees of the Aquator; after which, there was little advance till the Reign of Alphonsus the Second, in whose time, the Portuguezes Coasted as far as the Pro-, montory of St. Katharine under the second Degree of Southern Latitude: But, John the Second sending men by the old Way of Alexandria, and the Midland-Sea to Goa, Peter Covilan, an Active Spirit amongst them, hearing of

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a famous Cape, which extending it self far into the Sea, and that being doubl'd, did open a passage into the East, brought News of it to King Emanuel (then Reigning) who thereupon, employ'd the two Brothers Valques ( whom we nam'd) and Paulo, with four Vessels, and 160 Men, with that Success, as to discover a passage to the Indies by Long-Sea, to the almost utter ruine of Venice; and, in a short time after, to the total Interruption of that tedious Circle by Land, Rivers, and Lakes, which we have been describing; nor are we to forget Petrus Alvarez, Almeida, and others. And in this manner, for divers Years (at least till the Reign of John the Third) did the Portugals and Spaniards carry the Trade of the World, from the rest of the World, till the HOL-LANDERS (being prohibited all Intercourse with the Ports belonging to the Catholick-Kings) attempted the same Discovery, and in short time, so out-did the former; that, by the Year 1595, they had Establish'd a Compa- 1595. ny for the East-Indies; and within a while after, another for the West, which has subdu'd the best part of Brazile,

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1624. 1628. and in the Year 1628, fought, and took the Spanish Plate-Fleet, to their immense Inrichment: But, in what manner they have fetled themselves and Factories in those Parts, and by what Arts maintain'd it, will require a fuller discovery.

20. We not long-since mentioned the Goths and Vandals, and who almost has taken Notice of the Ancient Port of Wisbuy, formerly a Receptacle of Ships, and famous Emporium in those Parts? when even the Laws, and Ordinances of Wisbuy, took place like those of Oleron, from Muscovy, to the Streights of Gibraltar; and though both Olaus Magnus, Herbestan, and Others have exceedingly celebrated this City, and Haven; Yet we cannot learn, how it came to be deferted, unless by the Luxury, and Diffentions of the Inhabitants; by none (that we can find) recorded: But, that it was once in so flourishing a state, testifie the yet remaining Heaps, the Columns of Marble, Fasper, and Porphyrie: the Gates of Brass and Iron, exquisitely wrought, and other foot-steps of August foundations. Albertus the Swedish King, endeavour'd by great Privileges, to

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have (it seems) establish'd again, and restor'd it to its ancient splendour, but it did not succeed: Nevertheless, the Laws we mention'd (written in the Old Theutonick Language, and without date) obtain'd amongst the Germans. Danes, Flemmings, and almost all the Northern People: We mention the Instance to shew, that as some Places have fet-up, and thriven by their Industry; so Others, have lost what they once possess'd; and that this Vicissitude is unavoidable, Tyrus, and Carthage, and Corinth, and Syracuse (that in their turns contended with all the World for Navigation and Commerce) are pregnant Examples. The famous Brundusum ( whence the Great Pompey fled from the fortune of Cæsar) is now quite choak'd-up: Joppa is no more, and Tingis, which of old deriv'd its Name from Commerce, and was a renown'd Emporium near three hundred Years before Carthage was a City, was lately the Desolate Tanger; though now again, by the Influence of our glorious Monarch, raising its aged head with fresh vigour: But, what's become of hundreds we might Name; Spina near strabo, Dionys. Ravenna, Luna in Etruria, Lesbus, and Hilicarnas. See Isaiah,

even c.23.

home, and at our own doors, Stavernen in Friezland, anciently a famous
Port, now defolate, Antwerp (lately the
Staple for the Spice and Riches of the
East, and that Sold more in one Month,
than Venice did in four and twenty)
lies abandon'd: The stately Genoa
(which once employ'd twice-twenty
thousand hands in the Silken Manusadure) is now, with her Elder Sister
Venice, ebbing apace; Venice, I say, the
Belov'd of the Sea, seems now forlorne,
compared to what she was, and from

how a finall a principle she had spread!

fpecially against the Saracens) those of Province, Marselles, Narbon, &c. had long since been samous at Sea, we say, long since; for the ancient Gaules had great Commerce with those of Carthage (as appears out of Polibyus and Livy) but the French in general, have of later daies, and since the Reign of Charles the Eighth, performed little considerable: Francis the First (that Magnificent Prince, who had made the samous, Andrea d'Oria his Admiral) built indeed no less than sifty Gallies for the Italiek-War, and had some Conflictes

Phil.Comines.

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flicts with our King his Neighbour: But Henry the Fourth, seem'd wholly negligent of Sea-affairs, as relying upon the Generosity of Queen Elizabeth, in whose daies, neither He, nor any other Potentate about her, durst pretend to Shipping, or such Fleets as might give jealousie to their Allies; which, had this incomparable Princess, or, rather, her leaceful Successor, as well observed with the Hollanders in point of Commerce and Trade too; the Ages to come, as well as present, had been doubly obliged to their memory: But the Scene is now changed, as well with them as with France; since Cardinal de Richlieu, in the Reign of Lewis the Thirteenth, Instituting a Colledge, and Fraternity of Merchants about thirty Years fince; and by Opening, Enlarging, and Improving their Ports and Magazines, has put the present Monarch into fuch a Condition, as has exceedingly advanced his Commerce, and given Principle to no inconsiderable Navy; and if \* Claudius Sesellius \* De Ropub. the Bishop of Marselles's Prophecies Gallia, 1.2. fucceed ( who writ about the time of Lewis the Twelfth) the Northern World is like to have an importunate Neigh-

22. The Danes, and more Northern People were formidable (especially to this Island) under the Conduct of their brave Canute, Ubbon the Frizian, and other Captains; making frequent descents upon Us in mighty Fleets, encounter'd by the Saxons: But, all these living more by Brigandize, and Piracy, than by Traffick, gave place to the Spaniard, and Portugals, whose successful Expeditions, and Discoveries, have rendred them deservedly more VVorthy for these last six, or seven hundred Years, than any we have hitherto mention'd, for their shedding of Blood, and. Invasions. Nor with less Glory, and timely application of themselves to Sea-Affairs, did the formerly-mention'd Genoëzes, and others of the Ligurian Coast, signalize their Courage, as well as their dexterity in Traffick; especially, against the Saracens; since which, they did exceedingly flourish; till the Dukes of Tuscany, by better Policy, and the direction of Count Dudley ( pretended Duke of Northumberland) raising its Neighbour Ligorn from a despicable,

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despicable, and neglected Place, to a Free and well-defended Port, did well nigh ruin it; for, by this means, the greatest Merchants for repute in the World (namely those of Genoa) are become the greatest, and sordidst Usurers in it; as having otherwise little means to employ the Riches, which they formerly got, by a more honest, and natural way of Trade: But, as the Opening of Marselles may in time endanger that of Ligorn, whilst the French King is courting all the World with Naturalization, and other popular Immunities; other Princes are instructed how to render themselves Considerable, who are bleft with any advantagious Post upon the bordures of the Ocean; and, of This, Gotenberg (not to mention Villa-Franca, and some other Ports) is now a worthy Instance, which, till of late, was hardly known beyond its Wooden Suburbs, though it must be acknowledg'd, that both the Danes and Sweeds had perform'd notable Exploits; the former from Herald the Third, by the Conduct of Ubbon the Frisian ( not to insist on their heavy Impositions on this Island) and the latter from Gustavus the first, who ferv'd

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serv'd himself of Gallies even upon the Northern Seas, built for him by the Venetians, and set out that enormous Ship, we mention'd, which carryed 1300 Men: What Conquests the late Great Adolphus made, who went into Prusia with an Armada of 200 Ships, is known to the amazement of Eu-

23. We have more than once shew'd, from how humble a rise Venice had exalted her head, and spread the same of her Conquests, as well as Navigation, over Asia, Agypt, Syria, Pontus, Greece and other Countries, bordering upon the Ocean: she War'd against the Istrians, vanquish'd the Saracens. In the Holy land; they won Smyrna, devasted all the Phanician Shoars, especially under Dominico Michaele, who with 200 Vessels, having rais'd the Siege of Joppa, took Chius, Samos, Lesbos; to omit their Successes against the Genoëzes emulous of their growth, but never to forget the former, and of late, Arenuous resistance against the Turk; especially in that signal Battle of Lepanto, and what their famous General Capello did at Tunis, and Algiers of later time, and the Building, Furniture, and Occonomy

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Oeconomy of their Arfenal, and Magazines Celebrated throughout the World; when (before the lucky Portuquezes had doubl'd the Cape of Bon-Isperanza) the sweet of the Levantine Commerce (transfer'd from this Port onely) invited men to build not Ships alone, but Houses, and Palaces in the very bosom of Neptune, with a stupendious Expence, and almost miraculous: The Government of their Maritime-Affairs, care of their Forrests. Victualling, Courage and Industry of their Greatest Noble-men, who are frequently made Captains of single Gallies. and fometimes arriving to be Chief Admirals, come near a Dictatorship: are things worthy of praise; and of the Name they have obtain'd. Genea (whom we mention'd) had fignaliz'd it self against the Saracens, the Republic of Pisa, and even Venice it self, especially under Paganus Doria in the Year 1352, near the Bosphorus Streight; and with the Island of Tenidos had been hir'd by the Young Andronicus to come into his assistance: From the time of Cosmo di Medices, and Sylvius Piccolomini their Admiral, the Florentines gave proof of their Valour in Africa, and of E 2 their

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their Care for Sea Affairs, the Arsenal at Pisa gives a commendable Inflance.

24. The Rhodans (to whom some attribute even the Invention of Navigation, and whose Constitutions were universally receiv'd) obtain'd a mighty repute at Sea; and the Couragious Exploits of the Maltezes, and other Military Orders against the Common Enemy, the Turk, are renown'd over the World; witness, ten thousand which they slew, and half as many that they took in the Year 1308, with hundred thousands of those Miscreants destroy'd by them since their removal to Malta; especially when joyn'd with the Gallies of Venice and Genoa, in the Years 1601, 1625, 1638, and other flaughters innumerable. We name the Turk, and they give us Cause to remember them, by what the Christian Pale has too often felt, when more by their Numbers, than their Courage, they took from it Cyprus, Rhodes, and the never to be forgotten Candia; besides, their Conquests and Incursions, on the rest of Europe and Asia: They are not, 'tis Confess'd, of any Name for much Commerce, but for the Dishurbance of it, which calls aloud

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aloud upon the Christian VVorld to put a timely period to their Insolence, before it be incorrigible, and to pursue the bold, and brave Exploits of our Blakes, Lawsons, and Sprags against the Moores and Earbares, and by Example of our Heroic Prince, to restore that Security to Trade, which can onely make it Re-slourish.

25. The Æthiopians, Persians, Indians and Chinezes ( for those of Tartary, present, or ancient Souths, come hardly into this Account) may be reckon'd among the Nations of Traffic; Especially, the last nam'd, as who are by some thought to have had knowledge of the Magnet before the Europeans: nay, so addicted were they to Sailing, that they invented Veliferous chariots, and to Sail upon the Land: It was long fince that they had intercourse with those of Madagascar, and came sometimes as far as the Red-Sea with their Wares; and for Vessels, have to this day about Nankin, Jonks of Such prodigious fize, as feem like Cities, rather than Ships, built full of Houses, and replenish'd with whole Families: In short, There is hardly a Nation so rude, but, who in some degree, Cul-E ?

tivate Navigation, and are Charm'd with the Advantages of Commerce: But, it would cost an immense Volume, to discourse at large of these things in particular, and to mention onely, the brave Men, who have in all Ages fignaliz'd themselves at Sea for their Arms, or, more peaceful Arts; to Count the Names of the famous Captains, and Adventures of later times, whose Expeditions have been VVar-like, and for Invasion, and many for Discoveries and Commerce. Here, then we Contract our Sails, and shall direct our Course nearer home, from whence we have been so long diverted.

26. The First, that presents it self to our second Consideration, are the Spaniards, and Castilians, who (upon the Success of their Neighbours the Portugals) making use of that fortunate Stranger Columbus, prompted by a magnanimous Genius, and a little Philosophy, discover'd to us a New VVorld: This Great Man, being furnish'd-out by Ferdinand, and Isabella of Caftile, in four Voyages, which he made from the Year 1492, to An. 1502, detected the Antillias, Cuba, Famaica, erco with some of the Terra firma;

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though to let pass Zeno (a Noble Venetian, reported to have discover'd the North-East part of America above an hundred Years before) there be, who 1390. tell us, that a certain obscure Mariner (Alphonso Zanches de Huelva by name) had the first sight of this goodly profped, eight years before this glorious Geneeze ( for Columbus was of that City) or any the pretenders: This poor Sea-man, hurried upon those unknown Coasts by Tempests (which continu'd for almost a full Month) was carried as far as St. Domingo in Hispaniola: How he return'd is not said; but, that from the Observations of this Adventure, Christophero receiv'd the first notices of what he afterwards improv'd, being at that time in the Maderas, where Zanches arriving, died not long after, and bequeathed him all his Charts and Papers. There are likewise who affirm, that some mean Bisayers (loosing themselves in pursuit of Whale-Fishing) had fall'n upon some of the American Islands, above an hundred years, before either of the former; but, fince of this we have no Authentic proofs; Certain it is, that Columbus, taking his Conjectures from the Spiring of certain

#### Navigation and Commerce,

tain Winds from the Western Points, by strong Impulse, concluded, that there must needs be some Continent towards those Quarters: Upon this Considence, he offers first, his Service to John King of Portugal, and then, to our Henry the Seventh of England, by both which Princes rejected for a Romantic Dream, he repairs to the Court of Spain, where, partly by his Importunity, and much by the favour of Isabella, he was with great difficulty fetout at last, when to equip him, the Royal Lady was fain to pawn fome of her Jewels: But it was well Repaid, when for the value of 17000 Crowns, he not long after, return'd her almost as many Tuns of Treasure, and, within eight or nine Years, to the Kings fole Use, above 1500000 of Silver, and 360 Tuns of Gold: See the Reward of Faith, and of things not seen! These fortunate beginnings were pursu'd by Americus Vesputius (a Florentine, and a Stranger too) who being fent by Emanuel of Portugal to the Molucca Iflands (five Years after) hapning to be driven upon the same Coast, carried away the Name, though not the Honour from all the former, though, there their Original and Progress.

be, who upon good proof affirm, that John Chabet a Venetian, and his Son Sebastian (born with us at Bristol) had discover'd Florida, and the Shoars of Virginia, with that whole Tract as sar as New-found-Land, before the bold Genoëze; nay, that Thorn, and Eliot (both Countrymen of ours) detected this New-World before Columbus ever set foot upon it; for we will say nothing of the samous Owen Gwynedd, whose Adventures are of yet greater Antiquity, and might serve to give Reputation to that noble Enterprize, if we had a mind to be contentious for it. But,

27. That indeed the most shining Exploits of this Age of Discoveries, were chiefly due to the several Hero's of this Island, we have but to call-over the Names of Drake, Hawkins, Cavendish, Furbisher, Davis, Hudson, Raleigh, and others of no less merit: For impossible it was, that the English should not share in Dangers with the most Renowned, in so glorious an Enterprize; Our Drake being the First of any Mortal, to whom God vouchsafed the stupendious Atchievment of Encompassing, not this New-World alone, but New and Old together: Both of them Twice

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1497.

1528.

#### Navigation and Commerce,

Twice embrac'd by this Demi-God; for Magellan being flain at the Manillias, was interrupted in his intended Course, and lest the Exploit to Sebalian Gamus his Collegue.

28. This Voyage of Drake was first to Nombre de Dios; where coming to a fight of the South-Seas, with tears of Toy in his eyes, his mind was never in repose, till he had gotten into it, as in five years after he accomplish'd it, when passing through the Magellan Streight towards the other Indies, and doubling the famous Promontory, he Circum-navigated the whole Earth, and taking from the Spaniard St. Jago, Domingo, Cartagena, and other fignal Places, Crown'd in the Name of his Mistress the Queen, at Nova Albion, he returned to his Country, and to a Crown of Immortal Honour. This gallant Man was Leader to Cavendish, another Country-man of Ours, of no less Resolution; for these brave Perfons fcorning any longer to creep by Shoars, and be obliged to uncertain Constellations; plow'd-up unfathomable Abysses, without ken of Earth or Heaven, and really accomplished Adions, beyond all that the Poets of

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Old, or any former Record (fruitful in Wonders) could Invent or Relate.

29. And now Every Nation, stimulated by these Adventures, daily added New-things to the Accomplishment of the Art: Things, I fay, unknown to former Ages: And herein were the Portugals very prosperous. One of whose Princes brought first into Use the Astrolabe, and Tables of Declination, with other Arithmetical, and Astronomical Rules, applicable to Navigation; befides, what feveral others had from time to time Invented: But, neither were these to be compar'd to the Nautic Box, and feats of the Magnet; before which the Science was fo imperfect, and Mariners so terrified at Long Voyages; that there were Laws to prohibit Sailing even upon the Mediterranean, during the Winter Season: and, however great things have been reported of, Plato's Atlantic, the Difcoveries of Hanno, Eudoxius, and others of Old time, from the Persian Gulph, as far as Cales; it was still with fneaking by the Shoar, in continual fight of Land; or by Chance, which indeed has been a fruitful Mother in these

#### 60 Navigation and Commerce,

1205.

1465.

these, and most other Discoveries; that Men might learn Humility, and not Sacrifice to their own uncertain Reasonings. In that memorable Expedition of the French to Invade our Country, there was hardly a Pilos to be found, who durst adventure Twenty Leagues into the Main; and those who had been the most assur'd, did hardly reach within many degrees of the Aguinottial. The Azores were first stumbl'd-upon by a roming Pirat, surpriz'd by Storm: All the Asiatic Indian Seas, and some of Africa, lay almost as much in the dark, as the Hyperboreans, and horrid North. And though this defect was encounter'd more than two Ages past, by that ever to be renown'd lealian Flavio of Amalphi ( for we pass what is reported of the Ancient Arabs, Paulus Venetus, and Others) yet, was it near fourscore Years after, ere it came so far North as these Countries of Ours, to which his Needles continually pointed. But, it was now when the Fullness of Time was come, that by this means, the Western Indies should be no longer a Secret, and what have been the incomparable Advantages, which this despicable Stone has produc'd

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produced (the property whereof is ever to have its Poles, converted to the Poles of the World, and its Axes direded Parallel to the Axes of the World) is Argument of Admiration: But, that by vertue of this dull Pibble, such a Continent of Land, such Myriads of People, such inexhaustible Treasures, and so many Wonders should be brought to light, plainly Aftonishes, and way Instruct the proudest of usall, not to contema small-things; since so it oftentimes pleases the Almighty to humble the Loftiness of Men, and to Choose the Base things of the World, to Confound the Things that are Mighty. And less than This we could not fay, concerning that inestimable Jewel, by whose Aid and Direction, the Commerce, and Traffick of the World has receiv'd fuch Advantages.

Portugals and the Spaniards: There remain the ENGLISH and the HOL-LANDERS, who Courting the good Graces of the fame Mistris, the TRADE of the WORLD, divide the WORLD between them: Deservedly then we Celebrate the Industry of the Batavians: They must really be look'd upon

Bentivoglio

hift. Flan-

as a Wonderful People; nor do we diminish our selves whilst we magnishe any worthy Actions of theirs; fince it cannot but redound to our Glory, who have been the Occasion of it; and, that as oft as they have forgotten it, we have been able to Chastize them for it: It is, I say, a Miracle, that a People ( who have no Principle of Trade among themselves) should in so short a space, become such Masters of it: Their Growth ('tis Confess'd) is admirable; and if it prove as folid, and permanent, as it has been speedy, ROME must her-self submit to the Comparison: But, we know, who has Calculated her Nativity, and that Violent things are not alwaies lasting. We will yet give them their due; They are Gyants for stature, sierce in Beard and Countenance, full of goodly Towns; Strong in Munition, Numerous in Shipping; in a Word HIGH and MIGHTY-STATES, and all this the product of Commerce and Navigation; but by what just Arts equally, and in all parts improv'd, we may hereafter enquire, as well as to whose Kindness they have been the most Obliged, and the most Ingrateful: We omit their Original and Progress.

omit to speak here of their Discoveries, and Plantations, which the Curious may find in the Journals of Heemskerk, Oliver Vander-Nordt, Spilberg, Le Maire (who went fix Degrees farther South than Magellan himself, and found a shorter passage into those Seas) to these we may add L'Eremite, the late Compilers of their Atlases, and Others, which many Volumes would hardly comprehend, and because they are generally known; Tacitus, and other famous Authors have celebrated their Early Exploits at Sea, and of later times, Fredric Barburossa did bravely against the Saracens at Felusium in Ægypt: The Frizians greatly infested the Danes, and those of Flanders, especially under William the Son of Fohn Count of Holland, and in the time of Philip the good Duke of Burgundy: They were the first that wore the Broome, when, Anno 1438, they had clear'd the Levantine Seas, subdu'd the Genoëzes, and vanquish'd the French V. Font. Heuabout an hundred years after: How terms Austr. they plagu'd the Spaniard and Portugals, from the year 1572 to almost this day, there is no body ignorant of; and for that of their Discoveries, Qua vero

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#### Navigation and Commerce,

vero ignota littora, quasve desinentis mundi oras Scrutata non est Belgarum . Nautica? was justly due to them from Strada; and the Truth is, they have merited of Fame for many Vertues, and shew'd from what small, and despicable Rudiments, Great things have emerged; and that Traffick alone, which at the first raised, has hi herto fupported this Grandure against a most puissant Monarch, for a most an Age intire: But, their Admission of Forreigners, Increase of Hands, Encouraging Manufactures, Free, and Open Ports, Low Customes, Tolleration of Religions, Natural Frugality, and Indefatigable Industry could indeed, portend no less. We conclude then with ENGLAND, which though last in Order, was not the last in our Design; when upon reflection on our late Differences with our Neighbours of HOLLAND, we thought it not unsuitable to Præface something concerning the Progress of that Commerce, which has been the Subject of so many Conflicts between us.

31. To the little which has been hitherto faid of the great things which Our Nation has perform'd by Sea in the: their Original and Progress.

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the later Ages, we might super-add the Gallantry, and brave Adventures of former; fince from no obscure Authors we learn, the Britains to have accompanied the Cimbrians and Gauls, Strabo, 1.3. in their memorable Expedition into Greece, long before the Incarnation of our Lord, and whilst they were yet Strangers to the Roman World: not to insist on the Cassiterides, known to the w. Howelin-Phænicians, and with so much judg-stit. Hist. Bement, vindicated by a Learned Author, 1.1.c.39. & in that his excellent and useful Institu- 1-3.c.9. tion: In all events, we refort to the greatest Captain, and, without dispute, the purest of Ancient Writers: The Description which Casar makes of the De Bello Galle Supplies this Island afforded the Gauls lib.3. (and, which made him think it worth his while to bring-over his Legions hither) will inform us, that the stru-Aure of their Vessels was not altogether of Twigs, and Oxes-Hides: And the Veneti, it seems, had then a Navy of no less than 200 Sail, built of goodly Oak, tall, and so bravely equipped for War, and to endure the Sea, as that greatGeneral acknowledged the Romans themselves had nothing approach'd it: which we mention, because divers

grave Authors believe the British Vesfels (sent sometime as Auxiliaries) were thought to be like them: And the slender Experience which the Gauls (or, in truth any other Neighbour of theirs) had of the opposite Shoars, when the Britains were thus Instructed both for Defence, and Commerce (and, at that time permitted certain Merchants onely to frequent their Coasts) is a fair Præscription, how Early She Intituled her self to the Dominion of the Seas; which, if at any time interrupted by barbarous Surprize, or Invasion (as in the Ages following it seem'd to be) yet, neither did That continue any longer, than till the prevalent Force was established, which foon Afferting the Title, as Lords, and in Right of England, maintain'd her Prærogative from Time immemorial: I know not why therefore, a solitary Writer, or two, should go about to deprive this Nation of more than Twelve hundred Years at Once; because an Heroick Prince has had the Misfortune to have his Mighty Actions reported by some weak, and less-accurate Pens: Yet, such, as the Times wherein they liv'd, could furnish; espe-

## their Original and Progress.

especially too, since this has been the Fate of as brave Men, as any whom History has Recorded: But, by this Pretence, some there are, who would take from us, the Renowned AR-THUR, who is reported to have led his Squadrons as far as Ife-Land, and See 'APXAI-brought the Northern People under five, de Prifhis Flag, planting the Confines of the cis Anglorum British-Ocean, as far as the Russian Legibus, writ-Tracks; and this (together with all the bard, and Pub-Northern, and Eastern Isles) to be De lish'd by Mr. Jure, Appendices unto this Kingdom, we may find in the Leges Edwardi, confirm'd by the Norman Conquerour; for so it had indeed been left to the famous EDGAR (to mention onely Egbert, Althred, Ethelfred, &c.) Princes. all of them, fignally meritorious for their Care of the Sea) who foon finding by Experience what Benefit, and Protection his Country receiv'd by the extraordinary Vigilancy on the Coasts, and the Vindicating of his Dominions on the Waters, Cover'd them at Once, with no less than Four thousand Sail: nor, it seems, without Cause (the time consider'd) since we lay so expos'd to a barbarous Enemy. Alfred (whom we mentioned) found it so in

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Nimis multa

extare docu-

his daies; a fober, and well-Confulted Prince; and therefore provided himself of the same Expedient against the troublesome Danes, whom he not seldome humbl'd: But, this MAXIME, as often as Neglected, did as certainly expose the Nation to Prey, and Contempt, as not long after it, to the Norman Power, and may so again to a menta Britan- Greater, when through a fatal Supinenize est Domines, we shall either Remit of our Maris. Grot. wonted Vigilancy, and due Provisions, or suffer our Up-start Neighbours to Incroach upon us; so True is that saying, By what means any Thing is Acquir'd, by the same 'tis Preserv'd. Did this Island wisely Consider the Happiness of not needing many Fronteirs to protect her from hourly Alarms, or In-Land Fortresses to check the suddain, and rude Incursions, to which all Continents are Obnoxious; she would not think her Bounty to her Prince a Burthen; who by maintaining a glorious, and formidable Navy at Sea, not onely renders her Inhabitants secure at Home, without multiplying of Governours, and Guarnisons (which are ever jealous to a Free, and Loyal People) but, unless wanting to themselves, Retheir Original and Progress.

pairs their Layings-out, with immense Advantages; and by securing, and Improving that Trade, and Commerce. which onely can render a Nation flourishing, and, which has hitherto given us the Ascendent over the rest of the World: fo True is another Axiom, Qui MAR E tenet, eum necesse ese re- Cic.ad Aic. rum potiri; but, without which, 'tis 1.10. Ep. 7. in vain to talk of Sovereignty.

32. By these Politicks King Fohn was enabl'd to pass the Seas into Ireland with a Fleet of 500 Sail: Imperiously Commanding whatever Vessels they should meet withal about the Eight Circumfluent Seas, to Arrest them, and bring them to understand their Duty: But, our Third Edward (to whom the House of Burgundy ow'd fomuch) Equipp'd above a Thousand tall Ships upon another Occasion; with an handful whereof, he defeated a prodigious Navy of the French, and Spaniard, that were gotten together: and we have feen a perfect, and undoubted List of no fewer than 700 Men of War, which this Prince brought before Calais, though he made use of but 200 of them, to vanquish a Fleet

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confifting of more than double the F 3 Number

Number with the loss of Thirty thoufand French; which had such an Influence on his Neighbours, that, whereas, till then, there had been some Remisness in the Nation, and a declension of Sea-Affairs; the bravest, and greatest Men in the Land, began greedily to embrace Maritime Employments; and the Title of \* Admiral, introduc'd in cha. See Vos- his Prædecessors time, was now held in

Sermonis Lat. highest Esteem.

1. 2. It's de-

33. We mention'd the House of Burgundy, and it had reason to Rememmir Præsectus ber us, and our Wool, which was the fairest Flower of that Ducal Coronet, and as some good Antiquaries remark, really gave Institution to their Golden Fleece: However it were, this Wise Prince, representing to the Flemings their miserable Posture (at that time obnoxious to the French, as of late they have likewise been) and, Inhibiting the Importation of Forraign Cloths; the Serene and quiet Condition of this happy Island, invited them over to settle here, erect their Manufactures amongst us, and joyn their Art to our Nature.

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34. We pass by the Exploits, and glorious Atchievments perform'd by our Kings against the Saracens in the Holy-War, which charg'd the Sheilds of the ancient Nobless, and, of which, all Asia resounded: Here, our Edwards, Henries, and Richards did memorable 1358. things; in particular, Richard the Second took of the French, almost an hundred Ships at once, of which some were Vessels of great burthen, richly Fraite: And an Earl of Arundel (bearing this Princes Name) beat, took, and destrov'd 226 Ships deep laden with 12000 Tuns of Wine, comming from La Rochelle, after an obstinate Encounter, and many brave Exploits: To these we might add, the Gallant Preparations of Henry the Fifth, and of several more, had we a defign, or any need to accumulate Instances of our Puissance, and Successes at Sea, so thick fown in Forreign, as well as Domestic Histories: But, he that would be Instructed for a more ample Discourse, may take notice of the League made between Charles the Great, and our Mercian Offa (now more than 700 years fince) as he may find it in an Epistle of Albinus, or the Learned

Alcuin ('tis all one) and Confult our Country-men Walsingham, Malmesbury, and other Writers; where he will see in what high repute this Nation has been, both for its numerous Shipping, and theflourishing Commerce it maintain'd in most known-Parts of the World; and, which we may farther confirm, by the several Authentic Statutes, and Immunities yet extant, not omitting the Policy of Keeping the Sea, facetiously, yet solidly, set forth in the good Old Prologue, intituled, The Process of the Libel, written more than 200 years past, not unworthy our deepest reslexions: And verily, it were a madness in us to neglect the Care of those Causes, from whence (as by a Series of them will yet appear ) the Effects of all our Temporal Bleffings spring, and, by Vertue whereof, they can only be maintain'd.

Magnificent Successor, were both of them powerful at Sea; though the too weak-Faith of the former, deprived him of the most glorious Accession, that was ever offer'd to Mortal-man: This, he endeavour'd to have repair'd, by the famous Cabot, whom he afterwards

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wards employ'd to feek Adventures; and, though the Success were not equal, it was yet highly laudable, and (as we have shew'd) not altogether without Fruit.

36. Henry the Eight his Son, had divers Conflicts with the French, + Tri- + Lord Cherumphing sometimes in Sails of Cloth-of- bery Hist. Gold, and Cordage of Silk: But, that See also that which indeed repair'd the Remisness rarepiece of Hans Holof the One, and Profusion of the Other, bein's in his and gave a Demonstration of how ab- Majesties Galfolute concern, Traffic, and Strength at lery at White-Sea are to this Island, was the Care which Queen ELIZABETH took, when by her Address alone, she not onely secur'd her Kingdoms from the formidable Power of Spain; but, Reap'd the Harvest too, of that Opulent Monarch, and brought his Indies into her own Exchequer; whilst that Mighty Prince, had onely the trouble to Conquer the New-World, and prepare the Treasure for her: And this she did, by her Influence on Navigation, and by the Courage and Conduct of those renowned Hero's, who made her Reign so famous.

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37: This

37. This glorious Princess had 130 Sail of fair Ships, when she sent over for the Island Voyages, of which 60 were stout men of War; and with these (besides many other Exploits) she defended HOLLAND, defied Parma, and aw'd the whole Power of Spain: With an handful of these (comparatively) she defeated the Invincible Armada in LXXXVIII, Encounter'd, and took Gallions, and other Vessels of prodigious strength and bulk; and, what havock was made at Gales, by yet a smaller number, her Enemies to this day feel: Grotius, speaking of this Adion, tells us, that the Wealth gotten there by the Earl of Essex, was never any where parallel'd with the like Naval Success; and, that if these beginnings had been pursu'd (as with ease they might, had the brave Mans Counsel been follow'd) it had prov'd one of the most glorious Enterprises that History has recorded: However, besides the immense Spoil, and Treasure they took, and the Marks they left of their Fortitude ( to the loss of 1209 Great-Guns of the Enemies, irreparable in those daies) the Spaniard was not so redoubted Abroad, as they left him miserably

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miserably weakn'd at Home: To these, we may number the Trophies won by particular Adventurers: Sir Francis Drake, having with four Ships onely, taken from the Spaniard a Million, and 189200 Ducats in one Expedition, Anno 1587, in a fingle bottom 25000 Pezos of the most refined Gold; and after, with a Squadron of Five and twenty Sail, terrifying the whole Ocean, he fack'd St. Fago, Domingo, and Cartagena (as before mention'd) and, carried away with him, besides other incredible Booty, 240 Pieces of Artillery, which was a prodigious Spoil in those early daies, and, when those Instruments of Destruction were not in such plenty as now they are. What shall we say of John Oxenham, one of the Argo-nauts with Drake? who, in a slender Bark, near Nombre de Dios (having drawn-up his Vessel to Land, and cover'd it with a few boughs) marched with his small Crue over unknown paths, till arrived at a certain River, and there building a Pinnace, with the Timber which they fell'd upon the Spot, he boldly faunches into the South-Sea, and, at the Island of Pearls, took from the Spaniard 60000 l. weight of Maffie-

1588.

Annal.1.5.

Massie-Gold, and 200000 in Silver! though lost in his Return with it, by the perfidy of his Affociates; such an Exploit is hardly to be parallel'd in any story. Sir Richard Grinvill, in another Voyage to Cadiz, with but 180 Souldiers (of which 90 were fick and useless) in the Ship Revenge, maintain'd a Conflict for 24 hours, against 50 Spanish Gallions, and slew above 7000 Men, sinking four of their best Vessels: Than this, what have we more—! What, can be greater! In fum, fo universal was the Reputation of our Country-men in those daies, for their strenuous Exploits at Sea; That even Those who took all Occasions to depress, and extenuate them, are forc'd here to Acknowledge, and that from the Pen of an Author whose \*Graiorum, Word goes far, \* That the Greeks and Romanorum-que gloriæ, qui Romans, who of Old, made good all their res olim suas mighty Actions by Naval Victories, were at this time, equal'd by the Fortitude and sunt, non dubie Gourage of the English.

seies affernetunc Anglo-

38. Twas in Her daies, they difna, & Virtus cover'd far into the North-East, and North-West, Gathaian, and China Pas-Grot. Hift.l.1. fages, by the indefatigable diligence of Willoughby, Burroughs, Chanceler, Button,

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Buffin, Furbisher, James, Middleton, Gilbert, Cumberland, and others, worthy to be confign'd to Fame: In her Brothers the Sixt Edwards Reign, the formerly-mention'd Chabot, had fix times attempted the North-West Tracts to the Indies; and, long before these, a bold Prince of Ours, essay'd to pass the Moluccos by the same Course; entred the streights of Anian, and is, by some, intituled to the first Discovery of the Canaries. The Summer-Islands, and the goodly Continent of. Virginia, were first detected, and then Planted by the English; among whom we may not pass by the Industry of Captain Fones, Smith, and other late Adventurers, whose great Exploits (as Romantic as they appear) were the steady effects of their Courage and good Fortune: We have faid yet nothing of Pool, who began the Whale-fishing, nor of Captain Bennet, who discovered Cherry-Island: Pet, and Fack-man that pass'd the Vaigates, Scythian Ices, and the River Ob, as far as Nova Zembla: Of John Davis, who had penetrated to 86 degrees of Latitude, and almost set his foot upon the Northern-Pole: Here let us also remember Captain

Captain Gillan, to the lasting honour of his Highness, Prince Rupert, and the rest of those Illustrious Adventurers; nor forget to celebrate the Heroic Inclination of his Sacred M A-JESTY, our Great CHARLES, under whose Auspices, Sir John Norborough has lately Pass'd, and Re-pass'd the Magellan Streight; by which that Modest, and Industrious Man, has not onely performed what was never done before; but has also made way for a Prospect of immense Improvement. Finally,

39. It was Queen Elizabeth who began, and establish'd the Trade of Muscour, Turky, Barbary, and even that of the East-Indies too, however of late Interrupted by ungrateful Neighbours: Nor less was The vigilant at Land, than at Sea; Mustering at once no fewer than One hundred and twenty Thousand fighting-Men of her own Vassals, not by uncertain Computation; but, effectually fit for War: And indeed, but for the extraordinary Vertue of this brave Virayo, not England alone, but even France and Holland had truckl'd under the weight of Spain, whose Ambition was then upon its highest

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highest Pinnacle: In one word, Navigation and Commerce were in her days in so prosperous a Condition, that they feem to have ever fince subsisted but upon the Reputation of it; and the fuccess of our Country-men in their Attempts at Sea was fo far Superiour to other Nations, as by the fuffrage of the most Learned Strangers (and to shew it was universal) they could not but acknowledge. Omnibus hodie Gentibus Navigandi industria, & Keckermane peritia, Superiores effe Anglos, & post. Anglos, Hollandos; for we do not fear to give even our greatest Enemies their Dues, when they deserve it.

40. We now arive to King FAMES. and CHARLES the First (Princes of immortal Memory) And for the former; there was in his time built (befides many others) those two gallant Ships, The Trades-Increase, and the Prince; The one for encouragement of Commerce, and the other a Man of War; And, though upon different Accounts, and at different times, they both unhappily miscarried; yet, they serv'd to testifie, that neither Defence, nor. Trade were neglected; since, as to that of the first, Sir Walter Raleigh doubts not

to affirm; That the Shipping of this Nation, with a Squadron of the Navy-Royal, was in this Princes time, able, in despight of Europe, to Command the Ocean, much more, to bring the Nether-Lands to due Obedience: But, fays he, as I shall never think him a lover of his Country, or Prince, who shall perswade His Majesty from Cultivating their Amity; fo would I counsel Them to remember, and confider it: That feeing their Inter-course lies so much through the British-Seas, that there is no part of France, from Calais to Flushing, capable of succouring them; that, frequently, Out-wards by Western-Winds, and ordinarily, Home-wards, both from the Indies, Straites, and Spain, all Southerly-Winds (the Breezes of our Climat) thrust them of necessity into His Majesties Harbours; how much his Majesties favour does import them: For, if (as themselves confess) they subsist by commerce onely; the disturbance of That (and, which England alone can disturb) will also disturb their Subsistence: I omit the rest: Because I can never doubt either their Gratitude, or their Prudence. But, this brave

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brave Man was it seems, no Prophet, to fore see how soon they would forget themselves: They began in his days to be hardly warm in comparison, and indeed it is not (as observes the same Perfon) much beyond a Century, that either the French, Spanish, or Hollander, had any proper Fleets belonging to them as Kingdoms, or States; the Venetians, Jenoezes and Portugals, being then (as we have noted) the only Competitors both for Strength, and Traffick; the Dutch little Considerable; fince within these fifty years, the Spanish and Portugals employ'd many more Ships at Sea than the Hollander (their Fishing-Busses excepted) who, 'til furnish d with our Artillery, were very Contemptible, as might be made out by undeniable Evidence: Insomuch that the formerly mention'd Raleigh affirms, One Lufty Ship of his Majesties, would have made forty Hollanders Strike Sail, and come to an Anchor: They did not then (fayshe) dispute de Mari Libero. But will you know in a word from him, what it was that has exalted them to this monstrous Pitch? It was, the employing their own People in the Fishery upon our Coasts; by which they infinite-

ly Inrich'd themselves; 2. Their Entertaining of Auxilliaries in their difficult Land-Services; by which they preserv'd their own Vassals: 3. The Fidelity of the House of Nassaw; from which they had a wise, and experienc'd General: 4. The frequent Excursions of the Duke of Parma into France, hindring the Prosecution of his growing Successes: 5. The Imbargo of their Ships in Spain, and interdicting them Free-Trade with that Nation, which first set them upon their Indian Adventures: 6. And, above All, the Kindness of Queen Elizabeth: But, the Case is (it feems) much alter'd fince that worthy Knight made his Observations and took his Leave of the Prince of Orange at Antwerp; When (after Leicesters return) he pray'd him to fay to her Majesty, Sub Umbra Alarum tuarum Protegimur; for that they had wither'd in the Bud, without her Assistance.

41. We have yet but only mention'd the Inherent Right of the Crown of England to the Dominion of the Seas; because the Legality and the Reason of it have been Afferted by so many able and famous Pens, from which we learn, that it doth of Justice appertain to the

Kings of Great Britain, not only as far Seldemuse as Protection extends (though there were no other Argument to favour us) but, of facred, and immemorial Royalty: Eut. 'tis Pretended by those great Names, who have of late disputed this grotius. Maria Subject, and endeavoured to Depose Sous. Cleirac. our Princes of this Empire Jure Natu- Palatiue, &c. ra & Gentium: That the Sea is Fluxile Elementum, & quod nunquam idem, possiderinon posse; That 'cis always in Succession, and, that one can never Anchor on the fame Billow; That Water is as Free as the Air; and that the Sea terminates Empires which have no Bounds; and therefore, that no Empire can terminate that which acknowledges none; and, thoughall this were nothing; That his Majesties Father, had tamely lost it to the late Usurpers, which is an infolent scoff of Marisotus's, triumphing orbis Marit, ore a fetter'd Lion; Whilst for all this, to patch up a wretched Pretence, he descends to take hold of a certain Obsolete, and Fœudatarie Complement, fometime fince passing between the two Kings; as if a Ceremonious Acknowledgment for a Province or two in France (which is an usual deference among Princes upon certain Tenures) gave sufficient G 2 Title

Title, and Investiture to All that the Kings of England possess in the World besides. But in this fort do the Partizans of aspiring Monarchs manage their egregious Flatteries. Whilst to silence all the World, we can shew it Prescription so far beyond the present Race of Kings, that even the Name of their PHARAMOND was not known, when our EMPIRE on the SEA set Limits to the Coasts of Gauls, and said, Hithertoshall ye Come --- Nor, to that alone, but even as far as Spain it self: For, what pretence could those Princes have to this Dominion, whose very Monarchy is but of Yesterday, in respect to the goodly extent, which now they call France? and especially when the only Maritime Provinces were shread into fo many Fragments and Cantons, under their petty Princes; for so were Narbon, Bretayne, Aquitaine and even Normandy it felf (portions belonging then to our Kings) nor had they 'till of later days, so much as the Office of Admiral belonging to the Sea, that is, till their Expedition into the Holy-Land, when yet they were fain to make use of the Genoezes to transport them as Jo. Tillius de we have it consess'd by their own Authors.

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thors. As to their other Arguments, we need not spend much breath to dilute those pittiful Cavels of the Instability, and Fluctuation of the Waves &c. which could not be there, without a Channel and a Bottom to contain them, as if we contended for the Drops of the Sea, and not for its situation, and the Bed of those Waters; and since Rivers and Streams have the same Reason on their fide to exempt them from being inCommon, and at every mans disposure.

And these things I have only touch'd, to repress the pruriency of some late. Flatterers, who not only injure a Truth as resplendent as the Sun; but the Justice of a great Prince, whom by these false Colours, they would provoke to unrighteous disputes; whilst we pretend to nothing but what carries with it, the strongest Evidion, a thing of this nature is capable of.

42. Needless it would be to amuse the Reader with recounting to him at large, how in the ancient Division of things, the Sea, having here assign'd over with the Land, there sprung up from the same Original, a Private Dominion; but undoubtedly, when God gave to Man the Soveraignty of the Ocean, by intial ing 85

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intitling him to the Fish, which were produc'd in the bowels of it (that is, to the Thing it self, by its Use, and Enjoyment) by the same Grant, he passed over to him, and confign'd to his disposure, the distribution of it, and introduction of a separate, and peculiar Jurisdiction: There is nothing more perspicuous in our Case, and as to his Majesties Claim (the Reasons for it rightly consider'd) from so many Royal Predecessiours, and so long a tract of years, who for security of Navigation, and Commerce between their Neighbours and Allies, were at fuch vast expences, to Equip, and fet forth Great Ships, and Navies; and that, upon the intreaty, and folicitation of those, who recurr'd to their protection; and might themselves justifie the prescribing Rules and Boundaries to such as should pass the Seas, and receive such Recognitions, and Emoluments, as were peculiar, and within their Circle, both for their Honour, and Maintenance.

The deduction shall be very short, confidering how vast an Ocean of matter lies besore us; but it shall be full. 43. Casar, ere he had invaded Britain,

fum-

De Bello Gall.

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fummoning the Gallic Merchants to inform him of the shores, and situation of our Ports, could it feems learn nothing from them; for, fays he, not a man of them frequented that Rivage without licence; and when Claudius had subdu'd the more Southern parts of the Nation, the British Sea, following the fate of the whole Island, came with the same privileges to be annex'd to the Empire, and did never loofe them, through all the Revolutions which happen'd; but that as soon as the prevalent power came to be settl'd, they immediately afferted their Dominion on the Sea. That of very wide extent this Nation had peculars of its own, the Consternation of the Calidonians evince; Tacit. in Vit. when in the time of Domitian, Agricola Agric. failing round the Island, they were in fuch perplexity to fee him in their Chambers, for fo they called those Northern Streams. But not longer to infift on these early beginnings, and what the Romans did; when the frame of that Empire was chang'd, about the time of the Great Constantine, the Notitia Imp. Comites of the Saxon shore (substitutes occid. to him who commanded the West) had

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their Jurisdiction over all the Sea, from

the Borders of that Shoar, and West part of *Denmark*, to the Western Gallia, all along the other side.

here, upon ancient Inscriptions, espe-

44. There are who put some stress

cially that mention'd by Greuter, of a Prafect of a British Fleet; and on the Ornaments, and Enfigns of Dominion, found in several Medals, and Antiquities to be met withal in the Collections of learned men; vindicating the peculiar we contend for, and continu'd from Edward the Third in several fair stamps, nor are they to be rejected: It suffices us, that whatever the Government were, still the dominion of the Sea return'd with that of the land Zozimus 1. 6 to the Nation; as when the Eritains re-An. 43c. See jected the Roman Yoak, which how exclaud.in Laud. tended, when it came under the power of the English Saxon Kings, and Danes, is known to all the World, as well as with what mighty Navies, Edgar, Canutus and others, afferted, and prote-Ged it, under no lower Style, than that of King, Supream Lord and Governour of the Ocean, Lying round about Brirain: for so runs the settlement of certain Revenues, given by King Edgar, to the Cathedral of Worcester, Tays Mr. Seltheir Original and Progress.

45. Since the Norman Conquest, the Government of the several Provinces, or Sheriffs, exercifed Jurisdiction on the Sea, as tar as their Countys extended. Henry the Third constituted Captain Guardians; and our First Edward distributed this Guard to three Admirals; so did the second of that name; and the form of our ancient Commissions to the several Admiralties, mention the dominion of our Kings upon the Sea; nor did any other Nation what soever Contest it, as having little, or nothing on the opposite Shoars; whilst 'tis evident, the English Monarchs posses'd their Right in its intire Latitude, for more than a thousand Years, under one intire Empire, and an un-interrupted enjoyment of the Sea, as an appendant.

Ports sued for by Forreigners from the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and so down to Queen Elizabeth, who during her War with Spain sometimes gave leave to the Swedes, Danes, and Ansiatic Towns, and sometimes prohibited them, Petitioning for Passes, to sail through her Seas; nay, more, she caus'd to be taken, and brought into her Harbours, Laden-

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die

Laden-ships of those Nations transgresfing her Orders; as far as the Streights of Lisbon, which she could never have iustify'd, had she not been acknowledged Soveraign of the Seas, through which they were to pass: And though her Successour King James, appointed certain limits on the English Coast, by imaginary lines drawn from point to point, round the Island, in which he sometimes extended them far into the Sea; it was not to Circumscribe a Jurisdiction (a thing which he most indu-Ret. pat. 2. striously caution'd his Ministers never Jac. part 32. to yield, so much as in discourse) beyond which he did not pretend; but in relation only to Acts of Hostility, between the two great Antagonists, the Spaniard and the Hollander, declaring himself both Lord, and Moderator of the British Seas from his Royal Predeceffors.

Rot. Scot. 10. 47. In several Commissions given to Ed. Membran. Sea Commanders, by Edward the Third, the words are, Our Progenitors, the Kings of England, have before these times, been Lords of the British Seas on every side; and in a certain Bill, prefer'd in Parliament to the same Kot. pat. 46. Prince, 'tis said, That the English were Ed. 3. N. 2.

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ever in the Ages past so renown'd for Navies, and Sea-Affairs; that the Countries about them, usually esteem'd, and call'd them Soveraigns of the Sea; And from the same Parliamentory testimony in the Reign of Henry the Fifth we learn, that the Estates in that august Affembly, did with one Consent affirm it as a thing unquestionable, That Ros. pat. 8. the Kings of England were Lords of Henr 5. Mem. the Sea, and that That Sea was all which 3. Art. 6. flow'd between the stream on both sides, and made no doubt, but a Tribute might be impos'd, by Authority of Parliament upon all Strangers passing through them, as we shall find Richard the Second to have done long before.

48. In the Reign of Edward the Se-Rot. pat. 14. cond, Robert Earl of Flanders, com-Ed. 2. p. 2. M. plaining of Injuries done his Subjects 26. in dorfo. at Sea, alledges, that the King of England is bound in Right to do him Justice, for that he was Lord of the Sea: But there cannot in the World be a more pregnant Instance for the vindication of this dominion, and the silencing all Objections, than the famous complaint against the Genoeze Grimbaldi, who during the War between the French and those of Flanders, infesting the Seas,

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and

and disturbing Commerce, occasion'd all the Nations of Europe, bordering on the Sea, to have recourse, and appeal to the Kings of England; whom from time to time, and by Right immemorial, they acknowledged to be in peaceable possession of the Soveraign Lordship and dominion of the Seas of England, and Islands of the same; This Libel, or Complaint was exhibited in the time of Edward the First, almost three hundred years fince, and is still extant in the Archives of the Tower.

49. And thus we have feen how the Sea is not only a distinct province, Capable of Propriety, Limits, and other just Circumstances of Peculiar Dominion, as a Bound, not Bounding his Majesties Empire, but as bounded by it in another respect; and that this was never violated so much as by Syllogism, 'till some Mercenary pens were set on work against Spain, through whose tender sides, at that time, and with great 1509. Treaty artifice, the Barnevelt faction endeaspain, vour'd to transfix us; Soon it was perconcerning Trade to the ceiv'd, and as soon encounter'd; in the mean time, that one would finile to find their mighty Champion then fairly accknowledg upon another Occasion, and

when it seems he resolv'd to speak out. Anglia Regina Oceani Imperium--- That Grot. Annal. the Queen of England, was Dominatrix 1. 2. 1570. of the Sea--- So great is the Truth, and will prevail: In a word, if the premier Occupant, be a legal and just plea to the Right of other possessions, the Kings and Oueens of England, descending from, or succeeding to them who first afferted the Title, are still invested with it; fure we are, this Argument was held good, and illustrated by the First, and best foundation of Empire, when the State of Venice (claiming the Adriatic by no other) held that famous Controversie with Ferdinand of Friuli by their Advocate Rapicio and Chizzola, Commissioners being mutually chosen to determine it: and how far Antiquity is on our side, The Greeks, Romans, Tyrians, Phanicians, and others have abundantly declar'd, and with what caution they interdicted Strangers here with us, till the Claudian Expedition annex'dir, with the dominion of all Britain, to that Glorious Empire; which to protect against the Piratical Saxons (then not feldom infesting our Coasts) the Comites Maritimi Tractus were by the Præfect establish'd, as we have already shew'd:

cents upon us, and with the fortune of Conquest, carried that likewise of the Sea.

50. We have but mention'd King Edgar, whose survey is so famous in Story, when with more than four thousand Vessels, he destin'd a Quaternion to every Sea, which annually circl'd this Isle, and as a Monument of their submission, was sometime Row'd in his royal Gally by the hands of Eight Kings. This Signal Action becoming the Reverse of a Medail, was by a like device illustrated in the Rose-Noble, in which we have represented the figure of a King invested with his Regalia, standing in the middle of a Ship, as in his proper, and most resplendent Throne; for the same reason likewise (as some interpret) did Henry the Eight, add the Portcluse to his current Mony, as a Character of his peculiar Title to this Dition, exclusive to all others.

51. We have spoken of the Danes, and Normans, and their successive claim,

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and of the Custodes Maritimi, more antient than that of Admiral, as now constituted, which indeed began with the Edwards, when the French, at war with Flanders, but pretending to usurp that dignity, were fain to abolish their new office, and acknowledging they had no Right, pay the damages of the depredations they made, as appears by that famous Record in the Tower, mention'd by Sir John Burroughs in which the Title of our Kings is afferted from immemorial prescription; nay, when at this time, he had not all the opposite Shoar to friend.

52. The Constitution of our Cinque-Ports give another noble Testimony to this Claim, and the addition of two more Admirals by our Third Edward, guarding as many Seas, as there were Superiour Officers of this denomination, not omitting the Title of Lords of both Shoars, anciently us'd from hence to Henry the Fifth; nay, when Edward renounc'd his Claim to Normandy (as at the Treaty of Charters) the French themselves acknowledg'd this Right, and therefore neither here, nor at the Court of Delegates in France, did they claim any pretence to the sflands.

1166.

lands, or Interfluent Seas. But what need we a more pregnant Instance, than that Universal deference to the Laws of OLERON (an Island of Aquitania then belonging to this Crown) published after the Rhodan had been long Antiquated, which obtain'd over all the Christian World. And to this we might add the Dane-Gelt (in plain Englift, a Ship-mony Tax) impos'd as well. on Strangers as Denisons that practic'd Commerce upon our Coasts and Seas East and North, where the great Intercursus was; nor expir'd it here, but continu'd Customary, as appears by innumerable Records, for enabling the King to protect the Seas, and to Obftruct, or Open them as he saw convenient, with Title to all Royal Fishes, Wracks, and Goods found floating in Alto-mari, as we can prove by feveral Commissions, and Instruments, and confirm by precedents, not of our Municipal constitutions alone, but, such as have been binding, and accepted for fuch, of the Nations about us; Witness that famous Accord made between our Edward the First, and the French King Phillip the Fair, calling him to account for the piracies we have men-53. To tion'd. And

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To this we might produce the spontaneous submission of the Flemings in open Parliament, in Edward the Seconds Reign, and the Honour, or rather Duty of the Flag, which King John with his Peers, had many Ages since, challeng'd, M. S. Commen, de Rebus Adupon the Custom ordain'd at Hastings, mir. fol. 286 decreed to take place universally, not barely as a Civility, but as a Right of importance for the making out, and confirmation of our Title to the Dominion we have been vindicating; And that this has been claim'd and pay'd Cum debità Reverentià (to use the ex-. press words of those old Commissions, which had been long since given by William and Maurice Princes of Orange) to all the Sea Commanders in those days; we have for almost this whole later Century, seen the matter of fact testified not only by continual Claims, Orders, Commissions and Instructions; but by fearching divers authentick Journals, which have noted the particulars in a thousand Instances: Nor has this been paid to whole Fleets only, bearing the Royal Pavillion; but to single Vessels, and those of the smaller Crast (as they are stil'd) wearing his Majesties Cognizance, to whom this homage has been

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done, even by the greatest Navies. meeting them in any of the British Seas in their utmost Latitudes. Nor has this been so much as question'd till that arch o. c. 1672. Rebel for ends of his own, would once see his Letter have betray'd it; and that the late Deof 23. Septem. magogue De Witt, with no less insolence, would have perverted his Countrymen. by entring into an injurious disquisition in justification of the Wrong he would have made us swallow; but his Majesty was not so to be Hector'd out of his Right as appears by the honourable provision he has made to secure it, in the lateTreaty with the Dutch; and what all the World has paid us, which puts it out of dispute: In the mean time it was necessary, and no way improper to the Scope of this Treatife, that after what has been fo newly pretended, to the prejudice of the Title we have afferted; fomething should be said to abate the Confidence of impertinent Men, and to let the World know, that our Princes (to whom God, and Nature has imparted such prerogatives) will not be baffl'd our of them, by the sentences. and ophilins of Lawyers, much lefs by Sycophanis, and such as carry not

the least shadow of reason. But it would

fill many Volumes to exemplifie the Forms of our ancient Commissions from time to time, Invelling our Admirals, with the Exercise of this Soveraign Power; as well as that of fafe Conducts, Writts of Seizure, and Arrests; the Copies of Grants, and Permission to Fish (of which in the next period) obtain'd of our Kings, by Petition &c. to be found at large in our Books, Parliament Rolls, and other Authentick Pieces too long for this Tract: But, if any will be contentious, because they are some of them of ancient Date, we have, and shall yet shew Instances sufficient, and Ex abundanti for this last age, to which our Antagonists have from time to time fubmitted not only in the wide, and ample Sea, or at our own Coasts, but in the very Ports, and Harbours of Strangers, where they looked for Protection; that all the World may blush at the weak and unreasonable Contentions, which would invalidate this Claim, if at least there be in the World any such thing as Right, Prescription, Deference, or other Evidence, which amongst sober men, is agreed to be LAW, for the Clearing of a Title. To Sum up all then, If Right of Prescrip-

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tion, succession of Inheritance, Continual Claim, Matter of Fact, Consent of History, and Confessions even from the mouths, and pens of Adversaries, be of any moment to the gaining of a Cause; We may bespeak our Nation, as he did King James upon another Occasion, and as justly transfer it to his Grot. Sylva, 1,2. glorious Successor - Queis dat jura Mari &c.

And with this I should conclude, did not the Fishery, which is another irrefragable Proof of his Majesties Dominion, require a little Survey, before we

thut up this discourse.

54. How far this Royal Jurisdiction has extended, may best be gather'd out of the Reverend Camden, speaking of Eliz. & Eri- King James the Sixth of Scotland, and of Queen Elizabeth of England; who first discovering the Whale-Fishing, had consequently, Title to those Seas, as far as Green-land Northward; and what it was to the South, the Proclamation of our Third Edward (yet extant) abundantly makes appear: This, confirm'd by the Fourth of that Name, Guards, and Convoys, were appointed to preserve the Rights inviolable; as was likewise continued by the Three succeeding Henrys

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Henrys, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh, and their descendents, who impos'd a certain Tribute upon all Forreiners, in Recognition of their Indulgence to them. Witness the French, the Dukes of Britain, of Burgundy (especially Philip) and those of Flanders, who never presum'd to cast a Net without Permission, and a formal Instrument first obtained, the Originals whereof, are yet to be seen, and may be collected out of both the French, and Burgundian stories; and, as it doth indeed to this day appear by his Majesties neighbourly Civility, granted to the French King for the Provision of his own Table, and to the Town of Bruges in Flanders, by a Rot. Fran. 38. late Concession; the number and size Memb. 9 19 of Boats, and other Circumstances be- 14. Hen. 6. inglimited, upon transgression whereof, the offenders have been Imprison'd, and otherwise mulched.

55. And, as the French, so the Spaniard did always sue to our Princes for the like priviledg and kindness: King Phillip the Second (as nearly related as he was to Queen Mary his Wife) find- Stat. Hil. Ed. inga Proviso in an Act of Parliament, 4.6:p.6. 171that no Forreiner should fish in those 6. Mar. Seas without permission, paid into the

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Exche-

Exchequer no less than an annual rent of one thousand pounds, for leave to fish upon the North of Ireland for the supply of his dominions in Flanders: Now for the Dutch.

56. That famous Record Pro Hominibus Hollandia (so the Title runs) points to us as far as our First Edward, not only how obsequious then they were in Acknowledging the Kings Dominion on the Sea, but his Protection, and permission to Fish on the environs Rot. pat. 23. Of it; And his Successor Edward the Ed. 1. Memb. 5. Third, as he gave leave to the Counts of Holland (who always petition'd for it) so he prescribed Laws, and Orders concerning the Burden of the Vessels to be employ'd about it: The like did Henry Rot. pat. 22. the Sixth to the French, and others: Ed.4. Mem. 2. with the Season, Place, and Method to be observ'd, which are all of main importance in the Cause: And this was so religiously inspected in former times, that Edward the Fourth, constituted a Triumvirat power to guard both the Seas, and the Fishery against all Pretenders what soever, as had Richard the Second long before him, who impos'd a Tribute on every individual Ship that pass'd through the Northern Adtheir Original and Progress.

miralty, for the maintenance of that Sea-Guard, amounting to fix pence a Tun, upon every Fishing Vessel weekly, as appears by a most authentick Record, and the Opinion of the most eminent Judges, at that early day; who upon consideration, that none but a Soverein power could impose such a payment, gave it in as their opinion, that this Right and Dominion, was a branch of the royal Patrimony, and inseparable: Nay, that wife Prince Henry the Seventh, thought it so infinitely considerable, that (upon deeply weighing . the great Advantages) he was setting up a Trade, or Staple of Fish, in preserence (fay fome) to that of Wool it felf, and all other Commerce of his Dominions; which being long before the Low-Countries had a Name for Merchants, they had still perhaps, neglected, if some Renegado's of our own (Violet, and Stephens by Name ) had not encourag'd the Dutch of Enchusen (with other Malcontented Persons of the Crast, deserting their Country, and their Loyalty) to molest his Majesties Streams, upon the accompt of these Men; since which, They, and Others, have continued their Presumptions even to Insolence:

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miralty,

57. Neither was less the Care of King James, to vindicate this incom-1606. parable prerogative, than any of his vigilant Predecessors, who, having de-1458.

riv'd that accession of the Shetland Islands by marriage with a Daughter of ¥609.

Denmark, publish'd his Proclamations immediately after his coming into England: For it must be acknowledg'd, that Queen Elizabeth did not so nicely and warily look after this jealous Article, as had been wish'd; diverted by

her extraordinary Pitty, and abundant Indulgence to the distressed States. But, this Prince roundly afferts his Patrimo-See Copy of a ny, upon many prudent Reasons of Letter in Sir state, and especially, for encouragement Library, and of the Maritime Towns, fallen much the Credenti- to decay, and plainly succumbing unals given to der the injurious dealing of such as took the Fish from before their dores; and renew'd his Commands, that none should for the future, presume so much as to hover about, much less abide on our Coasts, without Permission first obtain'd under the Great Seal of England, and upon which the Hollanders petition'd for Leave, and Acknowledged the Limits appointed them, as formerly they had done: Let us hear the Historian describe it and blush.

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"The Hollanders (fays he) taking in- camden in Br

"finite plenty of Herring upon this "Coast, and thereby making a most "gainful Trade, were first to procure "leave (by ancient Custom) out of " Scarborow-Castle; for the English per-"mit them to Fish; reserving indeed "the Honour to themselves, but, Re-

" signing the Benefit to Strangers, to "their incredible Inriching &c. What could be said more to our purpose, or to our Reproach? This was that which King Fames endeavour'd to bring into a better method, when taking notice of the daily incroachment of our Neighbours, he enjoyn'd his Ambassador (who was then Sir Dudley Garleton) to

Expostulate it with the States, as may be seen in that sharp Letter of Mr. Secretaries: Dated the twenty first of December 1618, in which he tells them,

"That unless they sought leave from his "Majesty, and acknowledghis Right, "as other Princes had done, and did;

"it might well come to pass, that they "who would needs bear all the World

" before them by their Mare Liberum,

" might foon endanger their having nei-"ther Terram, Nec Solum, Nec Rempub-

" licam Liberam: I do only recite the

1618.

Passage as I find it publish'd, and take notice how Prophetick it had lately like to have been.

58. This happy Prince, taking umbrage at the War between the Hollander and the Spaniard, did fix Limits by Commission, and Survey, nearer than which (though as Moderator, he offer'd equal Protection to both) no Enemy to another State, might commit any hostile seldenus 1, 2. Act, and producing his Reasons for it, afferted his Right fo to do; not as if those Boundaries circumscrib'd his dominions, but, as being sufficient for the vindication of his due in that great Article. And their not observing this, incited King Charles the First of Blessed memory, to Animadvert upon it, when in the year 1639, our good friends behaved themselves with so little respect,

ever receive upon it.

59. And now it will not be amiss, nor inconsistent with our Title, to let the World see, the immence advantages

in that memorable Conflict with the Spa-

miard; and when approaching too near.

our Shoars, they were check'd for their

Irreverence in his Majesties Imperial

Chambers; Indeed, for the First (but

seeming) Affront, that this Nation did

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of the Trade which has been driven upon the fole account of the Fishery; by the prodigious emolument which it has (to our cost and reproach) afforded our more industrious Neighbours, the foundation of whose Greatness has been laid in the bottom of our Seas; which has yielded them more Treasure than the Mines of Potosi, or both Indies to Spain.

Who would believe that this People raise yearly by the Herring, and other fisheries, a Million of pound Sterling, and that Holland, and Zealand alone (whose utmost Verge doth hardly exceed many English Shires) should from a few despicable Boats, be able to set forth above Twenty thousand Vessels of all Sorts, fit for the rude Seas, and of which more than 7000, are yearly employ'd upon this Occasion? 'Tis evident, that by this particular Trade, they are able to breed above fourty thousand Fisher-men, and one hundred and fixteen thousand Mariners (as the Gensus has been accurately calculated) and the gain of it is so universal, that there's hardly a Beggar in their Country, nor an hand, which doth not earn it's bread: This is Literally true, and 107

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the Consideration of it seem'd so important, that even in the days of Charles the Fifth, that great Monarch is reported to have sometimes visited the Tomb of Bueckeld (where he had been above two hundred years Interr'd) in folemn recognition of his Merit, for having, as 'tis said, been the Inventor of Pickling and Curing Herring: In a word, fo immense is the advantage which this article alone brings the State, that a very favourable Rent, still in arrear to his Majesties Exchequer, for permission to Fish (as should be prescribed, and appointed them) amounts to more than half aMillion of pounds, and the Custom only at home of what they take, with the Tenth Fish for Wastage, to near five hundred thousand pounds more; but the quantities which they fell abroad, to a fum almost not to be reckon'd: Then let it be computed, the Hands employ'd for Spinning of Yarn, Weaving of Ners, and making other necessaries for the Salting, Curing, Packing, and Barelling, Building of Vessels, and fitting them out to Sea: It is certain the Shipping (which is more than all Europe can affemble befides) Sea-men, Commerce, Towns, Harbours, Power, Publick-Wealth, and affluence

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affluence of all other things, is sprung. from this fource; and, that in Barter, for Fish (without exportation of Coin) they receive from Spain, Italy, Germany, &c. Oil, Wine, Fruit, Corn, Hony, Wax, Allum, Salt, Wool, Flax, Hemp, Pitch, Tarr, Sope-Ashes, Iron, Copper, Steel, Claw-Boards, Timber, Masts, Dollars, Armour, Glass, Mill-Stones, Plate, Tapestry, Munition, and all things that a Country (which has no one Material of these of proper Growth) can need to render it confummately happy. The Indies and farthest Regions of the Earth, participate of this Industry; and to our shame be it spoken, we blush not to buy our own Fish of them, and purchase that of Strangers, which God, and Nature has made our own, inriching others to our destruction, by a detestable sloath; whilst to encourage us, we have Timber, Victuals, Havens, Men, and all that at our dores, which these people adventure for in remoter Seas, and at excessive charges; And thus the prize is put into our hands, whilst we have not the hearts to use it; nor do we produce any rea- see Mr. L ... fons, why we are thus unconcern'd, that ftrange's lare ever I could find, were folid; some Ob- Discourse of the Fishery. jections indeed are presented, but they

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appear'd

appear'd to me so dilute, and infignisicant, that 'tis not possible to compose ones Indignation at the hearing of them, and see a Kingdom growing every day thinner of People, and fuller of Indigence, without some extraordinary emotion: To see with what numerous, and infulting Fleets, our Neighbours have been often prepar'd to dispute our Title to these Advantages, by the benefit and supply of that which we neglect, and condemnas unpracticable: If this be not enough to raise in us some worthy Resentments; Let the Confession of the Dutch themselves incite us to it; who (in a Proclamation, publish'd near fifty years since) have stil'd their Fishing Trade, the Golden Mines of their Provinces, and stimulated an Industrious and emulous people with all the Topicks of Encouragement: Were this alone well confider'd, and briefly pursu'd, there would need no great Magick to reduce our bold Supplanters to a more Neighbourly temper: The Subjects of this Nation have no more to do, than apply themselves to the Fishery, to recover at once their Losses, and as infallibly advance the prosperity of the Kingdom, as 'tisevitheir Original and Progress.

III

dent it has enabled our late Antagonists to humble Spain, and from little of themselves, to grapple with the most puissant Monarch of Europe, and bring him to the ground: For my part, I do not fee how we can be able to answer this prodigious floath of ours any longer; and especially, fince 'risevident, it will cost us but a laudable Industry; and (in regard of our fituation, and very many Advantages above them) much less trouble and charge: Or suppose a Confiderable part of our forrein lessneedfull Expences were diverted to this Work, what were the dif-advantages? We talk much of France (and perhaps with reason) but are we so safe from our dear friend, upon this Composure, as never to apprehend any firture unkindness? For my own part, I wish it with my Soul: But of this I am sure, We may prevent, or encounter open desiance; but whilst we are thus undermin'd, we suffer a continual Hostility; since the Esseds of it ruin our Commerce, and by Consequence the Nation: Nor speak I here of our Neighbours the Hollanders only; but of those of Hamborough, Lubee, Embden, and other Interloopers, who grow exceedingly

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ceedingly Opulent, whilst we fit still, and perish, whose advantages for Taking, Curing, Uttering and Employing of hands (were the Expedients mention'd put in practice, or the ruinous numbers of our Men, daily flocking to the American Plantations, and from whence so few return, prudently stated. and Acts of Naturalization promoted). are so infinitely Superiour to theirs: But, so our cursed Negligence, will yet have it, not for want of all Royal Encouragement, but a fatality, plainly insuperable.

60. We have faid little yet of our American Fishery, and the loss we make of a vast Treasure on the Coasts of Virginia, Green-land, Barmudas, &c. sacrificing infinite Wealth both at home, and abroad to the Spaniards, French, those of Portugal, and Biscay. 'Tis well known that Green-land, was first detected by the English, about the latter end of Queen El zabeths reign, and afterwards the Royal Standard ere-Ared there, in token of Dominion, by the Name of King Fames's New-land, his Majesty afferting his just Rights, by many Acts of State, as more particularly on the Tenth of January 1613, when

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he signified his pleasure by Sir Noel! Caroon then in Holland, vin vindication of his Title both to the Mand Fishery, and all other emoluments what foever Jure Dominii, as first discoverer, and to prohibite Strangers interpofing, and fishing in his Seas without 1608. permission: For this effect, Commission oners were established at London to grant Licences, yearly renewable for fuch as would Fish on the English Goalt; at Edenbrough, on the Northern: and by Proclamation, Interdicting all un-licenced Practifes; the Duke of Lennox (as Admiral of Scotland) being ordered to affert the Right of the Affize-Herring. which tis faid was paid. moved bine

61. The following years, what inter- 1617. ruptions happen'd, upon our Neighbours defires of coming to an adjustment for the Indulgences they had found, is univerfally known will the Year 1625, when to prevent some incroachments, and disorders of those who Fished under his protection, the late King Charles of Bleffed Me- See Mr. Semory isfuld out his Proclamations, and cretary cook's letter Apr. 16. gave Instructions to his Ministers at 1635, to his broad, signifying that no Strangers sident at the should presume to Fish in the British Hague.

1609.

1616.

Seas

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Seas without his Majesties Licence; and that those who desired them, might be Protected, he thought fit to equip, and set forth such a Fleer, as became his Care, and Vigilancy for the good and fafety of his People, and the honour of the Nation: This was the Year, and the Occasion of building several considerable-Ships, and amongst others. that famous Vessel, the Royal Soveraign, which to this day, bears our Triumphant Edgar for its badge and Cognizance, and to mind the World of his undoubted Right to the Dominion of the Seas, which tis probable, he had by this time afferted, and fecur'd beyond all dispute of forrain pretences, shad not the fatality, and misunderstanding of the times, disturbed what that blessed Prince design'd doubtless to protect both his people, and his rights: 'tis likewise fresh in memory; what were the fentiments, and opinions of many grave Judges, and great Lawyers upon the jealous Article, then on foot (too prolixe here to repeat) in favour of the Controverted point, that the project might appear no fuch Innovation; nor indeed could there be a

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more pressing Occasion than when all our Neighbours around us were (as now) in a state of Hostility: but I list not here to interrupt my Reader upon this Chapter, which has already fuffer'd fo many fore digladiations and Contests; only as to matter of Fact, and as concern'd the Navigation, and improvement of Commerce, I touch it briefly, and pass to what followed, which was the fetting out no less than fixty tall Ships, first under the Earl of Lindsey, and afterwards Northumberland, by the 1636. Account of whose accurate Journal, it appears, how readily our Neighbour. Fisher-men (though under convoy of Fleets superiour to ours in number) sued for, and took Licences to the value of Fifteen hundred Pounds, Lifteen Shillings and two Pence, as I have perus'd the particulars: I do only mention the Licences, which were also taken, and accepted atLand, and they not a few, distributed by Sir William Boswell at the Hague it felf, upon which his Majestie's Minister then at Bruxelles, advercised the Infanta, that the Dunkerkers should take care not to molest such of the Hollanders (though at that time in actual hostility with them) as had his Majestie's Permission,

IIS

and accordingly, the Cardinal did grant them Passes, which they took without Scruple; fo as we find it was not for nothing, that they came under protection, but receiv'd a real benefit; Nor was this a novel Imposition, but familiar, and Customary, as appears by the many precedents which we have recited; to which we may add, that of the Scotch Fithery, under King James the first: 1424. 21. Act. of the first Parliament, having already spoken of what concerned our own Princes, especially what Richard the Second impos'd, Henry I.V.VI.VII. Queens Mary, &c. with that of Edward the First Pro Hominibus Hollandie &c, which protection is yet extant, and granted frequently by Treaties, as a priviledg only during the subsistance of fuch Treaties, and no farther, totally rescinding and abolishing the pretences grounded by some upon the Intercursus magnus made with the Dukes of Euroundy: So as to summ up all that has been produc'd to fortifié our domestick Evidences, we have many Ads of Parliament, we have the feveral Successionrs of our Princes granting Licences to Strangers; we have the afsiduous instances made by King James,

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by his Ambassadours, and Secretaries of State: We have the Acknowledgments actually, and already paid, and accounted for to the Exchequer, and have seen the occasion of the late Interruptions of it, and the invalidity of mens pretences; and if these be not evidences fufficient to subvert the Sophisms of a few mercenary pens, and dismount the Considence of unreasonable people, it is because there is so little rigour in our resolutions at home, and so little Justice in the World abroad: Nor has this been arrogated by the Monarchs of this Nation, but a Right establish'd upon just reason; namely, that they might be enabl'd to clear the Seas of Rovers, and Pirates, and protect such as follow'd their lawful affairs: And for this effect, the Kings of England, did not only take care to defend their own Subjects, but to Convoy, and fecure all Strangers, fometimes (as we have seen) by Proclamation, sometimes by Fleets, and Men of War, where they Fish'd by Agreement, upon Treaty, or leave obtain'd, yet restraining them to certain limits, retaining the dominion of the Neighbouring Seas, as in the Reign of Henry the Fourth.

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"Fourth, where we find an Accord made between him and the French King, that the Subjects of either Nation might fish in one part of the Seas, and not in another; the Possession of all Privileges of this nature ever accompanying the Royal Licence, and Strangers having either special Indulgences, or being under protection of special Officers, appointed in former times for the fafe Guarding of the Fishery, who were so impower'd by Patent, and had certain dues appointed for that attendance, which they levied upon all Forreiners, with the express Direction (in the reign of Henry the Seventh) that the Accknowledgment was to be so levied, notwithstanding any Letter of Safe-Conduct, which Stranger Fishermen might pretend from any King, Prince or Government whatsoever: So as by all the Arguments of Right, Claim, and prescription, the Title is firm; allother pretences of Right or possession interrupted, arrogated and precarious, or else extinguish'd by Infractions of Treaties, never fince revived by any subsequent Act:

62. We might here mention the Toll paid the King of Denmark at the Sundt,

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and the respect which Strangers shew to his Castle at Cronnenburg, according to a Treaty made between them and the Dutch; and to the Swedish King, whom they acknowledg Sovereign of the Baltick, and Northern Tracts to an immense extent, where he receives Tribute, as well as those of Denmark, and Poland by impositions at Dantzick and the Pillan, where they only enjoy for it a cold and hungry passage, whilst with us, we give them not only Passage, Harbours, and Protection through a dangerous Sea, but an Emolument accompanying it, which inriches our Neighbours with one of the most inestimable Treasures, and Advantagious Commerce under heaven: To this we also might add what has obtain'd the Suffrages not only of our own Countrymen of the Long Robe and others, but of almost all the dis-interested Learned persons who have discuss'd this Subject; universally agreeing, that as to a peculiar, and restrictive Right, Fisheries may, and ought to be Appropriated, and that as well in the high-Seas (as the Lawyers term them) as in Lakes, and Rivers, and narrower Confinements, and as the Republick of Genoa does at this day, let to Farm their

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their Fishery for Thunnies in their neighbouring Seas; and the Contract between Queen Elizabeth, and Denmark about the like liberty upon the Coast of Normay, and the Prohibitions made, and the licences given by that Crown at this present, do abundantly evince; namely that the Dane is, and hath of long time, been in possession upon the Coasts we have mention'd, and of as much as we after't to be due to his Majesty in the British Seas

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With some mis-interpunstations.

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