

THE

NATIONAL

ARCHIVES

Tobacco

James I & VI: How was tobacco viewed, consumed, and traded in the Stuart period?

Key Stage 5 | Early modern 1485-1750

Lesson pack



Introduction

In 1604, James I of England and James VI of Scotland published his 'Counterblaste to Tobacco'. He condemned the use of tobacco on the grounds of its poisonous effects on the body. He wrote that smoking was a 'custome lothesome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black and stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible stygian [very dark] smoke of the pit that is bottomless'.

'Counterblaste' also revealed James I's concern about the potential disruptive effects of tobacco to English society. Writers of the period continuously linked the smoking of tobacco with immorality, disobedience, and even treason. As James I had only just ascended the English throne, it is unsurprising that he felt tobacco might encourage civil disorder and unrest.

Tobacco had been present in England since at least the 1560s, when sailors returning from Atlantic voyages captained by the Merchant Adventurer Sir John Hawkins had brought it home. It was likely that they themselves picked up the habit from Spanish and Portuguese sailors. Despite James I's protests, there was a tobacco boom in early Stuart England.

Use the documents in this lesson to explore the early Stuart fascination with tobacco, focusing particularly on overseas trade networks and the activity of the Virginia Company, which helped popularise tobacco in England. Find out about the impact of early Stuart colonial ventures on individuals whose stories have often been left out of history.

Suitable for:

KS 5

Time period:

Early modern 1485-1750

Connections to the Curriculum:

Key stage 5

These documents can be used to support any of the exam board specifications covering the Early Stuarts.

AQA GCE History 'A' level:

1D: Stuart Britain and the Crisis of Monarchy, 1603-1702

OCR GCE History 'A' level:

Unit Y108: The early Stuarts and the Origins of the Civil War 1603-1660

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Teacher's notes

This lesson uses sources from The National Archives, in particular some records from the High Court of Admiralty (HCA), to explore the early English tobacco trade. These records have come to light as result of the [Prize Papers Project](#). This is a cataloguing, research, and digitisation project running from 2018 to 2037 on records of the High Court of Admiralty (HCA), covering the capture and judgment of about 35,000 ships. See also the External Links section below.

Before starting, it would be useful to ensure that students are familiar with these key terms and ideas: commodities, intoxicants, colonialism, merchant companies, and the transatlantic slave trade.

The first source that students examine comes from records of the Colonial Office held at The National Archives. It was written a year after James I founded The Virginia Company of London (1606), a joint-stock company that aimed to bring profit to those who owned shares and to establish a colony in Virginia. The source extracts prompt students to think about the ideological motivations for colonial pursuit, and tobacco's important role within this. It is also important to discuss with students what is missing from the document in describing early contact between indigenous people and European colonists.

The second source is a letter from the diplomat, ambassador, and explorer Thomas Roe, in which he describes his travels in Guyana and Trinidad. His account helps students to observe that England had access to other sources of tobacco beyond Virginia.

Next, students look at extracts from court 'Interrogatories' of Frances Carnero'. It provides students with an opportunity to reflect upon the early transatlantic slave trade and to consider the contraband trade in tobacco in Trinidad, São Tomé, and Guyana in the 1610s. These two sources help students to rethink the nature of trade networks and overseas exchange in the Stuart period, calling into question any potential pre-conceptions around Virginia again as the sole provider of tobacco in England in James I's reign. They also provide the opportunity to explore the significance of the Prize Papers Project in terms of the preservation and cataloguing of archival material.

The fourth sources are extracts from letters between Gilbert Blight, resident in Virginia and dealing in tobacco, and his associates in Plymouth, England. These provide the opportunity to discuss the intimate and personal qualities of the letter form. This may lead onto a discussion of their value as a historical source that provides insights into the daily lived experience of individuals around the globe at European overseas trade and colonialism. The letter between William Bond and Gilbert Blight gives an insight into how the English used tobacco to enter into trade in North Africa. These letters, along with the 'Interrogatories' of Frances Carnero', also provide an opportunity for students to discuss how we understand modern ideas of race and ethnicity in these documents, and how they may differ from understandings of ethnic difference in the Stuart period.

The final source is a letter between two male friends, both of whom were involved in government and state affairs. Students can consider the growing presence of tobacco in England and the fashionable use of tobacco within elite male circles. This may lead onto a discussion of the ambiguous position of tobacco in the Stuart imaginary, as a dangerous intoxicant, a miraculous

Teacher's notes

medicine, and a provoker of divine wit.

Students can also use the image shown at the top of the lesson page as evidence to further explore the self-fashioning of a particular socio-cultural identity through the smoking of tobacco.

You may want to split the lesson for students working individually or use the sources in paired/group work. Students should be encouraged to think about the limitations of looking at different forms of evidence to evaluate their understanding of the early English tobacco trade, and responses to the consumption of tobacco.

All sources are transcribed, and some language is explained/translated in square brackets. In order to retain the spirit of the language we have not further simplified the transcripts. Each transcript sentence is given a new line to reflect how it appears in the document and assist with the reading of the original.

Finally, although this lesson is aimed at Key stage 5, teachers could use these documents and provide their own questions and/or create simplified transcripts to use with younger students.

Sources

Illustration Image 2: 'Anthony Chute, Tabacco. London: 1595. The earliest depiction of an English man smoking tobacco.'

Image © HathiTrust Digital Library

Source 1a-c: 'A Description of the now discovered Riuer and Country of Virginia, with the liklyhood of ensuing ritches, by Englands ayd and industry', 1607. Catalogue Ref: CO 1/1 f.53-7.

Source 2: 'Report from Thomas Rowe to the Earl of Salisbury, on his voyage to Guyana', 1610-1611. Catalogue Ref: CO 1/1 f.92-3.

Source 3a-c: 'Interrogatories of Frances Carnero', 1611-1613. Catalogue Ref: HCA 24/75

Source 4a & b: 'Gilbert Blight, letters from Virginia to Plymouth', 1628-30. Catalogue Ref. HCA 15/1.

Source 5: 'A letter from Jerard Gore to Anthony Williams. Send a spaniel, sugar, pipes, tobacco, 5 September 1623. Catalogue Ref: SP 46/66 f.24.

Background

During the reign of Elizabeth I and the early 1600s, the English largely consumed Spanish tobacco. The practice of smoking tobacco was popularised by Sir Walter Raleigh in the court of Elizabeth I. One fanciful story described how Sir Walter Raleigh's servant, seeing him smoking a pipe for the first time, threw a bucket of water on him, assuming that he was on fire.

By the time of James I and James VI, 'the art of whiffing' had become so popular that the pamphleteer Barnabe Rich estimated that there were over 7,000 tobacco shops in London by 1614. In 1599, a Swiss traveller to England was astounded at what was quickly becoming a London-wide addiction amongst the elite and middling-sort: 'They always carry the instrument on them...lighting up on all occasions: at the play, in the taverns, or elsewhere'.

In the context of fraught Anglo-Spanish relations in the period, England was reluctant to remain dependent on Spanish tobacco. As the documents show, many English merchants (along with the French and Dutch) were involved in tobacco-smuggling off the coast of Guyana and Trinidad, engaging in a contraband trade with struggling Spanish settlers. The English had attempted to grow tobacco on the Island of Bermuda but were unsuccessful. 1606 saw the founding of the Virginia Company of London, and by 1607 the Virginia Company settlers landed on Jamestown Island to establish an English colony. John Rolfe brought sweet South American tobacco seeds to the colony and from the mid-1610s tobacco was being exported to England. Members of Parliament, many of whom owned shares in the Virginia Company, were keen to secure an English monopoly on colonial tobacco. Women and physicians had been attempting to grow it in their herb gardens in England, but parliament banned domestic tobacco growing in 1619.

Disease, mismanagement, and poor relations with indigenous peoples of North America eventually resulted in the complete failure of the Virginia Company in 1623. From this point on, the king assumed direct control of Virginia. Despite James I's early protests against tobacco, and attempts raise the duties on tobacco, his morals gave way to pragmatism. He realised that tobacco could still be a profitable crop in Virginia, so James created a royal monopoly for the crop.

As the English attempted to establish their own colonial outposts, both king and Parliament realised the crucial role of tobacco in furthering imperial ambition and establishing further trading networks. The English used tobacco grown on their plantations to facilitate trade in the Mediterranean, North Africa, and the Levant.

Lauren Working's recent book 'The Making of an Imperial Polity' explores how colonial projects influenced political culture and taste in London, focusing in particular on tobacco and imperial intent. Working explores how tobacco-smoking was made socially acceptable for London gentlemen as they attempted to distance themselves from what they construed as the 'savage customs' of Native Americans in their consumption of tobacco. They re-contextualized the crop and invested it with new meanings of civility and refinement in metropolitan locales. This distancing process was achieved largely through the accoutrements of smoking, which included tobacco pipes and precious tobacco boxes made of gold, silver, or ivory, and often stamped with a heraldic coat of arms.

In fact, the smoking of tobacco can even be construed as a patriotic act which furthered national

Background

colonial ambition. The gentlemen in Parliament who owned shares in the Virginia Company were the same men who were smoking socially and writing poems that praised tobacco. Not all men were as positive about the potential effects of colonial enterprise. An anti-tobacco poem written by the merchant Josuah Sylvester: 'Tobacco Battered and the Pipes Shattered' (1616) provides an early reflection of the damage caused by early mercantile ventures. His words speak not only of the English colonisers, but also of the Native Americans and Black enslaved peoples whose lives were changed irrevocably by England's colonial ventures in the seventeenth century. Sylvester asks 'whether [the] discovery of America, that Newfound World, have yielded to our world more hurt than good'.

How was tobacco viewed in the early Stuart period? Tobacco held an ambiguous position in the Stuart imagination. On one level, tobacco was seen as a 'holy herb', a miraculous medicinal remedy, which could cure headaches, heal wounds, depression, and to prevent against the plague. It was even recommended for pregnant women, as physicians believed that the warm and moist qualities of tobacco would nurture the baby's growth in the womb. There were, of course, detractors to this viewpoint, who held opinions akin to James I, believing it corrupted the body and dulled the senses, a medical opinion that chimes with our present knowledge about the harmful effects on smoking on the body. Other individuals believed quite the opposite, suggesting that smoking tobacco would sharpen the brain and aid 'divine wit'. As the poet Sir John Beaumont wrote in 1602: 'Take up these lines Tobacco-like unto thy brain, and that divinely toucht, puff out the smoke again'. It is no coincidence that smoking amongst playwrights, actors, and writers was extremely popular; perhaps even William Shakespeare was partial to a puff or two as he wrote his poems and plays.

External links

Royal Collection Trust: [overview of James' reign and collection of images of the King](#)¹

James I, King of England. A Counterblaste to Tobacco. London: 1604. This is available to read online here: Image © [HathiTrust Digital Library](#)²

The National Archives: '[The Road to Jamestown](#)'³, a talk exploring why the English Crown turned their attention to the New World in the early sixteenth century.

The National Archives blog: '[Pocahontas in London, 1616-17](#)'⁴

[Intoxicating Spaces: The Impact of New Intoxicants on Urban Spaces in Europe, 1600-1850](#)⁵. See in particular '[Smoke on the Water: Tobacco, Pirates, and Seafaring in the Early Modern World](#)'⁶.

Not Just the Tudors Podcast, created by Suzannah Lipscomb: '[Ruffs, Pipes, and Pearls](#)'⁷ with Dr Lauren Woking, and '[The Founding of Jamestown](#)'⁸ with Dr Misha Ewen.

Playing cards found at sea as part of the [Prize Papers Project](#)⁹ at The National Archives.

¹ <https://www.rct.uk/collection/people/james-i-king-of-great-britain-1566-1625-james-vi-of-scotland-and-i-of-england#/type/subject>

² https://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google

³ <https://media.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php/the-road-to-jamestown-part-1/>

⁴ <https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pocahontas-london-1616-1617/>

⁵ <https://www.intoxicatingspaces.org/research/london/>

⁶ <https://www.intoxicatingspaces.org/2019/12/09/smoke-on-the-water-tobacco-pirates-and-seafaring-in-the-early-modern-world/>

⁷ <https://play.acast.com/s/not-just-the-tudors/ruffs-pipes-and-pearls>

⁸ <https://play.acast.com/s/not-just-the-tudors/jamestown>

⁹ <https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/playing-cards-captured-at-sea-prize-papers-of-laimable-julie/>

Tasks

Task 1

These extracts come from a document that was written in May-June 1607. They show how an English author viewed the land of Virginia and hoped for the successful growth of new crops for export. It also describes the practices and customs of the Native American tribes who were already living there when the English arrived. It does not reflect the perspectives of the indigenous peoples of Virginia.

Source 1a:

- What perspective can be inferred by the title of the document used by the author?
- What value was placed on the crops already grown in Virginia according to the writer?
- Why do you think the writer has presented a particular view of the crops that are already growing there?
- What attitude is inferred in the extract towards the indigenous peoples of Virginia?
- Why do you think that this document was written?
- What does the stamp and the number we can see on this document reveal?

Source 1b:

- What value is placed on the produce of this country by the writer?
- Why do you think the writer has presented a particular view of the crops that are already growing there?
- What do the English hope to grow in Virginia?
- What attitude is inferred by the writer by the statement that the peoples of Virginia have 'no respect of profit'?
- What is the writer's view on land ownership in Virginia?

Source 1c:

- How are the society and the religious beliefs of the indigenous peoples described?
- What are the religious beliefs of the writer? Why do you think the colonists wanted the Native Americans to convert to Christianity?
- What attitude is inferred by the writer towards the peoples of Virginia?
- How is tobacco being used according to this account? Is it different to the way tobacco is being used in the illustration image for this lesson?
- What might this suggest about who first had knowledge about the smoking of tobacco and its potential trade value, the Native Americans, or the English?
- Why is important to consider what is missing from all of these extracts describing early contact between indigenous people and European colonists?
- This document comes from a The National Archives collection CO, which stands for Colonial Office. Why might the National Archives hold a collection of documents under this name?

Tasks

Task 2

Source 2: This is an extract of a letter from the diplomat and explorer Thomas Roe to the Earl of Salisbury. Thomas Roe described the trading activity he witnessed as he travelled to Guyana and Trinidad. He saw English ships trading in tobacco along the coastline. This was a profitable smuggling trade with the Spanish settlers on Trinidad and the Orinoco.

- Where was tobacco traded?
- What does the tone of this letter suggest about the relationship between Thomas Roe and the Earl of Salisbury?
- Where had Thomas Roe travelled?
- Thomas Roe saw 15 ships 'freighting smoke'. What could 'smoke' refer to?
- How are the Spanish characterised in this extract? What does this suggest about Anglo-Spanish relations in the Stuart period?
- How does Thomas Roe's account make us rethink the idea that Virginia was England's primary source of tobacco in the Stuart period?
- Why do think this letter was written?

Task 3

The 'Interrogatories of Frances Carnero', 1611-1613. Catalogue Ref: HCA 24/75

'Interrogatories' were written questions asked by one party in a legal case to which the defendant or a witness has to give written answers under oath.

Frances Carnero was Portuguese merchant who had been brought back from São Tomé (St. Thomas) Island in the Caribbean to London by a Captain John Moore. Moore was an English captain on the ship 'The Archangel or The Little John of London', who had also travelled to São Tomé.

Source 3a:

- How are these documents stored at The National Archives?
- How would you describe this 'bundle'?
- What challenges might this present to researchers wishing to access to collection?

Source 3b:

- Where was Frances Carnero in 1609?
- What does it suggest about the author's attitude towards enslaved individuals?
- What is the connection between the growth of the transatlantic slave trade and the establishment of sugar and tobacco plantations in the New World?

Source 3c:

Tasks

- What did Frances Carnero see in Guyana?
- What does it reveal about the origin of tobacco that reached England in the 1610s?
- What does the document suggest about the early Stuart tobacco trade?
- Do these 'interrogatories' conflict with or confirm the claims of Thomas Roe (Source 2) concerning the English tobacco trade?

Task 4

Extracts from 'Gilbert Blight, letters from Virginia to Plymouth', 1628-30. Catalogue Ref. HCA 15/1.

Gilbert Blight lived in Jamestown, Virginia, and was involved in the tobacco trade there. Blight would liaise with tobacco planters in Virginia from whom he purchased the tobacco. This tobacco was then transported in merchant ships to England. While in Jamestown, Blight sent and received many letters from business partners and merchants who were involved in this trade, notably including Abraham Jennens, William Bond, and Thomas Mayhew.

Source 4a:

- Where had William Bond been that prevented him from writing to Blight?
- How is Bond and Blight's relationship characterised in this letter?
- What has Blight missed whilst he has been away in Virginia?
- What insights can a personal letter give us that other document sources might not provide?
- In the letter, Bond says that Blight's friend has had a child, which he calls 'a pretty Black thing'. This may refer to hair or skin tone or suggest a child of African descent. Modern understandings of race and ethnicity are quite different from those in the Stuart era. Do you think we can be sure what this means?
- What can this tell us about the experiences of merchant factors [an agent trading on a merchant's behalf] in Virginia, and how they might feel about life at home in England?

Source 4b:

Salé was the main Atlantic port in Morocco. The 'West Country of Prize goods' refers to the large amount of tobacco taken as prize or booty during the war between the English and Spanish, which pushed down tobacco prices. 'Set it by for charges' meant setting prize goods aside to cover port and legal costs, rather than selling them.

- Who has bought Gilbert Blight's tobacco?
- The letter suggests that this English merchant was trading tobacco in Salé. What does this tell us about English trade networks in North Africa at this time?
- The words 'payment for his captains' [line 10] refers to a ransom for sea captains taken by corsairs. These were pirates or privateers from the Barbary Coast who aimed to capture people to sell in the Arab slave markets in North Africa. What can this tell us about the risks of engaging in overseas trade in the period?

Tasks

- What challenges did Bond and Blight face in their attempt to trade in tobacco?
- What do the folds in the document reveal about how letters were sealed and transported?
- Mayhew stated: "But since I was a merchant, I have seldom seen so 'Base a drug as Tabaco". What could he mean by this? What could this suggest about how tobacco was viewed in the Stuart period?

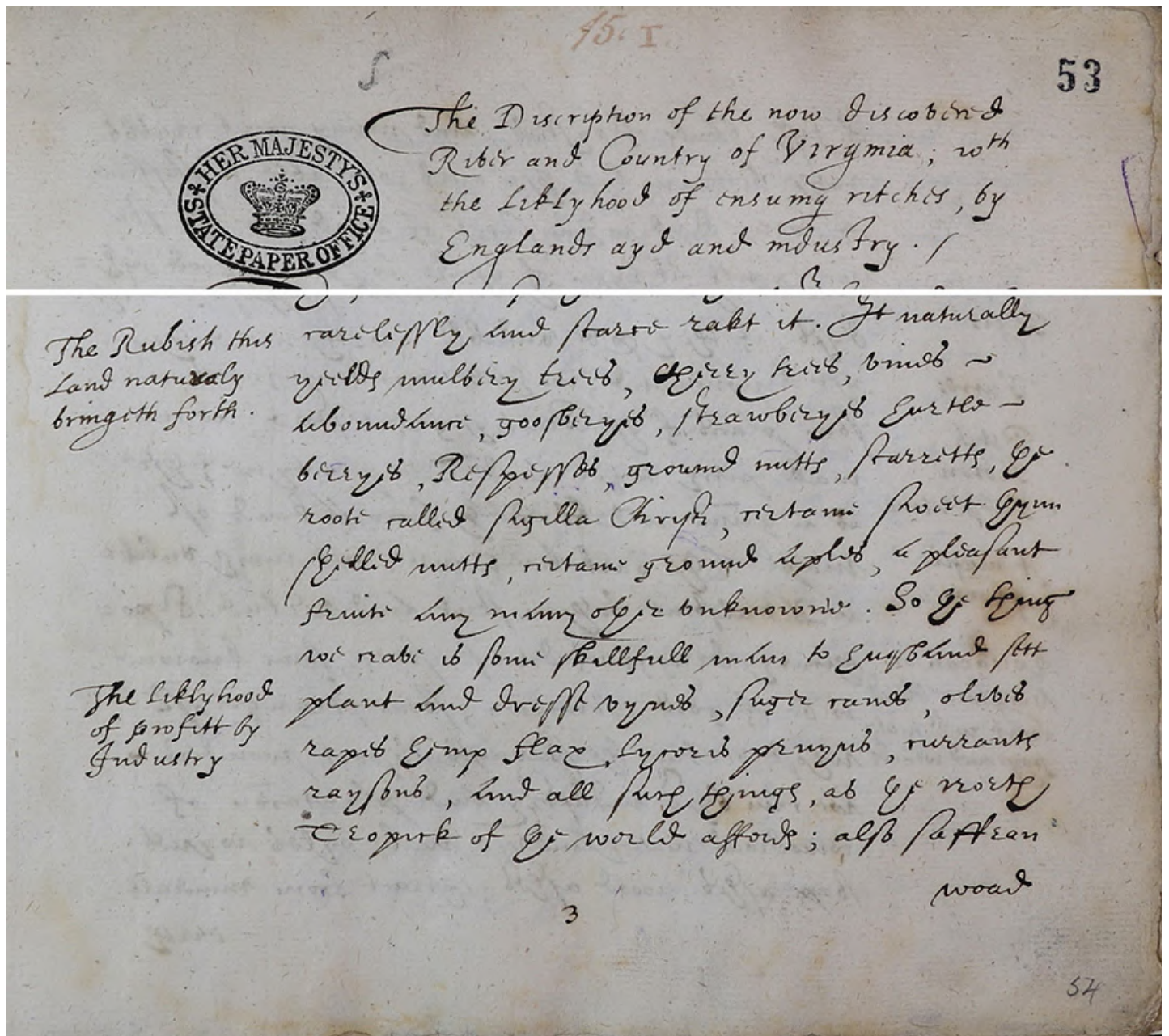
Task 5

Source 5: 'A letter from Jerard Gore to Anthony Williams. Send a spaniel, sugar, pipes, tobacco, 5 September 1623. Catalogue Ref: SP 46/66 f.24.

The muskmelon mentioned in this letter was a sweet fleshy melon, grown in the Mediterranean area in the 'Middle Ages'. In the fifteenth century, the explorer Christopher Columbus carried seeds from the fruit on one of his voyages to the Americas and planted them. By the time this letter was written, muskmelon was being grown in English colonies in North America.

- What is the date of this letter?
- What gifts did Jerard Gore give to his friend Anthony Williams, other than tobacco?
- How was tobacco presented as a gift?
- How does Jerard suggest that Anthony should use the tobacco? What phrase does he use?
- What does this source suggest about male forms of gift giving and behaviour at this time?
- What possessions, according to this source, helped to fashion male gender roles at this time?
- How could the lesson illustration image be seen as evidence of the self-fashioning a particular male identity by smoking tobacco?

Source 1a: 'A Description of the now discovered Riuer and Country of Virginia', 1607. Catalogue Ref: CO 1/1 f.53-7



Transcript: Source 1a

'A description of the now discovered River and Country of Virginia, with the likelihood of ensuing riches by England's aid and industry'

...

...

The Rubish [rubbish] this Land naturaly Bringeth forth

It naturally

yeelds [yields] mulberry trees, cherry trees, vines abundance, gooseberyes, strawberys hurcleberes, [huckleberries] Resperres, [raspberries] ground nutts [peanuts], carretts [carrots] the roote called sigilla Christi, certane [certain] sweet thym [thyme] shelled nutts, certane ground aples, [apples] a pleasant fruite any many other unknowne. So the thing we crave [need] is some skillful man to husband [farm] sett plant and dresse vynes, [vines] suger canes, olives, rapes [oilseed rape crop] hemp flax, lycoris pruyus [liquorish plant], currants raysons [raisins], and all such things, as the north Tropick [Tropic of Cancer] of the would afford; also saffean [saffron] wood

Source 1b: 'A Description of the now discovered Riuer and Country of Virginia', 1607. Catalogue Ref: CO 1/1 f.53-7

would be copped and sold like.

The Country & its Commodity of this Country, what they
Commodities are in this, is not much to be regarded, for
the inhabitants though no manner of any
nation, no respect of self, neither is there
fear. That we call them it is true, among
them save only the king know their own
territory, & the people their private gardens
yet not for the present by the conquest of all
plant. Tobacco after a year or two -
5000 a year. we should be well supplied with it

Saxatragi
Tobacco

Transcript: Source 1b

The Countrys Comodityes

The Comodityes [produce] of this Country, what they
Are in essence, is not much to be regarded, the
inhabitants having no concerne [concern] with any
nation, not respect of profit, neither as there
scarce that we call meum et tuum [mine and yours], among
them save only the kings know there owne
teritoryes, [territories] and the people their several gardens
yet this for the present by the consent of all
of seamen merrly [merely] our fishing for Sturgeon. [type of fish]

...

Tobacco

Tobacco after a yeare or two – 5000li a year.

Source 1c: 'A Description of the now discovered Riuer and Country of Virginia', 1607. Catalogue Ref: CO 1/1 f.53-7

They are naturally giuen to hunger, & so =
 but we could not finde it in so trauell by the
 riuer, but rather to most kind and loving people.
 They sacrifice Tobacco to the Sunne, sayre
 picture or a Carmotule thing, as a Hood or
 piece, also; they strowe some into the water
 in the morning before they wake. They shew
 many wittes, to wosome as neuer as I could
 perceiue they keep constant. Of great kind -
 Pawatah and most wittes: They abide
 not to be bought before their face. Of great
 distaste reigne in the men generally, full -
 haught wth noodes, botches, and palpable -
 apparance in the face, we found about
 a hundred. The women are very cleanly
 in making their bread and preparing meat.
 I found their account after death to goe into
 an other world pointing eastward to the Element,
 and when they saw vs at prayer they shew'd
 vs wth great pleasure and respect, especially
 they to wosome I had imparted the meaning
 of a reverence. To conclude they are a very
 witty and ingenious people, apt to be
 vnderstand and speake of Language, so
 that I hope in god as to ease miraculously
 to provide vs escape from all dangers to be
 of the land & the fur, so we will
 make

make vs suspect of this. God will in vnderstanding
 you to a true Christian faith, by his own
 inspiring grace and knowledge of his will.


Transcript: Source 1c

They are naturally given to treachery, how
ever we could not finde it in our travell up the
Riuer [river], but rather a most kind and loving people.
They sacrifice Tobacco to the sunn fayre [indigenous religious ceremony]
Picture or a harmefule thing, as a foord or
Peece [?] also; they sprinkle [sprinkle] some into the water
In the morning before they wash. They have
Many wives, to whome as neare as I could
Prove they keep constant. The great king
Pawatah had most wives; These they abide
Not to be toucht [touched] before ther face [in front of them?]. The great
Disease reignes in the men genereally, full
Fraught with nodes [swelling], botches and palpable [noticeable]
Apparaunces [appearing] in their forheads [foreheads], we found aboue [above]
A hundred. The women are very cleanly [skilled]
in making their bread and prepareing [preparing] meat.
I found they account after death to goe into
another world pointing eastward to the Element,
and when they saw us at prayer they observed
us with great silence and respect, especially those
to whome I had imparted [told] the meaning
of our reverence [prayer]. To conclude they are a very
witty and ingenious people, apt both to
understand and speake our language, so
that I hope in god as he hath miraculously
preserved us hither from all dangers both
of sea and land & their fury so he will make
us authors of his holy will in converting
them to our true Christian faith by his owne
inspireing [inspiring] grace and knowledge of his deity [godliness].

Source 2: Extract from 'Report from Thomas Roe to the Earl of Salisbury, on his voyage to Guyana', 1610-1611. Catalogue Ref: CO 1/1 f.92-3

25 92

Right Honorable.



If I should trouble th your Lordship wth a larger relation of my poore
 discourages, they would be as paynfull to you, as they have bene
 to mee: I have left them now behind me, and I will doe so here too,
 least they offend th your patience more, then they have benefitted me.

Your Honor shall fynd nothing new nor strange here, though it
 come from th your newest and strangest Land, for it bears no other
 fruit but my respects and service to th your Lordship, for wth more
 reason I must also aspersed on; when I shall come home I hope
 to give th your Lordship account th I have not bene idle, and I will
 not become so, by strange reports of this place, when I shall
 answer for yt at th your Lordships commandment. yet I may wth
 an humble boldnes presume to say I have seen more of this
 Coast rivers and Inland from th your Great River of th Amozones
 under th your Line to Orinoco in 8 degrees, then any Englishman
 now alive, and of this I hope th to give a reason: I am now past
th your West Coast and arrived at Port d'Espagne in th your Island
 of Trinidad, where are 15 sayls of ships freighting Smokes
 English French Dutch: and of this parts if th your Honor will give me
 leave to relate the little news and my opinion I will venture
 them both: The Spaniards here are equally proud froward yet
 needy and weak: theire force is reputation and theire safety
 opinion: yet dare they use us whose hands are bound wth any
 contumely and Treachery: for me I will resist and prevent both
 thys, and for th your Lordship doe rather slay wth some english, then for
 any trade; I hope th your Noble disposition will not take it ill

Transcript: Source 2

Right Honorable.

If I should trouble your Lordship with a larger relation of my poore
Discoueries, [discoveries] they would be as paynfull [painful] to you, as they haue [have] beene
to mee: I haue left them now behind me and I will doe so here too
Least they offend your patience more, then they haue benefitted mee.
Your Honor shall fynd nothing new nor stranges here, though it
Come from the newest and stranges land, for it beres [bears] no other
Fruict [fruit] but my respect and service to your Lordship; for which interr
Rruption [interruption] I must also aske perdon [pardon]; when I shall come home I hope
To giue [give] your Lordship account that I haue [have] not beene Idle, and I will
Not become so, by strange reports of this place, when I shall
Answer for yt [it] at your lordships commandement [command]. Yet I may with
An humble bouldnes [boldness] presume to say I haue seene more of this
Coast riuers [rivers] and Inland from the Great Rivver of the Amazones
Under the line to Orenoque in 8 degrees, than any Englishman
Now alive, and of this I hope to give a reason: I am now past
The Wild Coast and arrives at Port d’Espagne in the Island
Of Trinidad where are 15 sayle [sail] of ships freighting smoke
English French Dutch: and of thes parts if your Honor will give me
Leave to relate the little newes [news] and my opinion I will venture
Them both: the Spaniards here are equally proud Insolent yet
Needy and weake: theyr force is reputation, and theye safely
Opinion: yet dare they use us whose hands are bound with any
Contumely [insolent treatment] and treachery: for my I will resist and preuent [prevent] both
These and for your end doe rather stay with some English, then for
Any trade

...

Source 3a: The 'bundle' of documents that includes the 'Interrogatories of Frances Carnero', 1611-1613. Catalogue Ref: HCA 24/75



Source 3b: Extract from ‘Interrogatories of Frances Carnero’, 1611-1613. Catalogue Ref: HCA 24/75

Articles of Subrogation entered
on the books of Francis Carnaro
of Lisbon notant and residing
in the City of London at present

In print, first light in the morning of Feb 20
Barroo, by ship and got off in trade of
indigenous put a place called Angola in
Congo, then moored at point of Cape Colony
last or negro
Duty et do yacht

Ihm heylt Er den Franck Carnero die drey
~~er dreyer~~ und er go in hader ob wogendige
 from Angola a presentant heylt drey
 Margarita in heylt west dreyer lund die
 lakt o dreyer und er to margarita a present
 gib se Mooren et ponit ut supra.

Transcript: Source 3b

Article or Interrogatories ministred [ministered, drawn up]
on the behalf of Frances Carnero
of Lisbon merchant now residing
in the citty of London as followeth

1 In Primis vizt [Firstly] that in the month of June or July 1609 the said Francis
Carnero did buy had and got in trade of
merchandize at a place called Angola in
Gwyny [unreadable] black moores [Black servants, enslaved African peoples] or negroes Et point
[and put] [?]
[?] et de quality [just as] [Latin Legal Phrase]

2 Item that the said Frances Carnero did carry
and convey with his go in trade of merchandize
From Angola aforesaid vnto [unto] the Island of
Margarita in the West Indies and did
Take and carry with him to Margarita aforesaid
His said Moores et ponit vt supra [and put as above].

Source 3c: Extract from 'Interrogatories of Frances Carnero', 1611-1613. Catalogue Ref: HCA 24/75

20
 7
 The first question.
 When he was at sea he was with the ship of the Spaniards
 at Guyana aforesaid, there was divers English
 persons & Dutch in company there and he
 saw Hernando de Barco ybarra of the same
 country there & he was a passenger in the ship of the
 Dutch English persons & Dutch & he was and
 he was in the same place in the same company
 of the Dutch & the English.

Transcript: Source 3c

Item that at the tyme [time] when the said Frances Carnero was
At Gwyana [Guyana] aforesaid [as mentioned], there was divers [many] English
French and Dutch merchants there also, and the
Said Fernando de Bareo governor or St Thome [St. Thomas]
And aforesaid did trade and traffique [buying & selling] with them, and both
English French and Dutch do use trade and
traffique in the said places with leave & lines [written permission]
Of the said governor

Source 4a: Extracts from 'Gilbert Blight, letters from Virginia to Plymouth', 1628-30. Catalogue Ref: HCA 15/1

My Noble Constant Virginian

All happines, betwixt the highest heauen, &
 lowest earth, & with you; along hyme I have
 not written you, for me, y^e not
 forgetfulnes, but want of Conveyance,
 for I have bin on some y^e dephend,
 (and only when this month) in Ireland,
 & now meeting with this Conveyance; my
 affection is such as layde me to
 remember my lowest affection; ^{and} ~~the~~
 heere is lyke worth y^e whise; y^eat
 wth the hyme affords, shall heere in be
 & needed; first all the young Arduance
 of y^e affection, and many; heere
 remaynes none for y^e lyking; where
 you may take advantage, in y^e party,
 y^eat the old John is still living, &
 desirous to be rememb^d. unto you.
 Radford is married to a wyfe, so tall, as
 shoo can easily look ~~up~~ ^{over} him;
 hee is comforted from money in his
 m^{ost} street; children begin to be
 very plentyfull; no more but y^e old
 friend Galatia is delivred wth a pretty
 black thing; for the rest, we have all
 well & asing our ankore and footing.
 I doubt not but you have heard of
 John whiddens death; next y^eine m^o
 want to tell you, & y^e of y^e best, &
 love you;

Transcript: Source 4a

'My Nobell Constant Virginian,

All happiness, betwixt [between] the highest heavens, &
Lowest earth I wish you; a long tyme [time] I haue [have]
Not wryten [written] you, pardon mee, it is not
Forgetfulnes, but want [lack] of conveyance [means of sending letters]
For I haue [have] bine [been] on sine [since] your departure
(Land only within this month), in Ireland,
& now meeting with this Convayance; my
affections is such as bayde [bid] mee [me] to
Remember my trewest love although
Heere is lyttel [little] worth your notice, yeat
what the time affordedeth, shall herein be
Incerted [included]; first all the young Creatures
Of your affection are maryed [married]; heere
Remaynes [remains] none for your lycking [liking], wherefore
You may take advantage, on your parte,
yeat [yet] the old Johan is still lyuing [alive], &
desyreth [desired] to bee remembered unto you; –
Radford is maryed [married] to a wife, so tall; as
Shee can easily looke over him [is taller];
He is converted Ironmonger in the
Market street; Children begin to bee
Very plentyfull; no more but your old
Friend Galatia is delyuered [delivered] with a preety [pretty]
Black thing; for the rest, wee are all
Well casting oure ankors [anchors] and fortune;
I doubt not but you haue [have] heard of
John Whiddons death; next giue [give] mee
Leaue [leave] to tell you, spite of your teeth I
love you.

Source 4b: Letter from Thomas Mayhew to Gilbert Blight, 1630.

Catalogue Ref: HCA 15/1

m^r Blight

I most kindly salute you & Sir As I did formerly advise you I should yo^r Cabaro to m^r Nicolas Spicer of Exon Merchant who went for Sally on the Coast of Barbary & was to pay for y^e by his bill 30^l at his returne (or at 6 months) & having paid making of it up into Bonds, but he is come home & except he can get satisfaction for Captains he did Redeeme he not pay, at the Office at Exton he shall what Wilberons of his paym^t for his Ship & accordingly I will proceed; I did proffer to send his Bill & will deliver it at all times, & will do therein as for my selfe, But I do assure you they did make a hard voyage & By Reason of Much Brazell & Cabaro carried out of the West Country of prize goods, Cabaro was little or nothing worth there but as aforesaid I do what I can for you in y^t But since I was a Merchant, I have sold some Leens so Base & drugg as Cabaro. How Men will come to claime their goods But do let it by for charges Except they do forbear making y^t will not mend, & yet they must make good & not trash. With I pray I send them to & so god keep you

London September the
1630

y^r Loving friend

Gps Love came from
m^r T^m Mayhew

Transcript: Source 4b

'I most kindly salute you sir as I did formerly aduise [advise] you I sould [sold] your tobacco to Master Nicolas Spicer of Exon Merchant who went for Salé on the Coast of Barbary and was to pay for it by his bill 30ld at his retorne (or at 6 monethes [months] I hauing [having] paid makeing of it up into Roule, but he is come home poore & except he can get satisfaction for Captaines he did Redeeme he [can] not pay, at the assizes [law courts] at Exton he shall [see] what wil become of his payment for his [captains] and accordingly I will proceed; I did profer [damaged/unreadable] frend [to] his Bill and will deliver it at all times, I will do therin as for my selfe, but I do assure you, they did make a hard voyage & by reason of much Brazell [Brazilian] tobacco carried out of the west Country of prize goods, tabaco was little or nothing worth there but as aforesaid Ile [I will] do what I can for you in it. But since I was a merchant, I haue [have] seldome seene so Base a drug as Tabaco: Few men will come to claim their goods but do set it by for Charges Except they doe forebeare makeing that will not mend; and yet they must make good and not trash which I pray perswaid them to so god keepe you.

London September

1630

Your Louing [loving] friende

Source 5: Letter from Jerard Gore to Anthony Williams, 5
September 1623. Catalogue Ref: SP 46/66 f.24

London 5th September 1623.
 Mr. Williams my love remember me to: according to
 my promise I have sent you six fine linen giving
 you the hundred shanks of I have sent you by this
 bearer Orange & new, six shawls of silk you of ad
 all so I have sent eight yards of new for you
 money to exchange withall desiring for to accept of
 it. I have likewise sent for a must have for fair the
 and for the new of the new of the new of the new of
 my best gift is a small piece of tobacco in a box
 with a bag of tobacco out for my sake, remembering to
 deliver it to you to take you of it, you can receive
 it at your leisure. I will not be troubling you
 with letters if not any more, & for now must
 stop to these. I will with remembrance of my love
 write your favor your own for our dear friend
 beloved Lady, I am King your for any like kind
 subalterned ever I rest.
 Your loving friend
 J. Gore to the Hon.
 Anthony Williams

Transcript: Source 5

London this 5th September 1623

Master. Williams my love remembred [remembered] Sir: According to my promise I have sent you thise [these] few lines giving you to understand that I haue [have] sent you by this bearer Oranghorne the Spaniell I told you of, as allso I have sent eight pounds of sugar for your mother to preserve withall desiring you to accompt [account] of it, I have likewise sent her a muskmelon in faire [damaged, unreadable] dozen of my best pipes & a small piece of tobacco in the boxe which I pray drinke out for my sake, concerning the particular I spoke unto you of if you can procure if at your leisure [I] shall rest beholding unto you news heere [here] is not any certaine, and therefore unfitt any such discourse thus with remembrance of my love unto your father your mother Mr Carltonn and your best beloved harlely [Unclear- could be a name?] thanking you for any late kind entertainment here I rest.

Your Loving Friend
Jerard Gore



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