

JOHN HARRISON: HIS MAJESTY'S AGENT IN MOROCCO, 1610-1632.

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Abstract.

John Harrison, a one time member of the court of Henry, Prince of Wales, was England's agent in Morocco on eight occasions between 1610 and 1632. The author of six books and of many reports on Morocco written for the secretaries of state, he was a committed Protestant and millenarian. He was an unusual choice of agent, becoming best known to posterity for ransoming English captives from slavery. His peers went to the Levant, India and the Far east; their experiences are well known, while Harrison's are not. His considerable relations, written for Charles I and his secretaries of state, are a valuable resource for students of Moroccan history. In my consideration of Harrison's commissions, my thesis will demonstrate that Morocco was a significant area of interest to England, her statesmen and merchants, in the early seventeenth century. An understanding of Anglo-Moroccan relations and Harrison's experiences in Morocco at this crucial time should contribute to our understanding of the evolving nature of the expansionist English engaged in diplomacy, trade, settlement and conversion.

My thesis will analyse Harrison's missions with the intention of understanding how his personal beliefs, very deeply held, aligned with national aspirations and the results therefrom. To do this I will consider the political landscape of Europe and Britain's place in it, the expectations attached to his commissions, his successes and failures, and compare his experiences with other English agents, both in Europe and further afield. My chapters will paint a comprehensive picture of Harrison, Anglo-Moroccan relations and site them in the western Mediterranean of the early seventeenth century. I start, in chapter one, with the political, social and religious environment in England in 1610. Chapter two discusses Harrison's publications and their relevance to his personal development and to his missions. Chapters three and four cover Harrison's missions: the first four (1610-1618) in chapter three, during which he identifies the diplomatic boundaries to achieving success in Morocco; the second four (1625-1632) in chapter four during which Harrison has to confront the issues surrounding the situation in Morocco, his lack of support from England and his religious convictions. I conclude that looking at Harrison's work in Morocco contributes to our understanding of how agents abroad worked to extend English influence outside early seventeenth century Europe.

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I have spent most of my time while working either at home or in the British Library, with periodic visits to The National Archive. I would like to thank the staff in both the BL and TNA for their help with my research, while reserving my special thanks for the British Library staff who were unfailingly patient when volumes of series turned out not to be that.

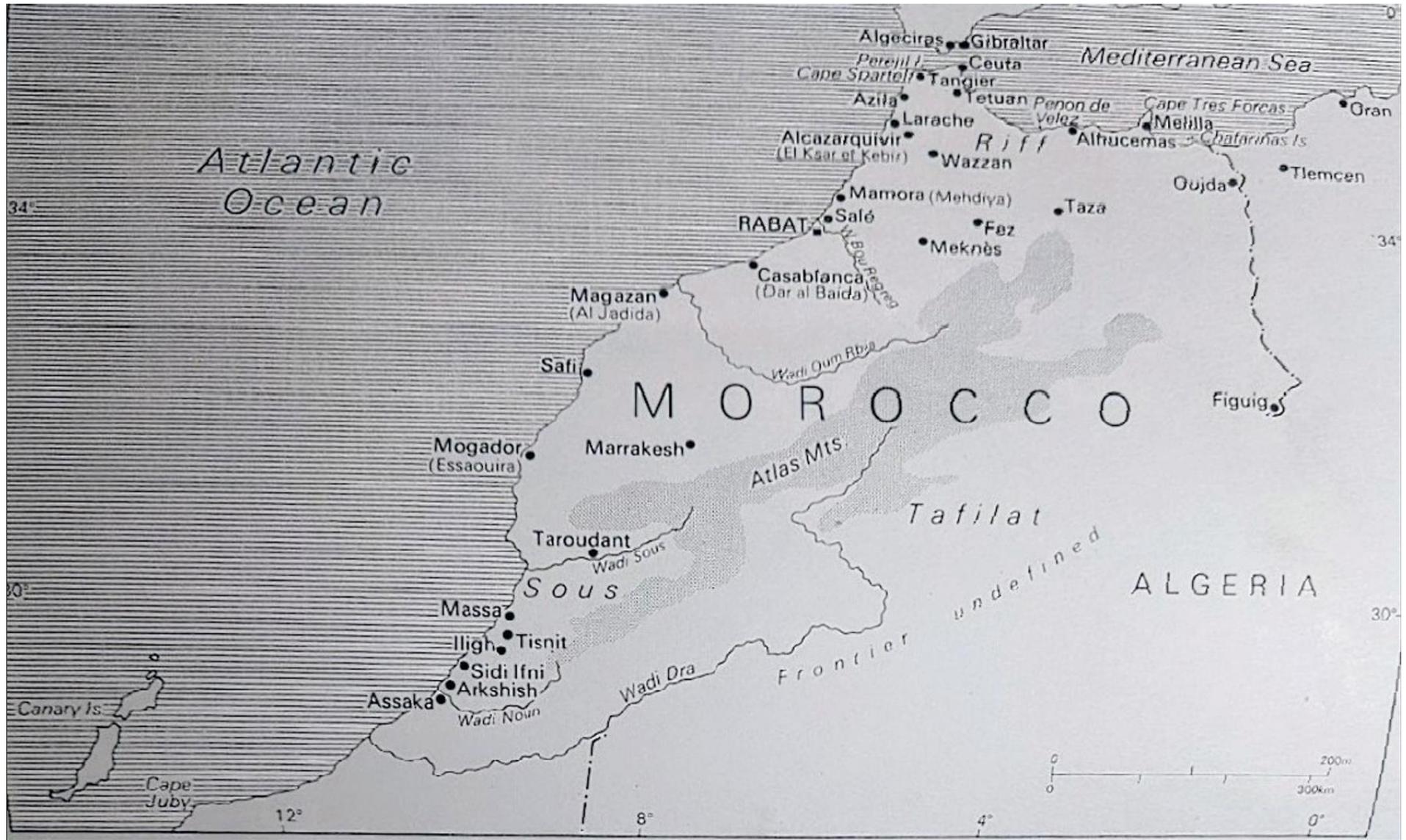
To my family and friends I can only apologise for inflicting upon them the highs and lows I experienced when wrangling this thesis into a coherent shape. Among friends, special thanks go to Alice Taylor for whose support and valuable comments I am so grateful. To Chris, Joe and Nell, there are no adequate words to express my gratitude; I can only say thank you.

Preface.

There are a number of points which pertain to my writings. I have made one change to the dates on the documents I have used, leaving days and months as originally written but moving the start of the year to January 1st. I have adopted the spelling of towns that John Harrison and his contemporaries used (see map page v). I have given the full name of the named individuals in Harrison's writings the first time they are used and thereafter I have used the last name. In quotations I have left the names as Harrison wrote them, and left all spelling as it is in the originals.

The word 'Moore' to describe some of the inhabitants of Morocco, the Barbary coast and the Maghreb is ubiquitous in Harrison's writing. It is found, for example, in conjunction with 'Jewe', as in 'Moores, Jewes and all, listeninge after nothing but wares against Spaine, and peace and friendship with England', in Harrison's letter to the commander of the English expedition to Cadiz in 1625. It is also frequently used with 'Turke', as in 'the enemies of the Christian religion, Turkes and Moores', in Harrison's relation of his fifth (and first for Charles I) mission of 1627. I have not found it necessary to comment on this usage.

The major sources for this thesis are in The National Archive. All of John Harrison's writings that we have are there. Original manuscripts in other libraries are limited to a few royal letters and copies. The items in The National Archive are written in a number of different hands. Some are easy to read, some are difficult, and some are more than difficult, battered around the edges and very tightly spaced. Without the three volumes of unedited original sources on the history of Morocco published by Comte Henri de Castries between 1918 and 1935 my work would have been extremely difficult. However, de Castries did not include all the documents that exist covering Harrison's Moroccan experiences and was not concerned with those that relate to the responses of the English state machinery to Harrison's increasingly parlous situation. Of the various documents I have read, the one I have appreciated most contains the doodles of a state official where he tries to itemise events in Moroccan history in chronological order, and includes his understanding of the hierarchy of Moroccan successors to the king who died in 1603 in the shape of various balloons. (See page vi).



Early seventeenth-century Morocco. From: P. G. Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900*. Santa Cruz is between Massa and Mogador.

JOHN HARRISON: HIS MAJESTY'S AGENT IN MOROCCO, 1610-1632.

'...Barbarie, a kingdome full of people, abundant in riches, flowing with arts and traffic with all nations...'¹

Introduction.

John Harrison was, in his own words, 'employed' by James I and by Charles I to take their letters to the rulers of Morocco, in which country, between 1610 and 1632, he spent in excess of five years. Almost all that is known about him relates to these years. During this time he wrote letters, petitions, relations and memoranda; and he published six books. His considerable manuscript legacy is in The National Archives. For the monarch and the state officials who had commissioned him, and who required from him as much information on Morocco as he could give them, his written reports are detailed and comprehensive. For the wider public, his publications were a justification of his politics, his Protestant faith and his millennialism.

An evaluation of Harrison's life and work in the context of early seventeenth-century literature and, at the same time, in the world of the Western Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean and those that sailed therein, will demonstrate his importance for students of the early seventeenth-century. It will demonstrate how he has been viewed by historians and how they have made use of his writings. His experiences detail the nature of the Moroccan trade and his unique diplomatic position in relation to the English merchants, their king and the local Moroccan leaders. It will conclude that a consideration of his life and work has value for historians whose concerns are the British and their ambitions for Britian's expansion in the early seventeenth-century.²

¹ George Wilkins, *Three Miseries of Barbary: Plague. Famine. Civill warre. With a relation of the death of Mahamet the late emberour: and a briefe report of the now present Wars betweene the three Brothers.* London, 1607, sig. D³. (STC 25639).

² I have elected to use both Britain and England, British and English, to describe the ambitions and involvements of this country and its subjects, depending on which seems the more accurate.

Travelling beyond Europe in the early seventeenth-century.

During the first thirty years of the seventeenth-century, while Harrison was travelling backwards and forwards to Morocco, the interest of British people in the world beyond the continent which became known as Europe is evident in the publications available to them. The works of Richard Hakluyt (1598-1600), and Samuel Purchas (1625-26) were multi volumed and comprehensive in their publications of the reports and records of their compatriots' experiences which they collate.³ In their introduction to *Travel and Drama in Early modern England*, Claire Jowitt and David McInnes write that Hakluyt 'shows the way that travel (and the colonial, imperial, and mercantile opportunities it engendered) was beginning to be decisive in shaping the English nation's fortunes and identity'.⁴ Other writers offered shorter, personal, accounts of the journeys they undertook and their observations on the places they visited. These writers were away from England for many years. They followed in the wake of earlier pilgrims and crusaders, travelling south and east, to Rome, Greece, Constantinople and Jerusalem. Comprehensive travel narratives by, for example, Lithgow, Biddulph, Sandys, and Coryate, were all published during the years Harrison was active in Morocco.⁵ Although journeying for different reasons, these writers all believed that their experiences were worthy of being shared, and of interest to their readers. They travelled widely, the first three to the Eastern Mediterranean, the Holy Land and Egypt, Coryate venturing further, to the court of the Moghul Emperor in India. Theophilus Lavender, who collected Biddulph's letters for publication, wrote a

³ Richard Hakluyt, *THE PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES AND DISCOVERIES of the English Nation. Made by Sea or overland, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeres: Diuided into three seuerall Volumes, according to the positions of the Regions, whereunto they were directed. 1600 Yeres:...* London, 1599-1600. STC.12626. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrims. In fiue books*, London, 1625-6. STC 20508.

⁴ Claire Jowitt and David McInnes, eds., *Travel and Drama in Early modern England*, Cambridge, p. 12.

⁵ William Lithgow, *A most delectable, and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland, to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affricke. With the particular descriptions (more exactly set downe then hath bene heeretofore in English) ...* London, 1614. STC 15710. William Biddulph, *The trauels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, and to the Blacke Sea ...* London, 1609. STC 3051. George Sandys, *A relation of a iourney begun an: Dom: 1610. Foure bookes. Containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Ægypt, of the Holy Land, of the remote parts of Italy, and ilands adioyning ...* London, 1615. STC 21726. Thomas Coriate, *Thomas Coriate, Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting. From the Court of the Great Mogul, Resident at the towne of Asmere, in Eastern India ...* London, 1616. STC 5811.

fourteen page preface with this caution on the first page: 'Good Reader read the Preface or else reade nothing'. In it he detailed journeys from antiquity and history. He wrote 'Amongst us there have beene (and are still) sundrie Travellers of great name', and proceeded to list all the places to which these travellers had journeyed. He attributed to these travellers, both from antiquity to his present, many reasons for their journeys. He lists them: 'some for pleasure, some for profit, some to see their manners, some to learne their languages, some to get experience, some to get wisdom and knowledge'.

These four writers, some of whose books were very lengthy and comprehensive, would repay more detailed consideration.⁶ Their authors had differing ambitions: for Lithgow extolling his Protestant religion was of paramount importance, as it was for Biddulph's editor, whereas for Sandys and Coryate providing more practical and detailed information for fellow travellers was their goal. Yet, these writers do have some common ground. Lithgow and Coryate both describe themselves as pilgrims, Lithgow and Biddulph visited the traditional pilgrimage sites in Jerusalem in the company of eastern Christians and Catholics. Biddulph and Sandys both give lengthy expositions on Islam as part of their intended aim to prepare those travellers, those pilgrims, who would follow them.⁷ All these writers see the long journeys which they undertook as intellectual, and spiritual, voyages from which, despite the hardships they experienced, they had profited. Their narratives all suggest that undertaking their journeys was challenging, dangerous, but rewarding. Their journeys reveal how easy, or not, travelling was at the beginning of the seventeenth-century, and, moreover, how many of their compatriots had found a living in places outside Britain. They hoped travellers following in their footsteps would benefit from their experiences. Despite his not being the instigator of his journeys, Harrison's writings for the secretaries of state (sadly not published) have much in common with these early travel books and

⁶ There are other writers; Fynes Moryson, *An itinery written by Fynes Moryson*, 1617, London, is well known; Peter Mundy, less so. See *Pious Pilgrims, Discerning Travellers, Curious Tourists : Changing Patterns of Travel to the Middle East from Medieval to Modern Times*, edited by Paul Starkey, Janet Starkey, Oxford, 2020, chapter five on Mudy's travels in Turkey, 1617-1620.

⁷ See Simon Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge: Trade, Religion and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, c.1600-1760*, Oxford, 2020, 162-72, on Biddulph and Sandys and their visits to Jerusalem.

serve as a valuable addition to early travel literature. These travellers found many places where exchanges of knowledge could occur, as did Harrison. This world of exploration was large but news of it could be shared. For example, Harrison would have known of Coryate's travels as Coryate visited the court of Prince Henry, of which Harrison was a member (1604-1612). As he would also have known of Sir Thomas Roe, England's first ambassador to the Moghul court, also a visitor to Henry's court. Coincidentally, the world could be quite small; Roe and Coryate met in India where Roe offered Coryate hospitality.⁸

Communication, commerce, and travel writing.

The development of travel writing is described by Joan-Pau Rubiés in *Travellers and Cosmographers*. In his chapter 'Instructions for the Traveller: teaching the eye to see', discussing its growth and relevance, he writes 'it was one of the more obviously empirical discourses which had grown throughout the sixteenth-century, and its wide-ranging (though often neglected) influence requires that it should be studied as more than just peripheral to the intellectual history of the period'.⁹ The writings, published or not, of those Englishmen who travelled to the European continent and beyond are a rich heritage, offering the reader an understanding of the value of communication, of the communication networks, and the attitudes and beliefs of those who communicated, who wrote and who received. Clearly identifiable, equally, travel writing has echoes in the writings of other travellers, those diplomats and merchants, of the sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries. But, beyond the world of the diplomat, of whom writing was expected, and the merchants, from whom recording details of his trade was essential, people travelled (and wrote) for all those reasons which Lavender

⁸ 'We received newes at this Court ... of the arrivall of foure goodly English ships, at the haven of Surat in India, and in the same, a deare friend of mine, Sir Thomas Rowe ...'. 'This newes doth refollicate (I will use my old phrase so well knowne to you) my spirits; for I hope he will use me graciously, for old acquaintance sake'. Thomas Coryate, *Thomas Coriate, Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting. From the Court of the Great Mogul, Resident at the towne of Asmere, in Eastern India*. London, 1616, p. 35.

⁹ Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travellers and Cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early-Modern Travel and Ethnology*, London, 2007, p.139.

enumerated. Studying these authors offers insight into processes by which commerce and communication allowed a greater connectiveness, and a greater knowledge, of an increasing world and their participation in its changing political systems.

In *Agents beyond the State*, Mark Netzloff, in his chapter 'The Information Economy of Early Modern Travel Writing', considers the publications of Fynes Moryson and Thomas Coryate as early examples of the change from the travel writings of the Elizabethan period to one which was 'more synonymous with the model of the published, first person travel narrative'.¹⁰ Their publications are a contribution to the emergence of the state's identity: the writers are a contributing agent, the place of the agent in state formation being '... one who undertakes negotiations or transactions on behalf of a superior ...: a deputy, steward, representative; (in early use) an ambassador, emissary.'¹¹ As representatives of England while travelling abroad, Netzloff points out the 'scant critical attention he [Moryson] has received'. He notes that Coryate failed to make 'ties to a coterie associated with Prince Henry's court'; maybe he would have been appreciated differently if he had been successful, not simply a clown, but a traveller who could not be ignored. The contribution they both made to the emerging state could have been, they were there. Referring to the status of writers who wrote about Europe (which included both these writers), he writes that 'English travel, service, and migration in Europe slipped between the cracks of national and global contexts'. This led to a failure to 'examine the intersubjective contexts in which political relations are forged'.¹² Harrison, also, could be considered as a writer who 'slipped between the cracks'.

This idea of 'extraterritorial service in material histories of writing practice, labor [sic], domesticity and emerging capitalist economies' is one which finds echoes in the work of Simon Mills. In *A Commerce of Knowledge* Mills looks outside the communication networks which existed in Europe to those between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. He suggests that the relationship between the

¹⁰ Mark Netzloff, *Agents beyond the State: The Writings of English Travellers, Soldiers, and Diplomats in Early Modern Europe*, Oxford, 2020, p. 53.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 223.

Christian and the Islamic worlds, the 'trade' between them, could be viewed as a trade in knowledge and communication. Thus the 'orientalist' aspect in this commerce ceases to be appropriate, and the balance between the two protagonists changes. Religion's part is similarly altered; conversion is not a consideration. For Mills the presence of the clergy as part of the English ambassador's suite is crucial to the information flow, the trade in knowledge, from the Ottoman Empire to England and academia. His work concentrates on the English consulate in Aleppo. He cautions that 'too often, histories of Europeans oriental scholarship have been told from a one-sided perspective' and values the English chaplains interaction with 'their Ottoman interlocutors'.¹³

Ghobrial, in *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* is concerned, as the title suggests, with the details of the practical transmission of stores of knowledge, including the performance of Englishmen abroad, to England. If, by their writing, those early travellers transported differing ideas, events, experiences and reactions against which early concepts of nationality could be tested, and if, through the presence of groups of Englishmen trading with Ottomans, commerce became a trade in knowledge as well as commodities, then understanding those Englishmen who travelled or lived abroad identifies a route by which to communicate their experience. They defined themselves by writing, by reporting, by living somewhere outside England, they became both 'other' and not.¹⁴ Ghobrial, in *The Whispers of Cities*, 'seeks to explore the meaning of connectedness as it was experienced by people living on both sides of the Mediterranean'.¹⁵ Harrison's written legacy can find a place in this exploration. This place may concern a different polities, Morocco, and a different type of diplomatic experience (involving the everyday experiences of Moroccans and English factors, merchants and ships captains); nevertheless its connectedness to those in England who gathered information from Morocco could be seen as a

¹³ Simon Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge*, p. 11.

¹⁴ John-Paul Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull*, Oxford, 2013.

¹⁵ Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, p. 11.

rich contribution to the flow of information, and the commerce of knowledge, from a little understood part of the western Mediterranean.

Pilgrimage.

The routes that many travellers from Britain took led them east. It was inevitable, and many were aware of this, that their journeys had echoes of those made by the Crusading armies.¹⁶ But it is quite clear from their texts that they did not identify with those earlier pilgrims who sought remissions for their sins through prayer at the holy sites. Yet Coryate describes his journey as a 'peregrination';¹⁷ Lithgow laments his 'pilgimagious pains'.¹⁸ Harrison, also, describes himself as journeying. In the dedication of *The Messiah alreadie come ...*, the first edition of his second publication, to the Prince of Orange, his brother and the Estates General, he writes 'And so hoping your Excelencie, and Honours, will at leastwise take in good worth these my endeavours which for the reasons before mentioned I have make bold to dedicate and present unto you in the waie of my pilgrimage'.¹⁹ These writers see their travels, their journeys or their employments, as part of their experience of a life which they hope will lead them, like pilgrims, to salvation. For Harrison his millenarianism made his pilgrimage especially urgent.

John Harrison, his position in early modern Europe.

I propose to discuss the eight missions John Harrison served as agent in Morocco, and the writings which they inspired, in the context of Britain's ambitions 'to extend the boundaries of Europe' in the early seventeenth century.²⁰ In doing so I will need to contextualise and evaluate the conditions under

¹⁶ Among the many sites that Lithgow saw in Jerusalem was the tomb of Godfrey of Bouillon, the first king of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (r. 1099-1100), *A most delectable, and true discourse*, sig. Q¹

¹⁷ Thomas Coryate, *Thomas Coriate, traoueller for the English vvits ...* p. 6.

¹⁸ William Lithgow, *A most delectable, and true discourse ...* sig.A².

¹⁹ *The Messiah alreadie come, Or proofs of Christianitie, both of the Scriptures, and auncient Rabbins, to convice the Jewes ...* Amsterdam, 1613, unnumbered page. The longer title is in the bibliography.

²⁰ Trevor Burnard, *The Atlantic in World History, 1490-1830*, London, 2020, p. 41; Burnard describes the ambition of the English as 'sudden and to an extent inexplicable'.

which Harrison was commissioned, and consider the extent to which assumptions were made, both in England, as evidenced in his commissions, and by Harrison himself, about the situations in Morocco and the circumstances in which he found himself. When in Morocco, what modes of engagement gave rise to opportunities, for negotiation, for knowledge exchange? In examining Harrison's Moroccan experiences, I will consider if, and, if so where, he fits into the studies of new diplomacy, and to what extent his missions redefine boundaries, political, cultural or confessional, and characterise their fluidity.²¹ Despite Harrison's 'voluminous' writings, this is not without its problems, as of Harrison himself very little is known.²² A knowledge of his family, education and career previous to his employment by the Stuarts would help our understanding of his responses to the positions in which he found himself in Morocco; alas, his background remains unknown.

John Harrison, his personal history.

The established known facts of John Harrison's life of which there is evidence are all related to his service to the Stuarts. In his publications, and in his writings and in his petitions to Charles I and his Privy Council, he makes a few references to his personal situation. From these publications and his scribal reports a time line for his diplomatic activities can be establish; in his petitions there are a few references to his family; a wife, a sister and a nephew, Peter, the later a justice of the peace in Cambridgeshire.²³ His nephew is not identified as his sister's son. When, in one petition, he mentions money owing to his sister, he writes of an unexplained connection with Ireland.²⁴ His publications and

²¹ Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, London, 1955, p. 269, specifically identifying the new diplomacy's 'gravest ethical problem', and in general, the rise of the new diplomatic system in the seventeenth-century; Clare Jackson, *Devil-Land: England Under Siege, 1588-1688*, pp.9-11 (on Stuart diplomacy).

²² 'Voluminous' in Nabil Matar, 'Harrison, John (d. 1641x52)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, January, 2008. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12435>, accessed 19 April 2016]

²³ *Calendae of State Papers, Domestic, Charles, 1630*, ed. John Bruce, London, 1860, p.418, mentions a sister; *ibid.*, 1638-9, ed. John Bruce and William Douglas Hamilton, p. 254, a petition from Harrison's wife over his arrears. For Harrison's petition of the 29th September, 1627, see *ibid.*, ed. John Bruce, p. 361.

²⁴ In Le Comte Henri de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc, premiere serie – dynastie Saadienne, archives et bibliotques d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1918-1925, vol. III, p. 113, Harrison comments on 'my sister's money, which ... I put him [Captain Leate] in trust to receive out of Ireland'. *CSP, Domestic, Charles, 1631*, ed. John Bruce, pp. 46-7, on the Privy Councils actions in support of Harrison's attempts to exact his sister's money from Leate [he retained half], mentioning his nephew Peter.

manuscripts are proof that Harrison received a good education, as they demonstrate his knowledge of the bible, of classical texts, and his ability with languages. When looking for clues to his early life, his possible parentage and schooling, a number of John Harrisons emerge at the time when he would have been a young man; however either the dates or the locations do not fit with the facts that we have. At this time many diplomats had attended the universities of either Oxford or Cambridge. A number of John Harrisons attended Oxford but not at the precise time when our Harrison could have been there. The same is true of Cambridge.²⁵ Another possible place of study, the Inns of Court, have no record of any Harrisons enrolled at the time our Harrison would have attended.²⁶ All that is known of his early life, mentioned in his petitions to Charles I, is that he served with the English army in Ireland during Elizabeth's reign.²⁷ In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I, a number of contemporary John Harrisons are listed; a philanthropic John Harrison in Lancashire; another trading with the Caribbean; and a third, a publisher in London. None of these are the diplomatic courtier of our investigation. The records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury list a number of John Harrisons in the early seventeenth-century who were granted probate. The only will that fits within our assumed dates for Harrison's life is dated 1633. This John Harrison left a number of bequests. Whereas John Harrison, agent to Morocco, to judge by his later petitions, had nothing to leave his successors. In a petition dated 1638 his wife, Elizabeth, 'Prays a grant to her husband, who has so often adventured his life in his Majesty's service, of the suit mentioned in the petition annexed, or an order that he may receive his money due'. The petition annexed quotes debts owing by the crown to her husband of £3,648.00. Elizabeth has been living with friends who are 'no longer able to maintain her'; her husband's debts are such that he will be forced either to go to prison or depart the country'.²⁸

²⁵ Joseph Foster, ed. *Alumni Oronienses, The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714, their parentage, birthplace, and year of birth with a record of their degree*, Oxford, 1891. John Venn, J. A. Venn, ed., *Alumni Cantabrigienses, A Biographical List of all known students graduates and holders of office at the university of Cambridge from the earliest times to 1900*, Cambridge, 1922.

²⁶ But see chapter two, where Harrison's second publication, editions three (1656) and four (1658), are credited to a John Harrison, Divine, of the Inner Temple.

²⁷ 29th September, 1627, in a petition for payment, to Charles. *CSP, Domestic, Charles, 1627-8*. Ed., John Bruce. London, 1858, p. 361.

²⁸ *CSP, Domestic, Charles, 1638-9*. Ed. John Bruce and William Douglas Hamilton, London, 1871, p. 254.

John Harrison, his diplomatic history.

The first official reference to the diplomat John Harrison is of his appointment to the court of James' heir, Prince Henry, in May, 1604.²⁹ While there is some uncertainty about his precise job, Harrison himself describes his position as 'oftentymes an earewitnes', 'by reason of my attendance much in his presence',³⁰ suggesting that he was a groom, as opposed to a gentleman, of the bedchamber. These grooms, six in number, lived in close contact with the prince, including sleeping on pallets in the royal bedchamber. Gentlemen of the chamber, by contrast, were members of the landed classes, suitable companions for the young prince. The slight confusion about Harrison's role is due to the differing salary that he received, depending its sources.³¹ In 1610 he departed on his first mission to Morocco; on his return, in the early summer of 1611, he resumed his court position.³² In 1613, following Henry's death in November 1612, and the swift break up of his court, Harrison returned to Morocco on his second mission via the United Provinces.³³ He undertook two further missions for James I, returning

²⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James*, volume 8, p. 116 (warrant book 1, page 107), May, 1604, on Harrison's appointment as 'groom to Prince Henry'. He was to be paid £13.6s.8d. Alan Stewart, *The Cradle King, a life of James VI and I*, London, 2003, p. 269, notes the difference between a groom (as listed in the *CSP, Domestic, James*) and a gentleman of the bedchamber. Stewart states that a gentleman's salary would be larger than a groom's.

³⁰ See Harrison's dedication to the Prince of Orange of *The Messiah alreadie come ...*, p. 2, his second publication, in 1613.

³¹ In the Cecil Papers, 1606, where the members of Henry's household are listed, Harrison's salary is listed as £33.6s.8d a year, but with no job description. Cecil Papers: March 1606, in the *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House: Volume 24, Addenda, 1605-1668*, ed. G Dyfnallt Owen (London, 1976), pp. 61-72. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-cecil-papers/vol24/pp61-72> [accessed 28 March 2022]. See Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, p. 326. Birch quotes Harrison's wages as £13.6s.8d (as in *CSPD/James*) plus livery £26.13s.4d, p. 348, appendix.

³² Englishmen in the early seventeenth century understood Barbary to mean the four Ottoman regencies along the north African coast, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco (the Maghreb). However, although he never mentions it by name, Harrison was only ever sent to the polity that we would recognise as Morocco. Its connections with the Ottoman Empire were tenuous.

³³ See *The letters of John Chamberlain*, edited with an introduction by Norman Egbert McClure, Philadelphia, 1939, p. 402, 'His household is broken up', letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, January 7th, 1613. See also p. 405, 'The late princes household brake up the last of December, and his servants sent to seeke theyre fortune', letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, January 9th, 1613. In both of these Chamberlain's first comments are on the lack of news of a replacement for Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State, who had died in May 1612, and whose death meant the loss of the nearest Harrison had to a patron. I have elected to refer to the Protestant polities

to England after mission four in 1619. While none of Harrison's commissions from James have survived, using his publications and his later relations his four journeys to Morocco between 1610 and 1618 can be established with reasonable accuracy. His first two publications, in 1613, are the result of his first mission to Morocco. It is clear from these and his later manuscript reports for Charles and his Secretaries of State that all four missions to Morocco for James were chiefly intended to re-establish the historic trade arrangements of the sixteenth-century between England and Morocco.³⁴ In 1619 Harrison secured a post with the court of Frederick, Count Palatine, who was married to James' daughter Elizabeth. He does not record how he obtained this post but it is possible that he had contacts with the Palatine Court in the autumn of 1612, while Henry was still alive, and when Frederick arrived in London (October), prior to his marriage (14th February, 1613). His time in this post was of short duration; as the Palatine Court was travelling to Prague, in one of his three publications concerning Frederick's right to the Bohemian crown, Harrison describes his own journey back to England.³⁵ The next posting is to Bermuda (then the Somer Islands), where he was sheriff.³⁶ Who suggested him for this appointment, or its duration, is not known but Harrison will have had contacts, when he was with Prince Henry, with those involved in the Virginia expedition of 1609. It was on this Virginia voyage that Bermuda (Somer Islands) was 'discovered' and settled by Britain. Harrison was back in England by 1625, where he apparently renewed his court connections and received the first of his commissions from Charles to return to Morocco. Three further commissions followed, the last in 1631. On his latter four missions, for Charles, Harrison became increasingly concerned with the plight of English captives, a growing problem which the king and the Privy Council were belatedly forced to address.³⁷ On all eight of his missions Harrison was employed as an agent of the crown, given specific tasks, and

which successfully broke away from Spanish domination as the United Provinces, rather than the Low Countries, or the Netherlands, or Holland. The people living in these provinces I refer to as Dutch.

³⁴ There were no signed agreements. In exchanges of letters the two monarch's acknowledged their respective responsibilities.

³⁵ To the Reader, in *A short relation of the departure of the high and mighty Prince Frederick King elect of Bohemia ...* Harrison's third publication, 1619.

³⁶ John Smith, *A General History of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles, etc.*, London, 1632, book five, p. 200.

³⁷ Nabil Matar, *British Captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1563-1760*, Leiden, 2014, pp. 60-64.

expected to remain in Morocco only until they were concluded. That he remained concerned about the fate of English captives is evident in the petitions he addressed to Charles and the Privy Council after his eight missions. However, after his last mission it appears that Harrison, despite his success in ransoming captives, was passed over, and replaced as an agent by merchants who were experienced in the Moroccan trade. After 1632, other than his wife's petition, there are no further references to him in the records of the Privy Council, or his struggle to be paid in full for his work; he appears to have written no further petitions.

The volume of work on the expansionist activities of the northern European nations in the early seventeenth century, especially from those historians whose work is concerned with the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, offer a framework within which to consider Harrison's Moroccan commissions.³⁸ Additionally, the lives of those agents, merchants and travellers who spent long periods in these areas in the interests of their masters and/or themselves have increasingly attracted the attention of historians. Reflecting on the lives of these lesser diplomats highlights the connections between the sole agent, such as Harrison, and the emerging presence of the states they represented in the world outside their national boundaries. And, while Harrison was an agent, and therefore was expected to complete his missions and return to home, other Englishmen were slowly establishing themselves around the Mediterranean, linking the ports from Istanbul to Gibraltar. I will return to one of them, James Frizell in Algiers, in my conclusion.

The working environment, the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean.

The world into which those English agents, merchants, and travellers of the early seventeenth-century journeyed had been slowly expanding beyond Europe since the fifteenth century. In his

³⁸ Kenneth R. Andrews, *Ships, money and politics, seafaring and naval enterprise in the Reign of Charles I*, Cambridge, 1991. 'The powerful surge of the European economy in the long 'sixteenth century', ..., brought with it the integration of the Mediterranean, the Atlantic seaboard and the Baltic together with their central-European hinterlands', p. 4. Andrews then describes the beginnings of England's re-entry into the Mediterranean, part of the 'northern invasion', in the 1570s; he does not include the beginning of the Moroccan trade in the 1550s, situated, as it was, on Morocco's Atlantic seaboard. It's worth noting that a feature of the history of Morocco's relationship with England is its absence.

seminal study, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Fernand Braudel had argued that by the end of the sixteenth century the Mediterranean should be removed from the centre stage, claiming that the focus for conflict between the European countries had moved to the Atlantic, and that 'the inland sea was no longer the troubled centre of the world'.³⁹ Yet, since the publication of Braudel's comprehensive two volumes, in 1949, an ever increasing number of authors have focused on the activities around the Mediterranean, examining the cross-cultural experiences of agents, merchants, even renegades, in their studies on the rearticulating of modern diplomacy, on re-defining boundaries, on the aims and ambitions of the participants in the expansion of commerce and trade.⁴⁰ As Alison Games has suggested, the expansionist ambition of the European nations played out in the Mediterranean.⁴¹ Describing the influence of the Mediterranean trade on those who practised it, Games writes 'It gave them commercial expertise and, even more crucially, instructed them in the habits of cultural exchange and accommodation that were essential for surviving and thriving in an alien land'.⁴²

While some authors have looked at the 'bigger picture' in the Mediterranean, others have followed Braudel's suggestion and examined the increased traffic, and its relevance to European expansion, in the Atlantic.⁴³ Yet more authors have investigated the western and southern Mediterranean,

³⁹ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, translation of the second revised edition by Siân Reynolds, London, 1972, p. 648.

⁴⁰ In Maria Fusaro, Colin Heywood and Mohamed-Salah Omri, eds., *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, London 2010, Fusaro, commenting on Braudel's legacy, writes in the introduction that 'the intellectual reverberations ...have amplified during the last two decades', p. 1. Among the many books on this subject see Peregrine Hordern and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea, a study of Mediterranean history*, London, 1999 and *The Boundless Sea, writing Mediterranean History*, Oxford, 2020; David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: a human history of the Mediterranean*, London, 2012; Adnan A. Husain and K. E. Fleming, eds., *A Faithful Sea: the religious cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200-1700*, Oxford, 2007, also Stephen O'Shea, *Sea of Faith: Islam and Christianity in the Medieval Mediterranean World*, New York, 2006, which ends with the siege of Malta, 1565.

⁴¹ See Alison Games, *The Web of Empire, English Cosmopolitans in the age of Expansion, 1550-1660*, Oxford, 2006, pp. 51-3.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 51.

⁴³ Burnard, *The Atlantic in World History, 1490-1830*, p. 176, argues that instead of a drift westward away from the Mediterranean 'the rise of the Atlantic after 1492 combined with vitality of the Mediterranean and with the Ottoman expansion in the sixteenth century [combines] to highlight the growing interconnectedness of the globe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries'.

especially the response of the Barbary States to the growing volume of shipping in the inland sea.⁴⁴ Of equal interest are those authors who have studied individual agents, concerning themselves with the detailed activities of merchants, primarily in the busiest parts of the sea, in the Northern and Eastern Mediterranean.⁴⁵ Their work has resulted in portraits of individual agents, whose work and lives, taken as a whole, create a picture of a busy, multi-ethnic, multicultural, multi-faith world in the Mediterranean, bound together by the interchange of goods and services which the people of their respective polities demanded.

To help in understanding a particular agent, such as Harrison, it is useful to consider what, if anything, characterised those individuals who were sent to parts of the world beyond the continent of Europe, to places which would appear to be so different from their homeland? What did they bring to these spaces of interaction and, by their conduct, what boundaries, establishing each party's interests, did they observe? Did such individuals, creating, by their activities, what could become new boundaries, modify their approach to one which offered them a greater chance of success? Was their individual personality crucial to the impact of their achievement? When advocating the benefits of a micro historical approach, Maria Fusaro, identifies the choice of agent and the decisions they make as of paramount importance. She writes that a study of the individual agents, whose choices informed what Fusaro calls 'the constant renegotiation of terms', reveals a more complex picture of trade and cultural exchange crossing the established frontiers in the Mediterranean, from which 'individual trajectories' emerge to deepen our understanding of early diplomacy.⁴⁶ She writes '...the constant renegotiations of terms between, on the one hand governments' regulations that decreed how trade

⁴⁴ See Judith E. Tucker, ed., *The Making of the Modern Mediterranean, views from the south*, Berkeley, 2019, which offers 'a more inclusive study', p. 9. See also W. F. Monk, *Britain in the Western Mediterranean*, London, 1953; Teofilo F. Ruiz, *The Western Mediterranean and the World, 400 CE to the present*, Chichester, 2018.

⁴⁵ See Maria Fusaro, *Political Economies of Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England 1450-1700*, Cambridge, 2015; E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire*, New York, 2012; W. V. Harris, ed., *Re-thinking the Mediterranean*, Oxford 2005. *The Journal of Early Modern History*, (2015), published a special edition devoted to cross confessional diplomacy in the Mediterranean to which Rothman contributed the afterword. See also Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani, eds., *Emissaries in early modern literature and culture, mediation, transmission, traffic, 1550-1700*, Farnham, 2009.

⁴⁶ Fusaro, Heywood, Omri, eds., *Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Braudel's Maritime Legacy*, introduction, p.10.

should be organised and, on the other, the choices of the individual actors who traded, was of preponderating importance'. Maartje van Gelder and Tijana Krstić, examining intermediaries in the Mediterranean in the early modern period, describe their subjects as 'non-elite and less commonly studied intermediaries', able to cross confessional boundaries.⁴⁷ In her afterword in the same publication, E. Natalie Rothman comments on the value of the extension of our knowledge of "lesser diplomatic personnel", sites of knowledge production, genres of diplomatic correspondence, and forms of mediation'.⁴⁸ In conclusion, while not ignoring the bigger picture, there is much to be gained by turning to look on Harrison himself and the position in which he frequently found himself, a lone representative with a small suite, from a country with long trade associations with Morocco, but with which formal negotiations had never previously been successfully concluded.

When considering Harrison's role in this new environment I will need to constantly bear in mind his situation. He can be identified as a lesser known diplomat, a new diplomat, an intermediary. But how he identifies himself will be equally as important in assessing his role. Van Gelder and Krstić discuss the problems inherent in considering intermediaries in the reassessment of seventeenth-century Mediterranean history: these intermediaries' in-betweenness confirms the existence of a divide, the protagonists claim the position as part of their mediation and the space where mediation happens can be outside social entities.⁴⁹ There were many times when Harrison found himself caught in such a position. He justified his actions by using the authority he believed he had to broker agreements, agreements from which both sides would benefit and therefore which both sides should adopt. If asked, he would argue that his authority was conferred on him by his commissions, and that his role was not that of an in-betweener, but a more active one, an intermediary. As such, Harrison found himself positioned between many different spaces of interaction, political, commercial and

⁴⁷ For some this was difficult. See Games, *The Web of Empire*, p. 87, on the advice given to merchants to adopt 'a circumspect and pious approach to work overseas, building directly on skills acquired in the Mediterranean'.

⁴⁸ E. Natalie Rothman, 'Afterword: Intermediaries, Mediation, and Cross-Confessional Diplomacy in the Early Modern Mediterranean', in the *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 19 (2015), pp. 245-259, and p. 246.

⁴⁹ E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul*, New York, 2014, pp. 248-251, in her insightful afterword highlights the importance of the trans-imperial in the 'nascent development of Orientalism'.

confessional, in Morocco. He was a representative of the strongest Protestant monarch in Europe; he was tasked with supporting English merchants, factors and shipping in the western Mediterranean; he was commissioned to negotiate with a polity in disarray; and he was quite often fearful of his safety. To his commissions he brought a belief in the authority vested in him by his Protestant monarch, an unshakeable commitment to the Protestant faith, a conviction that the world was approaching its end, and the certain knowledge that England and her navy were a powerful force equal to that of any other European state. In considering how Harrison negotiated his journey, his pilgrimage, in Morocco, the spaces in which he operated are many, and the boundaries which he negotiated, observed, or had forced upon him, lead to conclusions about the extent to which he was able to operate as a successful intermediary, and to achieve his ambitions. His successes or failures should reveal the prerequisites of successful international relations, development and trade, and whether his proposals for English involvement in Morocco, if followed, would have resulted in a redrawing of the map of the Mediterranean.

The value of John Harrison, his writings.

Nabil Matar, commenting on the body of work, published and in manuscript, which Harrison authored, has called him 'the most widely informed Englishman about the history, society, religious tradition, and administration of the Moroccan region' in his time, and claimed he also 'laid the foundations for England's commercial and ideological relations with Morocco'.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, no historian has considered the significance of the eight missions that Harrison, the first agent to be sent to Morocco repeatedly over twenty two years, undertook for England. His collected writings have not been evaluated, and no serious attempt has been made to consider what, if any, his individual contribution to our understanding of England's expanding ambitions outside continental Europe may have been. Why is this? It is possible that, because his commissions were all for Morocco, a country

⁵⁰ Nabil Matar, 'Harrison, John (d. 1641x52)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, January, 2008.

with which England had been trading since the 1550s, but which not only never was, but, more importantly, never became a significant political or commercial partner, there is little to be gained by a study of Harrison's time there. Moreover, in considering Matar's claims for Harrison, we will have to acknowledge that it is most likely that there were, in early seventeenth-century England, other Englishmen whose knowledge of Morocco equalled his; some wrote of their experiences, but others chose not to. Some of these people will feature in chapter one, some in later chapters. Of Harrison's contribution to the foundations of England's future relations with Morocco, this will be evaluated in our conclusion. Harrison's commissions coincide with a period in English history during which its subjects' contacts with distant places, both east to Asia and west to America, were expanding, and when England's merchant ships were increasingly trading in and around the Mediterranean. Accepting Alison Games' view of the Mediterranean as the spawning ground of England's expanding 'empire', then Harrison's commissions must have a relevance. Evaluating his experiences, and the opportunities he identified both for a strengthening of ties between England and Morocco, and for the expansion of England's influence in the Mediterranean, should contribute to our understanding of England's ambitions for a greater presence in the world in the early seventeenth century.

Despite an apparent lack of interest in Harrison's life and his diplomatic experiences, he is not unknown to historians. He appears reasonably frequently, like a small part player in a number of productions, usually as a diplomat serving his monarch in Morocco, but sometimes as an author among others of a similar persuasion, writing on millennialism, or his commitment to just governance. The references to his diplomatic career are greater in number and are almost completely limited to the part in ransoming captives that Harrison played during his later missions; they seldom acknowledge his status as an author. Any references that are made are included only to verify specific points in a narrative; they are not contextualised within any overarching consideration of Harrison's diplomatic ambitions. I give, first, some examples from those books which include mention of Harrison's diplomatic activity. The few examples of Harrison's inclusion as an author on millennialism and governance follow.

John Harrison, the diplomat.

In considering his diplomatic career, and Harrison's eight missions to Morocco, it will become clear that the first four, undertaken for James I, have received almost no attention from historians. There is very little primary source material for these missions. Harrison himself wrote no memoranda for James that we know of; his memories of his first four missions were included in his relations and memoranda written for the state office of James' son, Charles I, in which he reflected on Morocco, its monarchy and its potential as an ally. Among the few books which do include a mention of Harrison's early diplomacy is Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers' *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe*, where he is recognised as an agent of James I, and which describes the relationship between the two men, Harrison and Pallache, and their ambitions for Moroccan-European interactions.⁵¹

Considerably more is known about Harrison's second four missions, undertaken for Charles. This is primarily because of his work, between 1626 and 1632, in ransoming English captives in Morocco and in pursuing negotiations with the home of the infamous Sallee Rovers, the port of Salé, on Morocco's Atlantic coast.⁵² Of those books which mention Harrison's activities, some on the history of Morocco, and some on the English role in the western Mediterranean, the brief summary that follows, while not inclusive, will illustrate his sporadic appearances on the Mediterranean stage. In all these books, which are concerned with a historical narrative, chiefly Morocco and its role in the history of western Europe, references to Harrison are limited.

⁵¹ Mercedes García-Arenal & Gerard Wiegers, translated by Martin Beagles, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe*, Baltimore, 2010, p. 75. See also P. G. Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900*, (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), [1977?], London, pp. 24-5, a summary of Harrison's four missions for James.

⁵² Present day Rabat is the location of the port city Salé, often referred to in English documents of the period as Sallee. See chapter four for more details on the status of this port when Harrison was accommodated there.

The majority of references in these books are to Harrison's involvement in negotiations for captive release and trade agreements with Salé, as mentioned above. In the following two books there are summaries of Harrison's negotiating activities. In C. R. Pennell's *Morocco, from Empire to Independence*, Harrison, an emissary in Morocco, is included briefly and correctly as one of several European agents who were tasked with the ransom of captives, and who attempted to make agreements with Salé.⁵³ Chapter three in P. G. Rogers' *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900*,⁵⁴ entitled 'The Sallee Rovers', contains a more detailed summary of Harrison's missions for Charles; it is a straightforward narrative of events, and details only Harrison's many attempts to conclude an agreement between England and Salé.

There are brief references to the possibility of an agreement between England and Salé in the following two books. Both authors describe Harrison's preferred choice of an agreement with a Moroccan port over one with the Moroccan king. In Nevill Barbour's *Morocco*, Harrison's proposal to Charles I, in 1626, for an agreement with the port of Salé, is briefly mentioned, although Barbour implies that Harrison was in Morocco when he proposed an agreement, and that its failure was due to the disinclination of James I, Charles' father, to deal with an independent city. In fact it was the Salé local leaders who suggested an agreement, which they hoped would include a supply of much needed arms for the defence of their port.⁵⁵ In L. P. Harvey's *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*, Harrison's contacts in Tetuan and in Salé, both with a majority population of Morisco settlers,⁵⁶ are described as desirous of an agreement with England. While this is the situation regarding Salé, in Tetuan it was more likely that Harrison's presence motivated the local governor to offer the services of the port's militia, a response to the agent's request for support for the Cadiz expedition from England in 1626.⁵⁷

⁵³ Some of whom succeeded, for example the Dutch and the French. See chapter four. C. R. Pennell, *Morocco: from Empire to Independence*, Oxford, 2003, pp. 92, 94-5.

⁵⁴ P.G. Rogers, *A history of Anglo-Moroccan relations to 1900*, pp. 24-29. Harrison is described as an envoy.

⁵⁵ Nevill Barbour, *Morocco*, London, 1965, pp. 117-8.

⁵⁶ Moriscos were recently arrived Muslims exiled from Spain. See chapter four.

⁵⁷ L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500-1614*, London, 2005, p. 362. Harrison is 'one English agent', suggesting that there were others, and that they were permanently domiciled in Morocco. There were Englishmen permanently living in Morocco, some of whom wrote regularly to England, see chapters one/two. Matthew

Mention should be made here of E. W. Bovill's *The Golden Trade of the Moors*, one of the few books on Moroccan history in which is mentioned Harrison as a published author. He features only in a footnote, a quotation from his last book, *The tragical life and death of Muley Abdala Melek, the late king of Barbarie*.⁵⁸ Bovill reports on the value to this king of the English soldiers serving in the successful Sharifian army, which had invaded the Sudan in 1590. The Moroccan employment of English mercenaries is a valid and interesting subject, however, the subject of Harrison's biography, the king who valued his English captives' military skills, was not the one that invaded the Sudan, but his grandson of the same name. Both kings employed English mercenaries, probably a mixture of captives and fortune hunters.⁵⁹

In Kenneth R. Andrews' *Ships, Money and Politics: Seafaring and Naval Enterprise in the Reign of Charles I*, Harrison's first two missions for Charles are briefly summarised in the wider context of the corsairing and piracy problems during Charles' reign, and the position of England, between the practical difficulties of treaty making and the disregard for such agreements by her merchants and ships' captains. Here Harrison, the English agent in Morocco, is genuinely concerned with the shipping problems experienced by English merchants and captains, and his comments are a useful contribution to the seafaring problems facing Charles.⁶⁰

In conclusion, Harrison's diplomatic activities have an obvious value for authors writing the narrative history of Morocco, and its diplomatic and commercial links with Britain; they also provide information for those whose work encompasses the presence of Englishmen living and working in Morocco, including mercenaries, and the value of Anglo-Moroccan trade. It is in Nabil Matar's work that we

Carr, in *Blood and Faith, the purging of Muslim Spain, 1492-1614*, London, 2017, p. 354, describes Harrison as a spy. This was an occupational hazard for foreign agents, a suspicion that the English extended to foreigners in England. The difference between a spy and a gatherer of intelligence is possibly a matter of semantics.

⁵⁸ E. W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors*, London, 1968, p. 168, footnote. John Harrison, *The Tragical life and death of Muley Abdala Melek the late King of Barbarie. With a proposition, or petition to all christian Princes annexed thereunto: written by a Gentleman employed into those parts*. Delph, 1633. His last publication.

⁵⁹ The subject of Harrison's book ruled from 1627 to 1631. Other authors make the same error of confusing the later king with the earlier one, Abu Marwan Abd al-Malik I, r. 1576-8.

⁶⁰ Andrews, *Ships, money and politics: seafaring and naval enterprise in the reign of Charles I*, p. 167.

find the most detailed and comprehensive narratives on Harrison's missions. In *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689*, Matar positions Harrison within the expansionist ambitions of England, linking his work in support of the English expedition in 1626 with his desire to obtain release of English captives together with his determination that England should take control over some Moroccan ports, both facing the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Matar sees Harrison, 'the most knowledgeable man about Morocco', as one of several Englishmen who saw in Barbary a future role for England, viewing 'Barbary as instrumental in firming and transforming British ideology from trade to conquest'.⁶¹

Apart from the references in his books to Harrison's later missions for Charles I, Matar published an article related to Harrison's first one, in 1610, for James I. 'The English Merchant and the Moroccan Sufi: Messianism and Mahdism in the Early Seventeenth Century' appeared in *the Journal of Ecclesiastical History* in 2014.⁶² This article focuses on Harrison's first publication, *Late Newes out of Barbary ...*,⁶³ and places it and its subject matter squarely in the context of events taking place in Morocco at the same date. In taking the instability of the Moroccan polity and linking it to Harrison's millenarianism Matar successfully adds to our understanding of the tensions in the Christian world in the early seventeenth century concerning the millennium and, specifically, their effect on Harrison. In this article Matar refers to Harrison as a merchant, also as a factor; I have found no direct evidence that Harrison ever traded in Morocco, or elsewhere, although diplomats abroad sometimes dabbled in trade, and Morocco would have been the perfect place for those prepared to take the risk.

One other article which has Harrison as its subject, 'John Harrison: A Case Study of the Acculturation of an Early Modern Briton'⁶⁴ by Rickie Lette, takes a different viewpoint and considers the

⁶¹ Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689*, Gainesville, 2005; see pp. 42-3 where Matar first introduces Harrison and his proposals for English influence in Morocco. See also Matar, *British captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1563-1760*, Leiden, Boston, 2014, pp. 83-87, on Harrison's successes in ransoming captives.

⁶² Nabil Matar, 'The English Merchant and the Moroccan Sufi: Messianism and Mahdism in the Early Seventeenth Century', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 65, n. 1, 2014, pp. 47-65.

⁶³ John Harrison, *Late Newes out of BARBARY. IN A Letter written of late from a Merchant there, to a Gentl. not long since impolyed into that countrie from his Maiestie*. London, 1613.

⁶⁴ Rickie Lette, 'John Harrison: A Case Study of the Acculturation of an Early Modern Briton', *Parergon*, Volume 36, Number 1, 2019, pp. 131-153. This article is a reworking of part of Lette's thesis, *Confronting Barbary*:

acculturation which Harrison's missions demonstrate, and 'the effect that ... encounters with this part of the world actually had on the development of British self-identity, and, by extension, Britain's imperial progression'.⁶⁵ His article encompasses all of Harrison's missions, but not all of his publications. Both this and Matar's article make a strong case for the contextualisation of Harrison's life and works in the world of the early seventeenth century. However, by their self-imposed limitations, their focus is time limited (Matar) and focused on Anglo-Moroccan relations (Lette). Harrison himself, in his diplomatic and publishing history, can demonstrate more about the agent abroad in the early seventeenth-century.

In 2022 Bernard Capp's article 'John Harrison, Envoy to Morocco: Barbary and the Downfall of Babylon' appeared in *Cultural and social history: the journal of the Social History Society*. In the article Capp, the one historian who does so, focuses on Harrison's religious convictions and their relevance to his diplomatic activities. He is the only historian to comment on Harrison's 'rare, principled, condemnation of slavery, whether practised by Europeans or Moors'.⁶⁶

In considering Harrison's diplomatic life therefore, as it appears in print, and collect together these brief references, we are faced with what seems to be a somewhat confusing narrative. Harrison presents as a diplomat with business at the court of the Moroccan king, in negotiation with the governors of the rebel port of Salé, and as an agent for the ransom of English captives. But what precisely was he authorised to do? Using the term 'agent' without the prefix of His Majesty can be confusing and prompts the question, exactly whose agent was he? Was he acting for the merchants trading in Morocco, the crown or both? As an agent, did he have a specific agenda? Was he permanently domiciled in Morocco? Was he, as he has been described, a spy, a merchant or factor,

Reappraising the Responses of Britons to Engagement with Moroccans, and their Influence on Anglo-Moroccan Relations, 1625–1684, awarded by the University of Tasmania in 2018.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁶⁶ Bernard Capp, 'John Harrison, Envoy to Morocco: Barbary and the Downfall of Babylon', *Cultural and social history: the journal of the Social History Society*, vol. 19, number 4, (2022), pp. 445-459. Among other references to slavery, see Matar, 'Piracy and Captivity in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Perspective from Barbary' in *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*, ed. Claire Jowitt, Basingstoke, 2007, in which Matar includes Harrison's complaint about English pirates selling Christians into slavery.

an English Royal delegate, a British consul or just an emissary? Recalling Netzloff's description of an agent, as 'one who undertakes negotiations or transactions on behalf of a superior', and, in early use, 'an ambassador, emissary',⁶⁷ Harrison, in his own writings, was very clear about his employment: authors needed to look no further than his own description of his position: 'heiretofore a servant to Prince Henrie and late governour of the Sommer Islands',⁶⁸ but always 'His Majesty's agent in Barbary'. He was a man with credentials which would equip him to undertake whatever his sovereign required of him. An examination of Harrison's diplomatic experiences, as he described in his written legacy, will clear up any confusion about both what he was tasked to do, and, more importantly, what he saw his role as being. A role which, influenced by his patriotism and his faith, developed, as he learnt from his earlier diplomatic experiences, into a pilgrimage towards a world better prepared for the coming of the last days.

John Harrison, author.

Turning now to references by historians to his six published books, there are few, with writers including, depending on their subject, those works which fit into their area of study. Unsurprisingly, when these authors refer to Harrison's published writings, they take little or no account of his diplomatic missions and his time in Morocco. Three of Harrison's publications concern the acceptance of the Bohemian crown by Frederick, Count Palatine, of whose court he was, for a short time, a member, and whose cause he championed. He is described as a 'British diplomat' present when Elizabeth, daughter of James 1, and Frederick's wife, departed from Heidelberg for Prague in 1619; or 'an English administrator who worked for Elizabeth'.⁶⁹ The exact nature of Harrison's short-lived position at the Palatinate court is unknown, but as a close member of the court of Prince Henry, Elizabeth's cherished elder brother, he was more likely to have had a personal position in her

⁶⁷ Mark Netzloff, *Agents beyond the State*, p. 10.

⁶⁸ This description is in a petition from Harrison in The National Archive, requesting Charles I for aid so he can return to England after his fifth mission, 1626. TNA, SP 71/12, ff. 109-10.

⁶⁹ Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, Cambridge, 2001, p. 172; Jayne E. E. Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War*, Woodbridge, 2011, p. 29. We know the Palatinate court had been forced to reduce its size when the Palatinate family moved to Prague.

household. Here Harrison is included among one of the many writers who published works on the legality of Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian crown and his subsequent defeat in the Battle of the White Mountain. Two of Harrison's publications are concerned with his belief in the approaching apocalypse; hence he appears as an author whom James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, takes to task for venturing an opinion on when the event will happen. 'A meer Imagination destitute of all proof from ye Word of God: and therefore generally rejected by such as have learned not to be Wise above that which is written'. Ussher refutes Harrison's assertion that the world would end in 1630, an assertion Harrison did in fact not make.⁷⁰ His final publication noted above, a biography of the king of Morocco who he failed to meet on his seventh mission in 1631, has been on occasion mistaken for one about the king who ruled from 1576 to 1578. Bovill was not the only author to confuse these two monarchs, which is easily done. Harrison's biography of Abdel al-Malik II (r.1627-31) undoubtedly contributed to the English vision of a Moor as someone who was cruel; it is often one to which authors refer when considering the portrayal of the 'Moor' in England, especially in English literature/drama.⁷¹ This brief overview of the inclusion of Harrison's publications by historians demonstrates that, sadly, his published books have little agency in those works which mention his diplomatic career. Nowhere is there a consideration of Harrison's publications as one body of work which, together with his manuscript legacy, would enable a complete evaluation of his life and legacy.

⁷⁰ See Katharine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645*, Oxford, 1979, p. 216, where the author quotes from 'Dr. Usher's Refutation of Mr. John Harrison his Opinion that ye World should end AD 1630 written A.1615 transcribed from his own copie', Bodleian Library, MS. Add. C301, ff 95r-97v. Ussher had a copy of *The Messiah alreadie come ...*, first edition, published in 1613.

⁷¹ In addition to Bovill, Emily Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor, from Alcazar to Othello*, Philadelphia, 2008, p. 22, cites Harrison's *The Tragicall Life and Death of Muley Abdala Malek*, Delph, 1633, as a biography of the 'hero of the Moroccan civil war persisting as a marketable topic of English discourse, outliving the local circumstances that defined his life and immediate textual afterlife'. The civil war referred to, culminating in the Battle of Alcazar, 1578, was won by Ahmad al-Mansur (1578-1603); his brother, Abdel al-Malik I died at the battle field. As noted, above, Abdel al-Malik II (r.1627-31), al-Mansur's grandson, was the subject of Harrison's biography.

A lesser diplomat, sent to a destination of questionable significance?

In conclusion, therefore, Harrison, an author of books and a correspondent of lengthy reports for the offices of the secretary of state, presents as something of an enigma. The brief references which he gets from historians whose interests are beyond the Anglo-Moroccan relationship, however, should not deprive Harrison from being placed among his peers in early modern England, and having his life and work valued. He was one of a considerable number of Englishmen, some residential diplomats, some agents and some special ambassadors, who left England in the service of their monarch to journey across Europe and beyond. Englishmen travelled considerably further than Morocco in the early seventeenth century; to India and the East Indies, to North America and to Russia. As well as diplomats, many of these men were motivated by the prospect of trading goods and exploring for further prospects; these agents, merchants and travellers also took with them the vested interests of their countrymen, and in so doing inhabited areas of opportunity for English interests and, by default, defined spaces in which boundaries were required for interaction to exist, and pinpointed conditions for these interactions to take place.

The Anglo-Moroccan relationship, commercial and diplomatic, has been extensively explored by Jerry Brotton in his book *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World*.⁷² While his book, understandably, is limited to examining the relationship during the reign of Elizabeth I, it is worth considering to what extent the relationship he described was re-defined in the seventeenth-century. Brotton writes that, with the virtual cessation of diplomatic relations, England gradually became 'an island of orientalism, replacing one set of myths and misconceptions of Islam with another, obscured by the veneer of western intellectual enquiry.'⁷³ Relevant to this were the appointments of professors of Arabic at both Oxford (1636) and Cambridge (1632), and the publication of the Qu'ran in English (1649), signalling a different engagement with the Islamic east. Yet, for the first thirty years of the

⁷² Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World*, London 2016.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

seventeenth-century, trading with the Islamic countries, which Elizabeth had supported, continued much as it had done, and diplomatic relations with Morocco, as evidenced by Harrison's missions, were probably enhanced. The trade with the Ottoman Empire expanded and for the investors in more ambitious projects, Morocco held no appeal. Yet the trade with Morocco persisted as it always had done, slightly less public, slightly less visible, but still viable. For the lesser merchants, the privateers and the occasional pirate, Morocco had its value. Added to which, European, and especially Mediterranean, power struggles gave Morocco a strategic position which both Moroccans and Europeans could, and did, exploit. It will become apparent, as we examine Harrison's missions in detail, that, not only for England, but for Spain, France and the Dutch, Morocco's location, and its history, gave it a significance that its later history obscures. Harrison, among the many Englishmen working in the Islamic world, was focused on the benefits to his country his missions could bring; in trade, in diplomacy and in conversion. Moreover, although not strictly travel literature, Harrison's descriptions of Morocco on occasions offered his readers his views on the society, culture and faith of Moroccans. In this his approach was both objective and subjective; it was intended to inform, to facilitate diplomacy and to support the interchange of commodities.⁷⁴

The English trade with Morocco.

The trade between England and Morocco has received little attention from historians when compared with that between England and The Levant, or England and south east Asia. In this, Anglo-Moroccan trade can be compared with Anglo-Moroccan political relations: neither attracted sufficient interest from either politicians or merchants. The exception to this situation, the relationship between Elizabeth and the Moroccan monarchs of the second half of the sixteenth-century, was the result of the politics of trade. Until recently T. S. Willan's book, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, was the only work which examined the Moroccan trade in any detail. However, Jerry Brotton's book, *This*

⁷⁴ A more romantic account of these times can be found in Peter Lamborn-Wilson, *Pirate Utopias: Moorish corsairs and European renegades*, New York, 1995, pp. 164-175, 'One of the best accounts of the Corsair Republic was written by an English "Agent 007" type named John Harrison, a precursor of later romantic Islamophile (sic) spies like Sir Richard Burton, T. E. Lawrence, or Gertrude Bell'.

Orient Isle successfully wove the English trade with both Morocco and the Levant into an overall picture of England's expanding explorations into the Islamic world and the politics these expeditions defined. Both these books are indispensable for those wanting to understand the origins of the Anglo-Moroccan trading relationship. This was not without difficulties, notably the lack of any reciprocal agreement, and the complex relationship between the merchants, the king and the Jews to whom he farmed his sugar production. However, as both books investigate only the positions of Elizabethan merchants, the conditions governing trade which pertained when Harrison was sent as agent to Morocco are known only from occasional references in his writings and in state papers. The picture painted by these sources are of a trade that was frequently carried out by merchants (and their local factors) who also invested in trading with Russia, with the Levant, possibly with the Baltic states. This suggests that trade only with Morocco was not sufficiently valuable in itself. It appears that most of this trade was conducted by individual ship owners/merchants, the Barbary Company licensed by Elizabeth having only lasted twelve years (1585-97). While it is probable that the Moroccans would have wished to continue the import of armaments and supplies for ship building which characterised the Elizabethan trade, James was unlikely to sanction exports of armaments to an Islamic country. And, among the most important commodities that Willan lists which were traded with England, three, saltpetre, sugar and gold, (all three controlled by the king) became scarce after the death of the Moroccan monarch, Ahmad al-Mansur in 1603. Willan describes sugar during the later years of the sixteenth-century as 'the staple import; all Moroccan merchants of any importance dealt in it and struggled to obtain it'. The rapid decline in the sugar production after al-Mansur's death will have affected The English merchants. Those imports that probably remained of value were mostly consumables, for example, 'indigo...dried fruits, nuts, spices, gum Arabic, goatskins'; cloths of various sorts were the predominant exports.⁷⁵ Willan values this trade as support for shipping, as part of

⁷⁵ T. S. Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, Manchester, 1959. See the index, pp. 337-9, for the long list of imports during the reign of Elizabeth. Saltpetre, gold, sugar and indigo are predominant. Ostrich feathers also.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

England's war with Spain and as offering opportunities for privateering. On pp. 308-12 he summarises the importance of the Moroccan trade for England, including its value to city merchants. He concludes that the sugar trade was 'perhaps [that] which gave the Moroccan trade a certain distinction and importance'.⁷⁶

England and Morocco in the early seventeenth-century, expanding contacts and communications.

Harrison's first four missions were dominated by issues of trade and diplomacy, work which, as Harrison tried unsuccessfully to restore the status *pro ante*, is best described as a coda to the 'good' relations that existed between Elizabeth and al-Mansur. Harrison's later missions are different in character, as his Protestant faith and the religious struggles in Europe play an increasing part in his work in Morocco. His interaction with the Moriscos in Salé opened up a whole new set of circumstances and spaces in which negotiation could take place, places which existed nowhere else. Harrison was a millenarian, and conversion, a subject of debate among exponents of exploration and colonisation, became a goal in his relations with the religious groups he identified in Morocco, the Jews, the Moors and the Catholics. Their conversion, in the first instance of the Moors, he believed would follow on from successful trading agreements. With that of the Jews, and, ultimately, the Catholics in Morocco, Harrison anticipated a renewed sense of order on earth which would hasten Christ's return. Analysis of Harrison's missions will demonstrate how trade, diplomacy and conversion intersect, and how fragile are the boundaries between them. His relations with the power brokers in Morocco, as well as with other European representatives, led him to conclude that there was a real future for England and English interests in the country, a space in which England, and maybe other European powers, could operate, for which he became a fervent advocate.

Looking at Harrison as an intermediary, and assessing his role on the global stage at such a challenging time, what can his successes and failures convey about the requirements of such a role and of his ability to fill them? In attributing success to the situations in which the agents find

themselves, how much, if at all, did they influence their circumstances? This is the area van Gelder and Krstić refer to when they write that their essays' subjects demonstrate 'a host of unexpected strategies of diplomatic mediation enacted by previously invisible or little studied intermediaries whose actions are context-specific but shed light on the origins and nature of early modern diplomacy as well as the negotiation of political loyalties in an age of intense imperial and confessional competition'.⁷⁷ Although applied to agents in different circumstances, this description of lesser diplomats in challenging situations could apply to Harrison. His situation was exceptionally difficult; he was dealing with a polity wracked by civil war and had little constructive support from England, yet he continuously attempted to achieve not only what he believed was expected of him but to identify and exploit opportunities which would be to the greater benefit of his country. To this end he continued to act as an intermediary for Moroccan agents and local leaders even when he was in England between missions. When he had served his last mission he did not cease his involvement in Moroccan affairs; he continued to petition Charles to sanction his return to Morocco, and, when this failed, offered his services to the Estates General of the Unites Provinces on behalf of their captives in Morocco. He remained convinced that successful diplomacy with Morocco would bring about peaceful trade, the release of captives, and ultimately the conversion of the Moroccans to Christianity, thereby establishing a unique connection between the two countries.

Conclusion.

In the following chapters I aim to present as comprehensive a picture of John Harrison as sources allow. His experiences in Morocco will help us to understand England's early forays into the world beyond Europe and, particularly, the aspirations, expectations and convictions of Englishmen, in varying degrees, that characterised them. His responses to the challenges he faced, and the resources he relied upon, even the myriad people with whom he needed to negotiate, will facilitate an

⁷⁷ Maartje van Gelder and Tijana Krstić, introduction 'Cross-Confessional Diplomacy and Diplomatic Intermediaries in Early Modern Mediterranean', *The Journal of Early Modern History*, 19 (nos. 2-3), (2015), p. 95.

understand these early times of exploration and expansion. Harrison's successes and failures will help inform an understanding of the earliest stages of empire; why the trading and settlement activities of those Englishmen who sailed so far from England could be identified as the beginnings of the expansion of the English into the wider world.

My chapters will paint a comprehensive picture of Harrison and the English court, and of Anglo-Moroccan relations, and site them in the western Mediterranean of the early seventeenth century. It will reveal that Morocco was a significant destination for England's merchants at this time. I start, in chapter one, with the political, social and religious environment in England in 1610. Chapter two discusses Harrison's publications and their relevance to his personal development and to his missions. Chapters three and four cover Harrison's missions: the first four (1610-1618) in chapter three, during which he identifies the diplomatic boundaries to achieving success in Morocco; the second four (1625-1632) in chapter four, when circumstances require a different approach, and Harrison has to confront the issues surrounding the political turmoil in Morocco and his lack of support from England. In these second four mission Harrison's personal pilgrimage, and his religious convictions, increasingly play a part. In my conclusion I evaluate the relevance of Harrison's publications, his work in Morocco, and his legacy to Anglo-Moroccan relations. And I reflect on how a consideration of his life contributes to our understanding of how one agent abroad worked to extend English influence outside early seventeenth-century Europe.

Chapter one. England and Morocco in May 1610.

‘God give all prosperous success to these hopeful expectations, and keep your Highness in his holy protection’¹

Introduction.

On June 4th, 1610, Prince Henry, the eldest son of James I and VI, was invested as Prince of Wales. Much was expected of this prince; the success of his reign would confirm that ‘from his feet his fame shall strike the stars’.² Was John Harrison, ‘a gentleman of the bedchamber’³ at Prince Henry’s court, sorry to miss the celebrations or did he embrace the opportunity he had been given to travel abroad, employed by King James, as his agent to the court of Zidan el-Nasir, then king of Morocco.⁴ He left England before Henry’s investiture, sailing from London on the 24th May. By June he was off the Atlantic coast of Morocco.

In this chapter I want to focus on the world in which John Harrison lived, in the year 1610, and to gain some understanding of the environment from which he came and the circumstances and suitability of his appointment. How did his appointment come about? At a time when patronage was a crucial factor in gaining a court position, who had advanced Harrison to his place in Prince Henry’s

¹ In a letter from Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador to Venice, to Henry, Prince of Wales, June 24th, 1612. Quoted in Thomas Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales, eldest Son of King James I. Compiled chiefly from his own Papers, and other Manuscripts, never before published*, London, 1760, p. 216. Quoting Harl. MMS, v.7008. Carleton, later Lord Dorchester and Secretary of State to Charles I, is one of several courtiers of the time who has been described as ‘the last Elizabethan’. The ‘hopeful expectations’ he has typify the atmosphere surrounding Prince Henry which Harrison embraced.

² From a poem by Michael Drayton, of whom Prince Henry was briefly a patron, *Poly-Olbion, A Chorographical Description of all the Tracts, Riwers, Mountains, Forests and other Parts of this Renowned Isle of GREAT BRITAIN*, London, 1612. From Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England’s Lost Renaissance*, London, 1986, p. 157. Strong describes Henry as ‘the first prince who, from birth, was destined to rule over the whole island (of Britain), and Drayton’s poem as a ‘geographical celebration ... of the Empire of Great Britain in 1610’. See also Andrew Melville’s poem of 1594, ‘Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia’, quoted in Sarah Fraser, *The Prince who would be King; the Life and Death of Henry Stuart*, London, 2017, pp. 17-19; this prince would lead his country into warfare against Spain and the pope. Henry’s martial skills and his devotion to the Protestant cause were anticipated at his birth. See also, Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, pp. 42-3, on how Henry’s fame spread ‘through the whole world’.

³ The source of this description is one given by de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d’Angleterre*, Paris, 1925, the major source of transcribed primary material on Moroccan history: he quotes *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles*, vol. 185, n.3. This would seem to be a misprint.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James*, volume 8, p. 116 (warrant book 1, page 107), May, 1604, on Harrison’s appointment as ‘groom to Prince Henry’. He was to be paid £13.6s.8d.

court; who was responsible for his selection as agent to Morocco? To characterise Harrison 's situation in 1610, this chapter will, firstly, consider the world of the western Mediterranean into which he was to travel, and secondly, seek to understand the early seventeenth-century court environment from which he was to depart, and its knowledge of Moroccan affairs. Thirdly, it will be important to comprehend the distinctive ethos of Prince Henry's court, which had such a profound effect on Harrison and his 'pilgrimage', especially the prince's enthusiastic championing of exploration and his devout Protestantism, . A consideration of these three topics should help identify and explain the attributes he brought to his commissions, what briefs was he given, and, what assumptions underlay his instructions. Were they his own, or those of his monarch, or was he briefed by the secretary of state? Finding answers to these questions should suggest reasons why, in 1610, there was a need to re-establish an Anglo-Moroccan relationship, and to evaluate his missions' successes and failures in the diplomatic world of the Mediterranean to which he was sent. As a result, an understanding of the nature of the relationship between the individual envoys 'on the ground' and the expansion, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, of England's presence and influence in the wider world, should become clearer.⁵ When considering this relationship in Morocco, other, more specific, issues concerning England's emerging presence on the world scene present themselves. What, for England and Englishmen, was the status of Morocco at that time; how did English merchants experience the differing trading relationships with countries outside Europe; what are these agents' responsibilities and to what extent did they have autonomy over their actions? Will Harrison's missions lead to an understanding meaningful boundaries, and spaces for cultural and knowledge exchange? All of these questions are pertinent to Harrison's missions.

⁵ Projects launched in England during the first decade of the seventeenth century in which Prince Henry had a proven interest: the 1606 voyage of three ships to re-establish a colony in Virginia, re-enforced by another nine ships in 1609; four voyages by Hugh Hudson to the North West passage between 1606 and 1611; Sir Thomas Roe's expedition to Guiana in 1610. John Guy sailed to Newfoundland in 1610 to establish a colony there. The East India Company sent out its first fleet in 1601, its second in 1604 and a third in 1607. In 1605 the Levant company's new charter established conditions for trade which lasted 150 years.

In an attempt to find answers to these questions, as noted above with reference to Morocco, firstly, thought has to be given to understanding the 'bigger picture'. This bigger picture encompasses the geopolitical status of the western Mediterranean, the least studied part of the Mediterranean Sea in the early seventeenth century, and Morocco's place in it.⁶ Some knowledge of the history of Morocco during the last quarter of the sixteenth century is required, and of the relationship between the Moroccan kings and the European powers. Another part of this picture concerns the policies of the English queen at that time and the beliefs and ambitions that motivated her approach to foreign relations, commerce and trade. It is during this period that Morocco, a small polity on the coast of north-west Africa, claimed the attention of the English. In regarding the evidence of publications, letters, plays and ballads, for the last quarter of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth, it would seem that 'Barbary' and the Moors were better known, certainly among folk who lived in, or had contacts with, London, than the powerful Ottoman Sultan and his empire.

As well as an understanding of the dynamics of the Anglo-Moroccan relationship, a consideration of James' court should support an appreciation of what Harrison may have known about this situation before he was commissioned. This would include an evaluation of the extent to which he was influenced by his public career up to the point of his departure for Morocco, and an estimation of the fundamental beliefs he took with him. Here, the policies of James I and his ministers, and the ethos and influence of Prince Henry's court, are both relevant. As England, and Harrison, take steps onto the global stage, the interweaving of contacts are many and shifting; the interrelationships between James and other European polities, between James and Henry, between the English court and the city, between Catholic and Protestant, between peace and conflict, Ottomans and Habsburgs, navy and corsairs (and pirates), these are all elements here.

⁶ For recent work on the Mediterranean, see above, pp. 13-14.

Morocco and the western Mediterranean.

In consideration of the year 1610, I begin with Morocco, its geopolitical status in the western Mediterranean and the history of its relationship with European states from the late sixteenth century until the year of Harrison's first mission. This history was in all probability well known among the English statesmen who advised both Elizabeth and James, and, very possibly, also by Henry and his court. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century Moroccan relations with the polities of Europe were complex. Following the Battle of Lepanto (1571) the power balance between the east (Ottoman) and west (Spanish) Mediterranean had for the most part stabilised.⁷ It is generally understood that both parties turned their attention to matters nearer home.⁸ For Spain, this meant prioritising her interests in northern Europe and her presence in the new world. She could not, however, completely ignore the western Mediterranean. Because of her links with Morocco, geographically and historically, and her possession of territory on the North African coast, the policies of Spain and Morocco were inexplicably bound together. This situation affected the interaction Morocco had with other European countries, and, in turn, their trading relationships.⁹ Trade between the continent and Muslim societies was regarded in Europe with suspicion, and forbidden by the pope. Nevertheless, the European polities traded regularly with both the Ottoman Empire and Morocco, although no formal diplomatic arrangements existed, and from neither country were ambassadors sent to reside in London.¹⁰ In the western Mediterranean, after 1571, the withdrawal of the Ottoman naval force had left Morocco facing the Spanish Habsburgs, longstanding enemy of the Ottomans, alone. The result was that the

⁷ See David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: a Human History of the Mediterranean*, London, 2012, pp. 452-454.

⁸ Persia and the United Provinces, respectively.

⁹ Since 1492, when Spain became united under the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, Muslims in Spain had faced increasing hostility and regular purges. Many of those who left, or were forced to leave Spain, relocated to Morocco. Many nursed the hope of returning to Spain. By 1610 there were four important ports on the Moroccan coast in the hands of the Spanish, Ceuta, Tangier, Anfa (Casablanca) and Mazagan. Melilla, the most easterly Spanish possessions on the Mediterranean coast, appears to have been of little consequence in the history of Spanish/Moroccan relations (as does Peñon de Vélez, a rocky tied island between Ceuta and Melilla).

¹⁰ Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle*, p. 67. The prohibited trade being 'honoured more in the breach', and England being 'too small and too far away to matter very much'.

Moroccan king looked for allies among the natural enemies of Spain, of which the most obvious source of support was England.¹¹

The geopolitical world of the western Mediterranean, therefore, was a place where the tensions of mainland Europe, between Catholic and Protestant, between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs, were part of everyday political and commercial interactions. It was one with which the early seventeenth century Englishman, with good reason, was well acquainted. Since the accession of Elizabeth, and her commitment to a Protestant England, the country had been drawn into an increasingly hostile relationship with Spain which culminated in the two countries being at war (1585). For the last eighteen years of her reign, as the hostilities dragged on, Elizabeth had need of friends, and therefore, despite the Christian polities reluctance to make agreements with Islamic countries, the queen of England, like the Moroccan king, found it useful to maintain friendly relations between themselves. These regular contacts between Elizabeth and the Moroccan king, Ahmad al-Mansur (r.1578-1603) developed after al-Mansur's succession, following his victory in the Battle of Alcazar.

The Battle of Alcazar (Alcácer Quibir), also known as the Battle of the Three Kings, took place in northern Morocco, at Ksar-el-Kebir, on 4th August, 1578.¹² It could be argued that the result of this battle was as important as the Battle of Lepanto in defining the dynamics of the Western Mediterranean in the last quarter of the sixteenth century; it was well known throughout Europe. Bovill, in *The Golden Trade of the Moors*, comments 'The battle won for the Moors a prestige in both Christian and Muslim worlds which far exceeded anything they had ever before enjoyed and to which they were never to rise again'.¹³ However, Yahya, in *Morocco in the Sixteenth Century*, comments that 'the Battle of al-Qasr al-Kabir ... was seen by many seasoned European observers of Moroccan affairs

¹¹ Despite not being a Catholic monarch, and despite her excommunication in 1570, for the earlier part of her reign Elizabeth refrained from selling arms to Morocco. Abdel al-Malik (r.1576-78) successfully used the support of Spain's adversary, the Ottoman Porte, to take control of the country from his nephew. See Dahiru Yahya, *Morocco in the Sixteenth Century: Problems and Patterns in African Foreign Policy*, London, 1981, pp. 92-119, on the changing relations of Morocco with England and other European polities.

¹² For a detailed account of this battle, see E. W. Bovill's account, *The Battle of Alcazar; an account of the defeat of Don Sebastian of Portugal at el-Ksar el-Kebir*, London, 1952.

¹³ Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors*, London, 1968, p. 156,

as having weakened the country'.¹⁴ The Moroccan forces were defending the Moroccan king, Abu Marwan Abd al-Malik I (r.1576-78), against the invading forces under Sebastian of Portugal (r.1554-1578) which were supporting the claimant to the Moroccan throne, al-Malik's nephew, Abu Abdallah Mohammed.¹⁵ The three kings who died, al-Malik, Abdallah and Sebastian, gave the battle its name. They all died on the battlefield.¹⁶ Included in the Portuguese contingent were six hundred Italians under the command of an Englishman, Thomas Stukeley.¹⁷ For Morocco the outcome of this battle was the accession of al-Malik's brother, Ahmad al-Mansur; under his rule Morocco enjoyed 25 years of stability. But for the invading forces the result was disastrous. Many were killed and those who survived the battle were taken prisoner.¹⁸ Sebastian left no children and was succeeded by his uncle, Henry, a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, who died in 1580 without heir, after which Philip II of Spain successfully annexed the country and acquired, with Portugal, the Portuguese possessions on the coast of Morocco. The Portuguese claimant in 1580, Don Antonio, fled to France and then to England, where he sought help from Elizabeth. She offered him what help she could and included in her correspondence with al-Mansur were requests for Moroccan forces to support an invasion of Portugal to achieve Don Antonio's assumption of the Portuguese throne.¹⁹

Morocco and the England of Elizabeth

For England, part of the legacy of this battle, notably Spain's enhanced position in Morocco, was a major influence on Harrison's missions. Emily C. Bartels, in *Speaking of the Moor; from Alcazar to Othello*, suggests that events triggered by the battle, as it affected the balance of power in the

¹⁴ Yahya, *Morocco in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1981, p. 100.

¹⁵ The eldest son of Abdallah al-Ghalib (r.1557-74), brother of both al-Mansur and al-Malik.

¹⁶ Al-Malik probably died not of wounds but of an unidentified illness.

¹⁷ See Bovill, *The Battle of Alcazar*, pp.79-81 on Stukeley's background, 'a notorious English traitor'.

¹⁸ Stukeley, too, died in battle. Stories of his death include one that his own troops turned against him for not invading Ireland as was his original ambition. His story remained a popular source for plays and ballads for many years. *The famous history of stout Stukley: or, his valiant Life and Death* was published in London in c.1650 (date conjectured by Wing). 'If you delight to read the passages of love ... you may read here the history of Thomas Stukley, Gentleman, Lover and Soldier' it begins. English Short Title Catalogue system number 006127860 (hereafter ESTC). Al-Mansur made a handsome profit from the ransoming the captured Portuguese.

¹⁹ SP 70/12, f.40, memo of 1590 on affairs of Don Antonio with Morocco.

Mediterranean, not only had repercussions across Europe but it placed Morocco as the place whose cross-cultural connections defined this power balance between Catholic Habsburgs and Protestant England and her allies. Commenting on Matar's view that Elizabethan merchants would look for England's economic future first in Barbary, she writes of the importance of the English experience in Morocco, her 'foothold' in the Mediterranean and her entry into the 'global marketplace'.²⁰ In the shadow of England's relationship with Spain and the Habsburgs in the last quarter of the sixteenth century there were increasing exchanges of letters and ambassadorial visits between England and Morocco.²¹ This Anglo-Moroccan relationship, characterised by Elizabeth's continuing support for Dom Antonio, and her war with Spain, defines the position of Morocco in England's foreign policies. Yet, six years after Lepanto and three years after the Ottomans retook Tunis, Abulafia, in *The Great Sea*, believes that Spain gave up any ambitious plans for control in Morocco. Already in possession of one Moroccan port (Malilla), she would acquire more when circumstances allowed.²²

This political relationship has been a neglected area of study, and one which Jerry Brotton has covered in some detail in his book *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World*.²³ He weaves the story of England's trade with Morocco into a larger narrative, a commercial, political and cultural one with the Islamic east, emphasising the many established and growing connections between Europe and the Islamic world. The main emphasis of his book, therefore, is not Morocco but the Ottoman Empire; and, his brief stops in 1603.

²⁰ 'News from almost the moment it happened', Emily C. Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor, from Alcazar to Othello*, Philadelphia, 2008, pp. 21, 24 and 28. Chapter one of this book, 'Enter Barbary, The Battle of Alcazar and the World' is an excellent summary of the impact of the battle on published histories of the event, on Stukley and on Sebastian. Bartels final example of English interest in this battle, page 22, refers to John Harrison's last publication, *The Tragical Life and Death of Muley Abdala Melek*. Sadly, as we have established, this book is not a history of the king who died in battle in 1578 but one of his successors of the same name who died, possibly killed by one of his bodyguards, in 1631.

²¹ Writers on English texts of the period, to a much greater extent than political historians, have put more emphasis on the status of Moroccan-English experiences in this period. See, for example Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes : dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in early modern England*, published online by Cambridge University Press: 20 November 2018.

²² Abulafia, *The Great Sea*, pp. 452-3.

²³ Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World*, London, 2016.

The relationship between England and Morocco can be defined in ways other than political. The detailed economic relationship of the two polities during Elizabeth's reign is explored in T. S. Willan's *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*.²⁴ For, as well as Elizabeth and her ministers, among other Englishmen interested in Morocco, the city merchants were equally important. These were the people with the greatest investment in Morocco, and whose commercial successes required of them accurate knowledge and understanding of the country. It is clear from Willan's work on the trade in the sixteenth century, and from the surviving correspondence of the following century, that their factors were part of a long established English community in Morocco, although one which did not appear to have an official resident, as the English did in the Ottoman Empire, at *Galata*.²⁵ The early evidence of Moroccan trade was included by Richard Hakluyt in his *The principal navigations, voyage, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation ...* and includes various descriptions of the trade with Morocco; in the earliest reference, a voyage in 1551, 'two Moores, being noble men' were 'convayed ...into their Country'.²⁶ He provides very little evidence of Anglo-Moroccan relations thereafter. This may be because the merchants preferred to access the Moroccan king direct rather than through an ambassador, who would write reports and who, they thought, might not be wholly on their side. In the exchange of petitions prior to the incorporation of the Barbary Society (1585) they explained: 'there are no reasons to be had of anie weighte inducing that the merchants trading Barbarie should be incorporated, but good reasons to the contrarie', and 'we are not to haive an agent for our trade lieth for the most part where the king is resident, to whome we and our servants may have everie Friday access in all our causes'.²⁷ The opaque quality of the Moroccan trade is evident in many of

²⁴ T. S. Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, Manchester, 1959, pp. 92 – 312 cover the Moroccan trade with England.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-102, on the early years of the Moroccan trade. The major part of this book is devoted to the Moroccan trade with England until 1603.

²⁶ Richard Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyage, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation... Made by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 years*, Glasgow, 1903-07. See volume VI, p. 136-7 for the earliest reference. Gerard MacLean, 'Of Pirates, Slaves, and Diplomats: Anglo-American Writing about the Maghrib in the Age of Empire', in Claire Jowitt, ed., *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*, comments that earlier trading experiences with Morocco 'have regularly been ignored by later historians who have relied instead on Richard Hakluyt', p. 173. Hakluyt includes almost no further information on relations with Morocco.

²⁷ De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 459; *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 466.

Harrison's experiences. The commodities involved were another factor which may have obscured understanding of the trade.

In the later part of the sixteenth-century, as mentioned above, two of the commodities which the English wanted above all others from the Moroccan trade were sugar and saltpetre (a constituent of gunpowder);²⁸ neither trade was easy. The sugar trade was licensed by the Moroccan king to Jewish middlemen, who controlled the sugar production, and with whom English merchants had a history of problems. Trading in saltpetre, because the only items the Moroccans would trade for it were armaments, was considered illegal, so real evidence of this trade, and of the lesser known personnel involved, is sparse. What evidence there is for the saltpetre trade is the first example of the political nature of Moroccan trade, and where the monarchs of each country become involved.²⁹

The history of the trading relationship between England and Morocco is explored in detail by Willan. In 1585, the year the company of Barbary merchants was licensed, Elizabeth concluded a treaty with the Low Countries to support their fight against the forces of Philip II of Spain; the leader of the force sent to the United Provinces was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who was one of those merchants, together with his brother, licensed to trade in Barbary.³⁰ His forces would, among other things, require a supply of gunpowder. Willan's is an exhaustive study which clearly portrays this relationship in as much detail as the sources allow; it is a major source for Brotton's book, and like his, it ends in 1603. Willan is clear that the sixteenth century Anglo-Moroccan trade cannot be considered in isolation from Elizabethan diplomacy, and its relative success in the last twenty five years of Elizabeth's reign is

²⁸ See David Cressy, *Saltpeter: the mother of gunpowder*, Oxford, 2013, on the history and importance of saltpetre.

²⁹ Both Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, and Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle*, cover in some detail the licensing of the company of merchants trading in Barbary in 1585. Both suggest that Elizabeth allowed export of armaments in exchange for saltpetre although this trade was expected to be carried out discretely.

³⁰ Both Willan and Brotton cover the implications of Leicester's involvement in the chartering of the company of merchants trading in Barbary. The merchants trading in Morocco were not all in favour of a licensed company, the granting of which seems to have been driven by Leicester. See Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, p. 183.

interwoven with the foreign policies pursued by Elizabeth and her ministers.³¹ As Willan points out, it is easy to identify 1603 as marking a shift in the diplomatic relations between the two states. Leicester died in 1588, Dom Antonio in 1590, and Philip II of Spain, who sent the Armada to England in 1588, in 1598. After the last Moroccan ambassador to the queen left England in 1601 Elizabeth wrote a friendly but inconclusive letter to his monarch, and her only correspondence with him thereafter reflected her concern for her merchants in Morocco. It would appear that a corner had been reached. Indeed, the arrival of James I in England and the ensuing peace with Spain (1604) changed the diplomatic landscape, as James pursued a policy of peace through diplomacy and marriage alliances for his children. At this time it is reasonable to conclude that the interdependency of trade and diplomacy was no longer a factor in England's dealings with Morocco; instead, the English interest in North Africa could be considered as no more nor less than part of her ambitions for expanding her commercial interests and presence outside Europe. However, the anti-Spanish policies of Elizabeth remained inherent in those of her ministers who continued in positions of power under James and his heir; in their eyes England's expanding interests outside continental Europe, therefore, included Morocco, as both a commercial and political ally.

English diplomacy under James.

The accession of James I and VI to the English throne in 1603, and the resulting dramatic change in England's policies towards Europe, governed the practice of diplomacy in England in the early seventeenth century. Therefore, before looking at what is known about the circumstances of John Harrison's commission from James, a familiarisation with a wider picture, that of the commercial and diplomatic realities of England's relationships with Morocco and the western Mediterranean in 1610, and an establishment of what Harrison's understanding of the world from which he was to travel was, together with the diplomatic world of which he was to become a member, will be helpful. The

³¹ Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, p. 238, on the 'divorce' between trade and diplomacy, which he describes as unusual for the period. Both diplomacy and trade functioned because and despite of the other.

diplomatic world of 1610 was one of which he would have had considerable experience because of his position at Prince Henry's court. He would have known, or known of, the many ambassadors and agents sent out of England by James I. James relied on a relatively small group of men of certain backgrounds and experiences who served for many years in their host countries, and who were all known to each other. By 1610, the year of Harrison's first mission, James either sent, or had already sent, a total of ten representatives to continental Europe, some ambassadors, others agents on specific missions. Many of James' ambassadors became well known in the diplomatic world of Europe, people like William Trumbull in the Spanish Netherlands (1609-1625), Sir Dudley Carleton in Venice (1610-1615), Sir Thomas Edmondson in France (1610-1617), Sir Ralph Winwood in the Low Countries (1603-1613). These ambassadors spent many years travelling and living on the continent of Europe; those mentioned above are the ambassadors in post (and their time served) when Harrison embarked on his first mission in 1610. For some of them their recall could not come soon enough, although they were more likely to be moved to another position in Europe than to return home.³² Their diplomatic experiences, gathered while spending years away from home, contributed to England's knowledge of the affairs of the power brokers in Europe. Gary M. Bell, commenting on his period of study, 1509-1688, describes it as 'especially significant', the diplomats and their assignments 'crucial to understanding how the evolution of diplomacy occurred', notably in the importance of establishing a relationship with the sovereign and ministers of their host country.³³ Certainly, knowledge of Harrison's missions supports his argument. We know so much about these early diplomats because of their frequent correspondence, both with the state office but also with each other and with their

³² For example, Trumbull was secretary to the previous ambassador in the Spanish Netherlands, Edmondson (1604-9); Edmondson himself had been a special agent to France prior to his permanent appointment in 1610; Carleton went from Venice to the United Provinces where he remained for ten years (1615-1625); Winwood had also been a special agent in France, 1600-1603, where his secretary was Carleton. While in the Low Countries he undertook two missions to German states. It is likely that Harrison came into contact with both Edmondson and Winwood during his first three missions to Morocco.

³³ Gary M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives, 1509 – 1688*, London, 1990, introduction, p. 2.

friends in England. Official couriers and personal servants carried not only letters but pamphlets, books and even gifts across the continent of Europe on what appears to be a daily basis.³⁴

Harrison, however, was not to become part of this diplomatic community. With one exception, agents and ambassadors sent outside the European continent were not recruited from traditional diplomatic sources but were men experienced in the trade of their host country. The exception was Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador to the Moghul empire (1615-1619) and to the Ottoman Porte (1621-1628), whose background was similar to those European ambassadors discussed (above) and whose correspondence with those he knew survives.³⁵ Harrison's career in many ways mirrors Roe's; both had connections with the courts of Prince Henry and the Palatines, both departed, in 1610, from Henry's court on missions outside Europe, both acquired considerable experience of working and living in Islamic countries, and neither were merchants by profession. Most importantly, both brought to their work the legacy of service to their monarch; both had fought abroad for Elizabeth, Harrison in Ireland, Roe in the United Provinces.³⁶ It is likely that the two men had much in common, yet, due to the difference in their personal circumstances, including the countries to which they were sent, much more is known about Roe than about Harrison. Moreover, so much more is known about the experiences of the ambassadors to the Porte. Alfred Wood, in his history of the Levant Company, describes the problems experienced by the company's agents in the towns and ports of the Eastern Mediterranean when faced with the greed of the local officials, and the cost the solutions to these problems put in the way of successful trading; in evidence he cites 150 years of complaints in the

³⁴ See Netzloff, *Agents Beyond the State*, p. 42. '... intelligence was produced from networks that were complex, mediated, and diffuse'.

³⁵ Roe was particularly close to Carleton. See John Reeve, 'Sir Dudley Carlton and Sir Thomas Roe: English Servants of the Queen of Bohemia and the Protestant International during the Thirty Years War' in *Parergon: bulletin of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol: 32 3; (pages 151-182), 2015. See, especially, p. 166, 'The abiding friendship of Carleton and Roe for German Protestantism ... suggests their place in an early modern tradition of waging holy warfare despite reservations about the odds'.

³⁶ Roe was an esquire of the body, see Michael Strachan, *Sir Thomas Roe, 1581-1644, a Life*, Salisbury, 1989, p. 4.

correspondence sections of the Company archives. It is probable that agents' experiences in Morocco were similar, but were not documented.³⁷

Unlike those ambassadors whose sojourns abroad were lengthy, Harrison was one of those extraordinary, lesser known agents, whom James sent on specific missions. Some agents were sent on journeys which encompassed several Northern European polities, others were sent on a number of occasions to the same place, as Harrison was. In both cases these agents had less time to gather intelligence, and were not usually required to do so. However, there were other ways in which the information network of permanent and itinerate representatives of the king was supported, other ways in which news reached England of events and rumours on the continent of Europe. Robert Cecil, James' Secretary of State,³⁸ inherited his father's network of informers and supported his intelligence from ambassadors with additional information from his many contacts with Englishmen working or travelling abroad. Here we can see in practice the reality of the relationships between England, continental Europe and the world beyond. Chaney and Wilks, in *The Jacobean Grand Tour*, comment on the many English travellers who passed through their country's 'outposts', that is their embassies, and from whom intelligence would be expected when they returned home.³⁹ Only some were in Cecil's pay but many would have been known to him. Although the later lives of many of these travellers remain unknown to us, those who were successful in their political career had good contacts back at home and were able to put to good use their experiences gained from travelling in Europe. One traveller who spent time outside England during the later years of Elizabeth's reign was Thomas

³⁷ Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, Oxford, 1935/1965, p.16. 'Filled with reports ... of squabbles with local officials'. Ambassadors had been a consistent presence in Constantinople since William Harboure in 1581.

³⁸ Son of Lord Burghley, secretary of state to Elizabeth and her chief 'spymaster'. Architect of James' successful and peaceful accession to the English throne.

³⁹ Edward Chaney and Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: early Stuart Travellers in Europe*, London, 2014, p. 44. Ambassadors in 'Paris, Brussels, The Hague, Venice and Florence received a steady flow of their countrymen'. Chaney and Wilks describe the links between this network of English agents, their patrons and their families, in some detail. As well as ambassadors, consuls, such as Hugh Lee in Lisbon, established local contacts and provided a steady stream of information. In 1618 Lee reported on Harrison's abortive fourth mission. See chapter three.

Chaloner, whose father was a lifelong friend of Lord Burghley; he became governor of Prince Henry's household in England, bringing with him his knowledge and experience of his travels.⁴⁰

This intelligence network embraced Morocco, as evidenced by the letters of those Englishmen residing there or in those countries in Europe nearest to it. These contacts were well established; unlike the Dutch and the French, whose representatives were appointed, the English presence was more discrete.⁴¹ In the years between James' succession until the departure of Harrison to Morocco in 1610, we find, in de Castries' volumes on England and Morocco, three letters from Hugh Lee to Robert Cecil, and a further eight to Cecil's secretary, Thomas Wilson. Lee writes from Lisbon where he was undoubtedly well informed although he held no official diplomatic position; it is clear from his letters that he regularly corresponded with Wilson.⁴² From Morocco, from Santa Cruz, in 1603 Robert Cecil received a letter, from George Tomson. Tomson was a merchant with whom Cecil had regular dealings, probably involving both his commercial and leisure activities as well as his official duties. He is sending 'news' from Barbary and it is clearly not the first or only time he has written.⁴³ He reports in detail on the unsettled situation in Morocco immediately following the death of al-Mansur (1603), expressing concern for the merchants and factors who lived or traded there.⁴⁴ It seems reasonable to

⁴⁰ Thomas Chaloner's father, also Thomas, was an English ambassador, latterly to Spain. He complained about the living conditions there. As did Cornwallis, ambassador after the 1604 peace agreement, see Chaney and Wilks, page 44, 'I fear I may leave my bones here'. See Dan O'Sullivan, *The Reluctant Ambassador: The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Chaloner, Tudor Diplomat*, Stroud, 2016, chapter 15. Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales...on the men 'of action' at Henry's court, 'who had travelled and often resided abroad for considerable lengths of time'* pp. 26-7.

⁴¹ See de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845, première série – dynastie Saadienne, archives et bibliothèques des Pas-Bas*, Paris, 1906, vol. I, pp. 74-8, for the Estates General instructions of May 1605 to their resident agent, Pieter Maertensz Coy. He was to reside in Marrakesh. Also de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, première série – dynastie Saadienne, archives et bibliothèques de France*, Paris, 1909, vol. II, pp. 508-10, confirming the instructions for the French consul, Guillaume Curiol, who was to cover both Marrakesh and Fez. Both countries corresponded with their agents in Morocco regularly, unlike (apparently) England.

⁴² At this time Portugal was under Spanish rule. Lee was appointed consul to Lisbon for the Spanish Company in 1605. His status seems to have been similar to that of an ambassador; the wellbeing of the local consuls appointed by merchants of the Spanish Company was his responsibility and his status was acknowledged by James. Pauline Croft, *The Spanish Company*, London 1973, p. 60.

⁴³ 'I have sondry times written your Honour ffrom hence', de Castries, *Le sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 230.

⁴⁴ Santa Cruz was a port where English ships frequently traded; traditionally it was where cargo was unloaded. English factors and merchants would in all probability have lived in one of Morocco's many ports, only

conclude that Robert Cecil had shared some of his knowledge of Morocco, both past and present, with Prince Henry and his court, including Harrison.

Morocco , the Elizabethan legacy.

It seems, therefore, that in the world from which Harrison was to travel, Morocco had claimed the interest of those Englishmen who kept themselves informed of events beyond the channel, especially those with trading interests in the Mediterranean. But the officers of state and the merchants were not the only people interested in events in Morocco. An increasing amount of information and knowledge of the country reached ordinary folk in a number of ways, and this perception of Barbary would have spread to a public awareness of the country, its people and its religion.⁴⁵ The Battle of the Three Kings attracted the attention of prose writers and playwrights; Stukeley was commemorated in ballads and chapbooks, while Sebastian became the subject of stories of his miraculous survival. The earliest account of the battle, *A Dolorous discourse, of a most terrible and bloody Battel, fought in Barbarie*, appeared in England in 1579. In 1588-9 George Peele's play *The Battle of Alcazar*, was produced. Matthew Dimmock in, *New Turks: dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in early modern England*, comments 'Placed conspicuously in the wake of the Armada and ongoing English trade interests in Barbary and the Ottoman Empire, George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* (1589?) remodels the conflict as pivotally epoch-defining in order to question the validity – and the very nature - of crusade in the wake of the relativity triggered by the Reformation'.⁴⁶ Twenty seven years after the battle, Stukeley was still remembered; in 1605, *The Famous History of Captin Thomas Stukeley* was published.⁴⁷ These three examples, two books and a play, relate to one North African incident but

traveling to the king's court, which was a moving entity, when required. It is situated between Messa and Mogador on Morocco's Atlantic coast.

⁴⁵ Accurate knowledge of 'Barbary' would of course be hugely varied, and dependent on location and effective communication. London and its residents being better informed than more rural areas.

⁴⁶ Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in early modern England*, published online by Cambridge University Press: 20 November 2018. No page numbers. It may be no coincidence that this play emerged ten years after the event but only a year after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, a battle which was celebrated in Morocco. See Charles Edelman, editor, *The Stukeley Plays*, Manchester, 2005, pp. 16-19, on the date the play was written; it was published in 1594.

⁴⁷ Edelman, *The Stukeley Plays*, p. 34 for the likely production dates, in 1597.

many other publications about North Africa, or which referred to North Africa, were produced in the 32 years between 1578 and Harrison's departure for Morocco in 1610. Notably, John Polemon, in *The Second part of the Book of Battailes, fought in our age...*, includes, as one of twelve accounts, the battle of Alcazar. A considerable part of his account includes an accurate description of the history of the Moroccan kings prior to the battle. Polemon makes much of his original source material, in this case originally in Portuguese, and translated into Latin by Thomas Freigius⁴⁸

These examples, legacy of the Battle of the Three Kings, suggest that the reading public had a continued interest in news and information from Barbary; and a number of books were published in the early seventeenth century in which there were comprehensive descriptions of the country and which could have been read by Harrison before he left England. For example, both Leo Africanus, *A geographical historie of Africa, written in Arabicke and Italian by Iohn Leo a More, borne in Granada, and brought vp in Barbarie*, published in 1600 in English, and William Lithgow, *A most delectable, and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affricke* (1614) cover Morocco as part of their descriptions of the Maghreb. In 1607 George Wilkins published *Three Miseries of Barbary: Plague. Famine. Ciuill warre. With a relation of the death of Mahamet the late Emperour: and a briefe report of the now present Wars betweene the three Brothers*. Curiously, this book is dedicated to the members of the Barbary Company, despite its charter having expired in 1597.⁴⁹ Wilkins includes a brief history of the Moroccan royal family, drawing attention to the inheritance problems which caused the civil war in the early years of the seventeenth century.³⁷ In the same year *The fierce and cruel battaile of the three kings...*, no author

⁴⁸ See Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor*, pp. 138-9. See Edelman, *The Stukeley Plays*, p. 26. Also see pp. 26-7 on the other sources for '*The Famous History ...*', both pro Spanish and pro Portuguese; the outcome of this battle was a subject of interest in many places in Europe. John Polemon, *The Second part of the Book of Battailes, fought in our age: taken out of the best authors and writers in sundrie languages*, London, 1587.

⁴⁹ George Wilkins, *Three miseries of Barbary: plague. famine. ciuill warre. With a relation of the death of Mahamet the late Emperour: and a briefe report of the now present Wars betweene the three brothers*. London, 1607. There appears to be a common misconception at this time that the Barbary Company continued in existence. Wilkins is credited with co-writing Shakespeare's *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*.

being credited, was published.⁵⁰ This was not to be confused with the battle of 1578; both these books were concerned with the early seventeenth century happenings in Morocco, events which directly affected Harrison's missions.⁵¹ These two publications were followed in 1609 by *A true historical discourse of Muley Hammets rising to the three kingdoms of Moruecos, Fes, and Sus* dedicated to Sir Robert Cotton by the author, one Ro. C.⁵² This is a substantial book, written by someone who was very well informed on Moroccan society and history, and the current state of its civil war. As well as updating the reader on the situation in Morocco, it includes chapters on the religion and politics of the 'More or Barbarian' and the 'adventures' of Sir Anthony Sherley and other English 'gentlemen'.⁵³ Sir Anthony Sherley, who visited Morocco in 1605 as an ambassador for the Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolf II, was well known in England. Sherley was one of three brothers, all of whom sought their livelihood outside England, and all of whom were immortalised in the play *The Travailes of the Three English Brothers*, one of whose authors was George Wilkins.⁵⁴ If we expand our search for evidence of Morocco, and Moroccans, in the cultural life of the English capital, and which reached a greater number of ordinary folk, we would need to include, for example, plays by Shakespeare, Dekker, and Heywood, all of whom feature either characters from or references to Morocco.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ *THE Fierce and cruel Battaile fought by the three Kings in Barbarie, nere to the Cittie of Maroques, the 25. of Aprill last. 1607.* London. The author comments that 'the naturall condition of this people is, euerie day to desire a newe King: for they are not true and faithfull to their Kings, so that by all likelihoodes our warres here are not yet done', p. 8.

⁵¹ On the death of al-Mansur in 1603 each of his three adult sons laid claim to a portion of his kingdom. Morocco was racked with civil war until 1627. The details of which of the three sons was, at any one time, the most dominant, was of real interest to the merchant community, especially those who had factors living in Morocco, for their trade was completely dependent on the king's wishes.

⁵² Ro.C. *A True Historicall Discourse of Muley Hamets rising to the three Kingdomes of Moruecos, Fes, and Sus. The dis-vnion of the three kingdomes, by ciuill warres kindled amongst his three ambitious Sonnes, Muley Sheck, Muley Boferes, and Muley Sidan. The religion and policie of the More, or Barbarian. The aduentures of Sir Anthony Sherley, and diuers other English gentlemen, in those countries. With other nouelties.* London, 1609. Dedicated to Sir Robert Cotton. De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 319-20, prints extracts, and speculates that this book was written by George Wilkins but credited to Robert Cecil (Ro. C.). E.W.Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors*, London, 1968, p. 203, believes Ro. C. was Captain Robert Covert; he does not say why, merely citing a letter from a Mr F. B. Maggs as his evidence.

⁵³ Ro. C. lists the names of eight 'captains' among the two hundred English and other Christians who were under the command of a John Gifford, fighting for Zidan. See *A True Historicall Discourse*, chapter XV.

⁵⁴ John Day, William Rowley and George Wilkins, *The Travailes of Three English Brothers, Sir Thomas Shirley Sir Anthony [Shirley] Mr. Robert [Shirley]. As it is now play'd by her Maiesties Seruants*, London, 1607.

⁵⁵ Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus* (1593-4), *The Merchant of Venice* (1596-7), *Othello* (1603-4); Heywood, *If you know not me, you know nobody* (1605); and *The Fair maid of the west* (1597-1603). See: Jerry Brotton's

The reception of the plays by these authors is difficult to uncover. Their popularity would have depended, at least in part, on their portrayal of a 'villain', a character that the audience could dislike. Jack D'Amico, in *The Moor in Renaissance Drama*, writes 'Despite the strength of the negative images of the Moor as barbarian, devil, or infidel, observation is often shaped in more positive ways to meet the demands of self-interest'. In D'Amico's chapter *England and the Moroccan Connection*, he explores the history of that relationship in the sixteenth-century; he comments that 'the anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish prejudice ... was an integral part of the relationship between England and Morocco ... which plays a significant role in those plays presenting to the English audience both Moors and Catholics (especially Spaniards).'⁵⁶ Brotton, in his chapter *More than a Moor*, comments on 'the excitement and danger' which characterised the English reaction to the presence of the Morish ambassador in London, and which inspired plays that the audience found both compelling and fascinating.⁵⁷ Bartels, in *Speaking of the Moor: from Alcazar to Othello*, considers, in her introduction, the concept of the 'Moor'. She concludes that there was a 'brief but crucial moment at the turn of the sixteenth-century, when the Moor seems to have captured England's imagination newly and urgently'. She considers four plays in her exploration of the 'Moor': *The Battle of Alcazar*, *Lust's Dominion*, *Titus Andronicus* and *Othello*. In their representations of the Moor, these playwrights 'imagine the embrace and the exclusions of the Moor as constantly competing impulses'.⁵⁸ Dekker's *Lust's Dominion*, in Brotton's words was 'a nasty, bloody drama'. It would seem that, in the 'brief but crucial moment', on London stages the audience could witness extreme violence, archetypal villains, while experiencing conflicting loyalties with the introduction of new (and anti-Catholic) characters, the Moors. Looking at the portrayal of Moroccans in drama from a more global perspective, Susan Iwanisziw comments: 'Just as the characterisation of Spaniards in contemporaneous drama reflected and perhaps shaped English

comments in <https://www.historyextra.com/period/elizabethan/elizabethan-englands-relationship-with-the-islamic-world/>, also <https://www.scribd.com/document/366994959/Elaskary-Image-of-Moors-in-4-Elizabethan-Dramatists-pdf>, also *The image of Moors in the writings of four Elizabethan dramatists: Peele, Dekker, Heywood and Shakespeare*, thesis, by Mohamed Ibrahim Hassan Elaskary, University of Exeter, 2008.

⁵⁶ Jack D'Amico, *The Moor in English Renaissance drama*, Tampa, 1991, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Brotton, *This Orient Isle*, p. 277.

⁵⁸ Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor*, p. 19.

imperial history, so too the characterisation of Moroccans reflected and shaped assumptions about England's relations with Morocco and with Africa in general'.⁵⁹

People living in London, in addition to their reading material and their visits to the playhouses, would have had personal experience of 'aliens', people from parts of the world which were strange to them. Among the many books written on the convergence of Christian Europe and the Islamic world, Nabil Matar's early trilogy has detailed the presence of Muslims in England.⁶⁰ Among these Muslims were the ambassadors that arrived in England from Morocco; their profile in London could not be kept hidden. During Elizabeth's reign there were three such visits. About one of them, in 1595, nothing is known, but two left records behind them. In 1588, when Elizabeth's second agent to Morocco, Henry Roberts, returned to London he brought with him Rais Merzouk Ahmed Benkacem. This ambassador was well received in England and was entrusted to Robert Cecil's care; he had several meetings with Elizabeth and was in London for some months, returning to Lisbon with the ill-fated Cadiz expedition of 1589. In August 1600 Abd el-Ouahed ben Messaoud ben Mohammed el-Anouri, with a suite of sixteen, arrived without the customary prior notice from Morocco. His arrival was, however, preceded by letters from Englishmen living in Morocco. John Waring, writing to Robert Cecil, (June 1600), describes him as the king's secretary; and a note from George Tomson to Richard Tomson, 1st July, 1600, contains a character description of el-Ouahed: 'here no gentility apeareth in him'.⁶¹ He met Elizabeth on at least two occasions and had a grandstand seat at her anniversary celebrations in

⁵⁹ Susan Iwanisziw, 'England, Morocco, a Global Geopolitical upheaval' in Jesús Lopez-Petáez, ed., *Strangers in early modern English texts*, Frankfurt, 2011. Pp. 170-1.

⁶⁰ Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-185*, Cambridge, 1998; *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*, New York, 1999; *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689*, Florida 2005.

⁶¹ De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 162; Hatfield House, Cecil Mss., 254, f. 5, and de Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 165. De Castries relates that the Moroccan ambassador visiting London in 1600 was the Moroccan king's most senior finance minister. El-Ouahed and his suit of sixteen spent six months in the city. Both Jerry Brotton and T. S. Willan cover this ambassador's visit in some detail. El-Ouahed remained an important member of the court of al-Mansur's son, Zidan.

November 1600. His visit attracted considerable attention, not all of it favourable.⁶² He too was in London for several months.⁶³

What opinion did the ordinary folk have of people from Barbary, as they would have understood their country of origin? Would they have agreed with Portia in *The Merchant of Venice*, as the Prince of Morocco, having chosen the wrong casket, leaves her: 'let all of his complexion choose me so'.⁶⁴ Would they have distinguished the prince, a 'tawney' Moor, from Aaron, in *Titus Andronicus*, with his black, woolly hair; how would they have reacted to Aaron, and his glorifying of his acts of brutality?⁶⁵ Their collected responses to the Moroccan ambassador who came to London in 1600 were lacking in understanding and hostile to he and his suite's behaviour. As John Chamberlain wrote, when arranging their return to Morocco proved difficult, 'our merchants nor mariners will not carry them into Turkey [a destination they requested], because they think it as matter odious and scandalous to the world to be too friendly or familiar with infidels'.⁶⁶ The stories of these visits by Moroccan ambassadors during Elizabeth's reign may not have been remembered in court circles, but it seems likely that Robert Cecil will have recalled them, and their distinctiveness, when the subject of an agent for Morocco was raised by James. It was probable, considering the experiences of agents, travellers, merchants and the

⁶² See John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, Norman MacClure, ed., Philadelphia, 1939, pp. 108 and 110. John Stow, (*The annales of England Faithfully collected out of the most autentically authors, records, and other monuments of antiquitie, lately collected, since encreased, and continued, from the first habitation vntill this present yeare 1605*, London) *Annales, or a Generale Chronicle of England*, London, 1603, 'It was generally judged, by their demeanours, that they were rather espials than honourable ambassadors', p.791; in Brotton, *This Orient Isle*, p. 271. De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 202-3, from John Nichols, *The Progressions and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. III, p. 516, 1823.

⁶³ It would appear that, of the three characters described as 'moor' by Shakespeare, one of them, the Prince of Morocco, was surely based on personal experience, someone Shakespeare had seen; why else, when descriptions of characters' clothing in his texts were noticeable by their absence, would the playwright describe the prince as dressed all in white? Shakespeare's information could have come from personal knowledge of the previous ambassador's visit, or from oral witnesses. The portrait of Abd el-Ouahed ben Messaoud ben Mohammed el-Anouri is in The Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham (painted in 1601). *The Merchant of Venice* dates from 1596-7. See Bernard Harris, in 'A Portrait of a Moor', *Shakespeare Survey II*, (1958), pp. 89 – 97, who first drew attention to el-Ouahed's portrait.

⁶⁴ William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, Act II, scene VII. The Prince's first line, 'Mislike me not for my complexion' suggests an automatic prejudice against a darker skin.

⁶⁵ Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, Act V, scene I, 'I have done a thousand dreadful things as willingly as one would kill a fly'.

⁶⁶ Brotton, *This Orient Isle*, pp. 270-1.

interests of ordinary folk, that an average Englishman's view of Morocco was that, despite being of interest, it was distant, alien and troubled.⁶⁷

The court of King James.

It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that both important and ordinary folk had some understanding of Morocco, and of Anglo- Moroccan relations. Some folk, notably the merchants, would be well informed, and concerned that these Anglo-Moroccan relationships remained harmonious. At court, those older courtiers who recalled Elizabeth's reign, were becoming fewer in number. There were some Englishmen, notably Robert Cecil, who, loyal to James, took the prudent course of maintaining his sources of information from Europe, and beyond, which was a feature of Elizabethan policy. There is considerable evidence in his correspondence that Cecil was particularly interested in Morocco. For example, when de Castries comments on the identity of the writer R.Co., author of *A true historical discourse of Mulay Hamet's rising*,⁶⁸ he points out that Cecil had reason to be interested in Morocco for both political and person reasons. He, and other older statesmen, were closely involved with Prince Henry's court; and, as James pursued a different policy, then their hopes lay with Henry, a prince whose aspirations lay in Europe, and at whose court Harrison was to spend the six years prior to his first mission. Harrison, although he was commissioned by the new king, James, whose needs were fundamentally financial, he left the court of Prince Henry, the political heir to Elizabeth, whose ambitions were idealistic and far-reaching.⁶⁹

A brief consideration of the reality of the Stuart court, in the early years of the seventeenth century, will highlight its contrast to the court of Elizabeth, reflecting as it did the differences a new monarch

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 191-197 on the audiences understanding of *Titus Andronicus*, 'The play manipulates a profound ambivalence about the role of such 'barbarians' in a confused post-Reformation world of shifting political and theological alliances', p. 197. See also Brotton's understand of the audience's reaction to *Othello*, pp. 283-296, '*Othello* was the culmination of more than a decade of the Elizabethan theatre's fascination with Turks and Moors', p. 296.

⁶⁸ Note footnote # 52, above.

⁶⁹ There is a beautifully drawn map of the forces engaged in the Battle of the Three Kings (1578) in the Cecil archive at Hatfield House.

can bring, especially a monarch who had been ruling in Scotland for twenty years prior to his succession to the English throne.⁷⁰ James' considerable experience of government in Scotland was of a different political and legal system; this meant that, in England, despite the support of the state officials who had served his predecessor, his relationship with these courtiers was complex.⁷¹ On a practical level the arrival of the Stuart family in England in 1603 necessitated considerable readjustment to the court traditions that had existed under Elizabeth. For the first time since the reign of Henry VIII England had a royal family. Suddenly the state income had to accommodate three new royal households;⁷² they were to prove expensive. Henry, his sister, Elizabeth, and his mother, Queen Anne, were given their own residences and court officials. With all their own staff, it may appear that these households existed independently of each other but this was not the case. The many connections between the most senior councillors and the members of the royal households were reinforced by marriage and patronage; in Stuart court society everyone was interconnected.⁷³ This society is the first environment into which Harrison can be specifically placed; and, despite lacking the social contacts of many of James' ambassadors, when there he used all the contacts he had to the best of his ability.

As well as practical, there were policy changes resulting from James' succession. The wider, cultural, court, which encompassed James' family, members of the Royal Bedchamber and Privy Chamber, and

⁷⁰ Pauline Croft, 'Robert Cecil and the early Jacobean Court' in Linda Levy Peck, ed., *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 134-147. Much has been written about the early Stuart court; see for example, R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England*, Philadelphia, 1987; Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake, eds., *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, London, 1994. In 1610 the affairs of state were still managed in a way that was consistent with the way Elizabeth ruled; this was to change after Robert Cecil died (1612).

⁷¹ David Starkey, ed., *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, London, 1987, introduction, page 9, describes James' Privy Chamber, as 'a hotbed of factional intrigue'. Chapter 6, 'The revival of the entourage: the Bedchamber of James I, 1603-1625', by Neil Cuddy, explores the royal bedchamber and the changes brought about as a result of the succession of a king, after so many years of rule by queens. See also Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England*, Boston, 1993, pages 53-5, on the groupings of James' courtiers. Robert Ashton, *The City and the Court, 1603-1643*, Cambridge, 1979, covers in detail the complex dealings between the king, his courtiers and the city merchants.

⁷² Pauline Croft, *King James*, Basingstoke, 2003, p. 72.

⁷³ Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales*, is especially good at describing these connections, see his chapter one. Many of John Chamberlain's letters demonstrate how important these connections were to anyone aspiring to a position at court. See also Levy Peck, chapter three, 'Court Patronage Networks' in *Court Patronage and Corruption*.

musicians, writers and architects, who were commissioned by the Royal Family, and whose contribution to Jacobite court culture was so important, was a departure from the court of Elizabeth. The court of King James, that of the king and his closest advisers, his privy councillors and secretaries of state, those whose function was to advise on and to implement policy was distinct from the court of culture, and also different from the court of Elizabeth. The state officers had to accommodate and accept that James held views which were contrary to those of his predecessor, most notably on relations with foreign polities. One of James' first actions was to withdraw the 'letters of marque' given to English ships which gave them state authorisation to seize the ships of England's enemies, and to require all ships with a marque to return their prizes to an English port.⁷⁴ He disapproved of both pirates and privateers, and, in line with his pacifist principles, was commencing peace negotiations with Spain, England's long-term enemy in Europe.⁷⁵ With this one action James had deprived English merchants of one of the additional benefits of their trade, and, by the loss of the 'prizes' which the merchants captured, deprived himself of a share of the money they brought into the exchequer.⁷⁶ He had a low opinion of merchants; in *Basilikon Doron, Or His Majesties Instructions to his Dearest Son*, he commented 'they thinke the whole common-weale ordained for making them up ... to enrich themselves upon the losse of all the rest of the people; and 'they buy for us the worst wares and sell them at the dearest prices'.⁷⁷ But James had little interest in trade and, unlike Elizabeth, did not invest in overseas expeditions. Nor was he so concerned, as she was, with the importance of keeping his navy in good shape.⁷⁸ Unlike his predecessor, James was less interested in supporting his

⁷⁴ Kenneth R Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement; Maritime enterprise and the genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630*, Cambridge, 1986, p. 253.

⁷⁵ Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement*, pp. 253-4; Tim Harris, *Rebellion Britain's First Stuart Kings*, Oxford, 2014, pp. 79-80. See also W. B. Patterson' preface, in *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, Cambridge, 1997, on James ambitions for a 'reunited Christendom', p. 157 on the characteristics of his foreign policy, 'to maintain friendly relations'.

⁷⁶ Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement*, p. 18. 'investment in war for booty was an honoured tradition'.

⁷⁷ *Basilikon Doron, Or His Majesties Instructions to his Dearest Son, Henry the Prince*, London, 1603, pp.49-50.

⁷⁸ Historians dispute James' lack of interest in his navy. Whatever the truth was, the navy was one of the most corrupt of all the royal institutions under James. See Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 25 and 362-4 and Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631, History and Politics in Early Modern England*, Oxford, 1979, pp. 117-9 and 228. For a contemporary account of James' support for commerce, see Ben Dew, *Commerce, finance and statecraft: histories of England, 1600-1780*, Manchester, 2018, pp. 72-4 on Edmund Howe's *Annales* and the descriptions of festivities offered to James by the Merchant Adventurers and the East India

subjects in their ventures overseas, and more interested in financial security and the fruits of diplomacy.

James' ambitions for his country's political influence may not have extended to Morocco, or indeed outside the European continent. But, reluctant as he was to do business with the Islamic world, he nevertheless understood the importance of the Levant and Asia trades to English merchants and he was inevitably involved in the appointment of ambassadors to the Ottoman Porte and to Mughal India.⁷⁹ He also understood that the city of London's successful trade with these places was potentially a valuable source of crown income, and that, if pressed, wealthy London merchants, those members of the successful city companies, were prepared to loan money to the crown; their equity was of value.⁸⁰ With Morocco, however, increasing trading revenues was not an option; the volume of trade seems to have been steady but limited, and, unlike those merchants trading in the Levant and Asia, those London merchants trading with Morocco were not pressing for the renewal of the trading company. They were, however, desirous of the monarch's support when they experienced trading problems, notably when they faced financial difficulties, and were without an agent or ambassador from whom to seek help. Although the motive for Harrison's first commission, unlike those Elizabeth issued, appears to have been reactive as opposed to proactive, it seems likely that, in response to a request for support from some merchants trading in Morocco, (most probably also in the Levant and maybe Asia), who were in financial difficulties, the traditional views of some members of the privy council, recalling the Anglo-Moroccan relationship of the previous reign, may have tipped the balance

Company. In Chatham, on the occasion of the launch of the 'great ship', the *Trade's Encrease*, 'the king shewed many favours unto the Merchants of the [East India] company ... and commended his [the master's] sundry good endeavours, for the Company and the commonwealth'.

⁷⁹ There was almost no contact between James and Morocco. Zidan wrote to James on the 18th July, 1609; we do not have a record of any reply. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 418-421. But see de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 247, a letter from James to Zidan's brother, ruling in Fez, in 1604, a reply to one to James. Regarding the Levant trade, and James' lack of interest, see Alfred. C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 39.

⁸⁰ Successful merchants were prepared to loan the crown money; see Robert Ashton, *The City and the Court*, pp. 39, and 103 as an example of how the crown could extract loans. Also, Croft, *King James*, pp. 72-3, and also p. 100, on James' inability to repay them. On the wealth of some London merchants, see Ashton, chapters one and two.

in favour of sending an agent to Morocco to re-establish the old relationship between the two countries.⁸¹

If the needs of some city merchants, added to James' continuing need to maximise his income, motivated his decision to send an agent to Morocco, it is more difficult to answer the question of how James came to select for this task a member of his son's court. A consideration of the qualifications of the previous four agents sent by Elizabeth does not help us; they had little in common, either with each other, or with Harrison.⁸² The status of these agents was, compared to those sent to England from Morocco, considerably lower, a fact noticed in Morocco, but not acknowledged in England.⁸³ Making comparisons with the ambassadors and agents who were sent by James to European courts does not help either, these men, being known in court, and mostly career diplomats. Moreover, the ambassadors and agents sent to polities outside Europe fulfilled a different brief; trade, not politics, dominated their dealings.⁸⁴ Trade was not a subject of which Harrison had any experience. In identifying the reasons for Harrison's selection, the answers, if they can be located, could be found with Henry and his court environment.⁸⁵

⁸¹ We know that Cecil invested personally in the Moroccan trade. A letter he received from Morocco mentions the hawks expected to arrive in London. 'I have sent your Honour a cast of the choycest faucons', de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 95. (Hatfield House, Cecil Manuscripts, 44, f. 44.)

⁸² Two of Elizabeth's agents left written reports of their missions, Hogan (1577) and Henry Roberts (1603). Both, however, benefited from the successful rule of al-Malik I, (r.1576-78) and al-Mansur (r.1578-1603) whose control over Morocco allowed the establishment of a strong government and the right circumstances for merchants to trade. Of Elizabeth's other agents to Morocco, of one, Henry Parnell (1601), we know nothing. The other, Edward Prynne (1590), whose mother was Portuguese, was a member of Dom Antonio's court; he reported on his mission briefly, including a description of the king's court. De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 10-17; for Roberts report, see de Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 222-228; (BL, Ad. Mss. 38139, f.33.) For Hogan, see de Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. I, p. 239-228, a reproduction from Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations ...* vol. VI, pp. 285-293.

⁸³ Dahiru Yahya, *Morocco in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 186, on al-Malik's response to Elizabeth's last agent, Henry Prannell.

⁸⁴ Ambassadors to the Porte, from William Harbourne in 1581, were all merchants, or men experienced in trade with the Porte, until Sir Thomas Roe (1621-25).

⁸⁵ Much of the following I owe to Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales*, and Sarah Fraser, *The Prince who would be King*. I also consulted Catharine MacLeod, *The Lost Prince; the Life and Death of Henry Stuart*, London, 2012. All three books draw on Thomas Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*; the author's sources include the many letters written to the prince.

The court of Prince Henry.

Harrison was a member of Prince Henry's court from its creation, in 1604, until he left for Morocco in 1610. From its inception the same themes of change and continuity that characterised James' succession can be discerned in the creation of the household of Prince Henry. And these two features together were to be the major factors in the emergence of a court of distinctive character, and of which great things were expected. James' elder son was barely nine years old when his father succeeded to the English throne. But from his birth he had had his own household. His arrival in England necessitated a number of changes to the people into whose care he was entrusted. Some of these courtiers, both newly appointed and re-appointed, were to remain with him until he died in 1612. Their experiences, their contacts, and the ambiance they created around the prince was to be a major influence, not only on the prince himself but upon the expectations of his future subjects. By the time of his investiture as Prince of Wales, in 1610, Henry was making his own appointments, and his court had a very different character to that of his father's. Henry became a focal point for those for whom England was the leading defendant of the Protestant faith.⁸⁶ A successful future was predicted for him as it was envisaged that England on Henry's succession would claim her place in Europe in a union with the other Protestant polities. Henry was a sober, Protestant, military-minded prince who was an energetic and enthusiastic participator in tournaments and jousts, and a keen supporter of voyages of exploration and the study of navigation. And at eighteen, disregarding his father's ambitions for a Catholic princess for his wife, Henry was determined that his marriage alliance would further his ambitions to support the Protestant cause in Europe.

The two people who, it could be argued, had the most influence over the education and development of Prince Henry once he was in England, are Robert Cecil, and Thomas Chaloner, the man chosen in 1603 to be the governor of Henry's household. It was Cecil who had first introduced

⁸⁶ Note, not only Englishmen. Foreign courts were in regular contact with Henry; and from his christening to his funeral European polities sent representatives. See Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales*, pp. 73-4, 77-8.

Chaloner to James. He knew Chaloner well, their fathers having been close friends.⁸⁷ Chaloner had fought in France under Leicester and spent several years in both France and Italy gathering intelligence for Essex. While Elizabeth was still alive Cecil had sent him to Scotland with letters to James, who appreciated his understanding of the sensitive nature of his commission. Chaloner remained in Scotland, travelling to England with James when he succeeded to the English throne. As governor of Henry's household he had complete control over all its members, including who was admitted to see the prince. Chaloner's influence was considerable; educated at St Paul's School and Magdalen College Oxford, he was interested in philosophy and natural history and he introduced Henry to a number of people who shared the prince's interest in science, navigation and exploration.⁸⁸ When, on reaching sixteen, Henry was appointing his own household, he retained the services of Chaloner, making him his Lord Chancellor.

Robert Cecil's interest in, and influence over Henry's court is harder to quantify. There is some dispute over whether Henry liked Cecil. Sharpe, in his biography of Sir Robert Cotton, claims he did not. But Haynes, in his biography of Cecil, suggests too much has been made of the French ambassador's comment which underlies this view.⁸⁹ The choice of Chaloner as governor may have been more James' than Cecil's. But Cecil was undoubtedly well informed on affairs at Nonsuch Palace, Henry's first home in England. The boys who were selected to join Henry in his classes included Cecil's son William; and in 1605 Cecil introduced his nephew, Sir Edward Cecil, to Henry. Currently fighting in the United Provinces with Maurice of Nassau, Sir Edward spent the winter months at Henry's court. When not studying, they spent their time riding, practising military manoeuvres, and dancing. Despite

⁸⁷ See O'Sullivan, *The Reluctant Ambassador*, on Chaloner senior who was a 'typical' servant of Elizabeth. De Castries includes letters from Chaloner senior to Lord Burghley, Cecil's father, in vol. I of *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, among others concerning the problems between England and Portugal caused by the English trade with Morocco.

⁸⁸ Fraser, *The Prince who would be King*, p. 167, for example, on 'Cornelius Drebbel, the scientist and inventor Chaloner had persuaded to come and work for Henry'.

⁸⁹ Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631*, p. 120. Alan Haynes, *Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury, 1563-1612: Servant of Two Sovereigns*, London, 1989, pp. 183-5; Stewart, *The Cradle King*, p. 184. See also Linda Levy Peck, ed., *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, p. 141. Birch first mentions the French ambassador's views, in *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, p.101, calling them 'supposed'.

not being as devoted to his studies as his father would have liked, Henry was, in his way, diligent, and curious for information about the world beyond England. When his fellow students left to tour the continent of Europe Henry followed their progress through their correspondence.⁹⁰ No doubt conscious of the burden which would fall on Henry's shoulders when he succeeded James, and knowing the value of knowledge and information on the affairs of state, maybe also aware that James' interest in such matters took second place to his passion for hunting, as he grew older Cecil sent Henry confidential information from the state office and introduced him to foreign ambassadors. It was at Cecil's instigation that Henry received correspondence from Sir Charles Cornwallis in Madrid and personal reports from France through the tutor to Sir Thomas Puckering, who was travelling in Europe. A special mention should be made of Cornwallis, who remained in Spain as ambassador after the Earl of Nottingham and his suit's departure for Britain following the signing of the Treaty of London (1604). Without an English ambassador for the duration of the Anglo-Spanish war (1585-1604), and physically on Europe's margins, Spain was removed from the connections which linked the other main English embassies in Europe. It, however, had strong links with Morocco.⁹¹ Cornwallis, who was known to be anti-Spanish, will have returned to England in 1609 with the most up-to-date information on events in Spain and in Morocco.⁹² He was appointed in 1610 as treasurer to Prince Henry, newly proclaimed Prince of Wales. A safe pair of hands, known to Robert Cecil, by now Lord Salisbury, as an experienced diplomat, he was seen as the ideal addition to Henry's household. It is probable that Cornwallis' views on Spain were well known in Henry's court. In this way Cecil influenced Henry's development,

⁹⁰ One of them, John Harington, seems to have been an exemplary correspondent. Birch tells us that Henry sent his letters on the Cecil, who used them to encourage his own son, also abroad, to make a similar effort. Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, p. 132, on letters arriving 'every week'.

⁹¹ See Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, who quotes a number of Cornwallis' letters, and, page 191, credits Henry's secretary, Newton, with arranging for the tutor's reports.

⁹² In 1605 James I sent Charles Howard, the Earl of Nottingham, with a court of an astonishing 650 attendants, to witness Philip III's signature on the peace agreement between Spain and England, concluded at the Somerset House conference in 1604. Among the members of this embassy were Charles Cornwallis, Dudley Carleton, and Thomas Roe. All these men, scattered to different parts of the English diplomatic network, would feature in Harrison's time as the king's agent.

preparing him for the issues in England's relations with Europe which were to be his responsibility on the death of his father.

While Cecil's influence on Prince Henry's court cannot be quantified, a number of historians have suggested that the ethos of Henry's court can be traced back to Elizabeth's reign in the 1580s and 1590s, and pointed to the relevance of the links this would make between Henry, Cecil and the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, and Tudor chivalric values to his court practices.⁹³ While still in Scotland Henry's then guardian, the Earl of Mar, maintained good relations with Essex. At this time Essex and Cecil were rivals for Elizabeth's patronage; however, this situation resolved itself when Essex was executed for treason in 1601. This resolution of the previous rivalries was made easier by the appointments of supporters of both factions by James to his privy council. Some of those known to Essex may have found their way into Henry's household. One of these may have been John Harrison; he had fought in Ireland, maybe under Essex, for Elizabeth. His staunch Protestantism and his anti-Catholic views would have appealed to Henry and Cecil.⁹⁴

Harrison was to witness the changes that were necessitated by the evolution of Henry's environment from household to court, from a 'cultural college' similar to the prince's old household in Scotland to a royal court-in-waiting, from an establishment set up for him to an assembly of like-minded people he chose himself. By the time of his investiture as Prince of Wales in 1610 Henry had left the classroom behind. He had chosen the courtiers he wished to be part of his court. He was given the palaces of St James and Richmond; he had more than 400 staff. Henry now determined his own policies, based upon his personal beliefs and convictions; his court was highly organised on Christian principles, in contrast to the more relaxed atmosphere at the king's court. The combined influence of all those in charge of Henry's education and upbringing, together with his Protestant faith and his own predilection for an active lifestyle, had produced a prince who had embraced his heritage, and had

⁹³ Fraser, *The Prince who would be King*, p. 63.

⁹⁴ Anti Catholic views were the norm at Henry's court; Harrison's first reference is in *Late Newes ...*, in the advertisement to the reader, 'saintes in profession, but devils in practise,,,, even that holy one of Rome', sig. A⁵

become the focus of the ambitions of those courtiers whose convictions were anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish and exponents of an expansive military, maritime and colonial future for England. That these policies, reminiscent of the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign, survived into the seventeenth century, has to be in part because they were embraced by Henry and his court.⁹⁵

Exploration and over-seas expansion.

No overview of Henry's court would be complete without reference to the overseas projects he championed. It is probable that, by knowing the prince's plans, and by meeting the people who would implement them, it was at Henry's court that Harrison acquired an enthusiasm for exploration, expansion and trade, and came to believe in the benefits of continuing those policies of Elizabeth's reign, which characterise his missions to Morocco. Henry was a supporter of Walter Raleigh, with whom he regularly corresponded; Henry's mathematics tutor, who introduced them, had sailed on Raleigh's ill-fated Roanoke voyage.⁹⁶ Fraser describes Henry as 'transfixed' with the idea of America.⁹⁷ When he was eleven, Chaloner, governor of his household, invested in the Virginia Company, licensed in 1606; in this company Henry himself was later to invest. If he could not sail there himself, he arranged that on any expedition sailing west he had a representative who would report to him on the venture's outcome. On the fledgling company's first voyage he sent his gunner, Robert Tindall; later, in 1611, the expedition that was to save the second attempt to found this new colony in America included Henry's former weapons tutor, Sir Thomas Dale.⁹⁸ In 1611, for Sir Thomas Button's expedition to find the North West passage, James appointed Henry 'Supreme Protector of the said Discovery and Company'; Henry was very involved in the preparations and gave Button strict instructions on how to

⁹⁵ The end of the Elizabethan 'cult' happened as soon as Henry died. R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition...*, pp. 82-3. Note, in Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, in a letter from Sir John Digby to Newton, Henry's tutor, 'how great an expectation the world generally conceived of the hopeful and virtuous beginnings of the prince', p. 217.

⁹⁶ Thomas Harriott; see Fraser, *The Prince who would be King*, p. 105.

⁹⁷ Fraser, *The Prince who would be King*, pp. 105-7, pp. 220-22.

⁹⁸ Dale served twice as governor in Virginia with considerable success. Robert Johnson, *The New Life of Virginia*, London, 1612, claimed that without Dale's martial laws the colony would not have survived. Fraser, *The Prince who would be King*, p. 221.

run a Christian ship.⁹⁹ All these enterprises had as one of their ambitions the conversion of the 'poore people there living in darknesse' to the Protestant faith.¹⁰⁰ Although there is no direct evidence, it is possible that Harrison became interested in expeditions to America, and came to the attention of some members of the Virginia Company; this could explain how he came to be sent to the Somer Islands in the early 1620s.

Henry and Protestantism.

Equally, no description of Henry's court and its importance in early seventeenth century England can overlook its entrenched Protestantism. No-one with any suggested leanings towards Roman Catholicism was tolerated. Attendance at twice daily prayers was compulsory, as was church attendance on Sundays. Sermons were preached several times a week, notably on Tuesdays.¹⁰¹ The prince engaged the services of many preachers whose sermons he liked and whose beliefs were in sympathy with his own. This was in contrast to his father's court where entertaining, hunting and masques were popular, and religious practices were more relaxed; James was happy to receive Catholics at his court. There would seem to be several reasons for the strictly Protestant devotions at Henry's court. Firstly, he would undoubtedly have been influenced by the members of his household, both Scottish and English, carefully chosen by his father who was, possibly, influenced in his choices by Robert Cecil, who would remain ever mindful of his Elizabethan heritage. Secondly, as he grew older, Henry could not have been ignorant of the amount of attention he received, be it written, poetry and prose, or performed, plays and masques. In the worlds thus created Henry was a champion of the Protestant faith. Thirdly, soon after their arrival in England, he would have experienced the attempts on his father's and his own lives; a Protestant God had ensured their survival from the plots of the Roman Catholics. Fourthly, Henry's good relationships with Protestant polities in Europe would have

⁹⁹ This same Button had attended Nottingham on his embassy to Spain, 1605.

¹⁰⁰ Edward Wright, *Certaine Errors in Navigation, Detected and Corrected*, 1610, p. 4, in his dedication to Prince Henry; Wright was Henry's librarian.

¹⁰¹ See Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 116-118. Tuesday sermons commemorated both James' survival of the Gowrie plot and the entire Royal family's survival of the Gunpowder plot.

re-enforced his preferences; the United Provinces, his cousins in Denmark and other family relations in Germany were all good Protestant contacts. Henry's relationships were free of any need to observe state policies. Maybe, fifthly, his and his court's enthusiasm for exploration, which he embraced, and with which, for some, went a corresponding belief in the importance of conversion, to the Protestant faith.¹⁰² Taken together, these reasons could explain why a nine year old boy, whose whole experience of life was of his household in Stirling Castle, became an eighteen year old upon whose shoulders the future of Protestant Europe would seem to rest. This responsibility Henry did not take lightly; it was no wonder that his attitude did not complement that of his father, that the policies of *rex pacificus* were not embraced by his son.¹⁰³

The ethos of Henry's court attracted approval from Europe, especially from northern polities, to many of whose rulers Henry was related through his mother Anne (1574-1619), daughter of Frederick II of Denmark.¹⁰⁴ In considering Protestantism in England in the early seventeenth century, especially as practiced in Henry's court, the characteristics that connected Henry with those countries, especially the United Provinces, with which England under Elizabeth had longstanding connections become evident. At Henry's court, if not before, Harrison certainly embraced not only its religious observances but its affinity with Protestant Europe. His later ties with the United Provinces, and his correspondence with them, suggests that he saw England and its nearest Protestant neighbour as having similar if not identical religious and political beliefs.

¹⁰² But see Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement*, pp. 31-2, 'the missionary ideal was not a major stimulus to English colonial endeavour'.

¹⁰³ Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, pp. 71-2; McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, pp. 183-94, on the factions whose clients were to become part of Henry's court.

¹⁰⁴ Henry was related to many royal courts in Europe. See Fraser, *The Prince who would be King*, pp.165-7, on the European royalty attending Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales. By way of a contrast, Birch lists all the representatives of European royalty that attended Henry's christening, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, pp. 10-11. This christening was the subject of a book, *A True Reportarie of the Most Triumphant, and Royal Accomplishment of the Baptisme of the most Excellent, right High, and mightie Prince, Frederick Henry; by the grace of God, Prince of Scotland. Solemnized the 30. Day of August, 1594*, which also makes much of the elite personnel attending the Christening festivities, which took place over several days.

An understanding of the ethos of Henry's court helps in identifying those particular practices and commitments, that dedication to his God and his country, which characterises Harrison's writings and which informs his life's 'pilgrimage'. For example, his writings on religious observance and the merchants' need for Protestant ministers in foreign places reflect the approach taken by Henry to those overseas missions in which he took a keen interest and for which he offered both advice and personnel. But nothing explains why Harrison was chosen for James' first mission to Morocco. The answer may be that he was, very likely at Cecil's suggestion, simply someone the prince trusted but could dispense with, and who was prepared to embrace the risks involved in travelling to and attending the Moroccan court. The commission would have been seen, at least by some, as an opportunity for promotion not to be dismissed.

Before concluding this discourse on those influences which may have suggested Harrison's suitability for his position as agent to Morocco, the importance of his Protestant faith as implicit in his patriotism should be recognised. In 1610 the church in England remained very much as it had been under Elizabeth. James had disappointed many on arrival in England when he maintained the *status quo* of the English church. The expected relaxation of the tolerance towards Roman Catholics never happened; and nor did the introduction of a more Calvinist, more Presbyterian ordinance, as practised in the Scottish church.¹⁰⁵ However, in 1610, on the threshold of his inauguration, Henry's Protestant faith would allow no tolerance for Roman Catholics; he and his father could be said to represent the divisions within the English church. Harrison's position was that of his 'master'.¹⁰⁶

When examining his writings in chapter two Harrison's faith is discussed in more detail. But here the question arises of whether his time at Henry's court was a crucial factor in the development of his millenarian beliefs. Was there something specific about the ambience at Henry's court which could

¹⁰⁵ By 1610 James had confirmed previous ordinances and commissioned the new translation of the bible which was to bear his name. Although throughout his reign James flirted with the idea of greater tolerance for his Catholic subjects when it suited his policy regarding negotiations with Spain, nothing he committed to was ever to become a reality. See Harris, *Rebellion*, pp. 93-5.

¹⁰⁶ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 192, 'Henry's [court] offered an unambiguous agenda of anti-Catholic militant Protestantism'.

have influenced Harrison's beliefs to the extent that he embraced millenarianism? Was millenarianism a matter debated and written about in England during the time Harrison was attendant on Henry? Protestantism and publications in early seventeenth century England are a rich subject of study. This was a time when there was a huge increase in the number of books on religious issues published; over 50 percent of all books published were essentially religious in content. Henry's court would have access to The Lumley Library, containing a large number of books on religious subjects.¹⁰⁷ England had lagged behind Protestant Europe in the previous century but, in part, maybe, as a result of the succession of James, religious debate, study and controversy flourished.¹⁰⁸ However, the publication dates of the earliest English authors who wrote popular books on the millenarianism, Hugh Broughton and Thomas Brightman, are after Harrison had departed on his first mission. Brightman possibly, and Broughton certainly, would have been known to Henry's court, although no publications by either were in his library. Katherine Firth, in *The Apocalyptic Tradition*, outlines their contrasting life styles and numbers of publications.¹⁰⁹ Brightman (1562-1607) never left England, and, compared with Broughton, authored few books, all of which were published posthumously. His exposition of the biblical chronology of the apocalypse, *A Revelation of the Apocalyps*, was published in Amsterdam in 1611.¹¹⁰ By contrast, Broughton (1549-1612) was one of a number of English divines who had found sanctuary abroad during Mary's reign; thereafter certain cities in the United Provinces, Switzerland and Protestant Germany remained places where Englishmen lived and worked.¹¹¹ He was a peripatetic

¹⁰⁷ See Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, Oxford, 2000, p. 6 and pp. 13-14 on the percentage of authors who were clergy and the proportion of books in libraries catalogued as 'divine'. See *The Lumley Library*, catalogued in 1609, edited by Sears Jayne & Francis R. Johnson, London, 1956. In many ways this collection was 'Elizabethan' in character; the original library on which this one was built had belonged to Archbishop Cranmer. Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, pp. 127-9, described its contents and from whose collection the books came. *The Lumley Library*, p. 41, lists one copy of the Koran, (not in English), published in Zurich in 1550,

¹⁰⁸ Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain*, 'controversial theology became intensely popular among aspiring divines', p. 163.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-179, in which she outlines the earlier English works on the subject of the apocalypse.

¹¹⁰ *A Revelation ...* was published originally in Latin in 1609 (Frankfurt), in English in 1611 (Amsterdam) and finally in England in English, 1644.

¹¹¹ Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age*, New Haven, 2019, pp. 135-138 on the 'extraordinary liking for the works of English theologians' in the Low Countries in the seventeenth century, notably, in the early years for translations of Puritan authors. The printers of such works included some Englishmen.

scholar whose work *A Concept of Scripture* (1588) was controversial, and whose life was spent between England and Germany where, it appears, he found a more conducive society and employment easier to come by. Broughton was a Hebrew scholar whose extensive works demonstrate his knowledge of the Jews and Judaism.¹¹² His *A Revelation of the Holy Apocalypse* was published in Middelburg in 1610.¹¹³ Notwithstanding the extension of the European theological community to include England, of which Broughton's career is a good example, it was 1627 before England's 'greatest' writer on the subject, Joseph Mede, published *Clavis Apocalyptica*.¹¹⁴ If Harrison embraced millenarianism at Henry's court, then the texts he read will quite probably have been published abroad and possibly not authored by Englishmen. However, listening to sermons, involvement in debates and reading manuscripts copies of unpublished works were all ways of knowledge exchange to which he would have been exposed.¹¹⁵

Therefore, if not in printed material, were there, maybe among the many preachers Henry asked to attend his court, some with millenarian leanings? That Henry liked sermons is not in doubt; not least, as important to him, were the clerical members of his household. Fraser comments on the religious atmosphere in the court, where two out of his twenty four chaplains were always present, and the daily sermons, to which attendance was compulsory.¹¹⁶ Not all of them remained with him until 1612; some of them were notable for their published works, for some there are records of the sermons they preached. Henry's chaplains included Joseph Hall, 1574-1656, who became a chaplain in 1608, later Bishop of Exeter (1627), and of Norwich (1641); Dr Lionel Sharpe, 1559-1631, who joined Henry's court sometime in 1605, but moved to James' court before 1612; and Lewis Bayly (d.1631) who accused

¹¹² The English Short Title Catalogue lists 60 books attributed to, and about, Broughton, published in London, Amsterdam and Middelburg between 1590 and 1612.

¹¹³ By Richard Schilders; and, in the same year, by Giles Thorp in Amsterdam.

¹¹⁴ Mede, whose book 'inaugurated the rebirth of millenarianism' in England, John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, Cambridge, 2008, page 262.

¹¹⁵ Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition*, p. 179, 'By the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century, the apocalyptic tradition had not only been firmly absorbed into British Protestantism, but had also become the subject of quite sophisticated study'; p. 204, 'The single most important alteration (in the first decades of the seventeenth century) was the introduction of a new spirit of millenarianism'.

¹¹⁶ Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, p. 71; McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 187.

certain members of the Privy Council of being Roman Catholics.¹¹⁷ The publishing history of all these men demonstrates both their religious learning and their anti-Catholic zeal, popular with the Prince and his circle; but millenarianism is not a consideration.

The Henrician court was a constantly changing environment and many members were peripatetic. Of all those divines that came to Henry's court, Hugh Broughton is the one preacher who may have influenced Harrison; he came to Henry's court as a tutor to Robert Cotton's son when he joined Henry's courtly college of young men.¹¹⁸ Broughton must have decided against staying in England with Henry, as he soon returned to Middelburg to take a position as the pastor to the English congregation. His publication in 1610, *A Revelation of the Holy Apocalypse*, offered no calculations on which he based his beliefs but he was convinced that the apocalypse would happen very soon, and would be preceded by the conversion of the Jews. We know that Harrison knew 'a little Hebrew' when he went to Morocco in 1610. While it is not clear whether Broughton was still in contact with Henry's court by May, 1604, when Harrison was appointed, Broughton is the one person we know of who may have contributed to Harrison's Hebraic studies and who may have influenced his readings of the biblical texts that are the primary sources for millenarian theorists. The second of Harrison's publications is an appeal to the Jews to convert to Christianity, a necessary prelude to second coming of Christ on earth and the sign of the beginning of the end of the world.

John Harrison in 1610.

Having looked at the geopolitical position of Morocco in the western Mediterranean, established the knowledge of Morocco and Moroccan affairs which could have existed in England, and considered the ambience of the Stuart courts, we should conclude by reviewing the situation in which Harrison found himself in 1610. While there is no evidence to explain how Harrison was appointed to Prince

¹¹⁷ See McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, pp. 183-194 on Henry's clerical establishment. Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, comments on the publications dedicated to the prince, including those by Broughton and Hall ('the Prince's favourite Chaplain, our English Seneca', p. 71).

¹¹⁸ Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, "that great master of the Hebrew language and learning", p. 43.

Henry's court, the most likely explanation is that Robert Cecil knew, or knew of, Harrison prior to his appointment. Apart from the circumstantial evidence referred to, above, this evidence is in the second of two letters, dated October 1610, which Cecil received from Harrison on his first mission. In it he refers to a favour Cecil had done him in the past, concerning arrears of wages. He writes 'I was once beholding to your Lordship for an allowance of twentie marks by yeare out of the King's cofers, till such time as our wages under the Prince weare sett downe'. He continues 'your Honour (may) have forgotten, yet it is my part to remember'. Although it is not clear from this that Cecil knew Harrison personally as the beneficiary of his actions, this would seem to confirm that he was the nearest to a patron that Harrison had.¹¹⁹ Harrison took personal leave of Cecil before his first mission and, drawing together Cecil's known interest in Morocco, his support for Henry's interests overseas, and the possibility that he knew of Harrison before the latter's employment by the king, it seems reasonable to conclude that Cecil felt that Harrison had the qualifications required for this posting.¹²⁰ If this is the case, then Harrison's suitability for the commissions, notwithstanding James' brief on behalf of the merchants trading in Barbary, will have been his commitment to those ideals which Cecil brought from the court of Elizabeth to the court of King James. He would have considered Harrison a safe pair of hands.

However, if, in 1610, Cecil appreciated the benefits that Harrison's commission brought him, he must also have known that, when comparing Harrison to his peers, to those other agents sent by James to polities in Europe, or further afield to the Islamic empires of the Ottomans or the Moghuls, it was an unusual appointment. A position as groom of the bedchamber was not the usual springboard to a diplomatic career. What clues there are to his personal life, pieced together from his publications, his relations and memorandums, and his petitions, do not suggest that he possessed any of the usual

¹¹⁹ Harrison's letter to Cecil, letter no. two, SP 71/12, ff. 84. Birch writes of the time when a 'considerable number' of servants impeded the progress of the Lord Treasurer's [Dorset's] coach until he promised to pay their arrears, Birch, *The Life of Henry, Prince of Wales*, p. 71.

¹²⁰ SP 71/12, ff. 82, Cecil, letter no. one. 'That honourable respect I found at your Lordship, upon my coming away'.

qualifications for this post. But his personal beliefs, notably his millenarianism and his patriotism (and his hostility to Spain), which are clearly stated in his publications, all but one by 1620, and his writings, all after 1627, may have influenced the decision. It is the material he chooses to publish, that, while it raises as many questions as it answers about his private life, makes Harrison unique among his peers in early seventeenth century England.¹²¹

As well as a consideration of Harrison's situation in 1610, in this chapter I have endeavoured to paint a picture of the world which he left behind when he departed from England for Morocco in May 1610. This was a world in which the uncertainties of Elizabethan England in the 1590s were giving way to the new more peaceful policies of the new monarch. I have sought clues to what characteristics, what attributes Harrison might have brought to this, his first mission, despite identifying that, for an agent travelling to a country of a different faith, on a different continent, in many ways Harrison seems woefully ill equipped. Of course, James' personal instructions Harrison kept private, but his brief, insofar as it can be deduced from his later writings, seems to hark back to those of his predecessors, and whose instructions were probably similar to those that Elizabeth gave to Edmund Hogan in 1577.¹²² His primary task was to achieve a resumption of the understanding reached between Elizabeth and al-Mansur. Harrison's profile does not compare with previous Moroccan agents, nor those ambassadors sent to the Ottoman Empire, either in political status or in commercial experience. As equally noticeable as his lack of any useful expertise is the apparent absence of identifiable support

¹²¹ Strachan, *Sir Thomas Roe*, lists fourteen published writings by or attributed to Roe. Not all of these, including *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte ... 1621 to 1628*, were published in his lifetime, and two he lists as of doubtful provenance. Among them are verses, letters, and relations, the latter on his experiences at both the Mogul and Ottoman courts. None of these works appear to have been published at Roe's instigation. Extracts from Roe's Journal of his mission to the Mogul, 1615 to 1619 appeared in Samuel Purchas' *Pilgrims*, 1625. Harrison had read Purchas as his comments on Purchas' inclusion of documents on Morocco makes clear. In the margin of his Memorandum, *The state of Barbary*, 1631, Harrison disputes Purchas claim that Abu Mahalli had 1,000 troops for his last attack on Marrakesh, saying 'Purchas sayeth 1,000 but the Moores told me 300 no more'. De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 143, n. 1.

¹²² Elizabeth's instructions begin 'After the deliverie of our letters to the King, you shall thank him very much in our name for that he offereth for our subjects that traphick into those countries shall be used with all favore and enjoy all imunities and liberties as amplie they have done in other his predecessores tymes ...,' de Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 211-13.

for his appointment from any of the London merchants trading in Morocco. The probability is that, during the seven years that elapsed between the last of Elizabeth's agents and Harrison's departure, those merchants, and their factors in Morocco, had muddled along until the situation forced them to request intervention from James; and that Cecil had nominated a like-minded individual who would keep him informed of events in Morocco and the western Mediterranean that could be of political value. James, meanwhile, had responded with diligence to his subjects' requests.

Chapter two. The publications of John Harrison between 1613 and 1633.

'I hope, it may serve to some good use also for us Christians of these last daies'.¹

Introduction.

Before we consider Harrison's eight missions to Barbary in some detail, in this chapter I want to focus on Harrison's writings, and, specifically, on his publications. While there may be no obvious logic in considering Harrison's publications in a separate chapter, as opposed to factoring them into the exploration of his eight missions, I think it will be helpful. One reason for this is that three of Harrison's six books appear to have no connection with his diplomatic experiences. In fact, these three books could only have been written because of his court connections which resulted, in turn, to his fifth commission. And, it will become clear, when examining his publications, that they are all inexplicably linked in different ways with Harrison's diplomatic career. A knowledge of the background to their publication, together with how they fit into his travel itinerary, will be a framework which will support a better understand of Harrison's progressive responses to the challenges of his missions.

In considering his publications I want to ascertain how and where Harrison's books fit into the publishing history of the early seventeenth century; this will help identify in what way they may illuminate his understanding of England's position in the confluence of trade, diplomacy and conversion in early seventeenth century Europe. An examination of Harrison's publications may also clarify his attitude to exploration and expansion, thereby contributing to a better comprehension of the motivators of the growth of England's power and influence outside her traditional trading and political connections in Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The justifications Harrison gives, in dedications and prefaces, for their publication demonstrate his personal ambitions, for

¹ *Late Newes out of BARBARY. IN A Letter written of late from a Merchant there, to a Gentl. not long since impolyed into that countrie from his Maiestie. Containing some strange particulars, of this new Saintish Kings proceedings: as they haue been very credibly related from such as were eye-witnesses*, London, 1613, sig. A3.

himself but also for his country. While his manuscript legacy is considerable, his published works place his ideas in the public domain. What were his motivations for publication? Of what significance were these books at the time they were published? It is in these books that Harrison affirms his millenarianism; he is quite clear that the world as he knew it is approaching its end, and this is a primary motivation for his publications.

A summary of all Harrison's written legacy will distinguish his personal, written, records from his published works. Between 1613 and 1633 Harrison published six books; between 1627 and 1632 he wrote seven relations or memoranda on his experiences in Morocco for Charles and his secretaries of state. Of his other manuscripts we have nineteen letters to diplomatic contacts in England and Europe, the earliest from 1610, sixteen petitions to the English king and the Privy Council, the latest in 1633, and one petition to the Estates General of the United Provinces. Of these works, his publications are in several libraries in both Britain and the United States, and most scribal works are in The National Archives.² Harrison's published works are a contrast with his scribal legacy, which is all related to his missions to Morocco. I propose to consider if, and if so how, Harrison's published works can be sited among like publications, and to view them in their order of publication. Concurrently they can be sited in our timeline of Harrison's missions, which provides an opportunity to examine how these publications relate to the early part of his diplomatic career. Some of his publications, unconnected with his political career, provide no information about his diplomatic experiences; nevertheless, in registering the changing nature of Harrison's publications, it will become apparent that they identify not only his *prima facie* reasons for their publication, but also, after his first mission and his first two publications, they demonstrate his growing understanding of the European world in which he found himself. Harrison's manuscript writings, written for private consumption by individuals, are different in character, being more personal and quite often painful to read. His relations are crucial sources for

² Harrison's letters to the Estate General of the United Provinces are in de Castries, *Les sources inédites ... des Pas-Bas*, vol. IV, pp. 283-90, and vol. III, pp. 326-8.

his missions, and therefore for chapters three and four. His letters and petitions give precious glimpses of his personal life.

In this chapter, following a consideration of the context of Harrison's publications, I propose to begin by summarising Harrison's publications, their dates and places of publication; to consider each publication within the context of its genre, to estimate its popularity, and to identify those parts which help to illuminate Harrison's character, beliefs and ambitions which inform his diplomatic work. The exact, and often long, titles of each of the editions are listed in the bibliography, with their publication dates.³

Communication: networks, difficulties, differences,(and intentions).

Harrison's legacy, both published and in manuscript, is testament to his need and his ability to communicate; with his peers, his 'masters', and his many contacts in Europe and Morocco. His intentions were to bring news of interest, to observe the requirements of an agent abroad to inform his employer, and to caution his readers about the coming apocalypse. Arblaster, in *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe*, neatly sums up the factors that contributed to the growth of communication networks across and beyond Europe by the time Harrison was sent to Morocco. 'One of the new business techniques of sixteenth-century commerce was frequent correspondence with partners and factors, exchanging not just commercial information, but news of anything which might affect exchange rates, the costs of commodities, the costs and risk of transport, the level of taxes, the opening of new markets, or the interruption of regular patterns of trade.'⁴ Comprehensive systems evolved to satisfy this new business technique, and communications linked Britain with Europe and the centres of commerce and trade in the wider Mediterranean. These Harrison will have known about; he will have understood their workings from his years at Prince Henry's court, especially

³ Note that de Castries reproduces those publications, or parts of them, which are relevant to Harrison's time in Morocco.

⁴ Paul Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European system of communications' in Joel Raymond, editor, *News Networks in Seventeenth Century, Britain and Europe*, Abington, 2006. See pp. 19-22 for a description of the postal networks that crossed Europe by the early seventeenth-century.

since Cecil had made the prince aware of the correspondence from travellers, agents and ambassadors that he received. These networks supported James in his efforts to maintain peace in Europe. Harrison will have appreciated that commerce and diplomacy went hand in hand, and he will also have known how this network extended, through Venice primarily, to the Ottoman Empire. There were, however, no regular arrangements that included Morocco. From there, the only way to communicate with Europe was by sea, a system which was both protracted and unreliable.

Before considering Harrison's publications there are two general points of interest which distinguish his written legacy. Firstly, despite the amount of material that exists, Harrison's legacy has its limitations. This material is different to that left by other diplomats of this period. Unlike the archives of, for example, Sir Dudley Carleton or Sir Thomas Roe, it is limited in that it does not include any correspondence with his family or his friends, nor with other English diplomats.⁵ That Harrison wrote more letters than have survived is clear, as he mentions previous correspondence in the existing letters, and hopes that it has been received. That it was not, as Harrison himself explained, was because the maritime contacts between England and Morocco were not conducive to consistent postal deliveries. Among many references to the difficulties he faced, in 1625 he wrote from Tetuan 'I hope my other letters ... are before this tyme with your Grace'. These letters are lost.⁶ Judging from his few personal comments, Harrison, apart from letters, was in the habit of writing 'observations' for which he kept a particular 'table' book. In 1619 he notes 'This was my meditation, coming downe the Rhyne (the day after their Mat^{ies} departure from Heydelberg) writte in my table booke, among other

⁵ It is very possible that Harrison wrote personal letters which have not survived. His difficult financial circumstances in the 1630s would suggest that, except for his manuscripts in The National Archives, all his own collection of books and manuscripts were lost when he secured a loan against his property. This is in sharp contrast to other diplomats of the period, as we have seen. Carleton's many letters, for example, written during his time as ambassador to The Hague, (1616-19) were first published in 1757. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025496750.0x000001#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=-2350%2C-150%2C7026%2C3347

⁶ John Harrison to the Duke of Buckingham, 13th November, 1625, SP, Foreign, Barbary, 72/12 ff. 105. However, many, if not all, of the letters of Sir Thomas Roe, from Moghul India, did reach England, although they took a very long time to arrive.

observations'. This 'table' book is lost.⁷ It seems likely that he kept copies of most of his writings; his suite when in Morocco included clerks who wrote on his behalf and certain passages in his works on Morocco appear verbatim in more than one manuscript.⁸ He described his 'studio' as the place where he kept all his work; this would appear to be a room in his London house reserved for his books, his manuscript collection and where he wrote. That Harrison collected manuscripts is evidenced by his desire to obtain copies of sermons he had heard. 'I was verie earnest with him after to haue had the copy of it to haue published it (so worthie) but the next day being the day of remove, and the time so short, his bookes and meditations alreadie packed vp, and sent away, I could not obtayne'. This sermon was preached by the Bohemian queen's English chaplain, Dr Chapman, in Heidelberg, the day before the Palatines departure for Prague.⁹ It seems likely that Harrison would have kept a letter book, the survival of which would be a valuable find, but if it existed at all, it has not survived.

Secondly, while what we know of Harrison's work is lacking in personal correspondence, in other ways it is arguably more diverse than any produced by his contemporaries. Harrison's six publications are on a variety of subjects, and range from the publication of merchants' letters from Morocco to the legal justifications of the acceptance of the Bohemian crown by Frederick, Count Palatine. No other diplomat of this period published any comparable work, neither personal memoirs nor histories.¹⁰ His extensive manuscript material comprises mostly relations, and memoranda. Written for the secretary of state's office, they cover many pages of closely written text; his report on his fifth and sixth missions

⁷ Referred to in *To the Reader, in A short relation of the departure of the high and mightie Prince Frederick, King Elect of Bohemia: with his royall & vertuous Ladie Elizabeth; And the thyrse hopefull yong Prince Henrie, from Heydelberg towards Prague, to receiue the Crowne of that Kingdome*, Dort, 1619. Harrison's third publication

⁸ Harrison's documents in The National Archives are written in several different hands, one of which may be his own. His letters and petitions are signed.

⁹ From *A short relation*, p. 2 (pages unnumbered). See Harrison's petition to the king for his disbursements, a request prompted by the loss of his belongings which he had mortgaged in lieu of his allowance from the state. See, especially, the two petitions of 1629/30 (undated), to Charles and to the Privy Council, asking for his arrears as his bond holder was calling in his debt. TNA, SP, 71/12, ff. 175-6, *Calendar of State papers, Domestic, Charles*, vol. CLIV, pp. 136 and 198 for Wheeler's (bond holder's) petition and the attempted resolution.

¹⁰ Roe published *A true and faithfull relation, presented to his Maiestie and the prince ... concerning the death of Sultan Osman, and the setting vp of Mustafa his vncler. Together with other memorable occurrents worthy of obseruation*, in 1622. Interest in the Ottoman Empire and its rulers was considerable, see Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England*, Basingstoke, 2015.

runs to eleven folios. These, however, were never collected and published, unlike, for example, the experiences of Sir Thomas Roe and the letters of Sir Dudley Carleton.¹¹ It will become clear that, in chapter three, concerning the first four missions, all Harrison's published and manuscript materials are required to pull together the evidence which supports the chapter's narrative and argument. Knowing that commercial channels from Morocco to England were unreliable, Harrison repurposed his publications to support his diplomatic experiences as well as spreading important news. It is in these published early works that the personal ambitions Harrison had for his diplomatic missions is revealed.

Harrison's publications.

Harrison's first four missions to Morocco took place between 1610 and 1618; five of his six publications can be dated between 1613 and 1620. The content of these five books, which I will discuss together here, is related not only to Harrison's early experiences in Morocco, but to his experiences in Europe. In the second decade of the seventeenth century huge changes took place in the dynamics of northern and western Europe, and what had been a time of relative peace became one of confrontation and conflict. In their own way Harrison's publications, as he engages with the expanding world which he encounters during these years, reflect this transition.

I start with listing the titles of Harrison's first five books, and continue with a consideration of the environment which produced them, and the features they have in common.¹² I will then write about each book in turn, with the intention of drawing some conclusions which will address the questions raised in the introduction. Harrison's sixth book, written so much later than his other five, deserves a separate space, where I will also mention just one bundle of manuscripts, whose substance is more

¹¹ Some of Roe's speeches to Parliament were published in his life time. His major work, *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe, in his embassy to the Ottoman Porte from the year 1621 to 1628 inclusive ...* was published in 1740. Sir Dudley Carleton's speech to the assembly of the lords of the Estates General of the United Provinces on the 'schismatical doctrine of Arminius', given on 6th October, 1617, entered on the Stationers Register on 20th November, and was printed by William Jones for Nathaniel Butler in 1618. STC 4629. *The speech of Sir Dudley Carlton Lord Ambassadour for the King of Great Britaine, made in the Assembly of the Lords the Estates Generall of the vnitied Prouinces of the Low Countries*. Publications of his letters in various collections start in 1725.

¹² Harrison's final publication, in 1633, will be considered later (pp. 108-12, below).

akin to published material. Here, together with their titles, are the five books with their dates of their first publications and the dedicatees. Harrison's first publication, in 1613, was a direct result of his first mission to Morocco. *Late Newes out of BARBARY. IN A Letter written of late from a Merchant there, to a Gentl. not long since imployed into that cuntry from His Majestie. Containing some strange particulars of this new Saintish Kings proceedings: as they have been very credibly related from such as were eye-witnesses*, was printed in London by Arthur Jonson.¹³ There is no dedication. His second, also in 1613, was, in a less apparent way, also connected with his time in Morocco. *The MESSIAH ALREADIE COME. OR PROOFS OF CHRISTIANITIE: BOTH OF out of the Scriptures, and auncient Rabbins, to convince the lewes, of their palpable, and more then miserable blindnes (if more may be) for their long, vayne, and endles expectation of their MESSIAH (as they dreame) yet for to come. Written in Barbarie, in the yeare 1610, & for that cause directed to the dispersed lewes of that cuntry, & in them to all others now groaning under the yoake of this their long & intollerable captivitie: which yet one day shall have an end: (as all other states and conditions in the world, they have their periods) even when the fulnes of the Gentiles is come in, and when that vayne shall be taken away from their hearts, as is prophecied* was printed in Amsterdam by Giles Thorp. This first edition was dedicated to the princes in the United Provinces, and their Estates General. At the time this work was published Harrison had left England on his second mission to Morocco, and had waited some time in Amsterdam for a ship to transport him.¹⁴

Harrison's next three publications are all concerned with the political situation in Europe at the beginning of the Thirty Years War. There is evidence that, after his three further missions to Morocco (1613-1618), Harrison was attached to the Heidelberg court of Frederick, Count Palatine, and his wife, Elizabeth Stuart, either in 1618 or 1619, but did not travel with them as they journeyed to Prague to be crowned monarchs of Bohemia. *THE REASONS which compelled the States of Bohemia to reiect the Archiduke Ferdinand &c. & inforced them to elect a new King. Togeather, WITH THE PROPOsition which*

¹³ There are three editions of this work, all published in 1613 and printed by Jonson. This one is STC 12857.2

¹⁴ A second edition was published by Thorp in 1619. STC 12858.

was made vppon the first motion of the chocie [sic] of th' Elector Palatine to be King of Bohemia, by the States of that Kingdome in their publique assembly on the 16th of August, being the birthday of the same Elector Palatine, published by George Waters in Dortmund in 1619, was translated from French by Harrison. There is no dedication.¹⁵ *A SHORT RELATION OF The departure of the high and mightie Prince Frederick King Elect of Bohemia: with his royall & vertuous Ladie Elizabeth; and the thryse hopefull yong Prince Henrie, from Heydelberg towards Prague, to receiue the crowne of that kingdome. Whearunto is annexed the Solemptnitie or maner of the Coronation* was also published by Waters in 1619, and also has no dedication.¹⁶ In 1620 Harrison would appear to be back in London. *BOHEMICA JURA DEFENSA. THE BOHEMIAN LAWES OR RIGHTS DEFENDED, against the INFORMER: OR An Answer to an Information, falsly so called, secretly printed and divulged against the Writings published by the States of Bohemia* was published there by William Jones (and William Stansby?) and translated from the Latin by Harrison. Again, there is no dedication.¹⁷

Common features, common places.

Before examining the background and the content of each of these five publications individually, and assessing the contribution they make to an understanding of Harrison's pilgrimage, there are some common features to consider. Of the five works published between 1613 and 1620, only the first and last were published in England, the other three in the United Provinces. The only dedication, of *The Messiah alreadie come ...*, was to the Dutch and Palatinate rulers. Dedications were an important feature of publications at this time, the intention often being to secure some benefit to the writer.¹⁸ So, it would appear that, in the United Provinces, and in northern Europe, Harrison had found a welcoming environment where he made contacts which enabled his publications. His writings offer

¹⁵ A second edition was published in the same year and accredited to George Waters; it was actually published in London, possibly by Edward Allde. STC (2nd ed.), 3212.5. Both editions are undated.

¹⁶ There was only one edition of this work.

¹⁷ There was only one edition of this work.

¹⁸ Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: gift-exchange in early modern England*, Oxford, 2014; 'words defined as gifts were often the most precious of all the presents contemporary donors could provide', p. 43. Gift giving was an essential part of the political/social/diplomatic world. See also Charry and Shahani, eds., *Emissaries in early modern literature and culture*, chapter six on gifts.

reasons why that might be. It is apparent that Harrison strongly believed that England and the United Provinces had interests in common which were to their mutual benefit. There are two factors of which Harrison had some experience which influenced this relationship, their common politico-religious heritage and their shared interest in devotional writing. Their Protestant faith, which positioned both on the same side in the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, became a stronger bond when the political situation in the United Provinces moved Elizabeth to send troops and money in support of the breakaway Dutch provinces. Aware that they were fighting to escape the religious intolerance of their Habsburg overlords, in 1579, when the United Provinces agreed the Union of Utrecht, they allowed complete freedom of conscience.¹⁹ From the latter years of the sixteenth century Englishmen who could find no accommodation for their religious views in England moved abroad to places where they could practise their faith as they chose. In 1610, as many as nine separatist congregations, founded by Englishmen, existed in Amsterdam, where their pastors were free to preach.²⁰ In his contact with these expatriate Englishmen Harrison will have found a community in which discussion and debate of religious issues would have reminded him of Prince Henry's court. Among the topics of discussion, millenarianism would have had a place.

Together with English refugees came English writing. The Dutch, in the early seventeenth century, 'developed an extraordinary liking for the works of English theologians' according to Pettegree and der Weduwen. As an example of English texts translated into Dutch, Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Piety* went through fifty one editions in Dutch between 1620 and 1688.²¹ Such was the success of the Dutch printing industry that books printed in the United Provinces were sent abroad in large numbers; the English printing industry never succeeded in competition with the Dutch. The majority of English texts

¹⁹ Between 1579 and 1580 estates and cities of the northern Netherlands signed up to this agreement.

²⁰ Keith L. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower, English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600-1640*, Leiden, 1994, p. 84 on printing in Amsterdam. Also pp. 46 -7, on the city: 'Amsterdam was a mighty metropolis of world trade and finance', and 'Puritan intellectuals found new freedoms to probe the horizons of knowledge'.

²¹ Pollard and Redgrave, *A Short Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books printed abroad, 1475-1640*, vol. I, p. 71. They note: Bayly's popular book 'embodies at least three prime causes of bibliographical confusion.....it is clear that a more thorough study of all copies is needed'.

published and printed in the United Provinces for export to England were devotional works; many were bibles. Whether originally in English, or in Latin, or in translation for distribution outside the United Provinces, the examples given by Pettegree and der Weduwen demonstrate how difficult it was for English to match the Dutch, both in quality and in price. This situation will have worked to Harrison's advantage.²²

In such an environment religious debate flourished.²³ The published output of preachers, divines and laymen, was prodigious and, through the access of their published works to book fairs, their reputations spread into other parts of Europe, and, of course, to England.²⁴ Of interest to us is Hugh Broughton, known to Prince Henry's court. Broughton was in Amsterdam in the early 1600s and, despite his post in Middelburg (1605-11) he seems to have regularly returned there. Broughton was one of many Protestant scholars who studied Hebrew, but he appears to have been one of the most vocal about his work, and possibly the most acclaimed. His published works, some in Hebrew, many with parts in Hebrew, were designed to engage the Jewish communities in debate and encourage them to convert to Christianity.²⁵ Many of his works were published by Giles Thorp, who also published one of Harrison's books. The considerable interest in the conversion of the Jews may have been a contributing factor in the publication of Harrison's second work, *The Messiah alreadie come* Here, in the United Provinces in 1613, Harrison would have found a spiritual environment ideally suited to his outlook.

²² Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, pp. 273-278. Among other examples, the authors list Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, first published in England in 1623; of the eight Latin editions published, only the first was published in England. Four of the remaining seven were published in the United Provinces, pp. 348-9.

²³ Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, p. 84, suggests that the average congregation numbered several hundred; 'most Puritan printing enterprises were intimately linked with the English churches'. These printers/publishers were mostly Dutch.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 59. 'their books spoke to the world'.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-70. On Broughton's works, his printers, and his attitude to the Jews. Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, p. 43, comments that he was a 'great master of the Hebrew language and learning'. Pollard and Redgrave, commenting on Broughton's work write 'the complexities of dealing with Broughton's works.....are considerable', including '...his continual harping upon a few related topics', vol. I, p. 170. His works were considerable and he was renowned as a Hebrew scholar. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3585>

Another reason why Harrison may have felt so accommodated in the United Provinces was, it suited his politics. Here the first twenty years of the seventeenth century saw the successful expansion of trade and the growth in confidence of the new polity. For most of these years Europe was at peace. Four years before Harrison's first publication, in 1609, Philip III of Spain had agreed to a 12 year truce with his Dutch rebels, a truce from which the Dutch had been the greater beneficiary, expanding their navy, and their overseas exploration and trade. Their commercial activities had benefited greatly from Spain's policy of the expulsion of the Marranos, as at the end of the sixteenth century many Sephardic Jews settled in Amsterdam, while maintaining their commercial links with the Mediterranean, including the Levant and Morocco. In 1610 the Dutch agreed a trade treaty with Morocco, at the very time when Harrison was in the country on his first mission for James. Passing through Amsterdam after this first mission, in 1611, and on his way back to Morocco, in 1613, Harrison will have experienced a multicultural, multinational society where Jews were free to worship as they pleased. Harrison may have seen, in this community, a prospect of the future, where people of all backgrounds could come together and ultimately worship together. For the United Provinces were part of a Calvinist network of princes and principalities, the bond of the Calvinist faith of both the United Provinces and the Palatinate reinforced by their connections with the German principalities which had also declared Calvinism as their official faith; the latest of these Brandenburg in 1613.²⁶ From his time at Prince Henry's court, many of the princes from these royal houses would have been known to Harrison. It was in the same year, 1613, that the first two of Harrison's books were published, and Elizabeth Stuart married Frederick, Count Palatine, a union of Protestant princes of which so much was expected.²⁷ The couple were met with huge enthusiasm as they progressed through the United Provinces to Frederick's capital, Heidelberg. In Heidelberg and Amsterdam these countries had two

²⁶ Howard Hotson, *Paradise postponed : Johann Heinrich and the birth of Calvinist millenarianism*, Dordrecht, 2000, p. 111. Where he lists all the states embracing Calvinism as their official religion and the dedication to their rulers of Johann Heinrich Alsted's publications during the 'peaceful' years. In his conclusion he writes 'Virtually all of what little is now known about the resurgence of millenarianism in central European Reformed academic circles indicates that it occurred in the late 1620s', although this is 'at present merely an impression', p. 160.

²⁷ See Pollard and Redgrave, vol. I, p. 502, where they list 15 publications celebrating the marriage.

recognised centres of learning, and were centres of study for Calvinist theologians. Harrison would have seen the spread of the Calvinist version of Protestantism as evidence of the potential fulfilment of the expectations that had been personified in Prince Henry.

Late Newes out of Barbary ...

In 1613 Harrison published two books. *Late Newes out of Barbary ...*, the first of the two, was published by Arthur Johnson in London.²⁸ Harrison had rejoined the court of Prince Henry on his return from his first mission to Zidan el-Nasir in Barbary, in 1612.²⁹ The winter of 1612/13 saw the death of Henry and the breakup of his court. Harrison's loss of employment may have acted as motivation for this publication. It would appear that it was a popular work; three editions were published in 1613.³⁰ Only the first one was registered with the Stationers Guild. Harrison may have left England for the United Provinces after the first one was published. The second and third editions have a different title, beginning *The nevz prophetical King of Barbary Or The last newes from thence in a letter ...*, and offer an additional piece of information after 'proceedings': from the second edition, referencing the new 'king', '*how hee hath ouerthrowne Mulley Sidan twice in battell*'; and from the third '*how he hath overthrowne Mulley Sidan the former king many times in Battell...*' Five copies survive from the first edition, two from the second and one from the third.³¹

In his introduction to *News Networks*, Joel Raymond comments 'English intervention in the war between the Netherlands, France and Spain provoked an expansion in the print and manuscript news market, and readers of news were encouraged by these publications to understand their place in a

²⁸ The English Short Title Catalogue entries show one edition registered with the Stationers Guild, 27th January, 1613. 12857.2.

²⁹ From *The Messiah already come ...*, in the dedication Harrison explains that he witnessed one dedicatee, Prince Henry of Nassau, frequently visiting Prince Henry of Wales in the autumn of 1612, when the English prince was sickening, 'and to condole with us in our heavines', p. 1. This confirms that, after mission one, Harrison returned to Prince Henry's court.

³⁰ Of these three editions, items one and two are credited to the same printer while item three credits another printer. All are dated 1613, and were printed in London. All were sold by A Jonson. STC 12857.2, 4 and 6. It may be that edition two was a reprint, but with a new title page, coming so swiftly after the first one.

³¹ Source, ESTC.

pan-European network, shaped by confessional as much as geographical boundaries'.³² It was to this market that Harrison addressed his first publication. As Raymond observed, 'Newes' publications became increasingly common in Elizabethan and Jacobean England, at a time when English policies and English interests involved Englishmen and their activities not only in Europe but in an expanding commercial world beyond the continent. Recalling that Harrison would have known something of Robert Cecil's intelligence networks, including the gathering information from Morocco, his publication of 'news' from Barbary could be seen as a contribution to the broadcasting of useful intelligence becoming information. The sources and locations from which news of foreign affairs came to England were many and diverse. Readers interested in these affairs could buy collections of news reports from different sources, or accounts from one country covering specific events.³³ The original language of some news items was not always English, as publishers searched for news which would satisfy their readers' hunger for information.³⁴ Publishers used many ways to gain their readers' attention, and proclaimed the veracity and novelty of their publications, describing their news as 'certain', or 'most true', 'strange' or 'most certain'. From the later part of the sixteenth century we find an increasing number of news publications about events in places outside Europe, often the Ottoman Empire, where the behaviour of the sultans and their successes or failures in battles was apparently popular.

Despite an apparent awareness of Morocco among those informed English, as outlined in chapter one, there were far fewer publications about Barbary than there were about the Ottoman Empire. Maybe this was because Morocco was a comparatively minor player in international affairs, and

³² Raymond, *News Networks in Seventeenth Century: Britain and Europe*, London, 2006, p. 14.

³³ Pollard and Redgrave, vol. II, p. 177, 'newes from diverse countries', 1597, no. 18504.5; the author of 'newes from Spayne and Holland' about English affairs in Holland was written by a gentleman traveller born in the United Provinces but brought up in England, 1593; also no. 22994, vol. II, p. 350. Printed in Antwerp.

³⁴ Ibid, vol. II, p. 132. For example, two news items are listed under Malta, 1565, both referring to the siege of Malta by the Turks in that year. Item one was translated from the French, item two from the Italian. This famous victory of Christians over Muslims was celebrated in England but by 1571, when the Ottomans were defeated again at Lepanto, relationships between England and Catholic Europe had cooled and there appear to be no news items on the sea battle. Vol. II, p. 19, 14379 and 14379.3.

Moroccan rulers were neither so war like nor so interesting as the Ottoman sultans.³⁵ This was despite the presence in London of Moroccan ambassadors, and the Moroccan characters who regularly featured in plays at London playhouses. The *English Short Title Catalogue*, under Barbary, lists seven publications from the sixteenth century, six of which are editions of *the breuiary of helthe*. The first ten years of the seventeenth century saw the publications of Wilkins, and Cottington, and the report on the Battle of the Three Kings, the subjects of discussion in chapter one. As described in the previous chapter, one other publication on Barbary, which preceded Harrison's *Late Newes ...*, was *The Fierce and cruel Battaile fought by the three Kings in Barbarie, nere to the Cittie of Maroques, the 25. of Aprill last. 1607*, which drew attention to the horrific events, involving his three sons following the death of al-Mansur, that were unfolding in a country of which some of its readers would have had knowledge or experience.³⁶ This, and the 1579 report on the (earlier) Battle of the Three Kings (1578), 'a dolorous discourse, of a most terrible battel', played on the public's enjoyment of bloodthirsty stories from outside Christendom. By contrast, Harrison's publication, *Late Newes out of Barbary ...*, focused on the situation in 1612, lending his work an immediacy the others lacked. The second and third editions, with title changes, now *The new propheticall King of Barbary ...*, signalled the most important news recounted in the book. The references to the defeat of the Moroccan king suggest that the circumstances in Morocco were public knowledge, at least to those with interests in the country. News letters, however, had a greater immediacy and, probably, a greater circulation than longer books; it was common for written material, both published and scribal,³⁷ to be circulated between friends and Harrison's *Late Newes ...* may have found its way to readers outside London to a greater degree than was possible with larger works like Ro.C.'s *A True Historical Discourse of Mulay Hamet's rising to*

³⁵ It is true that Morocco was in a state of civil war following the death of al-Mansur (1603), but this had little effect on Europe whereas the Ottomans spent their summers on campaign and were a very real threat to the Habsburgs in Eastern Europe. Pollard and Redgrave, vol. I, nos. 1376 and 1376.5, page 62, are the only entries on Barbary apart from Harrison's first publication. Both are about battles, in 1578 and 1607 respectively.

³⁶ *THE Fierce and cruel battaile fought by the three Kings in Barbarie, nere to the cittie of Maroques, the 25. Of Aprill last, 1607*, E, Alld[e][?] for Thomas Archer, p. 9, 4°. Not registered. STC 1376.5. See page 47.

³⁷ Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, pp. 1-4, on the amount of information, news, petitions and speeches which was circulated in manuscript 'this corpus constitutes something like a list of forbidden bestsellers of pre-revolutionary England', p. 3.

the three Kingdomes of Moreucos, Fez and Sus, on which, of course, Harrison's book could be seen as a useful update.

What were the contents of this book? Unusually for a news publication it begins with a four-page advertisement to the reader, justifying its publication. The news itself is contained in two letters from merchants in Morocco, both dated the 9th September, 1612, and both describing the recent events in the unsettled country. R. S., author of the first letter, is described by Harrison in the advertisement to the reader as 'very religious, wise and discreet'.³⁸ He reports in detail on 'the great alteration in government' which has occurred, the defeat in battle of Zidan by Abu Mahilli, a 'sainte', who has a large and devoted following, and who has driven Zidan to take refuge in the south of Morocco. The battle took place on 10th May (Julian), 1612. News of Zidan's defeat was well known in Europe, despite his forces numerical advantage, and his 'three and thirty peeces of field ordinance', of which Abu Mahilli, the 'sainte', had none. The writer describes in detail the history of the rise of the 'new' king, his ability to draw support from the various local tribes in Morocco and to inspire them to join him in battle. He describes him as 'very civil' and 'a man of great wisdom and learning', but also a prophet who promised his followers that they together will retake Spain from the Christians.³⁹ He writes of this leader's belief in his invincibility. Abu Mahilli's claims to be the Mahdi, who will appear at a time of chaos, may have been recognised as a sign to the writer that the end of the world was approaching, as he comments that this new king proclaims that he will 'raigne forty yeeres then must come Christ'. The second letter describes the current military position; the writer speculates that changing tribal loyalties mean that Zidan is expected to recover his lost authority.

These letters seem to be complete, including the personal addresses and leave takings. A post script from the writer of the advertisement updates the news in the letters.⁴⁰ The first, longer, letter refers

³⁸ The first letter is 13 pages long, the second, only 2 pages, and is signed G. B.

³⁹ *Late Newes out of Barbary ... sig B₃*.

⁴⁰ The postscript contains information on another defeat for Zidan; this was erroneous. Harrison laments for the future of Morocco, 'the crowne imperiall tossed to and fro, from one to another, as if it were a tennis ball rather than a diadem'.

to previous correspondence, none of which was presumably deemed worthy of publication, and which has not survived. It also refers to mutual acquaintances who are back in London from Morocco and who will be able to expand on the information in the letter. He writes 'And because Master N and Master F have beene here, and heard, and seene what hath passed, I doe referre the discourse to conference: For I assure my selfe they will visit you'. Why these particular letters, and therefore this book, were published is explained in the advertisement. Harrison writes that, apart from the general interest in news, and in Africa, and responding to friends' comments on the 'novelty' of the letters' contents,⁴¹ he hoped that the book would

serve to some good use also for us of these last daies upon whom the ends of the earth are come: see how busily the Divell acteth his last part, now in this last age of the world, and playeth his prize, for that he knoweth he hath but a short time, 40 years by his own calculations, pronouncing beforehand his own condemnation.⁴²

Here Harrison adds a marginal note, claiming that the 'forty years' proclaimed by Abu Mahilly, this new 'saintish king or Prophet' in Morocco, should be seen as the Devil playing 'his prize', and who is 'pronouncing before hand his owne condemnation'. After which Christ will return to the earth. There follows some specific details of the devil's work on earth, and Harrison comments 'such must bee (or rather is) the coming of Antichrist in this last age of the world whereof we have beene for so long since forewarned'. The work of the devil explains the devotion of the 'miserable Moores' to 'one of these fanaticall saints, now become king'. Although this rebel leader, whom Harrison knew of from his first mission, had been successful in defeating Zidan in battle, Harrison is sceptical about his future prospects, a doubt that is also expressed in both letters. Referring to the 'saint's' assertion that he will lead his followers over the straights to Gibraltar and beyond, he writes in the conclusion to his note to the reader that, when 'he with all his troupes arive in the Popes Dominions ... then we shal see whether devil is the stronger. The Lord preserve his people from their devillish delusions'. Here

⁴¹ Harrison remarks on peoples' appetite for news and comments 'Africa semper aliquid apportat noui', Africa always offers us something new. *Late Newes out of Barbary ...*, first edition, sig A3. He has shown the letters to friends as 'a matter of news'.

⁴² *Ibid.*, sig. A3.

Harrison is anticipating the chaos which will precede the return of Christ to Earth. He concludes with a warning to his readers to take note of the happenings in Morocco :

I referre it [the long preface] to the censure of the wise to make use of: beeing the chiefe and maine motive, with the advice and approbation of some godly Persons, Preachers and others, why I have published it.⁴³

This publication is the only one of Harrison's to attract any scrutiny from historians. There are differing opinions about the value of this publication, all of which are concerned with the first letter. Nabil Matar comments on the importance of *Late Newes ...*: it is the only publication in English about Abu Mahilli, and the first time Englishmen could read about Islamic Mahdism. Also, for the first time, in the longer letter from R.S., Englishmen could read words spoken by an actual Moor.⁴⁴ Matar verifies R.S.'s descriptions of events in Morocco, drawing on Moroccan and other European sources.⁴⁵ The greater part of his analysis of the letter concerns the religious relevance of the state of Morocco to Harrison's millenarianism, and the identification of Abu Mahilli as a 'false messiah...one of the signs of the second coming of the true Christin Messiah'.⁴⁶ He has nothing to say about the second, considerably shorter, letter. Rikki Lette takes a different approach. He questions whether the first letter in *Late Newes ...* is genuine. He writes 'The pamphlet is purported to reproduce correspondence from an English merchant residing in Morocco', and concludes 'that the exercise of editorial licence by Harrison appears to be the only plausible explanation' for the discrepancy he identifies between the beginning and the end of the first letter, suggesting that R. S.'s description of Abu Mahilli changes from one devoid of scepticism to one of 'outright hostility'.⁴⁷ He too has no comments to make on the

⁴³ See Matar, who believes that Harrison was concerned that this situation in Morocco should be taken seriously as a portent of further chaos. Nabil Matar, 'The English Merchant and the Moroccan Sufi: Messianism and Mahdism in the Early Seventeenth Century' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 65, no.1, January, 2014, pp. 57-8.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴⁷ Rikki Lette, 'John Harrison: a Case Study of Acculturation of an Early Modern Britain', *Perergon*, vol. 36, no.1, 2019, pp. 131-153. I would question his assertion that 'The majority of the account is particularly noteworthy for R. S.'s support for, and admiration of, the rebel leader', p. 138. Matar's only comment on R.S.'s description of Abu Mahilli is that it was 'factual', rather than hostile, and the writer may have been confused by, or in awe of this 'messianic Muslim', Matar, 'The English Merchant', p. 56.

second letter. Lette comments on two further articles, by Gary K. Waite and Kenneth Parker, both of which consider Harrison's publication, but which, he says, have not 'noticed' the inconsistency in letter one.⁴⁸ *Late Newes* ...has not been seen of interest to other historians of the period. But, as the first of his books to be published, and the inspiration for his second, it has an important place in a study of Harrison's published works.

The reasons Harrison gives for his publication are several. In the light of his 'advertisement', his publication is not only 'news', but also one of an increasing number of publications in the early seventeenth century on the subject of the apocalypse. When considering the veracity of letter one, if it is not a genuine letter, then to what do we attribute the 'editing'? Of what benefit would changes to the letter be to Harrison, a person who, he claimed, was encouraged by friends to publish this letter; friends, also, who would have read the letter, hence their support for its publication. Unless, of course, we treat Harrison's address to the reader with equal scepticism. Here we come face to face with the question of intent. And the possibility that neither spreading news, nor a warning of the imminent apocalypse, was the real reason for this publication.

To consider first Harrison's assertion that the two letters' contents were of value, that accurate knowledge of local affairs in Morocco were crucial to the merchant community is clear; the merchants risked losing their investment if their markets were disturbed by internal conflicts in the country of their trading partners. R. S. makes his position very clear in his description of the visit paid by the foreign merchants in Morocco to the 'saint's' camp; he needed good local relationships with local leaders, and the 'saint' 'entertained us very kindly, & told us he would show the English what favour he could, and permit them free trade, willing us to take knowledge that he was sent by God's

⁴⁸ See Gary K Waite, 'Reimagining Religious Identity: The Moor in Dutch and English Pamphlets, 1550–1620', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 66, no. 4, (2013), pp. 1250–95 (note pp. 1278–85) and Kenneth Parker, 'Reading "Barbary" in Early Modern England, 1550–1685', *The Seventeenth Century*, 19 (2004), pp. 87–115 (note p. 101). Waite's article compares the publishing environment in London with that in the Low Countries, noting that the freedom of worship, and the presence of peoples of many faiths, including the Jews, in the later country, created a society in which views on relations with Morocco were expressed differently, and more favourably, than those in England. Parker expresses only the opinion that Harrison's publication echoes others in describing the 'miserable' state of Barbary.

appointment'⁴⁹ At the end of his letter, R. S. apologises for troubling Harrison with 'such news that the time affords (not al but that part that comes into my memory) I pray you take it in good part'. Written with more consideration than letter two, but still in some haste, the apparent lack of cohesion may reflect, not editing, but the changing views of the writer as events unfold in Morocco and the pressure to seal the letter to ensure that it is ready for its courier. Constant changes in the power balance, and constant rumour, were issues that Harrison struggled with on his diplomatic missions. As he reported, rumour was rife in Morocco, truth was hard to establish; the need for the merchant community to establish good relationships with the ruling power was one he quickly came to understand. In view of this, it does seem more likely that these letters were published *verbatim*. Therein would be the value to the readers, not simply to enlighten them on affairs in Africa, but, for London merchants, the 'use' of these letters was a snapshot of the situation in Morocco in 1612.⁵⁰

However, it is clear from Harrison's advertisement that he regarded this publication as having a more general value. This advertisement is the first and clearest declaration we have of Harrison's belief that the signs heralding the end of time were evident in the events of the world he knew. He believes it is of general benefit to the public to broadcast 'newes' from Morocco, but he has another motive, to warn of the coming apocalypse. Who those 'godly Persons, Preachers and others' were who encouraged Harrison to publish this work is unknown but, remembering that he was with the Prince's court until Henry's death in November 1612, he would have been able to discuss his mission, and his subsequent correspondence with Englishmen resident in Morocco, with the preachers who were never far from the sickening prince in the autumn of that year. These two letters may not have reached Harrison before Henry's death, but previous correspondence, and his experiences in

⁴⁹ *Late Newes out of Barbary....*, sig. B₄.

⁵⁰ Waite, pp. 1279-1282, compares *Late Newes...* unfavourably with a Dutch pamphlet *A Wonderful and Strange New Tiding ...*, published in 1612, which reports on the same events in Morocco, the rising of Abu Mahilli, the 'new king' of Barbary. It's anonymous author, a merchant, 'does not demonize the saint-king. This was certainly a pragmatic stance, given that, as far as the writer knew, Europeans would have to accommodate themselves to this new rule', Waite, p. 1280. It is at the end of his letter, the portion Lette suggests Harrison has edited, where R.S. contextualises the state of Morocco in the wider world and writes of his forebodings for the future of the polity, 'God deliver us Christians well from among them', *Late Newes out of Barbary ...* sig. C⁴.

Morocco, must have been among the topics of conversation at Henry's court. After the death of the prince, Harrison must have hoped that a wider readership would appreciate the 'news' and understand its relevance to world events.⁵¹

The exact nature of Harrison's beliefs on the order of the events presaging the apocalypse are not clear from his writings. There were no millenarians among the preachers, invited to preach, or belonging to Prince Henry's household.⁵² It may just be possible that Harrison's experiences in Morocco, and his discussions with those he met there, engaged his sympathies with the writer of the first letter, who, commenting on the 'saintish king', reported that this 'king' claimed to fulfil a prophecy, that he would 'reign' for forty years until Christ returned to earth. However, from this first publication, and all Harrison's further works, the imminent end of the world was a deeply held belief he demonstrated in all his writings, and from which he never wavered. It is probable that his conviction was long standing and present before his missions to Morocco.

Whether the letters were genuine or not, whether Harrison was driven by religious convictions that he would more coherently express in later writings or not, Lette suggests that the real reason behind the publication of *Late Newes ...* was neither to spread news of Africa, in support of English merchants, nor even to broadcast his millenarian beliefs, but, primarily, the self-promotion of a man who had lost his court position. And, secondly, he speculates that Harrison was at this point beginning to develop his idea for a plantation in Morocco, an idea which he would later propose to Charles. The first point begs the question, why was there no dedicatee? The second point is a tenuous assumption, possibly made in anticipation of Harrison's beliefs as evident in future publications. Harrison's writings composed during his missions between 1625 and 1632 do demonstrate his strong political ambitions for Britian; however, a number of his experiences between the publication of *Late Newes ...*, (1613),

⁵¹ Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, describes Henry's death in detail, including the pastors who ministered to him (pp. 257-271). The reaction to the prince's death was immense.

⁵² See chapter one, pp. 63-67. The definition of millenarianism is a subject of debate. Harrison never refers to a thousand years, but, see above, refers to the period after the supposed first millennium, when the Devil is released to cause chaos for forty years before the beginning of Christ's reign on earth.

and his first 'relations' written for the state office in London, (1627), are the more likely reasons for the development of his political ambitions. Notably his time at the Palatinate Court (1619), the years in the Somer Islands (c.1620-24), and his months in Tetuan (1625). In conclusion, and recalling that in all his writings the overwhelming effect is a pervading sense of openness, on balance Harrison's writings should be taken at face value; his publication reflects the characteristics of early seventeenth century ambassadors' experiences, where commercial, religious and diplomatic aspirations are intertwined.⁵³

There are, however, as Lette suggests, signs that his lack of work, at least in part, was Harrison's motivation. This lack of employment, Harrison writes in *Late Newes ...*, since he lost 'so hopeful a master' has given him the time to 'revise some papers of my owne, all this while throwne aside, as touching the affaires and state of that country, falling within the compasse of my daily observation'.⁵⁴ These papers, which he must have carried with him when he returned to the United Provinces enroute to Morocco on his second mission to Zidan, form the basis of his next publication.

The Messiah alreadie come ...

The United Provinces provided the ideal location for Harrison's second publication. *The Messiah ...*, like *Late Newes ...*, was published in 1613, but printed by Giles Thorp, an English printer working in Amsterdam. This was Harrison's most popular work, remaining in print as much as twenty years after his death. There are four editions, the first two published in the United Provinces and the final two published nearly forty years later in England. The English editions are credited to a John Harrison

⁵³ For example, see the Broughton archive and his links with Edward Barton, ambassador to the Ottoman Porte (1593-97). *Tvvo epistles vnto great men of Britanie, in the yeare 1599*, published in 1606, and *An awnswear vnto the righte honorable the Lordes, of the Quene of Englandes most honorable privy councill concerning and Ebrew epistle of a rarely lerned lew, most reverent towards the Ebrew skill of English, [and] endeuoring the good of all Christendome*, 1597. In both books Broughton refers to the ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, Edward Barton, and recommends the sending of an English preacher to Constantinople. STC 3891 and 3846. Broughton was probably hoping for the appointment for himself. In the former, he mentions the possibility of the conversion of the empire to Christianity; specifically the janissaries, whom he knew were originally Christian, 'the Genisares might come to theyr Parentes faith'. The conversion of Muslims whose original faith was Christianity is a subject with which Harrison will engage when in Morocco.

⁵⁴ *Late Newes out of Barbary ...* the conclusion of the Address to the Reader.

(divine) of the Inner Temple. There is no record of a John Harrison having been ordained during this period, but during the late sixteenth, early seventeenth century three John Harrisons were admitted to the Inner Temple, in 1695, 1635, and 1591. The John Harrison admitted in 1635 could have been credited as the author of editions three and four of *The Messiah*⁵⁵ There are two copies of the first edition (1613), one in Britain and one in the United States, six copies of the second edition (1619), four in Britain, two in the United States. Both these editions were published in Amsterdam. Editions three and four are entitled, respectively, *A vindication of the Holy Scriptures* and *Proofs of Christianity*. There are four copies of the first English edition, all in Britain, and one copy of the last edition, also in Britain. These last two versions have a new title page, differing both from the previous versions, and from each other. Both strike a tone of which Harrison would not have approved, eliciting no sympathy for the Jews' predicament, instead describing their books as an 'antidote against the poysons of Judaisme and atheism of this present age'.

In 1611 Harrison had travelled back from his first mission in Morocco with Samuel Pallache, Zidan's representative to the United Provinces; on his second mission he returned to Morocco via Amsterdam where his journey was delayed, apparently on Pallache's advice.⁵⁶ In 1611, Thomas Brightman's book, *A REVELATION OF THE APOCALYPS, that is, THE APOCALYPS OF S. IOHN illustrated vvith an Analysis & Scolions: Where the sense is opened by the scripture, & the events of things foretold, shewed by Histories*, was published in Amsterdam. Harrison may have obtained a copy, either on his return to England or during his journey back towards Morocco, when he spent time waiting in Amsterdam. As he was, at a later date, (1619), a member of the Palatine Court of Princess Elizabeth, it is possible that after the breakup of Henry's court in December 1612, Harrison was able to secure a temporary position with Elizabeth and travelled with her when she and her new husband left England for

⁵⁵ There is a will made by a John Harrison in 1657: he describes himself as 'of the Inner Temple'. TNA, PROB-11-300-373.

⁵⁶ de Castries, *Les sources inédites ... de Pas-Bas*. See Harrison's letter to the Estates General, vol. III, p.327, where he explained that he had expected to be in The Hague for six to eight weeks, which 'fell out to be six to eight months'. Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew, had a long and diverse history working for the Spanish, the Moroccan king and the Estates General, during which time he traded in arms and sugar, and captured ships, and contrived to create an increased Dutch presence in Morocco and off its seaboard.

Heidelberg in April, 1613.⁵⁷ On their way the royal couple spent some time in the United Provinces, visiting the principal cities including Amsterdam and Middelburg. They were welcomed by Maurice of Nassau, whom Harrison would have known from Maurice's visits to England, to Prince Henry's court. It is during this time that Harrison could have established lasting contacts with the English Protestant community, and had experience of their life away from England; their freedom of worship, their pastors and their churches, and the printers of their bibles and other devotional works. It is reasonable to conclude that this environment, where conversations could be had on subjects such as restorationism, dear to Harrison's heart, together with his time spent with Pallache, may have encouraged him to publish his second book.

Judged by the number of editions, *The Messiah ...* was Harrison's most popular publication. Green, in *Print and Protestantism*, discusses the sale of books on the apocalypse; sales were not large, requiring an additional medium whose ideas would increase the message, for example support from preachers or recommendations from other readers. His mention of the successful sale in 1641 of an abridgement of Brightman's *A Revelation of the Apocalyps* points to a particular interest mid-century in prophetic works, which may account for Harrison's work being republished. Or it may have attracted attention at the time when the return of the Jews to England was being debated.⁵⁸ Written while Harrison was in Morocco on his first mission, and following so quickly after the publishing of *Late Newes ...*, it has an obvious link with his first publication, the identification of the urgency for readers to appreciate the impending end of the world. After his assertion in his first book that a saintish king, emerging in a fragile polity, foretold the Devil's work and the chaos that was evidence of the coming apocalypse, with his new book Harrison's purpose is to justify Christ's claim to be the Messiah, whose coming is foretold in the Old Testament, in order to advocate the case for the conversion of the Jews

⁵⁷ Some 700 people embarked with the royal couple from Margate in April 1613. Most of these would have been released from service during the two months it took Elizabeth (whose journey was slower than her husband's) to reach Heidelberg. Clare Jackson, *Devil Island: England Under Siege*, London, 2022 pp. 146-7.

⁵⁸ Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, pp. 234-6. *Reverend Mr. Brightmans Iudgement, or Prophetes what shall befall Germany, Scotland, Holland, and the Churches adhering to them. Likewise what shall befall England, and the Hierarchie therein.* London, 1642.

to Christianity. The Jews' conversion was understood to be a prerequisite for Christ's second coming which heralded the world's end. Both books therefore reflect Harrison's very real concerns that the world's end is soon approaching.

In his understanding of the importance of the conversion of the Jews, Harrison was not alone.⁵⁹ Increasingly, during the later years of the sixteenth-century and in the early years of the seventeenth-century, in publications by learned divines, the time of the coming apocalypse was becoming an important subject for debate, and generated a considerable body of literature. Popkin, in *Millenarianism and Messianism*, describes the rich intellectual environment in which writers responded with a desire to make sense of the events they were experiencing: '... new religious ideas, new scientific ideas, and new political dreams, produced numerous Millenarian theories that interacted with and interpreted the vast changes taking place in the Thirty Years' War, the Puritan Revolution, the Turkish invasion of central Europe, and the increasing triumphs of colonialism all over the planet'.⁶⁰ While not all of these works accepted the concept of the millennium, or, if they did, when it had or would occur, the idea of a new world, and some of the conditions for its coming, were universally accepted, and the seventeenth-century was considered the century when it would occur.⁶¹ The conversion of the Jews was one of those universal conditions. Harrison would have been aware of this, and concerned about its timing, as he expected the end of his world soon.

⁵⁹ See Christopher Hill, "Till the conversion of the Jews" in Richard H. Popkin, (ed.), *Millenarianism and Messianism in English Literature and Thought, 1650-1800*, New York, 1988, pp. 15-18. As Popkin says in his introduction 'the conversion of the Jews is seen as *the* crucial pre-Millennial event', (Popkin's italics) p. 6.

⁶⁰ *Millenarianism and messianism in early modern European culture. Vol 4, Continental millenarians: protestants, catholics, heretics*, edited by John Christian Laursen, Richard H. Popkin, London 2004, p. 4. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, pp. 58-9, describes the physical environment, libraries and printer's or publisher's shops where writers would meet. As we have seen, the most notable English authors of the early seventeenth century on this topic were Brightman and Broughton.

⁶¹ See Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition ...*, p. 204 and following, on the 'introduction of a new spirit of millenarianism' in the early seventeenth century and p. 212 on Broughton's influence on Alsted, where he is cited as an authority on the conversion of the Jews, based on his commentary on Daniel. Also Howard Hotson, *Paradise Postponed*, p. 18, on the issues around the definition of millennialism, and Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, pp. 60-70 on 'Puritan Hebraists and the Jews' in Amsterdam and the studies they produced.

While there were strong religious connections between England and the United Provinces, and many seventeenth-century publications which were relevant, it is difficult to know exactly which works on millenarianism Harrison might have read, and impossible to know with whom and about what he will have had debates. From the court of Prince Henry, where he certainly would have known Archbishop Abbot,⁶² to the book shops of Amsterdam, where he could have purchased works by Hugh Broughton and Thomas Brightman, to his lodgings in the Jewish quarters of Morocco and the United Provinces, where he debated the evidence that Jesus was the messiah, Harrison would have absorbed many points of view. In 1613, while Harrison was in the United Provinces, probably in Amsterdam, Johannes Piscator in Herborn published his main millenarian commentary on the Apocalypse. It is possible that Harrison acquired a copy of Piscator's book.⁶³ But the most influential author on his beliefs could have been Broughton, who as we have seen, may have been known to him personally through Broughton's fleeting connection with Prince Henry's court. Broughton believed that all studies on matters of the Protestant religion should be scripturally based; he used his knowledge of Hebrew, and his examinations of the Old Testament, to inform everything he wrote.⁶⁴ We know Harrison was keen to improve his own knowledge of Hebrew, and that, although not uncommon at this time, his *The Messiah* ... is grounded in many scriptural references.

It would seem most likely that Harrison's convictions were the result of his time spent in Europe, in Amsterdam, specifically while he waited there for some time before departing for Morocco on his second mission. England had lagged behind other Protestant polities in millennial studies, which flourished in Europe, particularly in central and eastern parts, and in certain cities, Heidelberg, Prague, Herborn, and Leipzig, despite millenarianism having been rejected by all three 'mainstream' faiths in

⁶² Abbott was known to be anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic; see Pauline Croft, *King James*, pp.176-7, on his views on a Spanish match for Charles.

⁶³ Johannes Piscator, *In Apocalypsin commentaries*, Herborn, 1613. See Hotson, *Paradise Postponed*, p. 5, when writing of Mede and Alsted, 'None besides Piscator enjoyed comparable authority as a Reformed intellectual either during his life or after his death', and pp. 15-17 on Piscator's millenarianism, pp. 121-144 an analysis of Piscator compared with Alsted's *Diatribes de mille annis apocalypticis*.

⁶⁴ Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition ...*, pp. 152-4, on Broughton's approach to his Hebrew studies. See p. 161, 'his passion for the conversion of the Jews'.

the later part of the sixteenth century. The first thirty years of the seventeenth century, however, saw it become more commonly studied in England, until belief in it became widespread. In concluding her chapter on Broughton and Brightman, Firth comments 'by the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century, the apocalyptic tradition had not only been firmly absorbed into British Protestantism, but had also become the subject of quite sophisticated study'.⁶⁵ The one book published at that time in England that Harrison may have read was Thomas Draxe's *The worlde's resurrection ...*, published in 1608.⁶⁶ In his commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans, chapter eleven, when considering the conversion of the Jews, Draxe touches on the order of the events that would precede the apocalypse. He suggests that there will be a period, after the fall of the antichrist, before the second coming of Christ, which is when the Jews will convert; he offers nothing more specific on this time. While his writing is too imprecise to provide us with an identifiable source of Harrison's belief that the end of the world is imminent, he, like Harrison expects it to happen soon.

There are two other tenuous possibilities which may help explain Harrison's millenarianism, two other influences to which he may have been exposed. It seems likely, although this can only be an assumption, that it was at Prince Henry's court that Harrison was initially exposed to conversations around the issue of the circumstances which were to surround the second coming of Christ. These conversations could have been stimulated by the links between the Stuart court and the family connections in Europe. Frederick, Count Palatine, betrothed to Henry's sister, arrived in England in October 1612. By this time Henry was already sickening but the two princes, and their courts, spent some time in each other's company, when their conversations could have turned to the subject of

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 179.

⁶⁶ Thomas Draxe, *The vvorlde's resurrection, or The generall calling of the Iewes A familiar commentary vpon the eleuenth chapter of Saint Paul to the Romaines, according to the sence of Scripture, and the consent of the most iudicious interpreters, wherein aboute fiftie notable questions are soundly answered, and the particular doctrines, reasons and vses of euery verse, are profitable and plainly deliuered. By Thomas Draxe. Minister of the word of God.* Published by G.Eld for John Wright, 1608. STC 7187. 124 pages, 4°. In the dedication Draxe writes that the conversion of the Jews is 'not far off' and 'daily to be expected'; however in the course of his '50 notable questions... soundly answered' he anticipates that the fall of Rome will precede the Jews' conversion and be followed by Christ's return to earth. Like Harrison, he gives little away on the calculations he used to reach his conclusions. Two further editions were published, in 1608 and 1609.

millenarianism. In 1619, in his position at the Palatine court, Harrison will have known of Abraham Scultetus, Frederick's court preacher. On the day the Palatines departed for Prague, prior to their leaving, Frederick and his wife attended separate church services. While Elizabeth was listening to a sermon from her chaplain, Dr Chapman, Frederick was listening to one from Skultetis. Skultetis was 'a zealous Calvinist preacher with a style reminiscent of Old Testament prophets'.⁶⁷ In 1620 it was Frederick's doctor, Andreas Hoberweschel von Habernfeld, who brought him the news of the defeat of the royal forces at the Battle of the White Mountain. A committed millenarian, Von Habernfeld fled from Bohemia after the battle to The Hague, presumably as part of Frederick's company. We do not know if he accompanied Frederick to England in 1612 but his later association with Frederick's court suggests he may have done and provides a tenuous link between likely debates among its members and those of Henry's.⁶⁸

It is difficult to know how successful *The Messiah* ... was in 1613. We know of only one response to it, but this response may hint at quite a wide readership. In 1615 James Ussher, later Archbishop of Armagh, wrote a 'refutation' of Harrison's opinion that the end of the world was very close. He attributed to Harrison an end date of 1630; 'a meer Imagination destitute of all proof from ye Word of God; and therefore generally rejected by such as have learned not to be Wise above that which is written'.⁶⁹ Harrison does not specify dates when writing warnings of future world events, so it is difficult to know how Ussher concluded that 1630 was Harrison's predicted date for the apocalypse.

⁶⁷ Brennan C. Pursell, *The winter king : Frederick V of the Palatinate and the coming of the Thirty Years' War*, Aldershot, c. 2003, p. 19.

⁶⁸ Birch, *The Life of Henry ...*, p. 271, writes that the Elector Palatine's surgeon was present at Prince Henry's autopsy, but does not name him. Von Habernfeld wrote *A true narrative of the Popish-plot against King Charles I. and the Protestant religion: as it was discovered by Andreas ab Habernfeld to Sir William Boswel Ambassador at the Hague, and by him transmitted to Archbishop Laud, who communicated it to the King. The whole discovery being found amongst the Archbishops papers, when a prisoner in the Tower, by Mr. Prynne (who was ordered to search them by a committee of the then Parliament) on Wednesday, May 31. 1643. With some historical remarks on the Jesuits, and a vindication of the Protestant dissenters from disloyalty. Also a compleat history of the papists late Presbyterian plot discovered by Mr. Dangerfield, wherein an account is given of some late transactions of Sir Robert Peyton*, Leiden 1645, London, 1680.

⁶⁹ Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition ...*, p. 216. Bodleian Library, Ms. Add .C301, ff. 95r-97v, 'Dr. Usher's Refutation of Mr. John Harrison his opinion that ye World should end AD1630 written A.1615 transcribed from his own copie'

Many dates offered up by writers were considered possible, but none of them were as immediate to 1613 as 1630. In *Late Newes ...* Harrison himself suggests that the world is experiencing the last forty years of the Devil's time on earth. It may be that Ussher had read this work of Harrison's too, despite its title suggesting it has no religious significance, but, if he had, how could he conclude that period would end in 1630? Most writers expressed some caution about fixing on an actual date, since the time it would take for the conditions to be met was seen as uncertain. That Ussher felt it necessary to comment in writing on Harrison's book suggests that it had a reasonable circulation and was taken seriously.⁷⁰

As with *Late Newes ...*, Harrison writes an explanation of the circumstances under which he wrote the main text of *The Messiah ...*. But this time he first writes a five-page dedication (followed by a Dutch translation thereof) and limits himself to a one-page address to the reader. The threefold dedication is to Prince Maurice, the Prince of Orange, to his brother, Prince Henry, and to the Estates General, given to them in thanks for the affection both princes had for Henry, Prince of Wales (Harrison's 'master', he reminds us, who died only a short while ago, in November, 1612), and because the argument in his book concerns the Jews, very many of whom live in the United Provinces, 'in peace and safetie', conditions which Harrison believes mean that they are most likely to respond to ideas adopted by the Princes and the Estates. Harrison expresses sympathy for the situation in which the Jews find themselves.⁷¹ He argues that Christians should support their conversion as 'they [are] children of the promise', and should not 'proudly and tyrannously ... insult over them' and 'hold them in such disgrace and contempt', for this and the idolatry of the Roman Catholic faith are the two reasons for their not converting to Christianity. He is not the only writer to link the Roman Catholic

⁷⁰ Thomas Draxe, *An Alarum to the Last Judgement. Or An exact discourse of the second coming of Christ and of the generall and remarkeable signes and fore-runners of it past present and to come ...* London, 1615, asserts that, in part three, 'signes that are for to come', chapter XIII, includes the conversion of the Jews. Draxe discusses three possible dates for the end of the world, but cautions that it is not for us to know when it will happen, especially if it is very close.

⁷¹ This sympathy for the situation of the Jews is found in other writings of the period. Draxe, *The Worlde's resurrection ...* 'Let the people amongst whom these lewes liue and dwell, beware least by their pride and cruelty they doe not hinder their conuersion, for were it not for this, doubtlesly in many places many more lewes then now are, would be moued and drawne to embrace the Gospell', p. 94.

church, the Antichrist, to the conversion of the Jews; it was widely believed that the fall of the Antichrist had to precede the Jews' conversion.⁷² So, in anticipation of the apocalypse, it falls to (Protestant) Christians to convert the Jews, and the princes should be 'the first beginners in your own countrie'; because of their defence of the Protestant religion, and because of their charitable works; 'no crying for bread or complaying in your streets'. The reward of the Protestant princes would be in heaven where they 'shall shine like so many Starres in the Firmament'. While Harrison is empathetic to the Jews' situation, his primary purpose is to hasten the coming apocalypse, and that in some of his later writings he is hostile towards some individual Jews who were the financial advisers to the Moroccan monarchs.

The dedication is followed by the note to the reader in which Harrison acknowledges his sources, a book called *The Christian Directorie or Resolution*, which 'I had with me in Barbary', together with his bible. But he adds a disclaimer, saying that, with many additions and alterations, he had made the book his own. The outstanding success of *The Christian Directorie*, from which Harrison used only a small part, is shown by it still being in print in the eighteenth century.⁷³ Harrison's main text is a meticulously argued essay on why Jesus was the Messiah, amply supported with quotes from both the New and Old Testaments. But of real interest is the author's epistle, 'to the forlorne and distressed Jewes in Barbarie', which follows the main text. Harrison writes about his time spent in the United

⁷² There are many references to this in writings at the time. Here Harrison sees the antichrist as the city of Rome and the Roman Catholic church. In *Late Newes ...* he writes of the devil as antichrist. Contradictory as this may seem, the church of Rome can be seen as the devil's work, newly exposed by the Protestant Reformation. See Draxe, above. See David. S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the readmission of the Jews to England, 1603-1655*, Oxford, 1982, p. 91 and pp. 94-96 on the early writers in England on Jewish conversion.

⁷³ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 222-3 on treatises on Protestant doctrine which were included in books giving guidance on Christian living. *A booke of Christian exercise, appertaining to resolution, that is, showing how we should resolve ourselves to become Christians in deed: by R. P [Parsons]. Perused, and accompanied now by a treatise tending to pacification by Edm. Bunny*, was first published in 1584, 108 pages, 12°. STC 19359. Edmund Bunny's revision of part one of Robert Parson's book sold, between 1584 and 1630, as many as 30 editions; Green, p. 305. In the same year, 1584, it was published in Middelburg (by R.P., ie Schilders). Parson's book, *The first booke of the Christian Exercise*, (1582) was revised and sold as *A Christian Directory* in 1584; in this Parson (a Catholic) writes in the longer title 'with reprove of the corrupt and falsified edition of the same booke' published by Bunny (*A booke of Christian exercise, appertaining to resolution, by R. P[arsons]. Perused and accompanied now with a Treatise tending to pacification: by E. Bunny*). Parson's last publication date listed in ESTC is 1795, 006259301 (published in Dublin).

Provinces waiting to depart for Morocco. He moves on from describing his gratitude for the Jewish hospitality he received to his desire to offer something in return. What he has to offer is salvation, for all the Jews. Harrison deplores their dispersed and captive lives; he concludes 'this is the state and condition of the Jewes at this day: the miserable state (I say) with the curse and the remedie, which God graunt ye may make use of. Amen'.⁷⁴

Both *Late Newes ...* and *The Messiah ...* were inspired by Harrison's first mission to Morocco. And in comparing them there are similarities which can be identified, features which are also present in Harrison's later writings, both published and manuscript. Foremost is his belief in the imminent end of the world, and, because of this, he makes considerable efforts to explain why he felt the need to publish. In *Late Newes ...*, in several pages of his address to the reader he writes on the disturbed state of Morocco, emphasising how the population is in thrall to the newly immersed 'saintish' king, which he regards as the devil's work, signifying the coming apocalypse.⁷⁵ In the conclusion to his 'advertisement' to the reader he indicates his intentions to write further on his experiences.⁷⁶ In *The Messiah ...*, in the dedication, he describes and bemoans the situation of the Jews in Morocco, 'captives' in that country, whose rescue will come with conversion; conversion which should ideally be begun in the United Provinces.⁷⁷ Although not a minister, from his first publication he demonstrates a religious agenda. It is clear that he intended his published writings to bear witness to his beliefs. In doing so he shares with his readers personal experiences and feelings which, he hopes, will engage their sympathies and so their understanding of his message.⁷⁸ He wishes his writings to be

⁷⁴ *The Messiah ...* p. 68.

⁷⁵ 'See how busily the Divell acteth his last part, now in this last part of the world, and playeth his prize', *Late Newes ...*, sig. A³. Unleashed from his captivity, the Devil was expected to roam the world causing chaos before the world's end.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 'I may (perhaps) bee encouraged to revise some papers of my owne, all this while throwne aside, as touching the affaires and state of that country, falling within the compasse of my daily observation', sig. A⁴.

⁷⁷ *The Messiah already ...* where the princes have 'alreadie playd your parts against the mysterie of iniquitie, both at home and abroad, both by sea and by land, as the chief bulwarks of Christian Religion at this day against the power of Antichrist', dedication to the princes and the members of the Estates General, sig. 3v-4 of dedication.

⁷⁸ See Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, pages 4 - 11 on the link between authors and their texts - the autobiographical opinions which promoted sales, the section after the dedication to the 'dear

accepted as a gift, a common offering from writers to their dedicatees for whom they had no tangible present.⁷⁹ In both books he hopes that the reader, and the dedicatees, can make 'use' of this gift, for both their material and spiritual welfare. In these two books we can identify the over-riding principles which govern all his published works: the need to inform, the need to preach (convert?), and the need for a proper order among and within states. In these books there is a clear and unifying intention, driven by his faith, to signal to his readers that they need to heed his word and make whatever preparations they can for the apocalypse to come. This need to be prepared, to seek order among the 'chaos', although never to the forefront, can be identified in all his later writings.⁸⁰

Harrison's first two published works are both, to an extent, typical examples of early seventeenth century publications; a 'news' item and a religious treatise. One would not expect the first to sell over an extended period. Of the second, Green, as above, notes that millenarian teaching was scarce, thus reducing the opportunity for a boost in sales.⁸¹ However, in 1619 a second edition of *The Messiah ...* was published, also by Giles Thorp, with two dedications, a new one preceding the old one.⁸² The new dedication, in one page, is to Frederick, King of Bohemia and to his son 'the most hopeful Prince Frederick Henry'. Harrison explains that, although the original publication was six years ago, his reasons for the publication then were the same as his reasons now, to which he adds a plea to his dedicatees. He sees in Prince Henry the re-incarnation of his late master, the deceased Prince of Wales, and in Henry's mother the re-incarnation of his late Queen, Elizabeth. He hopes that this royal family 'raised up of God for that very purpose, may be a happy instrument' in the conversion of the

reader'. Green advises caution when considering the value of a dedication, acknowledging that it is not always clear what advantage a writer might hope to gain from it.

⁷⁹ 'I am sorry I have nothing of remembrance, to present unto you ... I pray you to accept of these few lines in good part' is the concluding line in the first letter in *Late Newes* See Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, p. 43 on the publicity value of writers' dedications to their patrons.

⁸⁰ See Richard W. Cogley, 'Seventeenth Century English Millenarianism', *Religion*, 1987, vol. 17, pp. 379-396. 'English millenarians, ... , were seldom content to stand back and passively observe the course of English history. They wanted to play a part'. This is true of Harrison, although his contributions were earlier than the greater number produced in the 1640s and 1650s, see p. 384.

⁸¹ Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, pp. 235-6.

⁸² *The Messiah already come. Or Profes [sic] of Christianitie ...*, Pollard and Redgrave attribute the printing to W. Jones in London, vol I., p. 563. STC 12858.

Jews.⁸³ This dedication is the result of Harrison's new employment. In 1619, having completed four missions to Morocco, he was back in Europe and had secured a position in the service of the Palatine court. His employment by the Count and Countess was short lived; but it resulted not only in the second edition of *The Messiah ...* but three further publications in 1619 and 1620.

Bohemian publications.

As we have seen, Harrison's first two publications came about as a result of his first mission to Morocco. In Morocco, in 1612, and on his further missions, Harrison had ample time to reflect on, and to write about the world as he saw it. Viewed from a distance, he would have begun to understand the realities of Protestant England's place in the political dialogue of Europe. His next three publications reflect this and they, like his first two works, have a similar relationship with his current situation. These are political in nature, concerned as they are with the acceptance by Frederick, Count Palatine, of the crown of Bohemia. Frederick was seen by many Protestants in Europe as the leader of the German Protestant princes, a staunch Calvinist and an ally of the United Provinces against their traditional enemy, the Spanish. Harrison would have considered himself fortunate to have a position with the Palatinate court, an employment where he could transfer his loyalty to Prince Henry's memory to a new royal family. The relevance of these three political works to an understanding of Harrison's ambitions for England's expanding interests overseas will not be immediately clear. An examination of his first two works can at least be justified, linked as they are to his experiences in Morocco, 1610-1611. But as a direct result of these Moroccan experiences, Harrison had begun, not only to consider seriously England's place in this new world, but also what should characterise her expansion, (Protestantism) and in this respect, his writings on the Bohemian issue have a relevance. These three publications also signify a change in Harrison's use of print; here he is contributing to a debate that exercised not only Europe but also Britain.⁸⁴ Publishing the first two in the United

⁸³ *The Messiah ...* 1619 edition, first dedication, unnumbered page.

⁸⁴ See Raymond, *News Networks*, p. 6, on the change brought about when published events brought intelligence into the sphere of public opinion.

Provinces, Harrison is writing for English readers there as well as for readers in England, using his understanding of the concern in that country for affairs in Europe and their political relevance.

The events in Prague and the Palatine lands, during 1619-20, can be briefly summarised. Having accepted the crown of Bohemia, despite cautions from advisors, Frederick was crowned in Prague in November 1619. From the start of his reign he faced problems, not all of his own making, which he was unable to overcome.⁸⁵ On 1st April 1620 Ferdinand, the Holy Roman Emperor, issued an ultimatum, ordering Frederick to return to his lands in the Palatinate. When Frederick refused, the outcome was inevitable, and on 8th November his forces were defeated at the Battle of the White Mountain. When the Emperor's forces then invaded Frederick's Palatinate lands, he was forced into exile in the United Provinces with his wife and children.

The acceptance by Frederick of the Bohemian crown was to ignite a conflict between Catholics and Protestants in continental Europe which lasted until 1648. Protestant polities may have supported the rights of the Bohemians to elect their monarch, as they had traditionally done, but few were prepared to support Frederick with troops when he found himself at war with the Habsburgs. James I, seen by many as the leading Protestant monarch in Europe, only offered limited supplies and had advised his own son-in-law against accepting the Bohemian crown. Catholic polities, notably the Holy Roman Emperor, to whom the kingship of Bohemia had traditionally been awarded, all opposed the election of a Protestant king.

The issue of Ferdinand's legitimate claim to the Bohemian throne came about because, as heir to the Holy Roman Empire, he anticipated that the crown would be his on the emperor's death. In 1617, Emperor Matthias (r.1612-1619), who was childless, had nominated Ferdinand, his cousin, as his heir and had him elected; as emperor elect Ferdinand was considered the king elect of Bohemia as well. On Matthias' death Ferdinand's succession was confirmed by the electors of the empire but in

⁸⁵ See Geoffrey Parker, ed., *The Thirty Years War*, London, 1997, specifically part II (i), The Indecisive War, 'the war for Bohemia', pp. 42-55, on the political dynamics of the Holy Roman Empire, the Catholic League and the Protestant Union, and the problems faced by Frederick.

Bohemia the estates deposed him and elected Frederick, Count Palatine in his stead. Although governed by Catholic kings, since 1526 the Bohemian people had been primarily Protestant. Their liberty of worship had been protected under Matthias and his predecessors, but, before Matthias died in 1619 Ferdinand, a staunch Roman Catholic, had already demonstrated that he would not be taking the same approach.

Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian crown was regarded as a major event in both England and mainland Europe. In England, Clegg identifies 24 titles published in 1619-20 relating to Bohemia, of which only three, in 1619, were entered in the Stationers' Register.⁸⁶ Those unregistered publications may have been printed abroad, or were given false printer credits but printed in England, thus avoiding the need to register. Checking with Pollard and Redgrave, of the three registered titles, two of these were news sheets, the third was the second edition of Harrison's third publication in 1619, *The Reasons which compelled the States of Bohemia to reiect the Archiduke Ferdinand &c. & inforced them to elect a new King*⁸⁷ The English, as Clegg describes, were determined to support Frederick and Elizabeth in their struggle against Catholic, Habsburg, imperialism.⁸⁸ All these 24 publications were in support of the Palatine family, and most championed the rights of the Bohemian estates to elect their monarch. All Harrison's publications in 1619/20, except the second edition of *The Messiah already come...*, were grounded by this legal pragmatism. But the issue was, clearly, also seen as one of religious differences, of Protestant against Catholic. There is no doubt where Harrison's religious and personal sympathies lay; but independently of these he had strong opinions on the relationship between the monarch and his subjects and the laws which defined them.

⁸⁶ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, p. 179. On *The Reasons* ..., see below, p. 101. Sir Thomas Roe, also employed by the Palatine Court, is the probable author of *Bohemiae Regnum Electivum*, published in London in 1620, STC 3206. Elizabeth commented 'Thank you for the book ... it is exceeding well done'; Michael Strachan, *Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 119.

⁸⁷ Pollard and Redgrave, *A short title catalogue*, numbers 3211, and 3211.5, both 'news' and 3212.5, the 2nd edition of *The Reasons* ..., vol. I, p.139. (Both editions of *The Reasons* ... registered with the Stationers Guild, 3212 and 3212.5).

⁸⁸ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, p. 172, listing English publications.

In 1619, apart from the second edition of *The Messiah ...*, Harrison published the first two of his three publications concerning the acceptance of the Bohemian crown by Frederick, Count Palatine. The first was *THE REASONS which compelled the States of Bohemia to reiect the Archiduke Ferdinand &c. & inforced them to elect a new King. Together, WITH THE PROPOsition which was made vppon the first motion of the chocie [sic] of th' Elector Palatine to be King of Bohemia, by the States of that Kingdome in their publique assembly on the 16th of August, being the birthday of the same Elector Palatine*. It was translated out of 'the French copies' and printed in Dort by George Waters. There are two editions of this publication, both claiming to be published by Waters.⁸⁹ The second edition is listed in the Stationers' Register on 17th September, nine days after Frederick's coronation in Prague. Pollard and Redgrave have attributed the publication of the second edition to the English printer 'E Allde(?) for W. Butler' despite the attribution to Waters on the title page.⁹⁰ This would suggest that Harrison, after the publication of the first edition, had travelled back to London; it may not be a coincidence that this second edition was published so close to Frederick's coronation as the affairs of the Palatine family were closely followed in England. It seems likely that this second edition was published after the first and only edition of Harrison's next book, *A short Relation ...*, which was published in Amsterdam. If survival is an indication of success, *The Reasons which ...* was a very popular book; 16 copies exist in the Britain and 3 in the United States. Of the second edition, there are 4 copies in Britain, and 2 in the United States.⁹¹

In *The Reasons which ...* three were given for the Bohemian states' rejection of Ferdinand: he was not chosen in the usual manner (his premature election, during the lifetime of his predecessor, was mired in corruption); he did not observe the promises he had made to respect the religious practices of the estates; he would be a lieutenant of the Spanish king. There followed 'A Proposition made by

⁸⁹ Pollard and Redgrave, numbers 3212 and 3212.5, page 139, 30 pages, 4°. The title page is undated but references the assembly in Prague on August 16th which was made 'uppon the first motion of the chocie of the 'Elector Palatine to be the King of Bohemia' which could only have taken place in 1619.

⁹⁰ For four of the publications that Pollard and Redgrave list on the subject of Bohemia, twelve in total, two of which achieved second edition, the authors have suggested publication was in England despite their title pages crediting publishers in the United Provinces. Pollard and Redgrave, vol. I, pp. 138-9.

⁹¹ ESTC notes that the French original has not been traced.

the States of Bohemia, in their Assembly at Prague upon the Election of a King; the 16. of August, 1619'. This sets out the dispassionate criteria for choosing a king. The States required a ruler who would respect freedom of worship, govern wisely and with respect for Bohemian Councillors and the separate estates of the country.⁹² Harrison's contribution may have been the translation from French. He wrote an end note warning the reader not to expect an exact reproduction of the text; the copy had been 'written over in haste, and by a stranger' and printed in haste, 'the compositors also strangers'. The reader is asked to pardon both the printer and himself ('overseer no ordinarie corrector'). The two editions must have been published quickly, and very close together, so the work must have been popular.

Harrison was not required to travel with the Palatine household on their journey to the capital of Bohemia, Prague, in the autumn of 1619, and was back in London for the publication of the second edition of *The Reasons* It was when he parted company with the court (and, inevitably, his employment ceased), that he was mindful to record his thoughts, which form the first part of his third 1619 publication, his second on the subject of events in Europe, *A SHORT RELATION OF The departure of the high and mightie Prince Frederick King Elect of Bohemia: with his royall & vertuous Ladie Elizabeth; and the thryse hopeful yong Prince Henrie, from Heydelberg towards Prague, to receiue the Crowne of that Kingdome. Whearunto is annexed the Solempnitie or maner of the Coronation* ..., published by the printer of *The Reasons* ..., George Waters in Dort.⁹³ It has a title page covered with text and an address to the reader, both of which are used to justify its publication. There is no dedication, but a five page description of events in Heidelberg, a page of anagrams (in Latin, supplied by a friend), and a translation of the coronation service, translated out of the Dutch. The date of the departure of the Palatine entourage from Heidelberg is given as the 27th September, 1619. It appears

⁹² *The Reasons* ..., in the Proposition, 'he ought not either to persecute, or advance any for the respect of Religion', D ij v.

⁹³ A printer and bookseller in Dordrecht between 1608 and 1623 (at least), previously apprenticed in London from 1596 for eight years to A. Islip (Pollard and Redgrave (from *Arbour* II, p. 208) p. 177). 16 pages. 4° STC 12859.

that Harrison remained in Amsterdam to deliver this manuscript to George Waters, while a copy of *The Reasons* ... made its way to London, where its second edition was set and printed and registered on September 17th, a number of spellings being corrected in the process.⁹⁴ Ten copies of *A short relation* ... exist in Britain and four in the United States.

Harrison has no credit, but his name appears, after the translation, under the note to the reader. The title page gives two justifications for the publication; it is to give 'satisfaction to the world' concerning Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian throne, and to encourage all other 'nobles and heroically spirits (especially our own nation, whom in honour it first and chiefly concerneth) by prerogative of that high, and sovereign Title, hereditary to our Kings and Princes: defenders of the faith) to the like Christian resolution, against Antichrist and his Adherents'. It ends: 'Si Deus nobiscum quis contra nos?' The link between the English crown and the Palatine family, both Protestant monarchies, and both required to defend the true faith, is a recurring theme with Harrison, as is the reference to the antichrist, whose overthrow was to precede the apocalypse. The description of the departure of the Palatine family from Heidelberg, and that of the coronation in Prague, are published together to present the readers with the truth of Frederick's situation, lawfully elected to the crown of Bohemia and 'not ambitiously aspiring thereunto'.

In *A short relation* ..., as in *The Reasons* ..., we can identify the link between Harrison's experiences and his publications, as greater familiarity with events in Europe replace those of Morocco. In 1619 he witnesses the high expectations of Protestant Europe for a Habsburg defeat.⁹⁵ He writes to inform, but also to explain to his readers the just cause of Frederick's actions. His views were undoubtedly those of Prince Henry's court; George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, anti-Spanish and anti-Habsburg, and a supporter of the prince, viewed the conflict between Frederick and the Habsburg

⁹⁴ The second and last book by Harrison to be registered with the Stationers Guild.

⁹⁵ Pollard and Redgrave list a ballad, *Gallants, to Bohemia. Or let us to the warres againe: shewing the forwardnesse of our English souldiers, both in times past, and at this present. To a pleasing new warlike tune.* G.E[ld, 1620]. STC (2nd edition) 3207. An example of how the Bohemian situation was disseminated to the wider population, and an echo of Protestant sentiment in England towards Europe. Pollard and Redgrave, vol. I, p. 139.

forces as the struggle between the forces of Antichrist and the forces of 'good'.⁹⁶ In *A short relation ...* Harrison certainly describes the Count and Countess, as they set out for Prague, in military and religious terms, journeying towards their destiny as champions of the Protestant faith, forces for 'good'. He hopes that this book demonstrates successful beginnings, already achieved, and that there will be further such events which will 'run along still, like a traine of gun-powder, till at length, wee heare the finall report, of the sodaine downefall of that great Citie'. The great city was Rome, the embodiment of the Roman Catholic church.⁹⁷ This book continues Harrison's advocacy to heed the warnings of the coming apocalypse present in his two previous publications.

The Reasons ..., unlike *A short relation ...*, tells us nothing of Harrison's personal situation, nor is there any mention of his religious beliefs. And the same is true of his final publication in 1620. However, in this third, and final, work on the subject of the Bohemian Crown, his text does contain not only a translation but also a contribution to the debate. Published in 1620, and printed by William Jones and W. Stansby,⁹⁸ *BOHEMICA JURA DEFENSA. THE BOHEMIAN LAWES OR RIGHTS DEFENDED, against the INFORMER: OR An Answer to an Information, falsly so called, secretly printed and divulged against the Writings published by the States of Bohemia*, this book has three parts. Part one describes the Bohemian laws, part two is a response, *The Answere to the Information against the Apologies and Writings of the States of Bohemia*, and part three explains *The Instruments of the Pactions or Conditions concerning a perpetuall succession in the Kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and the provinces thereunto belonging*. There is a three page 'translators preface', credited to J.H. on the title page, which is an instructive comment on the art of translation, and an appendix before *The Answer*,

⁹⁶ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, p. 168.

⁹⁷ From *A short relation ...*, Harrison's conclusions after the translation of the coronation services, sig. B7. Frederick and Elizabeth were crowned separately. In the description of the departure of the Palatine family from Heidelberg he compares Elizabeth to her namesake, '... showing herself like that *virago at Tilburie in eighty eight: an other Queen Elizabeth*, for so now she is' (Harrison's italics). Sig. A5.

⁹⁸ Pollard and Redgrave suggest Jones and Stansby, printers and sellers, and note that William Jones ran a secret Puritan press, 1604-08, vol. III, p. 94; STC 3205. 16 pages. 4°. They suggest that Jones published Harrison's second edition of *The Messiah ...* in 1619, vol. I, p. 563. ESTC comments: A reply to: Schmid von Schmiedebach, Augustin. *Informatio fundamentalis super discursu quodam circa modernum regni Bohemiae statum facto*.

which it is reasonable to assume was also by the same J.H. There is no printers credit on the title page. ESTC comments that the two probable English printers divided the work between them, and notes that the roman numeral date is made with turned Cs. It is not registered in the Stationer's Catalogue. Eight copies remain in Britan and three in the Unites States.

We do not know when in 1620 *The Bohemian Lawes ...* was published. Its value to an understanding of Harrison's pilgrimage may appear limited. There is no dedication, no religious reference in either the preface or the appendix, nor any mention of the writer/translator's status, so nothing to help us understand Harrison position at this time on either possible employment or his apocalyptic beliefs. In this book he is only concerned with defending the legality of the actions of Frederick in Bohemia. Following the translated arguments defending the Bohemian Laws of Rights, Harrison's four-page appendix argues that the elected Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand, could not be the elected monarch of Bohemia. As with *The Reasons ...* the legality of a sovereign's position is important to Harrison; it informs the monarch's duties and responsibilities, and these are essential to the establishment of world order, necessary before the world's ending.

Of interest, in considering Harrison's intentions, is the fourth point in Harrison's appendix. After considering the specific legal and local (to Bohemia) reasons why Ferdinand's 'election' could not be legitimate, happening as it did before the death of the old emperor, Harrison continues with the argument that Ferdinand, even if he had been lawfully elected, because of his current behaviour, could not retain his kingship. He explains that the 'Kingdom', that is to say Bohemia, had the right to deprive Ferdinand of the crown because he had deprived citizens of their liberties, used arms against them, and attempted to secure the kingdom for his heirs.

For a King is Elected for the preservation of the Kingdome, and not for the destruction. And a Kingdome may defend her owne proper libertie lawfully against any whosoever; yea against her owne King: especially such a one who hath bin onely designed, and thereby become an Enemie of the Kingdome, & an uniust oppressor of the liberty thereof.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ *Bohemia Iura Defensa*, G⁴.

The lawfulness, or not, of the actions of kings is a subject to which Harrison returns, both in his manuscripts and in his last publication. This is the first time he has expressed these opinions in print.

After the end of 1620 Harrison disappears from public view until 1625. He published no more works until his last book, in 1633. For some of these years, between 1620 and 1625, he was in Bermuda (then known as the Somer Islands).¹⁰⁰ It was during these years that the governance of the islands was separated from the Virginia Company; the politics of colonialism was in the public debate, but, as far as we know, nothing about the turmoil that ensued stimulated Harrison to write, not even a newsletter. He did, however, continue writing, although, it appears, not until he was sent back to Morocco in 1625. His personal manuscripts, all in The National Archives, cover the years of his diplomatic missions, 1610 to 1618 and 1625 to 1633. Supplementing these are three letters Harrison wrote while he was in Morocco in 1625. These were intended for general circulation, in manuscript, in that country; they were the nearest to printed works which could be created in Morocco.¹⁰¹

The Tragical Life and Death ...

Before we note these letters, we should consider Harrison's last publication. In 1633 *THE TRAGICALL LIFE AND DEATH OF MVLEY ABDALA MELEK the late King of Barbarie. With A PROPOSITION, OR PETITION TO ALL Christian Princes, annexed therevnto: VVritten by a Gentleman imployed into those parts* was published in Delph.¹⁰² This book seemingly only went to one edition, and was published not in England, and by a publisher new to Harrison. It has however remained a subject of interest to historians because of its favourable comments on Englishmen serving as mercenaries in Morocco. Harrison acknowledges in his preface that he had read another, French, biography of this king but he

¹⁰⁰ It is likely that he was known to those members of the Virginia Company who were among attendees at Prince Henry's court.

¹⁰¹ Printing presses in Morocco at this time were unlikely to exist.

¹⁰² Printed by J. P. Waelpots (?), anno 1633. STC (2nd ed.) 12860 (Pollard and Redgrave have one publication against Waelpots name in 1633 – number 12680). They identify different copies but only one edition, see vol. I, p. 563, and vol. III, page 175. The different copies appear to have been bound differently.

claims that the sources for his own book were oral, presumably, from English witnesses, living in or travelling to Morocco, with whom he remained in contact after his last mission.

Harrison had left England on what was to be his last mission to Morocco in September 1631, and was back in England by May 1632 when he had presented letters to Charles I from the new Moroccan king, al-Oualid bin Zidan, successor (and brother) to the subject of his book, Abdel al-Malik II. It is likely that Charles' complete lack of response to Harrison's presentation prompted this publication. A four-page dedication precedes the history of Abdel al-Malik's reign, which is followed by a proposition from Harrison, the purpose of the publication. Although only his credentials, rather than his name, appear on the title page, we know that this was authored by Harrison because he is credited with writing the dedication. Abdel al-Malik was the grandson of al-Mansur, the monarch who corresponded with Elizabeth, and a son of Zidan. He and Harrison never met, despite Harrison having been in Morocco once during the king's reign, on mission seven.¹⁰³

This book should have had the greatest commercial appeal of all Harrison's books. His description of al-Malik's life is of a life lived violently. The 'barbaric' behaviour of monarchs, notably the Ottoman Sultans, was a continual fascination to English readers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many newsletters describing the continuing warfare waged by the Ottoman Empire on its north western European borders exist from 1532, and reports on the Ottoman sieges, from Malta in 1565 to Cyprus in 1572, kept Englishmen up to date on the situation in the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁰⁴ Victories over the 'Turkes' were causes for celebration; this despite that fact that the Ottomans were frequently fighting the enemies of England, the Habsburgs of Austria and Spain. Reports on the behaviour of individual sultans were also popular. The Ottoman practice of fratricide was widely reported. Sons too did not escape their father's ambitions for their successors; the removal of some offspring could mean a trouble-free accession for a favourite. The title of a newsletter of 1569, on the

¹⁰³ The ESTC identifies this king, the 'person as subject', as dying in 1578? It is quite clear from Harrison that the subject of this book was the king who died in 1631.

¹⁰⁴ *'The tryumphant vycctory of the imperyll mageste agaynst the turkes: the xxvi day of Septembre'*, London, 1532, STC 5018. This is an early example.

history of the house of Osman, drew attention of the reader to an 'especial' section, 'adioynd', on the murder of his son by Sultan Soleiman in 1553.¹⁰⁵ Other sultans killed their sons or brothers, but one atrocity, committed by Mehmed III on his succession in 1595, caused outrage throughout Europe. The death by strangulation of all his father's other nineteen sons was notorious and is immortalised by Shakespeare. Harrison's book follows other histories of polities whose reception in England would contribute to the belief that the cruelty of rulers outside the Christian world were unacceptable.¹⁰⁶

It is somewhat surprising therefore, given the English readers appetite for sensational stories from abroad, that there was no second edition for this book. It is dedicated 'To the most illustrious and hopefull young Prince Charles, Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhyne, etc'. By 1633 the states in Europe had been embroiled in religious warfare for thirteen years. This book is a New Year's gift to a prince to whom Harrison has transferred his hopes and expectations for a Protestant victory, the eldest surviving son of Frederick and Elizabeth.¹⁰⁷ He presumes to offer it in return for the prince's 'great respect' on two occasions when Harrison was in Leyden after leaving Barbary, and because the prince had expressed an interest in 'foraigne affaires'. He hopes this gift may help the prince distinguish between good, Christian, and cruel, Mohammedan governments. He warns that, as evidenced by the death of Abdel al-Malik, those who govern with cruelty die cruelly.¹⁰⁸ And he urges all princes to reflect on the works of George Buchanan, late tutor to James I, Charles I's father. Of relevance may be this

¹⁰⁵ 'In the ende also is adioynd the maner hovv Mustapha, eldest sonne of Soltan Soliman, twelfth Emperour of the Turkes, was murdered by his father, in the yere of our Lorde 1553', part of the title page of 'The ofspring of the house of Ottomanno', following a description of Turkish rites, ceremonies and religion, translated from the Latin, London 1569 (?), STC 11746.

¹⁰⁶ 'This is the English, not the Turkish court; Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds, But Harry Harry', Henry IV part II, act 5, scene 2. Written between 1596 and 1599; performed at court in 1612. *The Arden edition of the works of Shakespeare*, London, 1966, p. 164. Henry V has just succeeded to the English throne; in this scene he is reassuring his brothers that he means them no harm. The first serious history of the Turkes was published in 1603, Richard Knolles, *THE GENERALL HISTORIE of the Turkes, from The first beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Othoman Familie: with all the notable expeditions of the Christian Princes against them. Together with THE LIVES AND CONquests of the OTHOMAN Kings and Emperours Faithfullie collected out of the-best Histories, both auntient and moderne, and digested into one continuat Historie vntill this present Yeare*, three years after the English translation of Leo Africanus' book, *A geographical historie of Africa*, was published. 40 pages, 2^o. STC 15051.

¹⁰⁷ By 1633 both Frederick and his heir Frederick Henry were dead and Charles had inherited the title of Elector; his lands were still in Habsburgs hands and remained so until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

¹⁰⁸ *The Tragical life and death ... 'his life was bloodie, and so it ended in blood'*, dedication, p. A2r.

argument from Buchanan: 'This one way of government is to Kings proscribed, ..., that they should conforme their actions and speech to the Prescripts of Lawes, and by the sanctions thereof divide rewards and punishments, the greatest bonds of holding together the bonds of humane society'.¹⁰⁹ In a departure from all his previous publications, the rest of the dedication is devoted to the plight of those captives in Muslim countries that remain to be rescued, and reads like an extended lament or prayer.¹¹⁰

The history of al-Malik's life and death is nineteen pages long, and consists almost entirely of descriptions of his drunken bloodthirsty behaviour towards his subjects, including his own family, which alienated even his most loyal courtiers. Harrison does make special mention of some of these courtiers, the English captives, who were given positions at court and who were treated with some respect by the king;¹¹¹ and he gives him one good character reference, that he had no favourites. He makes an interesting political point, one somewhat at odds with his championing of the laws that governed the behaviour of both kings and subjects, that the Moroccans required a strong king to keep them 'in subjection' otherwise the country was 'prone to rebellion'.¹¹² The proposition which follows, in five pages, is described as a petition to all defenders of the Christian (Protestant) faith against all Antichristian powers who he believes, 'now in these last daies' will be destroyed. Harrison proposes that a collection be taken to ransom those captives still held in Morocco and Turkey.¹¹³ He suggests that the United Provinces should be asked to provide the ships to transport the captives back to their

¹⁰⁹ From the first English edition, 1689, p. 25, of *De Jure Regni apud Scotos, or A discourse concerning the due privilege of Government in the Kingdom of Scotland*, by George Buchanan, first published 1579, in Edinburgh, and printed by John Ross. STC 3974. Originally written and published in Latin, this book was also published abroad.

¹¹⁰ To completely understand Harrison's petition for the ransom of English captives, refer to his manuscript memoranda written for the state office, and his petitions to Charles I. In these documents his evolving convictions about England's place in the expansion of European polities into the new world are evident. See chapter four.

¹¹¹ Harrison, *The Tragical life and death ...*, 'yet did he favour much and respect the English, to wit the captiues', p. 13.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 'as their refran or proverb is: Everie day a new cus-cus, euerie day a new wife, and euerie day a new King'. Wives and kings were changed as frequently as meals were served, p. 13.

¹¹³ Nabil Matar, *British Captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic*, pp. 82-7, outlines the captive situation in the Mediterranean at the beginning of Charles' reign, including the intermittent attempts to raise ransom money.

own countries. He asks the Christian kings to consider and consult on his proposal, and to 'speake your minds'. He concludes with a prayer to the Christian princes to fulfil God's will, that is the destruction of the Antichristian and Mohammedan tyrannies, which will lead to the establishment of God's eternal monarchy.

Only this last book, of all of Harrison's publications, may be a genuinely original piece of writing.¹¹⁴ De Castries claims that *The Tragical Life and Death ...* was based on a French publication of 1631 entitled *Bref et fidelle recit desinhumaines et barbares cruautez de Moly Abd el-Melec, empereur de Maroque*¹¹⁵. Presumably this publication was the one Harrison acknowledges in his preface. The ESTC does not list this French publication which is longer than Harrison's. It starts with a consideration of the qualities required of a monarch and proceeds to demonstrate why, due to copious consumption of alcohol, al-Malik possessed none of these. It lists a number of examples of excess cruelty, as does Harrison, but these examples are not identical, and it contains information on French captives and issues concerning their ransom which are not in Harrison's book, although he would have been familiar with them. Even if Harrison was inspired to write *The Tragical Life and Death ...* after reading *Bref et fidelle ...*, I think it is reasonable for us to accept Harrison's statement in his introduction, that the evidence on which he based his writing was from the reports he had received from eyewitnesses, and that his text is all his own. As evidenced in chapter four, he maintained good contacts in Morocco, even when he was back in England after 1632, and in London, with merchants who traded there. His information, although possibly exaggerated by his informers, was probably accurate. It contributes to our cumulative understanding of Morocco at this period, and is a valuable addition to Harrison's extensive reports to the secretaries of state from his second four missions.

¹¹⁴ In *The Messiah ...* Harrison acknowledges his source, and its content is in many ways similar to its source, drawing as both do on biblical quotes. It seems likely that his 'Bohemian' publications, although not credited to any other authors, were works on a subject of common discourse and interest, about which public debates and discussions would have been frequent.

¹¹⁵ *Bref et fidelle recit des inhumaines & barbares cruautez de Moley Abdelmelec, Empereur de Maroque dernier decedé, exercées tant à l'endroit des pauvres Chrestiens, que plusieurs de ses domestiques. Signamment le martyre de plusieurs saints personnages massacrez par luy pour la sainte Foy.* Published in 1631, Paris. No author is given; but the publication is 'with permission'.

Despite the letters from al-Oualid which Harrison brought back in 1632, Charles I was not minded to pursue a possible agreement with the Moroccan king. Harrison spent the next few years unsuccessfully petitioning Charles for leave to return and formalise the release of English captives, a responsibility which had become inextricably part of his missions from 1625 until 1632. The dedication of this book in 1633 to Charles, Elector Palatine, undoubtedly reflects his belief that the English king was not inclined to agree to a ransom mission, but his namesake and nephew, despite having no resources, might be supportive. The connection Harrison makes between the ransoming of captives from Muslim states, both from the Ottoman Empire and the states of Barbary, and ‘these last days’, when the kingdom of Jesus Christ will triumph over ‘all Antichristian powers’, is never clearly expressed. But his readers would have understood his reasoning, the timely redemption of those lost Christian souls whose captivity had enforced Islam upon them.¹¹⁶ The characteristics of his writing, demonstrable from *Late Newes* ... onwards, are evident: that news is always welcome, that the book may be considered a gift, that his hopes reside in his dedicatee, that they will do everything possible to move events towards a greater preparedness for the coming apocalypse.¹¹⁷

Consideration.

In concluding this chapter, the question arises, if, and if so, how, do Harrison’s published works contribute to our understanding of his diplomatic career? Recalling that it is in his published works that he demonstrates his beliefs, how his faith motivates him to publish a record of, or a comment on, certain events in his life can clearly be seen. In this regard Harrison is no different to those early travellers whose journeys were touched on in the introduction. They, and he, had a curiosity about the world as they experienced it, and a need to consider, examine and share these experiences. Theophilus Lavender’s comments in the introduction on the reasons for travel have resonance here. His responses to his first mission to Morocco, the experience he has of Jewish society in both Morocco

¹¹⁶ *The Tragical Life and Death* ... p. 21. ‘Whose soules lie under the Altar, daillie sacrificed to those heathen devills’. Harrison is desperate to do what he can to hasten the earth’s readiness for the ‘last days’

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. A²⁻³, ‘hoping your highness will accept of this small present out of a Barbarous countrie, for want of a better’.

and the United Provinces, Frederick, Count Palatine's election to and subsequent loss of the Bohemian throne, and lastly his inability to achieve the ransom of the remaining English captives in Morocco, all these experiences demonstrate Harrison's curiosity about the world, and bear witness to his faith, especially his millenarianism, and exhibit one or more of his motives in publishing, to inform, to preach, and to advocate good government.

So, will this evidence of his faith in his published books support an understanding of Harrison's diplomatic experiences? Being steadfast in his belief that the end of the world was coming ever nearer, Harrison knew it was important to identify the enemies of his country. These enemies, Spain, the Habsburgs in Germany, 'as well the Pope and his adherents, as the Turk, & his Vassals, the Mahometans' are the powers which must be destroyed for Christ to return to reign on earth.¹¹⁸ These sentiments were by no means unique to Harrison but were held by many in England, be they courtiers, clergy, or ordinary folk. The intertwining of the faith and the politics of England were no different to those of any other polity in Europe. Examples of the various ways a diplomat might interpret a political situation in his host country can be found in any capital city and any royal court of the early seventeenth century. D'Amico writes about 'the diversity of opinion about Moors and Morocco represented by the reports of traders and diplomats' which characterise the plays written during that brief period when the Moors first became players in English drama.¹¹⁹ The evidence from his books demonstrates how Harrison's faith influenced his responses to his initial experiences in Morocco, how his faith united him with his king and his country against their enemies, how his millenarianism influenced his performance; an examination of his manuscripts will provide the evidence of his faith in practice. Without his Protestant faith his manuscript legacy would have been different; his relations and memoranda demonstrate how his faith influenced his diplomacy and the extent to which the two

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 20. 'A PROPOSITION, AND PETITION TO ALL CHRISTIAN Princes, and States, Professours, and Defenders of the true Christian faith, against all Antichristian povvers and principalities. By the time *The Tragicall Death* ... was published Harrison had moved away from his advocacy of the conversion of the Jews to the need for a Christian victory in the Thirty Years War and the establishment of Protestant government bringing stable and order to the world in anticipation of the coming of Christ.

¹¹⁹ D'Amico, *The Moor in Renaissance Drama*, p. 40.

have intertwined. And, in his books, in the dedications, prefaces, and notices to readers, the development of Harrison's approach to those issues of his day that preoccupied his attention is clear. I have found it useful to look at these publications as milestones in Harrison's application of his faith, (his millenarianism, his 'pilgrimage', his patriotism and service to his country), to his diplomatic career, and how his publications may have influenced his 'career' path, which in turn defined his attitude and contribution to English overseas expansion.

Addenda.

Harrison was inspired to publish his first five books by his personal experiences in Morocco, in the United Provinces, and back in England. However, the succession of Charles I in 1625, and the policies the new king pursued at the beginning of his reign, were a welcome change to him, and brought him new diplomatic commissions. During his second five missions he either had no time, or saw no need, for further publications. However, it is during the early part of this quiet (publishing) period that we have some manuscripts which fall outside the category of relations/memoranda for the secretary of state's office; these are more closely linked in intention to Harrison's publications. In 1625, Harrison found himself back in Morocco, and charged with finding support for the English fleet, then fitting out for an expedition to Spain. Not knowing when the fleet was due to sail, in virtual isolation in Tetuan, and conscientiously concerned to support this enterprise, Harrison took it upon himself to write three letters for the edification of the local population. He explains 'I thought it my dutie, both to God and His Majesty, not to spend this tyme of my imployeement idlie, all Christendome now up in armes, but to blow the fire already kindled; hopinge, if it please God to second these proceeding with that expedition hee hath begune, it may in tyme growe to a great flame, and finallie consume the enemie ... and to this end, it came into my minde ... to write two generall letters [to the Moors and the Jews] ... and one generall letter or admonition, likewise to the Spaniardes themselves and Portugals'.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 578-9. In a letter to the leader of the Cadiz expedition of 1625.

These letters, in Spanish, to the Moors, the Jews and the Catholics, were designed to be copied and circulated the moment the success of the English expedition became known.¹²¹ They are carefully composed, offering differing religious arguments advocating conversion to Protestantism, depending on the recipients. Harrison's intention was to generate support for the English expedition in Spain, hoping that, when it was successful, Moroccan forces from all three faiths would revolt against their governors and offer allegiance to a Protestant power, one which would exercise that power fairly and responsibly.¹²² In these letters not only Harrison's commitments to his faith and his country, and his desire to hasten the approach of the latter days, but also his three principal motives, to inform, to preach and to exhort the benefits of good government are present. In his own way, Harrison was reflecting the views of those other English who were committed to international Protestantism, exemplified by the expedition to Cadiz.¹²³ He believed that the Moriscos in Tetuan, followed by Muslims, Jews and Catholics in Morocco, would come to embrace the Protestant faith as they embraced Charles as their protector and king. Their conversion would signal a greater awareness in the world of its impending demise.¹²⁴ These letters were the seventeenth century equivalent of fliers, clearly, Harrison believed, setting out the aims of the English and their expeditionary force. Sadly, they were casualties of the failure of the expedition, and with it the failure of the original intention of his fifth mission. This failure marks a turning point for Harrison; they signify both a change in his public face and his departure from the need to publish, as he embraces new challenges, recorded in his manuscripts.

¹²¹ The Catholics Harrison were addressing were in Ceuta, a Spanish city on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, originally taken by the Portuguese in 1415.

¹²² See chapter four. In the event it seems that no letters were circulated as the expedition failed. These letters, in English, copies in Spanish, are in SP 72 12, ff. 91-102.

¹²³ See, for example, John Reeve, 'Sir Dudley Carleton and Sir Thomas Roe: English Servants of the Queen of Bohemia and the Protestant International during the Thirty Years War', *Parergon*, vol.32, n.3 (2015), pp. 151-181. Reeve regards Carleton and Roe as in the vanguard of the forces of international Protestantism, a cause Harrison embraced enthusiastically.

¹²⁴ Harrison asks for the release of English captives so they can 'serve in the warres against the enemies of both nations'; A generall letter to the Moores, de Castries, *Les sources inédites ... Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 567-8. De Castries reproduces only the letter to the Moors.

Conclusion.

Harrison's books were published with the English reading public in mind and are examples of recognised categories of early seventeenth century publications, a 'news' item, a treatise on Jewish conversion, and commentaries on events in Bohemia. All five books, in their dedications, and in their subject matter, point to Harrison's increasing concerns about the 'chaos' developing in Europe, its causes and the solution he sees to the situation, one which he believes Christian princes will need to embrace. His millennialism has fuelled his growing belief in the importance of good governance, and ordered states, which is the direct result of both his Moroccan experiences, his time in the United Provinces, and the growing tensions in Germany. However, it is in his manuscript works that we will find Harrison's views on government responsibilities mostly clearly expressed. And in this respect, the three letters from 1625 set the scene for the memoranda and relations that follow from 1627. These letters provide us with a valuable insight into Harrison's understanding of his ambassadorship; he believed that in his person he represented Charles, England and Protestantism, and that this triumvirate was a powerful force which would ultimately prevail over the forces of the antichrist and its representatives, the pope and the Habsburg monarchies.¹²⁵

From 1625 to 1633, in all his manuscripts, we can also see Harrison's principles, established as far back as 1613, coming into play. The culmination of all his work, published and manuscript, is his 1633 publication. This last book could be considered the result of his failure as a diplomat. If further evidence was needed, among Harrison's letters is one to the Estates General of the United Provinces, dated 26th March, 1631. From London, in French, this was written between his seventh and eighth missions. In it, Harrison, believing that the conclusion of the peace agreement between England and

¹²⁵ Referencing the conversion of the Jews and the non-Christian Gentiles, Cogley wrote 'Most English millenarians assumed that these two massive end-time conversions would come about miraculously, when God poured forth his grace upon Jew and Gentile, and removed the scales from their eyes and the hardness from their hearts', Cogley, 'Seventeenth Century English Millenarianism', *Religion* (1987) vol. 17, pp. 379-396. Harrison certainly believed this, as demonstrated in these letters.

Spain (1630) meant that there was no further need for contact between England and Morocco, concluded that he had no expectation of another commission. He feels free to offer his services to the Estates for the ransoming of Dutch captives.¹²⁶ In the event, he did secure one further commission, but there was no resulting agreement with Morocco and no release of English captives. By this time his patriotism had been sorely tested; as an intermediary his understanding of the political dynamics of Morocco was unapparelled, but he failed to engage Charles in Moroccan affairs. His petitions to the king for further commissions failed, and the Estates General declined his offer, but Harrison's faith did not waver and he resorted to publication as his only way of expressing his convictions and his frustrations. In trying to discharge his duty to his king, Harrison therefore had also, when acting for his king, to discharge his duty to his God.

¹²⁶ 'comme la paix entre l'Angleterre et l'Espagne a été conclue, je n'ai plus à attendre que l'on m'en confie de nouvelles', the concluding paragraph in a long letter in which Harrison outlines the history of his relationship with Morocco, justifying his knowledge of the country and his valuable experiences there. This letter was referred for consideration on the 26th March; on 5th April the Estates General resolved to postpone their consideration of Harrison's proposal to a more opportune time. Meanwhile they thanked him for his trouble and sent him 100 florins De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... des Pays-Bas*, Paris, 1913, vol. IV, pp. 283-290.

Chapter three. The first four missions, 1610-1618. The practice of diplomacy.

‘...in this barbarous countrie of Barbarie’.¹

Introduction.

In the previous chapters I have considered Harrison’s world, in 1610, in England, at the court of Prince Henry, and examined Harrison’s publications, concluding that they demonstrated the hardening of his religious convictions in response to his changing circumstances, and how these publications were cultured in the northern part of Europe, fitting easily into the political press of the early seventeenth century. The inspiration, however, for the first two publications, the ones that will support the construction of the narrative of his first mission, are the result of Harrison’s re-location from the north of Europe to the south and beyond, and with this came a re-orientation of his political, cultural and social perceptions. Harrison becomes a little known but much travelled go-between, an English diplomat not only in Morocco, but also in the United Provinces and in France. How he absorbed, and learned from, his diplomatic experiences in Morocco between 1610 and 1618 will be the focus of this chapter. These first four missions reflect the ethos he absorbed as a member of Prince Henry’s court and the influence of James I and Robert Cecil. The later four missions (1625-1632) are very different, when Harrison uses his earlier Moroccan experiences for the benefit of a new monarch and a changed diplomatic and policy environment.

Simon Mills, in *A Commerce of Knowledge: Trade, Religion, and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1760*, has suggested that the relationship between the Christian and the Islamic worlds, the ‘trade’ between them, could be viewed as a trade in knowledge and

¹ SP 71 12, f. 84. Harrison’s second letter to Cecil during his first mission in 1610.

communication. Thus the 'orientalist' aspect in this commerce ceases to be appropriate, and the balance between the two protagonists changes. Religion's part is similarly altered.² For Mills the presence of the clergy as part of the English ambassador's suite is crucial to the information flow, the trade in knowledge, from the Ottoman Empire to England. He demonstrates the importance of these men in making connections in Aleppo. Whereas Brotton saw a drift towards orientalism after the death of Elizabeth and the end of a political relationship between England and the Islamic world, Mills sees the post Elizabethan world as one where more contacts are established through the increasing commercial opportunities, offering more places where knowledge exchange can occur. Harrison in Morocco was a lone figure when compared with the ambassador and his suite in Istanbul, or the consulate in Aleppo. Only an agent, with few staff and no pastor, this lack of support for his faith was something of which he was aware and which he suggested should be remedied. Nevertheless, the performance of his religious beliefs were an important part of his need to bear witness to the true religion of (Protestant) Christianity. Harrison undoubtedly used his contacts, especially during his first four missions, to enable his understanding of the confessional society in which he was living, albeit because he was driven to hope for conversion. His diplomatic purpose did not exclude his personal, religious, convictions. Yet, as Netzloff describes it, English identity, and by default, Englishmen abroad, is 'more often expressed in registers of loss, mourning, yearning, and nostalgia' and 'foreign travel and service are often frames as experiences of displacement'. Harrison's experiences during these four missions for James were not to be productive.³

In this chapter, as we examine Harrison's first four missions, I want to focus on their diplomatic purpose and their successes or failures. Despite there being no surviving commissions for these first four missions,⁴ we can gauge their purpose from Harrison's recollection of James' instructions, on

² Simon Mills, *The Commerce of Knowledge*, p. 11.

³ Netzloff, *Agents Beyond the State*, p. 225.

⁴ In Gary M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives, 1509-1688*, London, 1990, see, for example, p. 104 (France), p. 266 (Spanish Netherlands), p. 290, (Venice). No commissions are listed, even for these important diplomatic postings. Instructions and correspondence can be the principal sources for diplomatic commissions.

which he comments in his 1627 memorandum on these missions, written for the office of the Secretary of State.⁵ As Harrison was to experience, the success of diplomacy is closely connected with the forum in which the diplomatic activity occurs. In Morocco the contributing factors were many, and not confined to the internal problems in the country. The nature of Moroccan society, the Moroccan relationship with Spain, the free-lance proclivities of the English merchants, the activities of corsairs and pirates, and the suffering of their captives, are all factors in determining the outcome of Harrison's missions.

Beginning with some general observations on early seventeenth-century diplomacy, and the similarities and differences of the postings experienced by the new diplomats from James' court, this chapter will then consider the situation awaiting Harrison in Morocco, briefly describe the available sources, and summarise the four missions (1610-1618). These missions have not attracted any interest from historians; they were not successful, and it could be argued that their only achievements were the publication of Harrison's first two books. However, summarising these four missions provides a survey of the diplomatic world of Morocco, and Moroccan affairs, and offers some conclusions from Harrison's activities, both from his diplomatic involvement, and his social and cultural experiences. A consideration in more detail of two events, not unconnected with Harrison's diplomatic experiences, and which were of significance to him, follows. Knowing that it was around the time of these missions that Harrison published his first five books, and investigating these first four missions as much as record allow, the emergence of Harrison's ambitions becomes a little clearer. While Harrison's millenarianism remains a guiding principal of his life, there is no mention of it in the relations on these first four missions, which he wrote up in the 1620s. But his need to inform, to preach and to promote good governance remains to guide the retrospective reports he wrote.

⁵ Sir John Coke and Sir Edward Conway were joint secretaries of state in 1627. Conway was succeeded by Sir Dudley Carleton in 1628. Both Coke and Carleton have been described as 'the last Elizabethan'.

Early seventeenth-century diplomacy.

A number of factors affected Harrison's first four missions and which contributed to their chances of success. Firstly, in considering these first four missions of Harrison, while diplomatic relations with Morocco may not have been of special interest to James, yet the development of diplomatic activity at the English court was considerable, a development which opened opportunities to aspiring diplomats, including Harrison. When James ascended to the English throne he inherited a state which had no diplomatic relations with any European nation.⁶ His restoration of a 'defunct institutional structure' which represented his and England's interests abroad, noted in chapter one, coincided with a new awareness of the ambassador as a state employee.⁷ His new ambassadors and agents included 'a new class of subject'. Jean Hotman refers to some of these new subjects as 'gentlemen of the bedchamber', a description which neatly fits Harrison. Hotman had strong views on the choice of ambassadors: 'Princes make no difficultie to send the Groomes of the Chambers, Cloake-bearers, and others of baser sort vnto the greatest Princes of Christendome'.⁸ Mattingly, damningly, characterises them as more familiar with classical history than with recent events, and knowing about the world outside western Europe from 'absurdly obsolete texts'.⁹ Among the useful attributes for an ambassador, Hotman recommends a knowledge of more recent history. 'But for me, I require no more of him than hee may attaine vnto by vse and nature. True it is, that I wish he were seene in all, by reason of the diuersitie of affaires which are handled in his charge. The which hee cannot be, if he

⁶ Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, London, 1955, p. 205, writes that Elizabeth, in 1589, still had official diplomatic residents in non-Catholic countries, her ambassador in France, her agent in the Netherlands, and the newly established ambassador in Constantinople.

⁷ Mark Netzloff, 'The Ambassador's Household: Sir Henry Wotton Domesticity and Diplomatic Writing' in Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox, eds., *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, p. 156. Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 207, wrote James was the 'one major sovereign of the period [who] really believed in peaceful diplomacy'. He first established embassies in Venice, Paris, Madrid and The Hague. Netzloff, 'The Ambassador's Household', p. 158, 'The lateral relations forged among ambassadors played a crucial role in this process of nascent professionalism'.

⁸ Jean Hotman, *The Ambassador*, was first published in English in 1603. See unnumbered page, section His Behaviour. Coinciding with James' succession Hotman had translated *Basilikon Doron* into French (published in Paris in 1604); he met James in Scotland in 1589.

⁹ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 238. This could be a fair description of Harrison, considering the evidence of his writings; if he is not quoting from the bible, his sources are most often from Roman literature.

haue not seene and trauelled abroade, if hee haue not some experience, and especially the knowledge of Histories, which I finde to bee more necessary for him than any other study'.¹⁰ In all probability Robert Cecil briefed Harrison on Morocco personally, especially as Cecil had always maintained good communications with his contacts in Morocco. A 'new' class of agent, and one with some knowledge of recent history, could be a description of John Harrison.

Secondly, we know that Harrison would have attended court in person to receive from James his commission and his letters of introduction to the Moroccan king, and at the same time he would have been given additional verbal instructions on the purpose of his mission. While we lack specific information, we may imagine that James expected Harrison to fulfil the common expectations of all ambassadors. They were to represent their monarch at a foreign court, their very presence embodying that of their 'master'; their suite therefore, and their presentation becoming part of their mission. On this subject, also, Hotman had strong opinions: 'so also would I have him rich, not only in the goods of the minde, but also in the goods of fortune....for, besides that a great povertie is alwaies suspected, he being so, it is very hard for him to holde that dignitie which he ought to represent; their Masters being not always very careful to make them due provision'.¹¹ On their sovereign's behalf they could be empowered to negotiate, and to conclude, agreements; moreover, they were expected to report on all events and situations which were considered of relevance to their country's interests and security. Judging by Harrison's personal financial difficulties when his pay was substantially delayed, he had little private income, and probably he and his suit did not impress by their appearance. This may have been of little concern to James; it does not seem likely that he expected Harrison to return with a draft agreement, and, considering his attitude to merchants, the extent to which he expected his representatives to protect Englishmen living abroad is not clear. For, in sending an agent to Morocco, his action was reactive rather than proactive.

¹⁰ Hotman, unnumbered page, in the section *His Behaviour*.

¹¹ Hotman, *The Ambassador*, Unnumbered page in *His Behaviour*. This situation, the problem of poverty, could be a description of Harrison in Morocco.

Thirdly, some of James' agents, and this would include Harrison, went to places where their residence rendered them beyond traditional communication networks, and where there was no retiring incumbent from whom to take advice. From these places, according to Jean Hotman, it was prudent to write in order to ensure that their voice was heard.¹² Netzloff describes the need to write as a burden which illustrated the 'personal and intersubjective' nature of the ambassador's role. Harrison understood the need to write to London; this is clear from his letters to Cecil, which exhibit the characteristics of these new ambassadors' letters, as Netzloff enumerates them.¹³ The apprehension that there may be gaps in his knowledge of affairs in Morocco, his worry about late or lost correspondence, his concern about his ability to achieve the targets which he had been set, are all evident in the Harrison's writing. We may conclude, therefore, that Harrison was a new class of ambassador; that he was expected to practice traditional diplomacy, but in a country outside Europe where those practices were subject to different perspectives.

Early seventeenth century expansion.

Into this context an understanding of a broader, bigger, picture of the first decade of the seventeenth century is helpful, and a brief note on England's increasing drive for territories and trading concessions overseas. Firstly, from his succession, James consistently pursued as policy of peace in Europe; he was not interested in continuing his predecessor's relations with Muslim countries, and he was disinclined to fund a much needed increase in the size of his navy.¹⁴ Nevertheless, in 1610, James was prepared, for the first time, to send an agent to Morocco. T. S. Willan, commenting on the Moroccan trade, writes that, despite its small scale when compared to the Levant or East Indian trade, it had a place commensurate with that of Russia, Newfoundland, Guinea and Brazil, a trade 'which cannot be wholly measured by the volume and the value of the goods

¹² Alan Stewart, 'Francis Bacon's Bi-Literal Cipher and the Materiality of Early Modern Diplomatic Writing', in Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox, *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, p. 123, quoting Hotman.

¹³ Netzloff, 'The Ambassador's Household', p. 159, where he lists the problems of ambassadors being concerned about the security of their employment, whether letters had been lost in transit, if vital intelligence had gone astray.

¹⁴ Croft, *James I*, p. 88, on James' lack of interest.

entering into them. They were part of that outward expansion of Europe which England as a maritime nation could ignore only at her peril.¹⁵ This expansion is evident in the activities of the city of London, and in those ports where trade had expanded under Elizabeth. With or without James' blessing, English trading had a widening focus, and continued to send fishing fleets to Newfoundland, settlers to America and ships with cargoes for trading to the Eastern Mediterranean and the Far East.¹⁶ Increasingly, Englishmen were travelling to the edges of Europe and beyond.¹⁷

For example, when Harrison left England in May 1610, he was the second member of the Stuart court to be sent outside Europe in that year, following in the steps of Sir Thomas Roe, who, in February, had departed for Guiana. Roe was a member of the Virginia Company whose first voyage under their new council arrived on the north American coast in June 1610.¹⁸ Also in 1610, the East India Company sent four ships on the company's sixth voyage, and instructed the commander to engage in the 'country trade', the very beginning of the transit trade which was to develop into the 'multilateral trade system' of world-wide commerce. Meanwhile, in Constantinople, the first five ambassadors all had experience of trade and the Levant before they were appointed. The fifth, Paul Pindar, secretary and then ambassador (1611-1620), was, as Harrison may have been, 'very dear' to Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury. Pinder provides us with an excellent example of the interconnections between the court and the city, between those in politics and those in trade, and a forerunner of those members of the consulate in Aleppo, the subject of Mills book; in the transporting of knowledge, he collected and

¹⁵ Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, p. 310.

¹⁶ Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement*, p. 16, on the state's part in these enterprises. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, describes the first forty years following the new charter of 1605 as a period of prosperity and expansion despite the difficulties and obstacles to trade, p. 42. K.N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company; the study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600-1640*, London, 1965, p. 21 on the 'striking achievement' of the company in the early seventeenth century.

¹⁷ For example, see Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, page 35, n. 2, on the experiences of travellers Sandys and Lithgow in Egypt.

¹⁸ Roe was a signatory to a letter to a Captain Holcroft, May 1609, in which the captain was authorised to invite both investment and personnel for the next voyage to Virginia and to solicit support from subjects of both England and the Low Countries. Strachan, *Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 17. This proposal for a joint venture would have received Harrison's approval. In 1620 Harrison was to make his own journey across the Atlantic.

brought back to England Arabic and Persian manuscripts, which he gave to the Bodleian Library.¹⁹ While Harrison did not possess an interest in trade, nor any connections in the city, as a member of Prince Henry's court, he would have been aware and supportive of increased activities outside Europe; for him the opportunity to serve his king in Morocco would have been as relevant to England's overseas activities as travelling to the Ottoman Porte or South America.

Secondly, while the experiences of those men, whether explorers, merchants or ambassadors, who travelled to the Mediterranean, the East Indies or the Americas, were well documented and have been recognised as significant, this is not the case with Morocco. James, when appointing Harrison, a man not only with no experience of trade, but with little of diplomacy or societies outside England, probably considered his mission of little significance. For James, Harrison's first mission was probably a response to a specific need; it would appear to be a reaction to the requests of some city merchants, a political and commercial solution to a problem with neither wider nor longer term significance, of interest to few Englishmen at the time, and of little relevance to England's expansionist endeavours. On James' succession, evidence suggests that the major focus of most Englishmen involved in overseas projects had been and remained elsewhere. Notably, Hakluyt had paid little attention to the Moroccan trade.²⁰ The Barbary Company's charter had only run from 1558 to 1597; there were no attempts to renew it.²¹ Elizabeth's interest, given the relationship between Spain and Morocco, would seem to be firstly political, and secondly, to offer specific support to English merchants and captives.²² But, as

¹⁹ London, home of the court and of the city merchants, was perfectly placed to raise the huge funds needed for some of these overseas expeditions, from politicians as well as merchants. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company*, pp. 21-2, 25-6 on the financial need of the EIC in its early years. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 81 and 84 on Pindar, his popularity and his extreme wealth.

²⁰ Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor*, p. 47, on Hakluyt's '[fragmented] representation of Africa'.

²¹ Willan, in *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, p. 296, despite there being no record of any debates on renewing the charter, he doubts it made a difference to the Moroccan trade. Moreover the debate between the merchants prior to 1585 on the merits, or not, of a licensed company, were repeated in the 1630s. These debates bear out the likely conclusion that the Barbary trade was of most benefit to those merchants whose preferences were for being sole traders and whose scruples did not prevent them from seizing prizes wherever the opportunity arose.

²² Elizabeth's last letter to al-Mansur was on behalf of an English merchant. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 220.

Willan observed, for some early seventeenth century merchants, sea captains and traders, Morocco was a country that England could not afford to ignore.

This opinion is echoed by a number of authors, writing sometime after Willan's publication. L. P. Harvey, commenting on Bernard Lewis' view that 'In the world of Islam Morocco ... the Far West, was a remote and isolated outpost and a comparatively small and weak country at that' writes 'Remote it certainly was from the power centers [sic] of the Middle East, but small and weak was not how the English queen or the Dutch *stadhouder* perceived this giant of the Islamic West'. Matthew Dimmock, describes the borders of Morocco as 'a familiar frontier' and 'a once famous borderland'; an early modern 'belt of cultural pluralism'. Moreover, Matar comments that Morocco was 'the most transcultural community of the early modern Mediterranean'.²³

Harrison was to find, however, that Morocco was not, as the Ottoman Porte was, a major commercial empire, nor a place of great potential, which the trade with south-east Asian trade offered. Of what value are his experiences in Morocco to historians? Specifically, in considering England's place in an expanding world, will these missions offer any information about English aspirations in north-west Africa? What potential benefits for England did Harrison find in the situation 'on the ground' in Morocco? There was probably little about his commission that offered opportunities that he would have embraced with enthusiasm. While some Englishmen were sent abroad to join a permanent English presence, for example, in Constantinople, Moroccan agents were only given a limited brief and sent for a limited time. One could argue that, in the later years of the sixteenth century, Morocco was the more interested party in the relationship, with ambitions for a political agreement.²⁴ In fact, when Harrison was sent in 1610 to Zidan, it is possible that the monarch

²³ L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, quoting Bernard Lewis (1982) p.118; Matthew *New Turks: dramatising Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England*; Matar, 'The English Merchant and the Moroccan Sufi', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 65, no.1, January, 2014.

²⁴ Of the three Moroccan ambassadors sent by al-Mansur to England between 1588 and 1600, the last of these came with a proposal for a joint attack on Spain. Whereas the English agents in Morocco, of which there were four between 1570 and 1600, were only sent to promote and protect English commercial interests; although, at the same time, it suited Elizabeth to pay lip service to the political possibilities of an alliance between Moroccan and England.

was better informed about England than Harrison was about Morocco, Zidan's chief financial adviser having been the ambassador sent to London by his late father, al-Mansur, in 1600.²⁵ But, in serving his time in Morocco, Harrison undoubtedly discovered the value of his host country to England as a trading partner and, more importantly, acquired an understanding of Morocco's place in the geopolitical manoeuvres of those European countries, including England, with ambitions in the Mediterranean, which give it a greater significance in his eyes. Whatever the briefs he received, from both his king and his first minister, Harrison was to identify the potential Morocco had to offer England.

Seventeenth-century Morocco.

Before examining Harrison's particular experiences, a comment on the situation he experienced during his missions, compared with those in other Islamic states outside Europe, is noteworthy, specifically identifying the unique features of both the polity and its practice of diplomacy. The situation Harrison faced on his first mission would not have been familiar to ambassadors in European cities nearer home, but were not dissimilar to the experiences of the ambassadors to the Ottoman Porte, nor to the Moghul Empire.²⁶ However, the ambassadors to the wealthy and powerful Ottoman empire inherited their roles from previous incumbents who would be able to pass on to their successors their knowledge of the diplomatic customs and procedures they were to expect. The ambassadors to the Moghul empire who succeeded Sir Thomas Roe were also to remain in post for several years.²⁷ Harrison, however, was an agent, not an ambassador; he had no-one to brief him on his arrival and there was no expectation that there would be a continual posting to Morocco.

²⁵ We have the one letter from Zidan to James I, dated 1609, which may explain the need for an agent to be sent from England. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 418. Cotton Mss., Nero B. XI, f. 302. In 1604 Mulay Abou Feres (one of the three sons of al-Mansur who disputed his succession, and ruled in Fez from 1603-1608) wrote to James, congratulating him on his succession to the English throne. We have no record of a reply. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 247.

²⁶ For example, the long waiting period before admission to court, and the lack of interest in any negotiating which involved the considerations of the merchant communities, indeed, little consideration of the necessity for any agreements. The importance of presentation, and of presents, cannot be overestimated.

²⁷ Sir Thomas Roe, first ambassador to the Moghul Empire was in post from 1615 to 1618.

Moreover, although Morocco was experienced in dealings with European polities, and had demonstrated its understanding of the requirements of diplomatic interchange,²⁸ when compared with the other Islamic states where England had embassies, it had very different social and cultural practices. At its simplest, relations with Morocco were relations with the Moroccan king. Members of the king's court, or council, even his closest advisors, unlike those in either of the two wealthy Islamic empires, appear not to have been accessible to foreign diplomats. In Morocco, the king's power, and therefore his ability to negotiate meaningful agreements, was dependent above all else on his success in controlling the disparate parts of his kingdom. Not only did Morocco have a long coastline, split between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, and a number of busy trading ports, but it had three very distinctive geopolitical areas, the coastal plains, the Atlas Mountains and the Sahara desert. The peoples of these three areas were different in origin and owed their loyalties first and foremost to their tribal leaders. In addition, the emergence of religious leaders, 'saints' as Harrison referred to them, could attract huge followings from among the people of the plains, and from those in the mountains.²⁹ The people residing in the ports, and in the major cities of Fez and Marrakesh, had no loyalty to any of the local tribes living in the rural areas, and were sufficiently wealthy to set their own agenda.³⁰ Six of the coastal ports, and their surrounding areas, were in Spanish hands. In addition, increasing numbers of the residents of the coastal areas were Moriscos, Muslim in name but of Spanish origin, possibly more Christian than Muslim, but banished by Phillip III of Spain between 1609 and 1612.³¹ Controlling these disparate peoples and parts was the first task of any Moroccan monarch.

²⁸ See Edmund Hogan's report, 1577, in which he describes in detail his reception at the court of Abdel al-Malik I. Al-Malik I, and his brother, al-Mansur had spent some years in exile, in Constantinople and Algiers, and they understood the importance of performance in court ritual. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 239-249.

²⁹ See Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A history of the Maghrib in the Islamic period*, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 1-11, for more details of the geography of Morocco, and pp. 22-25 on the influence of the *Sufis*, the religious leaders.

³⁰ Zidan never gained control of Fez and his hold on Marrakesh was intermittent and insubstantial.

³¹ They had Spanish names, Spanish customs, and spoke Spanish. There was a suspicion that they might be Christian. See C. R. Pennell, *Morocco*, p. 93.

The succession in Morocco on the death of al-Mansur in 1603 was of considerable interest in England.³² The situation, and subsequent events resulting from it, are described in detail in Ro. C.'s book, previously mentioned, *A True Historicall Discourse of Muley Hammets rising to the Three Kingdomes of Moruecos, Fes and Sus*, published in 1609. The unity of Morocco under al-Mansur was not to last after his death, and the situation, constantly evolving, was a major contributor to the success or not of Harrison's missions. I give here a brief summary. On his death al-Mansur left five sons, of which two were too young to be considered contenders for the throne. Of the other three, two, Mohammed esh-Sheikh el Mamun,³³ and Abou Feres Abdallah,³⁴ were the sons of one of al-Mansur's concubines, the other, Zidan el Nasir, was the son of one of his wives. Mohammed esh-Sheikh, as the eldest son, had been nominated as al-Mansur's successor. He was, however, a ruthless and cruel individual, given to excess alcohol consumption, and his father received many complaints about his behaviour; so much so that, in 1596 the Muslim People's Assembly advised al-Mansur to execute him.³⁵ In October 1602 al-Mansur was forced to mobilise his army to prevent Mohammed esh-Sheikh joining forces with Algeria to attack his own father, but again the king refused to take the advice of his councillors; esh-Sheikk was imprisoned, where he remained after his father's death, in August 1603. At this time, al-Mansur's son Zidan,³⁶ who had supported his father against his half-brother, and Abou Feres, esh-Sheikh's brother, were in Fez and Marrakesh, respectively. Naturally opposed to each other and to esh-Sheikk, each with military backing, and with no established order of succession, the brothers divided local support. A decision was made to share out the country between them, with Zidan in the north (Fez), and Abou Feres in the south (Marrakesh). But the division

³² Perhaps more so than for any similar events in the Ottoman Porte. Ro. C., George Wilkins and Tomson (in his letter to Cecil), all explain the situation on the death of al-Mansur and the resulting warfare between his three sons. Even John Smith, later to voyage to Virginia, on his many journeys around Europe, summarised the situation, although his account was not entirely accurate. John Smith, *The true travels, adventvres, and observations of Captaine Iohn Smith*, London, 1630, in de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angletere*, vol. II, pp. 266-9.

³³ Who was known as Muley Shek or Sheck in English texts.

³⁴ Known as Muley Boferes or Bofferres in English texts.

³⁵ Yahya, *Morocco in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 182-3.

³⁶ Sometimes written as Sidan.

of the late king's treasure led to conflict, and to the release of esh-Sheikk, and Morocco descended into civil war.³⁷ That the situation in Morocco, and the status of al-Mansur's heirs, was of real interest to the English state officials is evidenced by the 'doodle' in The National Archives (p vi); someone was trying to work out the exact relationship between the three sons, their parentage and their inheritance.³⁸ We know that Harrison understood it well; he refers to it in his first letter to Cecil in June 1610, and, in his relations written during his latter missions for Charles I, he explains the difficult and complex situations on the ground in Morocco.

These, therefore, were the circumstances which influenced the chances Harrison had of achieving a success in Morocco: his position as a new diplomat; his location outside mainland Europe; the relative lack of value of the trade with the country; the low expectations of a successful outcome from his diplomacy; and the circumstances he found in Morocco. Apart from his own disadvantages, he was to find the single negotiating presence, the absence of any courtiers to support any negotiations, the vulnerability of the monarch to civil unrest and lawlessness, and the king's problems with his rivals, together with his lack of control over parts of the country, major obstacles to his missions. Moreover, while countries in Europe could see the potential value of diplomatic dialogue and interchange between themselves, with Morocco such a relationship has to be regarded as opportunistic, temporary and prone to failure.

Sources.

There are none of the primary source materials we might expect for these diplomatic missions. Not only do there no record of Harrison's commissions, there are no copies of any of the letters from

³⁷ Yahya, *Morocco in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 188-9.

³⁸ SP 71/12, f. 218. This 'doodle' and the fragments of text which may accompany it are catalogued by TNA as 'rough notes on Barbary affairs', 1633, and 'notes on Morocco affairs', 1631 (see page vi). In SP 71/13 there are more pages in the same hand, a chronological sequence, ff. 82-3. SP 71/13, ff. 40-58 in the same bundle, different hand, is a long summary of Moroccan history. Note: the anonymous doodler's assumption of which two brothers share the same mother appears to be wrong. See also, Ro. C., *A True Historical Discourse of Muley Hammets rising ...*, page 346, on the problems posed by the inter-relationship between the three brothers and their courts when they engaged in warfare; their troops 'onely for their paye came into the field to fight'.

James I which he took with him to present to Zidan.³⁹ There is no reference to the first commission in the state papers, nor to subsequent missions; there are no surviving reports written by Harrison for James or his secretary of state, and no records of any personal discussions between James and Harrison on his despatch.⁴⁰ In attempting to discover the precise expectations for these missions therefore, the lack of manuscripts is a problem; of the expected outcome of these missions there is very limited understanding. In The National Archives there are a few letters written by Harrison during these missions: two addressed to Robert Cecil (June and November 1610), one to the English community of pirates in Mamora (July 1614), and three to the Estates General of the United Provinces, (September 1614, March 1615 and March 1631). These will support an examination of these first missions, but do little to clarify their exact purpose.⁴¹ This paucity of records is in contrast to those which relate to Edmund Hogan's mission for Elizabeth in 1577; his experiences are the best description existing of an Englishman attending the Moroccan court. Hogan received letters and a detailed brief from Elizabeth. He wrote a letter to the queen from Morocco summarising his experiences, and a longer report on his return. He was a merchant with experience of the Moroccan trade, undoubtedly an advantage when dealing with the Moroccan king.⁴² The sources for Harrison's later missions do not help. It is true that, in two of those memoranda, written many years later, in 1627 and 1631, he summarises his early missions, including the reasons for his commission, which were to remediate various trade issues. But, so many years after his first mission, he sees no need to detail the historic complexities of trading with Morocco, which make it difficult to identify precisely the outcome with which he was tasked.⁴³ There is a little information for all first four missions scattered through

³⁹ Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives*, does not list any of Harrison's first four commissions, this despite Harrison having met the required 'strict guidelines', as there is no paper evidence.

⁴⁰ For example, no mention of travel arrangements, or warrants for an allowance. Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, in describing the routine practices of embassies abroad states that in the seventeenth century the embassy papers were the ambassador's personal property, p. 241. This probably explains why we do not have a copy of Harrison's report written after his fourth mission, although we know it had been delivered to James.

⁴¹ One letter exists from Zidan to James, dated 1609, see page 137, below.

⁴² De Castries suggests that Hogan was naïve in accepting al-Malik's promises, which he made to all foreign agents. See de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 225-7, Hogan's letter, and *ibid.*, pp. 239-49, his report.

⁴³ By way of a contrast, Edmund Hogan received a long list of instructions from Elizabeth when he was sent to Morocco in 1577, specifically outlining what he could or could not agree, or even discuss, with al-Malik (1576-

Harrison's later relations on missions five to eight, and in his publications,⁴⁴ and a reasonably coherent narrative of the first mission can be constructed by cross-referencing Harrison's 1613 publications with his manuscripts from the 1620s. But without any evidence to the contrary, and in line with his inclinations, it is unlikely that James tasked Harrison to conclude a formal agreement with Zidan; in fact, given James had made peace with Spain, traditionally Morocco's enemy, it seems unlikely.⁴⁵

The first four missions, 1610-1618.⁴⁶

The events of John Harrison's first four missions can be briefly summarised. He departed from England on his first mission to Morocco on 24th May, 1610. He arrived at the port of Safi in June and was housed in the old castle; here he was to stay, as Zidan was away on campaign outside Fez,⁴⁷ for some six months. Eventually the king sent permission for him to travel to Marrakesh, but it was another three and a half months before he was received at court. He was welcomed and appears to have had more than one meeting with Zidan, who confirmed 'all former priviledges by them graunted to our merchants for trade or otherwise'.⁴⁸ Harrison was back in Safi by 28th April, 1611. He left Morocco carrying a letter from Zidan to James, accompanied by a Moroccan envoy and the Jewish agent of the Moroccan king, Samuel Pallache. Pallache had negotiated a treaty between Morocco (Zidan) and the United Provinces which was signed on 24th December 1610. His exact status is somewhat obscure; his efforts on behalf of the Moroccan king being potentially of equal benefit to

8). De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 211-3. 'Instructions given to Edmund Hugguenes sent to the King of Marucos [Marrakesh] and Fesse [Fez]', April 1577.

⁴⁴ His later, manuscript, writings were done at the request of Charles I and/or his ministers. These relations, memoranda, and Harrison's petitions are carefully annotated on the back of the original manuscripts in a number of different hands. They were not created in chronological order. For example, Harrison wrote about missions five and six (in 1627) before he wrote about missions one to four (later in 1627).

⁴⁵ Whereas Edmund Hogan was, with certain reservations, able to making such an agreement, subject to Elizabeth's 'honour' and her Christian beliefs. De Castries, *Les sources inéditiés ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 213.

⁴⁶ See table one for a summary of these four missions; dates, commissions, contacts and outcomes.

⁴⁷ Harrison describes al-Mansur as leaving his country 'divided and distracted', 'The state of Barbarie, and employmentes thither, since the death of the old King Muley Hamet'. Dated 25th July, 1631. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 140.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, vol III, p. 141.

the Estates General, and to himself. He was travelling back to the United Provinces where he would have reported on Moroccan activity to the Estates General.⁴⁹

Sometime in early 1613 Harrison was given his second commission to 'Barbary'. He travelled via the United Provinces where he was met and delayed by Pallache, who, speaking as Zidan's agent, convinced Harrison that he would benefit if the two should travel to Morocco together.⁵⁰ Harrison left the United Provinces on 18th April, 1614, and arrived in Safi in May. He was to spend some considerable time there. Then, from Safi, presumably having received permission to attend Zidan's court, Harrison travelled towards Marrakesh, where the king was camped outside and to the north by the river Tensift, arriving some time in November 1614. In 1612 Zidan had suffered a serious blow to his sovereignty, as described in *Late Newes out of Barbary ...*, but by 1614 he had recovered some of his authority and received Harrison well. Zidan spoke cordially of James and reiterated his intention to restore the sum of money under litigation and to release the English captives. He needed to demonstrate to his supporters that foreign monarchs cultivated good relationships with him.⁵¹ He continued playing the diplomatic game, giving Harrison both a letter for James and a verbal message when he received his 'despatch'; once this had been given the permission to remain in the country was limited to the preparations made for departure.⁵²

Harrison's journey home was delayed in Safi. As he was on the point of embarking for England, a 'packet' of letters from Zidan for the Estates General of the United Provinces arrived, delivered to him by the *caid* of the town.⁵³ Pallache, at this point, being unavailable, the king had realised that Harrison could be a useful emissary between himself and other European polities. Harrison needed to

⁴⁹ See Mercedes García-Arenal & Gerard Wiegers, translated by Martin Beagles, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe*, Maryland, London, 2010, pp. 71-8.

⁵⁰ Harrison was not happy about the delay. See his letter to the Estates General of 21st September, 1614, on the length of the delay, 'which afterwards fell out to be six to eight monthes', de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... des Pays-Bas*, vol. II, pp. 326-8.

⁵¹ Memorandum, *The state of Barbary*, 1631; de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 144.

⁵² 'Mr Harrison's relations of his proceedings in Barbarie for peace in Sallee and Tetuan', end of 1627, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 67. Zidan had 'Some other thinges he desired from His Majesty our Kinge' in return for the settlement of the English problems in Morocco.

⁵³ Alkaid Said, probably known to Harrison from his first mission and his stay in the lower castle.

formulate a response to this package, which included one letter for Louis XIII of France, which Zidan requested Harrison to deliver in person. He concluded that he would deliver to James those letters he had received personally from Zidan, and then attend the Estates General at The Hague with the 'packet' he received in Safi.⁵⁴ Harrison arrived back in England on the 16th March, 1615. His time there was short; he collected James' reply to Zidan, travelled via the Low Countries to the French court, delivering and collecting from each letters from and to the Moroccan monarch. In June he was on his way back to Morocco.

Arriving in Morocco for a third time, Harrison found Zidan near Safi, expecting an attack from an army led by a local chieftain, Yahia ben 'Abd Allah.⁵⁵ Sensing that the arrival of an English agent with letters from James, Louis XIII, and the Estates General would impress his enemies, Zidan was initially happy to receive Harrison at court. However, 'Abd Allah's attack did not materialise, and for this reason Harrison believes Zidan saw no benefit in continuing to receive him. He had no choice but to depart as he was instructed. Upon his return to England, sometime in the last six months of 1615, Harrison reported to James on his lack of progress in Morocco. He was clearly still aggrieved with his dismissal by Zidan as he explains that he persuaded James to write the king an uncompromising letter asking for a positive response to his agent, which Harrison took back to Morocco. Included in his memorandum on his first four missions (1627) he writes: 'Upon my returne into England ... I acquainted His Majestie withall, procuringe His Majestie to wryte a fourth letter to him, but more neerely touchinge him, charginge him with his former promises and other grevances, and in good tearmes to knowe whether he meant to observe the former freindship begun between their predecessors and confirmed by himself or noe'.⁵⁶ He arrived back at Safi in the autumn of 1616 and

⁵⁴ The Estates General had previously written, at Zidan's request, to the French king on this matter in August 1612. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... des Pays-Bas*, vol. II, pp. 138-9.

⁵⁵ Zidan had taken sanctuary with this religious leader after his defeat by Abou Mahilli. 'Abd Allah had helped Zidan regain his throne on condition that he gave up his notoriously bad behaviour. When Zidan failed to keep his word, 'Abd Allah raised troops to dethrone him and remained a thorn in Zidan's side until he died in March 1626. Zidan died in 1627. Relation, *for peace with Sallee and Tetuan*, 1627. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 66. SP 71/12, ff 144-8, this is difficult to read.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, we do not have a copy of this letter. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 68.

wrote to Zidan for permission to come ashore, but he received neither a permit, nor even a reply. After some eighteen months spent waiting Harrison decided to return home, arriving in early 1618.⁵⁷ There is no mention of his last meeting with James in any of Harrison's manuscripts.

The first four missions, diplomacy experienced.

Despite the paucity of primary sources, there is sufficient manuscript and published evidence to view Harrison's experiences in Morocco from several perspectives. Firstly, a consideration of his missions for James from a strictly diplomatic perspective; secondly, an extension of this to include the local environment which Harrison experienced, and which had some influence on his publications. Thirdly, an expansion of that environment to include those other nations with interests in Morocco and the western Mediterranean.

Harrison's missions for James can be described in diplomatic terms as a coda to those missions undertaken by Elizabeth's envoys. They were intended to support English merchants trading in Morocco, but were no longer seen as having political significance. Designed to mollify some London merchants, Harrison describes his original brief of 1610 in one relation, dated by de Castries as written at the end of 1627, and described by the state office cataloguer as 'Mr Harrison's relation of his proceedings for peace in Barbary with Salle and Tetuan'. He was:

'imployed from His Majestie ... at the suyte of the merchantes, for the renewinge of the former friendshippe, setlinge of trade, and redress of some greivances upon this alteracion of government newly offred, especyallie concerninge a great some of money taken from the merchantes ... by a notorious Jewe, Benwash⁵⁸, and seized upon for the Kinges use, pretendinge they meant to carrye it out of his kingdome, contrary to his proclamacion'.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Ibid., 'And soe I remayned a shipboard a whole winter together, tossed up and downe upon that coaste from one ship to another'. P. 68.

⁵⁸ Brahim ben Ways (de Castries). Mulay Zidan's treasurer and someone who remained with the king despite the problems arising from the civil war. De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, footnote, vol. II, p. 233.

⁵⁹ Relation, *for peace with Sallee and Tetuan*, 1627. The money was taken from merchants travelling from Murocco (Marrakesh) to Safia. De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 64-5.

A briefer description of his first commission, but one which mentions goods as well as specie, is in Harrison's memorandum of July 15th, 1631, titled 'the state of Barbarie, and imploymentes hither, since the death of the old king Mulay Hamet'; Harrison was sent to Zidan to negotiate 'for restitution of moneyes and goods violently taken by his officers from our merchantes'.⁶⁰ It is clear that, as evidenced in the sixteenth-century debates surrounding the licensing of the Barbary Company, some merchants considered the presence of an agent or ambassador as a barrier to successful trade.⁶¹ But we have also seen, in chapter two, how good relationships with the king were important for the English merchants in Morocco.⁶² In the one letter from Zidan to James that exists, dated 1609, the king acknowledges the problems of the English merchants. Clearly referring to a trading issue that the English were currently experiencing, Zidan makes no attempt to suggest a solution and simply refers it to James for resolution.⁶³ It may be this letter which prompted James, in a genuine attempt to reinstate the good relations that had existed under Elizabeth, to commission Harrison's first mission.⁶⁴ It is evident that Harrison believed that there was potential for improvement in the trading relationship in Morocco, because of 'this alteracion of government newly offred'. This suggests that Zidan's position was reasonably secure, and that the well-informed London merchants wished to take advantage of a window of opportunity in the Moroccan/English relationship to try and introduce better regulations and prevent further disruption to successful trading.

Both Harrison's first two missions to Zidan, despite the very considerable time he waited before travelling to the king's court, would seem to be in the tradition of relations between Morocco and foreign agents. Harrison was received well; the issue of the merchants' complaints was discussed; the king's promised restitution of 'goods', and confirmed 'under his hand' all previous '*Laudos*' or

⁶⁰ Memorandum, *The state of Barbary*, 1631. De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 140-1.

⁶¹ De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol II, pp 455-465, on the arguments for and against the licensing of a Barbary Company. Individual access was point eight: 'We and our servantes may everie Friday have accesse in all our causes', p. 466.

⁶² In *Late Newes...*, p.B4, R. S. writes 'they will have friendship with us' after his meeting with Abou Mahilly.

⁶³ De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 418-422. Cotton Mss Nero B XI f. 302.

⁶⁴ Possibly encouraged by Robert Cecil.

privileges. Harrison's second commission came with an increased brief, that of the redemption of English captives, whom Zidan agreed to release, at the same time confirming his previous promises.⁶⁵ On his return to England after the first mission Harrison was accompanied by a Moroccan ambassador and brought with him the gift of a pair of Barbary horses, which would have been highly acceptable to James,⁶⁶ and a letter from Zidan, now sadly lost. It may have been no more insightful than one dated November 1614, from Zidan to James, brought back to England by Harrison after his second mission. An example of style over content, it contained no suggestion of any agreement. Zidan was keen to emphasise that he had achieved complete control of his country and that his enemies had been 'exterminés'.⁶⁷ Harrison tells us that the Moroccan ambassador who accompanied him home after his first mission was well received in England and dispatched 'with lyke honour and respect'; he does not mention that any gifts from England to the Moroccan king were sent with the ambassador on his return to Morocco.⁶⁸ Nor did Harrison take any gifts to Morocco on his second mission. Harrison's writings make no references to gifts until his seventh mission. This is strange and surprising. Not only did Hogan take gifts (a bass lute, a case of combs), but gifts figure largely in correspondence about trading with the Ottoman and the Moghul Empires, and were a real concern of the Bristol merchant, Giles Penn, who appears to have replaced Harrison in Morocco in 1632.

However, successful diplomacy requires not simply dialogue but effective communication. This, in turn, requires negotiation and an appreciation of the expectations of your fellow negotiator. Harrison's 'relations' suggest that none of these preconditions were met in Morocco either in 1611 or 1613. Although diplomacy took its course, the exact cause of the merchants' unhappiness is hard to

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 67, '... and redresse of other greivences, there beinge there by shipwracke diverse Englishmen beome captives, putt in chaines and very hrdly used'.

⁶⁶ Barbary horses were highly prized. Their export was forbidden. See Richard II, act V, scene 5, "In London streets, that coronation-day/When Bolingbroke rode on roan Barbary". See also Donna Landry, *Noble brutes: how Eastern horses transformed English culture*, Baltimore, 2009., p. 17.

⁶⁷ In Spanish with a French translation. De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 482-3.

⁶⁸ The name of the Moroccan ambassador is unknown, although the names of all those who came to Elizabeth's court are known, as are those of the ambassadors who came to Charles' court.

identify and the problem was never successfully resolved.⁶⁹ There were no discussions about a written agreement. Moreover, on Harrison's later missions for James, in 1615 and 1616, there were no opportunities for diplomatic activity, Mulay Zidan choosing not to create them.

In view of the unsatisfactory outcome of these four missions, the question arises, whether, despite Cecil's confidence in him, Harrison had the right qualifications to be an agent in a country like Morocco. In comparing his activities with those of other agents sent to Morocco, and also to polities outside Europe, it is possible to identify the problem he may have experienced when attempting to resolve the situation he found in Morocco. For example, as mentioned above, almost without exception, agents to the Ottoman Empire all had experience of the Levant trade. The one exception, Sir Thomas Roe, brought with him the experience of his time in Moghul India. Although he made no formal agreement with the Mughal Empire, he left in 1619 satisfied with the arrangements he had achieved. He worked tirelessly, and successfully, to renegotiate the capitulations with the Ottoman Porte.⁷⁰ In difficult circumstances the best an ambassador might achieve was a better deal than that offered to the representatives of other nations and both Roe's agreements were the result of protracted and difficult negotiations. And, in both cases, Roe was working on behalf of English merchants whose support he had and whose prospects were dependent on his success. Like Harrison, Roe had little hands-on experience of trade, nor, in India, of diplomatic negotiations, but his briefs, in both cases from a trading company, were clear.

In sixteenth-century Morocco the one English agent whose mission was an unqualified success, Edmund Hogan (1577), was a merchant who knew Morocco well. But it was his persistence in negotiations that enabled him to return to England with the saltpetre which England needed.⁷¹

⁶⁹ De Castries, *Les sources inédite ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 418-21. As referred to above, this letter to James from Mulay Zidan, 1614, which Harrison brought back after mission two, is an extreme example of dissimulation.

⁷⁰ Michael Strachan, *Sir Thomas Roe*, p.110, 'you can never expect to trade here upon capitulations that shall be permanent'. From Roe's annual report to the East India Company, February 1618.

⁷¹ De Castries, *Les sources inédite ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 239-249, Edmund Hogan's relation, in which he describes repeatedly needing to remind al-Malik of his promise to source some saltpetre for Hogan to bring to England. Richard Haklyut, *The Principal Navigations ... 1598-1600*, vol. VI, pp. 285-293.

Compared with Hogan, Harrison seems to have lacked the ability, or more likely the opportunity, to direct his discussions with the king towards a tangible outcome. With the little evidence there is for these first four missions, the likelihood is that Harrison hoped for some resolution for merchants' grievances, and a verbal acknowledgement to restore the good relations which existed between Elizabeth and al-Mansur, he later of which he achieved. His situation, compared with that of the Dutch, who concluded an agreement with Zidan in December 1610, could have put him at a disadvantage; his small suite and his lack of any gifts would only have contributed further to his problems, and, as an agent, his time in Morocco was limited. Ambassadors, like Sir Thomas Roe, had the advantage of a permanent posting, and time on their side. In these circumstances it is difficult to conclude that Harrison had the right qualifications or any useful instructions, and that England's interests in Morocco were anything other than general, commercial, and restricted to the sometime support of her citizens abroad. Moreover, the experiences of the Englishmen living in Morocco, although apparently supportive of Harrison's efforts on their behalf (as seen in the correspondence between he and they), suggests that both they and the king valued their personally negotiated relationships. This would have hampered Harrison's ability to negotiate on their behalf.⁷²

The first four missions, communication and knowledge exchange.

Looking beyond Harrison's court encounters, the involvement with the Moroccans he had during the majority of his time in their country are an important part of his wider social experiences of Morocco which inform Matar's view of Harrison's deep knowledge and understanding of the country, and which could have had some benefit to his king and countrymen. Ghobrial describes in detail the efforts William Trumbull took to inform himself as well as he was able before he took up his post as ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, and his continued efforts once he arrived in Istanbul.⁷³ Harrison would seem, although he gives few details, to have taken the same approach. In describing his

⁷² Reference, *Late Newes ...*, in the Advertisement to the Reader, Harrison commended the following letter from a merchant 'who hath long time sojourned there' and who had direct access to the king, sig. A³. The merchants jealously guarded this personal relationship with the king in Morocco.

⁷³ Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, chapters one and two.

whereabouts, and the people he met, Harrison demonstrated an ability to absorb and understand his surroundings from the first moment he arrived in Morocco, and to communicate his experiences to his 'masters' back in England. His first mission had begun in classic style, as reported in the two letters to Robert Cecil. These letters are dated the 10th June and the 14th October, 1610, and were both sent from Safi.⁷⁴ One wonders what was the source of Harrison's information, which was accurate; the first letter must have been written very soon after his ship's arrival when Harrison was still on-board ship, waiting for permission to land. Harrison reports on the 'present estate of this troublesome countrie' in which he finds himself, with Zidan on campaign, camped between Marrakesh and Fez, which was held by his brother.⁷⁵ The second letter, which is longer, up-dates Cecil on the developments in Morocco. Waiting to be called to the king's court, Harrison remains in Safi for longer than he had expected. He provides a thumbnail sketch of what was happening in the Moroccan world beyond his lodgings. He felt it his duty to write despite having little positive news of his mission, and he adds a caution about the accuracy of any news which circulated in Morocco, writing 'the true report of things hath ben oftentimes eyther buried by the waie, our trotteroes or messengers myscarying, or els quite altered by these Larbies into a different, many times a cleane contrarie report by that time it comes to us'.⁷⁶ Once back in England, Harrison, who had 'conversed many moneths' with the author of the first letter in *Late Newes ...*⁷⁷, was able to keep abreast of events in Morocco which would affect any further missions, useful, even necessary, information he would appreciate. The merchants' experiences 'on the ground', especially as the political fallout from the succession of al-Mansur's heirs widened with the uprising of Abou Mahilli, was invaluable local knowledge. Harrison had reached out and established some good contacts with, undoubtedly, the English merchant

⁷⁴ Safi, or Safia, was one of two ports, the other being Santa Cruz, where English traders usually docked first. It was the nominal capital of Zidan's power base during the worst periods of the civil war and south of most of Morocco's Atlantic ports. See SP 71/12, ff. 82-4 for the two letters. Cecil will have undoubtedly appreciated the value of these letters.

⁷⁵ Ibid., Cecil letter no. one, 'I thought it my dutie to acquaint your Lordship with what I heare for the present'. SP 71/12, ff. 82.

⁷⁶ Cecil letter no. two. Larbies [Arabs] were the dwellers of the countryside. SP 71/12, ff. 84.

⁷⁷ Advertisement to the Reader, 'so knowne among the Merchants: with whom also myself conversed many monthes', *Late Newes out of Barbary ... sig. A*³

community; his understanding of the situation in Morocco was both factually correct and culturally accurate.

As well as English merchants and factors, Harrison had other, local, contacts which helped him pass the time in Safi. His frustration with the long wait to which he was subjected, clearly apparent in his publications, was not the typical reaction of a diplomat. Waiting for permission to attend court was a common experience of diplomats, especially in Muslim countries (the Ottoman Empire, Moghul India). The waiting period was passed in writing letters to the company headquarters in London, to friends and family, and (in Constantinople) socialising with other foreign diplomats. If Harrison did write such letters, and it is reasonable to presume that, at least to his family, he did, they have not survived. As the king's life style was essentially a mobile one there was no centre of government, no quarter of foreign merchants, in which Harrison could be accommodated. However, in 'The Author's Epistle', which follows the dedication and author's acknowledgement in *The Messiah alreadie ...*, he provides some information on his personal wellbeing, and details of his accommodation. On his first mission, while he was waiting in Safi for the country to be sufficiently stable for him to travel by land, Harrison was accommodated, as was the custom, by the local governors of the area where he was placed, and spent his time in 'the lower castle', an experience which he clearly did not enjoy. Despite having travelled with a suite, however small, and despite contacts with English merchants, Harrison describes his existence as solitary, and his mood as pessimistic.⁷⁸ After enduring this long waiting period, and receiving permission from Zidan to attend court, Harrison arrived in Marrakesh, where he spent another three months before receiving a date for his audience. This time he was accommodated in the Jewish quarter of a sizeable city, where he seems to have been much more comfortable. Harrison makes no mention of his travel arrangements but Hogan gave a detailed description of how his travel on land was organised in 1577. Contact between himself and the Moroccan court was facilitated by Englishmen living in Morocco. He and his suite of ten men (including three trumpeters) were escorted

⁷⁸ 'solitary and in suspense', from The Author's Epistle, in *The Messiah alreadie ...*, p. 61.

from Safia to the king's palace, a journey of some five days, by four captains and 100 soldiers, and accompanied into the court by the foreign merchants resident in Morocco, English, French, Spanish and Portuguese (no Dutch).⁷⁹ Hogan details the camping facilities which were deployed every evening on the journey, and he concludes with a description of the king's court as he experienced it when he presented his letters from Elizabeth. His waited only a few days for his summons to court. Harrison's considerably longer waiting time clearly troubled him, making him anxious for the outcome of his commission, and concerned that he would never be given permission to attend court.⁸⁰

It was during these waiting periods on his first mission that Harrison gained his experiences of Moroccan society which, as evident in his publications, were to impact upon his religious beliefs and inspire his writings. He tells us something of his contacts, and of his experiences of a country that tolerated freedom of worship to Jews and Christians, during 'that tedious time'. As well as contacts with the English community, in the castle in Safi he had some company from a Jewish Rabbi, whose conversation he enjoyed and who instructed him in Hebrew. These two men discussed, among other matters, a subject of great significance to both parties, the coming of the Messiah.⁸¹ Once he moved to Marrakesh Harrison appeared to have had a broader experience of Moroccan society, especially meeting many members of the Jewish community and their families. For a man whose only experience of Jews in England would have been those who had, at least publicly, converted to Christianity, these meetings, social events and conversations must have been stimulating and he was clearly moved by the hospitality he received. He describes how he 'grewe familiarly acquainted with divers of your nation, and was presented at sundrie times (especially at your marriages and solemne feasts) with

⁷⁹ De Castries records that the escort of foreign merchants for visiting ambassadors remained the Moroccan custom until the French 'protectorate'. 'Relations of Edmund Hogan', De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 239-49, Haklyut, *Principal Navigations ... 1598-1600*, vol. II, pp. 64-7.

⁸⁰ In contrast to Harrison's experiences, Edmund Hogan, in 1577, landed in Safia on 21st May, and was received by the king on 3rd June. He and the king conversed in Spanish. See Hogan's letter to Elizabeth dated 11th June, 1577. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 225-227. Cotton Mss Nero B. 11, f. 297. See Mark Netzloff, 'The Ambassador's Household', in Cox and Adams, *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, pp. 155-169, on the diplomatic writings which were the foundation of the new diplomacy; especially p. 159 on the concerns the ambassadors had about their correspondence and their distance from London.

⁸¹ Rabbi Shimeon, 'A man of grave, and sober cariage, and pleasant otherwise, of whose company I was very glad'. The Author's Epistle, in *The Messiah alreadie ...*, p. 61.

divers of your dainties, which I took very kindly'.⁸² He wrote *The Messiah alreadie come ...* both as a duty and as a gift for those who had showed him such kindness.

Although he found Morocco a wild and unregulated place whose ruler had a tenuous grip on his country, and despite the insurmountable problems he experienced in negotiating with Zidan, Harrison's diplomacy did achieve, for him, some limited personal success. Given the circumstances in which he found himself, with what, when he was back in England, should he feel satisfied? As well as acquiring a considerable and valuable understanding of the country, he had established contact with Mulay Zidan, the first English agent to do so. These experiences at court remained with him; twenty years after their first meeting, in his memorandum of July 1631, he gives us a character description of Zidan; he was difficult to negotiate with and a cruel tyrant who took advice from nobody. The king clearly enjoyed meeting those foreign agents he received at court. Harrison recalls one meeting with the king, when he was asked many questions, among which was one about the nature of government in England: 'among manie other questions, (he) asked me how the king my maister did governe. I told him by a number of wise and noble counsellors: whereunto he replied he was not a King that could not governe without a Counsell (sic)'.⁸³ The power to make any agreement with those agents was the king's alone and never committing to specific action was a tool he knew how to use. Added to which, with at least two other European powers, the Spanish and the Dutch, Zidan was constantly in conversation; while Harrison was in Morocco on his first mission the king was also in negotiation with the Dutch, and signed a treaty with them in 1610.⁸⁴ This could be one reason why he waited so long for permission to attend court. If Harrison did not know this at the time he would have undoubtedly discovered it on his first voyage home, from one of his new contacts, his co-passenger, Samuel

⁸² The Author's Epistle, in *The Messiah already ...*, p. 62. The city of Marrakesh had regained its importance under al-Mansur and was a religious, trading and cultural centre.

⁸³ Memorandum of 15th July 1631, De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 141.

⁸⁴ Traditional enemies of Spain, and therefore allies with Morocco, the first Dutch consul to Morocco, based in both Fez and Marrakesh, Coy, was appointed in 1605. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... de Pay-Bas*, vol. I, pp. 74-8. The Dutch had signed a truce with Spain in 1609, a situation which Zidan regarded with concern and which fuelled his need to make an agreement with them.

Pallache, the Moroccan agent to the United Provinces. Diplomacy was not limited to a binary relationship with your host country; more than one boundary could be negotiated.

While reviewing his missions for James therefore, Harrison would have been forced to confront the complications of foreign commissions into which the affairs of other European polities intruded. He would not have failed to notice the Moroccan hostility to the Spanish presence on the coast of Morocco and the fear of Spanish aggression. Equally he will have realised that, with the signing of the Moroccan-Dutch agreement, other European nations had a presence in north Africa. The diplomatic difficulties of his missions to Morocco surfaced as Harrison journeyed home after mission one. We do not know exactly where or when Harrison met his companion on his journey, Samuel Pallache, although it was likely to have been at Zidan's court. Pallache has been described as a merchant, a pirate and a spy, all of which is probably true. He must have been well known in English commercial circles, as when he was forced into the port of Plymouth during one journey back from Morocco to the United Provinces, John Chamberlain described him as 'a Jew pirat'.⁸⁵ Appointed Moroccan ambassador to the United Provinces by Zidan, Pallache was Jewish-Moroccan born, with family in Morocco and the United Provinces. Originally he worked for the Spanish government but, for reasons unknown, he left Madrid in 1608 and relocated to The Hague. With the signing of the truce between the United Provinces and Spain in 1609, and the end of the Spanish embargo on Dutch shipping, Pallache was able to take advantage of the significant opening up of trade routes and Zidan's need for munitions. He and Harrison could have met while he negotiated a treaty between Morocco and the United Provinces, signed in December 1610, and while Harrison was waiting to present his credentials to the king. On 28th April, 1611, writing from Safi to his brother Joseph, Pallache mentions an English ambassador with whom he had become acquainted.⁸⁶ At this time Harrison would still be waiting to

⁸⁵ In his letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, July 1614. SP, Domestic, James I, 78, f. 61, and de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 478. Chamberlain was clear that Pallache used Dutch ships but was in service to the king of Morocco. On Pallache's history, see Garcia-Arenal and Wieggers, tr. Martin Beagles, *A Man of Three Worlds*.

⁸⁶ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... des Pays-Bas*, vol. I, pp. 622-3.

present, or possibly had just presented, his credentials at court for the first time. Subsequently, when Harrison left Morocco for England he travelled via the United Provinces with Samuel Pallache. And, in the United Provinces, before he left for England, Pallache asked for a personal favour; could Harrison acquire a recommendation and safe conduct for his friend from the king of England?⁸⁷

The first four missions, the European experience: Morocco and the United Provinces.

In 1612 and 1613 two events occurred, one in Europe, one in Morocco, which were to complicate Harrison's second mission. In the period between Harrison's return to England after his first mission, which took place sometime in the second half of 1611, and his subsequent return to Morocco, in the spring of 1614, Harrison was drawn into the first of these events through his friendship with Pallache, and the close relationship between the English court and that in the United Provinces, the later a relationship which he cherished. With changing shifts of power in Morocco and with the interests of other European powers, specifically Spain, in the western Mediterranean, new spaces of interchange and opportunity were to present themselves. Harrison embraced these opportunities, possibly without a complete understanding of the position in which he found himself. As a result, in navigating these spaces Harrison familiarised himself with the ties that bound Europe, the friendships in the Protestant north, the enmity with the Catholic south, and the increasing traffic, trade and conflict from both in the Mediterranean.

The first of these two events was the further development of his relationship with Samuel Pallache. Harrison, following Abou Mahilli's defeat and Zidan's resumption of power on 30th November 1613, had been recommissioned by James to return to Morocco, where the situation for the English was, if anything, worse than before.⁸⁸ On this, his second mission, Harrison travelled back to Morocco via the United Provinces. In Amsterdam he gave Pallache the letters of recommendation and safe conduct

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 326-8. Letter of Harrison to the Estates General March 1614. This letter is the primary source for these events.

⁸⁸ Memorandum, *for peace with Sallee and Tetuan*, 1627, 'there beinge there by shipwrecke divers Englishmen become captives, putt in chains and very hardly used, contrary to his [Zidan's] covenant and promise'. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 67.

which he had solicited from James, and here he delayed his departure from The Hague to Morocco for several months at Pallache's request, about which he was not happy. His delay of 'six or eight weeks.....which afterwards fell out to be six or eight monthes, making me to attend him all that while with His Mayesties letters at The Haghe, to my verie great and extraordinarie chardges' causing him considerable anxiety.⁸⁹ Pallache assured Harrison that Mulay Zidan would compensate him for the unexpected costs of his delay; he also requested the same privileges from James for his, Samuel's, brother Joseph.⁹⁰

The Pallache brothers' safe conducts may not have been the only favours Samuel asked of Harrison. Pallache had persuaded the Estates General that Mamora could easily be taken, and to this end he suggested that the Dutch should construct a 'little' fort adjacent to the town, a first step towards establishing a Dutch presence on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Pallache claimed that this proposal received the approval of Zidan.⁹¹ The Dutch ships under Captain Jan Evertson, who was tasked with building the fort, arrived off the coast of Mamora on the 21st June, 1614 and waited for Zidan's orders to come ashore. These were never received and on 6th August, while Evertsen was still waiting for Zidan's permission to land and commence construction of the fort, Mamora fell to the Spanish with no fire exchanged.⁹²

The reason for his involvement in this debacle is not clear, but only four days after the Dutch ships arrived off Mamora, on the 25th June, while waiting in Safi for his summons to the court, Harrison

⁸⁹ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... des Pays-Bas*, vol. II, p. 327. Harrison's letter to the Estates General, requesting the return of the safe conducts he had obtained from James for the Pallache brothers.

⁹⁰ De Castries believed that Harrison was trading with Morocco and accepted the delay because it suited him financially. There's no evidence of this in any of Harrison's writing but some ambassadors did trade while they were abroad and also, if a formal agreement was concluded, received a percentage of the value of the goods freighted on English ships as remuneration for the work they did in protecting English trade.

⁹¹ The Dutch were the pre-eminent constructors of forts at this time. See Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806*, Oxford 1995, pp. 272-3. Rumours had been circulating for some time that the Spanish wished to take Mamora; Pallache would have had no difficulty in persuading Zidan that a Dutch presence would be preferable to a Spanish one.

⁹² This assault, on the Atlantic coast, added Mamora to Spain's other possessions, Larache and Ceuta, Tangier, Mazagan, and Asila. Larache had been Spain's most recent acquisition, gifted by Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Ma'mun in 1612 in return for Spanish aid against his brother Zidan; an event that would not have passed unnoticed by Harrison. The frequent rumours of Spanish plans to seize Mamora would have fuelled Pallache's negotiations with the Dutch.

wrote a letter to the English pirates moored in Mamora requesting that they forsake it for another port.⁹³ I have found no evidence that this request was instigated by Pallache, but Harrison will undoubtedly have approved of the plan to construct a fort and known when the Dutch ships had arrived. Why Harrison felt he had the authority to write this letter, and, on a more practical note, how and to whom it was to be delivered, is unknown. Given Harrison's connections with the Nassau Princes and his belief that England and the United Provinces were natural allies against Spain, would this be a sufficient motive for Harrison to write his letter? Or, as de Castries believed, following the letters of safe conduct, was the letter to the English pirates further proof of Pallache's influence over Harrison? Whatever the truth behind the letter, it suggests that Harrison saw an opportunity to take a stance in Morocco for the benefit of a European power whose friendship he valued, and there is no reason to believe, at this stage in his diplomatic journey, that he saw the possibility of a Dutch built 'little' fort as heralding increasing European expansion outside its natural boundaries, but rather a blow against Spanish domination over Moroccan coastal ports. There are echoes of this approach in Harrison's dealings with the Dutch during his four missions for Charles I.

The fall of Mamora pleased no-one except the Spanish. The English, the Dutch and Zidan, allies against Spain, may all have anticipated different results from the expedition. The Dutch did not try to repeat the exercise and from this date limited their maritime efforts in the western Mediterranean and Atlantic to protecting their trading fleets. This did not help Zidan, who had sent no instructions and who, despite his success in November 1613, was struggling to maintain his authority in Morocco, even in the south of the country. The Moroccan-Dutch treaty of 1610 seems to have been an agreement in word only. For both the Dutch and Zidan, Pallache's suggestion for a joint enterprise had failed.⁹⁴ For Harrison this event was to be further evidence of Zidan's unwillingness to keep his word, and an unsought Spanish success. And, while there is no suggestion in his letter to the English

⁹³ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... des Pays-Bas*, vol. II, pp. 320-1. Mamora was a pirate centre, and the port most favoured by English pirates.

⁹⁴ Pallache's time as ambassador was over. He pursued life as a pirate, was briefly imprisoned in England, and died in 1616. He is buried in Amsterdam. See Garcia-Arenal and Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds*.

pirates that Mamora was to pass into the hands of the Dutch, Harrison will have noticed how easily the Spanish gained control of the port.

Harrison, still in Safi when Mamora fell, heard that his efforts, and that of his friends in London, to obtain letters of safe conduct for Joseph Pallache had been successful, but now he regretted them. Letters of safe conduct were prized for their ability to protect their holders in foreign countries and their possession was valued. Samuel Pallache, who appears to have sailed with the Dutch expedition to Mamora, had slipped away when the Spanish took the port, much to Harrison's disgust. Pallache had failed to achieve the ambitions of either his Dutch or his Moroccan masters, a situation which fuelled suspicion that he was acting as a Spanish spy. Harrison's response was that neither Pallache brother should retain their safe conducts.⁹⁵ These two events, Mamora's loss to Spain and Pallache's disappearance, are what prompted his letter to the Estates General, written in Safi on 14th September, 1614. After setting out his frustrations, he asked the Estates General to recover both letters of safe conduct. Samuel's safe conduct was not recovered; of his brother's, we only know that it had been handed to the ambassador of the United Provinces in London.⁹⁶ Harrison had good reason to regret his relationship with Pallache; he had been involved in a failed enterprise with the United Provinces, with which he cherished his good relations, and advantage had been taken of his generous nature. As a novice diplomat, his inexperience had been exposed. But his conviction that England's future in Morocco could involve an agreement with the United Provinces, however, remained with him and would become an important factor in his later missions.

The first four missions: Morocco and the European dimension, Zidan's 'treasure'.

The second event which was to affect both Harrison's second and third missions occurred in Morocco, the result of the deteriorating political situation in the country. It was to tie these two

⁹⁵ Harrison wrote 'the Jew gonne to sea and not heard of yet, who I think will not come heare again in hast, nor into the Low-Countries neither, but against his will, he hath so behaved himself in both places'. Here is the suggestion that Pallache was a double agent, working for the Spanish. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ...des Pay-bas*, vol. II, p. 328.

⁹⁶ Sir Henry Wotton in The Hague, Noel de Caron in London.

missions to affairs in Europe, both to Protestant and Catholic counties, and resulted in considerable diplomatic activity, expanding Harrison's understanding of the dynamics of international relations. That, in 1612, Zidan faced an uprising, led by Abou Mahilli, the most revered of Moroccan 'saints' was well known in Europe.⁹⁷ After his defeat of the 20th May 1612, Zidan was forced to flee south to Safi, to where he had taken the precaution of sending his important possessions, 'his women, children, treasure and other moveables'.⁹⁸ There is some doubt about Zidan's next movements, but whether by ship or by land, he and his family were to travel on to Sus via Santa Cruz.⁹⁹ His 'movables', however, were loaded aboard a French ship. Presumably Zidan's intention was to rendezvous with the ship in Santa Cruz on his way south. This ship, the *Notre-Dame de la Garde*, was commanded by a French consul, Jean-Philippe Castelane, who was carrying letters from Louis XIII and the Duc de Guise.¹⁰⁰ Zidan hired the *Notre-Dame de la Garde* for 3,000 ducats, and she sailed from Safi, where she had laded Mulay Zidan's cargo, arriving in Santa Cruz on the same day, the 14th June, 1612. Before unloading his cargo, Castelane demanded payment in full for the charter. When this was not forthcoming, on the night of the 22nd June, Castelane slipped out of the port of Santa Cruz. He had received none of the money for the charter and his food supplies were deteriorating. His intention was to sail to Marseilles and to unload Zidan's cargo into the hands of the Duc de Guise, who, he believed, would use it as a bargaining tool to obtain from Zidan the charter price that had been agreed.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Harrison wrote that Abou Mahilli, 'above all the rest ... abused most the credulitie of the simple people, pretending and making them believe he was sent of God'. Memorandum, *The state of Barbary*, 1631. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 141. Abou Mahilli convinced his supporters that they were invincible, and that weapons could not hurt them. See R.S.'s description in *Late Newes out of Barbary*, sig. B2 and previous.

⁹⁸ Harrison first heard about Zidan's flight from R.S., *Late newes out of Barbary*, 'What force he hath, or of his preceeding wee here know not the certainty', sig. B^{2/3}.

⁹⁹ Sus, the southern-most province of Morocco, was Zidan's power base; Santa Cruz, named by the Portuguese, was known to the English merchants as Massa. See map, page vi.

¹⁰⁰ This is denied by the French, who claimed Castelane was acting above his authority. See de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... de France*, vol. III, p. 309, 'Les documents français gardent le silence sur l'intervention de Harrison'. De Castries continues that this account confirms in every other way to the one given by Harrison.

¹⁰¹ Sources for this: de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... de France*, vol. II, p. 108, 27th June 1612 and p. 541, 4th June 1612. See Oumelbanine Zhiri, 'A Captive Library Between Morocco and Spain' in *The Dialectics of Orientalism in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Marcus Keller and Javier Irigoyen-Garcia, London, 2018, part

The loss of his valuables was a bitter blow to Zidan but worse was to follow. De Castries comments that the loss of the *Notre-Dame de la Garde* caused 'interminable difficulties' for France, Spain, Morocco and the United Provinces. The ship, blown by contrary winds, was off the coast of Safi on the 5th July when she was met by four Spanish ships which, although detached from the Spanish fleet, easily overpowered her. She and her cargo were taken to Spain. The result was a flurry of diplomatic activity. The United Provinces attempted to support Zidan's claim. The French, on whose nationals in Morocco Zidan was to exact a cruel revenge, complained that the ship and its cargo should be returned as France and Spain were at peace. The Spanish disagreed, as the ship had been under charter to a monarch (Zidan) with whom they were at war. The French 'shut their ears' to any further requests from Zidan for them to press for the return of his goods, so that he was forced to plead with the Spanish, offering to pay 60,000 ducats for them. Philip III attached so many conditions to their return that refusal was inevitable. The cargo had been sent to Madrid, and the books, to which Zidan attached so much importance,¹⁰² were given to the Escorial Palace and placed in the library, where they continued to be the subject of Moroccan requests for their return long after Zidan had died. Among the many people involved in attempts to recover Zidan's goods, the loss of which would have been common knowledge in The Hague while he waited for Pallache in 1612/13, was John Harrison. The letters in the 'package' he received in Safi from the local *caid* while embarking for England after his second mission were addressed to the Estates General and the French king; they were requests from Zidan for help in recovering his 'stolen' valuables.

one, chapter one, on these events. On the history of Zidan's books once in Spain, see Daniel Hershenzon, 'Travelling Libraries: The Arabic Manuscripts of Muley Zidan and the Escorial Library', in *Journal of Early Modern History*, 18 (2014) pp. 535-558 and Nabil Matar, *Mediterranean Captivity through Arab Eyes 1517-1798*, chapter 6, Captivity of Books, pp. 215-228. Sadly, some books were lost in a fire in the Escorial Palace in 1671; the rest remain there.

¹⁰² On books, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... des Pay-Bas*, vol. II, p.107. Seventy three 'fardous ou balles grandes de livres mahometans', mostly collected by Zidan's father, al-Mansur. Numbering between 3 and 4 thousand, these manuscripts were valued because of the quality of their calligraphy and illuminations. Harrison comments, in Memorandum, *The state of Barbary*, 1631, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 142, 'manuscripts in the Arabian tongue, of great antiquitie, left unto him by his auncesters, which he valued more than all his treasure besides'.

The first four missions, conclusion.

It seems evident, that when considering Harrison's first four missions in isolation, they were of considerable significance to the publication of Harrison's first two books, and provided confirmation of his conviction that the world's end was approaching. The opportunities that Harrison had for gaining knowledge and understanding of Morocco, its society, customs and place in the affairs of European politics was, for an English agent, unprecedented. But the tangible results of these missions were negligible, and did little to establish better Anglo-Moroccan relations. In the context of Britain's increasing interest in the expanding world of the early seventeenth century they had no significance. Equally, they did not result in any further commissions for Harrison. But, if for Britain and her commercial activities much remained as it had been, for Harrison, his experiences gave him an unexpected benefit. What Harrison learned in Morocco was to be of potential value to Britain, in 1625, and later. To understand the significance of Harrison's knowledge of Morocco and Moroccan society, his situation in 1612, when he returned to the court of Prince Henry after his first mission, is pivotal. In 1612, at Henry's court, undoubtedly discussions will have taken place, with Robert Cecil as well as with James. His conversations would have turned to the anti-Spanish feelings in Morocco, bringing memories of Elizabeth's correspondence with Zidan's father, al-Mansur; and to the discussions he may have had with Pallache on his first journey home, of a closer agreement with both the country and the United Provinces. While James' view of relations with Islamic countries would rule out any type of formal agreement between the United Provinces and England in support of trade with Morocco, Pallache may have suggested that an unofficial understanding could be in England's interests. For example, in support of a Dutch fort on the Atlantic coast. A proposition concerning England and the United Provinces would have echoes of Prince Henry's ambitions in Europe and would have appealed to Harrison's patriotism and his Protestantism. When, in his publications of 1613, he identified the 'chaos' he witnessed in Morocco as evidence that the day of judgement was fast approaching, then

his millenarianism became the catalyst which fuelled not only his publications, but heightened his awareness of the dynamics governing the situation in the Western Mediterranean. By 1625, this situation, he could see, might be hugely advantageous, to Britain's future, and in hastening the approaching world's end.

Afterword.

Back in England after his fourth mission, Harrison attended court, gave James a longer account of his sixteen months off shore than he included in his later 'relations', which the king accepted 'very graciously' and gave to 'my lord duke, then Marquess of Buckingham' to keep.¹⁰³ Sadly, we do not have this longer account. However, in his relations of both 1627 and 1631 (which include descriptions of the first four missions), while he is recalling his second mission, Harrison considers the problems of diplomatic relations with Zidan. Noting that, when he wrote the memorandum of 1627, Harrison had just completed his most successful mission (mission six), during which he chose not to attend Zidan's court, his judgement on the purpose of diplomatic negotiations is telling. He devotes three pages to the wisdom of negotiation with such a monarch and a polity, both of which were so very different from James and Britain. He reports not only on Zidan's situation, his views on government, and his desire for a political agreement between England, the United Provinces and himself, but on his personal demeanour. He is a cruel person; his personal habits are unacceptable; he does not keep his word (as that would make him like the Christians); most importantly, he is not a worthy ally.¹⁰⁴ He compares him unfavourably with other leaders he has met during his missions, who might be better allies, and with whom an agreement of like-minded participants might be negotiated.

Alternative negotiating partners may have presented themselves on Harrison's homeward journey. Fortuitously, the ship on which he was to travel home was forced by bad winds to put into Tetuan, a port on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco. While they waited for better weather Harrison made

¹⁰³ Memorandum, *for peace with Sallee and Tetuan*, 1627, p. 69. (TNA, SP, 71/12, ff. 144-8).

¹⁰⁴ *Mr Harrisons relation...* De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 69-72.

the acquaintance of the local governor, Armed el-Neksis, and became aware, among the local population, of the significant numbers of Moriscos, recently expelled from Spain and settled in Tetuan. The governor gave Harrison a letter to be delivered to Zidan in which he acknowledged Zidan as his king, having no other.¹⁰⁵ This would have been in anticipation of Harrison's continuing presence in Morocco as the British king's agent.¹⁰⁶ This was Harrison's first experience of Morocco's Mediterranean coast, and the relationship between local governors and the king, and one which he remembered when back in England in 1625, following his years in the Somer Islands.

Conclusion.

Harrison's fourth mission to Morocco was the last commission he received from James. For Harrison, the experience had been frustrating; for James, the results negligible. We do not know if the issues raised by the merchants were ever satisfactorily solved, but, whatever their situation was in Morocco, it was unlikely to change under a weak ruler, and those merchants trading in Morocco most probably traded elsewhere as well and amortised any losses accordingly. For John Harrison, however, the effects of those eight years were considerable. He was the first Englishman to have consistent diplomatic contact with the Moroccan monarch and the court, and he had established many contacts in Morocco, with both local leaders and with English factors. We can see that, in his relations for the state office in 1627 and 1631, where he summarises his missions for James, that among his experiences he acquires a greater understanding of the complex space between intention and execution of agreements, which became a familiar and constant source of frustration for him in Morocco. Despite, or because of, his diplomatic experiences, he had acquired a wealth of knowledge of Moroccan political and cultural life, an understanding of the geopolitics of the western Mediterranean, and was familiar with the areas of conflict, of exchange and of captivity which co-existed side by side within the Moroccan part of the Maghreb. He understood clearly the value of

¹⁰⁵ Harrison's letter to the commander of the English fleet, 1625. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol.II, p. 574.

¹⁰⁶ At the time Harrison was unable to deliver the letter; he still possessed it six years later, and, when he returned to Tetuan on his fifth mission, told Armed-el-Neksis' sons that he had been intending to deliver it.

Morocco to all the trading nations which sent ships either down the African coast (voyaging both east and west) or into the Mediterranean. Very much, at this stage in his diplomatic life, a lesser-known diplomat, he had been given the opportunity to put his communication skills to good use in exchanges with representatives of local and national authorities, valuable experience for his later missions, where his skills as an intermediary were paramount. Despite the lack of tangible successes, Harrison did not forget his Moroccan experiences; and all his expertise was called for when he returned to Morocco in 1625 and, recognising the possibilities for enhancing British influence in the country, he seized on the new opportunities for increased power and influence which were presented to him.

Chapter four. The second four missions, 1625-1632: practical diplomacy.

‘And thus, having don my best and utmost endeavores herein to doe God and Your Majesty service, as also for the releassing of so manie poore Christians.....out of captivity...without anie privat respect at all or gaine to mysellff but paines and chardges extraordinarie...’¹

Introduction.

Harrison departed on his fifth mission to Morocco at a time when political, confessional and economic pressures in Europe were increasing. The effect of these pressures, like a stone dropped into a pond, were rippling out into the wider world. In Europe the forces of Protestantism were in conflict with the Catholic Habsburgs. Britain was once again at war with her traditional enemy, Spain, but not only in their historic areas of conflict, northern Europe and the Atlantic, but in trading locations; both the Mediterranean and the Far East became areas of tension. In these areas there was a dramatic increase in both legal trading, from the Dutch, the French, the Spanish and the Portuguese, and in privateering and piratical activity.² It was a time of growing opportunities, when merchants ventured to trade and others ventured to settle, and where great wealth could be earned for those with the appetite for taking risks. For Britain, as Charles I succeeded to the British throne, there was the prospect of increasing involvement in Europe’s conflict. The changes that had occurred in Britain, Europe and the Mediterranean between Harrison’s departure from Morocco in 1618, and his return in 1625, were a major influence on the outcome of his missions for Charles. In this chapter I outline these changes, below, followed a comment on sources and a chapter summary. A brief note of three of the defining premises of Harrison’s relations and memoranda is followed by an analysis of each in turn.

¹ Relation, *An account to His Majesty, September 1627*, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d’Angleterre*, volume III, p. 57. Report on missions five and six. This is Harrison’s conclusion to these relations, referencing his successful redemption of as many as 260 captives on mission six.

² The Portuguese, in the east, were acting independently of Spain, despite their shared monarchy. Spanish activity remained restricted to the west. Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement*, p. 8, on ‘the first phase of a commercial revolution’.

The changing situation in Britain.

In 1625, Harrison's anticipation of a change in Britain's policies in Europe had some logic, reflecting the declining powers of James, the ambitions of Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, and the mood in England following the failure of the Spanish marriage proposals. James' tireless policy for diplomatic solutions in Europe through negotiation meant that the country had been at peace for most of his reign; for the last few years of that reign, however, there had been little peace in mainland Europe. The Spanish presence in the Netherlands and the Habsburg territorial and religious policies in the Holy Roman Empire dominated much of the continent. The repercussions of the acceptance and subsequent loss of the crown of Bohemia by James' son-in-law, Frederick, plunged Europe into the confessional and constitutional struggles which became the Thirty Years War. James had neither the inclination, nor the money, for a military expedition to the Palatinate, and he offered Frederick little practical support. Moreover, at this time he was in negotiations with Spain for a bride for his heir, Charles, and, despite the occupation of the Lower Palatinate by Spanish troops, he would not risk jeopardising their outcome.³ Instead, diplomatic activity in Europe during the early 1620s intensified. Agents sent by James crossed central Europe during the years 1619-1625, frequently to and from Venice, and taking in missions to German heads of state, the Holy Roman Emperor and the Spanish and Dutch Netherlands, as James sought to keep his role of peacemaker alive and yet give diplomatic support to Frederick's attempts to regain his ancestral lands. Diplomatic contacts of the type that allowed information sharing, between diplomats as well as to the king and the state office, created a web of knowledge and understanding of the shifts in power and people in areas where England had interests and offered diplomats opportunities to influence the course of events. Netzloff writes that, in England, '...', a populist nostalgia for Elizabethan-era privateers and military agents was employed in the Jacobean and Caroline period as a means to express support for foreign intervention and opposition to European Catholic powers, a position at odds with the Stuart state policy that gained

³ Croft, *King James*, pp. 117-130, on James' unsuccessful diplomatic efforts to bring peace to Europe; Jackson, *Devil-Land*, Jackson, p. 161-2.

further currency during the Thirty Years' War'.⁴ This divergence between state and nation is central to Netzloff's study of those agents who operated outside state boundaries, who he identifies as being as important as those officially appointed, when defining the formation of the state. This divergence can be clearly seen in Britain during 1620, when there was popular support for intervention in Europe in support of Frederick. In an increasingly diverse diplomatic environment Harrison, through his publications (1619-20), attempted to play his part. But, ever needful for employment, sometime between 1620 and 1621 Harrison accepted a posting that was outside Europe.⁵ However, in 1625, back in an England seemingly enthusiastic for a war with Spain, by securing his commission for mission five, Harrison had achieved a position from which he believed he could offer real support to England's European ambitions.

On Charles' succession, in March 1625, Harrison may have expected that Britain was about to take what he would have viewed as her rightful place in the struggle in Europe, in support of the recovery of the Palatine lands and of the United Provinces, and against the Habsburgs. Anticipating that change was coming, he would have hoped that Charles would prove to be a worthy successor to his brother, Henry. What Harrison was to learn was that the realities of warfare in Europe, and the financial difficulties of the English monarchy, were such that anti-Catholic sentiment in England was insufficient to galvanise Charles into supporting the Protestant cause; he had not inherited from his brother Henry the desire to be leader of the Protestant forces in Europe. The ambitions of some of his ambassadors, notably Sir Dudley Carleton and Sir Thomas Roe, and, we may conclude, shared by Harrison, were to be unfulfilled.⁶ The nearest Charles came to these ambitions was a re-run of Elizabeth's 1598

⁴ Netzloff, *Agents Beyond the States*, p. 224.

⁵ Harrison refers to himself in petitions to Charles as 'sometime governor of the Somer Island'. He makes no reference to his original position on the island, that of sheriff. Nor does he tell us how the appointment came about. It is possible that, due to his position at Prince Henry's court, Harrison knew people who had financed the first expedition to Virginia; it was on this voyage that the islands were discovered and settled. There was no indigenous population. John Smith, *A General History of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles, etc.*, London, 1632, p.200. Harrison was appointed governor in 1622. STC 22790d. This publication, the earliest from 1624, was very successful.

⁶ John Reeve, 'Sir Dudley Carleton and Sir Thomas Roe, English Servants of the Queen of Bohemia and the Protestant International during the Thirty Year's War', *Parergon*, vol. 32, (3), 2015. 'Their axioms of thought ... were predicated on the intersection of broadly consensual constitutional and religious patterns of thought', p.

expedition, to Cadiz; it was in support of Charles' Cadiz expedition that Harrison was able to make the case for his return to Morocco.⁷ The happy co-incidence of his knowing Charles' Secretary of State, Sir Albertus Morton, and the preparations for the Cadiz expedition, together with his experiences in Morocco, was his good fortune.⁸

The changing situation beyond Europe.

As well as the challenging situation in Europe, changes had also occurred to the trading patterns of Europe's nations, and Harrison would have appreciated that Britain's presence in the wider world had grown considerably since his first journey to Morocco in 1610. When Harrison departed for Morocco on his fifth mission in 1625, he would have known that, since 1618, the trading patterns of the four major trading nations, Spain, France, the United Provinces and Britain, in and around the Mediterranean, had shifted in line with their respective political strengths, and he would have seen these changes, specifically the growth in the Dutch navy, as advantageous to England. For the truce between Spain and the United Provinces (1609–1621) had changed the dynamics of trade between northern Europe and the Mediterranean, where the Dutch, by successfully capturing the majority of the trade between northern Europe and the Spanish territories, were the beneficiaries. This trade was adversely affected when the truce expired in 1621, and Dutch ships were no longer able to trade with Spanish ports in the Mediterranean. However, the Dutch adjusted, providing the essential naval protection for their merchant fleets (from both Spanish and piratical attacks), and cruising the

167. Reeve writes that both Carleton and Roe struggled with the difficulties of accepting generational change, hampered as they were by their sixteenth century background.

⁷ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites...d'Angleterre*, volume III, p. 53, Relation, *An account to His Majesty*.

Harrison sees activity in Morocco as 'a means to divert the wars from these parts' (Europe).

⁸ Sir Albertus Morton (1584-1625) was a nephew of Sir Henry Wotton (see chapter one), who acted as his supporter and patron. In 1616 he was appointed secretary to Elizabeth, Electress Palatine (with whom he corresponded frequently but whom he cannot have seen regularly), and English agent to the princes of the Protestant union. His political career was blighted by ill health, but he was able to visit Bohemia to see the coronation of Frederick and Elizabeth in 1619. It was at this time that he and Harrison must have met, crossing paths in Heidelberg. In 1625 he was appointed Secretary of State, a post he shared with Sir Edward Conway. He died in November 1625 while Harrison was still in Morocco awaiting news of the expedition to Cadiz. See ODNB, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19358>

Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast lines. A staunch supporter of the United Provinces, the presence of their fleet off the Moroccan coast was to be a source of support for Harrison during his missions.⁹

Britain's commercial activities, by 1625, were prospering. With greater prosperity came increasing ambitions. In the eastern Mediterranean, by 1625, the English trade with the Ottoman Empire was well established and probably the most successful of all her overseas commercial activities. The merchants in the Porte were well established, part of a community of Europeans, acquiring commercial expertise but leading 'limited lives'; they were restricted to living in Galata and socialising with the other Europeans resident there.¹⁰ By contrast, the merchants in Morocco could live where they chose; the location of their community is difficult to pinpoint. As it always had been, the trade with Morocco was less regularised and is more difficult for us to assess. For the main trading nations in the Mediterranean, the Spanish, Dutch, English and French, the increase in piratical activity was the biggest problem they faced. It is true that, when countries were at war, their ships were vulnerable to enemy attack, but the Barbary pirates, whose successes reached their height in the middle of the seventeenth century, respected no nation's shipping.¹¹ And the Moroccan ports, where prizes could be sold more easily and more profitably than in England, were attractive not only to merchants but increasingly to privateers and pirates, including the English. In Salé, Harrison was to gain considerable experience of English privateers, of whom his opinions varied between honest traders and vagabonds.¹² From this port, ambitious pirates in growing numbers were venturing into the Atlantic

⁹ See Wim Klooster, *The Dutch Moment: War, Trade and Settlement in the Seventeenth-century Atlantic World*, London, 2016, p. 19 and following, on the beginnings of Dutch expansion into the Atlantic.

¹⁰ K. R. Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement*, p. 97. Diplomacy in the Porte was the province of the ambassador appointed by the Levant Company; from 1625-28 this post was occupied by Sir Thomas Roe who, like Harrison, wrote reports, for the London office of the company rather than the secretary of state. Unlike Harrison, Roe sent copies of his reports to the ambassadors in Venice and The Hague, both personal friends and useful sources of information about events in London.

¹¹ See Nabil Matar, *British Captives*, pp. 82-96 on the captive situation during Charles' reign.

¹² See Harrison's relation on mission seven concerning Captain Browne, Relation, *an account of my last employment*, 1630, de Castries, *Les sources inédites ... Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 118. Harrison had a dim view of this captain, who had a 'leaky' ship, but nevertheless took a Spanish ship as a prize. Refusing to inform Harrison of the profits he made from the sale, he insisted on taking them to England himself, despite his leaky ship, thereby retaining to himself the proportion of the profits owed to Charles and Buckingham (Lord Admiral) until he arrived in England. Harrison took a note of these, clearly believing that they would never reach their

and north towards England. Reports of the loss of English shipping, and of English captives in Morocco, were becoming more frequent and their numbers were increasing.¹³ The reaction to this in England was one of mounting concern. When war was finally declared against Spain, the benefit of reviving the mutually supportive relationship between England and Morocco and, at the same time, protecting English ships from Moroccan pirates (allies always respecting the ships of their partners), together with the possibilities of support for the English expedition fleet, was of such an appeal to Charles, Buckingham, and the Privy Council, that it must have been the reason why in 1625 Harrison was able to secure his fifth commission. Back from the Somer Islands by the beginning of 1625, and in need of employment, he would have made contact with those people he knew in the state office who might be able to help. Such people, as well as the Duke of Buckingham, would have included Sir Albertus Morton, as Harrison himself mentions.¹⁴ It is noteworthy that Harrison had the confidence of Charles and Buckingham, as he left England before the vote in Parliament for funds in support of the Cadiz expedition was taken.¹⁵

The impact of these changes.

In this chapter I hope to show how the change of monarch in Britian, the changing political dynamics in Europe, and the growing problems caused by the rise in piracy, together fuelled Harrison's ambitions for his missions, which become defined by his championing of Morocco as a place where Britain could extend her influence outside Europe, and a testament to his belief in the need to prepare for the coming apocalypse. This changing situation in Europe and the Mediterranean dictated that missions five and the following three missions were very different in character from the previous missions for James. Much of Harrison's time would be spent attempting to secure the release of the English captives, ideally by making an agreement with the governors of Salé; his preoccupations

intended beneficiaries. He comments 'so I brought a note of all the thinges he solde and at what rates, which was at a very easie rate'.

¹³ See Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850*, London, 2002, pp. 43-4; Nabil Matar, *British Captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic*, p.9 and following.

¹⁴ See Harrison's letter to the commander of the expedition fleet, Harleian MS 1581, ff. 320-22.

¹⁵ Harrison sailed in May. Parliament opened on the 18th June. Jackson, *Devil-Land*, pp. 193-4.

feature in the detailed relations he wrote about each mission. His instructions, from the two commissions that exist (1626 and 1629), are clear, and his success in 1626 meant that he was the choice of agent for Morocco in 1629 and 1632.

Morocco, 1625-1632.

Before considering how Harrison responded to his commissions, I briefly re-visit Morocco and its position within the changing Mediterranean community. During Harrison's missions, 1625 to 1632, three power groups dominated Morocco. The first, the Moriscos, whose final expulsion from Spain, was complete before Harrison returned from his fourth mission, were mostly settled on the Moroccan coast.¹⁶ The biggest settlements were in Tetuan, where Moriscos joined established Andalusian communities, and in Salé, where the population of the town grew dramatically. These refugee communities retained their unique language and culture and their aspirations for a return to their Spanish homeland.¹⁷ Secure establishments on the Moroccan coast, from which to embark, were therefore of crucial importance to them, especially since Spain had taken possession of Larache in 1610, Mamora in 1614, and already held two important ports, Ceuta and Tangier. The successful settlement of this large refugee community was the most dramatic change in Moroccan society since Harrison left in 1618. Tetuan and Salé, with large Morisco populations, were, when Harrison returned in 1625, endeavouring to establish their independence from the Moroccan king. In Salé this independence was supported by the port's successful piratical activities, the growth of which was a direct result of the expulsion of the Moriscos, many of whom turned to piracy as a way to support themselves and to inflict damage on Spanish shipping. Salé's reputation as the home of the 'Sallee

¹⁶ Also Fez. Mercedes García-Arenal & Gerard Wiegers, eds., translated by Consuelo Lopez-Morillas and Martin Beagles, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, a Mediterranean Diaspora*, Leiden, 2014, pp.300-316. Matthew Carr, *Blood and Faith: the Purging of Muslim Spain, 1492-1614*, London, 2010, pp.316-7.

¹⁷ The Moriscos believed that their return to Spain was foretold and would be in Christian ships. This is mentioned several times in Harrison's 'relations'. Relation, *An account of my last imployment*, 1630, de Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 145, 'an old prophecie ... foretelling that their banishment out of Spain into Barbarie, but that in tyme they should be brought backe againe, and that in Christian ships'.

Rovers', and as a place to sell prizes, that is ships, cargoes and crews, grew in parallel with the growth in trade in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

For the second group, the religious leaders, described by Harison as 'saints', who increasingly feature in Harrison's missions, the recovery of Mamora, the recent loss of which Harrison witnessed in 1614, was a primary objective in their continuing hostilities with Spain. Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, in *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic period*, comments on the 'widespread' veneration of 'saints' in Morocco as early as the fourteenth century. Describing their mode of living as 'loose associations of persons' he writes on their situation, often in co-operation with the local tribal structures, as sometimes providing a religious legitimacy which invested authority. Some were peaceful and did not become involved in any local conflicts; others, by providing that legitimacy, gained influence through the provision of religious directives.¹⁸ These 'saints', or Sufis, were not leaders of any settled communities, 'they were loose associations of persons who, while remaining integrated in their communities ... were united through common obedience ... This meant that the Sufis exercised their influence in the context of the existing socio-political structures of their communities'. They enjoyed huge support from the ordinary people of Morocco and, as a result, had considerable abilities to influence local political decisions.¹⁹ Mamora, so recently lost, was the port, above all others, they wished to recover from the Spanish; if they could not achieve its restoration themselves, Mamora under the protection of a Protestant country was infinitely preferable to its occupation by their historic enemy, Spain. The most important religious leader among several at this time was Sidi Muhammed el-Ayyachi, with whom Harrison was to have several meetings and for whom he appears to have some respect.²⁰ He appreciated that the ambitions of the Moriscos and the 'saints' had one common goal: the defeat of the Spanish in Morocco and the return of the Moriscos to Spain. The growth in the power

¹⁸ Jamil M. Abin-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic period*, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 22-5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁰ In Memorandum, *the state of Barbary*, 1631, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, volume III, p. 147, the 'great Saint'; and Relation, *my account to His Majesty*, 1630, in de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, volume III, p. 44, el-Ayyachi 'used me verie respectivelie', and took him 'the verie first tyme into his sell'.

of the ports, and the influence of the religious leaders, was mirrored by the declining power of Zidan, the third potential centre of power in Morocco. He had never managed to take Fez (whose trade was all channelled through Salé), and the last few years of his reign were characterised by his continuing efforts to defend the southernmost parts of his kingdom around Santa Cruz, where he was acknowledged king; he died in 1627. He was succeeded by his son, Abdul al-Malik II (r.1627-31), whose reputation for cruelty and tyranny exceeded that of his father. The son was no more successful than his father in uniting Morocco, and the resulting power vacuum allowed the Moriscos and the religious leaders to maintain their relative independence, with the result that, as Harrison recognised, the country was potentially vulnerable to European powers preying on their Atlantic sea ports.

Missions five to eight, their significant differences.

What is the significance of these developments – in Europe, the Mediterranean, and in Morocco? How do they resonate with the situation Harrison was to find in 1625? Returning to England from the Somer Islands, with several years of ‘colonial’ experiences, and faced with the ‘confused’ times on continental Europe (about which he was undoubtedly well informed, due to his contacts in both London and the United Provinces), Harrison departed on his fifth mission in 1625 in support of Britain’s war with Spain. Undoubtedly, he took with him to Morocco the legacy of his time at the court of Prince Henry; he will still, as with those other Stuart diplomats who cherished the memories of their late queen, Elizabeth, ‘of famous memory’, have harboured ambitions for Protestant hegemony in Europe, the restoration of the Palatinate lands and the ultimate defeat of the power and influence of the Spanish Habsburgs. Harrison will have hoped, even expected, that the expedition to Cadiz was the fore-runner of a more interventionist European policy from Charles. With these objectives in mind, and as a result of the changes in dynamics in the Western Mediterranean, specifically the increasing fragmentation of the Morocco polity, Harrison’s approach to diplomacy broadened. He was not merely a functioning diplomat, his ambitions extended to achieving for England a greater significance in the expanding world. From the very beginnings of his fifth mission, Harrison adopted a determination to engage the Moroccans, both the king and the local leaders, on the side of Britain in

the conflict with Spain, and, by definition, the struggle between Protestant and Catholic. These later missions are very different to those he undertook for James; both Harrison's ambitions, and Charles' inclinations, contributed to this. After considering his publications in chapter two, I suggested that Harrison's beliefs can be seen as having consolidated during the period 1613-1620, and concluded that he had three ambitions when publishing: to inform, to preach and to advocate good government. All these three are apparent in the way he conducted his diplomatic missions between 1625 and 1632, to which he brought a real understanding of plantation life gained in the Somer Islands, and the opportunities this could open for Britain. These ambitions are evident in the premises that emerge from Harrison's relations and memoranda, and although the diplomat's aspirations and his monarch's cautious lack of commitment led eventually to an inevitable stalemate, this was not before the contacts between England and Morocco had been substantially renewed and changed.

Harrison's determination is reflected in his relations. Although we do not have the first commission, Harrison explains how he left London for Barbary in advance of the Cadiz expedition fleet in order to 'sound the affectations and dispositions of that people ... a people most serviceable whereof Your Majesty might make great use'.²¹ Harrison writes 'if that designe were for those partes, there might be good use made of that cuntrye and people, ..., engaging mysellff to have tenn thousand of these Moriscoes ready to serve his Majesty'.²² It is clear from all his writings that Harrison, maybe from his attendance at court to receive his letters, understood his brief to be wider than simply establishing contacts in Morocco. The release of captives was important for both Harrison and his employers, but the wider significance of these missions, to which he often alludes, was for Harrison deeply felt, whereas there is no direct evidence that the strength of his expansionist feelings were shared by Charles and Buckingham.²³

²¹ In Relation, *an account to His Majesty*, September, 1627, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 30.

²² In Memorandum, *the state of Barbarie*, 1631, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 145.

²³ The content of the first commission that we have (1626) is somewhat vague: 'to be our agent for us and in our name to treat with the said Kings, Princes, Governors and Command of the parts of Barbary, or such and so many of them as your judgement shall thinke fit, concerninge the redeemeinge of ... our subjects ... and

However, it is possible that, in contrast to his experiences with James, Harrison had some success in engaging the support of Charles, or, more likely, Buckingham, in his belief that there might be opportunities for extending England's influence over Morocco beyond simply acquiring support for the Cadiz expedition. He may have discussed with the king and his advisor the political situation in Morocco, describing it as offering potential places which could become areas to which English influence might be extended. What evidence there is for Charles' interest in Morocco can be found in the number of letters the king wrote for Harrison to take to Morocco. For, when sending Harrison on these later missions, Charles customarily wrote not only to the king, but sent letters to local leaders who had some or complete autonomy. This has to be seen as supporting the business Harrison believed he was executing; as we shall see, he advocates keeping in contact with local leaders in his earliest extant letter to the commander of the expedition fleet.²⁴ The result of this broader correspondence was, therefore, that he found himself in a situation unlike that experienced by any other English diplomat. It presented him with choices; with whom and why should he negotiate? Throughout these last four missions it is clear that Harrison attempted to keep all diplomatic channels open. Despite that, he had, when faced with new areas of opportunity, personal preferences and relative successes, ones which he advocated in his reports and petitions to the king and to the Privy Council. These preferences, for local agreements which would greatly benefit English merchants and support maritime communities, were an immediate response to the experiences Harrison had 'on the ground' in Morocco. Without a clear understanding, when he received his letters of introduction, of the brief Charles may have given him in person, there are two possible conclusions concerning Harrison's intentions. It could be that his ambitions exceeded those of a traditional ambassador, to negotiate, to protect and to inform, and, caught by unique political and personal experiences, they

establisheinge of such an entercourse as may be for our common utillity and safety', de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 12. Charles gave Harrison signed instructions, which are no more detailed than those in the commissions, BL, Harley mss. 1854, f. 128.

²⁴ de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 573-582. Among Harrison's recommendations to the leader of the expedition, when he advises what 'further is to be done', is 'to draw strengthe from all partes'. These letters from Charles were friendly but bland, neither offering nor requesting any favours.

become more far-reaching. Or, Harrison's ambitions in Morocco could be defined as a simple reflection of England's expanding interests outside Europe, no more nor less than a desire to reinforce and expand, in practical terms, the political and commercial bonds which traditionally had existed between England and Morocco under Elizabeth. Whatever option is the more likely, the commitment with which Harrison pursued his understanding of his missions, making and keeping connections where a less ambitious agent might easily have failed, is notable. In contrast to his diplomatic experiences during his missions for James, Harrison, learning from his previous experiences, was a determined negotiator for Charles.

Sources.

The sources for these four missions for Charles I are considerably more substantial than those for Harrison's missions for James I. Not only are Harrison's relations and memoranda long and detailed, but some of his commissions survive, and proof of his travels and remunerations (or lack of) can be found in the state papers from Charles' reign. It is tempting to conclude that this is because of the appointment, in 1625, of Sir John Coke, another member of that select group of the 'last Elizabethans', as secretary of state.²⁵ He had a long political career, starting in the reign of Elizabeth, when he served on the commission investigating the navy. After a period of absence from court when James came to the throne, he re-entered politics and resumed his work on the navy. Described as a virulent anti-papist, and, by default, anti-Spanish, he and Harrison would have had common interests in seeing England's influence established in Morocco. Harrison wrote more letters from Morocco to Coke than to any single person, excepting his petitions to Charles.²⁶

The most important sources for these missions are the four 'relations' written by Harrison, dated between 1627 and 1631, which cover missions five to seven.²⁷ These are in the State Papers, Foreign,

²⁵See Michael B. Young, *Servility and Service: The Life and Work of Sir John Coke*, London, 1985. In his conclusion Young writes that, after a long career serving three monarchs Coke 'rejoined that disappointed generation of aspiring Elizabethans', p. 276.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-72.

²⁷ These relations cover, in writing order, missions five and six, the first four, mission seven, all previous seven missions. There is no relation for missions eight. This out of sequence order is probably due to requests from

Barbary States, Morocco, 71/12 in The National Archives, together with all his other writings on Morocco that are known: his letters to the commander of the expedition fleet of 1625, his petitions to Charles, his letters and requests to Coke, and his letters to his contacts in London and to the Estates General; his summaries of his earlier missions and his proposals for taking Mamora. In these archives also are the letters written from Moroccan leaders to Charles, and the king's replies. All these documents are carefully annotated on the reverse. As noted earlier, someone in the state office kept a careful eye on Morocco. While we do not have a report from Harrison on mission eight, in the same bundle in The National Archive are copies of four letters he wrote to Andrew Carnwath, a member of his household whom he trusted to manage his affairs in England while he was away. Carnwath would appear to be a secretary whose brief extended to representing his employer's views to the Secretary of State and the Privy Council. Harrison's letters inform Carnwath of his progress and what information it was appropriate to pass on to the Secretary of State; also who, among the English merchants in London who traded in Morocco, to consult for further detailed news.

Addenda.

In his reports on Morocco Harrison is at times somewhat rambling, and his train of thought wanders, but at other times he is clear sighted, informative and inclusive, and justifies Matar's description of Harrison as the most knowledgeable Englishman on Morocco in the seventeenth century, certainly during his life time. Few writers and fewer travellers in the early seventeenth century were drawn to Morocco, preferring to journey east to the lands of the Bible and the centres of Roman and Greek civilisations.²⁸ Harrison's reports contain detailed information about Morocco, and specifically, could have been of value to the king and the officers of state. As he was writing his relations on missions five and six, he apparently was asked by someone in the office of the secretaries of state to write

the state office for further information. The long reports, especially, are hard to read and damaged around the edges.

²⁸ In fact, the only written records, published and in manuscript, that can compare with Harrison's work, are those from the later part of the sixteenth century which we discussed in chapters one and three, by Hogan and Roberts.

about all of his Moroccan experiences, hence his description of his first four missions in 1627.²⁹ These writings are more considered, and it is from these that his understanding of his commissions and the extent of his knowledge of the polity with which he was required to negotiate becomes clear. The longer relations, on missions five, six and seven, offer us something else. They contain a wealth of information about Morocco, the country, and its people, and the diverse and multicultural communities that he encountered, including, off shore, the captains, merchants and pirates that crowded the Moroccan Atlantic coast. They also give an insight into Harrison's more personal feelings, his attitude to his 'employment'. Harrison's attitude, and the three themes which emerge from his writings, are key to our understanding of his ambitions, and therefore to the role he may have played in the story of England's expansion.

Missions five to eight, in summary.³⁰

I summarise here the four missions Harrison served for Charles I. These missions involved extensive contacts with people and places on and off the shores of Morocco; all of which Harrison wrote about, hence the length of his relations. On missions five Harrison arrived at Tetuan in June, 1625.³¹ He received an enthusiastic welcome from the city governors and the offer of support in any war with Spain. Having left England before the departure of the expedition fleet to Cadiz, he then waited for news of its outcome, spending his time, as on his first mission, in religious dialogue. As noted in chapter two, at the beginning of July, soon after his arrival, and intending to achieve the biggest broadcast of information concerning Charles' expedition and its objectives, Harrison conceived the idea of drafting his three general letters, to the Moors, the Jews and the Catholic Christians.³² In anticipating the success of the expedition, he was anxious to capitalise on a victory, one not only for Britain but for the Protestant faith and the rapidly approaching apocalypse. As one would expect,

²⁹ Harrison hinted that he might write more, see the advertisement to the reader, *Late Newes out of Barbary ...* p. A⁶, 'I may (perhaps) bee encouraged to revise some papers of my owne, all this while throwne aside'.

³⁰ See tables two and three for a concise summary of these four missions. Dates, commissions, existing documents, contacts and outcomes.

³¹ On the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, near Ceuta.

³² See chapter two, pp. 116-7.

these letters were designed to effect the conversion of their recipients, and differently expressed for different recipients, to achieve that aim. He also wrote to Zidan, explaining his inability to attend the Moroccan court as it was too dangerous to travel by land in Morocco, but requesting his support against Spain.³³ On the 20th July he wrote, as he had been instructed to by Secretary of State Sir Albertus Morton, an account of the situation in Tetuan for the commander of the English fleet. Eventually, understanding that the Cadiz expedition had been a success, in November he wrote to the same commander, whom he now believed to be the Duke of Buckingham, explaining how many letters he had written previously, and sending a messenger explaining he was still awaiting instruction.³⁴ This letter was only received in London in April 1626. Sadly, Harrison had been misinformed and the Cadiz expedition was neither commanded by Buckingham nor successful. A year later, in a report for Charles on his most recent missions, his fifth and sixth, he described the reaction in Morocco to the failure of this 1625 Cadiz expedition, and how much damage it had done to England's (and his own) reputation in Morocco.³⁵

Lacking information or instruction, Harrison writes that he decided, depending on which report is accurate, to either respond to an invitation from Salé, or to travel to Salé on his own initiative.³⁶ Here the governors were proposing to declare their independence from Zidan and, Harrison learned,

³³ 'When I was with yow ... yow intreated mee that, if there were any lykelyhood of wars, to advertise your Maj^{ty} and yow would give your assistance; now is the tyme or neaver, both for the Englishe and the Moores, to right themselves against theire enimies'. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 571-2.

³⁴ Harrison wrote a short 'good luck' letter to the commander of the Cadiz expedition fleet, July 25th, 1625, which consists almost entirely of biblical quotes. SP 71/12, f.103. It begins: 'God (I hope) has already sent his angels before you', (Exodus, 33.2).

³⁵ 'There were now no more Drakes in England, all were hens, *gallinas*', Relation, *An account to His Majesty, 1627*, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 31. The other major source for this mission is Harrison's report on all seven missions, commissioned by Lord Dorchester. In de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 137-50.

³⁶ Generally Harrison's narratives are consistent, but not in this case. It may be that the arrival of English captives from Salé for sale in Tetuan was the deciding factor. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 580, 'some captives come lately from Salée heere to be sould, and telling mee how hardly both they and other English captives there have bine used'. This is the first reference to captives in Harrison's writings. Salé was a town in two parts, either side of the river Bou Regreg, which declared itself independent of Zidan in 1627. The Moriscos lived on the south side, now Rabat; they were divided, Hornacheros in the castle, Andalous or Moriscos surrounding them. Pennell remarks that neither were popular with the older population on the north side. Pennell, *Morocco*, p. 93. See also Mercedes García-Arenal & Gerard Wiegers, eds., translated by Consuelo Lopez-Morillas and Martin Beagles, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain*, p.314 on Salé.

wished to negotiate an agreement with England. Travelling overland to Salé involved a difficult journey which Harrison undertook on foot, disguised as a pilgrim and bare legged, and which he clearly found both humiliating and, possibly, frightening. He wrote 'I undertook a most desperate journey by land from Tetuan to Sallee in a disguised Moorish habite (the county being so dangerous to trayavle in for strangers). The countryside was mountainous and lawless, Harrison and his escort avoided where possible the Alerbies 'who will sell their fathers' and skirted Fez where he thought the Spanish agent had put a price on his head.³⁷ On route, he was offered support from several local leaders, pressing him to entreat Charles to take Mamora from the Spanish.³⁸ On arrival in Salé he was well received, including by Sidi el-Ayyachi, the religious leader currently residing in Salé,³⁹ and the governors offered to free English captives in return for armaments and proposed a treaty which would benefit both English and Salétin shipping and English merchants. This was an offer which Harrison felt he could not refuse; he left in the spring of 1626, arriving in England in May.⁴⁰

Mission six.

Harrison was well received in England by Charles and Buckingham and he was immediately commissioned to return to Morocco. His expectations for this mission must have been high; he had been recommissioned by the king and had his instructions from the Duke of Buckingham.⁴¹ Harrison

³⁷ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 30-57. Relation, *an account for His Majesty, 1627*, contains a long description of the main hazard Harrison experienced, the possibility that the Spanish representatives who were in Morocco would hear of his presence and he would be betrayed and captured. See also de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 146, Relation, *my account to His Majesty, 1630*. He heard that a price of 1000 dollars had been offered for him. Travel by sea would have risked capture by a Spanish man of war, but travel by land was equally risky, the local folk 'who for money will sell their own fathers and children, and have done, as I have bin informed'.

³⁸ 'And as I passed further, the Saintes and Sheaques bordering upon Allerach offered the lyke for the taking of that place', de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 146.

³⁹ Note, the most important of the 'saintes', 'who commaundeth all the other saintes and sheaques', *ibid.*, p. 147.

⁴⁰ The journey was not without incident, and the Salé governors provided the protection of a pirate, Captain John, 'a great friend to our nation'. Captain John was a Dutch renegade who in 1624 had been made admiral of Salé by Zidan. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 33-4, Relation, *an account to His Majesty, 1627*.

⁴¹ Harrison's commission is in de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 10. His instructions have not survived. See Harleian MS 1581, f. 284, with a note at the end explaining that this was a second commission, the first having been withdrawn.

left England on his sixth Moroccan mission in early 1627, having collected both the armaments for the Salé governors and some Moorish prisoners to be exchanged with English captives, as he was instructed.⁴² He carried with him Charles' commission, and a warrant from the Privy Council. Nevertheless, Harrison felt himself at a disadvantage, due to his commission having been withdrawn, revised, and reduced in scope, at the request of Sir Henry Marten, Judge at the High Court of Admiralty.⁴³ The original commission has not survived but it is clear from Harrison's reports that it would have allowed him to conclude an agreement with Salé to cover trading privileges, merchants rights and, when they were brought into port, the automatic release of English captives. The resultant changes were to limit his authority, leading, among other factors, to his complete dependence for transport on merchant shipping and its prioritising trade over diplomacy, and was a foretaste of problems to come.

Harrison finally landed at Salé, unladed the armaments, which triggered the automatic release of English captives, and was well received by the governors, who, proclaiming their independence, resisted Zidan's requests for the English agent to be sent to his court. He organised the transport to England of the English captives in English and Dutch ships and again met Sidi el-Ayyachi, in the old town. Harrison's presence in Salé, and this meeting, raised the hope of Sidi el-Ayyachi's supporters of another English expedition, and some 40,000 'from all parts' flocked to the saint's camp, pledging their

⁴² Harrison's man served his warrant to receive the prisoners just before a rival English merchant arrived who also had permission to collect them from prison in Launceston, and who, Harrison believed, was intending to sell them in the slave market in Livorno. Relation, *an account for His Majesty, 1627*, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 35-6. *CSP/D/Charles*, vol. XLIV, p. 529, Harrison to the king: defends his late mission into Barbary against objections urged by Sir Henry Marten. Prays that his expenses on that occasion may be paid. Accuses Barrett of intending to sell into slavery the Turks he proposes to exchange. Entreats the king to give the ambassadors from Morocco a fair and honourable despatch.

⁴³ Marten was against any dealings with pirates. See Acts of the Privy Council, *CSP/D/Charles*, 1626, vol. XL, p. 480: on November 25th 1626, Marten wrote to Nicholas, secretary to Buckingham, objecting to the commission Harrison had received as 'there is no treating or confederacy with pirates'. As far back as September 29th the Privy Council had altered Harrison's travel arrangements, whereby the naval ships that were to take him to Barbary were recommissioned to guard 'the channel and the narrow seas' and arrangements were eventually made for he and his suite to travel on the *Rainbow*, one ships' captain having refused to transport him. Harrison's first (withdrawn) commission, however, was dated November 20th. All specific mentions of Salé were withdrawn, incriminating passages were replaced and the principal aim of the mission was defined as one to ransom captives. His new commission was dated 5th December.

support for an attack on Mamora. Harrison found himself in a difficult position. He had championed the potential value of Mamora to the English crown but did not feel able to support an attack by Muslims on Christians.⁴⁴ His solution was to collude with the admiral of the fleet of the United Provinces, which was off-shore, and which el-Ayyachi needed to prevent supplies reaching the besieged port. The two Europeans manufactured an 'excuse'.⁴⁵ Moreover, Harrison's better judgement told him that the Governors of Salé would prefer that such an exercise should be entered into by England and the United Provinces, and not a rival Muslim leader. Sidi el-Ayyachi's attack on Mamora, without the barrier to Spanish supply lines that the Dutch fleet declined to provide, failed. Harrison arrived back in England in the spring of 1627 with an agreement, accompanied by two Salétin envoys.⁴⁶ This agreement, which the Salétins had signed, was a list of provisions, capitulations, which set out the conditions for on-going relations between England and Salé. Harrison had also signed it, but added a rider, that implementation was subject to the approval of Charles and the Privy Council.

Mission seven.

Harrison reported to Charles on his latest mission as soon as he was able to, but the king's response to the proposed deal was disappointing. Despite both Harrison's advocacy, and the presence of the two Moroccan envoys, the agreement was not counter-signed. However, Harrison's persistent recommendation that a deal with the leaders in Salé was worth pursuing, and, more relevantly, the growing aggression between English and Salétin shipping, and the resulting increase in the number of English captives, eventually lead to a third commission.⁴⁷ This commission, tasks Harrison to 'treat' with the appropriate local leaders about the ransom of captives, conclude any other 'entercourse ...

⁴⁴ In particular, any Christians captured by el-Ayyachi would be sold into slavery, to which Harrison was opposed.

⁴⁵ Harrison does not spell out what excuse was given but it was likely to have been that he needed his monarch's support for such a venture.

⁴⁶ Charles wrote to Buckingham on June 12th, 1627, 'I have understood that Mr Harrison returned from Barbarie and has brought embasadors from *some* of there kings, this all I know yet of him'. Harley MS 6988, 20r-20v, (my italics). Kings, plural, suggests that Charles was aware of the political situation in Morocco.

⁴⁷ For his commission, see de Castries, *Les sources inédite ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 82-4. There is no mention of capitulations, or of ships of each polity respecting the others.

which may be for our common interest and safety’, and deliver armaments. So, after a gap of three years, Harrison sailed on the 4th March, 1630, and arrived in Salé in April, where he discovered a town at war with itself, and, to his disappointment, English merchants and factors trading on the sabbath. Taking upon himself the authority to resolve these situations, Harrison writes that he negotiated a peace between the two towns of Salé, old and new, and, by force of personality, imposed some religious observance on the English merchants.⁴⁸ Although he had not returned with Charles’ signature on the 1627 agreement, Harrison managed to keep alive the prospect of such a treaty, and continued to emphasise that its benefits, especially in preventing the continuing conflict between the ships of Salé and those of England.⁴⁹ Instead of attending court, he was forced to send Charles’ letters to the new king (he was advised not to go), and, due to transport problems, he was unable to reach another religious leader to whom Charles had written, Sidi Ali ben Mohammed.⁵⁰ While Harrison was still in Salé a French fleet carrying representatives of the French king and a delegation of the Capuchins arrived to negotiate the release of French captives.⁵¹ According to Harrison, when these negotiations foundered he was asked to mediate, and negotiated a ransom price that both the Salétins and the French found acceptable. Two hundred French captives were released.⁵² Harrison left for England in

⁴⁸ The English merchants were not observing the sabbath, neither attending a religious service nor ceasing to trade. Harrison’s actions demonstrate that he, as agent for the king to whom the Salétins wished to swear allegiance, had the authority to impose conditions for peace on the inhabitants of this town and to insist on the demonstration of the Protestant faith by the English merchants. See Memorandum, *the state of Barbary*, 1631, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d’Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 105-110.

⁴⁹ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d’Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 111, Relation, *my account to His Majesty*, 1630, ‘out of that respect they carrie towards Your Majesty, and because I had taken so great paines and hazarded myself ... to come to them’. Harrison believed that the Salétins’ reaffirmed their support for an agreement partly due to his continued presence in Morocco. However, note, Richard Quaille, captain, who had refused Harrison passage, and saw no significance in Harrison’s presence in Morocco, or his attempts to negotiate a settlement ‘he knew it well enough but cared not for my treatie’, Relation, *an account to his majesty*, 1627, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d’Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 50.

⁵⁰ Abdel al-Malik II (r.1627-1631). The ‘great’ Sidi ben Mohammed, ‘who comaundeth all those partes mencioned’, that is in the south, from whom Harrison was wanting to purchase horse and hawks, and to enquire further about the sources of gold. SP Foreign Barbary States, Morocco, 71/12, ff. 155-6.

⁵¹ The Capuchin order had been founded for the relief of French captives. Harrison thought it shameful that the English put so little effort into the redemption of their compatriots in captivity. Relation, ‘*my account to His Majesty*, 1630’, De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d’Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 112, ‘a shame it is that the Popish priestes and friers should so willinglie expose themselves to such travells and daungers ... and our churchmen be so lazie or perhappes want that encouragement’.

⁵² Note, there is no mention of Harrison’s involvement in any French sources.

the autumn of 1630. This time neither Salétin ambassadors nor released English captives accompanied him. Moreover, the Salétins imposed a four-month deadline on his return, together with the 1627 agreement signed, a clear signal that they were no longer confident that their proposed deal had any traction.

Mission eight.

On the 24th September, 1630, Harrison reported to Charles on his seventh mission, and pressed once again the advantages of taking Mamora.⁵³ But much to his distress, and despite his urgent petitions, Charles did not authorise a return journey to Morocco within the four-month deadline. There being no more 'relations' extant, we may imagine that Harrison was not asked to report on his eighth mission.⁵⁴ But, as tensions between the ships of both polities remained unresolved, with continuing losses of lives and cargos, eventually he was commissioned to attempt again the regularisation of the trading relations between Salé and the English ships/merchants, and to negotiate for the release of captives, both those in Salé and those at the court of the new king, al-Oualid bin Zidan (r.1631-36).⁵⁵ He arrived off Salé on the 25th September, 1631, but feared to disembark as the Salétins were 'overexcited' by the loss of one of their ships to an English vessel. He moved to Safi and travelled to the court of al-Oualid in Marrakesh, where, on the 17th November he presented Charles' letters. He was asked by the king to seek clarification from Charles on various issues prior to the signing of any agreement, including the cessation of any dealings with Salé, a pre-condition to which both the French and the Dutch had agreed, prior to their own agreements with al-Oualid. His relationship with

⁵³ SP 71/12, ff. 155-6, (*de Castries, Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 125-131). Harrison always advocated asking the United Provinces to take Mamora if Charles and the Privy Council decided against invading themselves, suggesting that the king should 'refer the managing of these affairs to the States of the Low-Countries and the Prince of Orange'.

⁵⁴ Harrison had nothing to report except the request from al-Oualid for Charles to instruct the English merchants to cease trading with Moroccan ports in rebel hands. In his meeting with Charles he must have realised no written report would be necessary, as his eighth mission was completely unsuccessful.

⁵⁵ We do not have this commission. As Harrison left in a hurry (to catch transport) he may only have been commissioned verbally. See *De Castries, Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 154, a letter to Sir John Coke from the 'downes', 3rd August, 1631, 'And now a ship being bound for those parts, I thought good to take the first opportunitie, upon the advice and intelligence had from my kinsman' who had been left in Morocco as surety when Harrison returned after his seventh mission.

Salé no longer viable, and with neither a deal with the king, nor any ransomed captives, Harrison had no option but to return to England.

Addenda.

This summary of Harrison's missions for Charles, longer than that for James' missions, gives some examples of the many and diverse issues that Harrison experienced between 1625 and 1632. These missions for Charles are characterised by Harrison's ever-increasing anxiety about the fate of the English captives, and his pursuit of an agreement between Britain and Salé. These ambitions are evident in all his dealings in Morocco from 1625, and which he worked tirelessly to achieve; they epitomise his diplomatic aspirations. In their turn, these ambitions are re-enforced by those three personal principals which govern his pilgrimage, to inform, to preach (convert) and to support good governance. The later principal, in particular, becomes an important part of his understanding of how he sees his work in Morocco. And, it is during this time, 1625-1632, that Harrison puts to good use the experiences of the multi-national complexities of Morocco's relations with Europe he acquired during his missions for James, notably his regard for the United Provinces, to re-enforce his ambitions for England to achieve a permanent presence in Morocco.

New approaches, expanding diplomacy.

Harrison describes how he left London for Barbary in advance of the Cadiz expedition fleet in order to reconnoitre the Moroccan coast for a suitable base from which to obtain naval supplies, and notes that the local population where he was being accommodated were friendly, and supportive of the British expedition.⁵⁶ One of the three recurring themes in Harrison's relations which attract notice and deserve further consideration is the number and extent of his contacts. A second theme, a benefit of these contacts, is his vigorous pursuit of the idea that Britain should establish a presence in Morocco. To this end, his third theme is designed to add support the second; he takes great pains to

⁵⁶ In Memorandum, *the state of Barbarie*, 1631, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 145.

describe in detail the geography, society, culture and character of the country. In championing these three objectives, Harrison combines his diplomatic skills, that is his ability to make good local contacts, and his extensive understand of the society in which he finds himself, with his ambitions to achieve a presence for Britain in Morocco. In Harrison's relations and memoranda there are many examples of the oral communication networks he used, as information flowed from local encounters to agent to monarch. Netzloff's comment, although relative to agents in Europe whose reports appeared in print, that 'extraterritorial agents ... engaged with the commons in entering a marketplace of print, publishing accounts ... in order to address a reading public and reflect on a shared project of governance' is germane here. Harrison's reports on his missions, while not printed for public consumption, contain many comments on governance which undoubtedly found resonance in those who read them. While the contacts, knowledge exchange and flow of information which Harrison generated may not have established the foundation for long-term Anglo-Moroccan relations, as those described by Ghobrial between Britain and Turkey, they were certainly the beginning of a relationship which continued to flourish as the seventeenth-century progressed, curtailed only by Britain's withdrawal from Tangier in 1684.

Morocco's potential: Britain in Morocco, plantations and the possibilities of conversion.

Harrison's experiences while on mission five, and its successful, final, conclusion (in his eyes) were to result in an outpouring of writing from him on the potential for Anglo-Moroccan relations that Morocco had to offer Britain, which was sustained through to mission eight. It is unfortunate that this writing is almost entirely by Harrison and therefore represents one side of a two-way process of knowledge communication and sharing. Harrison makes his position very clear. As he continues to persist in championing his ambitions for Britain in Morocco, the thoughts and conclusions of Charles and his Privy Council are reflected in Harrison's arguments, but exactly how comprehensive they are can only be subject to speculation. Moreover, the importance of the opinions of the merchants trading in Morocco, hinted at by Harrison, add a third factor to the equation, one which would ignore both other parties.

A continuing preoccupation, the advocacy of plantations in Morocco, together with the establishment of British influence, is present in all of Harrison's manuscript works, the practical benefit of which would be safe ports for English merchants and shipping, and the possibilities of establishing Charles' hegemony in several locations. Additionally, in the longer term, Harrison confidently anticipated the conversion of the local populous to Protestantism. In his reports the opportunity for plantations are signalled from the beginning of mission five. Despite the original intention behind this commission being to identify support in Morocco for the 1625 expedition to Cadiz, for Harrison, 'on the ground' in Tetuan, it swiftly became an opportunity for England to extend her war effort and to increase her influence in places where her traditional enemy, Spain, had several footholds. During the time of his missions for James Harrison will have noticed that Mohammed esh Sheikh el Mamun had handed Larache to the Spanish (1610), and Mamora had been lost, also to Spain, when it could so easily have become a Dutch protectorate (1614). It quickly becomes clear therefore, from the start of mission five, that Harrison had no qualms about suggesting England emulate her enemy, and take advantage of an opportunity to secure a fortification on the Moroccan coast. In the first piece of writing we have on this mission he reports on the present situation there, and the opportunities it offers.⁵⁷ Having disembarked in Tetuan, in his earliest conversations with the local leaders, Harrison has established that they wished to be independent of Zidan, and would be prepared to support with their own forces an English attempt to take Ceuta, the nearest port in Spanish possession.⁵⁸ In Harrison's opinion the value of Ceuta to English merchants and shipping is second to the 'glorie of God, and the plantation of religion in these partes' that seizing it from Spain would bring. This is the first mention, in any of Harrison's writings, of the possibility of establishing a plantation in Morocco. As an educated Englishman the concept of plantations should have been familiar to Harrison from his

⁵⁷ 'touching my present employment whereof I am to give an account'. In a letter sent from Tetuan in July, 1625, to the commander of the Cadiz expedition, he reports on the present situation there'. Harleian Mss. 1581, ff. 320-28.

⁵⁸ Memorandum, *The state of Barbary*, 1631. Harrison claimed he could have had forty or fifty thousand troops, 'the Moores so readie and forward' in support of the Cadiz expedition. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 145.

knowledge of Roman history; he would have been aware of the Roman policy of taking and fortifying places to secure the empire's expansion. He will have had experience of the intention and value of establishing plantations, especially the importance of establishing the Protestant faith, both when he was with Elizabeth's forces in Ireland, and, while with Henry's court, when the Virginia Company sent out its first expedition in 1609. As Canny observes, 'Englishmen who contemplated the colonial option as a means of extending the scope of civil society looked to the precedents provided by the common store of knowledge that all educated European had acquired through their study of classical literature'.⁵⁹

Harrison had no problems with the practical application of this proposition; both he and the local Moroccans anticipated that, in 1625, the English expedition would be successful. Such was Harrison's conviction of the benefits of the outcome, he anticipated that the threat of an English fleet off the coast of Morocco, purporting to support a local force in an attack on Ceuta, would lead to a Moroccan uprising culminating in an Anglo-Moroccan agreement between the town and the fleet commander, establishing the port as an British protectorate. At the same time, the inhabitants of Tetuan would consolidate their position as independent of Zidan and accept the protection of Britain; it was to this end that Harrison drafted his letters to local leaders. Moreover, if this proposal became a reality, notwithstanding that Morocco was notionally a sovereign state, Harrison believed that the fragmented and chaotic polity was one into which Charles would introduce order and good Christian government, to the benefit of Moroccans and English alike. But 'chiefly' the plantation of the Christian faith, of which Charles was the defender, would 'weigh downe all'. Harrison envisages Ceuta as a sanctuary to which Moriscos and Jews, already 'Christians at heart', and even 'Moorees themselves' would gravitate.⁶⁰ Harrison predicted the plantation, not of Christian souls, but of Christianity.

⁵⁹ See Nicholas Canny, *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, volume I, *The Origins of Empire, British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 2001, pp. 7-8.

⁶⁰ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 129. Harleian Mss, 1581, ff. 320-28.

Inspired, maybe, by the apparent enthusiasm of the Tetuan leaders for an attack on Ceuta, Harrison seized on an opportunity to expand England's authority and influence, which he recommended to the fleet commander.⁶¹ So, he writes that Ceuta was the best place for merchant shipping to re-victual when bound for the eastern Mediterranean, and a small garrison was all that would be needed to protect a 'magazine of all commodities' which could also supply Fez, which cried 'out for trade'.⁶² Once a foothold in the Mediterranean was achieved, Harrison suggests England could expand her influence into the Atlantic, to include Mamora, and then Gibraltar. Encouraged, he wrote, by the Moors, the spit of land which joined Gibraltar to mainland Spain could be destroyed, England could gain control of the Straights, and charge ships for access, comparing the situation to that of the Danish.⁶³ England would gain security of trade, safe ports for re-victualing, income from tolls, and, most importantly, the enhancement of her reputation as a naval power.⁶⁴ This ambition, that England should take one or more Spanish-occupied Moroccan ports into her jurisdiction is at its strongest when he is writing about his mission of 1625, but it remains a point of concern in later missions, and culminates in his Proposal to Charles, attached to his report on his seventh mission, *Motives for the taking of Mamora*, of 1630.⁶⁵

Harrison justifies his proposed actions against Spanish possessions as 'lawful', England being at war with the country. But later in the same letter to the commander of the Cadiz expedition he appears to modify his ideas. Instead of an attack on Ceuta, he advises three ways to immediately consolidate England's presence in Morocco: that England should maintain good relations with all parts of Morocco for commercial benefit, that the conflicts between the various factions in the Muslim world should be encouraged to prevent their becoming 'too strong, now especiallie the Christian world is so

⁶¹ Clare Jackson, *Devil-Land*, p. 195. Rubens was in London at the invitation of Charles I. He reported that there was a planned attack by British forces on Algeria.

⁶² Canny, *The Origins of Empire*, p.6. Harleian Mss, 1581, ff. 320-28

⁶³ The Danish kings had charged ships for their passage through the Øresund into the Baltic Sea since 1429. An independent source of wealth, the revenue gave the monarchy a degree of independence from their councillors and nobility.

⁶⁴ It is worth noting here that the idea of taking Gibraltar and separating it from Spain was also mentioned by Henry Roberts in his memorandum to James I, 1603. Roberts memorandum is in Haklyut, *The Principal Navigations*, Glasgow, 1904, vol. VI, pp. 426-8.

⁶⁵ SP 71/12, ff. 155-6.

distracted', and to 'draw strength' from all parties, but especially Ceuta and Mamora, 'easily to be achieved'. By the time Harrison writes up his report on mission five, in 1627, he notes that the disappointment of the failed expedition to Cadiz had badly damaged England's reputation in Morocco and in Spain.⁶⁶ As a result, following his visit to Salé, en-route to England in early 1626, Harrison revised his approach to securing England's long term ambitions, the result of those intended 'overtures', of the 'king's business' to which he constantly refers. Mobilisation of Moroccan forces, such as those of Tetuan, in support of English interests, are superseded by the possibility of individual reciprocal agreements with local leaders, in support of trade, and, just as important, the release of captives. This last objective might be the better alternative, and one which would support his millenarian beliefs.

His changed ambitions for England's relatively short-term diplomatic activities, however, did not prevent Harrison from continuing to champion his longer term ambitions for conversion and his cherished hope that England could acquire a foothold on the Moroccan coast. For England's reputation in the country may have been damaged, but one section of the power players in Morocco continued to press him to request support from England in the taking of Mamora. These were the religious leaders, whom Harrison met and maintained contact with from the time he left Tetuan, around the end of 1625, until the end of his last mission. Mamora was, for these leaders, the one port more than any other that they wished to take back from Spain, the one port which had so lately been lost, and the one which inspired their followers, especially the Moriscos, to take up arms. Harrison describes the prophecy the Moriscos told him personally, concerning their return to Spain, which was 'written in leaves of lead in Monte Santo, neere Granada', and which foretold their return in Christian ships.⁶⁷ In his attached memorandum to his report on his seventh mission, *Motives for the taking of Mamora*, (1630), Harrison seizes the opportunity to repeat his arguments, in a different fashion but

⁶⁶ Relation, *an account to His Majesty*, 1627. Harrison is forthright in his comments on the Cadiz expedition; 'the event.....turned to Your Majesties dishonour verie much and the disgrace both of our nation and profession, this warlike nation having lost their former opinion hardlie to be recovered'. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 31.

⁶⁷ Memorandum, *the state of Barbarie*, 1631, de Castries, *Les Sources inédite....Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 145.

with identical aims, citing the obvious benefits to merchants and shipping, but emphasising how much support Charles and England would have from the local population if she attempted to take the port: 'And in the end may be hoped settle a Christian plantation in that part of the world, to Gods great glorie and Your Majesties everlasting honour, whom it becometh above all other princes, being Defender of the Faith, to seeke by all meanes to enlarge and advance the same, having so faire occasion offered to no other prince, the lyke expression as by their owne letters appeare, and therefore may be presumed to proceed from God, who ruleth in the hearts of men.' 'Their owne letters' are those from Moroccan leaders to Charles. Harrison is suggesting that the Moriscos, in supporting the prospect of English protection, will be enhancing Charles' position as leader of the Protestant world, which is God's will, and a step towards the ending of the domination of the Pope, Spain and the Hapsburgs.⁶⁸

The lessons Harrison learnt from his experiences in the Somer Islands are also evident in *Motives for the taking of Mamora*. He covers building, fortifications and defence, supplies and trading. In what is really a trademark of his thinking, Harrison describes the way England's position could grow exponentially. From a plantation created around Mamora, he extends his ambitions to Salé, to the island of Mogodor, and then, in a repeat of his 1625 letter, to Ceuta and Gibraltar, all of which should be easily accomplished as the support of the Moores was guaranteed. His conviction, his belief in the enthusiasm of the religious leaders and their forces, was undoubtedly swayed by the anti-Spanish hostility that they both shared, and possibly by the ease with which these leaders could raise an army.⁶⁹ But he was also insistent on the genuine benefits for England, increased trade for the merchants, safe harbours for shipping, a stable base from which to confront both national enemies, and pirates (Turks and Spanish). The common themes of successful plantation, that is increasing trade,

⁶⁸ SP 71/12, ff. 155-6 (Memorandum, *motives for the taking of Mamora*, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 129).

⁶⁹ Relation, *an account to His Majesty*, 1627. The experience Harrison had during mission six, of the arrival of large numbers of armed Moroccans outside Salé 'ready to march', waiting only for the arrival of the English 'Armada' will have stayed with him. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 44.

and the beneficial presence of Christian governance, are emphasised in all of his reports to Charles and the office of the secretaries of state.

Moroccan potential: establishing relationships, capitulations with Salé. Practical diplomacy and good governance.

It would appear that the reaction to Harrison's insistent championing of a British presence in Morocco elicited little genuine enthusiasm from Charles and his ministers. Understandably, during the years when Harrison was in Morocco on Charles' behalf, Charles had more serious issues to confront in England (Parliament), and on the continent of Europe. Britain remained at war with Spain until 1629 (?) and with France until 1630 (?). Harrison's championing of an agreement in support of the Moroccan local leaders did not waver, but after his ultimate disappointment in Tetuan he became focused on attempts to broker a specific deal between Salé and England, on mutually beneficial trade and captive issues. While he always emphasised the value of a plantation in all his writings, Harrison could see the possibilities that a trade agreement, capitulations, might be the place to begin negotiations, the ultimate future of which was in God's hands. His successful relationship with the local leaders in Salé was only one of several which he nourished, all of which enhanced his knowledge and understanding of Morocco. These relationships, however, were partially influenced not only by the need to establish connections but by Harrison's own beliefs, and his belief in the importance of good governance. As a workable alternative to the establishing of plantations, capitulations could be the beginnings of a relationship which, with time, could lead to an enhanced British presence on the Moroccan coast.

After the failure of the Cadiz expedition, and having spent so long in Tetuan, when Harrison makes the decision to travel overland to Salé, it is in full knowledge of the risks he was running.⁷⁰ Motivated by the English captives he saw in Tetuan early on during his time there, and unsettled by his recent

⁷⁰ Harrison's paranoia about his presence being betrayed to Spain can be compared with the Moroccans' fear that Spanish spies were present in Tetuan, and the Salétins fear of Zidan whose request to send Harrison to Marrakesh they refused to accommodate. See de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 581, 'two cavelleroes lying here only for spyes'; *ibid.*, *Relation, an account to His Majesty, 1627*, vol. III, pp. 39-40, the Salétins 'would entertayne me accordinglie, [I could] stay as long as I pleased, and when I pleased I could depart in peace'. BL, Harleian Mss, 1581, ff. 320-28.

experiences in that city, Harrison knows he finally needs to leave, and, with no available ship to transport him, he also knows that the choice to travel to another part of Morocco, where he senses that he may be welcome, is his only possible option. He describes his predicament in his report on missions five and six: 'The Moriscoes now also governing at Sallie sent unto me that, if I were to come there to treat with them, they would shake off Mully Sidans tyrannous government'. One may imagine that he anticipated finding in Salé a situation which he knew could be exploited to England's benefit; as an intermediary, his position could be a powerful one. Was it Harrison's understanding of the Moriscos' situation, undoubtedly acquired in Tetuan, that enabled him to drive for an agreement? Or, were the Salétins the more anxious of the parties to secure his support? It is likely that both parties were happy; it is unlikely that they both had the same sense of the potential benefits.

The final outcome of this, his fifth mission, a potential relationship with a Moroccan port, set the dynamics for Harrison's following three missions. In Salé Harrison found local governors with whom he could negotiate a deal that he believed would be acceptable, beneficial, and potentially ground breaking for Britain. That mission six was also a success for him was, as he said, because he kept his word to the Salétins. He had returned to Salé with released Muslim prisoners and (some of) the ordinance the Salétins had requested, as he had promised. He knew exactly what the Salétins needed to succeed in their attempts to break free from Zidan's control. The final confirmation of this relationship would be the king's signature on the capitulations which Harrison took back to England in 1627.⁷¹ Travelling back to England, accompanied by two Moroccan envoys, with a written and signed agreement (albeit with a caveat) was, Harrison believed, the best outcome for his ambitions for England.⁷²

⁷¹ From 1626 to 1630 Harrison pursued Charles for an answer, all the while accommodating at his own expense the Moroccan ambassadors who resided in London. His petitions, all in The National Archives, for a resolution to the situation, three in 1627, another in 1628 (which led to the proclamation Charles issued for shipping to respect ships sailing out of Salé), and two more in 1629 are a testament to his resolve for a satisfactory agreement; however, it was only the increasing problem of English captives that secured him his seventh commission.

⁷² Harrison had approved the agreement, subject to sign off by the king and council; the Moroccans had signed it. Relation, *An account to His Majesty, 1627*, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 51.

The *caids* in Salé were probably the local leaders whom Harrison knew best. Their forms of governance and their proposed agreement with Charles were gratifying to him. He signed the capitulations he had agreed with the caids, adding only the proviso that Charles and his council of ministers had final approval. It is at this point that, in his reports written once he had returned to England, Harrison's thoughts turn to those with whom he was in negotiation. These men were not only people with whom he could do business but leaders whose standards he found acceptable. Here, Harrison's principals, specifically the importance of good governance, which he embraced while he was publishing his books are manifest in his reports. Here, his diplomatic principals become imbued with his personal ones.

He draws a number of conclusions from these missions on dealings with Morocco, and offers his advice on this to Charles and his Privy Council. In his letter to the commander of the expedition fleet, Harrison had clear ideas on how to address the issues of a relationship with a country divided by civil war.⁷³ But the experience of his fifth mission, and his meetings with the Moriscos, especially those of Salé, had the effect of changing his approach, as did the wording of his sixth commission. The redrafting of this commission, is referred to above. Harrison devotes some pages in his relations to this point, with which he did not agree. The arguments he raises do more than simply highlight how he wishes to protect his cherished agreement with Sale, but also how he views the diplomatic practices of states. In these asides, these comments, on the situation he finds himself in, Harrison reveals that he is influenced in his approaches to negotiations, that diplomacy involves deciding with whom to partner. Harrison's basic point is that agreements should be between two parties of like minds. In this he identifies the reasons why it would be more advantageous to Britain to make an agreement with the Salétins than with the Moroccan king. The Salétins are, he writes, honest dealers. They have paid the ransom of the released English captives and have not requested repayment, excepting for the provision of ordinance. They wished to become an independent port, as the Dutch wished to be

⁷³ Harleian Mss, 1581, ff. 320-28.

free of Spanish rule; as England had supported the Dutch, what was the argument against supporting the Salétins? Especially as there was every possibility that, by offering this support, the Salétins, the majority of them being Moriscos, would convert to Christianity. As for the argument for not dealing with pirates, had England not done so before, with Algiers?⁷⁴ And, in what way was it possible to negotiate the freedom of the English captives without dealing with the Salétins, the 'pirates', who held them? As for the prospect of a deal with Zidan, Harrison doubted it would be of any value: 'whether it stand with His Majesties honour to send any more to Mully Sidan', a king who does not only not keep his promises but believes that to do so likens his actions to those of Christians, 'whome they stryve to be contrary in all things.'⁷⁵

Harrison widens his arguments in favour of the deal offered by the Salétins. He explains that England's reputation, damaged by the failure of the Cadiz expedition, will be further damaged if no agreement is reached. And that England will lose men to piracy and to Islam. He warns that the Salé pirates will continue their raids on English shipping and on England's coasts; he fears that many men who would be potential sailors in England's navy will become captive, and that some of these will be forced to convert. He is especially concerned about this later group.⁷⁶ His other great concern is for the Moriscos, victims of 'the most unchristian and dishonourable act', banished and betrayed, 'so manie Christian and baptized soules...into the hands of the enemies of Christian religion'. So, he argues, the role of a Christian king, especially one whose title is the Defender of the Faith, must be to

⁷⁴ 1624, Sir Thomas Roe's agreement brokered with the Ottoman sultan, under whose protection lay most of the Maghreb. Harrison viewed this agreement as one made between England and Algiers, rather than England and the Ottomans. But he also argued that the Salétins were to be more highly regarded, as they had not only released all English captives, paying the ransom money themselves, but these released captives included renegardoes (those forcibly converted to Islam who retracted their vows), whose fate was usually to be burnt. See *an account to His Majesty, 1627*, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 52-3.

⁷⁵ In his summary of his first four missions, 'Mr Harrisons relation of his proceedings in Barbarie', Harrison writes about his doubts of making agreements with such a person as Zidan. Harrison suggests a better course might be to attack Saffia, the one port that Zidan managed to retain under his command; 'easily done, rather than debase himself to sue for peace at such a prince his hands'. See de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 69-70. Memorandum, *for peace with Sallee and Tetuan, 1627*.

⁷⁶ See relation, *my account to His Majesty, 1630*, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p.114.

behave with honour and charity, and to offer them his protection.⁷⁷ Here Harrison's impartiality in negotiation, his ability to craft an agreement which would satisfy both parties, is potentially compromised by his concern for the Moriscos, and his awareness of the coming apocalypse.

These thoughts lead Harrison to consider the benefits of good governance. He comments on Zidan's views against the value of councils supporting a king, and on the dubious benefit of keeping one's word. He doubts the value of continuing to deal with such a king. The Salétins, on the other hand, govern with a council, their *duana*, and they keep their word. But, in reflecting on his missions and the many and varied contacts that he established, he cautions that in Morocco it might only be possible to hold such disparate parts of a country together, where so many groups had such differing ideals and practices, if the ruler was authoritative and able to enforce his power. History would support his thesis. And Harrison, on his last mission, is back at the court of Zidan's son, unable to agree capitulations with the king unless Charles instructs his merchants to cease to have any dealings with the breakaway ports of Salé and Messa.⁷⁸ It would seem that, even if he didn't agree, Harrison has had to accept Sir Henry Marten's argument against dealing with pirates, and that the practice of diplomacy involves treating with people whose way of working may not please you, but offers no alternatives.⁷⁹ Despite his very extensive knowledge of the conditions governing his missions, and maybe because of his many local contacts, it is during these later four, for Charles, that Harrison becomes swept up by the situation in Salé, and unable therefore to achieve an agreement that satisfies his diplomatic brief.

⁷⁷ See *an account to His Majesty, 1627*, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 42, also pp.51-54.

⁷⁸ Messa was to the south of Morocco's Atlantic coast. See map, p. v. English merchants favoured it.

⁷⁹ CSP, Charles, Domestic, 1627, 2nd October, a note from Secretary Coke to Secretary Conway, which includes a mention of the letters of despatch for Harrison's second mission. 'He has moderated what the King thought too sharp'.

Moroccan potential: communications, keeping options open and local difficulties.

The second theme that runs through Harrison's manuscript writings is the number, frequency and nature of the contacts he made with the local leaders, and the reception he claimed to have received from them. In his relations there are glimpses of the many situations in which Harrison found himself which gave him the opportunity to establish an extensive network of contacts; in Morocco, in England and, in both places, with authorities, and also with ambassadors, merchants, and ships captains. Notably, for Harrison practical diplomacy in Morocco encompassed many of the local power centres. This policy of his may be seen as one of supporting his long-term ambitions, of publishing abroad the benefits of good Christian (Protestant) government, and anticipating a future when God will turn men's minds to the second coming of Christ, as well as extending knowledge of what he believes Charles protection could offer them.

Taking Harrison's reports at face value, it is during his latter four missions that his reputation as a representative of England and her interests in Morocco was established, and that his activities as an intermediary created those relationships which had the potential to strengthen those all-important ties between England and Morocco. It is noteworthy that Harrison, especially after the failure of the Cadiz expedition, was extremely conscious of his status. Caught between Charles, his Privy council, and the High Court of Admiralty in England, the *caids*, 'saints' and power brokers in Morocco, and both supported and vilified by the merchants trading there, Harrison needed considerable patience and stamina, and the ability to remain clear sighted and focused on the matters in hand. Obligated to seek his maritime transport where he could, owed his arrears from the Treasury for many years, his dependence on his 'friends' he claims in England and in Morocco must have been a life-line, at times possibly literally.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ But not always. Relation, *my account to His Majesty*, 1630, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p.121, 'An accounte of my last ymployment', when the French delegation in Salé, thanking Harrison for his help, offered to loan him some money, he wrote 'for which I thanked them, but told them there were English merchantes, if I had occasion, I hoped would be redie to doe Your Majesty that service, although, if I had, perhaps I might have trusted to a broken staffe'.

Harrison's contacts with the local power bases in Morocco were immediate, many and various. He found many of his contacts to be sympathetic to his presence, being as they were, anti-Spanish. Many were also unwilling supporters of Zidan, and many desirous of regaining control of Mamora, an ambition which chimed with Harrison's ambitions for England. Harrison's decisions, while he was working in Morocco, about his residency, his travel and his communications, are evidence of his diplomatic policy, to nurture contacts with all local leaders. For example, in 1625, reporting as soon as he arrives in Morocco, Harrison's first letter to the expedition commander references the leaders in Tetuan, where he explains the dynamics of the city's survival, the leaders he has met and their enmity to Spain, and what they could offer him in support of the English fleet.⁸¹ Having no news of the fleet's arrival, he was to remain in the port for several months and had ample opportunity to establish good relations with the governors; these were to his advantage when he finally left for Salé. He was provided with an escort and letters for Charles. During his land journey from Tetuan to Salé, in the concluding weeks of this mission, Harrison spent more time in the Moroccan countryside and amongst its people than on any other mission. He made the decision to travel overland to Salé despite the advice of his hosts in Tetuan.⁸² This was a journey of some two hundred kilometres, mostly taken on foot and in disguise (in a 'Morish habite'), and must have taken some considerable time. As he travelled through the countryside, he described his Tetuan escort handing him on to the first of a succession of local leaders who acted as his guides. It was clearly a difficult and dangerous venture, during which the fear of discovery by Spanish agents was paramount, his guides deliberately keeping him away from places near the Spanish owned ports, and from Fez.⁸³ During this time he records he

⁸¹ Harrison does not comment on this city as his first port of call but, after calling there at the end of mission four, he would know that it would be the most obvious place from which to request support for the English expedition. For the way the four sons of the leader he met in 1618, Ahmed en-Neksis, protected their city, see, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites.....d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp.574-5. Harleian Mss, 1581, ff. 320-28. Harrison's first meeting with the governors was the day after he arrived.

⁸² *Relation, an account to His Majesty'*, 1627, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p.31-2.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 31-2. Abd al-Malik ibn Abdallah ruled in Fez until 1627, when he was deposed. A grandson of Mohammed esh-Sheikh el-Mamun.

'met with two honest Maribites', and further on 'two honest Sheaquks', who passed him one from another within the areas they controlled.

When he arrived at Salé he was, as in Tetuan, warmly welcomed, and made new and promising contacts. In the old town he met for the first time the 'great saint who ruleth over all', Sidi Mohammed el-Ayyachi, who entertained him 'verie kindlie' while he waited to attend on the governors in the castle above the Hornacheros' new town, on the opposite river bank.⁸⁴ Anti-Spanish feelings were again evident here, as the Hornacheros, mindful of England's enmity with Spain, waited for Zidan's envoy to leave their castle before inviting Harrison over the river. Zidan at this time was in dialogue with the Spanish for support against his rebellious subjects.⁸⁵ Now in Salé, and despite having dispatched Charles' letter to the king while he waited in Tetuan, Harrison must have concluded that an agreement with the Salétins was not only possible, but desirable whereas an agreement with Zidan, whose promises were never kept, was not.⁸⁶ And he could identify other support for his personal ambitions for plantations; he comments that every one of those leaders with whom he came into contact on mission five, including those who helped him on his journey, extracted a promise from him that he would solicit Charles to attack a Spanish port, preferably Mamora. A coming together of like minds, a possible rising in support of England's naval forces, was an ambition that accorded with Harrison's patriotism and his millenarianism.

The journey to Salé was Harrison's most intense exposure to the peoples of Morocco, and to places where few foreigners would have ventured. He does not, however, record to what extent, if any, he

⁸⁴ Harrison was to have a number of meetings with el-Ayyachi. Violently anti-Spanish, he was able to inspire loyalty from the Moroccans in a way that Zidan was not and could raise an army when he chose. He died in battle in 1641. Harrison suggested, in his memorandum, *Motives for the taking of Mamora*, that el-Ayyachi should be given half the customs revenue if England gained control of Mamora, on condition that he guaranteed supplies for the garrison, 'which I know he would freelie doe'.

⁸⁵ As well as seeking Spanish support, it was believed that his ambassador was soliciting the support of the local country folk if Zidan were to attack the port. Relation, *an account to His Majesty, 1627*, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 31 and 39.

⁸⁶ In this letter, written in June or July 1625, Harrison reminds Zidan of the opportunity he is offering, to be part of an attack on his traditional enemy, Spain. He apologises for any offence he may have caused in the past, while complaining that he 'tooke for a great affront' Zidan's ignoring him in 1617-18. At the time Harrison couriered Charles' letter he would probably not have known that Zidan was looking for support from Spain against his rebel population. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, pp. 571-2.

maintained contact with those local leaders he made on his journey. It was in Salé, on all four of his missions for Charles, where he maintained the closest Moroccan contacts. The interaction in 1625/6 between Harrison and Salé's Morisco governors was to prove the beginning of a promising relationship. Harrison does not name the Moriscos, from either side of the river, with whom he had most dealings, but he describes them consistently as treating him 'with respect'. We can identify some of these local governors from their letters to Charles and the Privy Council. Some came to England with Harrison in 1626, and, after they returned to Morocco, others took their place. The letters they wrote in London, and those from Salé, are preserved in The National Archive. The Moroccan correspondence begins with requests for Charles to sign the provisional capitulations which Harrison had approved in principle in 1626, but increasingly became complaints about the capture by the English of their vessels and the mistreatment of their crews. Notwithstanding his proclamation to English shipping of 1628, Charles' replies to these letters were vague and inconclusive, whereas the Salétin letters are confirmation of their intentions to honour the agreement brokered by Harrison. The Salé governors claimed they were representatives of all Moriscos in Morocco.⁸⁷ With Sidi el-Ayyachi Harrison had several meetings, 'great correspondance', the 'saint' complementing him on his fame, which was 'all over Barbarie'. El-Ayyachi, like the Salé governors, wrote to Charles. In el-Ayyachi's letter of the 17th May, 1627, he says accommodating Harrison was 'a very small servyce in respect of the obligacion which both I and all of this kingdome hould to serve your majestie'. His last letter to Charles is dated 1637.⁸⁸ Like the governors of Tetuan, both town and castle in Salé were protective of Harrison's security and when, with two Moroccan ambassadors, he left for England in 1626, the governors sent out the pirate, and sometime Admiral of Salé, Captain John, as an escort.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Relation, *an account to His Majesty, 1627*, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 41. They did not, however, restrict their contacts in Europe to their relationship with England.

⁸⁸ TNA, SP 102, f.66.

⁸⁹ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... Angleterre* vol. III, p. 33-4. Captain John, 'a Dutch *renegado* but a great friend to our nation'. Some pirates, notably Captain John and Claes Gerritz Compaen, were regarded as individual entities with whom agreements to protect national shipping could be made. Harrison carried letters of marque to Compaen from Charles, *ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 37-8. See also Maartje van Gelder, 'The Republic's Renegades: Dutch Converts to Islam in Seventeenth-Century Diplomatic Relations with North Africa', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 19 (2015) pp. 175-198, on renegades as cross-confessional mediators. In de Castries, *Les*

Harrison's contact with Moroccans did not depend on meeting them face to face. The messenger service in Morocco seems to have been well established,⁹⁰ and within Harrison's suite he either had, or could identify locally, people he could trust, and who could be sent with letters.⁹¹ He gives us a number of examples of contacts made by letter. In his description of his seventh mission (1630), while in Sale, he lists the letters he received. Among them was one from el-Ayyachi, who was at the time on campaign outside Tangier, 'by a messenger purposely sent' requesting a meeting; several from Tetuan, including one from the Mocaden of Tetuan and one, from an Andaluze (Morisco) of Tetuan who had known Harrison in 1625, requesting a favour. Another was from a resident Englishman, a Catholic, with a proposed plan which would enable him to return to England. An English merchant, resident in Tetuan, wrote to express how grateful he was to el-Ayyachi, 'for his deliveraunce at Arzillai after his shipwrack'.⁹² Harrison also wrote letters: to the governor of Marrakesh, Sidi el-Housein, with which he enclosed Charles' letters to the new king, requesting that they be passed on; and to Sidi 'Ali ben Mohammed, the 'great' saint who 'commandeth all these parts in the south of the country', to whom Charles had also written, and to whom Harrison, acting as an intermediary, forwarded letters from Sidi el-Ayyachi.⁹³ Ali ben Mohammed had personally ransomed some English captives, and Harrison corresponded with him a second time, thanking him and arranging to collect them for transportation back to England.⁹⁴ Back in England he suggested to Charles that he write to 'Ali ben Mohammed, expressing his gratitude.⁹⁵

This correspondence does appear to be unique to Harrison; no other agent or diplomat in Morocco of the time having the same experiences. It is, also, in marked contrast to the experience of English

Sources inédites ... des Pays-Bas, vol. IV, pp. 177-9, is a record showing that Captain Jack actually brought Harrison back to England in his own ship in 1626.

⁹⁰ Although these local messengers could sometimes 'miscarry', as Harrison reported to Cecil, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 453.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p.116, Relation, *my account to His Majesty*, 1630, Harrison sent letters from Charles 'by an English gentleman' to Sidi el-Housein.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122. 'I sent my man'.

⁹⁵ SP 71/12, ff. 155-6.

diplomats in other countries; these diplomats, both in and beyond continental Europe, had opportunities to liaise with local power brokers around the court where they were located. No such forum existed in Morocco.⁹⁶ This is, of course, partly because of the geopolitical situation in Morocco. As a result Harrison, practicing localised diplomacy, used his best efforts to represent Charles by acting as a continuing intermediary, holding all contacts as important, and endeavouring to keep open all channels of communication wherever possible. One channel of communication, between Harrison and the local governors in Salé, remained active even when Harrison was back in England, through an exchange of letters.⁹⁷ Ghobrial, concluding a chapter on European-Ottoman Sociability, comments that 'Vast networks of gift-giving, similar status in ceremonies, and daily exchanges brought about through the business of diplomacy: all of these contributed to a world of sociability in the Ottoman capital'. Harrison attempted to mitigate against the disadvantage he experienced, with no access to such an environment, by making the best possible use of the communication networks which functioned in Morocco.⁹⁸

We may assume that the number and frequency of those contacts he made on his latter four missions gave Harrison a clear picture of the state of Moroccan internal politics; in all his writings on these missions he always appears to be well informed on local political developments. We should however reflect on the circumstances of those local leaders who openly offered support for England's interests in Morocco. When commending these leaders to the king and the Privy Council as folk with whom to do business, was Harrison putting undue weight on his negotiating abilities? Did he really understand and take into consideration the local dimension or was he driven by his desire to the

⁹⁶ In both the Ottoman Porte and Mughal India England's ambassadors' court contacts were made through court officials, and some of these relationships were well established and crucial to the furthering of England's interests. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 50, on the constant difficulties ambassadors experienced; Strachan, *Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 153-4, 'Roe's chief source of information ... was ... an eminent, very wise, very old eunuch'.

⁹⁷ Between missions six and seven Harrison resided in London and accommodated the two Moroccan ambassadors that had accompanied him home in 1627. After their return to Morocco, and before he departed on mission seven, Harrison (and Charles) received many letters from Morocco, including from these same ambassadors.

⁹⁸ Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, p. 86.

achieve his ambitions for England? It seems likely that Harrison was enthused by the anti-Spanish feelings in Morocco, and attracted by the possibility of a movement which might restore some stability to the country, possible conversion, and a sign that preparations for the apocalypse were happening. Morocco, the seafaring communities and the other European powers.

The communication networks within Morocco seem to have been considerably better than those between Morocco and Britain. But, while acquiring an understanding of the power play in Morocco, Harrison also experienced during his missions the interaction between the Moroccans and the English. One place where this occurred was on board ship. Harrison spent a considerable amount of time on board ship off the Moroccan coast, either waiting to come ashore or moving from one port to another. His longest time spent travelling the Atlantic coast was during mission seven; his experience is a good example of the trials of those trading with Morocco. Leaving London on the 4th March, 1630, the ship in which Harrison was obliged to travel called at Salé, left there on the 15th May for Saffia, arriving on the 22nd May, and left the following day for Santa Cruz where, after a day, they sailed north to Tanluffe, leaving there, after some successful trading, for Salé, via the 'Desertes' and Madeira where they arrived on the 24th (of June). They arrived at Salé on the 3rd July, seven weeks after leaving there on the 15th May. Leaving on the 1st of August, the ship returned to Saffia, left again and on the 9th arrived at Tanluffe, leaving on the 14th for the Maderias from where the ship, running very low on provisions, set sail for England, arriving in Bristol on the 14th September. The ship's company experienced days without wind, and days shrouded in fog. Some of these wanderings were in search of other merchant ships, company being a protection against attack, expected from the Spanish; others were in search of a port where they could make a sale.⁹⁹ At sea, Harrison experienced the life of the merchants, and of the ships' captains. From the merchants, he learnt of the difficulties of making

⁹⁹ The longest time Harrison spend off-shore was during mission four, when he was never given permission to land, being 'ashipboarde almost sixteene monethes before I returned for England', see Memorandum, *for peace with Sallee and Tetuan*, 1627, in de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 68. He was passed from one English ship to another. The journey home via Madeira enabled the ships to catch the prevailing westerly winds. Relation, *my account to His Majesty*, 1630, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 102-123.

a sale, the complexities of dealing with the port authorities, and he discovered that various practises of some English merchants were to the detriment of England's reputation (and therefore to his mission). The life of a ship's captain he experienced in detail, describing their need to be alert to possible pirates (and enemy shipping), their skill in sailing off the north African coast and their vulnerability when accessing supplies.¹⁰⁰ The lack of recognised transport for representatives of the crown made travelling to and from Morocco something of a lottery. Harrison's frustrations with the limitations that being on board a commercial ship, with no real control over the ports to which he was taken, had on his missions is evident in all his relations, and greatly contributed to his inability to pursue his missions as he would have liked. He was particularly irked by the restrictions resulting from the withdrawal of his first commission of 1626; as a result of this, he wrote 'the merchants, having a great cargazon of goods, desired me they might first touch at Saffia to the Southwood, to try what they could doe there, being alreadie so far to the Westward, for feare of the Spanish man-if-war, that they said they could hardlie fetch Sallie; whereunto I condescended, for that my former commission giving leave to the merchants upon these occasions to have a free trade with Sallie was called in againe and a new commission drawne, both the name of Sallie and other clauses left out'.¹⁰¹

It is off-shore where Harrison encounters the most mixed of communities. Apart from trading vessels from other European powers, he makes contact with both French and Dutch fleets, with those two local and well-known pirates (for whom Charles sent his marque, and with whom Harrison appeared enjoyed an excellent relationship)¹⁰², and he spends time keeping distance from any Spanish vessels, as he described, during mission five, when carrying armaments for Salé. Harrison's ship having

¹⁰⁰ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 102-123, on mission seven, which is informative about the working conditions of ships' captains, merchants and the importance of local knowledge. *Relation, my account to His Majesty*, 1630.

¹⁰¹ See *Relation, an account to His Majesty*, 1627, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p.36.

¹⁰² Captain John, 'a Dutch renegardo but a great frend to our nation', *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 33; 'Captain Compaine, the great pyrat ... for whom I had a protection from Your Majesty under the Great Seale', *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 37. See also Harrison's *memorandum on the taking of Mamora*, SP 71/12, ff. 155-6, where Harrison describes the benefits of taking Mamora as seen by Captain John.

sailed first for Saffia, and fearing to be discovered, (there being a Spanish agent in Zidan's camp, which was pitched outside Saffia), Harrison 'concealed myself and the ordinance', the ship posing as 'only a meer merchant ship coming to trade'.¹⁰³ While he had ambitions to form an agreement with Salé, in which both parties would refrain from attacking each other's shipping, he understands that other ships may be legitimate prizes for his ship's captain. He was disconcerted, however, to discover from friendly folk that some English captains knew of his expectations to regularise Anglo-Moroccan shipping, but 'cared not for it', and certainly did not intend to abide by it.¹⁰⁴

It is evident that the problems posed to Harrison by the community of trading folk who regularly had dealings with Moroccan merchants were a further reason for his local difficulties. The few ships' captains who disregarded Harrison's efforts continued to attack Salé shipping despite Charles' proclamation against such activity which Harrison had instigated.¹⁰⁵ They were a mixed bunch who did not wish to be limited, or regularised, in any way. They, and those who would have stolen from Harrison the Muslim prisoners he returned to Salé in 1626, were irksome to him; he feels thwarted by these opponents and he mentions this in more than one of his reports. Harrison's experiences on and off shore with the merchants and captains dealing with Salé are as illuminating as his views on Morocco when considering the success, or not, of his missions, and their relativity to England's place in the expanding Mediterranean world. Netzloff's comments on the 'extraterritorial agents ... engaged with the commons' brings the activities of those rebel merchants into focus through Harrison's reports, and, presumably, through their reception whenever they returned to port; here was their contribution to the image of the Britain overseas.¹⁰⁶

As Harrison pursued his practical diplomacy for his king and his subjects, and maintained his hope that Charles, and Britain, would formalise agreements which would advance his ambitions of establishing English presence on the Moroccan coast, other European countries also had contacts with

¹⁰³ de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 37.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., de Castries, vol. III, pp. 50. *Relation, an account to His Majesty*, 1627.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., de Castries, vol. III, pp. 111. *Relation, my account to His Majesty*, 1630.

¹⁰⁶ Netzloff, *Agents beyond the State*, p. 228.

those local leaders, and the king. The nature of diplomatic life in Morocco meant that Harrison could not remain ignorant of the activities of the other nations operating in the country, and his contacts with their agents during mission seven demonstrate the complex nature of the country's politics and its relationships with Europe. Harrison's experiences of the Spanish in Morocco made him extremely suspicious of their intentions towards him, suspicions undoubtedly fuelled by the Moroccans. For his own safety, he avoided any contact with Spanish agents.¹⁰⁷ With the Estates General, and with France however, Harrison's contacts were closer, although different with each country. Both countries approached their relationship with Morocco as one between two states; they sent envoys to engage with the monarch, to establish a trading agreement, and to negotiate the release of their subjects in captivity. Like the Britishh, the Dutch were always prepared to export arms; the French brought gifts and ransom money. Although both countries held negotiations with Salé, these were restricted to achieving captive release, and neither country had the same approach as the one adopted by Harrison, to make and maintain links solely with local leaders, and to focus on specific places in Morocco at the expense of relations with the king. With both countries Harrison became involved because of his relationship with the local leaders. And with both countries he suggested that they and England might have a joint future in Morocco. Here Harrison's millenarianism, and, in part, his hostility to Spain, takes precedence over his ambitions for Britain's expansion.

Harrison was convinced that Britain and the United Provinces could share a vision of future enterprise in Europe and in the Mediterranean and Atlantic. The Dutch had a longstanding relationship with the Moroccan kings, and were also hostile to Spain; they exchanged ambassadors with Morocco, and they used their fleet to protect their commercial shipping. It was during one such sailing that Harrison was able to support the Dutch fleet when it ran into difficulties. Harrison describes his soliciting of the 'Captaines of the Castle' for supplies for the Dutch fleet (which was also to his

¹⁰⁷ The English nervousness of the Spanish presence in and off the shores of Morocco constantly recurs in Harrison's writing, not only exhibited by Harrison himself but by ships' captains and local Moroccans; it borders on paranoia. For example, in 1625 the Tetuans agreed with him that officially he had come to Morocco to sort trade and captive issues.

advantage as the Dutch fleet transported a number of his ransomed captives back to England).¹⁰⁸ Harrison's ambition for Morocco to become a Protestant state, or, initially, to have established on its coast some Protestant protectorates, if necessary with the help of the Dutch, is evident in his correspondence. Here we can see demonstrated Harrison's ambition for a greater Protestant, as opposed to British, presence outside Europe. In 1626 he passes to the Estates General a letter from el-Ayyechi, proposing joint support for an attack on Mamora; the same proposal that he has passed on to Charles on many occasions. Ever striving for a positive reaction to his proposals, in his Relations of 1627 Harrison suggests that, if Charles does not wish to commission an expedition against Mamora, he solicits volunteers from England and Scotland, and requests the co-operation of the Estates General for support from their fleet. This was after the success of mission six and the ransoming of the English captives from Salé, in whose repatriation the Dutch admiral had assisted. While the admiral was charged with delivering el-Ayyachi's letter to the Estates, Harrison was bringing a similar request to England for the Dutch ambassador in London. And, after missions seven, believing that he will never be re-commissioned by Charles to return to Morocco, in 1630 he writes to the Estates, proposing that he undertake a mission for the release of captives with the support of the Dutch fleet.¹⁰⁹ Here, despite his unambiguous support for the best interests of Charles, the English merchants and the English captives, Harrison's instinct to inform, and to preach, to further his concerns about the approaching apocalypse, as established in chapter two, becoming more prominent in his writings, and informing his actions.

Harrison's engagement with the French in Morocco was more limited, their faith presenting him with a problem, and his presence being of little concern to them. The French, however, were very active in the business of captive redemption.¹¹⁰ Harrison records that, while on his sixth mission, the

¹⁰⁸ Relation, *an account to His Majesty, 1627*, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p.41.

¹⁰⁹ *An account to His Majesty, September 1627*, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 56.

¹¹⁰ See Gillian Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs, France and Slavery in the early modern Mediterranean*, Stanford, 2011, on the numbers of French captive and the French response to ransoming them. As in Spain, ransoming captives was a serious business, undertaken by specially established religious orders. Harrison compared these efforts unfavourably with the sporadic efforts of the English crown.

French delegation to the king, petitioning for the release of captives, was completely unsuccessful. But on mission seven the opposite was the case, and Harrison was able to claim a major contribution to their success in Salé and made the point that his status with the Salétins enabled him to help the French delegation achieve a successful outcome to their negotiations. 'All' the French captives were released, for, after a bit of financial haggling, 40 duckettes above their market value. It cannot have escaped Harrison's notice that, not only did he never have any funds to offer when he was negotiating for the release of the English captives, but that the local leaders in Salé, and those further south, had offered to redeem the English captives at their own expense.¹¹¹ Harrison reports that the French friar (left as a hostage on the previous mission), the French merchants and the French captives, all petitioned the Salé *duana* for Harrison to act as a mediator.¹¹² This French delegation moved on to Marrakesh, for more negotiations for captive releases with Abdul al-Malik II. Harrison comments on the difference between the French approach and the English, their persistence, their offer of reparations, their gifts, and their royal support including the presence of their fleet off shore. In comparison he had little to offer the king; neither gifts nor funds for ransom money, and no off shore naval presence.¹¹³ His comparable lack of fiscal and naval support for his negotiations undoubtedly affected the outcome of his last two missions and, no doubt, was one reason for his decision to write his letter to the Estates General in 1630, offering his services. In the same year he suggested, in his Relations of 1630, that Charles might wish to mount a joint expedition with France: 'I could wishe, I saie, Your Majesty and brother of Fraunce wolde joyne yor forces for the suppressing of all the shipes belonging to that place' (Salé). The need to rescue the captives has, after mission seven, become a priority in Harrison's mind, over the prospect of a deal with the Salétins. As the complications of

¹¹¹ Relation, *my account to His Majesty*, 1630, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 118-20.

¹¹² Ibid. Although there are no references in French documents to Harrison's part in the ransom negotiations for the French captives in 1630, de Castries is inclined to believe his account, which is detailed and persuasive.

¹¹³ See Relation, *my account to his Majesty*, 1630, p. 14. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 118-20.

commerce, captives and religion coalesce, Harrison's European contacts offer him alternative solutions to the problems of dealing with Morocco.¹¹⁴

Harrison's seemingly extensive contacts in Morocco may have brought him little tangible benefit. He seems to have worked hard at establishing these relationships and we have no real reason to doubt that, among the many local leaders that he encountered, the Moroccan contacts who sent messages to Harrison, who wanted a relationship with England, were genuine. (Although their motives may be questionable and it is probable that they were responding to his presence rather than expressing a longer term aspiration of an agreement with England). Did he, in his writings, express a greater confidence in the Moroccans' ability to conclude agreements than was justified? In a number of places on missions five and six Harrison makes the argument that the local leaders, those who wished to break free of their ties with Zidan, were the better potential partners; yet he can be disparaging of Moroccans, who break their promises, intentionally to be unlike Christians (who keep theirs), and he deplores their easy resort to violence, their necromancy and their susceptibility to rumour and suspicion. The Moriscos would be a likely exception, whose situation draws his sympathy, but also for whom he maintains hopes of conversion. In Memoranda, 1630, he writes that 'he had had the opportunity to talk to the Moriscos ('Christians at heart') about their situation during his first four missions and that their leaders offered support not only from their own community but from all the Moriscos in Morocco for any English expedition against Spain'.¹¹⁵ His relationship with the English community he rarely comments on, but, many mentions of 'friends' and 'we' in his relations implies he saw himself as part of the English community, although some English in Morocco may have thought differently. It was the English captives who really engaged his sympathies. While all of this may be speculation without foundation, in considering Harrison's situation as an intermediary, his ambitions for Anglo-Moroccan relations and his belief that his missions were to spread information which could lead to conversion and better governance, I consider that he felt maintaining close contacts with the

¹¹⁴ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 121, where Harrison, after dinner on board one of the French ships, rejects the offer of financial support from the French, vol. III, p. 121.

¹¹⁵ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 145.

local leaders was essential. As for Harrison's relations with the many Europeans who featured on and off-shore, he seems to have taken a position which aligned with his faith. He embraced the Dutch as allies, with the French he had little meaningful contacts, but he acknowledged that they are Christians; he reserved his hostility for the Spanish, England's adversaries. He reported, with some satisfaction, in *The State of Barbary*, 1631, that the 'sight of his ship off shore caused the governor of Mamora to shut the town gates, and write to Spain that an English fleet was expected', and that Harrison had already arrived and landed armaments; a second rumour that the city was taken by the English caused panic in Spain, 'the whole country was in an uproar, "*España es Perdida*", this reported by a Englishman in a French ship bound for Mazagant with supplies from Cadiz'.¹¹⁶

Morocco. An exchange of commodities and information.

The third feature of Harrison's writing, designed to give confidence to the king and his advisers that his suggestions would be of benefit to Britain, are his detailed descriptions of Moroccan society, its power groups, their changing alliances and their successes or failings. Ghobrial describes 'oral and epistolary flows of information' as the 'dark matter of early modern history' which 'sometimes left traces ... scattered across a wide range of sources'.¹¹⁷ Harrison's observations on Morocco are included in all his reports, and the knowledge Harrison accumulated was extensive; of the divisions in the kingdom; of Morocco's kings (three in number), its religious leaders (and their authority over the Moroccan populace), its tribal divisions (for example, the Larbies, the Arabs of the plains), and its refugees, both Moriscos and Jews.¹¹⁸ As well as portraying the 'chaotic' state which he experienced in Morocco, as Zidan, and his rivals and successors, struggled to keep their authority over its very disparate parts, Harrison describes the Moroccan geopolitical landscape: the cities with mud walls and closed gates, the presence of armed forces moving through the countryside, the numbers of which he

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 48-9, Harrison uses the fear of Spain to support his ambitions for Mamora.

¹¹⁷ Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, p. 159.

¹¹⁸ Note, however, that the diversity of the Moroccan political environment meant that other power centres existed, with which other Englishmen cultivated relations. For example, Giles Penn's relationship with Tetuan (after Harrison's stay there) and his correspondence which Charles forms a part of the conclusion. Although lacking written evidence, it is also clear that English merchants had a longstanding contact with Messa (a southern port not under Zidan's control).

gives precise estimates, and the perennial problem of communication and false rumours. He knows about the peoples in these differing environments, their loyalties and conflicts; how sieges affect, or not, these cities, lamenting the quality of their perimeter walls. He comments on Purchas' estimate of Moroccan troop numbers, and is clear on the attributes and characteristics of the Larbies (who come in for universal disapproval), and the Berbers (also). He also understands who is, and who is not, being taxed, where agriculture flourishes, the staple crops that are being cultivated, how the sugar industry, once so important to Morocco (and England), was destroyed. The unstable state of the country has been established in previous pages; as for its economic value, Harrison is very clear that victuals and water for visiting ships would be easy to obtain (notably from Mamora); that the country produces quantities of wheat, and that the Moriscos have successfully cultivated vines around Tetuan; and, he comments, the religious leaders are successful tax gatherers.

Morocco. A step too far?

In writing his relations for the secretary of state's office, and providing evidence of his performance in fulfilling his obligations to Charles, Harrison was always keen to demonstrate his reputation among the Moroccans, and that he was equally concerned that his status as Charles' representative was acknowledged. In Relation, *title*, 1627 (i), he makes the point: 'And within a day or two after, all the *cavaleroes* of the towne, a hundredth of the chieffest and better sort, tooke me a hunting wild boare, giving me verie great respect, and so from tyme to tyme have found at their hands, expressing more and more a generall affection to Your Majesty'.¹¹⁹ As an intermediary, status and reputation, conduits to good contacts, and the performance of authority, were essential tools in negotiations. But it is hard to escape from the possibility, even probability, that Harrison was as much a victim as a beneficiary of the efforts of local leaders to make agreements with him. His success depended on his ability to negotiate successfully in London as well as in Morocco; his local contacts will have been only too well aware of this, and of the complexity of the relations between the various European states with

¹¹⁹ From Relation, *an account to His Majesty*, September 1627, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 40. Note 'the chieffest and better sort'.

interests in Morocco, so no doubt kept all their options open. It is clear that the reputation of the English fleet, highly regarded since 1588, was a factor in these later missions, as was England's known enmity towards Spain. This partly explains the attitude of those leaders who sought to involve themselves with England. In 1625 the governors of Tetuan awaited news of the Cadiz expedition with enthusiasm, anticipating its success. Harrison was aware that they viewed his presence as a sign that an England attack on mainland Spain was imminent. While he was soliciting support for a future event that was greatly in the governors' favour, his reputation could not have been higher; so, too, was the power of his presence locally to raise Moroccan support for the governors' plans. When, therefore, he expressed his desire to travel to Marrakesh, to Zidan's court, the Tetuan governors hastily explained that this was not possible.¹²⁰ Harrison, probably at this time genuinely hoping to deliver to the king letters from Charles, attempted to mitigate against this set back by writing to Zidan, blaming the turmoil in the country for his non-appearance at court. Was he frustrated by his inability to travel to the court, or did he regard his good relations with the anti-Spanish governors as more important? In view of the anti-Spanish atmosphere in Tetuan, and the regard in which he was held as a representative of a state at war with Spain, but also as a supporter of Tetuan's potential independence of the king, Harrison's situation eventually became compromised by the failure of the Cadiz expedition. Harrison did concede that this had so damaged the reputation of both England and himself that he was no longer a person of such value, indeed, that some in Tetuan had thought him a spy.¹²¹ And, when he finally left, he concluded that it was possible that he had indeed been prevented from leaving earlier, as that was in Tetuan's best interests, and that he was no longer a person of significance.¹²²

¹²⁰ Harrison reported this in the letter to the expedition commander; he does not mention it again in his relations on mission five, nor in his summary of all seven missions. Harleian Mss. 1581, ff. 320-28 (De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 575). He writes 'the countrye so troublesome and the waies so dangerous'. He follows this with a succinct summary of the various contesting rulers, and a comment on the Moriscos, 'which are accounted the best souldiers'. And the best, therefore, to support any English activity against Spain.

¹²¹ Relation, *an account to His Majesty, 1627*, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 31.

¹²² Harrison comments that the Tetuan governors were worried for their reputation if Harrison had travelled on to Salé and been captured; but 'so fare as I could gather.....they had no mind at all of my going to Muley

Towards the end of his letter to the commander of the Cadiz expedition (1625) Harrison mentions, almost in passing, an experience which, in retrospect, must have been an important one. He writes that from Salé 'some [English] captives ... to be sould' arrived in Tetuan who told him how badly they had been treated, taken by 'ships of Sallie under Muley Sidans command'.¹²³ He adds that he hopes this intelligence will be of value, so decisions can be taken on 'what is to be donne' to 'the furtherance of the present service', and for the king's subjects, both merchants and captives. Here he has encapsulated what were to become his three-fold practical ambitions for these later missions, for Anglo-Moroccan relations, to be of service to his king, to provide support for the English merchants, and to redeem the English captives. And, however much of a quandary he may have found himself in during his time in Tetuan, in Salé his status as an intermediary is cemented by the enthusiastic welcome he received and the anticipation of achieving these ambitions. By the time he leaves for England in 1626 we may imagine that his optimism for 'the king's business' will have been restored, buoyed by the confidence that his contacts in the port are genuine in their desire for an agreement with England. The changing nature of Harrison's status and reputation, while in Tetuan and then in Salé, demonstrates the extent to which he was a hostage to fortune, vulnerable to forces outside his control which might at any time void the value of his contacts.¹²⁴ These, and his extensive knowledge and understanding of the country, may have been distractions which affected his ability to focus on the diplomatic goals to which he aspired.

Zidan'. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 581. He adds that, if he had gone when he had wanted, the Tetuans would have so feared for their security that they might have come to an arrangement with the Spanish in Ceuta to support them against Zidan's forces. SP, 71/12, ff. 103-5; BL, Harleian Mss, 1581, ff. 320-28.

¹²³ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. II, p. 580. Taken in the Channel between April and June 1625, 'almost threescore'. Note that Harrison was personally able to talk to these captives.

¹²⁴ Relation, *an account to His Majesty*, 1627. The Spanish presence dominates the local political scene along both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic seaboard, as is obvious by Harrison's description of his journey from Tetuan to Salé, and the protection he was given when he arrived. De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p.39, 'An Alkaid with five other Andaluzes appointed to guard me for feare of any treacherie or plot of Mully Sidan'.

Conclusion.

Harrison's ambitions for England in Morocco do, I believe, place the fulfilment of his missions outside the usual understanding of a diplomat's remit. More than re-activating the old relationship that existed between al-Mansur and Elizabeth, the political, commercial and compassionate dimensions Harrison embraced as part of his responsibilities were different to those Elizabeth would have recognised; a protectorate over a Moroccan port was not part of her policy in dealing with Moroccan issues. In following his instincts, to inform, to preach and to consider good governance, developing from his time at the court of Prince Henry and through his publication history, Harrison, during his missions for Charles, moved by his millenarian convictions, arrived at a place where he believed he needed to make decisions about England's future in Morocco. Harrison deserves such a focus. He was faced at times with a number of options, but none which enabled him to pull together the Anglo-Moroccan agreement with Salé to which he aspired. He came nearest to success after mission six, returning with some 260 English captives and a draft of an agreement, which he had approved subject to sign off by Charles and the Privy Council. This outcome was undoubtedly the one Harrison would have preferred, and one which would have been a contribution to his cherished aim of dealing a blow to Spain, while at the same time moving forward towards a better situation for both Moors and captives. While the Salé capitulations remained unsigned his abilities as an intermediary were stretched to their limits. On missions seven and eight he can be seen using all his local influence and powers of persuasion to keep afloat his cherished wishes; a less well-regarded man would have failed whereas Harrison, still maintaining the goodwill of the Salétins, might have succeeded, if only the king and council could be persuaded to accept his propositions. Local and overseas politics, however, were against him, and it could be argued that Harrison was slow to recognise that without the positive support of Charles and his Privy Council, of the English merchants, especially those with a presence in Morocco, and, above all, of an English fleet, he simply did not have sufficient leverage. Locally, Harrison had identified areas of compatibility, where boundaries could be re-defined and individual ambitions could be embraced. But Morocco was a complex place, and was inexplicably

linked with many European polities; the peace with Spain, and the agreements concluded between Morocco and both France and the United Provinces, made it all the more difficult for Harrison to conclude the type of agreement he envisaged. Harrison, no doubt driven in part by his millenarianism, and his need to achieve the best for them, focused on the situation of the English captives in Sallé, and neglected as a result the possibilities of an agreement with the Moroccan king, while other polities did not. He failed to realise that, in the eyes of Charles and his council, there was no prospect of a 'plantation' in Morocco; for the city merchants, it was not a place where real fortunes could be made; for the English who lived and worked there it was the perfect place for those who preferred their independence to being agents of the state.

Conclusion.

‘There is my commission; there is my warrant. And I must in dutie, and I will, stand upon it’.¹

John Harrison was never to return to Morocco, nor was he to receive any further commissions from Charles. The United Provinces declined his offer to negotiate on behalf of their captives.² Despite Sir John Coke remaining one of Charles’ two secretaries of state until 1640 Harrison appears not to have written any further letters to him after November 1632. His many petitions to the king and to the Privy Council for the money he was owed were almost all ignored, and we may imagine that he was in considerable financial difficulty.³ We know that, for lack of suitable clothing, he was unable to attend court before his last mission.⁴ After this mission he delivered to the king at Greenwich the Moroccan king’s letters, a draft treaty and a letter from the captives in Salé. There is no record of the king’s response, nor any acknowledgement from his secretaries of state.⁵ It is possible that the crown’s indebtedness to him may have been a factor in Charles’ or his council’s reluctance to give him any further commissions. Harrison’s successors, other potential agents, were already working in Morocco,

¹ *The Tragical Life and Death ...*, p. 24, from ‘A Proposition and Petition to all Christian Princes, ... against all Antichristian powers and principalities ...’, pp. 20-24.

² On April 5th 1633 the Estates General resolved to postpone their consideration of Harrison’s proposal to a more opportune time. Meanwhile they thanked him for his trouble and sent him 100 florins. De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... des Pays-Bas*, vol. IV, pp. 283-290.

³ De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d’Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 103, ‘... for want of meanes ... I lingred longe, till at length I was forced, my house and goodes seized uppon and my person in daunger of arrest, to goe awaie without meanes but what my friends supplied me withall’, in relation, *my account to His Majestie*, 1630. *CSP, Domestic, Charles, 1629-1631*, John Bruce, ed., London, Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, 1860; 16th June, 1635, p. 152, accounts of receipts and payments, ‘John Harrison, late his Majesty’s agent in Barbary, 100L, in full of 200L upon his allowance of 40s der diem ended 27th October 1627’.

⁴ *CSP, Domestic, Charles*, January 10th, 1632 (?), in a petition from Andrew Carnwarth, ‘petitioner is no longer able to attend without selling his clothes from his back to maintain himself’. At this point Harrison had embarked for Morocco on his last mission, leaving Carnwarth to represent his position to the king and court. He had been experiencing chronic lack of funds for a year: see *CSP, Domestic, Charles*, February 15th, 1631, Harrison’s own petition, where he ‘Is no longer able to attend for want of means’. During all this time he was pressing Charles and the Privy Council to respond to his petitions and sanction his return to Morocco.

⁵ De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d’Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 184-5, apparently his last letter to Sir John Coke, 1st September, 1632, explaining that he cannot come to court, ‘as yet I have not had my protection under the Great Seale’, and including a request to the king for either a further commission, or the payment of his arrears ‘in the meane tyme’. Without his ‘protection’ Harrison was vulnerable to his creditors. He is sending documents to Coke for presentation to the king as ‘I can not attend [court] myself’. He has had no response to the previous documents he presented to the king at Greenwich.

and came with no financial disadvantages, and some positive advantages. Some were in contact with the state office at the same time as Harrison. In 1638 his wife, or his widow, was reduced to petitioning for the arrears he was owed. Harrison himself had by this time disappeared from our records.⁶

Harrison's legacy.

Harrison's working life as an agent to Morocco covered twenty-two years, from 1610 to 1632. During this time he spent five years in, or journeying to and from, Morocco; and, as well as his long relations and memoranda, written for his monarch and the secretaries of state, he published six books. Either side of this period the known facts of his life are few; nothing is known about his military service for Elizabeth in Ireland, and little about his time at Henry's court prior to 1610; nor is anything known of his whereabouts after his last petition to Charles, probably in 1633.⁷ During the time of his missions, he served two English kings, was employed by the heir to the English throne and was a member of the court of an English Princess married to an Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. He will have made contact through these courts with many of the English kings' ministers. It is clear from his writings, liberally sprinkled with biblical and classical quotations, that he was well educated. He appears to have mastered Spanish and French, probably Dutch, as well as Latin. In Morocco he either met or made contact with three kings, an unspecified number of local *caids*, and met personally, on more than one occasion, one of Morocco's best known religious leaders. He spent a considerable amount of time waiting to attend court, during which he 'conversed' with both Muslims and Jews. He spent an equally long time on board a number of English ships sailing up and down Morocco's long Atlantic seaboard, during which he acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the dynamics of Anglo-Moroccan trading practices. His was a unique position from which he understood exactly what the Moroccan trade represented, and how this relationship could be developed into one which fulfilled his greatest ambition, the furtherance of the Protestant religion and the extension of English influence outside her island boundaries. What conclusions can be drawn from the tireless working life of John Harrison?

⁶ See pages 8-9 for reference.

⁷ Several of his petitions are undated. Some are included in SP 102/2

Did his efforts leave a legacy to/for Anglo-Moroccan relations? Did his considerable local knowledge and his local contacts inform future relations? Moreover, of what value are his personal experiences? Do they contribute to an understanding of England's expansion into the widening world of the early seventeenth century?

If we consider Harrison's time and work in Morocco, he is a perfect example of van Gelder and Krstić's 'previously invisible or little studied intermediaries whose actions are context-specific but shed light on the origins and nature of early modern diplomacy as well as the negotiation of political loyalties in an age of intense imperial and confessional competition'.⁸ In considering Harrison's eight missions, his diplomatic experiences in Morocco are as illuminating in what they reveal about early modern diplomacy as those of English diplomats sent to India and the ambassadors sent by the Levant Company to the Ottoman Porte. Both imperial and confessional competition forces affect Harrison's missions. Recalling Hotman's advice, that an ambassador should possess a good understanding of the recent history of the country to which they were sent,⁹ it is reasonable to surmise that, in 1610, Harrison knew as much about Morocco as did Robert Cecil, and that, once there, he made it his business to acquire as much information as possible in the shortest possible time. It is difficult to disagree with Nabil Matar's description of Harrison, in early seventeenth-century England, as 'the most widely informed Englishman about the history, society, religious tradition, and administration of the Moroccan region'.¹⁰ Harrison made it a matter of importance to keep channels of communication open to as many of the players in what Andrews has described as the 'jungle that was Moroccan politics' as he could.¹¹ That this 'widely informed Englishman' was well known, possibly personally, by many if not all of those people whose lives were bound up with the Moroccan trade, especially during

⁸ Maartje van Gelder and Tijana Krstić, introduction 'Cross-Confessional Diplomacy and Diplomatic Intermediaries in Early Modern Mediterranean', *The Journal of Early Modern History*, 19 (nos. 2-3), (2015), p. 95.

⁹ Jean Hotman, *The Ambassador*, London, 1603, chapter: His Behaviour.

¹⁰ Nabil Matar, 'Harrison, John (d. 1641x52)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, January, 2008. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12435>, accessed 19 April 2016]

¹¹ Kenneth R. Andrews, *Ships, money and politics: seafaring and naval enterprise in the Reign of Charles I*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 175.

the time of his later missions, is clear from all the relevant documentation in archives, both in England and in Europe. As Alison Games has written, 'Until the 1660s, English engagement in the Mediterranean was characterised by a pragmatic style of accommodation and dissimulation'.¹² Prior to the acquisition of Tangier in 1661, 'Englishmen had travelled gently in the Mediterranean'.¹³ Harrison's experiences in Morocco can, up to a point, be seen as a mirror of that behaviour in the Atlantic. His role in the negotiating of captive release, the practice of 'early modern diplomacy', demonstrating both 'political loyalties' and a confessional agenda, was acknowledged by merchants, by captives and their families, by the English state office, and by the Moroccans themselves. When, in May 1632, Harrison returned to England with a draft Anglo-Moroccan treaty, he brought with him a request from the captives in Marrakesh that he be sent back to negotiate their release.¹⁴ He was the recipient of a number of letters from Morocco, from Englishmen and Moroccans, during the period May to November of that year, at which point he wrote to the king on behalf of his correspondents, asking how he should respond.¹⁵ His abilities to make and keep good contacts in Morocco outlived his last missions there, as did his reputation.¹⁶ It is demonstrably true that Harrison's knowledge and understanding of Morocco was, after the five years spent there as the king's agent, considerable. His is the archetypal intermediary experience and the many contacts he made in Morocco mean that his work there, and in England, was well known.

¹² Games, *The Web of Empire*, p. 293.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

¹⁴ De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 179-181. The captives requested that Charles 'not respect the private benefitt of a few merchantes before the lives and liberties of soe manye [of] your poore distressed subjectes'.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-8. 'Humble praying ... dispatch or discharge'.

¹⁶ As mentioned in the debate in the 1630s between Bradshawe, a local merchant in Morocco, and five wealthy merchants of London, it is clear that Harrison's history in Morocco was well known to all who traded there. (See below). De Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 219, 226-7, 236. The argument turned on trade with certain ports where the five London merchants wished to continue trading. Until trading with these ports (not being under the control of the king) was forbidden by Charles Moroccan ships sailing from the king's ports were free to take any English ship as a prize. Harrison's, and the local merchants', concern was the loss of English shipping, cargoes and crew. The Privy Council finally resolved to order the five merchants to refrain from trading in the ports outside the king's jurisdiction and trade only in the ports mentioned in Harrison's capitulations which he brought back from his meeting with al-Qualid in 1632. See de Castries, *Les sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 239-244.

Is there any evidence of the lasting value of Harrison's work for those later agents who replaced him? A brief summary of the events of the years 1632-1638 will suggest that, as Moroccan trading continued, Harrison's legacy lay with those 'friends', those merchants and factors with personal experience of Morocco who had met him in Morocco and had appreciated his work on their behalf. The six years following Harrison's last return from Morocco (1632) were busy ones for Moroccan traders. Between November 1635 and March 1636 a debate before the Privy Council was conducted between two groups of merchants trading in Morocco on the benefits or not of an agreement, a treaty, with the Moroccan king, reminiscent of the sixteenth-century debate on the benefits of a licensed company. The dispute, with which Harrison was familiar, for and against an agreement, divided the petitioners into two groups, one of five wealthy London merchants, the other of those lesser traders and factors Harrison counted as friends. As the arguments turned on the likely benefits of a treaty, one of the strongest benefits claimed was for the protection it would bring to English shipping. Those in favour of such a treaty were the traders with local experience, whose arguments mirror the ones Harrison had made to Charles, and who had supported Harrison's ambitions on behalf of the English captains, merchants, sailors and captives. The evidence offered by those merchants clearly indicates that Harrison's work there was familiar to them; this included knowledge of his draft treaty with the king of 1632. During the debate, both sides, and the Privy Council, also referred to his draft treaty with Salé, and his achievement in ransoming the Salé captives.¹⁷

The merchants' debate of 1635-6 resulted in the formation of a new Barbary company, and the despatch of one of their members, Edward Bradshawe, to the court of Mulay al-Oualid (r.1631-6). His commission was probably the same as the last one Harrison received; its results were similarly disappointing. Despite his assurance that English merchants would limit their trade to the ports of which the Moroccan king approved, Bradshawe was unable to obtain the agreement he wanted; the

¹⁷ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, p. 219, 'His Majestie had, by the service of Captayne John Harrison redeemed al the captives in Sallee'. Note: Bradshaw's letter to Coke, de Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 249-251, in which he mourns the number of English captives remaining in Morocco, where once there were none, suggesting that Harrison's achievements were worth emulating.

king demanded as a precondition, as he had of Harrison, that Charles issue a proclamation prohibiting English shipping from trading in those ports over which he had no sovereignty.¹⁸ But, again, as Harrison could have foretold, peaceful trade with Morocco, always a hit and miss affair, either did not seem to engage the English king's interest sufficiently for him to issue such a proclamation, or faced with conflicting advice, he chose to do nothing.

Meanwhile, we should recognise that the experiences of the English in the Mediterranean were taking up the King and Council's attention. The considerable correspondence from James Frizzell, consul in Algiers, on the subject of pirates, probably outweighed any considerations about the same situation in Morocco.¹⁹ And in Morocco, Giles Penn, Bristol merchant, was quietly practising 'accommodation and dissimulation' with some success. Briefly acknowledged by Harrison, Penn, a Bristol merchant, had been liaising between the governors of Tetuan and the king for some years. It is tempting to see his work and diplomatic experiences as one of several pockets of the Anglo-Moroccan relations, the one involved in the Mediterranean; except that a number of the ships on which Harrison sailed, or which he encountered, came from Bristol. Penn's relations show that he had a real grasp of the practicalities of the Moroccan trade. He, unlike Harrison, is clear on the gifts required to smooth negotiations, and knows the terms required from any possible agreement. His was a pragmatic approach, designed to keep the Moroccan trade constant; he has little to say about captives. In 1638 he was appointed consul in Tetuan.²⁰ His post has obvious similarities to those, like Frizzell's, held by Englishmen in other ports in the eastern Mediterranean; we may conclude that it was in the tradition of England's cautious and 'gentle' practice for trading in the Mediterranean. Imperial and confessional competitiveness was not a primary motivation.²¹

¹⁸ As the French and Dutch had done.

¹⁹ Frizzell was a obsessive communicator whose voluminous correspondence in SP, 71/13.

²⁰ De Castries, *Les Sources inédites ... d'Angleterre*, vol. III, pp. 85-8, 263-270, 359-364, 389-90 on Penn. He wrote, in his memoir to Charles I of 1637, a summary of the various places on the Moroccan coast which English merchants had long favoured, both Atlantic and Mediterranean. He says the south has always been a good place to trade, (p. 358). Penn was passed over for the command of the fleet which went to Rainborowe.

²¹ Penn was a successful merchant. His will is preserved in TNA.

Charles having issued no prohibition on trade with 'rebel' Moroccan ports, and no tangible results coming from Bradshawe's mission, the alarming increase in appeals and complaints about the number of captives and loss of shipping put such pressure on the king and council to protect Englishmen and English trade that, finally, in 1636, a naval expedition against Salé was sent under William Rainborowe.²² We do not have Rainborowe's commission, but Andrews has suggested that it would have been similar to Harrison's in 1626, that is to form an alliance with Sidi el-Ayyachi (then in control of Salé) and redeem English captives.²³ Here, Harrison's earlier attempts at a contract provide a template; and here, at last, Harrison's constant advice, that a local agreement should be made, and that naval support was essential for success in any negotiation with a sea port, was followed. In this instant, gentleness was to be re-enforced with naval power. It was, after all, the only way the French and the Dutch had achieved their recent successes.

Rainborowe's expedition was a qualified success.²⁴ But the real winner in this situation was Robert Blake, a factor in Marrakesh for the five city merchants whose views had been contested by Bradshawe in the debate before the Privy Council. Rainborowe's success at Salé had depended on support from one of those three warring factions in the town, the Hornacheros, the Andalous, and the supporters of el-Ayyashi.²⁵ The arrival in Salé of Blake with the exiled governor (and king's representative), in support of the Andalous, tipped the balance away from el-Ayyachi in favour of an agreement between the English and the Andalous, and a commitment of the Andalous to the king.²⁶

²² See Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, pp.160-1, and Colley, *Captives*, pp. 43-4.

²³ Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p. 175. The High Court of Admiralty was actively involved in the setting up of this expedition; Harrison made his case for his return to Morocco to the king and the Privy Council; he would have avoided any contact with the HCA after his experiences in 1626 concerning his commission for mission six. Note: *A TRVE IOVRNALL OF THE SALLY FLEET*, London, 1637, John Dunton's story of the expedition to Salé. He was master of the *Leopard*. Includes an excellent map of Salé/Rabat and a list of all the captives redeemed from Salé and Safia, totalling 339, and the ports from where they originally came. A total of some 64 English ports are listed and, among those ransomed were 11 women, 25 French, 8 Dutch, and 7 Spanish. The remainder were men and boys. Andrews comments that this account is unreliable, p. 176. SP, 71/13, f. 104 is a letter to Charles from Sidi el-Ayyachi, 1636, 'who commandeth all ye parte of Barbary towards the Straighes'.

²⁴ See Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, chapter 7, pp. 160-183, on the expedition and pp. 179-80 for Rainborowe's comments on his success.

²⁵ See page 164.

²⁶ Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p. 178.

It could be concluded at this point that Blake had achieved where Harrison failed; but we could equally argue that, without the groundwork laid down during Harrison's missions, such a situation would not have arisen. And, this contract could be seen as a small reward for Harrison's persistence; with the High Court of Admiralty so involved with Rainborowe's expedition, Sir Henry Marten may have been converted to idea that there were some benefits in making contracts with 'rebels'.²⁷

In 1638, Robert Blake, accompanied by the Moroccan ambassador, Alkaid Jaurar Ben Abdella, arrived in England to an enthusiastic welcome.²⁸ Not since El-Ouahed visited Elizabeth had a Moroccan ambassador, or agent, been welcomed in this way. From Elizabethan diplomatic missions to the king, to negotiations with independent ports; from Harrison's last mission to Mulay al-Oualid (r.1631-6) to local diplomatic forays in 1630s, the history of England's attempts to accommodate her needs with the various components of the Moroccan political scene continued to vacillate. Harrison would not have seen this agreement as a genuine success. He would have known, as did Penn, that it would not stand the test of time.²⁹ Andrews has written that the influence of the Moroccan kings on their rebellious subjects was one 'compounded of impotence and cupidity' and 'the efforts of Harrison, Penn and Blake to manipulate local politics could never win their sovereign more than a fleeting advantage'.³⁰

²⁷ Relations between Charles and the Moroccan king continued outside of the situation with Salé. See the letter from el-Oualid, which refers to the success of the Salé mission in restoring royal power over the port. The king suggests a continued joint effort against Tunis and Algiers and 'other places dennes and recepticals for the inhumayne villaynes of those that abhor rule and government herein'. Harl. Mss 2104, f. 291. From de Castries, *Moulay Ismail et Jacques II: une apologie de l'Islam par un Sultan du Maroc*, Paris, 1903, page 111.

²⁸ See *The arrivall and intertainements of the ambassador, Alkaid Jaurar Ben Abdella, with his associate, Mr. Robert Blake From the High and Mighty Prince, Mulley Mahamed Sheque, Emperor of Morocco, King of Fesse, and Suss. With the ambassadors good and applaud.* Anon. London, 1637. The ambassador was treated to a state welcome.

²⁹ For Penn's involvement in the setting up of the expedition, see Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p. 172-3. He was disappointed not to be appointed leader. Andrews comments that Rainborowe was the 'less entrepreneurial' choice.

³⁰ Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p.182. The outcome for Blake was a new Barbary license in 1638 which was soon overthrown by the London merchants who opposed Bradshawe. Andrews adds 'Since corruption was a way of life in Marrakesh, it was only to be expected that royal agents would use – and in these cases abuse – their position for private advantage'.

In the short term Harrison's diplomatic experience and knowledge of trading in Morocco remained something to be recalled by his successors; he was the first successful redeemer of captives; his capitulations of 1626 were the first attempt at an Anglo-Moroccan treaty, copied by the ones that came later. But his was a solitary voice advocating an agreement on both political and commercial terms. In the end, trade won out over expansion: trade which managed to exist without military or naval support; trade which could almost be described as piratical, certainly practised by corsairs. However, in considering all eight of Harrison's missions to Morocco, comparing them to those of the many English agents that went there, from Hogan in 1570, to Rainborowe and Blake (who returned as consul) in 1636 and 1638, the length of time he served, together with the particular circumstances of the time allowed him to develop a singular perspective. Harrison's personal legacy to Anglo-Moroccan relations was the nexus he created between the agents sent by Elizabeth to Mulay al-Mansur and those that followed him after 1632 to the court of al-Mansur's grandson, Mulay al-Qualid. Whatever the impulse which first prompted James to send him to Morocco in 1610, without Harrison's first four missions, (whose diplomatic purpose was very like those undertaken for Elizabeth), and, probably, without his 'colonial' experiences in Bermuda, he would not have been able to take the opportunity to suggest himself to Sir Albertus Morton for a fifth mission. On this fifth mission his unique experiences in Tetuan and Salé motivated him to propose a course of action which he believed had the potential to see the ambitions for England, which he had assimilated at the court of Prince Henry, realised. On his two following missions, to Salé, his aspirations for expanding England's status among European polities led him inevitably to promote the 'king's business'. While the practice of dissimulation and negotiation, reactive, and gentle, had been the watch words of Moroccan trading since it began in the 1550s, Harrison's desire to use his role to foster more than a beneficial trading agreement, and his imperial and confessional ambitions, led him to propose an arrangement with political implications. Although his ambitions were disappointed, the idea that England would claim a

position of influence on the coast of Morocco, in the Atlantic or in the Mediterranean, was floated.³¹ And, while the events of the 1630s did nothing to promote his political ambitions, thirty years later England was gifted Tangier. Harrison's tangible legacy to his successors may have lasted for only a few years but his ambitions for England were soon to be realised.

Tangier.

In 1661, when the marriage agreement between the two countries was signed, England was gifted by Portugal the port of Tangier as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, England's new queen. Much was expected of this acquisition. It was 'the foundation of a new empire' and would 'command our northern world'.³² The security of the new colony was entrusted to 4,000 troops, and the new governor enthusiastically set about considerably strengthening the fortifications of the town and constructing a giant mole which was to protect English shipping trading both into the Mediterranean and down the coast of west Africa. English settlers arrived, and an English system of local government was established.³³ The port was designed to be a bastion of Englishness, a crucial part of England's trading relationship with Morocco, a well-ordered Protestant enclave on the African coast, with potential for expansion. Sadly, none of these ambitions were achieved. Harrison's vision for England in Morocco had come about, but failed to thrive. It proved a costly venture; even allowing for the reduced numbers of troops stationed there the annual expenditure has been estimated at £75,000 and money was always in short supply.³⁴ Harrison's advice, to keep the local leaders close, given to

³¹ Two other writers on Morocco, Henry Roberts (1603) and James Wilson (1661), also advocated the taking of Moroccan ports, and Roberts suggested that British influence should extend to include Gibraltar, as had Harrison. Roberts report was presented to James in 1603 although written earlier.

³² Colley, *Captives*, p. 25, quoting Julian S. Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean*, 2 vols., (London), 1904, II, pp. 17 and 237. I owe to Colley this brief description of the creation and demise of the colony of Tangier.

³³ Including a mayor with the appropriate insignia of his office.

³⁴ Colley, *Captives*, pp. 28-30. The garrison suffered from desertion and disease; the troops salaries were always in arrears. Harrison had estimated that about 2,000 troops would be needed to protect Mamora. In fact the number in Tangier was usually less than that.

the leader of the 1626 expedition to Cadiz could have served them well.³⁵ Instead, the attitude to the local people was hostile, and the local army's abilities woefully underestimated.³⁶

As Colley has written, the acquisition of Tangier in 1662, England's first 'colony' outside Europe, was, in the context of the slowly emerging British empire, not insignificant. And, recalling the failure of the colony, she reminds us that 'there were paths not taken', but equally 'those who made this empire were always diverse and sometimes at odds with each other'.³⁷ Concept and practice for early colonisers were often very different. Britain's policy towards the Mediterranean remained consistent, almost completely reactive, a policy of continued communication, negotiation and dissimulation. Games describes the growth of Britain's presence overseas as characterised by 'multiple styles of engagement with an emphasis on assimilation'.³⁸ Among these many forms of engagement, the implications of Harrison's Anglo-Moroccan ambitions for an agreement with Salé becoming political have to be considered unusual, and, consequently, his place in Britain's early modern expansion into the world beyond Europe becomes equally atypical. Later Englishmen in the Mediterranean would have appreciated his ambitions, but in the first three decades of the seventeenth century his vision was more than 'diverse', it was almost his own alone.

Conclusion.

Among a number of factors, what distinguishes Harrison from ambassadors or agents sent to cities in Europe, or to those Islamic empires further east, was his response to his experiences, evidenced in his 'voluminous' writings. It is with these that he identifies himself in the company of those who envisaged for England a status in the world equal to any of her European rivals. He can fairly be described as a 'new diplomat', both by his background, and by his diplomatic practice. He can also be characterised by the use to which he put his encyclopaedic knowledge of Morocco, his identification

³⁵ SP 71/12, ff. 103-5; Harleian Mss, 1581, ff. 320-28: 'to hold correspondence with all ... to nowrishe these civill wars of Infidels'

³⁶ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, chapter 5, From Tangier to Algiers, p. 133 – 165, on the British experience of its north African colony.

³⁷ Colley, *Captives*, p. 41.

³⁸ Games, *The Web of Empire*, p. 289

of opportunities, of boundaries that could be broken, notably by nominating new partners with whom England could develop new relationships. Harrison's ambitions for Anglo-Moroccan relations could be considered greater those of the king and council which he served. Fuelled by his Protestant faith, aided by England's enmity with Spain, he successfully ventures into territory which could reasonably be described as outside his remit. His reputation in Morocco outlived, for a time, his presence there, as witnessed by the correspondence which continued some years after his last mission. Harrison was not the only Englishman who advocated the seizure of Moroccan territory. But he was the only one to make it a possibility, and the persistence with which he pursued his vision was admirable, and his conviction that the right monarch, upholding Protestant values, and extending fair treatment to his subjects, was an achievable ideal. Undoubtedly he would have regarded the taking of a Moroccan port as a stepping stone towards the changes which would lead to England's triumph over Spain, Rome and the Catholic church, and he believed that the balance between trade and politics, faith and conflict, that existed in early seventeenth-century Europe, once upset, could lead to a changing world, where England would take her rightful place as leader. For Harrison, his millenarianism gave this opportunity for change an added urgency, taking him in a diverse direction which was not recognised by the people by whom he was employed; yet his instincts, to inform, to preach, to advocate good governance, remained, as evidenced by his last publication, when all thoughts of a continuing mission in Morocco were over.

Harrison offers us an example of how one Englishman performed abroad, one example of an English mindset, of English alterity. Matar described Harrison's efforts, after all of his Moroccan missions, as having 'laid the foundations for England's commercial and ideological relations with Morocco'. After 1661, and England's acquisition of Tangier, there is little evidence of the fruits of Harrison's efforts reflected in the new Anglo-Moroccan relationship. Harrison's ambitions for an English protectorate on the Atlantic coast of Morocco anticipated an Anglo-Moroccan relationship which would be characterised by more than assimilation, part of his striving for the increase in preparations for the apocalypse, for conversion and for resolution to conflict. He would have expected the presence of the

English in Tangier to be an inspiration for the local population, who would be moved (as God had put into their hearts) to declare their allegiance to Charles, and eventually convert to Christianity. Viewing the settled nature of the port would lead other settlements on the coast to reject their Spanish masters and follow the example of Tangier.³⁹ This inevitability of the Christianisation of significant areas of Morocco would result in the release of all Christian captives. But, as Matar comments, 'At first, Britain treated Tangier in similar fashion to the settlements in north America ... defining their evangelical role in the wilderness'.⁴⁰ While Harrison had a care for the material and spiritual welfare of the people, of, and in, Morocco, the foundations of commercial and ideological relations Matar attributes to him were only embraced by the British in as far as they supported British interests.⁴¹

In recalling those notable features we established as characterising Harrison's relations on his latter four missions, of two of the assets Harrison brought to these missions, his contacts and his local knowledge, there is no evidence of their application demonstrated in the English relations with Tangier, its people, location and surroundings. We have to conclude that only the first one of Harrison's ambitions for Morocco, the establishment of plantations, applies to England's first colony; and his advice to the leader of the Cadiz expedition, to cultivate the local leaders, was not practiced by the governors of the port. When calls began for the abandonment of the colony, Matar points to an anonymous pamphlet, *The Interest of Tangier*. The author, after lamenting the situation the colonists find themselves in, recommends, as Harrison did, cultivating contacts with the local population, and learning about it.⁴² By this time it was too little, too late.⁴³

³⁹ As he expected on the Mediterranean coast after the Cadiz expedition of 1625.

⁴⁰ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 134. See chapter five, From Tangier to Algiers, on the British in Tangiers.

⁴¹ Harrison, however, knew the value of including the Moroccans in any future British plans, which is why he suggested compensation for el-Ayyachi.

⁴² *The Discourse of Tangier*, 1679, anon. See Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, pp. 153-4.

⁴³ See de Castries, *Moulay Ismail et Jacques II: une apologie de l'Islam par un Sultan du Maroc*, Paris, 1903. This contains two letters to James II, dated February 25th and 26th, 1698. Partly religious (the author suggests if James converted to Islam his problems in England would be resolved as the English would see the sense of converting with him), partly political. Because of a good turn James did for a Moroccan corsair who had been imprisoned in England for three years when Charles II was king and who came as ambassador to James in 1685, the good relations between James and Mulay Ismail continued after 1688.

Little can be gained by classifying Harrison's missions as successful, or not. The circumstances under which he operated were challenging. Unique to Morocco, and to Harrison, the difficulties he faced in that country together with his status as an agent for specific issues, rather than being appointed as a permanent ambassador, his lack of support from England (and from some merchants), and the presence of representatives of other European nations, compromised his ambitions for England in North Africa. Fortified by his faith, his singular success, the ransoming of so many English captives, and his persistence in support of an agreement with Salé, are to his credit. But his inability, despite his experience in trading matters, to appreciate that an increased flexibility in making agreements could serve England better than the establishment of English protection over one Atlantic coastal port led, inevitably, to disappointment. It could be argued that Harrison's identification with Elizabethan values, that is a desire to emulate the Spanish, together with his millenarianism, prevented his using his talents to the best advantage for his country.

Harrison's larger ambitions had no practical chance of being achieved. But, as Rothman writes in her afterword to the special edition of the *Journal of Early Modern History*, (2015), although referring to agents in the Mediterranean east, focusing on those interactions which identified the boundaries between diplomatic custom and practice, enables a greater understanding of the realities of 'Mediterranean diplomacy's multiple layers of [trans-imperial] textural entanglements'.⁴⁴ And, by examining these interactions, and Harrison, a little more closely, his ambitions embrace a belief that England, re-enforced by her Protestant faith, and crucially, her monarch's title as defender of the faith, and head of the Protestant church in England, could pull into her orbit areas in an expanding world. Places which, it was believed, would inevitably see the benefit of such a change. Harrison gives us insight into an English mindset, the beginnings of her imperial future. But he, himself, would have viewed his legacy very differently. His despair in his failure to get another commission he believed condemned his compatriots to the seizure by the Salétins of their ships and cargos, with captivity and death their only outcome. We may wonder why he published no more after 1633. We can only

⁴⁴ Rothman, in her afterword, *Journal of Early Modern History*, (2015), p. 258.

speculate that, without a political agenda to motivate him, or events to record in his table book, he had lost the desire to communicate that informed all his working life. His books were, possibly, his most successful legacy, and the reason why his life's work is known to us. That his most successful publication, *The Messiah already Come ...* was reprinted many years after his death, and so much closer, in his mind, to the date of the coming apocalypse, would, I believe, be the achievement of which he was most proud.

Tables of missions, dates, sources, outcomes. Table one: Harrison's commissions from James, 1610-1618.

* Italics = lack of existing paperwork

<u>Missions</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Commission</u>	<u>Letters</u>	<u>Places</u>	<u>People</u>	<u>Results</u>
For James I						
One	Left England 24 th May 1610, returned after 28 th April 1611.	<i>The formal paperwork has been lost. Harrison was to re-establish cordial relations between the two monarchs and resolve merchants complaints *</i>	<i>Harrison received letters from James to Mulay Zidan. He returned with one for James.</i>	Landed in Safi, after six months travelled to Marrakesh, returned to Safi, embarked for England.	In both places, while waiting to attend court, Harrison had contacts with local officials and his hosts.	After waiting three months in Marrakesh Harrison was received by Mulay Zidan, who made vague promises that previous privileges for English merchants would be restored and the merchants grievances addressed.
Two	Left the United Provinces on 18 th April, 1614, returned to England after 16 th March, 1615.	<i>No commissioning paperwork. Harrison was to repeat his requests for the re-establishment of the merchant's issues and the release of English captives.</i>	<i>Harrison received the usual letters for Mulay Zidan from James and brought one in return.</i>	Landed in Safi in May, travelled to Zidan's camp near Marrakesh, Returned to Safi, leaving March 16 th 1615.	Harrison renewed his contacts in Safi.	Harrison was received by Zidan, given a vague letter for James; it alluded to the issues about which Harrison had secured promises in 1611. In a verbal message Zidan asked for help with retrieving his 'treasures' from Spain and proposed an alliance between England, the United Provinces and himself against Spain.
Three	Left England in June, 1615, returned ?	<i>No commissioning paperwork. We do not have details of what James intended this mission to achieve.</i>	<i>Harrison carried letters from the United Provinces, France and from James.</i>	Harrison attended Zidan at his camp outside Safi.	There is no evidence of whom he met.	This mission was completely unsuccessful. Harrison met Zidan once then was given his orders to return to England.
Four	Left at the end of 1616, returned via Tetuan to England in early 1618.	<i>No commissioning paperwork. We do not have details of what James intended this mission to achieve.</i>	<i>Harrison carried letters from James which demanded a response.</i>	Harrison arrived at Safi but never received a pass which allowed him to go ashore.	Harrison was marooned off shore between the end of 1616 and the beginning of 1618, i.e. for two winters.	If possible, this mission was even less successful than the previous one. Harrison's stop in Tetuan on his way home was to prove fortuitous.

Table two: Harrison's commissions from Charles, 1626-1627.

** the exact number varies in the primary sources.

<u>Missions</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Commissions</u>	<u>Letters</u>	<u>Places</u>	<u>People</u>	<u>Results</u>
For Charles I						
Five	Left for Morocco, arrived, Tetuan, 13 th June, 1625. Left for England from Salé, arrived Falmouth, May 24 th , 1626.	<i>No commission, maybe none was issued.</i> <i>Harrison was to seek support for victualling English ships, and sound out the possibility of military assistance for the Cadiz expedition.</i>	Letters from Charles to Mulay Zidan. Harrison also wrote personally from Tetuan to Zidan, asking for his support against Spain.	Harrison landed at Tetuan, probably intentionally, and waited there for news of the Cadiz expedition. Probably in the new year he left to journey to Salé by land.	Harrison spent six months in Tetuan, where he was treated well by the local governors. On journeying to Salé he made a number of local contacts; in Salé he established good relationships with the governors.	Although the purpose of this mission failed, as did the Cadiz expedition, Harrison returned to England with a verbal offer of an agreement with Salé for the release of English captives in exchange for weapons.
Six	Left Dartmouth on 21 st January, 1627, arrived Safi on February 1 st and Salé March 4 th . Left Salé 20 th May, arrived in England June, 1627.	We have Harrison's commission, signed 5 th December, 1626. This was a second commission, the first one having been withdrawn on the advice of Sir Henry Marten, Admiralty judge.	<i>No letters to Mulay Zidan, nor to the Salétins that we know of.</i>	Harrison remained at Salé during this mission.	The two governors who signed the draft agreement were those that travelled to England with Harrison.	18 th April, Harrison signed a draft agreement, including a note reserving the final agreement to Charles' sign off. The Salétins agreed to 'serve' the king of England and respect his subjects and his ships. They released 190 (260) English captives.** This agreement was not ratified by Charles.

Table three: Harrison's commissions from Charles, 1630-1632.

<u>Missions</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Commissions</u>	<u>Letters</u>	<u>Places</u>	<u>People</u>	<u>Results</u>
Seven	Arrived Salé 8 th April, 1630, returned to England by 24 th September, 1630	We have this commission.	Letters were written to Salé, the new king (sent from Safi), and Sidi Ali ben Moussa (sent from Santa Cruz).	Harrison landed at Salé, left there for Safi on 24 th May, from where he sent Charles' letter to the king; returned to Salé, July 13 th . Left for England, via Safi and Santa Cruz, arriving back 24 th September	He revived his relationship with the Salétins; they continued to want an agreement but insisted he had 4 months in which to return with Charles' signature. He was advised not to travel to the king's court.	Charles received Harrison at Greenwich and received from him a petition and two letters, from the king and one from some English captives asking for Harrison to return to negotiate for their release.
Eight	Arrived off Salé, September 25 th , 1631, reporting to Charles on May 14 th 1632.	<i>This commission does not appear to exist.</i>	Letters to the new king.	Harrison failed to disembark at Salé, due to ongoing hostility between theirs and the English shipping. Left for Safi October 15 th , arrived November 15 th , travelled to Marrakesh, returned via Safi to England.	In Salé Harrison was to agree on a deal for shipping and the release of captives; at the court of the new king Harrison was to negotiate for captive release.	Harrison had a draft contract, the one with Salé, which he suggested to the king, whose agreement was conditional on English shipping trading only with ports within the king's control, and not with his rebels.

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