

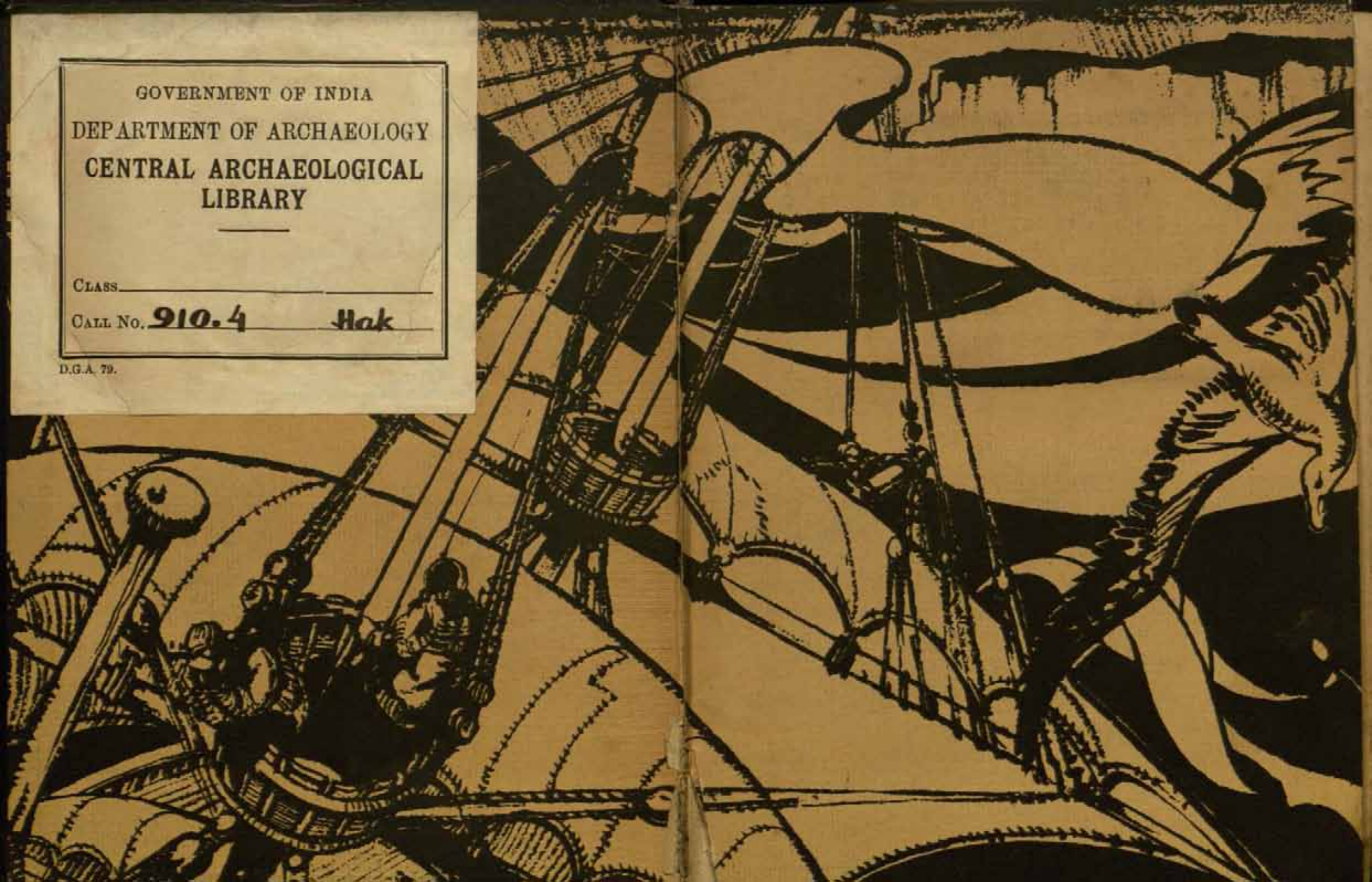


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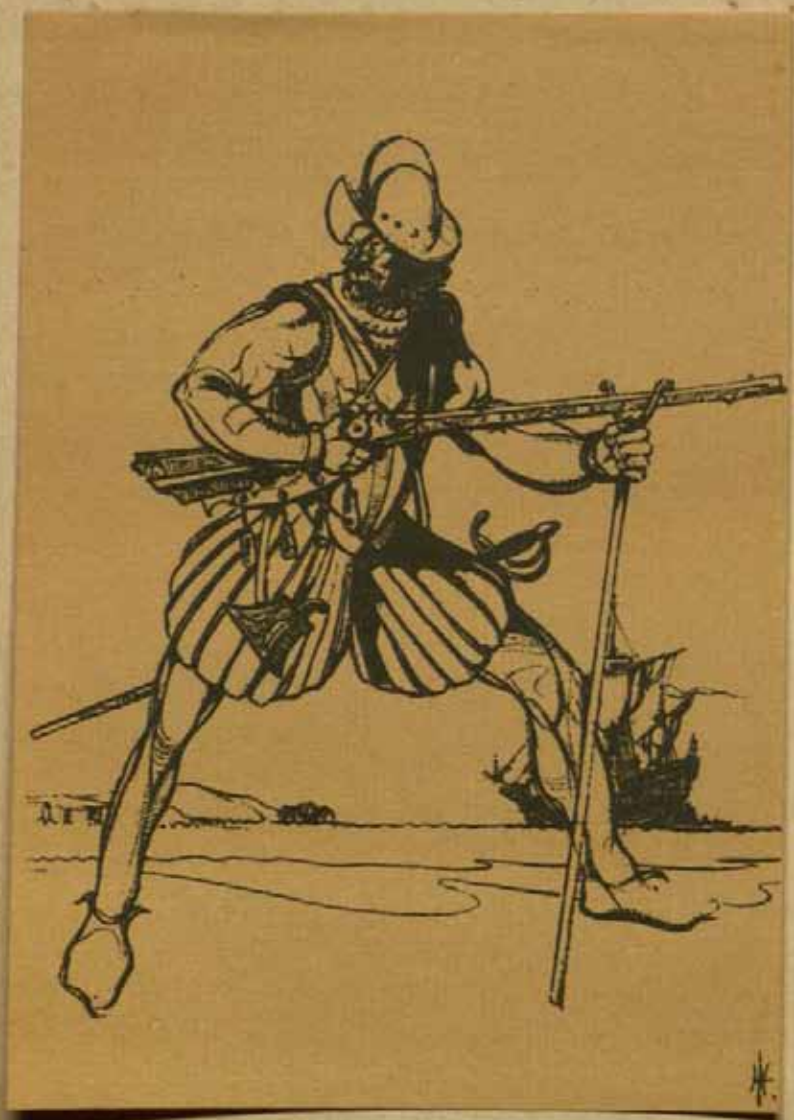
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THE PRINCIPAL NAVIGATION VOYAGES,  
TRAFFIQUES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE  
ENGLISH NATION





A SELECTION OF  
THE PRINCIPAL VOYAGES,  
TRAFFIQUES AND DISCOVERIES  
OF THE ENGLISH NATION

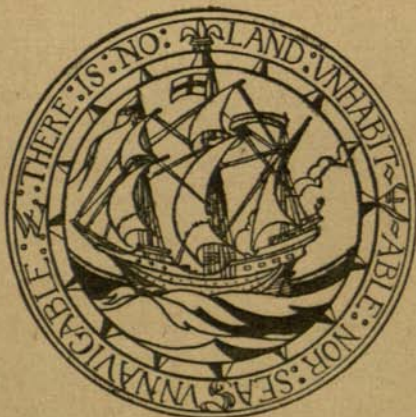
By RICHARD HAKLUYT 1552—1616

*Set Out with Many Embellishments  
and a Preface*

BY  
LAURENCE IRVING



5316



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THE EPISTLE  
DEDICATORY



TO  
J. H. B. I.

MY DEAR JOHN,—You may wonder, with some justification, why it is to you that I address the dedicatory epistle to this book of voyages, to you who are as yet in the fortunate position of being able neither to read nor write.

But as you lie upon your crawling rug in happy contentment and security, idly contemplating the closing hours of your ninth month, you seem to be a true symbol of the times upon which we are about to look back. Your rug is your native heath, and every inch of it is known to you. You have travelled its length and breadth; from the embroidered rabbit to the elephant, from cow to cat, you have pursued your uncertain way; you have even explored those curious signs in the south-eastern corner, although you do

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## *The Epistle Dedicatory*

not understand that they are the initials of your sister, who blazed the trail three years before you. But ere long, if you are a child of enterprise, contentment and security will prove dull enough. The vast expanse of linoleum or turf around you will awaken a latent sense within you, the passionate desire to know what is round the corner. So one day, having taken a last look at the gentle woollen slopes you know so well, you will set off into the blue. At first you will meet with one disappointment after another. You are not very seaworthy, and twice you will turn turtle in sight of your native shore, and there you will lie screaming until one of those gods who attend to your immediate necessities and guard you from serious peril, picks you up and carries you back to your rug.

But in a little while you will learn the art of even, if not rapid, propulsion ; you will become steadier on your helm, and once more you will set your face towards the unknown. Soon the uplands of your home are lost to sight ; you are alone, hull down, on a vast sea of linoleum. Presently you will make your first landfall ; Columbus was no more thrilled when first he sighted the West Indies than you were by that hazy vision of the leg of the nursery table. Here much time is spent on scientific research. This strange land is hard to the head, but not unpleasant to the taste. It would be pleasant to linger here, but the fever is on you, and you are off again. Now an unforeseen peril overwhelms you ; a hot breath on your cheek proclaims the approach of that shaggy monster of whom you have been dimly conscious all your life. A wet nose snuffles in your ear, your lower lip trembles, and in a trice, fear having dulled your sense of balance, you are over on your back, bellowing with rage, until one of the almighties takes you home again.

So, little by little, you experience all the fearful joys of the explorer, until finally the great day comes when success crowns your efforts. The first table leg is now passed rapidly by ; soon the second is on your starboard bow, and as it slips astern you change your course ; the third leg looms up before you. Doubling this point, a dash is made into the unknown ; for a moment you are horribly conscious of the utter loneliness of your position. Your resources are almost at an end when, with a shout of joy signifying " Land ho ! " you see in the distance the fourth table leg. Soon you are clutching it and ravenously drawing from it such bare nourishment as it affords. Your eye roams round, and in the distance you discern a faint blue line on the horizon. When you have recovered your strength, you set off once more, and soon the distant land takes shape. Slowly it dawns on you

## *The Epistle Dedicatory*

that this is home. A few strokes, and you are rolling on your azure plains ; there is the cat, there the elephant. A little bewildered, and perhaps a trifle tattered ; but, joy of joys, you have achieved what had seemed impossible. Henceforth the world will know you as John the Circumnavigator.

It is clear, however, that a man so busily engaged as yourself can have little time or inclination to listen to the deeds of others. Your daily life, my son, is crowded with adventures which must seem to you every bit as desperate as those described in these pages. Fourteen years must pass before you grow tall enough to view the horizon over which these adventurers sailed on their various quests. It is to you as I picture you fourteen years hence that I dedicate these pages.

The text, alas ! is not mine to give to you, nor am I able to approach my distinguished collaborator on this score. Perhaps it is as well, for sons are probably a sore point with Richard Hakluyt. Twice married, he had but one son, a sad disappointment, who squandered his inheritance and brought dishonour on his father's name.

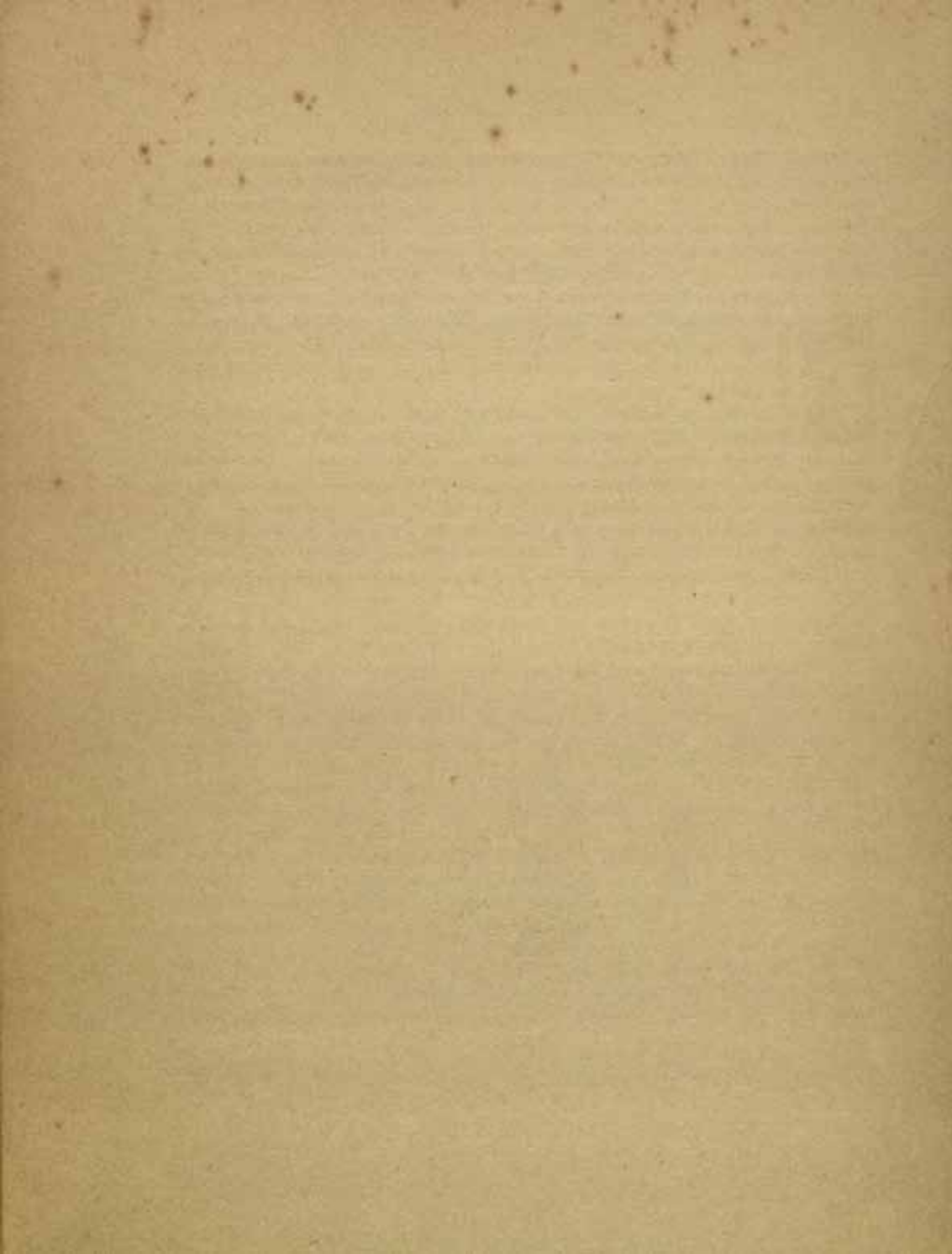
But such decorations as appear from time to time in this book I gladly give you, in the full confidence that of the two arts the brush is infinitely less likely to gather in an inheritance for you to squander than is the pen.

L. H. I.

THE BLACK WINDMILL,  
WHITSTABLE, *June*, 1925.







## THE PREFACE



OFTEN wonder why children in this country from eight to eighteen years old are so examination-ridden that all interest in English history and English classics, such as "Hakluyt's Voyages," is invariably nipped in the bud—invariably, that is, for those of us to whom the very thought of examinations is odious and often brings on a cold sweat of apprehension. A French critic, with a foresight which the passing years have proved to be only too correct, once said: "I seem to see creeping over the whole of England the infection of examinations, the fever of degrees; I am not at all sure that I should not prefer the plagues of Egypt."

He was perfectly right; upon Shakespeare and upon all our great poets the blight of examination has already fallen. The other night, after reading through some English papers for the Public Schools Common Entrance Examination, I had a terrible nightmare. I was being examined in "Treasure Island," and as I searched my mind to give "The Advantages and Disadvantages of Jim Hawkins' Actions on the *Hispaniola*" my love for this book turned to hate, and Stevenson himself was designated to that particular purgatory which up to the present had held Lord Macaulay in solitary confinement. This was but a nightmare; similarly, it is but a dream that one day our sons may be allowed to read such classics as Shakespeare and Hakluyt free from the fearful knowledge that at the end of term some inquisitor will wring from them, not a confession of the measure of their enjoyment, but a halting admission of how much they have failed to commit to memory. It is no use, proud parent, protesting that your little Carlyon enjoys examinations, that they are the only means whereby he can prove his superiority to his fellows. If he must demonstrate his scholarship, let him confine himself to such Latin and Greek works as Nature seems to have provided for the purpose. We might go further, and shed a tear for the mutilation of Cæsar, for Euripides robbed of all dramatic interest, for Homer and for Virgil, and beg him to content himself with the cold-



## *The Preface*

blooded problems of Euclid and the fiendish collaborations of Hall and Knight. But if only examiners will keep their hands off our English classics, so that we may read them when and where we choose, he may do what he likes with the remaining classics in any other language, dead or alive. This, however, is but a dream; the infection of examinations is rapidly becoming endemic. Meanwhile our sympathies fly out to the boy who, on being asked whether cyclone and barrage were natural or physical phenomena, replied in desperation, "God made them all, so sucks!"

By the time the average boy is old enough to read these voyages history may mean nothing to him but a confusing series of dates, treaties, constitutions, kings and queens. At most public schools history—at least to the lower forms—is served up in much the same way as the food. It is made as unattractive as possible, until the hungry consumer is driven to satisfy his appetite upon the less nourishing, but infinitely more appealing, fare at the tuck-shop. When history is presented to you as rather stale bread, it is left to the novelist to serve it up as hot buttered toast. This is no fault of the schoolmaster; his teaching is controlled by examinations; but the result of all this is that when, during preparation, you are supposed to be mastering the details of the counter-Reformation, you are probably reading "Westward Ho!" and incidentally gaining a very vivid impression of the times.

A taste for tales of adventure is common to all boys; it is a wholesome taste, and much has been done to satisfy it. Kingsley, Stevenson, Scott, Buchan, and Henty are but a few of those to whom we owe more than we are ever likely to admit. Such battles as we are called upon to fight in our lives will not be won either by a prolonged loitering on playing fields or by the hours spent with Mrs. Gardiner's short, but unattractive, "History of England." The study of Napoleon's tactics, however diligent, will not produce as fine a soldier as will a lively appreciation of Ney's heroism in the rearguard in 1812. The most brilliant tactics may fail if faint-hearted troops are called upon to execute the necessary manœuvres; inspired courage may often carry through an enterprise which tacticians have considered to be impossible.

In order to become a skilful strategist one must have more than an average brain, and brains, alas! are not handed out with the pleasant uniformity of arms and legs. Courage, on the other hand, is, consciously or unconsciously, but an effort to live up to a preconceived ideal, to imitate, as far as we can, some chosen hero. Fortunately there is a rich store of

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heroes, open to all of us, upon which the cook's son, the duke's son, the dunce, and the scholar may draw with equal facility.

However, since the fitness of boys to enter our great public schools and Universities depends, to a large degree, on the number of dry facts they have been able to learn by a given time, it is necessary for them to address themselves to the collection of such knowledge with diligence, if not with relish. The object of this book is to swamp the powder with rich jam; the powder then will be but an evil memory; a love of jam will remain with them all their lives. Now, were history the dry bread that examiners would have us believe it to be, all we could do would be to thank God for novelists and to devour their works.

But it is not.

Fortunately in almost every historical period some genius, as though he foresaw what would come to pass, has left us a picture as truthful, vivid, and absorbing as you please of the times in which he lived. And, curiously enough, although he may make no effort to startle the reader nor to search after dramatic effect, he invariably defeats the novelist at his own game. Philip de Commynes, Froissart, Cellini and Pepys, to name but a few, have seen to it that the history of the world is not a series of treaties and conventions, but rather a procession of great men, good or bad, as the case may be. We may, moreover, give way to justifiable pride in the fact that two of the greatest of these commentators were Englishmen, namely Samuel Pepys and Richard Hakluyt.

Richard Hakluyt was born about 1552 in Herefordshire, and was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford. Here he took Holy Orders, but evidently his interests lay more in geography than theology, for while still at Oxford he had made a study of such Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and French accounts of travels and voyages as he could find. In 1582, as a result of his researches, he published "*Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America*," a book which attracted the attention of Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord Admiral of the Queen's Navy. Lord Howard's brother, Sir Edward Stafford, who was going to France as ambassador, appointed this scholarly young priest to be his chaplain.

Hakluyt, during his sojourn in France, made a discovery which must have been very galling to him. He found everybody discussing the great voyages of discovery made by the Spanish, Portuguese and Italians, while his own countrymen were looked upon as idle stay-at-homes. Immediately



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upon his return to England he determined to correct this impression, which was a very false one, and he commenced to place on record the various enterprises upon which the English had been engaged. The result of his labours was the first edition of "The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation."

He took infinite pains to collect accurate accounts of these voyages. He interviewed the survivors of various expeditions, and often took down, word for word, the narratives of the captains of the ships. He numbered Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher and many other famous sea captains among his personal friends; and he certainly made the most of his opportunities.

These activities did not hinder his preferment; indeed, in those times, when religious observance was of the "Trust-in-God-and-keep-your-powder-dry" order, they probably helped him. For a time he had a living in Suffolk; finally he became Archdeacon of Westminster and a chaplain of the Savoy. He died in 1616, having witnessed the gradual rise of England to the sovereignty of the seas, and he was buried in Westminster Abbey.

So much, then, for the career of the man to whose initiative and energy we are indebted for these stories. His complete works, when republished a few years ago, ran into eight volumes, but although every page has some quaint interest of its own, much of their contents is concerned only with geographical research. The object of this collection has been to gather together those voyages which, for breathless interest and inspiring heroism, rival the most lurid fiction. Clarke Russell pales before the last voyage of Thomas Cavendish; Jules Verne is heavy reading when compared to the account of Drake's voyage round the world.

Sir John Millais once painted a beautiful picture of two Elizabethan boys sitting on the foreshore, listening spell-bound to a sailor telling of his adventures in the West.\* We may envy those boys the music of that rough voice, but, for the rest, we are every bit as fortunate as they were. Hakluyt, too, listened to the yarns of those weather-beaten sailors before the tan of the tropical sun had faded from their faces. With infinite care he wrote down their every word, so that we have only to peep over his shoulder, as it were, to be carried back four hundred years. He was wise enough, moreover, neither to re-edit nor polish up their quaint grammar and phraseology; we may read, then, their unconscious poetry as it left their lips.

When this book was being planned there was some discussion as to whether the spelling and punctuation should be altered—one hesitates to

\* "The Boyhood of Raleigh."



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say corrected—in order that it might appear more familiar to modern readers. Happily it was decided to leave it as it was—"a plain unvarnish'd tale." In those far-off days comparatively few people were able to read or write, so that reading aloud, a beautiful accomplishment and one which is, alas! sadly on the wane, was a pleasant necessity; fewer books were printed, which meant that each volume was in itself a work of art, though it depended on being read aloud to make up for its small circulation. If you read these stories aloud, you will find that the masses of colons and commas, which may appear at first sight to be merely confusing, are really designed to render their recitation a graceful and easy performance.

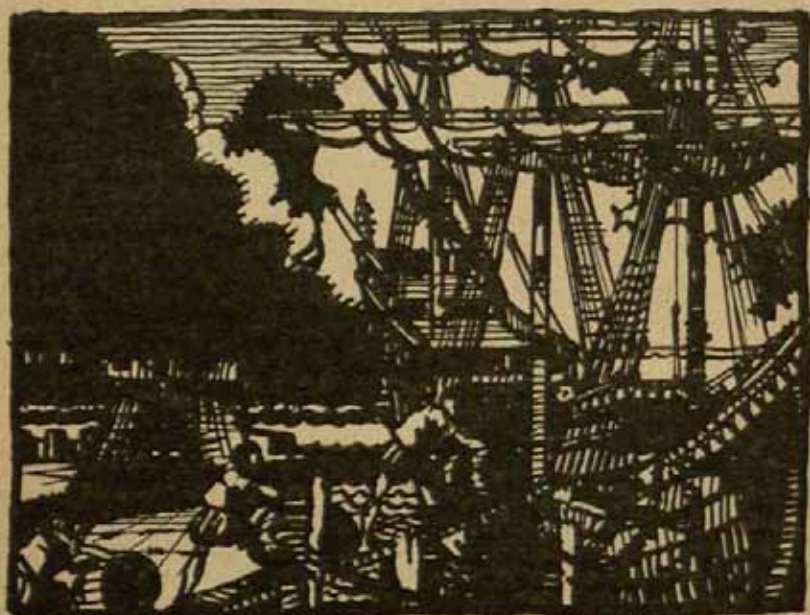
As for the spelling, one soon gets accustomed to it. Queer spelling is not confined to the Elizabethans; it may be some consolation to us to know that our own "bloomers" may amuse people four hundred years hence.

Before we embark upon these travels there are a few points which ought to be clearly understood. Cricket is more entertaining to watch if we know the rules and conditions of play; and in the same way that a man reporting a cricket match omits to mention that there are six balls in an over, taking it for granted that his readers are necessarily acquainted with the rudiments of the game, so the Elizabethan historians failed to comment on certain things which, though they may have been commonplace enough to them, with changing times have become altogether extraordinary. First and foremost, let us consider the size of the ships in which these men ventured into the unknown, often into the unknowable.

At that time such English ships as were of any appreciable tonnage were in the Queen's Navy. The *Triumph*, 1,000 tons, the *Jesus of Lubeck*, 700 tons, and three or four more, including the *Revenge*, over 500 tons, were the only capital ships we possessed, and the Queen, who was always unwilling to let her own ships go out of her sight, took good care that they were not sent upon uncertain and dangerous expeditions across the Atlantic. Indeed, she was in some measure justified in her caution, for on almost the only occasion on which she departed from her custom and lent the *Jesus of Lubeck* to Sir John Hawkins, although his first expedition amply rewarded her, on the second she not only lost her fine ship, but came near to losing two of her finest captains. However, in some curious way, Heaven seemed to be on the side of the little ships; where galleons failed and foundered, the tiny barques of England defied wind and weather in a manner which seems to us little short of miraculous. And "tiny" is by no means too diminutive an adjective.

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In the fleet with which Drake set out on his voyage round the world there was no vessel of more than 100 tons burden. Thomas Cavendish on his voyage of circumnavigation had but one ship, the *Desire*, of 120 tons, the other two, the *Content* and the *Hugh Gallant*, being 60 and 40 tons respectively. Tonnage is at best a bewildering estimation ; perhaps it is



more so to us in our precise mathematical times than it was to them, when a ton was a tun, or barrel, of wine, and a ship's displacement was reckoned on the joyful imagining of how many barrels of liquor could be stowed below her decks. Therefore the gallantry of these mariners may be better appreciated when it is realised that their 100-ton vessels were little bigger than the Thames barges which ply between London river and the nearer east coast creeks and harbours.



## The Preface

That such vessels as these, in which many people to-day would hesitate to cross the Channel, ploughed their way through the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, may seem amazing enough. Once free of the Channel, no friendly dockyard awaited them; such help and victuals as were to be found among the Spanish colonists had, in most cases, to be obtained at the sword's point. Thus what Nature destroyed only Nature could replace. The tall forests of America were their only timber yards; a sheltered creek or cove, where they might careen in scarce comfort, was their only dockyard. But the capacity of these men to astonish us is infinite. The *Squirrel*, one of the two ships composing the fleet which sailed to found the first colony at St. John's, Newfoundland, was barely 10 tons. Not even Hakluyt, a landsman, comments on her ridiculous size. She can have been little bigger than a modern liner's lifeboat, smaller certainly than the whale boats carried on our battleships. Yet she crossed the Atlantic, and had struggled three parts of the way home before she sank below those mountainous waves which even now daunt the spirits of saloon passengers.

Drake and Hawkins, after losing the *Jesus of Lubeck* at St. John d'Ulloa, crossed the Atlantic in a pinnace, and reached Plymouth in safety. A pardonable excuse, you might say, for celebration, for at least a civic reception. But they lived in stern times. Drake leapt ashore and rode post to London in order to complain to the Queen of the outrageous conduct of the Spaniards.

It was, too, no idle admonition that Hawkins issued to his fleet to "preserve their victuals." When, as Drake told his crew after the execution of Doughty, "a man could not be had if we would give for him ten thousand pounds," it was necessary to sail with as full a crew as possible; battle and pestilence would surely thin their numbers as the weeks slipped by. Thus when every man with his furniture, as they called their small arms and armour, was come aboard, and as much powder and shot as could be safely carried stowed below, there was not too much room left for provisions and water. Consequently the supply of food was a constant embarrassment, and the first duty on reaching an anchorage was the refilling of the water casks. The graphic description of the terrible straits in which the crew of the *Desire*, under Cavendish, found themselves gives us some idea of the torture and horror of death by hunger and thirst at sea, a death which many who went out gaily from the Sound must have suffered.

So one might continue to describe the innumerable difficulties with which these men had to contend. But in so doing one only realises that to them



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danger was commonplace, and courage not so much a quality as a natural reaction to circumstances. Only let us remember one thing : the circumstances were of their own choosing. England was no less fair in their day than it is in ours ; they loved their wives no less, nor caught up their children less gladly at their cottage doors. No civil wars, religious persecutions or over-population drove them Westwards. But where we might confidently look for lotus-eaters we find Argonauts ; the fairest counties gave the finest sailors. Kent, Cornwall, and Devon, whither many men to-day, could they but drop out of the struggle, would gladly fly to pass their days in peace and quiet, produced a race of mariners whose blue eyes were to gaze upon unknown horizons, and whose fine features were to be the terror and despair of those followers of the Pope who wished to make the West his treasure-house, and to preserve the South Sea as though it were an abbey pond, with exclusive fishing rights for his fat friars.

The world, however, has not been slow to pass judgment on them, to suggest motives, good and bad, which led them to display such courage and to choose a life of hardship in preference to one of assured peace. To some they are heroes ; to some they seem to be but bloodthirsty pirates ; to the more depraved of us they are both. It is, of course, as ridiculous to look upon them as sanctimonious knight errants as it is to regard them as unbridled villains. It takes all sorts to make a world ; it took all sorts to lay the foundations of the new one. Englishmen, as a rule, have a natural abhorrence of humbug ; as perfect Englishmen these voyagers would be the first to admit their weaknesses. It might be said that, with the exception of that keen yachtsman and naturalist Noah, they were the first to succeed in combining business with pleasure. You would be sure to have found among the crews of these ships as many sincere explorers as there were honest plunderers. Indeed, the success or failure of such expeditions depended very largely upon a fairly equal distribution of these elements. A misplaced enthusiasm for gold usually leads men into mischief ; the true explorer is, in the end, consumed by his desire to see what is round the corner. Thus the explorers curbed the rapacity of the robbers, and so preserved them to some extent from reckless military adventures ; the treasure-hunters, on the other hand, were careful to see that the dreaming explorers did not imperil their chances of returning home to enjoy the fruits of their labours. The greatest leaders, therefore, were men who came nearest to possessing the qualities of burglars and the ideals of bishops.

But we must not imagine that even the plunderers were by nature so

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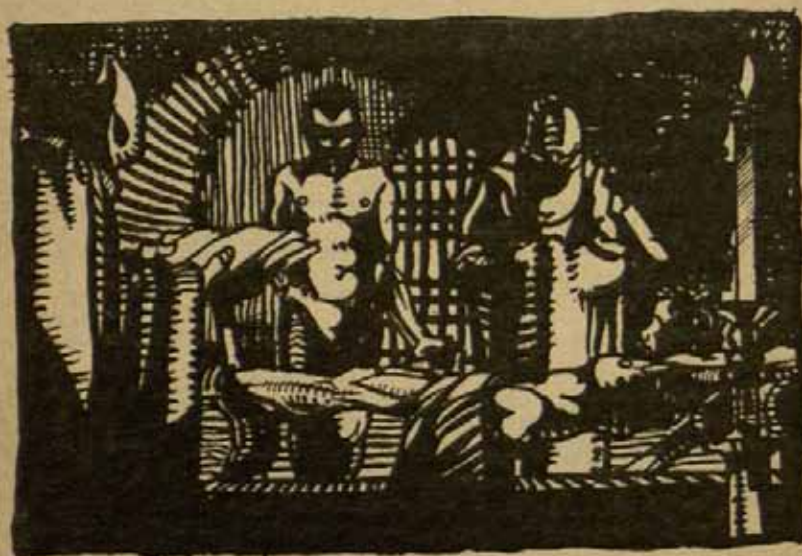
bloodthirsty as at first they appear to be. The history of the West might have been written in ledgers rather than in blood but for the provocative behaviour of the Spaniards. By the time the first English ships reached the West Indies, with the intention of opening up honest trade, Columbus the dreamer had been set aside, and in his place were a number of cruel and intolerant *hidalgos*. Having found a golden egg, they were busily employed in killing the goose that laid it, and in the process they had successfully alienated the sympathies of the natives and of such foreigners as approached America with a view to commerce. Many of the settlers, no doubt, would have traded peaceably, but Philip issued orders forbidding his subjects to trade with the English. As usual, he failed to appreciate the fine points of the English character. Far from being overawed or intimidated by Philip's thundering edicts, and finding that they were debarred from peaceable trading, our sailors tightened their belts, charged their cannon, spat on their palms, and set about spoiling the Spaniard with diligence and goodwill. So far the quarrel was purely a commercial one; it was at this point that the Church militant on earth chose to overflow its terrestrial limits and to spill its gall into the ocean.

Sailors of all nations have a rough piety of their own; creed or doctrine, as a rule, mean little to them; God, in fact, is very evident to them in the elements which control their fortunes. Any one who, for some cause or another, has held his life on leasehold from wind and weather, has probably felt a growing conception of the elements as a personal deity, a deity with an awful capacity for capricious changes, at one moment a guiding friend, at another an unreasoning opponent. We may, in these comfortable days of idle faith and second-hand sacrifice, be inclined to laugh at Jupiter Tonans and Phœbus Apollo, but to those of us to whom wind and rain have meant a little more than gum boots and goloshes these primitive beliefs are neither so unreasonable nor so blasphemous as they seem. Thus sailors have a faith that is too large to be confined in creeds, prayers torn from their lips and caught up on hurricane winds that are too terribly fervent to be bound up in books. In short, the sea was hardly a fertile field for the activities of the Holy Inquisition. The secular arm, however, was always at its best when brought up against a really tough proposition; the Inquisitors evinced a superb ingenuity for cruelty in dealing with the stubborn resistance of the Low Countries; they embarked upon the cleansing of the seas from heresy with the same bloodthirsty enthusiasm. They claimed as their prey all prisoners who fell into the hands of the Spaniards at sea; only gentle-



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men of quality were spared the rack and the stake. The activities of the Inquisition put the Pope to considerable expense; we may doubt his sincerity, but we cannot help admiring his perspicacity, in allowing his well-to-do prisoners free damnation in return for a fat ransom. But in attempting to tie heresy to the cannon's mouth and to blast it to a roasting eternity he forgot that, though such a procedure may destroy a solitary victim, the breech of the cannon itself is apt to be blown out and the gunners



slain at their posts. This proved to be the case; he only succeeded in transforming a give-and-take affair of commerce raiding into a bitter and vindictive struggle which, in the long run, humbled the Pope and scattered his fleet to the winds.

The Spaniards gained only one thing by their actions: somehow or other they have retained a reputation for piety. Their persecutions are regarded by some as, at their worst, a rather too exuberant display of religious fervour, a fault well on the right side, while the deeds of our own sailors



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were inspired by mere cupidity or roguish courage. Let us hasten to dissipate this fog of prime humbug.

Unlike those of our opponents, our voyages of depredation were not blessed by bishops, nor, if missionary work was intended, were racks and thumbscrews carried in the holds of our ships. There are consequently people who, dazzled by the emblazoned sterns and sails of the Spanish galleons, painted and carved with every sign and symbol of Christian ritual, sincerely believe that the Armada was, all said and done, an unfortunate crusade; that the religious fervour of the Spaniards, like the culture of Germany, would have been very good for us if we could have been introduced to it under less violent circumstances. Much has been made of the fleet orders issued to the Armada, of the suppression of gambling and private quarrelling, admirable directions, no doubt, and evident of godly intentions. But are they more so than the fleet orders of Sir John Hawkins? "Serve God daily; love one another. . . ." The cry of the cardinals gathered together at Cadiz to give the Armada a valedictory blessing was, "Let God arise and destroy His enemies"; the thanksgiving of Queen Elizabeth when He had wrought that destruction, and had shown that, if He favoured any particular cause, it was not that of the Pope, was neither exultant nor flamboyant: "*Deus afflavit*" ("God blew His wind") were the words struck on a medallion to commemorate our merciful preservation from His vicar on earth.

Our sailors, then, were God-fearing, if not religious; if any religious feeling entered into their hatred for the Spaniard, it was because of the latter's inability to enjoy his faith quietly and to resist the temptation of forcing what he believed to be a good thing upon others.

Having tried to give some idea of the times in which these men lived and the conflicting issues which led them to assault the Spaniards with such vigour and success, I must leave them to speak for themselves in the following pages. These stories tend to make our attitude towards them one of unbounded admiration; it is difficult, I think, to approach them with cold criticism. Brought up as we are to-day, so spoon-fed by newspapers that while we are stroking the soft hairs of our premature moustaches we consider ourselves fit to pass judgment on anything or anybody (and, if necessary, to damn them heartily), the capacity for simple enjoyment and admiration is becoming rare. Reverence is almost unknown. The rapid perusal of *Yachting for All* (in fifty fortnightly parts) is apt to make us look upon such cheerful blunderers as Humphrey Gilbert with pitying

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amusement ; three numbers of the *Home Psychologist* (a shilling a fortnight, with a free certificate of lunacy in the last number) show us at once that Drake suffered from a vagrancy complex, and that, had he but analysed himself, he would have stayed at home, talked big, and done nothing. The clever may think them blunderers and complicated pirates, but if we blunder half so well or get half so attractive a bee in our bonnet (and this very bee is, after all, the old country grandfather of the complex), we shall not have lived in vain.

There is only one word of warning that I would give before we allow ourselves the luxury of basking in the reflected light of another age. It is as sad as it is true that even the enjoyment of the work and activities of our forebears is in serious danger of being swamped by humbug. In the studios of Chelsea, in the drawing-rooms of Kensington, in clubs, and even on cricket grounds, pale, earnest people may be heard gushing out extravagant praises of the past and deploring the conditions of the present. Fervent patriots, whom one suspects of sleeping beneath quilted Union Jacks, have from time immemorial declared that the country is going to the dogs, until one begins to think that nothing can save us but a dictatorship under the combined control of the British Fascisti and the Kennel Club. It is a painful fact, however, that, in the event of a strike or any other national calamity, these same patriots, between intervals of thundering "I-told-you-sos!" are usually engaged in internecine struggles for administrative posts while the dogs, to whom the country has already gone, do the work.

To periods long past and to the work of all past masters distance has lent a measure of enchantment ; our love for their work may be true and well deserved, for there have been great men in all ages since the cave men drew buffaloes on their cavern walls. It is only dangerous for us to dwell upon them when the glare of the sun shining through the distant haze prevents us appreciating the fine things in the foreground. It is a form of living on capital, a form of living which, in the long run, entails the capitalist's choice between an early death and bankruptcy. It might be more wholesome, if we feel at all inclined to behave like this, to forget for a time our Titians, Shakespeares, Drakes and Grenvilles, and instead to look around and to find heroes among our contemporaries.

To fashion our own giants is, from a purely selfish point of view, only to add lustre to ourselves. If our age is a great one the humblest of us will be numbered among the great. A prolonged study of the antique has



## The Preface

marred more artists than it has made. If we find it pleasant to read about these Elizabethans, let us remember this : it is more important to make history than to read it.

So, when we read these pages, let us realise that such men and such adventurers are not confined to any particular period. We Georgians (neo-Georgians, let us say, in order to dissociate ourselves from those soft cads of the Regency so dear to us in fiction, but so insufferable in fact)—we neo-Georgians can boast, if necessary, of having witnessed feats of arms no less splendid than those of the Elizabethans, of heroes who, for courage and endurance, are second to none. Did Scott or Shackleton despise the times in which they lived? Did those mustered together on the *Vindictive*, as she lay waiting in the Swin channel, dwell with misgiving on the feebleness of our age? Not a bit of it. There is a life work waiting for a Georgian with the energy and enthusiasm of Hakluyt. We may be sure that Philip Sidney, the soldier and poet, greeted as an equal Rupert Brooke, the poet and soldier; that Walter Raleigh walks with Cecil Rhodes, while, on a higher plane, Humphrey Gilbert holds Frederick Selous in earnest conversation.

If, then, our own times bear fair comparison with those days when the discovery of the New World and the belief that there was "no land uninhabitable nor sea innavigable" gave men such inspiration as it is difficult for us to conceive, we must never under-estimate the enterprise of our contemporaries. We must be prepared to defend ourselves from the carping criticisms and dreary exhalations of those whom Mr. Walpole so aptly calls "the clever, solemn ones." But this is no place in which to sing sagas of the present. Suffice it to say that for those of us who contemplate becoming decorations to the twentieth century, or, in a humbler way, for those of us who, having no particular distinction, are trying to get the most out of life in a quiet way, these pages will be a ready guide to success, and a loadstone to happiness. Let Sir John Hawkins' fleet orders be ours:—

"Serve God daily.

"Love one another.

"Preserve your victuals.

"Beware of fire.

"Keep good companie."

The first two orders speak for themselves; the third no healthy man or boy of average greed could hope to obey; the fourth should cover the



## *The Preface*

theology of the most Stygian denominations. In obeying the fifth, not perhaps in the letter, but in the spirit, we shall enjoy the greatest of the many joys which abound in this world, if only we know how to look for them.



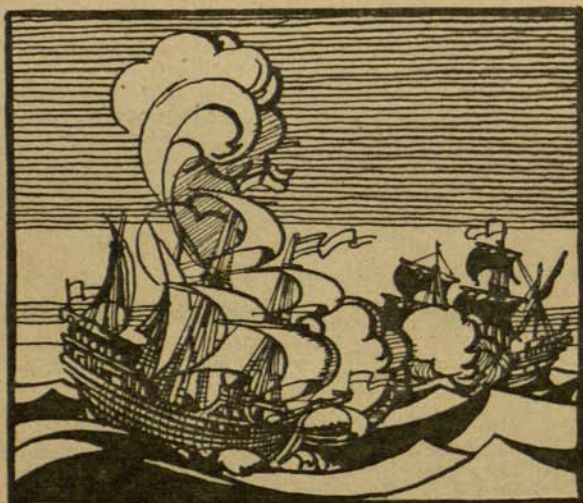
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## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

SIR JOHN HAWKINS

1532—1559



SIR JOHN HAWKINS was born and bred to the sea; his father had been one of Henry VIII.'s most distinguished sea captains. At first he contented himself with a series of sea voyages to the Canary Isles, in the course of which he learned of the gullibility and complete lack of martial enterprise of the natives of Guinea, and, at the same time, of the high prices such negroes fetched in the settlements in the West Indies. Shocking though it may appear to some of us, it is hardly surprising that a bright lad contrived to put two and two together, and it is entirely to his credit as a seaman that at the age of thirty he commanded the two first English slaving expeditions without mishap, and with considerable profit for himself and his financial backers.

Hawkins has suffered at the hands of his biographers; they are too few, and most of them attach too much importance to his slaving and plundering exploits. If there was any virtue or purpose in this inhuman traffic, it lay in the fact that through it Hawkins rose to fame and position at Court, and so, finally, obtained the post of Treasurer to the Navy. It is through his work and influence in this position that he has earned the respect and gratitude of all Englishmen. It was he who built and largely designed the fleet that was destined to defeat the Armada and to lay the foundations of the traditional efficiency of the Navy, which, with the exception of a few periodical lapses, has been carried on down to our own times.

When the pirate Hawkins was not occupied in crime, it was not, fortunately for us, the gurgling brook, but the study of naval architecture and equipment, which delighted him. He invented, or at least popularised, the use of the bow-line; he introduced chain pumps and new topmast



### *Biographical Note*

gear into the ships which he and Robert Chapman, a shipwright of Deptford, sent to sea. He was, of course, accused by his contemporaries of corrupt practices and of sharing the proceeds with his contractor. This, as we have seen during the late war, is the fate of all great men of energy and foresight who see to it that our troops have an abundance of the necessary munitions ; the more successful they are, the more they must endure the pointed finger and the whispered accusation. But the answer to all such charges of corruption lies in the quality of the material provided ; when the Armada reached Calais Roads, it bore grim testimony to the energy and care which Hawkins had lavished on the finest little fleet the world had ever seen.

For the rest, the notorious meanness of the Queen and her unwillingness to part with money for her fleet must have made it very difficult for the most corrupt Minister to squeeze a percentage for his own pocket out of her meagre grants.

The various incidents of his life, his amazing courage and powers of endurance, and the manner of his death are all set forth in the following pages.



# HAKLUYT'S VOYAGES

The Voyage made by  
M. JOHN HAWKINS ESQUIRE,  
and afterward knight, Captaine of the Jesus of  
Lubek, one of her Majesties shippes, and  
Generall of the Salomon, and other two  
barkes going in his companie, to  
the coast of Guinea, and the  
Indies of Nova His-  
pania, begun in An.  
Dom. 1564.



ASTER John Hawkins with the Jesus of Lubek, a shippe of 700. and the Salomon a shippe of 140. the Tiger a barke of 50. and the Swallow of 30. tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundreth threescore and tenne, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voyage, departed out of Plymmouth the 18. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde : at which departing, in cutting the foresaile, a marveilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the shippe, who by the pullie of the sheat was slaine out of hand, being a sorowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out ten leagues to the sea, he met the same day with the Minion a ship of the Queenes Majestie, whereof was Captaine David Carlet, and also her consort the John Baptist of London, being bounde to Guinea also, who hailed one the other after the custome of the sea with certaine pieces of ordinance for joy of their meeting : which done, the Minion departed



from him to seeke her other consort the Merlin of London, which was a sterne out of sight, leaving in M. Hawkins companie the John Baptist her other consort.

Thus sayling forwards on their way with a prosperous winde untill the 21. of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the winde being at Northeast about nine a clocke in the night, and continued so 23. houres together, in which storme M. Hawkins lost the companie of the John Baptist aforesayd, and of his pinnesse called the Swallow, his other 3. shippes being sore beaten with a storme. The 23. day the Swallow to his no small rejoycing, came to him againe in the night, 10. leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister, he having put roomer, not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary winde at Southwest. The 25. the wind continuing contrary, hee put into a place in Galicia, called Ferroll, where hee remained five dayes, and appointed all the Masters of his shippes an order for the keeping of good companie in this manner: The small shippes to bee alwayes ahead and aweather of the Jesus, and to speake twice a day with the Jesus at least: if in the day the Ensigne bee over the poope of the Jesus, or in the night two lights, then shall all the shippes speake with her: If there bee three lights aboard the Jesus, then doeth she cast about: If the weather bee extreme, that the small shippes cannot keepe companie with the Jesus, then all to keepe companie with the Salomon, and foorthwith to repaire to the Iland of Teneriffe, to the Northward of the road of Sirroes; If any happen to any misfortune then to shew two lights, and to shoote off a peece of ordinance. If any lose companie, and come in sight againe, to make three yawes, and strike the Myson three times: Serve God daily, love one another, preserve your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie.

The 26. day the Minion came in also where hee was, for the rejoycing whereof hee gave them certaine peece of ordinance, after the courtesie of the sea for their welcome: but the Minions men had no mirth, because of their consort the Merline, whome at their departure from Master Hawkins upon the coast of England they went to seeke, and having met with her, kept companie two dayes together, and at last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of their gunners) the powder in the gunners roome was set on fire, which with the first blast strooke out her poope, and therewithall lost three men, besides many sore burned (which escaped by the brigandine being at her sterne) and immediatly, to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight to the beholders, she sunke before their eyes.

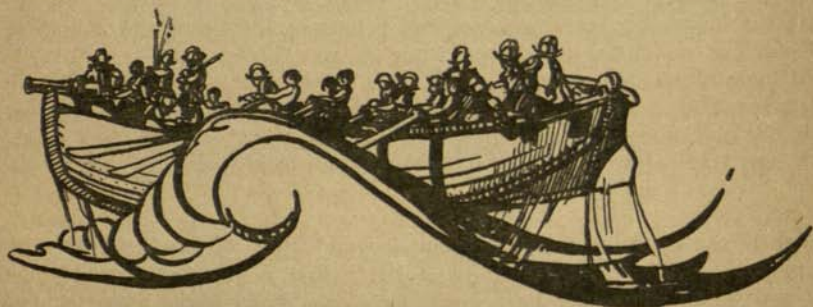
*The Voyage made by M. John Hawkins Esquire*

The 20. day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his consorts and companie of the Minion, having nowe both the brigandines at her sterne, wayed anker, and set saile on their voyage, having a prosperous winde thereunto.

The fourth of November they had sight of the Iland of Madera, and the sixt day of Teneriffe, which they thought to have beene the Canarie, in that they supposed themselves to have beene to the Eastward of Teneriffe, and were not : but the Minion being three or foure leagues ahead of us, kept on her course to Teneriffe, having better sight thereof then the other had, and by that meanes they parted companie. For M. Hawkins and his companie went more to the West, upon which course having sayled a while, hee espied another Iland, which hee thought to bee Teneriffe, and being not able by meanes of the fogge upon the hils, to discerne the same, nor yet to fetch it by night, went roomer untill the morning, being the seventh of November, which as yet hee could not discerne, but sayled along the coast the space of two houres, to perceive some certaine marke of Teneriffe, and found no likelyhood thereof at all, accompting that to bee, as it was in deede, the Ile of Palmes : and so sayling forwards, espied another Iland called Gomera, and also Teneriffe, with the which hee made, and sayling all night, came in the morning the next day to the port of Adezia, where he found his pinnesse which had departed from him the sixt of the moneth, being in the weather of him, and espying the pike of Teneriffe all a high, bare thither. At his arrivall somewhat before hee came to anker, hee hoysed out his shippes pinnesse rowing a shoare, intending to have sent one with a letter to Peter de ponte, one of the governours of the Iland, who dwelt a league from the shoare : but as hee pretended to have landed, suddenly there appeared upon the two points of the roade, men levelling of bases and harquebuzes to them, with divers others to the number of fourescore, with halberds, pikes, swordes and targets, which happened so contrary to his expectation, that it did greatly amaze him, and the more, because hee was nowe in their danger, not knowing well howe to avoyde it without some mischiefe. Wherefore hee determined to call to them for the better appeasing of the matter, declaring his name, and professing himselfe to bee an especiall friend to Peter de ponte, and that he had sundry things for him which he greatly desired. And in the meane time, while hee was thus talking with them, whereby hee made them to holde their hands, hee willed the marriners to rowe away, so that at last he gat out of their danger : and then asking for Peter de ponte, one of his sonnes being Sennor Nicolas de Ponte, came forth, whom hee perceiving, desired to put



his men aside, and hee himselfe would leape a shoare and commune with him, which they did : so that after communication had betweene them of sundry things, and of the feare they both had, master Hawkins desired to have certaine necessities provided for him. In the meane space, while these things were providing, hee trimmed the maine mast of the *Jesus* which in the storme aforesayd was sprung : here he sojourned 7. dayes, refreshing himselfe and his men. In the which time Peter de ponte dwelling at S. Cruz, a citie 20. leagues off, came to him, and gave him as gentle entertainment as if he had bene his owne brother. To speake somewhat of these Ilands, being called in olde time *Insulæ fortunatæ*, by the meanes of the flourishing thereof, the fruitfulnessse of them doeth surely exceede



farre all other that I have heard of : for they make wine better then any in Spaine, they have grapes of such bignes, that they may bee compared to damsons, and in taste inferiour to none : for sugar, suckets, raisins of the Sunne, and many other fruits, abundance : for rosine & raw silke, there is great store, they want neither corne, pullets, cattell, nor yet wilde foule : they have many Camels also, which being young, are eaten of the people for victuals, and being olde, they are used for caryage of necessities : whose propertie is as hee is taught to kneele at the taking of his load, and unlading againe : his nature is to ingender backward contrary to other beastes : of understanding very good, but of shape very deformed, with a little bellie, long misshapen legges, and feete very broad of flesh, without a hoofe, all whole, saving the great toe, a backe bearing up like a molehill, a large and thin necke, with a little head, with a bunch of hard flesh, which nature hath given him in his breast to leane upon. This beast liveth hardly,

and is contented with strawe and stubble, but of force strong, being well able to carrie 500. weight. In one of these Ilands called Fierro, there is by the reports of the inhabitants, a certaine tree that raineth continually, by the dropping whereof the inhabitants and cattell are satisfied with water, for other water have they none in all the Iland. And it raineth in such abundance, that it were incredible unto a man to beleieve such a vertue to bee in a tree, but it is knowen to be a divine matter, and a thing ordeined by God, at whose power therein wee ought not to marvell, seeing he did by his providence as we read in the Scriptures, when the children of Israel were going into the land of promise, feede them with Manna from heaven, for the space of 40. yeeres. Of the trees aforesaid wee saw in Guinie many, being of great height, dropping continually, but not so abundantly as the other, because the leaves are narrower, and are like the leaves of a pearce tree. About these Ilands are certaine flitting Ilands, which have bene oftentimes seene, and when men approached neere them, they vanished: as the like hath bene of these Ilands nowe knowen by the report of the inhabitants, which were not found of long time one after the other: and therefore it should seeme hee is not yet borne to whom God hath appoynted the finding of them. In this Iland of Teneriffe there is a hill called The Pike, because it is piked, which is in heighth by their reports twentie leagues, having both winter and summer abundance of snowe in the top of it: this Pike may bee seene in a cleere day fiftie leagues off, but it sheweth as though it were a blacke cloude a great heighth in the element. I have heard of none to be compared with this in heighth, but in the Indias I have seene many, and in my judgement not inferiour to the Pike, and so the Spaniards write.

The 15. of November at night we departed from Teneriffe, and the 20. of the same wee had sight of ten Caravels, that were fishing at sea, with whome we would have spoken, but they fearing us, fled into a place of Barbarie, called Cape de las Barbas.

The twentieth, the ships pinnesse with two men in her, sayling by the ship, was overthrowen by the oversight of them that went in her, the winde being so great, that before they were espied, and the ship had cast about for them, she was driven half a league to leeward of the pinnesse, and had lost sight of her, so that there was small hope of recoverie, had not Gods helpe and the Captaines deligence bene, who having wel marked which way the pinnesse was by the Sunne, appointed 24 of the lustiest rowers in the great boate, to rowe to the wind-wardes, and so recovered, contrary to all mens expectations, both the pinnesse and the men sitting upon the keele of her.



*Hakluyt's Voyages*

The 25 he came to Cape Blanco, which is upon the coast of Africa, and a place where the Portugals do ride, that fish there in the moneth of November especially, and is a very good place of fishing, for Pargoes, Mullet, and Dogge fish. In this place the Portugals have no holde for their defence, but have rescue of the Barbarians, whom they entertaine as their souldiers, for the time of their being there and for their fishing upon that coast of



Africa, doe pay a certaine tribute to the king of the Moores. The people of that part of Africa are tawnie, having long haire without any apparell, saving before their privie members. Their weapons in warres are bowes and arrowes.

The 26 we departed from S. Avis Baye, within Cape Blanco, where we refreshed our selves with fish, and other necessities : and the 29 wee came to Cape Verde, which lieth in 14 degrees, and a halfe. These people are all blacke, and are called Negros, without any apparell, saving before their

*The Voyage made by M. John Hawkins Esquire*

privities : of stature goodly men, and well liking by reason of their food, which passeth all other Guyneans for kine, goats, pullin, rise, fruits, and fish. Here wee tooke fishes with heads like conies, and teeth nothing varying, of a jolly thickenesse, but not past a foote long, and is not to be eaten without flaying or cutting off his head. To speake somewhat of the sundry sortes of these Guyneans : the people of Cape Verde are called Leophares, and counted the goodliest men of all other, saving the Congoes, which do inhabite on this side the cape de Buena Esperanca. These Leophares have warres against the Ieloffes, which are borderers by them : their weapons are bowes and arrowes, targets, and short daggers, darts also, but varying from other Negros : for whereas the other use a long dart to fight with in their hands, they cary five or sixe small ones a peece, which they cast with. These men also are more civill then any other, because of their dayly trafficke with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle and loving : for while we were there, we tooke in a Frenchman, who was one of the 19 that going to Brasile, in a Barke of Diepe, of 60 tunnes, and being a sea boord of Cape Verde, 200 leagues, the planks of their Barke with a sea brake out upon them so suddenly, that much a doe they had to save themselves in their boats : but by Gods providence, the wind being Westerly, which is rarely seene there, they got to the shore, to the Isle Brava, and in great penurie gotte to Cape Verde, where they remained sixe weekes, and had meate and drinke of the same people. The said Frenchman having forsaken his fellowes, which were three leagues off from the shore, and wandring with the Negros too and fro, fortunèd to come to the waters side : and communing with certaine of his countrey men, which were in our ship, by their perswasions came away with us : but his entertainment amongst them was such, that he desired it not : but through the importunate request of his Countrey men, consented at the last. Here we stayed but one night, and part of the day : for the 7 of December wee came away, in that pretending to have taken Negros there perforce, the Mynions men gave them there to understand of our comming, and our pretence, wherefore they did avoyde the snares we had layd for them.

The 8 of December wee ankered by a small Island called Alcatrarsa, wherein at our going a shore, we found nothing but sea-birds, as we call them Ganets, but by the Portugals, called Alcatrarses, who for that cause gave the said Island the same name. Herein halfe of our boates were laden with yong and olde fowle, who not being used to the sight of men, flew so about us, that we stroke them downe with poles. In this place the two



shippes riding, the two Barkes, with their boates, went into an Island of the Sapies, called La Formio, to see if they could take any of them, and there



landed to the number of 80 in armour, and espying certaine made to them, but they fled in such order into the woods, that it booted them not to follow: so going on their way forward till they came to a river, which they could not passe over, they espied on the otherside two men, who with their bowes and arrowes shot terribly at them. Whereupon we discharged certaine harquebuzes to them againe, but the ignorant people wayed it not, because they knewe not the danger thereof: but used a marveilous crying in their fight with leaping and

turning their tayles, that it was most strange to see, and gave us great pleasure to beholde them. At the last, one being hurt with a harquebuz upon the thigh, looked upon his wound and wist not howe it came, because hee could not see the pellet. Here Master Hawkins perceiving no good to

be done amongst them, because we could not finde their townes, and also not knowing how to goe into Rio grande, for want of a Pilote, which was the very occasion of our comming thither: and finding so many sholes, feared with our great ships to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols.

The 10 of December, we had a Northeast winde, with raine and storme, which weather continuing two dayes together, was the occasion that the Salomon, and Tygre loste our companie: for whereas the Jesus, and pinnesse ankered at one of the Islands called Sambula, the twelfth day, the Salomon and Tygre came not thither till the 14. In this Island we stayed certaine daies, going every day on shore to take the Inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their townes, who before were Sapias, and were conquered by the Samboses, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona. These Samboses had inhabited there three yeres before our comming thither, and in so short space have so planted the ground, that they had great plentie of Mil, Rise, Rootes, Pompions, Pullin, goates, of small frye dried, every house full of the Countrey fruit planted by Gods providence, as Palmito trees, fruites like dates, and sundry other in no place in all that Countrey so abundantly, whereby they lived more deliciously then other. These inhabitants have diverse of the Sapias, which they tooke in the warres as their slaves, whome onely they kept to till the ground, in that they neither have the knowledge thereof, nor yet will worke themselves, of whome wee tooke many in that place, but of the Samboses none at all, for they fled into the maine. All the Samboses have white teeth as we have, farre unlike to the Sapias which doe inhabite about Rio grande, for their teeth are all filed, which they doe for a braverie, to set out themselves, and doe jagge their flesh, both legges, armes, and bodies, as workemanlike, as a Jerkinmaker with us pinketh a jerkin. These Sapias be more civill then the Samboses: for whereas the Samboses live most by the spoile of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them also. The Sapias doe not eat mans flesh, unlesse in the warre they be driven by necessitie thereunto, which they have not used but by the example of the Samboses, but live onely with fruites, and cattell, whereof they have great store. This plentie is the occasion that the Sapias desire not warre, except they be therunto provoked by the invasions of the Samboses, whereas the Samboses for want of foode are enforced thereunto, and therefore are not wont onely to take them that they kill, but also keepe those that they take, untill such time as they want meate, and then they kill them. There is also another occasion that provoketh



the Samboses to warre against the Sapiés which is for covetousnes of their riches. For whereas the Sapiés have an order to burie their dead in certaine places appointed for that purpose, with their golde about them, the Samboses digge up the ground, to have the same treasure : for the Samboses have not the like store of golde, that the Sapiés have. In this Island of Sambula we found about 50 boates called Almadyes, or Canoas, which are made of one peece of wood, digged out like a trough but of a good proportion, being about 8 yards long, and one in breadth, having a beakhead and a sterne very proportionably made, and on the out side artificially carved, and painted red and blewe : they are able to cary twenty or thirty men, but they are about the coast able to cary threescore and upward. In these canoas they rowe standing upright, with an oare somewhat longer then a man, the ende whereof is made about the breadth and length of a mans hand, of the largest sort. They row very swift, and in some of them foure rowers and one to steere make as much way, as a paire of oares in the Thames of London.

Their Townes are pretily divided with a maine streete at the entring in, that goeth thorough their Towne, and another overthwart street, which maketh their townes crosse wayes : their houses are built in a ranke very orderly in the face of the street, and they are made round, like a dovecote, with stakes set full of Palmito leaves, in stead of a wall : they are not much more then a fathome large, and two of heighth, & thatched with Palmito leaves very close, other some with reede, and over the rooffe thereof, for the better garnishing of the same, there is a round bundle of reede, pretily contrived like a louver : in the inner part they make a loft of stickes, whereupon they lay all their provision of victuals : a place they reserve at their enterance for the kitchin, and the place they lie in is devided with certaine mattes artificially made with the rine of Palmito trees : their bedsteades are of small staves layd along, and raysed a foote from the ground, upon which is layde a matte, and another upon them when they list : for other covering they have none. In the middle of the towne there is a house larger and higher then the other, but in forme alike, adjoyning unto the which there is a place made of foure good stancions of woode, and a round rooffe over it, the grounde also raised round with claye a foote high, upon the which floore were strawed many fine mats : this is the Consultation-house, the like whereof is in all Townes, as the Portugals affirme : in which place, when they sitte in Counsell the King or Captaine sitteth in the midst, and the Elders upon the floore by him : (for they give reverence to their Elders) and the common sorte sitte round about them. There they sitte to examine

matters of theft, which if a man be taken with, to steale but a Portugal cloth from another, hee is sold to the Portugals for a slave. They consult also, and take order what time they shall goe to warres : and as it is certainly reported by the Portugals, they take order in gathering of the fruites in the season of the yeere, and also of Palmito wine, which is gathered by a hole cut in the top of a tree, and a gourde set for the receiving thereof, which falleth in by droppes, and yeeldeth fresh wine againe within a moneth, and this divided part and portion-like to every man, by the judgement of the Captaine and Elders, every man holdeth himselfe contented : and this surely I judge to be a very good order : for otherwise, whereas scarcitie of Palmito is, every man would have the same, which might breed great strife : but of such things, as every man doeth plant for himselfe, the sower thereof reapeth it to his owne use, so that nothing is common, but that which is unset by mans hands. In their houses there is more common passage of Lizardes like Evats, and other greater, of blacke and blew colour, of neere a foote long, besides their tailes, then there is with us of Mise in great houses. The Sapias and Samboses also use in their warres bowes, and arrowes made of reedes, with heads of yron poysoned with the juyce of a Cucumber, whereof I had many in my handes. In their battels they have target-men, with broad wicker targets, and darts with heades at both endes, of yron, the one in forme of a two edged sworde, a foote and an halfe long, and at the other ende, the yron long of the same length made to counterpease it, that in casting it might flie level, rather then for any other purpose as I can judge. And when they espie the enemye, the Captaine to cheere his men, cryeth Hungry, and they answer Heygre, and with that every man placeth himselfe in order, for about every target man three bowemen will cover themselves, and shoote as they see advantage : and when they give the onset, they make such terrible cryes, that they may bee heard two miles off. For their beliefe, I can heare of none that they have, but in such as they themselves imagine to see in their dreames, and so worshippe the pictures, whereof wee sawe some like unto devils. In this Island aforesayde wee sojourned unto the one and twentieth of December, where having taken certaine Negros, and asmuch of their fruites, rise, and mill, as we could well cary away, (whereof there was such store, that wee might have laden one of our Barkes therewith) wee departed, and at our departure divers of our men being desirous to goe on shore, to fetch Pompions, which having prooved, they found to bee very good, certaine of the Tygres men went also, amongst the which there was a Carpenter, a yong man, who with his fellowes having



fet many, and caryed them downe to their boates, as they were ready to depart, desired his fellow to tary while he might goe up to fetch a few which he had layed by for him selfe, who being more licorous then circumspect, went up without weapon, and as he went up alone, possibly being marked of the Negros that were upon the trees, espying him what hee did, perceaving him to be alone, and without weapon, dogged him, and finding him occupied in binding his Pompions together, came behinde him, overthrowing him and straight cutte his throate, as hee afterwarde was found by his fellowes, who came to the place for him, and there found him naked.

The two and twentieth the Captaine went into the River, called Callowsa, with the two Barkes, and the Johns Pinnesse, and the Salomons boate, leaving at anker in the Rivers mouth the two shippes, the River being twenty leagues in, where the Portugals roade: hee came thither the five and twentieth, and dispatched his businesse, and so returned with two Caravels, loaden with Negros.

The 27. the Captaine was advertised by the Portugals of a towne of the Negros called Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not onely great quantitie of golde, but also that there were not above fortie men, and an hundred women and children in the Towne, so that if hee would give the adventure upon the same, hee might gette an hundreth slaves: with the which tydings hee being gladde, because the Portugals shoulde not thinke him to bee of so base a courage, but that hee durst give them that, and greater attempts: and being thereunto also the more provoked with the prosperous successe hee had in other Islands adjacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate twentie together, determined to stay before the Towne three or foure houres, to see what hee could doe: and thereupon prepared his men in armour and weapon together, to the number of fortie men well appointed, having to their guides certaine Portugals, in a boat, who brought some of them to their death: wee landing boat after boat, and divers of our men scattering themselves, contrary to the Captaines will, by one or two in a company, for the hope that they had to finde golde in their houses, ransacking the same, in the meane time the Negros came upon them, and hurte many being thus scattered, whereas if five or sixe had bene together, they had bene able, as their companions did, to give the overthrow to 40 of them, and being driven downe to take their boates, were followed so hardly by a route of Negros, who by that tooke courage to pursue them to their boates, that not onely some of them, but others standing on shore, not looking for any such matter by meanes that

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the Negros did flee at the first, and our companie remained in the towne, were suddenly so set upon that some with great hurt recovered their boates ; othersome not able to recover the same, tooke the water, and perished by meanes of the oaze. While this was doing, the Capitaine who with a dosen



men, went through the towne, returned, finding 200 Negros at the waters side, shooting at them in the boates, and cutting them in pieces which were drowned in the water, at whose comming, they ranne all away : so he entred his boates, and before he could put off from the shore, they returned againe, and shot very fiercely and hurt divers of them. Thus wee returned backe



some what discomforted, although the Captaine in a singular wise maner caried himselfe, with countenance very cheerefull outwardly, as though hee did litle weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the rest, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it; done to this ende, that the Portugals being with him, should not presume to resist against him, nor take occasion to put him to further displeasure or hinderance for the death of our men: having gotten by our going ten Negros, and lost seven of our best men, whereof M. Field Captaine of the Salomon, was one, and we had 27 of our men hurt. In the same houre while this was doing, there happened at the same instant, a marvellous miracle to them in the shippes, who roade ten leagues to sea-ward, by many sharkes or Tiburons, who came about the ships: among which, one was taken by the Jesus, and foure by the Salomon, and one very sore hurt escaped: and so it fell out of our men, whereof one of the Jesus men, and foure of the Salomons were killed, and the fift having twentie wounds was rescued, and scaped with much adoe.

The 28 they came to their ships, the Jesus, and the Salomon, and the 30 departed from thence to Taggarin.

The first of Januarie the two barkes, and both the boates forsooke the ships, and went into a river called the Casserrees, and the 6 having dispatched their businesse, the two barkes returned, and came to Taggarin, where the two ships were at anker. Not two dayes after the comming of the two ships thither, they put their water caske a shore, and filled it with water, to season the same, thinking to have filled it with fresh water afterward: and while their men were some on shore, and some at their boates, the Negros set upon them in the boates, and hurt divers of them, and came to the caskes, and cut of the hoopes of twelve butts, which lost us 4 or 5 dayes time, besides great want we had of the same: sojourning at Taggarin, the Swallow went up the river about her trafficke, where they saw great townes of the Negros, and Canoas, that had threescore men in a piece: there they understood by the Portugals, of a great battell betweene them of Sierra Leona side, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona, had prepared three hundred Canoas to invade the other. The time was appointed not past sixe dayes after our departure from thence, which we would have seene, to the intent we might have taken some of them, had it not bene for the death and sicknesse of our men, which came by the contagiousnes of the place, which made us to make hast away.

The 18 of Januarie at night, wee departed from Taggarin, being bound for the West Indies, before which departure certaine of the Salomons men

went on shore to fill water in the night, and as they came on shore with their boat being ready to leape on land, one of them espied an Negro in a white coate, standing upon a rocke, being ready to have received them when they came on shore, having in sight of his fellowes also eight or nine, some in one place leaping out, and some in another, but they hid themselves streight againe : whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and sought to have taken them at more advantage, as God would, departed to their ships, not thinking there had bene such a mischiefe pretended toward them, as then was in deede. Which the next day we understood of a Portugal that came downe to us, who had trafficked with the Negros, by whom hee understood, that the king of Sierra Leona had made all the power hee could, to take some of us, partly for the desire he had to see what kinde of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had newes before our comming, and as I judge also, upon other occasions provoked by the Tangomangos, but sure we were that the armie was come downe, by meanes that in the evening wee saw such a monstrous fire, made by the watring place, that before was not seene, which fire is the only marke for the Tangomangos to know where their armie is alwayes. If these men had come downe in the evening, they had done us great displeasure, for that wee were on shore filling water : but God, who worketh all things for the best, would not have it so, and by him we escaped without danger, his name be prayed for it.

The 29 of this same moneth we departed with all our shippes from Sierra Leona, towards the West Indies, and for the space of eightene dayes, we were becalmed, having nowe and then contrary windes, and some Ternados, amongst the same calme, which happened to us very ill, becing but reasonably watered, for so great a companie of Negros, and our selves, which pinched us all, and that which was worst, put us in such feare that many never thought to have reached to the Indies, without great death of Negros, and of themselves : but the Almighty God, who never suffereth his elect to perish, sent us the sixteenth of Februarie, the ordinary Brise, which is the Northwest winde, which never left us, till wee came to an Island of the Canyals, called Dominica, where wee arrived the ninth of March, upon a Saturday : and because it was the most desolate place in all the Island, we could see no Canyals, but some of their houses where they dwelled, and as it should seeme forsooke the place for want of fresh water, for wee could finde none there but raine water, and such as fell from the hilles, and remained as a puddle in the dale, whereof wee filled for our Negros. The



Canybals of that Island, and also others adjacent are the most desperate warriers that are in the Indies, by the Spaniards report, who are never able to conquer them, and they are molested by them not a little, when they are driven to water there in any of those Islands : of very late, not two moneths past, in the said Island, a Caravel being driven to water, was in the night sette upon by the inhabitants, who cutte their cable in the halser, whereby they were driven a shore, and so taken by them, and eaten. The greene Dragon of Newhaven, whereof was Captaine one Bontemps, in March also, came to one of those Islands, called Granada, and being driven to water, could not doe the same for the Canybals, who fought with him very desperatly two dayes. For our part also, if we had not lighted upon the desertest place in all that Island, wee could not have missed, but should have bene greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards reports, who make them devils in respect of me.

The tenth day at night, we departed from thence, and the fifteenth had sight of nine Islands, called the Testigos : and the sixteenth of an Island, called Margarita, where wee were entertayned by the Alcalde, and had both Beeves and sheepe given us, for the refreshing of our men : but the Governour of the Island, would neither come to speake with our Captaine, neither yet give him any licence to trafficke : and to displease us the more, whereas wee had hired a Pilote to have gone with us, they would not onely not suffer him to goe with us, but also sent word by a Caravel out of hand, to Santo Domingo, to the Viceroy, who doeth represent the kings person, of our arrivall in those partes, which had like to have turned us to great displeasure, by the meanes that the same Vice-roy did send word to Cape de la Vela, and to other places along the coast, commanding them that by the vertue of his authoritie, and by the obedience that they owe to their Prince, no man should trafficke with us, but should resist us with all the force they could. In this Island, notwithstanding that wee were not within foure leagues of the Towne, yet were they so afraid, that not onely the Governour himselfe, but also all the inhabitants forsooke their Towne, assembling all the Indians to them and fled into the mountaines, as wee were partly certified, and also sawe the experience our selves, by some of the Indians comming to see us who by three Spaniards a horsebacke passing hard by us, went unto the Indians, having every one of them their bowes, and arrowes, procuring them away, who before were conversant with us.

Here perceiving no trafficke to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, we were driven to depart the twentieth day, and the

2 and twentieth we came to a place in the maine called Cumana, whither the Captaine going in his Pinnisse, spake with certaine Spaniards, of whom he demanded trafficke, but they made him answere, they were but souldiers newly come thither, and were not able to by one Negro : whereupon hee asked for a watring place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Santa Fè, where we found marveilous goodly watering, and commodious for the taking in thereof : for that the fresh water came into the Sea, and so our shippes had aboard the shore twentie fathome water. Neere about this place, inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day after we came thither, came down to us, presenting mill and cakes of breade, which they had made of a kinde of corne called Maiz, in bignesse of a pease, the eare whereof is much like to a teasell, but a spanne in length, having thereon a number of granes. Also they brought down to us Hennes, Potatoes and Pines, which we bought for beades, pewter whistles, glasses, knives, and other trifles.

From hence we departed the eight and twentie, and the next day we passed betweene the maine land, and the Island called Tortuga, a very lowe Island, in the yeere of our Lorde God one thousande five hundred sixty five aforesaide, and sayled along the coast untill the first of Aprill, at which time the Captaine sayled along in the Jesus pinnesse to discerne the coast, and saw many Caribes on shore, and some also in their Canoas, which made tokens unto him of friendship, and shewed him golde, meaning thereby that they would trafficke for wares. Whereupon he stayed to see the maners of them, and so for two or three trifles they gave such things as they had about them, and departed : but the Caribes were very importunate to have them come on shore, which if it had not bene for want of wares to trafficke with them, he would not have denyed them, because the Indians which we saw before were very gentle people, and such as do no man hurt. But as God would have it, hee wanted that thing, which if hee had had, would have bene his confusion : for these were no such kinde of people as wee tooke them to bee, but more devilish a thousand partes and are eaters and devourers of any man they can catch, as it was afterwards declared unto us at Burboroata, by a Caravel comming out of Spaine with certaine souldiers, and a Captaine generall sent by the king for those Eastward parts of the Indians, who sayling along in his pinnesse, as our Captaine did to descry the coast, was by the Caribes called a shoore with sundry tokens made to him of friendship, and golde shewed as though they desired trafficke, with the which the Spaniard being mooved, suspecting no deceite at all, went ashore amongst them : who



was no sooner ashore, but with foure or five more was taken, the rest of his company being invaded by them, saved themselves by flight, but they that were taken, paid their ransome with their lives, and were presently eaten. And this is their practise to toll with their golde the ignorant to their snares : they are blood-suckers both of Spaniards, Indians, and all that light in their laps, not sparing their owne countreyemen if they can conveniently come by them. Their policie in fight with the Spaniards is marveilous : for they chuse for their refuge the mountaines and woodes where the Spaniards with their horses cannot follow them, and if they fortune to be met in the plaine where one horseman may over-runne 100. of them, they have a devise of late practised by them to pitch stakes of wood in the ground, and also small iron pikes to mischiefe their horses, wherein they shew themselves politique warriors. They have more abundance of golde then all the Spaniards have, and live upon the mountaines where the Mines are in such number, that the Spaniards have much adoe to get any of them from them, and yet sometimes by assembling a great number of them, which happeneth once in two yeeres, they get a piece from them, which afterwards they keepe sure ynough.

Thus having escaped the danger of them, wee kept our course along the coast, and came the third of April to a Towne called Burboroata, where his ships came to an ancker, and hee himselve went a shore to speake with the Spaniards, to whom hee declared himselve to be an Englishman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of marchandize, and therefore required licence for the same. Unto whom they made answere, that they were forbidden by the king to trafique with any forren nation, upon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therfore they desired him not to molest them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their handes, because they were subjects and might not goe beyond the law. But hee replied that his necessitie was such, as he might not so do : for being in one of the Queens Armadas of England, and having many souldiours in them, hee had neede both of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also, without the which hee coulde not depart, and with much other talke perswaded them not to feare any dishonest part of his behalfe towards them, for neither would hee commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, not yet for his honest reputation and estimation, unlesse hee were too rigorously dealt withall, which hee hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it should as well redound to their profite as his owne, and also hee thought they might doe it without danger, because their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our parts wee had free trafique in

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Spain and Flanders, which are in his dominions, and therefore he knew no reason why he should not have the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniards made answer, that it lay not in them to give any licence, for that they had a governour to whom the government of those parts was committed, but if they would stay tenne dayes, they would send to their governour who was threescore leagues off, and would returne answer within the space appointed, of his minde.

In the meane time they were contented hee should bring his ships into



harbour, and there they would deliver him any victuals he would require. Whereupon the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiving all things according to promise, the Captaine advised himselfe, that to remaine there tenne dayes idle, spending victuals and mens wages, and perhaps in the ende receive no good answer from the governour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make request to have licence for the sale of certaine leane and sicke Negros which hee had in his shippe like to die upon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, having little or no refreshing



for them, whereas other men having them, they would bee recovered well ynough. And this request hee was forced to make, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals & for necessaries which he should take : which request being put in writing and presented, the officers and towne-dwellers assembled together, and finding his request so reasonable, granted him licence for thirtie Negros, which afterwards they caused the officers to view, to the intent they should graunt to nothing but that were very reasonable, for feare of answering thereunto afterwards. This being past, our Captaine according to their licence, thought to have made sale, but the day past and none came to buy, who before made shewe that they had great neede of them, and therefore wist not what to surmise of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Governour his answer because they would keepe themselves blamelesse, or for any other pollicie hee knew not, and for that purpose sent them worde, marveiling what the matter was that none came to buy them. They answered, because they had granted licence onely to the poore to buy those Negros of small price, and their money was not so ready as other mens of more wealth. More then that, as soone as ever they sawe the shippes, they conveyed away their money by their wives that went into the mountaines for feare, & were not yet returned, & yet asked two dayes to seeke their wives and fetch their money. Notwithstanding, the next day divers of them came to cheape, but could not agree of price, because they thought the price too high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiving they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buy, and would not confesse if hee had licence, that he might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did send for the principals of the Towne, and made a shewe hee would depart, declaring himselfe to be very sory that he had so much troubled them, and also that he had sent for the governour to come downe, seeing nowe his pretence was to depart, whereat they marveled much, and asked him what cause mooved him thereunto, seeing by their working he was in possibilitie to have his licence.

To the which he replied, that it was not onely a licence that he sought, but profit, which he perceived was not there to bee had, and therefore would seeke further, and withall shewed him his writings what he payed for his Negros, declaring also the great charge he was at in his shipping, and mens wages, and therefore to countervaille his charges, hee must sell his Negros for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to sell better there then in any other place. And if it fell out

that he had no licence that he should not loose his labour in taryng, for they would buy without licence. Whereupon, the Captaine being put in comfort, promised them to stay, so that hee might make sale of his leane Negros, which they granted unto. And the next day did sell some of them, who having bought and payed for them, thinking to have had a discharge of the Customer, for the custome of the Negros, being the Kings duetie, they gave it away to the poore for Gods sake, and did refuse to give the discharge in writing, and the poore not trusting their wordes, for feare, least hereafter it might bee demaunded of them, did refraine from buying any more, so that nothing else was done untill the Governours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither in a shippe of the Queenes Majesties of England, being bound to Guinie, and thither driven by winde and weather, so that being come thither, hee had neede of sundry necessities for the reparation of the said Navie, and also great need of money for the paiment of his Souldiours, unto whom hee had promised paiment, and therefore although hee would, yet would not they depart without it, & for that purpose he requested licence for the sale of certaine of his Negros, declaring that although they were forbidden to trafique with strangers, yet for that there was a great amitie betweene their princes, and that the thing pertained to our Queenes highnesse, he thought hee might doe their prince great service, and that it would bee well taken at his hands, to doe it in this cause. The which allegations with divers others put in request, were presented unto the Governour, who sitting in counsell for that matter, granted unto his request for licence. But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings Custome, being upon every slave 30. duckets, which would not be granted unto.

Whereupon the Captaine perceiving that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the Kings Custome of that they offered, so that either he must be a great looser by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the same kings Custome which was too unreasonable, for to a higher price hee coulde not bring the buyers: Therefore the sixteenth of April hee prepared one hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, harquebuzes and pikes, with the which hee marched to the townewards, and being perceived by the Governour, he straight with all expedition sent messengers to knowe his request, desiring him to march no further forward untill he had answere againe, which incontinent he should have. So our Captaine declaring how unreasonable a thing the



Kings Custome was, requested to have the same abated, and to pay seven and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie Custome for wares through his dominions there, and unto this if they would not graunt, hee would displease them. And this word being caried to the Governour, answere was returned that all things should bee to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the souldiers and Mariners finding so little credite in their promises, demanded gages for the performance of the premisses, or els they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to send gages, wee departed, beginning our trafique, and ending the same without disturbance.

Thus having made trafique in the harborough untill the 28. our Captaine with his ships intended to goe out of the roade, and purposed to make shew of his departure, because nowe the common sort having imployed their money, the rich men were come to towne, who made no shew that they were come to buy, so that they went about to bring downe the price, and by this pollicie the Captaine knew they would be made the more eager, for feare least we departed, and they should goe without any at all.

The nine and twentie wee being at ancker without the road, a French ship called the Greene Dragon of Newhaven, whereof was Captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted us after the maner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of Ordinance, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom having communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and inforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was happened unto the Minion: besides the Captaine Davie Carlet and a Marchant, with a dozen Mariners betrayed by the Negros at their first arrivall thither, and remayning prisoners with the Portugals; and besides other misadventures of the losse of their men, happened through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorrowfull for us to understand.

Thus having ended our trafique here the 4. of May, we departed, leaving the Frenchman behinde us, the night before the which the Caribes, whereof I have made mention before, being to the number of 200. came in their Canoas to Burboroata, intending by night to have burned the towne, and taken the Spaniards, who being more vigilant because of our being there, then their custome was, perceiving them comming, raised the towne, who in a moment being a horsebacke, by meanes their custome is for all doubts to keepe their horses ready saddled, in the night set upon them, & tooke one, but the rest making shift for themselves, escaped away. But this one,

because he was their guide, and was the occasion that divers times they had made invasion upon them, had for his traveile a stake thrust through his fundament, and so out at his necke.

The sixt of May aforesaide, wee came to an yland called Curaçao, where wee had thought to have ankered, but could not find ground, and having let fal an ancker with two cables, were faine to weigh it againe : and the seventh sayling along the coast to seeke an harborow, and finding none, wee came to an ancker where we rode open in the Sea. In this place we had trafique for hides, and found great refreshing both of beefe, mutton and lambes, whereof there was such plentie, that saving the skinnes, we had the flesh given us for nothing, the plentie whereof was so abundant, that the worst in the ship thought scorne not onely of mutton, but also of sodden lambe, which they disdained to eate unrosted.

The increase of cattell in this yland is marveilous, which from a doozen of each sort brought thither by the governour, in 25. yeres he had a hundreth thousand at the least, & of other cattel was able to kill without spoile of the increase 1500. yeerely, which hee killeth for the skinnes, and of the flesh saveth onely the tongues, the rest hee leaveth to the foule to devoure. And this I am able to affirme, not onely upon the Governours owne report, who was the first that brought the increase thither, which so remaineth unto this day, but also by that I saw my selfe in one field, where an hundred oxen lay one by another all whole, saving the skinnie and tongue taken away. And it is not so marveilous a thing why they doe thus cast away the flesh in all the ylands of the West Indies, seeing the land is great, and more then they are able to inhabite, the people fewe, having delicate fruites and meates ynough besides to feede upon, which they rather desire, and the increase which passeth mans reason to beleieve, when they come to a great number : for in S. Domingo an yland called by the finders thereof Hispaniola, is so great quantitie of cattell, and such increase therof, that notwithstanding the daily killing of them for their hides, it is not possible to assuage the number of them, but they are devoured by wilde dogs, whose number is such by suffering them first to range the woods and mountaines, that they eate and destroy 60000. a yeere, and yet small lacke found of them. And no marveile, for the said yland is almost as bigge as all England, and being the first place that was founde of all the Indies, and of long time inhabited before the rest, it ought therefore of reason to be most populous : and to this houre the Viceroy and counsell royall abideth there as in the chiefest place of all the Indies, to prescribe orders to the rest for the kings behalfe,



yet have they but one Citie and 13. villages in all the same yland, whereby the spoile of them in respect of the increase is nothing.

The 15. of the foresaid moneth wee departed from Curaçao, being not a little to the rejoycing of our Captaine and us, that wee had there ended our trafique : but notwithstanding our sweete meate, wee had sower sauce, for by reason of our riding so open at sea, what with blastes whereby our anckers being a ground, three at once came home, and also with contrary windes blowing, whereby for feare of the shore we were faine to hale off to have anker-hold, sometimes a whole day and a night we turned up and downe ; and this happened not once, but halfe a dozen times in the space of our being there.

The 16. wee passed by an yland called Aruba, and the 17. at night anckered sixe houres at the West ende of Cabo de la vela, and in the morning being the 18. weighed againe, keeping our course, in the which time the Captaine sailing by the shore in the pinnesse, came to the Rancheria, a place where the Spaniards use to fish for pearles, and there spoke with a Spaniard, who tolde him how far off he was from Rio de la Hacha, which because he would not overshoot, he anckered that night againe, & the 19. came thither ; where having talke with the kings treasurer of the Indies resident there, he declared his quiet trafique in Burboroata, & shewed a certificate of the same, made by the governour thereof, & therefore he desired to have the like there also : but the treasurer made answer that they were forbidden by the Viceroy and councill of S. Domingo, who having intelligence of our being on the coast, did sende expresse commission to resist us, with all the force they could, insomuch that they durst not trafique with us in no case, alleaging that if they did, they should loose all that they did trafique for, besides their bodies at the magistrates commaundement. Our Captaine replied, that hee was in an Armada of the Queenes Majesties of England, and sent about other her affaires, but driven besides his pretended voyage, was inforced by contrary windes to come into those parts, where he hoped to finde such friendship as hee should doe in Spaine, to the contrary whereof hee knewe no reason, in that there was amitie betwixt their princes. But seeing they would contrary to all reason go about to withstand his trafique, he would it should not be said by him, that having the force he hath, to be driven from his trafique perforce, but he would rather put it in adventure to try whether he or they should have the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to give him licence to trade, or else to stand to their owne harmes : So upon this it was determined hee should have licence to trade,

*The Voyage made by M. John Hawkins Esquire*





but they would give him such a price as was the one halfe lesse then he had sold for before, and thus they sent word they would do, and none otherwise, and if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were not determined to deale otherwise with him. Whereupon, the captaine waying their unconscionable request, wrote to them a letter, that they dealt too rigorously with him, to go about to cut his throte in the price of his commodities, which were so reasonably rated, as they could not by a great deale have the like at any other mans handes. But seeing they had sent him this to his supper, hee would in the morning bring them as good a breakefast. And therefore in the morning being the 21. of May, hee shot off a whole Culvering to summon the towne, and preparing one hundred men in armour, went a shore, having in his great boate two Faulcons of brasse, and in the other boates double bases in their noses, which being perceived by the Townesmen, they incontinent in battell aray with their drumme and ensigne displayed, marched from the Towne to the sands, of footemen to the number of an hundred and fiftie, making great bragges with their cries, and weaving us a shore, whereby they made a semblance to have fought with us in deed. But our Captaine perceiving them so bragge, commanded the two Faulcons to be discharged at them, which put them in no small feare to see, (as they afterward declared) such great pieces in a boate. At every shot they fell flat to the ground, and as wee approched neere unto them, they broke their aray, and dispersed themselves so much for feare of the Ordinance, that at last they went all away with their ensigne. The horsemen also being about thirtie, made as brave a shew as might be, coursing up and downe with their horses, their brave white leather Targets in the one hand, and their javelings in the other, as though they would have received us at our landing. But when wee landed, they gave ground, and consulted what they should doe, for little they thought wee would have landed so boldly: and therefore as the Captaine was putting his men in aray, and marched forward to have encountred with them, they sent a messenger on horsebacke with a flagge of truce to the Captaine, who declared that the Treasurer marveiled what he meant to doe to come a shore in that order, in consideration that they had granted to every reasonable request that he did demaund: but the Captaine not well contented with this messenger, marched forwards. The messenger prayed him to stay his men, and saide, if hee would come apart from his men, the Treasurer would come and speake with him, whereunto hee did agree to commune together. The Captaine onely with his armour without weapon, and the Treasurer

on horsebacke with his javeling, was afraide to come neere him for feare of his armour, which he said was worse then his weapon, and so keeping aloofe communing together, granted in fine to all his requests. Which being declared by the Captaine to the company, they desired to have pledges for the performance of all things, doubting that otherwise when they had made themselves stronger, they would have bene at defiance with us : and seeing that now they might have what they would request, they judged it to be

more wisdom to be in assurance then to be forced to make any more labours about it. So upon this, gages were sent, and we made our trafique quietly with them. In the mean time while we stayed here, wee watered a good breadth off from the shore, where by the strength of the fresh water running into the Sea, the salt water was made fresh. In this River we saw many Crocodils of sundry bignesses, but some



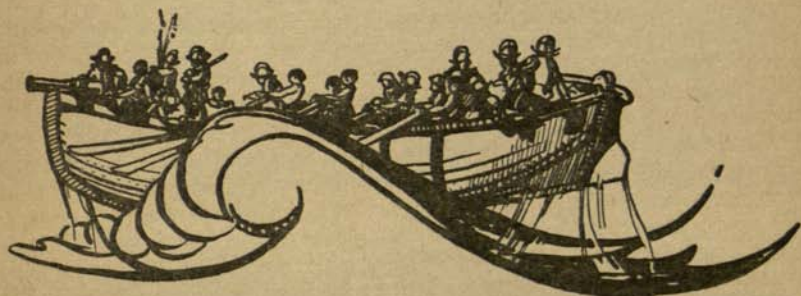
as bigge as a boate, with 4. feete, a long broad mouth, and a long taile, whose skinne is so hard, that a sword wil not pierce it. His nature is to live out of the water as a frogge doth, but he is a great devourer, and spareth neither fish, which is his common food, nor beastes, nor men, if hee take them, as the prooffe thereof was knowen by a Negro, who as hee was filling water in the River was by one of them caried cleane away, and never scene after. His nature is ever when hee would have his prey, to cry and sobbe like a Christian body, to provoke them to come to him, and then hee snatcheth at them, and thereupon came this proverbe that is applied



unto women when they weepe, *Lachrymæ Crocodili*, the meaning whereof is, that as the Crocodile when hee crieth, goeth then about most to deceive, so doeth a woman most commonly when she weepeth. Of these the Master of the *Jesus* watched one, and by the banks side stroke him with a pike of a bill in the side, and after three or foure times turning in sight, hee sunke downe, and was not afterward scene. In the time of our being in the *Rivers Guinie*, wee sawe many of a monstrous bignes, amongst the which the captaine being in one of the Barks comming downe the same, shot a Faulcon at one, which very narrowly hee missed, and with a feare hee plunged into the water, making a streame like the way of a boate.

Now while we were here, whether it were of a feare that the Spaniards doubted wee would have done them some harme before we departed, or for any treason that they intended towards us, I am not able to say; but then came thither a Captaine from some of the other townes, with a dozen souldiers upon a time when our Captaine and the treasurer cleared al things betweene them, and were in a communication of a debt of the governors of *Burboroota*, which was to be payd by the said treasurer, who would not answer the same by any meanes. Whereupon certaine words of displeasure passed betwixt the Captaine and him, and parting the one from the other, the treasurer possibly doubting that our Captaine would perforce have sought the same, did immediately command his men to armes, both horsemen and footemen: but because the Captaine was in the River on the backe side of the Towne with his other boates, and all his men unarmed and without weapons, it was to be judged he ment him little good, having that advantage of him, that comming upon the sudden, hee might have mischieved many of his men: but the Captaine having understanding thereof, not trusting to their gentlenesse, if they might have the advantage, departed aboard his ships, and at night returned againe, and demanded amongst other talke, what they ment by assembling their men in that order, & they answered, that their Captaine being come to towne did muster his men according to his accustomed maner. But it is to be judged to bee a cloake, in that comming for that purpose hee might have done it sooner, but the trueth is, they were not of force untill then, whereby to enterprise any matter against us, by meanes of pikes and harquebuzes, whereof they have want, and were now furnished by our Captaine, and also 3. Faulcons, which having got in other places, they had secretly conveyed thither, which made them the bolder, and also for that they saw now a convenient place to do such a feat, and time also serving thereunto, by the meanes that our men were not onely unarmed

and unprovided, as at no time before the like, but also were occupied in hewing of wood, and least thinking of any harme : these were occasions to provoke them thereunto. And I suppose they went about to bring it to effect, in that I with another gentleman being in the towne, thinking of no harme towards us, and seeing men assembling in armour to the treasurers house, whereof I marvelled, and revoking to minde the former talke betweene the Captaine and him, and the unreadinesse of our men, of whom advantage might have bene taken, departed out of the Towne immediatly to give knowledge thereof, but before we came to our men by a flight-shot, two horsemen riding a gallop were come neere us, being sent, as wee did gesse, to stay us least wee should cary newes to our Captaine, but



seeing us so neere our men they stayed their horses, comming together, and suffering us to passe, belike because wee were so neere, that if they had gone about the same, they had bene espied by some of our men which then immediatly would have departed, whereby they should have bene frustrate of their pretence : and so the two horsemen ridde about the bushes to espie what we did, and seeing us gone, to the intent they might shadow their comming downe in post, whereof suspition might bee had, fained a simple excuse in asking whether he could sell any wine, but that seemed so simple to the Captaine, that standing in doubt of their courtesie, he returned in the morning with his three boates, appointed with Bases in their noses, and his men with weapons accordingly, where as before he caried none : and thus dissembling all injuries conceived of both parts, the Captaine went ashore, leaving pledges in the boates for himselfe, and cleared all things betweene the treasurer and him, saving for the governors debt, which the one by no



meanes would answer, and the other, because it was not his due debt, woulde not molest him for it, but was content to remit it untill another time, and therefore departed, causing the two Barkes which rode neere the shore to weigh and go under saile, which was done because that our Captaine demanding a testimoniall of his good behaviour there, could not have the same untill hee were under saile ready to depart : and therefore at night he went for the same againe, & received it at the treasurers hand, of whom very courteously he tooke his leave and departed, shooting off the bases of his boat for his farewell, and the townesmen also shot off foure Faulcons and 30. harquebuzes, and this was the first time that he knew of the conveyance of their Faulcons.

The 31. of May wee departed, keeping our course to Hispaniola, and the fourth of June wee had sight of an yland, which wee made to be Jamaica, marveling that by the vehement course of the Seas we should be driven so farre to leeward : for setting our course to the West end of Hispaniola we fel with the middle of Jamaica, notwithstanding that to al mens sight it shewed a headland, but they were all deceived by the clouds that lay upon the land two dayes together, in such sort that we thought it to be the head land of the said yland. And a Spaniard being in the ship, who was a Marchant, and inhabitant in Jamaica, having occasion to go to Guinie, and being by treason taken of the Negros, & afterwards bought by the Tangomangos, was by our Captaine brought from thence, and had his passage to go into his countrey, who perceiving the land, made as though he knew every place thereof, and pointed to certaine places which he named to be such a place, and such a mans ground, and that behinde such a point was the harborow, but in the ende he pointed so from one point to another, that we were a leeboord of all places, and found our selves at the West end of Jamaica before we were aware of it, and being once to leeward, there was no getting up againe, so that by trusting of the Spaniards knowledge, our Captaine sought not to speake with any of the inhabitants, which if he had not made himselfe sure of, he would have done as his custome was in other places : but this man was a plague not onely to our Captaine, who made him loose by overshooting the place 2000. pounds by hides, which hee might have gotten, but also to himselfe, who being three yeeres out of his Countrey, and in great misery in Guinie, both among the Negros and Tangomangos, and in hope to come to his wife and friendes, as he made sure accompt, in that at his going into the pinnesse, when he went to shore he put on his new clothes, and for joy flung away his old, could not after-

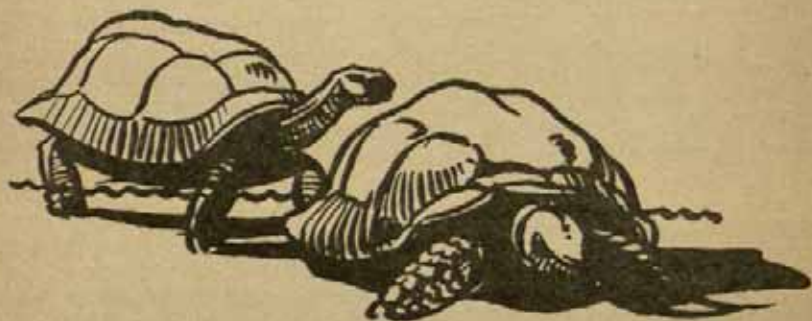
wards finde any habitation, neither there nor in all Cuba, which we sailed all along, but it fell out ever by one occasion or other, that wee were put beside the same, so that he was faine to be brought into England, and it happened to him as it did to a duke of Samaria, when the Israelites were besieged, and were in great misery with hunger, & being tolde by the Prophet Elizæus, that a bushell of flower should be sold for a sickle, would not beleeeve him, but thought it impossible: and for that cause Elizæus prophesied hee should see the same done, but hee should not eate thereof: so this man being absent three yeeres, and not ever thinking to have seene his owne Countrey, did see the same, went upon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remaine with his friends according to his desire.

Thus having sailed along the coast two dayes, we departed the seventh of June, being made to beleeeve by the Spaniard that it was not Jamaica, but rather Hispaniola, of which opinion the Captaine also was, because that which hee made Jamaica seemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby tooke it rather to be Hispaniola, by the lying of the coast, and also for that being ignorant of the force of the current, he could not beleeeve he was so farre driven to leeward, and therfore setting his course to Jamaica, and after certaine dayes not finding the same, perceived then certainly that the yland which he was at before was Jamaica, and that the cloudes did deceive him, whereof he marvelled not a little: and this mistaking of the place came to as ill a passe as the overshooting of Jamaica: for by this did he also overpasse a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz, where, as he was informed, was great store of hides to be had: & thus being disappointed of two of his portes, where he thought to have raised great profite by his trafique, and also to have found great refreshing of victuals and water for his men, hee was now disappointed greatly, and such want he had of fresh water, that he was forced to seeke the shore to obtaine the same, which he had sight of after certaine dayes overpassed with stormes and contrary windes, but yet not of the maine of Cuba, but of certaine ylands in number two hundred, whereof the most part were desolate of inhabitants: by the which ylands the Captaine passing in his pinnesse, could finde no fresh water untill hee came to an yland bigger then all the rest, called the yle of Pinas, where wee anckered with our ships the 16. of June, and found water, which although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by the meanes it is standing, and but the water of raine, and also being neere the Sea was brackish, yet did wee not refuse it, but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, then wee should have



bene another time with fine Conduit water. Thus being reasonably watered we were desirous to depart, because the place was not very convenient for such ships of charge as they were, because there were many shoales to leeward, which also lay open to the sea for any wind that should blow : and therefore the captaine made the more haste away, which was not unneedfull : for little sooner were their anckers weyed, and foresaile set, but there arose such a storme, that they had not much to spare for doubling out of the shoales : for one of the barks not being fully ready as the rest, was faine for haste to cut the cable in the hawse, and loose both ancker and cable to save her selfe.

Thus the 17. of June, we departed and on the 20. wee fell with the West



end of Cuba, called Cape S. Antony, where for the space of three dayes wee doubled along, till wee came beyond the shoales, which are 20. leagues beyond S. Anthony. And the ordinary Brise taking us, which is the North-east winde, put us the 24. from the shoare, and therefore we went to the Northwest to fetch wind, and also to the coast of Florida to have the helpe of the current, which was judged to have set to the Eastward : so the 29. wee found our selves in 27. degrees, and in the soundings of Florida, where we kept our selves the space of foure dayes, sailing along the coast as neere as we could, in tenne or twelve fadome water, having all the while no sight of land.

The fift of July we had sight of certeine Islands of sand, called the Tortugas (which is lowe land) where the captaine went in with his pinnesse, and found such a number of birds, that in halfe an houre he laded her with

them ; and if they had beene ten boats more, they might have done the like. These Islands beare the name of Tortoises, because of the number of them, which there do breed, whose nature is to live both in the water and upon land also, but breed onely upon the shore, in making a great pit wherein they lay egges, to the number of three or foure hundred, and covering them with sand, they are hatched by the heat of the Sunne ; and by this meanes commeth the great increase. Of these we tooke very great ones, which have both backe and belly all of bone, of the thicknes of an inch : the flesh whereof we proved, eating much like veale ; and finding a number of egges in them, tasted also of them, but they did eat very sweetly. Heere wee ankered sixe houres, and then a faire gale of winde springing, we weyed anker, and made saile toward Cuba, whither we came the sixth day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill so called, because of the forme thereof : here we lay off and on all night, to keepe that we had gotten to wind-ward, intending to have watered in the morning, if we could have done it, or els if the winde had come larger, to have plied to wind-ward to Havana, which is an harborow whereunto all the fleet of the Spanyards come, and doe there tary to have one the company of another. This hill we thinking to have beene the Table, made account (as it was indeed) that Havana was but eight leagues to wind-ward, but by the perswasion of a French man, who made the captaine beleieve he knew the Table very well, and had beene at Havana, sayd that it was not the Table, and that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the sea side, and that there was no plaine ground to the Eastward, nor hilles to the Westward, but all was contrary, and that behinde the hilles to the Westward was Havana. To which perswasion credit being given by some, and they not of the woorst, the captaine was perswaded to goe to leeward, and so sailed along the seventh and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table ; and then perceiving his folly to give eare to such praters, was not a little sory, both because he did consider what time he should spend yer he could get so far to wind-ward againe, which would have bene, with the weathering which we had, ten or twelve dayes worke, & what it would have bene longer he knew not, and (that which was woorst) he had not above a dayes water and therfore knew not what shift to make : but in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not live with it, he determined to seeke water, and to goe further to leeward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los puercos, which he was in doubt of, both whether it were inhabited, & whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoalds he might



have such accesse with his ships, that he might conveniently take in the same. And while we were in these troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesayd, almighty God our guide (who would not suffer us to run into any further danger, which we had bene like to have incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous (by reports) that no ship escapeth which commeth thither, (as the Spanyards have very wel proved the same) sent us the eight day at night a faire Westerly winde, whereupon the captaine and company consulted, determining not to refuse Gods gift, but every man was contented to pinch his owne bellie, whatsoever had happened; and taking the sayd winde, the ninth day of July got to the Table, and sailing the same night, unawares overshot Havana; at which place wee thought to have watered: but the next day, not knowing that wee had overshot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it, and the eleventh day in the morning, by certeine knowen marks, we understood that we had overshot it 20 leagues: in which coast ranging, we found no convenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but to disemboque, and to water upon the coast of Florida: for, to go further to the Eastward, we could not for the shoalds, which are very dangerous; and because the current shooteth to the Northeast, we doubted by the force thereof to be set upon them, and therefore durst not approach them: so making but reasonable way the day aforesayd, and all the night, the twelfth day in the morning we fell with the Islands upon the cape of Florida, which we could scant double by the meanes that fearing the shoalds to the Eastwards, and doubting the current comming out of the West, which was not of that force we made account of; for we felt little or none till we fell with the cape, and then felt such a current, that bearing all sailes against the same, yet were driven backe againe a great pace: the experience whereof we had by the Jesus pinnesse, and the Salomons boat, which were sent the same day in the afternoone, whiles the ships were becalmed, to see if they could finde any water upon the Islands aforesaid; who spent a great part of the day in rowing thither, being further off then they deemed it to be, and in the meane time a faire gale of winde springing at sea, the ships departed, making a signe to them to come away, who although they saw them depart, because they were so neere the shore, would not lose all the labour they had taken, but determined to keepe their way, and see if there were any water to be had, making no account but to finde the shippes well enough: but they spent so much time in filling the water which they had found, that the night was come before they could make an end. And having lost the sight of the

ships, they rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way they should seeke them againe; as indeed there was a more doubt then they knew of: for when they departed, the shippes were in no current; and sailing but a mile further, they found one so strong, that bearing all sailes, it could not prevaile against the same, but were driven backe: whereupon the captaine sent the Salomon, with the other two barks, to beare neere the shore all night, because the current was lesse there a great deale, and to beare light, with shooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boats might better know how to come to them.

The Jesus also bare a light in her toppe gallant, and shot off a piece also now and then, but the night passed, and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the ships and barks ceased not to looke still for them, yet they thought it was all in vaine, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night past; and therefore determined to tary no longer, seeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Jesus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the current) was caried almost out of sight; but as God would have it, now time being come, and they having tacked about in the pinnesses top, had sight of them, and tooke them up: they in the boats, being to the number of one and twenty, having sight of the ships, and seeing them tacking about; whereas before at the first sight of them they did greatly rejoyce, were now in a greater perplexitie then ever they were: for by this they thought themselves utterly forsaken, whereas before they were in some hope to have found them. Truly God wrought marvellously for them, for they themselves having no victuals but water, and being sore oppressed with hunger, were not of opinion to bestow any further time in seeking the shippes then that present noone time; so that if they had not at that instant espied them, they had gone to the shore to have made provision for victuals, and with such things as they could have gotten, either to have gone for that part of Florida where the French men were planted (which would have bene very hard for them to have done, because they wanted victuals to bring them thither, being an hundred and twenty leagues off) or els to have remained amongst the Floridians; at whose hands they were put in comfort by a French man, who was with them, that had remained in Florida at the first finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receive victuals sufficient, and gentle entertainment, if need were, for a yeere or two, untill which time God might have provided for them. But how contrary this would have fallen out to their expectations, it is hard to judge,



seeing those people of the cape of Florida are of more savage and fierce nature, and more valiant then any of the rest ; which the Spanyards well prooved, who being five hundred men, who intended there to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forsake the same : and of their cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a frier, who taking upon him to persuade the people to subjection, was by them taken, and his skin cruelly pulled over his eares, and his flesh eaten.

In these Islands they being a shore, found a dead man, dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodies of men : so that these sorts of men are eaters of the flesh of men, aswel as the Canibals. But to returne to our purpose.



The foureteenth day the shippe and barks came to the Jesus, bringing them newes of the recovery of the men, which was not a little to the rejoycing of the captaine, and the whole company : and so then altogether they kept on their way along the coast of Florida, and the fifteenth day come to an anker, and so from sixe and twenty degrees to thirty degrees and a halfe, where

the French men abode, ranging all the coast along, seeking for fresh water, ankering every night, because we would overshoot no place of fresh water, and in the day time the captaine in the ships pinnesse sailed along the shore, went into every creeke, speaking with divers of the Floridians, because hee would understand where the French men inhabited ; and not finding them in eight and twenty degrees, as it was declared unto him, marvelled thereat, and never left sailing along the coast till he found them, who inhabited in a river, by them called the river of May, and standing in thirty degrees and better. In ranging this coast along, the captaine found it to be all an Island, and therefore it is all lowe land, and very scant of fresh water, but the countrey was marvellously sweet, with both marish and medow ground, and goodly woods among. There they found sorell to grow as abundantly as grasse, and where their houses were,

great store of maiz and mill, and grapes of great bignes, but of taste much like our English grapes. Also Deere great plentie, which came upon the sands before them. Their houses are not many together, for in one house an hundred of them do lodge; they being made much like a great barne, and in strength not inferiour to ours, for they have stanchions and rafters of whole trees, and are covered with palmito-leaves, having no place divided, but one small roome for their king and queene. In the midst of this house is a hearth, where they make great fires all night, and they sleepe upon certaine pieces of wood hewen in for the bowing of their backs, and another place made high for their heads, which they put one by another all along the walles on both sides. In their houses they remaine onely in the nights, and in the day they desire the fields, where they dresse their meat, and make provision for victuals, which they provide onely for a meale from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be marvelled at, for the making of their fire, and not onely they but also the Negros doe the same, which is made onely by two stickes, rubbing them one against another: and this they may doe in any place they come, where they finde sticks sufficient for the purpose. In their apparell the men onely use deere skinn, wherewith some onely cover their privy members, othersome use the same as garments to cover them before and behind; which skinn are painted, some yellow and red, some blacke & russet, and every man according to his owne fancy. They do not omit to paint their bodies also with curious knots, or antike worke, as every man in his owne fancy deviseth, which painting, to make it continue the better, they use with a thorne to pricke their flesh, and dent in the same, whereby the painting may have better hold. In their warres they use a sleighter colour of painting their faces, thereby to make themselves shew the more fierce; which after their warres ended, they wash away againe. In their warres they use bowes and arrowes, whereof their bowes are made of a kind of Yew, but blacker then ours, and for the most part passing the strength of the Negros or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours: their arrowes are also of a great length, but yet of reeds like other Indians, but varying in two points, both in length and also for nocks and feathers, which the other lacke, whereby they shoot very stedy: the heads of the same are vipers teeth, bones of fishes, flint stones, piked points of knives, which they having gotten of the French men, broke the same, & put the points of them in their arrowes head: some of them have their heads of silver, othersome that have want of these, put in a kinde of hard wood, notched, which pierceth as farre as any of the rest. In their fight,



being in the woods, they use a marvellous pollicie for their owne safeguard, which is by claspng a tree in their armes, and yet shooting notwithstanding : this policy they used with the French men in their fight, whereby it appeareth that they are people of some policy : and although they are called by the Spanyards Gente triste, that is to say, Bad people, meaning thereby, that they are not men of capacity : yet have the French men found them so witty in their answeres, that by the capitaines owne report, a counsellor with us could not give a more profound reason.

The women also for their apparell use painted skinnes, but most of them gownes of mosse, somewhat longer then our mosse, which they sowe together artificially, and make the same surplesse wise, wearing their haire downe to their shoulders, like the Indians. In this river of May aforesayd, the capitaine entring with his pinnesse, found a French ship of fourescore tun, and two pinnesse of fifteene tun a peece, by her, and speaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues up, which they had built, in which their capitaine Monsieur Laudonniere was, with certeine souldiers therein. To whom our capitaine sending to understand of a watering-place, where he might conveniently take it in, and to have licence for the same, he straight, because there was no convenient place but up the river five leagues, where the water was fresh, did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barks, which going in with other boats provided for the same purpose, ankered before the fort, into the which our capitaine went ; where hee was by the Generall, with other capitaines and souldiers, very gently entertained, who declared unto him the time of their being there, which was fourteene moneths, with the extremity they were driven to for want of victuals, having brought very little with them ; in which place they being two hundred men at their first comming, had in short space eaten all the maiz they could buy of the inhabitants about them, and therefore were driven certeine of them to serve a king of the Floridians against other his enemies, for mill and other victuals : which having gotten, could not serve them, being so many, so long a time : but want came upon them in such sort, that they were faine to gather acorns, which being stamped small, and often washed, to take away the bitternesse of them, they did use for bread, eating withall sundry times, roots, whereof they found many good and wholesome, and such as serve rather for medecines then for meates alone. But this hardnesse not contenting some of them, who would not take the paines so much as to fish in the river before their doores, but would have all things put in their mouthes, they did rebell against

the capitaine, taking away first his armour, and afterward imprisoning him : and so to the number of fourescore of them, departed with a barke and a pinnesse, spoiling their store of victuall, and taking away a great part thereof with them, and so went to the Islands of Hispaniola and Jamaica a roving, where they spoiled and pilld the Spanyards ; and having taken two caravels laden with wine and casavi, which is a bread made of roots, and much other victuals and treasure, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of such haughty stomachs, that they thought their force to be such that no man durst meddle with them, and so kept harborow in Jamaica, going dayly ashore at their pleasure. But God which would not suffer such evill doers unpunished, did indurate their hearts in such sort, that they lingered the time so long, that a ship and galliasse being made out of Santa Domingo came thither into the harborow, and tooke twenty of them, whereof the most part were hanged, and the rest caried into Spaine, and some (to the number of five and twenty) escaped in the pinnesse, and came to Florida ; where at their landing they were put in prison, and incontinent foure of the chieftest being condemned, at the request of the souldiers, did passe the harquebuzers, and then were hanged upon a gibbet. This lacke of three-score men was a great discourage and weakening to the rest, for they were the best souldiers that they had : for they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their dayly craving of maiz, having no wares left to content them withall, and therefore were inforced to rob them, and to take away their victual perforce, which was the occasion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith) did take certeine of their company in the woods, and slew them ; wherby there grew great warres betwixt them and the Frenchmen : and therefore they being but a few in number durst not venture abroad, but at such times as they were inforced thereunto for want of food to do the same : and going twenty harquebuzers in a company, were set upon by eightene kings, having seven or eight hundred men, which with one of their bowes slew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, & drove them all downe to their boats ; whose pollicy in fight was to be marvelled at : for having shot at divers of their bodies which were armed, and perceiving that their arrowes did not prevaile against the same, they shot at their faces and legs, which were the places that the Frenchmen were hurt in. Thus the Frenchmen returned, being in ill case by the hurt of their men, having not above forty souldiers left unhurt, whereby they might ill make any more invasions upon the Floridians, and keepe their fort withall : which they must have beene driven unto, had not God sent us thither for



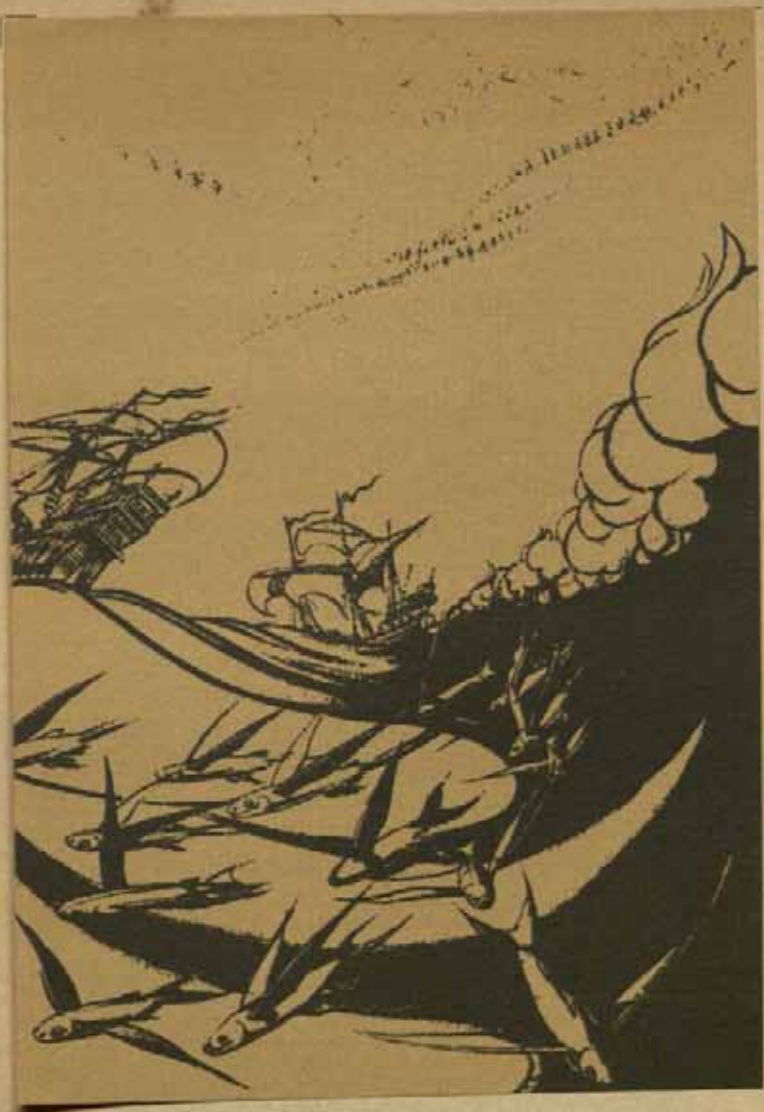
their succour ; for they had not above ten dayes victuall left before we came. In which perplexity our captaine seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrells of meale, & foure pipes of beanes, with divers other victuals and necessaries which he might conveniently spare : and to helpe them the better homewards, whither they were bound before our comming, at their request we spared them one of our barks of fifty tun. Notwithstanding the great want that the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yeeld victuals sufficient, if they would have taken paines to get the same ; but they being souldiers, desired to live by the sweat of other mens browes : for while they had peace with the Floridians, they had fish sufficient, by weares which they made to catch the same : but when they grew to warres, the Floridians tooke away the same againe, and then would not the Frenchmen take the paines to make any more. The ground yeeldeth naturally grapes in great store, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there, they made 20 hogsheads of wine. Also it yeeldeth roots passing good, Deere marvellous store, with divers other beasts, and fowle, serviceable to the use of man. These be things wherewith a man may live, having corne or maiz wherewith to make bread : for maiz maketh good savory bread, and cakes as fine as flowre. Also it maketh good meale, beaten and sodden with water, and eateth like pap wherewith we feed children. It maketh also good beverage, sodden in water, and nourishable ; which the Frenchmen did use to drinke of in the morning, and it assuageth their thirst, so that they had no need to drinke all the day after. And this maiz was the greatest lacke they had, because they had no labourers to sowe the same, and therfore to them that should inhabit the land it were requisit to have labourers to till and sowe the ground : for they having victuals of their owne, whereby they neither rob nor spoile the inhabitants, may live not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of peace then of warres, but also shall have abundance of victuals profered them for nothing : for it is with them as it is with one of us, when we see another man ever taking away from us, although we have enough besides, yet then we thinke all too little for our selves : for surely we have heard the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians, that a very little contenteth them : for the Indians with the head of maiz roasted, will travell a whole day, and when they are at the Spanyards finding, they give them nothing but sodden herbs & maiz : and in this order I saw threescore of them feed, who were laden with wares, and came fifty leagues off. The Floridians when they travell, have a kinde of herbe dried, who with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs

put together, doe sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they live foure or five dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen used for this purpose : yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water & fleame to void from their stomacks. The commodities of this land are more then are yet knowne to any man : for besides the land it selfe, whereof there is more then any king Christian is able to inhabit, it flourisheth with meadow, pasture ground, with woods of Cedar and Cypres, and other sorts, as better can not be in the world. They have for apothecary herbs, trees, roots and gummies great store, as Storax liquida, Turpentine, Gumme, Myrrhe, and Frankinsence, with many others, whereof I know not the names. Colours both red, blacke, yellow, & russet, very perfect, wherewith they so paint their bodies, and Deere skinnes which they weare about them, that with water it neither fadeth away, nor altereth colour. Golde and silver they want not : for at the Frenchmens first comming thither they had the same offered them for little or nothing, for they received for a hatchet two pound weight of golde, because they knew not the estimation thereof : but the souldiers being greedy of the same, did take it from them, giving them nothing for it : the which they perceiving, that both the Frenchmen did greatly esteeme it, and also did rigorously deale with them, by taking the same away from them, at last would not be knowne they had any more, neither durst they weare the same for feare of being taken away : so that saving at their first comming, they could get none of them : and how they came by this golde and silver the French men know not as yet, but by gesse, who having travelled to the Southwest of the cape, having found the same dangerous, by meanes of sundry banks, as we also have found the same : and there finding masts which were wracks of Spanyards comming from Mexico, judged that they had gotten treasure by them. For it is most true that divers wracks have beene made of Spanyards, having much treasure : for the Frenchmen having travelled to the capeward an hundred and fiftie miles, did finde two Spanyards with the Floridians, which they brought afterward to their fort, whereof one was in a caravel comming from the Indies, which was cast away foureteene yeeres ago, & the other twelve yeeres ; of whose fellows some escaped, othersome were slain by the inhabitants. It seemeth they had estimation of their golde & silver, for it is wrought flat and graven, which they weare about their neckes ; othersome made round like a pancake, with a hole in the midst, to boulder up their breasts withall, because they thinke it a deformity to have great breasts. As for mines either of gold



or silver, the Frenchmen can heare of none they have upon the Island, but of copper, whereof as yet also they have not made the prooffe, because they were but few men : but it is not unlike, but that in the maine where are high hilles, may be golde and silver aswell as in Mexico, because it is all one maine. The Frenchmen obtained pearles of them of great bignes, but they were blacke, by meanes of roasting of them, for they do not fish for them as the Spanyards doe, but for their meat : for the Spanyards use to keepe dayly afishing some two or three hundred Indians, some of them that be of choise a thousand : and their order is to go in canoas, or rather great pinnesses, with thirty men in a piece, whereof the one halfe, or most part be divers, the rest doe open the same for the pearles : for it is not suffered that they should use dragging, for that would bring them out of estimation, and marre the beds of them. The oisters which have the smallest sort of pearles are found in seven or eight fadome water, but the greatest in eleven or twelve fadome.

The Floridians have pieces of unicornes hornes which they weare about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obtained many pieces. Of those unicornes they have many ; for that they doe affirme it to be a beast with one horne, which comming to the river to drinke, putteth the same into the water before he drinketh. Of this unicornes horne there are of our company, that having gotten the same of the Frenchmen, brought home thereof to shew. It is therefore to be presupposed that there are more commodities aswell as that, which for want of time, and people sufficient to inhabit the same, can not yet come to light : but I trust God will reveale the same before it be long, to the great profit of them that shal take it in hand. Of beasts in this countrey besides deere, foxes, hares, polcats, conies, ownces, & leopards, I am not able certainly to say : but it is thought that there are lions and tygres as well as unicornes ; lions especially ; if it be true that is sayd, of the enmity betweene them and the unicornes : for there is no beast but hath his enemy, as the cony the polcat, a sheepe the wolfe, the elephant the rinoceros ; and so of other beasts the like : insomuch, that whereas the one is, the other can not be missing. And seeing I have made mention of the beasts of this countrey, it shall not be from my purpose to speake also of the venomous beasts, as crocodiles, whereof there is great abundance, adders of great bignes, whereof our men killed some of a yard and a halfe long. Also I heard a miracle of one of these adders, upon the which a faulcon seizing, the sayd adder did claspe her tail about her ; which the French captaine seeing, came to the rescue of the faulcon, and tooke her slaying the adder ; and this faulcon being wilde, he did reclaim her, and







kept her for the space of two moneths, at which time for very want of meat he was faine to cast her off. On these adders the Frenchmen did feed, to no little admiration of us, and affirmed the same to be a delicate meat. And the capitaine of the Frenchmen saw also a serpent with three heads and foure feet, of the bignesse of a great spaniell, which for want of a harquebuz he durst not attempt to slay. Of fish also they have in the river, pike, roch, salmon, trout, and divers other small fishes, and of great fish, some of the length of a man and longer, being of bignesse accordingly, having a snout much like a sword of a yard long. There be also of sea fishes, which we saw comming along the coast flying, which are of the bignesse of a smelt, the biggest sort whereof have foure wings, but the other have but two: of these wee sawe comming out of Guinea a hundred in a company, which being chased by the gilt-heads, otherwise called the bonitos, do to avoid them the better, take their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to flie farre, because of the drying of their wings, which serve them not to flie but when they are moist, and therefore when they can flie no further they fall into the water, and having wet their wings, take a new flight againe. These bonitos be of bignesse like a carpe, and in colour like a makarell, but it is the swiftest fish in swimming that is, and followeth her prey very fiercely, not onely in the water, but also out of the water: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doeth this bonito leape after them, and taketh them sometimes above the water. There were some of those bonitos, which being galled by a fisgig, did follow our shippe comming out of Guinea 500. leagues. There is a sea-fowle also that chaseth this flying fish aswell as the bonito: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doth this fowle pursue to take her, which to beholde is a greater pleasure then hawking, for both the flights are as pleasant, and also more often then an hundred times: for the fowle can flie no way, but one or other lighteth in her pawes, the number of them are so abundant. There is an innumerable yoong frie of these flying fishes, which commonly keepe about the ship, and are not so big as butter-flies, and yet by flying do avoid the unsatiableness of the bonito. Of the bigger sort of these fishes wee tooke many, which both night and day flew into the sailes of our ship, and there was not one of them which was not woorth a bonito: for being put upon a hooke drabling in the water, the bonito would leap thereat, and so was taken. Also, we tooke many with a white cloth made fast to a hooke, which being tied so short in the water, that it might leape out and in, the greedie bonito thinking it to be a flying fish leapeth thereat, and so is deceived. We tooke also dolphins



which are of very goodly colour and proportion to behold, and no lesse delicate in taste. Fowles also there be many, both upon land and upon sea : but concerning them on the land I am not able to name them, because my abode was there so short. But for the fowle of the fresh rivers, these two I noted to be the chiefe, whereof the Flemengo is one, having all red feathers, and long red legs like a herne, a necke according to the bill, red, whereof the upper neb hangeth an inch over the nether ; and an egipt, which is all white as the swanne, with legs like to an hearnshaw, and of bignesse accordingly, but it hath in her taile feathers of so fine a plume, that it passeth the estridge his feather. Of the sea-fowle above all other not common in England, I noted the pellicane, which is fained to be the lovingst bird that is ; which rather then her yong should want, wil spare her heart bloud out of her belly : but for all this lovingnesse she is very deformed to beholde ; for she is of colour russet : notwithstanding in Guinea I have scene of them as white as a swan, having legs like the same, and a body like a hearne, with a long necke, and a thick long beake, from the nether jaw whereof downe to the breast passeth a skinne of such a bignesse, as is able to receive a fish as big as ones thigh, and this her big throat and long bill doeth make her seem so ugly.

Here I have declared the estate of Florida, and the commodities therein to this day knowen, which although it may seeme unto some, by the meanes that the plenty of golde and silver, is not so abundant as in other places, that the cost bestowed upon the same will not be able to quit the charges : yet am I of the opinion, that by that which I have scene in other Islands of the Indians, where such increase of cattell hath bene, that of twelve head of beasts in five & twenty yeeres, did in the hides of them raise a thousand pound profit yerely, that the increase of cattel onely would raise profit sufficient for the same : for wee may consider, if so small a portion did raise so much gaines in such short time, what would a greater do in many yerres ? and surely I may this affirme, that the ground of the Indians for the breed of cattell, is not in any point to be compared to this of Florida, which all the yeere long is so greene, as any time in the Summer with us : which surely is not to be marvelled at, seeing the countrey standeth in so watery a climate : for once a day without faile they have a shower of raine ; which by meanes of the countrey it selfe, which is drie, and more fervent hot then ours, doeth make all things to flourish therein. And because there is not the thing we all seeke for, being rather desirous of present gaines, I doe therefore affirme the attempt thereof to be more requisit for a prince, who is of power able to go thorow with the same, rather then for any subject.

*The Voyage made by M. John Hawkins Esquire*

From thence wee departed the 28 of July, upon our voyage homewards having there all things as might be most convenient for our purpose : and tooke leave of the Frenchmen that there still remained, who with diligence determined to make as great speede after, as they could. Thus by meanes of contrary windes oftentimes, wee prolonged our voyage in such manner that victuals scanted with us, so that we were divers times (or rather the most part) in despaire of ever comming home, had not God of his goodnesse better provided for us, then our deserving. In which state of great miserie, wee were provoked to call upon him by fervent prayer, which mooved him to heare us, so that we had a prosperous winde, which did set us so farre shot, as to be upon the banke of Newfound land, on Saint Bartholomews eve, and we sounded therupon, finding ground at an hundred and thirty fadoms, being that day somewhat becalmed, and tooke a great number of fresh codde-fish, which greatly relieved us : and being very glad thereof, the next day we departed, and had lingring little gales for the space of foure or five dayes, at the ende of which we sawe a couple of French shippes, and had of them so much fish as would serve us plentifully for all the rest of the way, the Captaine paying for the same both golde and silver, to the just value thereof, unto the chiefe owners of the saide shippes, but they not looking for any thing at all, were glad in themselves to meete with such good intertainment at sea, as they had at our hands. After which departure from them, with a good large winde the twentieth of September we came to Padstow in Cornewall, God be thanked, in safetie, with the losse of twentie persons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the said voyage, as also to the whole realme, in bringing home both golde, silver, pearles and other jewels great store. His name therefore be praised for evermore. Amen.

The names of certaine Gentlemen that were in this voyage.

- M. John Hawkins.
- M. John Chester, {sir William Chesters sonne.
- M. Anthony Parkhurst.
- M. Fitzwilliam.
- M. Thomas Woorley.
- M. Edward Lacie, {with divers others

{ The Register and true accounts of all herein expressed hath  
beene approoved by me John Sparke the younger, who went  
upon the same voyage, and wrote the same.



### The Third Troublesome Voyage

made with the *Jesus of Lubeck*, the *Minion*, and four other ships, to the parts of *Guinea*, and the *West Indies*, in the yeeres 1567 and 1568 by

M. JOHN HAWKINS.



THE ships departed from *Plimmouth*, the second day of *October*, Anno 1567 and had reasonable weather untill the seventh day, at which time fortie leagues North from *Cape Finister*, there arose an extreme storme, which continued foure dayes, in such sort, that the fleete was dispersed, and all our great boats lost, and the *Jesus* our chiefe shippe, in such case, as not thought able to serve the voyage: whereupon in the same storme we set our course homeward, determining to give over the voyage: but the eleventh day of the same moneth, the winde changed with faire weather, whereby we were animated to followe our enterprise, and so did, directing our course with the *Ilands* of the *Canaries*, where according to an order before prescribed, all our shippes before dispersed, met at one of those *Ilands*, called *Gomera*, where we tooke water, and departed from thence the fourth day of *November*, towards the coast of *Guinea*, and arrived at *Cape Verde*, the eighteenth of *November*: where we landed 150 men, hoping to obtaine some *Negros*, where we got but fewe, and those with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their envenomed arrowes: and although in the beginning they seemed to be but small hurts, yet there hardly escaped any that had blood drawn of them, but died in strange sort, with their mouthes shut some tenne dayes before they died, and after their wounds were whole; where I my selfe had one of the greatest woundes, yet thanks be to God, escaped. From thence we past the time upon the coast of *Guinea*, searching with all diligence the rivers from *Rio Grande*, unto *Sierra Leona*, till the twelfth of *Januarie*, in which time we had not gotten together a hundreth and fiftie *Negros*:

yet notwithstanding the sicknesse of our men, and the late time of the yeere commanded us away : and thus having nothing wherewith to seeke the coast of the West Indies, I was with the rest of our company in consultation to goe to the coast of the Mine, hoping there to have obtained some golde for our wares, and thereby to have defraied our charge. But even in that present instant, there came to us a Negro, sent from a king, oppressed by other Kings his neighbours, desiring our aide, with promise that as many Negroes as by these warres might be obtained, aswell of his part as of ours, should be at our pleasure : whereupon we concluded to give aide, and sent 120 of our men, which the 15 of Januarie, assaulted a towne of the Negroes of our Allies adversaries, which had in it 8000 Inhabitants, being very strongly impaled and fenced after their manner, but it was so well defended, that our men prevailed not, but lost sixe men and fortie hurt : so that our men sent forthwith to me for more helpe : whereupon considering that the good successe of this enterprise might highly further the commoditie of our voyage, I went my selfe, and with the helpe of the king of our side, assaulted the towne, both by land and sea, and very hardly with fire (their houses being covered with dry Palme leaves) obtained the towne, put the Inhabitants to flight, where we tooke 250 persons, men, women, & children, and by our friend the king of our side, there were taken 600 prisoners, whereof we hoped to have had our choise : but the Negro (in which nation is seldome or never found truth) meant nothing lesse : for that night he remooved his campe and prisoners, so that we were faine to content us with those few which we had gotten our selves.

Now had we obtained between foure and five hundred Negroes, wherwith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seeke the coast of the West Indies, and there, for our Negroes, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to countervale our charges with some gaines, wherunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watering, tooke fuell, and departed the coast of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the sea with a passage more hard, then before hath bene accustomed till the 27 day of March, which day we had sight of an Iland, called Dominica, upon the coast of the West Indies, in fourteene degrees : from thence we coasted from place to place, making our traffike with the Spaniards as we might, somewhat hardly, because the king had straightly commanded all his Governors in those parts, by no meanes to suffer any trade to be made with us : notwithstanding we had reasonable trade, and courteous entertainment, from the Ile of Margarita unto Cartagena, without any thing greatly



worth the noting, saving at Capo de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearles) the treasurer who had the charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or suffer us to take water, he had fortified his towne with divers bulwarkes in all places where it might be entered, and furnished himselfe with an hundred Hargabuziers, so that he thought by famine to have inforced us to have put a land our Negros : of which purpose he had not greatly failed, unlesse we had by force entred the towne : which (after we could by no meanes obtaine his favour) we were enforced to doe, and so with two hundred men brake in upon their bulwarkes, and entred the towne with the losse onely of two men of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spaniards because after their voley of shot discharged, they all fled.

Thus having the town with some circumstance, as partly by the Spaniards desire of Negros, and partly by friendship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secret trade : whereupon the Spaniards resorted to us by night, and bought of us to the number of 200 Negros : in all other places where we traded the Spaniards inhabitants were glad of us and traded willingly.

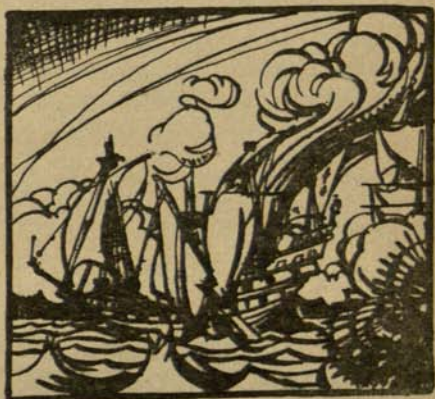
At Cartagena the last towne we thought to have seene on the coast, we could by no meanes obtaine to deale with any Spaniard, the governour was so straight, and because our trade was so neere finished we thought not good either to adventure any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24 of July, hoping to have escaped the time of their stormes which then soone after began to reigne, the which they call Furicanos, but passing by the West end of Cuba, towards the coast of Florida there happened to us the 12 day of August an extreme storme which continued by the space of foure dayes, which so beat the Jesus, that we cut downe all her higher buildings, her rudder also was sore shaken, and withall was in so extreme a leake that we were rather upon the point to leave her then to keepe her any longer, yet hoping to bring all to good passe, we sought the coast of Florida, where we found no place nor Haven for our ships, because of the shalownesse of the coast : thus being in greater dispaire, and taken with a newe storme which continued other 3 dayes, we were inforced to take for our succour the Port which serveth the citie of Mexico called Saint John de Ullua, which standeth in 19 degrees : in seeking of which Port we tooke in our way 3 ships which carried passengers to the number of an hundred, which passengers we hoped should be a meane to us the better to obtaine victuals for our money, & a quiet place for the repairing of our fleete. Shortly after this the 16 of September we entered

the Port of Saint John de Ullua and in our entrie the Spaniardes thinking us to be the fleete of Spaine, the chiefe officers of the Countrey came aboard us, which being deceived of their expectation were greatly dismayed : but immediatly when they sawe our demand was nothing but victuals, were recomforted. I found also in the same Port twelve ships which had in them by report two hundred thousand pound in gold & silver, all which (being in my possession, with the kings Iland as also the passengers before in my way thitherward stayed) I set at libertie, without the taking from them the waight of a groat : onely because I would not be delayed of my dispatch, I stayed two men of estimation and sent post immediatly to Mexico, which was two hundred miles from us, to the Presidentes and Councell there, shewing them of our arrivall there by the force of weather, and the necessitie of the repaire of our shippes and victuals, which wantes we required as friends to king Philip to be furnished of for our money : and that the Presidents and Councell there should with all convenient speede take order, that at the arrivall of the Spanish fleete, which was dayly looked for, there might no cause of quarrell rise betweene us and them, but for the better maintenance of amitie, their commandement might be had in that behalfe. This message being sent away the sixteenth day of September at night, being the very day of our arrivall, in the next morning which was the seventeenth day of the same moneth, we sawe open of the Haven thirteene great shippes, and understanding them to bee the fleete of Spaine, I sent immediatly to advertise the Generall of the fleete of my being there, doing him to understand, that before I would suffer them to enter the Port, there should some order of conditions passe betweene us for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace. Now it is to be understood that this Port is made by a little Iland of stones not three foote above the water in the highest place, and but a bow-shoot of length any way, this Iland standeth from the maine land two bow shootes or more, also it is to be understood that there is not in all this coast any other place for ships to arrive in safety, because the North winde hath there such violence, that unlesse the shippes be very safely moored with their ankers fastened upon this Iland, there is no remedie for these North windes but death : also the place of the Haven was so little, that of necessitie the shippes must ride one aboard the other, so that we could not give place to them, nor they to us : and here I beganne to bewaile that which after followed, for now, said I, I am in two dangers, and forced to receive the one of them. That was, either I must have kept out the fleete from entring the Port, the which with Gods helpe I was very



well able to doe, or else suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they never faile to execute, where they may have opportunitie, to compasse it by any meanes : if I had kept them out, then had there bene present shipwracke of all the fleete which amounted in value to sixe Millions, which was in value of our money 1800000. li. which I considered I was not able to answer, fearing the Queenes Majesties indignation in so waightie a matter. Thus with my selfe revolving the doubts, I thought rather better to abide the Jutt of the uncertainty, then the certaintie. The uncertaine doubt I account was their treason which by good policie I hoped might be prevented, and therefore as chusing the least mischiefe I proceeded to conditions. Now was our first messenger come and returned from the fleete with report of the arrivall of a Viceroy, so that hee had authoritie, both in all this Province of Mexico (otherwise called Nueva Espanna) and in the sea, who sent us word that we should send our conditions, which of his part should (for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the Princes) be both favourably granted, and faithfully performed, with many faire wordes how passing the coast of the Indies he had understood of our honest behaviour towards the inhabitants where we had to doe, aswell elsewhere as in the same Port, the which I let passe : thus following our demand, we required victuals for our money, and licence to sell as much ware as might furnish our wants, and that there might be of either part twelve gentlemen as hostages for the maintenance of peace : and that the Iland for our better safetie might be in our owne possession, during our abode there, and such ordinance as was planted in the same Iland which were eleven peeces of brasse : and that no Spaniard might land in the Iland with any kind of weapon : these conditions at the first he somewhat misliked, chiefly the guard of the Iland to be in our owne keeping, which if they had had, we had soone knowen our fare : for with the first North winde they had cut our cables and our ships had gone ashore : but in the ende he concluded to our request, bringing the twelve hostages to ten, which with all speede of either part were received, with a writing from the Viceroy signed with his hande and sealed with his seale of all the conditions concluded, & forthwith a trumpet blowen with commandement that none of either part should be meane to violate the peace upon paine of death : and further it was concluded that the two Generals of the fleetes should meete, and give faith ech to other for the performance of the premisses which was so done. Thus at the end of 3 dayes all was concluded & the fleete entered the Port, saluting one another as the maner of the sea doth require. Thus as I said before,

thursday we entred the Port, Friday we saw the fleete, and on munday at night they entered the Port : then we laboured 2. daies placing the English ships by themselves & the Spanish ships by themselves, the captaines of ech part & inferiour men of their parts promising great amity of al sides : which even as with all fidelitie it was ment on our part, so the Spaniards ment nothing lesse on their parts, but from the maine land had furnished themselves with a supply of men to the number of 1000, and ment the next thursday being the 23 of September at dinner time to set upon us on all sides. The same Thursday in the morning the treason being at hand, some appearance shewed, as shifting of weapon from ship to ship, planting and bending of ordinance from the ships to the Iland where our men warded, passing too and fro of companies of men more then required for their necessary busines, & many other ill likelihoods, which caused us to have a vehement suspition, and therewithall sent to the Viceroy to enquire what was ment by it, which sent immediatly straight commandement to unplant all things suspicious, and also sent word that he in the faith of a Viceroy would be our defence from all villanies. Yet we being not satisfied with this answer, because



we suspected a great number of men to be hid in a great ship of 900 tunnes, which was moored next unto the Minion, sent againe to the Viceroy the master of the Jesus which had the Spanish tongue, and required to be satisfied if any such thing were or not. The Viceroy now seeing that the treason must be discovered, forthwith stayed our master, blew the Trumpet, and of all sides set upon us : our men which warded a shore being stricken with sudden feare, gave place, fled, and sought to recover succour of the ships ; the Spaniards being before provided for the purpose landed in all places in multitudes from their ships which they might easily doe without boates, and slewe all our men a shore without mercie, a few of them escaped aboard the Jesus. The great ship which



had by the estimation three hundred men placed in her secretly, immediatly fell aboard the *Minion*, but by Gods appointment, in the time of the suspicion we had, which was onely one halfe houre, the *Minion* was made readie to avoide, and so leeing her hedfasts, and hayling away by the sterne-fastes she was gotten out : thus with Gods helpe she defended the violence of the first brunt of these three hundred men. The *Minion* being past out, they came aboard the *Jesus*, which also with very much a doe and the losse of manie of our men were defended and kept out. Then there were also two other ships that assaulted the *Jesus* at the same instant, so that she had hard getting loose, but yet with some time we had cut our head-fastes and gotten out by the sterne-fastes. Nowe when the *Jesus* and the *Minion* were gotten about two shippes length from the Spanish fleete, the fight beganne so hotte on all sides that within one houre the Admirall of the Spaniards was supposed to be sunke, their Viceadmirall burned and one other of their principall ships supposed to be sunke, so that the shippes were little able to annoy us

Then it is to be understood, that all the Ordinance upon the *Ilande* was in the Spaniardes handes, which did us so great annoyance, that it cut all the mastes and yardes of the *Jesus*, in such sort that there was no hope to carrie her away : also it sunke our small shippes, wereupon we determined to place the *Jesus* on that side of the *Minion*, that she might abide all the batterie from the land, and so be a defence for the *Minion* till night, and then to take such reliefe of victuall and other necessities from the *Jesus*, as the time would suffer us, and to leave her. As we were thus determining, and had placed the *Minion* from the shot of the land, suddenly the Spaniards had fired two great shippes which were comming directly with us, and having no meanes to avoide the fire, it bredde among our men a marvellous feare, so that some sayd, let us depart with the *Minion*, other said, let us see whither the winde will carrie the fire from us. But to be short, the *Minions* men which had alwayes their sayles in a readinesse, thought to make sure worke, and so without either consent of the Captaine or Master cut their saile, so that very hardly I was received into the *Minion*.

The most part of the men that were left alive in the *Jesus*, made shift and followed the *Minion* in a small boat, the rest which the little boate was not able to receive, were inforced to abide the mercie of the Spaniards (which I doubt was very little) so with the *Minion* only and the *Judith* (a small barke of 50 tunne) we escaped, which barke the same night forsooke us in our great miserie : we were now remooved with the *Minion* from the

*The Third Troublesome Voyage by M. John Hawkins*

Spanish ships two bow-shootes, and there rode all that night : the next morning we recovered an Iland a mile from the Spaniards, where there tooke us a North winde, and being left onely with two ankers and two cables (for in this conflict we lost three cables and two ankers) we thought alwayes upon death which ever was present, but God preserved us to a longer time.

The weather waxed reasonable, and the Saturday we set saile, and having a great number of men and little victuals our hope of life waxed lesse and lesse : some desired to yeeld to the Spaniards, some rather desired to obtaine a place where they might give themselves to the Infidels, and some had rather abide with a little pittance the mercie of God at Sea : so thus with many sorrowful hearts we wandred in an unknowen Sea by the space of 14 dayes, till hunger inforced us to seek the land, for hides were thought very good meat, rats, cats, mice and dogs, none escaped that might be gotten, parrats and monkeyes that were had in great price, were thought there very profitable if they served the turne one dinner : thus in the end the 8 day of October we came to the land in the botome of the same bay of Mexico in 23 degrees and a halfe, where we hoped to have found inhabitants of the Spaniards, reliefe of victuals, and place for the repaire of our ship, which was so sore beaten with shot from our enemies and brused with shooting off our owne ordinance, that our wearie and weake armes were scarce able to defende and keepe out water. But all things happened to the contrary, for we found neither people, victuall, nor haven of reliefe, but a place where having faire weather with some perill we might land a boat : our people being forced with hunger desired to be set on land, whereunto I consented.

And such as were willing to land I put them apart, and such as were desirous to goe homewardes, I put apart, so that they were indifferently parted a hundred of one side and a hundred of the other side : these hundred men we set a land with all diligence in this little place beforesaid, which being landed, we determined there to take in fresh water, and so with our little remaine of victuals to take the sea.

The next day having a land with me fiftie of our hundreth men that remained for the speedier preparing of our water aboard, there arose an extreame storme, so that in three dayes we could by no meanes repaire aboard our ship : the ship also was in such perill that every houre we looked for shipwracke.

But yet God againe had mercie on us, and sent faire weather, we had aboard our water, and departed the sixteenth day of October, after which

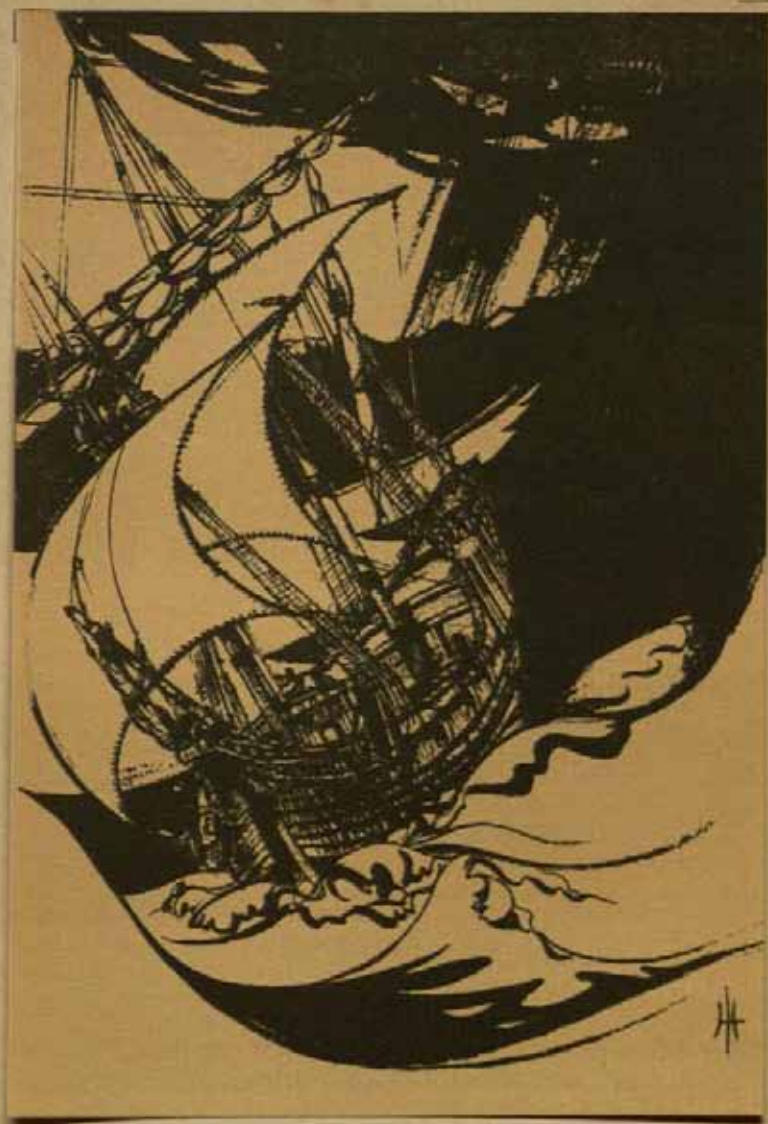


day we had faire and prosperous weather till the sixteenth day of November, which day God be prayesd we were cleere from the coast of the Indies, and out of the chanell and gulfe of Bahama, which is betweene the Cape of Florida, and the Ilandes of Lucayo. After this growing neere to the colde countrey, our men being oppressed with famine, died continually, and they that were left, grew into such weakenesse that we were scantly able to manage our shippe, and the winde being alwayes ill for us to recover England, we determined to goe with Galicia in Spaine, with intent there to relieve our companie and other extreame wantes. And being arrived the last day of December in a place neere unto Vigo called Ponte Vedra, our men with excesse of fresh meate grew into miserable diseases, and died a great part of them. This matter was borne out as long as it might be, but in the end although there were none of our men suffered to goe a land, yet by accesse of the Spaniards, our feeblenesse was knowen to them. Whereupon they ceased not to seeke by all meanes to betray us, but with all speede possible we departed to Vigo, where we had some helpe of certaine English ships and twelve fresh men, wherewith we repaired our wants as we might, and departing the 20 day of January 1568 arrived in Mounts bay in Cornewall the 25 of the same moneth, praised be God therefore.

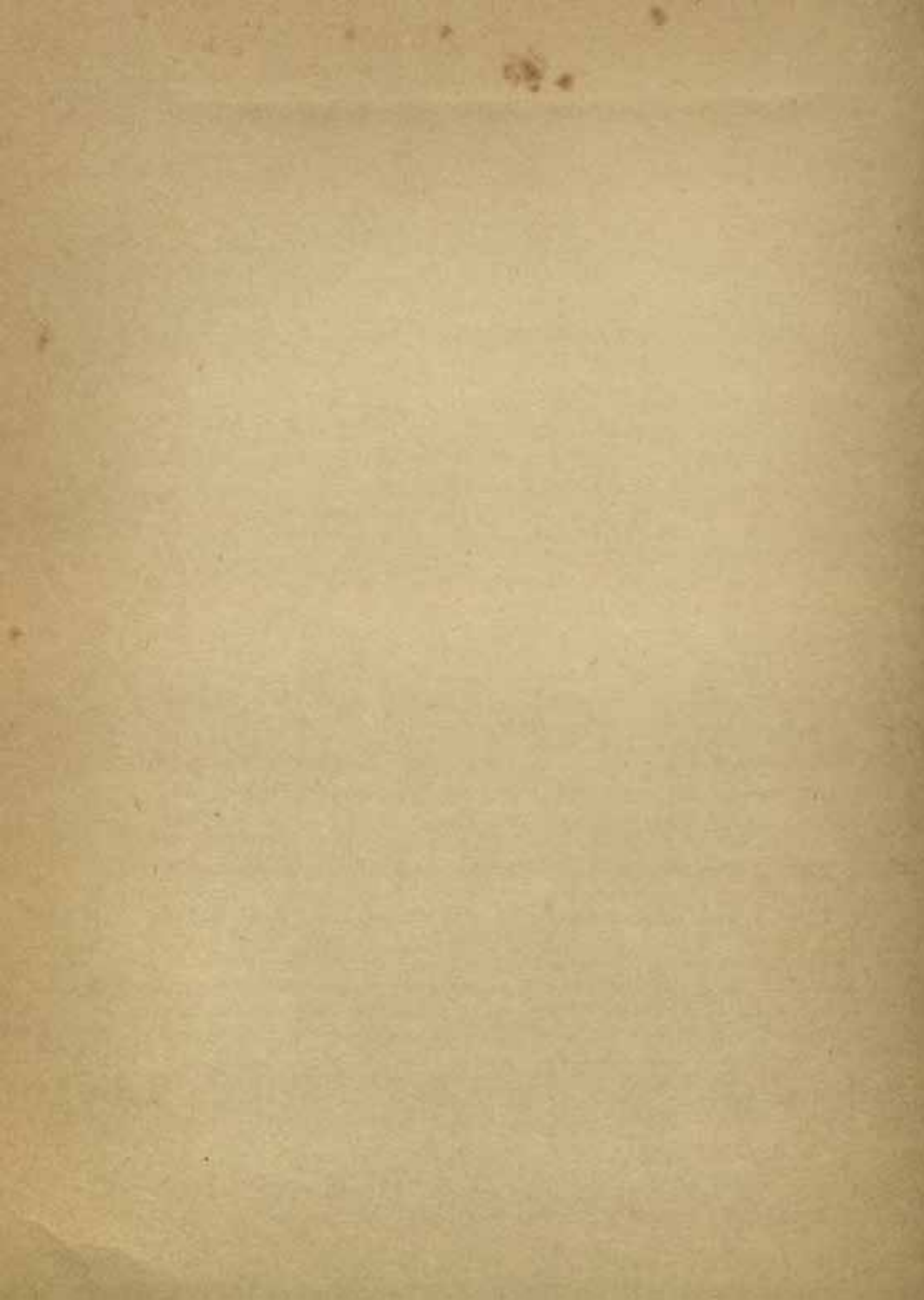
If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorowfull voyage should be perfectly and throughly written, there should neede a painefull man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives and deathes of the Martyrs.

JOHN HAWKINS.









A Discourse written  
BY ONE MILES PHILIPS ENGLISHMAN,

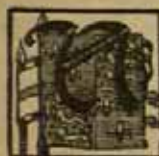
One of the company put on shoare Northward of  
Panuco, in the West Indies by M. John Hawkins  
1568. conteining many special things of that  
countrey and of the Spanish government, but  
specially of their cruelties used to our  
Englishmen, and amongst the rest  
to him selfe for the space of 15. or  
16. yeres together, until by good  
and happy meanes he was de-  
livered from their bloody  
hands, and returned into  
his owne Countrey.

An.

1582.

Chap 1

*Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of England,  
with the number and names of the ships, their Captaines and Masters, and of  
our trafique and dealing upon the coast of Africa.*



PON munday the second of October 1567. the weather  
being reasonable faire, our Generall M. John Hawkins,  
having commanded all his Captaines and Masters to be in  
a readinesse to make saile with him, hee himselfe being  
imbarked in the Jesus, whereof was appointed for Master  
Robert Barret, hoised saile, and departed from Plimmouth  
upon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, and America, being  
accompanied with five other saile of ships, as namely the Mynion,



wherein went for Captaine M. John Hampton, and John Garret, Master. The William and John, wherein was Captaine Thomas Bolton and James Raunce Master. The Judith, in whom was Captaine M. Francis Drake afterward knight, and the Angel, whose Master, as also the Captaine and Master of the Swallow I now remember not. And so sayling in company together upon our voyage untill the tenth of the same moneth, an extreeme storme then tooke us neere unto Cape Finister, which dured for the space of foure dayes, and so separated our ships, that wee had lost one another, and our Generall finding the Jesus to bee but in ill case, was in minde to give over the voyage, and to returne home. Howbeit the eleventh of the same moneth the Seas waxing calme, and the winde comming faire hee altered his purpose, and held on the former intended voyage: And so comming to the yland of Gomera being one of the ylands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appointed, we met with all our ships which were before dispersed, wee then tooke in fresh water and departed from thence the fourth of November, and holding on our course, upon the eighteenth day of the same moneth wee came to an ancker upon the coast of Africa, at Cape Verde in twelve fadome water; and here our Generall landed certaine of our men, to the number of 160. or thereabout, seeking to take some Negros. And they going up into the Countrey for the space of sixe miles, were encountred with a great number of the Negros: who with their invenomed arrowes did hurt a great number of our men, so that they were inforced to retire to the ships, in which conflict they recovered but a fewe Negros, and of these our men which were hurt with their envenomed arrowes, there died to the number of seven or eight in very strange maner, with their mouths shut, so that wee were forced to put stickes and other things into their mouths to keepe them open, and so afterward passing the time upon the coast of Guinea, untill the twelfth of January, wee obtained by that time the number of 150. Negros. And being ready to depart from the Sea coast, there was a Negro sent as an Ambassadors to our Generall, from a King of the Negros, which was oppressed with other Kings his bordering neighbours, desiring our Generall to graunt him succour and ayde against those his enemies, which our Generall granted unto, and went himselfe in person a lande, with the number of two hundreth of our men or thereabouts, and the said King which had requested our ayde, did joyne his force with ours, so that thereby our Generall assaulted, and set fire upon a Towne of the said King his enemies, in which there was at the least the number of eight or ten thousand Negros, and they perceiving

that they were not able to make any resistance sought by flight to save themselves, in which their flight there were taken prisoners to the number of eight or nine hundred, which our Generall ought to have had for his share : howbeit the Negro King which requested our ayde, falsifying his word and promise, secretly in the night conveyed himself away with as many prisoners as he had in his custodie : but our Generall notwithstanding finding himselfe to have nowe very neere the number of 500. Negros thought it best without longer abode to depart with them, and such marchandize as hee had from the coast of Africa, towards the West Indies, and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in fresh water and fewel, and so with speed to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a storme that wee had, wee lost one of our ships, namely the William and John, of which ship and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage.

Chap. 2.

*Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of Africa, with the day and time of our arrivall in the West Indies, also of our trade, and trafique there, and also of the great crueltie that the Spaniards used towards us, by the Vice-roy his direction, and appointment, falsifying his faith and promise given, and seeking to have intrapped us.*



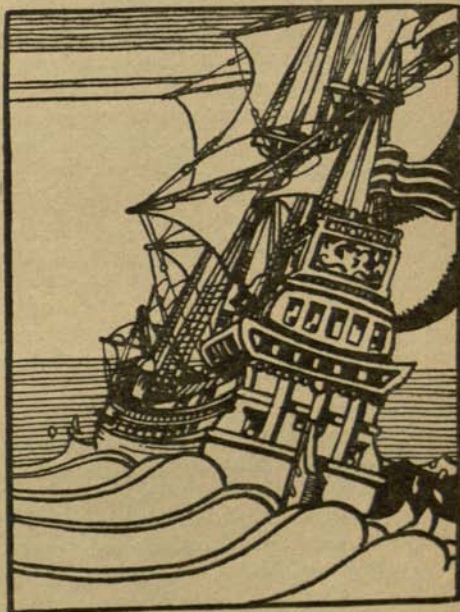
ALL things being made in a readinesse, at our Generall his appointment, upon the thirde day of Februarie 1568. wee departed from the coast of Africa, having the weather somewhat tempestuous, which made our passage the more hard ; and sayling so for the space of 52. dayes, upon the 27. of March 1568. we came in sight of an yland called Dominica, upon the coast of America in the West Indies, situated in 14. degrees of latitude, and 322. of longitude : from thence our Generall coasted from place to place, ever making trafique with the Spaniards and Indians as hee might, which was somewhat hardly obtained, for that the King had straightly charged all his governours in those parts not to trade with any : yet notwithstanding, during the moneths of April and May, our Generall had reasonable trade and trafique, and courteous entertainment in sundry places, as at Margarita, Coração, and else where, til we



came to Cape de la vela, and Rio de Hacha, (a place from whence all the pearles doe come :) the governour there would not by any meanes permit us to have any trade or trafique, nor yet suffer us to take in fresh water : by meanes whereof our Generall for the avoyding of famine and thirst about the beginning of June, was enforced to land two hundred of our men, and so by maine force and strength to obtaine that which by no faire meanes hee could procure : And so recovering the Towne with the losse of two of our men, there was a secret and peaceable trade admitted, and the Spaniards came in by night, and bought of our Negroes to the number of 200. and upwards, and of our other marchandize also. From thence we departed for Carthagena, where the Governour was so straight, that wee could not obtaine any trafique there, and so for that our trade was neere finished, our Generall thought it best to depart from thence the rather for the avoyding of certaine dangerous stormes called the Huricanos, which accustomed to begin there about that time of the yere, & so the 24. of July 1568. we departed from thence directing our course North : and leaving the yland of Cuba upon our right hand, to the Eastward of us, and so sayling toward Florida upon the 12. of August an extreeme tempest arose, which dured for the space of 8 dayes, in which our ships were most dangerously tossed and beaten hither, & thither, so that we were in continuall feare to be drowned by reason of the shallownes of the coast, and in the end we were constrained to flee for succour to the port of S. John de Ullua, or Vera Cruz, situated in 19. degrees of latitude, and in 279. degrees of longitude, which is the port that serveth for the Citie of Mexico : in our seeking to recover this port our Generall met by the way three small ships that caried passengers, which hee tooke with him, and so the sixteenth of September 1568. wee entered the saide port of S. John de Ullua. The Spaniards there supposing us to have bene the King of Spaines Fleete, the chiefe officers of the Countrey thereabouts came presently aboard our Generall, where perceiving themselves to have made an unwise adventure, they were in great feare to have bene taken and stayed : howbeit our Generall did use them all very courteously. In the said port there were twelve ships which by report had in them in treasure to the value of two hundred thousand pound all which being in our Generall his power and at his devotion, he did freely set at libertie, as also the passengers which he had before stayed, not taking from any of them all the value of one groat : onely hee stayed two men of credite and accompt, the one named Don Laurenzo de Alva, and the other Don Pedro de Rivera, and presently our Generall

sent to the Viceroy to Mexico which was threescore leagues off, certifying him of our arrivall there by force of weather, desiring that forasmuch as our Queene his Sovereigne, was the king of Spaine his loving sister and friend, that therefore hee would, considering our necessities and wants, furnish us with victuals for our Navie, and quietly suffer us to repaire and amend our ships. And furthermore that at the arrival of the Spanish Fleet which was there dayly expected and looked for, to the ende that there might no quarell arise betweene them, and our Generall and his company for the breach of amitie, he humbly requested of his excellencie, that there might in this behalfe some special order be taken. This message was sent away the 16. of September 1568 it being the very day of our arrivall there.

The next morning being the seventeenth of the same moneth, wee descried 13. saile of great shippes: and after that our Generall understood, that it was the king of Spaines Fleete then looked for, he presently sent to advertise the Generall hereof, of our being in the said port, and giving him further to understand, that before he should enter there into that harbour, it was requisite that there should passe betweene the two Generals some orders and conditions to bee observed on either part, for the better contriving of peace betweene them and theirs, according to our Generals request made unto the Viceroy. And at this instant our Generall was in a great perplexitie of minde, considering with himselfe that if hee should keepe out that Fleete from entring into the port, a thing which hee was very well able to doe with





the helpe of God, then should that Fleete be in danger of present shipwracke and losse of all their substance, which amounted unto the value of one million and eight hundreth thousand pounds. Againe he saw that if he suffered them to enter, hee was assured that they would practise by all maner of meanes to betray him and his, and on the other side the haven was so little, that the other Fleete entring, the shippes were to ride one hard aboard of another. Also hee saw that if their Fleete should perish by his keeping of them out, as of necessitie they must if he should have done so, then stood hee in great feare of the Queene our Soveraignes displeasure in so waightie a cause: therefore did he choose the least evill, which was to suffer them to enter under assurance, and so to stand upon his guard, and to defend himselfe and his from their treasons which we were well assured they would practise, and so the messenger being returned from Don Martin de Henriques, the newe Viceroy, who came in the same Fleete, and had sufficient authoritie to command in all cases both by Sea and by lande in this province of Mexico or new Spaine, did certifie our Generall, that for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the king of Spaine and our Soveraigne, all our requests should bee both favourably granted, and faithfully perfourmed: signifying further that he heard and understood of the honest and friendly dealing of our Generall, toward the king of Spaines subjects in all places where he had bene, as also in the said port: so that to bee briefe our requests were articulated, and set downe in writing. Viz.

1 The first was that wee might have victuals for our money, and license to sell as much wares, as might suffice to furnish our wants.

2 The second, that we might be suffered peaceably to repaire our ships.

3 The thirde that the yland might bee in our possession during the time of our abode there, In which yland our Generall for the better safetie of him and his, had alreadie planted and placed certaine Ordinance which were eleven pieces of brasse, therefore he required that the same might so continue, and that no Spaniard should come to lande in the saide yland, having or wearing any kinde of weapon about him.

4 The fourth and the last, that for the better and more sure performance and maintenance of peace, and of all the conditions, there might twelve gentlemen of credite bee delivered of either part as hostages.

These conditions were concluded and agreed upon in writing by the Viceroy and signed with his hand, and sealed with his scale, and 10. hostages upon either part were received. And further it was concluded that the two Generals should meet, and give faith ech to other for the performance of

the premisses. Al which being done, the same was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet, & commandement was given that none of either part should violate or breake the peace upon paine of death : thus at the ende of three dayes all was concluded, and the Fleete entred the port, the ships saluting one another as the maner of the Sea doth require : the morrow after being friday we laboured on all sides in placing the English ships by themselves, & the Spanish ships by themselves, the Captaines and inferiour persons of either part, offering, and shewing great courtesie one to another, and promising great amitie upon all sides. Howbeit as the sequel shewed, the Spaniards meant nothing lesse upon their parts. For the Viceroy and governour thereabout had secretly at land assembled to the number of 1000. chosen men, and wel appointed, meaning the next thursday being the 24. of September at dinner time to assault us, and set upon us on all sides. But before I go any further, I thinke it not amisse briefly to describe the maner of the yland as it then was, and the force and strength, that it is now of. For the Spaniards since the time of our Generals being there, for the better fortifying of the same place, have upon the same yland built a faire Castle, and bulwarke very well fortified : this port was then at our being there, a litle yland of stones, not past three foote above water in the highest place, and not past a bow-shotte over any way at the most, and it standeth from the maine land, two bowshootes or more : and there is not in all this coast any other place for ships safely to arive at : also the North windes in this coast are of great violence and force, and unlesse the shippes bee safely moored in, with their anckers fastened in this yland, there is no remedie, but present destruction and shipwracke. All this our generall wisely foreseeing, did provide that he would have the said yland in his custody, or els the Spaniards might at their pleasure, have but cut our cables, and so with the first Northwinde that blew we had had our passport, for our ships had gone a shoore. But to returne to the matter.

The time approching that their treason must be put in practise, the same Thursday morning, some appearance thereof began to shewe it selfe, as shifting of weapons from shippe to shippe, and planting, and bending their Ordinance against our men that warded upon the lande, with great repaire of people : which apparant shewes of breach of the Viceroyes faith caused our Generall to sende one to the Viceroy, to enquire of him what was meant thereby, which presently sent and gave order, that the Ordinance aforesayde, and other things of suspicion should bee removed, returning answere to our Generall in the faith of a Viceroy, that hee would bee our





defence, and safetie from all villanous treacherie : this was upon Thursday in the morning. Our Generall not being therewith satisfied, seeing they had secretly conveyed a great number of men aboard a great hulke or ship of theirs of sixe hundreth tunne, which shippe rode hard by the Mynion, hee sent againe to the Viceroy Robert Barret the Master of the Jesus, a man that could speake the Spanish tongue very well, and required that those men might bee unshipt againe, which were in that great hulke. The Viceroy then perceiving that their treason was throughly espied, stayed our Master, and sounded the Trumpet, and gave order that his people should upon all sides charge upon our men, which warded on shoore, and else where, which strooke such a mase, and sudden feare among us, that many gave place, and sought to recover our shippes for the safetie of themselves. The Spaniards which secretly were hid in ambush at lande were quickly conveyed over to the yland in their long boates, and so comming to the yland, they slewe all our men that they could meete with, without mercy. The Minion which had somewhat before prepared her selfe to avoyd the danger, haled away and abode the first brunt of the 300 men that were in the great hulke : then they sought to fall aboard the Jesus, where was a cruell fight, and many of our men slaine : but yet our men defended themselves, and kept them out : so the Jesus also got loose, and joyning with the Minion, the fight waxed hote upon all sides : but they having woon and got our ordinance on shore, did greatly annoy us. In this fight there were two great shippes of the Spaniards sunke, and one burnt, so that with their shippes they were not able to harme us, but from the shore they beat us cruelly with our owne ordinance, in such sort that the Jesus was very sore spoyled : and suddenly the Spaniards having fired two great ships of their owne, they came directly against us, which bred among our men a marvellous feare. Howbeit the Minion which had made her sayles ready, shifted for her selfe, without consent of the Generall, Captaine or Master, so that very hardly our Generall could be received into the Minion : the most of our men that were in the Jesus shifted for themselves, and followed the Minion in the boat, and those which that small boat was not able to receive, were most cruelly slaine by the Spaniards. Of our ships none escaped saving the Minion and the Judith : and all such of our men as were not in them were inforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certaine trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men ashore, they tooke and hung them up by the armes upon high postes untill the blood burst out of their fingers ends : of which men so used, there is



one Copstow, and certaine others yet alive, who by the mercifull providence of the almighty, were long since arrived here at home in England, carying still about with them (and shal to their graves) the marks and tokens of those inhumane and more then barbarous cruell dealings.

Chap. 3.

*Wherein is shewed, how that after we were escaped from the Spaniards, wee were like to perish with famine at the Sea, and how our Generall, for the avoiding thereof was constrained to put halfe of his men on land, and what miseries wee after that sustained amongst the Savage people, and how againe we fell into the hands of the Spaniards*



**A**FTER that the Viceroy, Don Martin Henriques, had thus contrary to his faith and promise, most cruelly dealt with our Generall master Hawkins, at S. John de Ullua, where most of his men were by the Spaniards slaine and drowned, and all his ships sunke and burned, saving the Minion, and the Judith, which was a small barke of fiftie tunne, wherein was then Captaine master Francis Drake aforesayd: the same night the said barke lost us, we being in great necessitie, and inforced to remoove with the Minion two bow-shoote from the Spanish fleete, where we ankered all that night: and the next morning wee weyed anker, and recovered an Island a mile from the Spaniards, where a storme tooke us with a North winde, in which we were greatly distressed, having but two cables and two ankers left: for in the conflict before we had lost three cables and two ankers. The morrow after, the storme being ceased and the weather faire, we weied, and set sayle, being many men in number, and but small store of victuals to suffice us for any long time: by meanes whereof we were in despaire and feare that we should perish through famine, so that some were in minde to yeelde themselves to the mercy of the Spaniards, other some to the Savages or Infidels, and wandring thus certaine daies in these unknownen seas, hunger constrained us to eate hides, cats and dogs, mice, rats, parrats and munkies: to be short, our hunger was so great, that wee thought it savourie and sweete whatsoever wee could get to eate.

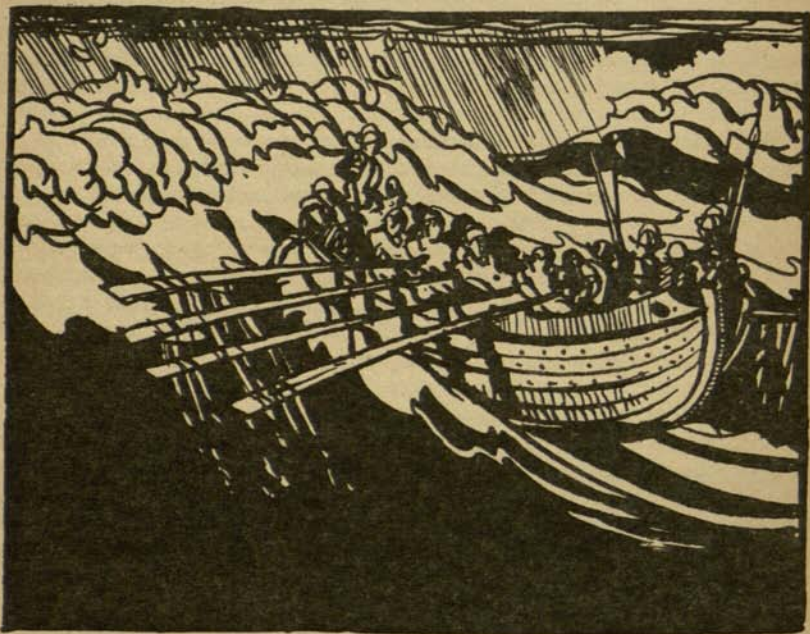
And on the eight of October wee came to land againe, in the bottome of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to have found some inhabitants,

that wee might have had some reliefe of victuals, and a place where to repaire our ship, which was so greatly bruised, that we were scarce able with our weary armes to keepe foorth the water : being thus oppressed with famine on the one side and danger of drowning on the other, not knowing where to find reliefe, wee began to be in wonderfull despaire, and we were of many mindes, amongst whom there were a great many that did desire our Generall to set them on land, making their choise rather to submit themselves to the mercie of the Savages or Infidels, then longer to hazard themselves at sea, where they very well sawe, that if they should remaine together, if they perished not by drowning, yet hunger would inforce them in the ende to eate one another : to which request our Generall did very willingly agree, considering with himselfe that it was necessary for him to lessen his number, both for the safetie of himselfe & the rest : and therupon being resolved to set halfe his people ashore that he had then left alive, it was a world to see how suddenly mens minds were altered : for they which a little before desired to be set on land, were now of another minde, and requested rather to stay : by meanes whereof our Generall was inforced for the more contentation of all mens minds, and to take away all occasions of offence, to take this order : First he made choice of such persons of service and account, as were needefull to stay, and that being done, of those which were willing to goe he appointed such as he thought might be best spared, and presently appointed that by the boat they should bee set on shore our Generall promising us that the next yeere he would either come himselfe, or else send to fetch us home. Here againe it would have caused any stony heart to have relented to heare the pitifull mone that many did make, and howe loth they were to depart : the weather was then somewhat stormy and tempestuous, and therefore we were to passe with great danger, yet notwithstanding there was no remedy, but we that were appointed to goe away, must of necessitie doe so. Howbeit those that went in the first boat were safely set on shore, but of them which went in the second boate, of which number I my selfe was one, the seas wrought so high, that we could not attaine to the shore, and therefore we were constrained through the cruell dealing of John Hampton captaine of the Minion, and John Sanders boatswaine of the Jesus, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leape out of the boate into the maine sea, having more then a mile to shore, and so to shift for our selves, and either to sinke or swimme. And of those that so were (as it were) throwen out, and compelled to leape into the sea, there were two drowned, which were of captaine Blands men.



## *Hakluyt's Voyages*

In the evening of the same day, it being Munday the eight of October, 1568, when we were all come to shore, we found fresh water, whereof some of our men drunke so much, that they had almost cast themselves away, for wee could scarce get life of them for the space of two or three houres after : other some were so cruelly swollen, what with the drinking in of



the salt water, and what with the eating of the fruit which wee found on land, having a stone in it much like an almond (which fruit is called Capule) that they were all in very ill case, so that we were in a maner all of us both feeble, faint and weake.

The next morning being Tewesday, the ninth of October, we thought it best to travell along by the sea coast, to seeke out some place of habitation : (whether they were Christians or Savages, we were indifferent, so that we

might have wherewithall to sustaine our hungry bodies) and so departing from an hill where we had rested all night, not having any drie threed about us, (for those that were not wet being not throwen into the sea, were thorowly wet with raine, for all the night it rained cruelly :) As we went from the hil, and were come into the plaine, we were greatly troubled to passe for the grasse and weedes that grewe there higher then any man. On the left hand we had the sea, and upon the right hand great woods, so that of necessitie we must needs passe on our way Westward, through those marshes ; and going thus, suddenly we were assaulted by the Indians, a warlike kind of people, which are in a maner as Canibals, although they doe not feede upon mans flesh as Canibals doe.

These people are called Chichimici, and they use to weare their haire long, even down to their knees, they doe also colour their faces greene, yellow, red and blew, which maketh them to seeme very ougly and terrible to beholde. These people doe keepe warres against the Spaniards, of whom they have bene oftentimes very cruelly handled : for with the Spaniards there is no mercy. They perceiving us at our first comming on land, supposed us to have bene their enemies, the bordering Spaniards, and having by their forerunners descried what number we were, and how feeble and weake without armour or weapon, they suddenly according to their accustomed maner, when they encounter with any people in warlike sorte, raised a terrible and huge crie, and so came running fiercely upon us, shooting off their arrowes as thicke as haile, unto whose mercy we were constrained to yeeld, not having amongst us any kind of armour, nor yet weapon, saving one caliver, and two old rustie swords, whereby to make any resistance, or to save our selves : which when they perceived, that wee sought not any other then favour and mercie at their handes, and that we were not their enemies the Spaniards, they had compassion on us, and came and caused us all to sit down : and when they had a while surveyed, and taken a perfect view of us, they came to all such as had any coloured clothes amongst us, and those they did strip starke naked, and tooke their clothes away with them, but those that were apparelled in blacke they did not meddle withall, and so went their wayes, and left us without doing us any further hurt, onely in the first brunt they killed eight of our men. And at our departure, they perceiving in what weake case we were, pointed us with their hands which way we should go to come to a towne of the Spaniards, which as we afterwards perceived, was not past ten leagues from thence, using these words : Tampice, Tampice, Christiano, Tampice



Christiano, which is as much (we thinke) as to say in English, at Tampice you shall find the Christians. The weapons that they use are no other but bowes and arrowes, and their arme is so good, that they very seldome misse to hit any thing that they shoote at. Shortly after they had left us stript (as aforesayd) we thought it best to devide our selves into two companies, and so being separated, halfe of us went under the leading of one Anthony Godard, who is yet a man alive, and dwelleth at this instant in the towne of Plimmouth, whom before we chose to be captaine over us all, and those which went under his leading, of which number I Miles Philips was one, travailed Westward that way which the Indians with their hands had before pointed us to go. The other halfe went under the leading of one John Hooper, whom they did choose for their captain, & with the company that went with him, David Ingram was one, and they tooke their way and travelled Northward, and shortly after, within the space of two dayes, they were againe incountered with the savage people, and their captaine Hooper and two more of his company were slaine: then againe they divided themselves, and some held on their way still Northward, and other some, knowing that we were gone Westward, sought to meet with us againe, as in truth there was about the number of 25 or 26 of them that met with us in the space of foure dayes againe, and then we began to reckon amongst our selves, how many wee were that were set on shore, and we found the number to be an hundred and foureteene, whereof two were drowned in the sea, and eight were slaine at the first incounter, so that there remained an hundred and foure, of which 25 went Westward with us, and 52 to the North with Hooper and Ingram: and as Ingram since hath often told me, there were not past three of their company slaine, and there were but sixe and twenty of them that came againe to us, so that of the company that went Northward, there is yet lacking, and not certainly heard of, the number of three and twenty men. And verely I doe thinke that there are of them yet alive, and married in the said countrey, at Cibola, as hereafter I purpose (God willing) to discourse of more particularly, with the reason and causes that make mee so to thinke of them that were lacking, which were David Ingram, Twide, Browne, and sundry others, whose names wee could not remember. And being thus met againe together, we travelled on still Westward, sometime thorow such thicke woods, that we were inforced with cudgels to breake away the brambles and bushes from tearing our naked bodies: other sometimes we should travell thorow the plaines, in such high grasse that wee could scarce see one another, and as we passed in some places, we should

have of our men slaine, and fall downe suddenly, being strooken by the Indians, which stood behinde trees and bushes, in secret places, and so killed our men as they went by, for wee went scatteringly in seeking of fruites to relieve our selves. We were also oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kind of flie, which in the Indian tongue is called Tequani, and the Spaniards called them Muskitos. There are also in the sayd countrey a number of other kinde of flies, but none so noysome as these Tequanies bee : you shall hardly see them they be so small, for they are scarce so big as a gnat ; they will sucke ones blood marveilously, and if you kill them while they are sucking, they are so venomous that the place will swell extremely, even as one that is stoong with a Wasp or Bee : but if you let them sucke their fill, and to goe away of themselves, then they doe you no other hurt, but leave behinde them a red spot somewhat bigger then a flea-biting. At the first wee were terribly troubled with these kinde of flies, not knowing their qualities, and resistance wee could make none against them, being naked : as for cold wee feared not any, the countrey there is alwayes so warme. And as we travelled thus for the space of tenne or twelve dayes, our captaine did oftentimes cause certaine to goe up into the toppes of high trees, to see if they could descrie any towne or place of inhabitants, but they could not perceive any, and using often the same order to climbe up into high trees, at the length they descried a great river that fell from the Northwest into the maine sea, and presently after, we heard an harquebuze shot off, which did greatly incourage us, for thereby wee knew that we were neere to some Christians, and did therefore hope shortly to finde some succour and comfort, and within the space of one houre after, as we travelled, we heard a cocke crowe, which was also no small joy unto us, and so we came to the North side of the river of Panuco, where the Spaniards have certaine Salines, at which place it was that the harquebuze was shot off, which before we heard : to which place we went not directly, but missing thereof, we left it about a bow-shot upon our left hand : of this river wee dranke very greedily, for wee had not met with any water in sixe dayes before, and as we were here by the river side resting our selves, and longing to come to the place where the cocke did crowe, and where the harquebuze was shot off, we perceived many Spaniards upon the other side of the river, riding up and downe on horsebacke, and they perceiving us, did suppose that we had beene of the Indians their bordering enemies, the Chichimeci : the river was not past halfe a bowe shoot over : and presently one of the Spaniards tooke an Indian boate called a Canoa, and so came over, being rowed by two Indians,



and having taken the view of us, did presently rowe over backe againe to the Spaniards, who without any delay made out about the number of twenty horsemen, and imbarcking themselves in the Canoas, they led their horses by the reines swimming over after them, and being come over to that side of the river where we were, they saddled their horses, and being mounted upon them with their lances charged, they came very fiercely running at us. Our captaine Anthony Godard seeing them come in that order, did perswade us to submit and yeelde our selves unto them, for being naked, as we at this time were, and without weapon, we could not make any resistance, whose bidding we obeyed, and upon the yeelding of our selves, they perceived us to be Christians, and did call for more Canoas, and caried us over by foure and foure in a boat, and being come on the other side, they understanding by our captaine how long we had bene without meate, imparted between two and two a loafe of bread made of that countrey wheat, which the Spaniards call Maiz, of the hignesse of our halfepenie loaves, which bread is named in the Indian tongue Clashacally. This bread was very sweete and pleasant unto us, for we had not eaten any in a long time before : and what is it that hunger doth not make to have a savory and a delicate taste ? And having thus parted the bread amongst us, those which were men they sent afore to the towne, having also many Indians inhabitants of that place to garde them : they which were yong, as boyes, and some such also as were feeble, they tooke up upon their horses, behind them, and so caried us to the towne where they dwelt, which was very neere distant a mile from the place where we came over.

This towne is well situated, and well replenished with all kindes of fruits, as Orenge, Limons, Pomegranates, Apricocks, and Peaches, and sundry others, and is inhabited with a great number of tame Indians, or Mexicans, and had in it also at that time about the number of two hundred Spaniards, men, women, and children, besides Negros. Of their Salines, which lie upon the West side of the river, more then a mile distant from thence, they make a great profit, for it is an excellent good merchandize there : the Indians doe buy much thereof, and cary it up into the countrey, and there sell it to their owne countrey people, in doubling the price. Also much of the Salt made in this place, is transported from thence by sea to sundry other places, as to Cuba, S. John de Ullua, and the other ports of Tamiago, and Tamachos, which are two barred havens West and by South above threescore leagues from S. John de Ullua. When we were all come to the towne, the Governour there shewed himselfe very severe unto us, and

threatned to hang us all : and then he demanded what money wee had, which in trueth was very little, for the Indians which we first met withall, had in a maner taken all from us, and of that which they left, the Spaniards which brought us over, tooke away a good part also : howbeit, from Anthony Godard the Governour here had a chaine of gold, which was given unto him at Carthagera, by the Governour there, and from others he had some small store of money : so that wee accounted that amongst us all he had the number of five hundred Pezos, besides the chaine of gold.

And having thus satisfied himselfe, when he had taken all that we had, he caused us to be put into a little house much like a hogstie, where we were almost smothered : and before we were thus shut up into that little coat, they gave us some of the countrey wheate, called Mayz, sodden, which they feede their hogs withall. But many of our men which had bene hurt by the Indians at our first comming on land, whose wounds were very sore and grievous, desired to have the helpe of their Surgeons to cure their wounds. The governour, and most of them all answered, that wee should have none other Surgeon but the hangman, which should sufficiently heale us of all our griefes : and thus reviling us, and calling us English dogs, and Lutheran heretikes, we remained the space of three dayes in this miserable state, not knowing what should become of us, waiting every houre to be bereaved of our lives.

Chap. 4

*Wherin is shewed how we were used in Panuco, and in what feare of death we were there, and how we were caried to Mexico to the Viceroy, and of our imprisonment there and at Tescuco, with the courtesies and cruelties wee received during that time, and how in the end wee were by proclamation given to serve as slaves to sundry gentlemen Spaniards.*



PON the fourth day after our comming thither, and there remaining in a perplexitie, looking every houre when we should suffer death, there came a great number of Indians and Spaniards weaponed to fetch us out of the house, and amongst them wee espied one that brought a great many of new halters, at the sight whereof we were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we should presently have suffered death, and so crying and calling to God for mercie and forgiveness of our sinnes, we



prepared our selves, making us ready to die : yet in the end, as the sequel shewed, their meaning was not so : for when wee were come out of the house, with those halters they bound our armes behind us, and so coupling us two and two together, they commanded us to march on through the towne, and so along the countrey from place to place toward the citie of Mexico, which is distant from Panuco West and by South the space of ninetie leagues, having onely but two Spaniards to conduct us, they being accompanied with a great number of Indians warding on either side with bowes and arrowes, lest we should escape from them. And travelling in this order, upon the second day at night we came unto a towne which the Indians call Nohele, and the Spaniards call it Santa Maria : in which towne there is a house of white friers, which did very courteously use us, and gave us hote meat, as mutton and broth, and garments also to cover our selves withal, made of white bayes : we fed very greedily of the meat, and of the Indian fruit, called Nochole, which fruit is long and small, much like in fashion to a little cucumber. Our greedy feeding caused us to fall sicke of hote burning agues. And here at this place one Thomas Baker one of our men died of a hurt : for he had bene before shot with an arrow into the throat at the first incounter.

The next morrow about ten of the clocke, we departed from thence, bound two & two together, and garded as before, and so travailed on our way toward Mexico, till we came to a towne within forty leagues of Mexico, named Mestitlan, where is a house of blacke friers : and in this towne there are about the number of three hundred Spaniards, both men, women, and children. The friers sent us meat from the house ready dressed, and the friers, and the men and women used us very courteously, and gave us some shirts and other such things as we lacked. Here our men were very sicke of their agues, and with eating of another fruit called in the Indian tongue, Guiaccos, which fruit did binde us so sore, that for the space of tenne or twelve dayes we could not ease our selves. The next morning we departed from thence with our two Spaniards and Indian gard, as aforesayd. Of these two Spaniards the one was an aged man, who all the way did very courteously intreate us, and would carefully go before to provide for us both meat and things necessary to the uttermost of his power : the other was a yong man who all the way travelled with us, and never departed from us, who was a very cruell caitive, and he caried a javeline in his hand, and sometimes when as our men with very feeblenesse and faintnesse were not able to goe so fast as he required them, he would take his javelin in both his

handes, and strike them with the same betweene the necke and the shoulders so violently, that he would strike them downe : then would he cry, and say, Marchad, marchad Ingleses perros, Luterianos, enemigos de Dios : which is as much to say in English, as March, march on you English dogges, Lutherans, enemies to God. And the next day we came to a towne called Pachuca, and there are two places of that name : as this towne of Pachuca, and the mines of Pachuca, which are mines of silver, and are about sixe leagues distant from this towne of Pachuca towards the Northwest.

Here at this towne the good olde man our Governour suffered us to stay two dayes and two nights, having compassion of our sicke and weake men, full sore against the minde of the yoong man his companion. From thence we tooke our journey, and travelled foure or five dayes by little villages, and Stantias, which are farmes or dairie houses of the Spaniards, and ever as wee had neede, the good olde man would still provide us sufficient of meates, fruites, and water to sustaine us. At the end of which five dayes wee came to a towne within five leagues of Mexico, which is called Quoghliclan, where wee also stayed one whole day and two nights, where was a faire house of gray friers, howbeit wee saw none of them. Here wee were told by the Spaniards in the towne, that wee had not past fiftene English miles from thence to Mexico, whereof we were all very joyfull and glad, hoping that when we came thither, we should either be relieved, and set free out of bonds, or els bee quickly dispatched out of our lives : for seeing our selves thus caried bound from place to place, although some used us courteously, yet could wee never joy, nor be merrie till wee might perceive our selves set free from that bondage, either by death or otherwise.

The next morning we departed from thence on our journey towards Mexico, and so travelled till wee came within two leagues of it, where there was built by the Spaniards a very faire church, called our Ladyes church, in which there is an image of our Lady of silver & gilt, being as high, & as large as a tall woman, in which church, and before this image, there are as many lamps of silver as there be dayes in the yeere, which upon high dayes are all lighted. Whensoever any Spaniards passe by this church, although they be on horse backe, they will alight, and come into the church, and kneele before the image, and pray to our Lady to defend them from all evil ; so that whether he be horseman or footman he will not passe by, but first goe into the Church, and pray as aforesayd, which if they doe not, they thinke and beleeve that they shall never prosper : which image they



call in the Spanish tongue, Nuestra sennora de Guadalupe. At this place there are certain cold baths, which arise, springing up as though the water did seeth : the water whereof is somewhat brackish in taste, but very good for any that have any sore or wound, to wash themselves therewith, for as they say, it healeth many : and every yeere once upon our Lady day the people use to repaire thither to offer, and to pray in that Church before the image, and they say that our Lady of Guadalupe doeth worke a number of miracles. About this Church there is not any towne of Spaniards that is inhabited, but certaine Indians doe dwell there in houses of their own cuntry building.

Here we were met with a great number of Spaniards on horsebacke, which came from Mexico to see us, both gentlemen, and men of occupations, and they came as people to see a wonder : we were still called upon to march on ; and so about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the said day we entred into the citie of Mexico, by the way or street called La calle Santa Catherina : and we stayed not in any place till we came to the house or palace of the Vice Roy, Don Martin Henriques, which standeth in the middest of the city, hard by the market place, called La plaza del Marquese. We had not stayed any long time at this place, but there was brought us by the Spaniards from the market place great store of meat, sufficient to have satisfied five times so many as we were : some also gave us hats, & some gave us money : in which place we stayed for the space of two houres, & from thence we were conveyed by water in two large Canoas to an hospital where as certaine of our men were lodged, which were taken before the fight at S. John de Ullua : wee should have gone to our Ladies hospitall, but that there were also so many of our men taken before at that fight that there was no roome for us. After our comming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco dyed within the space of fourteene dayes : soone after which time we were taken forth from that place, and put altogether into our Ladies hospitall, in which place we were courteously used, and visited oftentimes by vertuous gentlemen and gentlewomen of the citie, who brought us divers things to comfort us withall, as succats and marmilads, and such other things, and would also many times give us many things, and that very liberally. In which hospitall we remained for the space of sixe moneths, untill we were all whole and sound of body, and then we were appointed by the Vice Roy to be caried unto the town of Tescuco, which is from Mexico Southwest distant eight leagues : in which towne there are certaine houses of correction and punish-

ment for ill people called Obraches, like to Bridewell here in London : into which place divers Indians are sold for slaves, some for ten yeeres, and some for twelve. It was no small grieve unto us when we understood that we should be caried thither, and to bee used as slaves, we had rather be put to death : howbeit there was no remedy, but we were caried to the prison of Tescuco, where we were not put to any labour, but were very straitly kept, & almost famished, yet by the good providence of our mercifull God, we happened there to meet with one Robert Sweeting, who was the sonne of an Englishman borne of a Spanish woman : this man could speake very good English, and by his means wee were holpen very much with victuals from the Indians, as mutton, hennes, & bread. And if we had not bene so relieved, we had surely perished : and yet all the provision that wee had gotten that way was but slender. And continuing thus straightly kept in prison there for the space of two moneths, at the length wee agreed amongst our selves to breake forth of prison, come of it what would, for we were minded rather to suffer death then longer to live in that miserable state. And so having escaped out of prison, we knew not what way to flie for the safetie of our selves, the night was darke, and it rained terribly, and not having any guide, we went we knew not whither, and in the morning, at the appearing of the day, we perceived our selves to be come hard to the city of Mexico, which is 24 English miles from Tescuco. The day being come we were espied by the Spaniards, & pursued, and taken, and brough, before the Vice Roy and head justices, who threatned to hang us for breaking of the kings prison. Yet in the end they sent us into a garden belonging to the Vice Roy, & comming thither, we found there our English gentlemen which were delivered as hostages when as our General was betrayed at S. John de Ullua, as is aforesaid, and with them wee also found Robert Barret, the Master of the Jesus, in which place we remained labouring and doing such things as we were commanded, for the space of 4 moneths, having but two sheepe a day allowed to suffice us all, being very neere a hundred men, and for bread we had every man two loaves a day, of the quantity of one halfepeny loafe. At the end of which foure moneths, they having remooved our gentlemen hostages, and the Master of the Jesus to a prison in the Vice Roy his owne house, did cause it to be proclaimed, that what gentleman Spaniard soever was willing, or would have any English man to serve him, and be bound to keepe him forth comming, to appeare before the Justices within one moneth after notice given, that they should repaire to the said garden, and there take their choice : which proclamation was



no sooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden amaine, so that happie was he that could soonest get one of us.

Chap. 5.

*Wherein is shewed in what good sort, and how wealthily we lived with our masters untill the comming of the Inquisition, when as againe our sorowes began a fresh: Of our imprisonment in the holy house, and of the severe judgement and sentences given against us, and with what rigour and crueltie the same were executed.*



THE gentlemen that thus tooke us for their servants or slaves did new apparell us through out, with whom we abode, doing such service as they appointed us unto, which was for the most part to attend upon them at the table, and to be as their chamberlaines, & to waite upon them when they went abroad, which they greatly accounted of; for in that countrey no Spaniard will serve one another, but they are all of them attended and served by Indians weekly, and by Negroes which be their slaves during their life. In this sort we remained and served in the said cite of Mexico, and thereabouts for the space of a yeere and somewhat longer. Afterwards many of us were by our masters appointed to go to sundry of their Mines where they had to doe, and to be as overseers of the Negroes and Indians that laboured there. In which mines many of us did profite & gaine greatly: for first we were allowed three hundred Pezos a man for a yeere, which is threescore pound sterling, and besides that the Indians and Negroes which wrought under our charge, upon our well using & intreating of them, would at times as upon Saturdayes when they had left worke, labour for us, and blow as much silver as should be worth unto us 3 markes or thereabouts, every marke being worth 6 Pezos, and a halfe of their money, which 19 Pezos & a halfe, is worth 4li. 10s. of our money. Sundry weekes we did gaine so much by this meanes besides our wages, that many of us became very rich, and were worth three thousand or foure thousand Pezos, for we lived and gained thus in those Mines some three or foure yeeres. As concerning those Gentlemen which were delivered as hostages, and that were kept in prison, in the Viceroy his house, after that we were gone from out the garden to serve sundry gentlemen as aforesaid, they remained prisoners

in the said house for the space of 4 moneths after their comming thither, at the end whereof the flecte being readie to depart from S. John de Ullua, to goe for Spaine, the said Gentlemen were sent away into Spaine with the flecte, where as I have heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruell handling of the Spaniards in the Inquisition house, as those which have bene delivered home after they had suffered the persecution of that house can more perfectly declare. Robert Barret also master of the Jesus, was sent away with the flecte into Spaine the next yeere following, where afterwards he suffered persecution in the Inquisition, and at the last was condemned to be burnt, and with him one more of our men whose name was John Gilbert.

Now after that sixe yeeres were fully expired since our first comming into the Indies, in which time we had bene imprisoned and served in the said countreys as is before truly declared, In the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred seventie foure, the Inquisition began to be established in the Indies, very much against the mindes of many of the Spaniards themselves: for never untill this time since their first conquering and planting in the Indies, were they subject to that bloodie and cruell Inquisition. The chiefe Inquisitor was named Don Pedro Moya de Contreras, and John de Bovilla his companion, and John Sanches the Fischall, and Pedro de los Rios, the Secretary: they being come and settled, and placed in a very faire house neere unto the white Friars, considering with themselves that they must make an entrance and beginning of that their most detestable Inquisition here in Mexico, to the terror of the whole countrey, thought it best to call us that were Englishmen first in question, and so much the rather, for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence that many of us were become

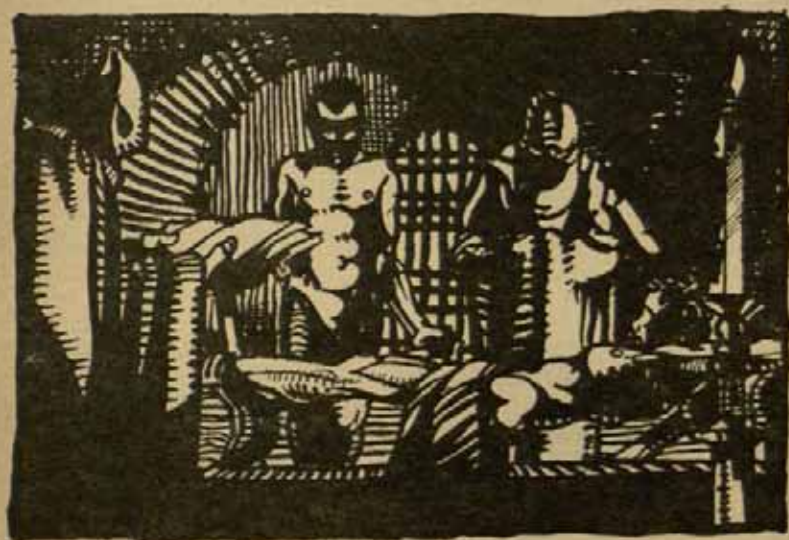




very rich, as hath bene already declared, and therefore we were a very good booty and pray to the Inquisitors: so that now againe began our sorrowes a fresh, for we were sent for, and sought out in all places of the countrey, and proclamation made upon paine of loosing of goods and excommunication, that no man should hide or keepe secret any Englishmen or any part of their goods. By means whereof we were all soone apprehended in all places, and all our goods seized and taken for the Inquisitors use, and so from all parts of the countrey we were conveyed and sent as prisoners to the cite of Mexico, and there committed to prison in sundry darke dungeons, where we could not see but by candle light, & were never past two together in one place, so that we saw not one another, neither could one of us tell what was become of another. Thus we remained close imprisoned for the space of a yeere and a halfe, and others for some lesse time, for they came to prison ever as they were apprehended. During which time of our imprisonment, at the first beginning we were often called before the Inquisitors alone, and there severely examined of our faith, and commanded to say the Pater noster, the Ave Maria, & the Creed in Latin, which God knoweth a great number of us could not say, otherwise then in the English tongue. And having the said Robert Sweeting who was our friend at Tescuco alwayes present with them for an interpreter, he made report for us, y<sup>t</sup> in our own countrey speech we could say them perfectly, although not word for word as they were in Latin. Then did they proceede to demand of us upon our othes what we did beleewe of the Sacrament, & whether there did remaine any bread or wine after the words of consecration, yea or no, and whether we did not beleewe that the host of bread which the priest did hold up over his head, and the wine that was in the chalice, was the very true and perfect body & blood of our Saviour Christ, yea or no: To which if we answered not yea, then was there no way but death. Then they would demand of us what we did remember of our selves, what opinions we had held, or had bin taught to hold contrary to the same whiles we were in England: to which we for the safety of our lives were constrained to say, that we never did beleewe, nor had bene taught otherwise then has before we had sayd. Then would they charge us that we did not tell them the truth, that they knew the contrary, and therefore we should cal our selves to remembrance, & make them a better answer at the next time, or els we should be rackt, and made to confesse the trueth whether we would or no. And so coming againe before them the next time, we were still demanded of our beleefe whiles we were in England, and how we had bin

*A Discourse written by One Miles Philips Englishman*

taught, & also what we thought or did know of such of our owne company as they did name unto us, so that we could never be free from such demands, and at other times they would promise us, that if we would tell them trueth, then should we have favour & be set at libertie, although we very wel knew their faire speeches were but means to entrap us, to the hazard and losse of our lives : howbeit God so mercifully wrought for us by a secret meanes that we had, that we kept us still to our first answer, & would stil say that



we had told the trueth unto them, and knew no more by our selves nor any other of our fellows then as we had declared, and that for our sinnes and offences in England against God and our Lady, or any of his blessed Saints, we were heartily sorry for the same, and did cry God mercy, and besought the Inquisitors for Gods sake, considering that we came into those countreys by force of weather, & against our wils, and that never in all our lives we had either spoken or done any thing contrary to their lawes, and therefore they would have mercy upon us. Yet all this would not serve ; for stil



from time to time we were called upon to confesse, and about the space of 3 moneths before they proceeded to their severe judgement, we were al rackt, and some enforced to utter that against themselves, which afterwards cost them their lives. And thus having gotten from our owne mouthes matter sufficient for them to proceed in judgement against us, they caused a large scaffold to be made in the middest of the market place in Mexico right over against the head church, & 14 or 15 daies before the day of their judgement, with the sound of a trumpet, and the noise of their Attabalies, which are a kind of drummes, they did assemble the people in all parts of the citie : before whom it was then solemnly proclaimed, that whosoever would upon such a day repaire to the market place, they should heare the sentence of the holy Inquisition against the English heretikes, Lutherans, and also see the same put in execution. Which being done, and the time approaching of this cruell judgement, the night before they came to the prison where we were, with certaine officers of that holy hellish house, bringing with them certaine fooles coats which they had prepared for us, being called in their language S. Benitos, which coats were made of yellow cotton & red crosses upon them, both before & behind : they were so busied in putting on their coats about us, and bringing us out into a large yard, and placing and pointing us in what order we should go to the scaffold or place of judgement upon the morrow, that they did not once suffer us to sleepe all that night long. The next morning being come, there was given to every one of us for our breakfast a cup of wine, and a slice of bread fried in honie, and so about eight of the clocke in the morning, we set foorth of the prison, every man alone in his yellow coat, and a rope about his necke, and a great greene Waxe candle in his hand unlighted, having a Spaniard appointed to goe upon either side of every one of us : and so marching in this order and maner toward the scaffold in the market place, which was a bow shoot distant or thereabouts, we found a great assembly of people all the way, and such a throng, that certain of the Inquisitors officers on horseback were constrained to make way, and so comming to the scaffold, we went up by a paire of stayres, and found seates readie made and prepared for us to sit downe on, every man in order as he should be called to receive his judgement. We being thus set downe as we were appointed, presently the Inquisitors came up another paire of staires, and the Viceroy and all the chiefe Justices with them. When they were set downe and placed under the cloth of estate agreeing to their degrees and calling, then came up also a great number of Friers, white, blacke and gray, about the number of

300 persons, they being set in the places for them appointed. Then was there a solemne Oyes made, and silence commanded, and then presently beganne their severe and cruell judgement.

The first man that was called was one Roger the chiefe Armourer of the Jesus, and hee had judgement to have three hundred stripes on horsebacke, and after condemned to the gallies as a slave for 10 yeeres.

After him were called John Gray, John Browne, John Rider, John Moone, James Collier, and one Thomas Browne : these were adjudged to have 200 stripes on horsebacke, and after to be committed to the gallies for the space of 8 yeeres.

Then was called John Keyes, and was adjudged to have 100 stripes on horsebacke, and condemned to serve in the gallies for the space of 6 yeeres.

Then were severally called the number of 53 one after another, and every man had his severall judgement, some to have 200 stripes on horsebacke, and some 100, and condemned for slaves to the gallies, some for 6 yeeres, some for 8 and some for 10.

And then was I Miles Philips called, and was adjudged to serve in a monasterie for 5 yeeres, without any stripes, and to weare a fooles coat, or S. Benito, during all that time.

Then were called John Storie, Richard Williams, David Alexander, Robert Cooke, Paul Horsewell and Thomas Hull : the sixe were condemned to serve in monasteries without stripes, some for 3 yeeres and some for foure, and to weare the S. Benito during all the said time. Which being done, and it now drawing toward night, George Rively, Peter Momfrie, and Cornelius the Irishman, were called and had their judgement to be burnt to ashes, and so were presently sent away to the place of execution in the market place but a little from the scaffold, where they were quickly burnt and consumed. And as for us that had received our judgement, being 68 in number, we were caried backe that night to prison againe. And the next day in the morning being good Friday, the yeere of our Lord 1575, we were all brought into a court of the Inquisitors pallace, where we found a horse in a readinesse for every one of our men which were condemned to have stripes, and to be committed to the gallies, which were in number 60 and so they being inforced to mount up on horsebacke naked from the middle upward, were caried to be shewed as a spectacle for all the people to behold throughout the chiefe and principall streetes of the citie, and had the number of stripes to every one of them appointed, most cruelly laid upon their naked bodies with long whips by sundry men appointed to be



the executioners thereof : and before our men there went a couple of criers which cried as they went : Behold these English dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God, and all the way as they went there were some of the Inquisitors themselves, and of the familiars of that rakehel order, that cried to the executioners, Strike, lay on those English heretiks, Lutherans, Gods enemies : and so this horrible spectacle being shewed round about the



citie, they returned to the Inquisitors house, with their backes all gore blood, and swollen with great bumps, and were then taken from their horses, & carried againe to prison, where they remained untill they were sent into Spaine to the gallies, there to receive the rest of their martirdome : and I and the 6 other with me which had judgement, and were condemned amongst the rest to serve an apprenticeship in the monastery, were taken presently and sent to certaine religious houses appointed for the purpose.

Chap. 6.

*Wherein is shewed how we were used in the religious houses, and that when the time was expired, that we were adjudged to serve in them, there came newes to Mexico of M. Francis Drakes being in the South Sea, and what preparation was made to take him, and how I seeking to escape, was againe taken and put in prison at Vera Cruz, and how againe I made mine escape from thence.*



MILES PHILIPS and William Lowe were appointed to the blacke Friars, where I was appointed to be an overseer of Indian workmen, who wrought there in building of a new church : amongst which Indians I learned their language or Mexican tongue very perfectly, and had great familiaritie with many of them, whom I found to be a courteous and loving kind of people, ingenious, and of great understanding, and they hate and abhorre the Spaniards with all their hearts, they have used such horrible cruelties against them, and doe still keepe them in such subjection and servitude, that they and the Negros also doe daily lie in waite to practise their deliverance out of that thraldome and bondage, that the Spaniards doe keepe them in. William Lowe he was appointed to serve the Cooke in the kitchin, Richard Williams and David Alexander were appointed to the gray Friars, John Story and Robert Cooke to the white Friars : Paul Horsewel the Secretary tooke to be his servant : Thomas Hull was sent to a Monastery of priests, where afterward he died. Thus we served out the yeeres that we were condemned for, with the use of our fooles coates, and we must needs confesse that the Friars did use us very courteously : for every one of us had his chamber with bedding & diet, and all things cleane and neat : yea many of the Spaniards and Friars themselves do utterly abhorre and mislike of that cruell Inquisition, and would as they durst bewaile our miseries, and comfort us the best they could, although they stood in such feare of that divelish Inquisition, that they durst not let the left hande know what the right doth. Now after that the time was expired for which we were condemned to serve in those religious houses, we were then brought againe before the chiefe Inquisitor, and had all our fooles coates pulled off and



hanged up in the head church, called Ecclesia Major, and every mans name and judgement written thereupon with this addition, An heretike Lutheran reconciled. And there are also all their coates hanged up, which were condemned to the gallies, with their names and judgements, and underneath his coat, Heretike Lutheran reconciled. And also the coats and names of the three that were burned, whereupon were written, An obstinate heretike Lutheran burnt. Then were we suffered to goe up and downe the countrey, and to place our selves as we could, and yet not so free, but that we very well knew that there was good espiall alwayes attending us and all our actions, so that we durst not once speake or looke awry. David Alexander & Robert Cooke returned to serve the Inquisitor, who shortly after married them both to two of his Negro women: Richard Williams married a rich widow of Biskay with 4000 Pezos: Paul Horsewell is married to a Mestisa, as they name those whose fathers were Spaniards, and their mothers Indians, and this woman which Paul Horsewell hath married, is sayd to be the daughter of one that came in with Hernando Cortes the Conquerour, who had with her in marriage foure thousand Pezos, and a faire house: John Storie is married to a Negro woman: William Lowe had leave and licence to goe into Spaine where he is now married: for mine owne part I could never thoroughly settle my selfe to marry in that countrey, although many faire offers were made unto me of such as were of great abilitie and wealth, but I could have no liking to live in that place, where I must every where see and know such horrible idolatrie committed, and durst not once for my life speake against it: and therefore I had alwayes a longing and desire to this my native countrey: and, to returne and serve againe in the Mines where I might have gathered great riches and wealth, I very well saw that at one time or another I should fall againe into the danger of that divelish Inquisition, and so be stript of all, with losse of life also, and therefore I made my choise rather to learne to weave Grogranes and Taffaties, and so compounding with a Silke-weaver, I bound my selfe for three yeeres to serve him, and gave him an hundred and fiftie Pezos to teach me the science, otherwise he would not have taught mee under seven yeeres prentiship, and by this meanes I lived the more quiet, and free from suspition. Howbeit I should many times be charged by familiars of that divelish house, that I had a meaning to runne away into England, and to be an heretike Lutherane againe: To whom I would answere that they had no neede to suspect any such thing in mee, for that they knewe all very well that it was impossible for me to escape by any maner of meanes: yet notwithstanding I was called

before the Inquisitor, and demaunded why I did not marrie : I answered that I had bound my selfe at an occupation. Well said the Inquisitor, I knowe thou meanest to runne away, and therefore I charge thee here upon paine of burning as an heretike relapsed, that thou depart not out of this citie, nor come neere to the port of S. John de Ullua, nor to any other port :



To the which I answered, that I would willingly obey. Yea said he, see thou doe so and thy fellowes also, they shall have the like charge.

So I remained at my science the full time, and learned the Art, at the end whereof there came newes to Mexico that there were certaine Englishmen landed with a great power at the port of Acapulco, upon the South sea, and that they were comming to Mexico to take the spoyle therof, which wrought a marvellous great feare amongst them, & many of those that were rich, began to shift for themselves, their wives & children : upon which



hurlye burlye the Viceroy called a generall muster to be made of all the Spaniards in Mexico, and there were found to be the number of 7000 and odde housholders of Spaniards in the citie and suburbs, and of single men unmarried, the number of 3000 and of Mestizoes, which are counted to be the sonnes of Spaniards borne of Indian women, twenty thousand persons, and then was Paul Horsewel & I Miles Philips sent for before the Viceroy, and were examined if we did know an English man named Francis Drake, which was brother to Captaine Hawkins: to which we answered, that Captaine Hawkins had not any brother but one, which was a man of the age of threescore yeeeres or thereabouts, and was now governour of Plim-mouth in England. And then he demanded of us if we knewe one Francis Drake, and we answered, no.

While these things were in doing, there came newes that all the Englishmen were gone, yet were there eight hundred men made out under the leading of several Captains, wherof two hundred were sent to the port of S. John de Ullua, upon the North Sea under the conduct of Don Luys Suares, two hundred were sent to Guatimala in the South sea, who had for their captaine John Cortes, two hundred more were sent to Guatulco, a port of the South sea, over whom went for captaine Don Pedro de Robles, and two hundred more were sent to Acapulco, the port where it was said that Captaine Drake had bene. And they had for Captaine doctor Robles Alcalde de Corte, with whom I Miles Philips went as interpreter, having licence given by the Inquisitors. When we were come to Acapulco, we found that Captaine Drake was departed from thence, more then a moneth before we came thither. But yet our captaine Alcalde de Corte there presently embarked himselfe in a small ship of threescore tunne or thereabout, having also in companie with him two other small barkes, and not past two hundred men in all, with whom I went as interpreter in his owne ship, which God knoweth was but weake and ill appointed, so that for certaine, if we had met with Captaine Drake, he might easily have taken us all: We being imbarked kept our course and ranne Southward towards Panama, keeping still as nigh the shore as we could, and leaving the land upon our left hand, and having coasted thus for the space of eighteene or twentie dayes, and being more to the South then Guatimala, we met at last with other ships which came from Panama, of whom we were certainly informed that he was cleane gone off the coast more then a moneth before: and so we returned backe to Acapulco againe, and there landed, our Captaine being thereunto forced, because his men were very sore sea-sicke: All the

while that I was at Sea, with them, I was a glad man, for I hoped that if we met with master Drake, we should all be taken, so that then I should have beene freed out of that danger and miserie wherein I lived, and should returne to mine owne countrey of England againe. But missing thereof, when I sawe there was no remedie but that we must needes come on land againe, little doeth any man know the sorow and griefe that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I was constrained to make faire weather of it. And so being landed, ye next morow after, we began our journey towardes Mexico, and past these townes of name in our way, as first the towne of Tuatpec, 50 leagues from Mexico, from thence to Washaca, 40 leagues from Mexico: from thence to Tepiaca 24 leagues from Mexico, and from thence to Pueblo de los Angeles, where is a high hill which casteth out fire three times a day, which hill is 18 leagues in maner directly West from Mexico, from thence we went to Stapelapa, 8 leagues from Mexico, and there our captaine and most of his men tooke boat, and came to Mexico againe, having bene forth about the space of seven weekes or thereabouts. Our captaine made report to the Viceroy what he had done, and how farre he had travelled, and that for certaine he was informed that captaine Drake was not to be heard of. To which the Viceroy replied and said, Surely we shall have him shortly come into our hands driven a land through necessitie in some one place or other, for he being now in these seas of Sur, it is not possible for him to get out of them againe, so that if he perish not at sea, yet hunger wil force him to land. And then againe I was commanded by the Viceroy that I should not depart the citie of Mexico, but alwaies be at my masters house in a readinesse at an houres warning, when soever I should be called: for that notwithstanding within one moneth after certaine Spaniards going to Mecameca, 18 leagues from Mexico, to send away certaine hides and Cochinilla, that they had there at their Stantias or dairie houses, and my master having leave of the Secretarie for me to go with them, I tooke my journey with them being very well horsed and appointed, and comming thither and passing the time there at Mecameca certaine dayes till we had perfect intelligence that the flete was readie to depart, I not being past 3 daies journey from the port of S. John de Ullua, thought it to be the meetest time for me to make an escape, and I was the bolder, presuming upon my Spanish tongue, which I spake as naturally as any of them all, thinking with my selfe, that when I came to S. John de Ullua, I would get to be entertained as a souldiour, and so go home into Spaine in the same Flete, and therefore secretly one evening late, the moone



shining faire, I conveyed my selfe away, and riding so for the space of two nights and two dayes, sometimes in, and sometimes out, resting very little all that time, upon the second day at night I came to the towne of Vera Cruz, distant from the port of S. John de Ullua, where the ships rode, but only 5 leagues, and here purposing to rest my selfe a day or two, I was no sooner alighted, but within the space of one halfe houre after, I was by ill hap arrested, and brought before Justices there, being taken and suspected to be a gentlemans sonne of Mexico, that was runne away from his father, who in trueth was the man they sought for : So I being arrested, and brought before the Justices, there was a great hurly burly about the matter, every man charging me that I was the sonne of such a man dwelling in Mexico, which I flatly denied, affirming that I knewe not the man, yet would they not beleieve me, but urged stil upon me that I was he that they sought for, and so I was conveyed away to prison. And as I was thus going to prison, to the further increase of my griefe, it chanced that at that very instant there was a poore man in the presse that was come to towne to sell hennes, who told the Justices that they did me wrong, and that in truth he knew very well that I was an Englishman and no Spaniard. They then demanded of him how he knew that, and threatned him that he said so, for that he was my companion, and sought to convey me away from my father, so that he also was threatned to be laid in prison with me : he for the discharge of himselfe stood stifly in it, that I was an Englishman, & one of captaine Hawkins men, and that he had knowen me weare the S. Benito in the Blacke-friers at Mexico, for 3 or 4 whole yeres together : which when they heard, they forsooke him, and began to examine me a new, whether that speech of his were true, yea or no, which when they perceived that I could not denie, and perceiving that I was run from Mexico, & came thither of purpose to convey my selfe away with the fleete, I was presently committed to prison with a sorrowfull heart, often wishing my selfe that that man which knew me had at that time bene further off : howbeit he in sinceritie had compassion of my distressed estate, thinking by his speech, and knowing of me, to have set me free from that present danger which he saw me in : howbeit, contrary to his expectation, I was thereby brought into my extreme danger, and to the hazard of my life, yet there was no remedy but patience perforce. And I was no sooner brought into prison, but I had a great paire of bolts clapt on my legs, and thus I remained in that prison for the space of 3 weekes, where were also many other prisoners which were thither committed for sundry crimes, & condemned to the

gallies. During which time of imprisonment there, I found amongst those my prison-fellowes some that had knowen me before in Mexico, and truly they had compassion of me, & would spare of their victuals and any thing els that they had to doe me good : amongst whom there was one of them that told me that he understood by a secret friend of his which often came to the prison to him, that I shold be shortly sent backe againe to Mexico by wagon, so soone as the fleete was gone from S. John de Ullua, for Spaine. This poore man my prison-fellow of himselfe, & without any request made by me, caused his said friend which came often unto him to the grate of the prison, to bring him wine and victuals, to buy for him 2 knives which had files in their backes, which files were so wel made that they would serve & suffice any prisoner to file off his irons, & of those knives or files he brought one to me, & told me that he had caused it to be made for me, and let me have it at that very price it cost him, which was 2 Pezos, the value of 8.s. of our money : which knife when I had it, I was a joyfull man, and conveyed the same into the foote of my boot, upon the inside of my left leg, and so within 3 or 4 dayes after that I had thus received my knife, I was suddenly called for, & brought before the head Justice which caused those my irons with the round bolt to be stricken off and sent to a Smiths in the towne, where was a new paire of bolts made ready for me of another fashion, which had a broad iron barre comming betweene the shackles, and caused my hands to be made fast with a paire of manacles, and so was I presently laid into a wagon all alone, which was there readie to depart with sundry other wagons, to the number of 60. towards Mexico, and they all were laden with sundry merchandise which came in the fleete out of Spaine.

The wagon that I was in was foremost in all the companie, and as we travelled I being alone in the wagon, began to trie if I could plucke my hands out of the manacles, and as God would, although it were somewhat painefull for me, yet my handes were so slender that I could pull them out, and put them in againe, and ever as we went, when the wagon made most noyse, and the men were busiest, I would be working to file off my bolts, & travelling thus for the space of 8 leagues from Vera Cruz, we came to an high hill, at the entring up of which (as God would) one of the wheelles of the wagon wherein I was, brake, so that by that meanes the other wagons went afore, and the wagon-man that had charge of me set an Indian Carpenter a worke to mend the wheele : and here at this place they baited at an hostrie that a Negro-woman keeps : and at this place, for that the going up of the hill is very steepe, for the space of two leagues and better,



they doe alwaies accustome to take the moiles of 3 or 4 wagons, and to place them altogether for the drawing up of one wagon, and so to come downe againe, and fetch up others in that order. All which came very well to passe: for as it drew towards night when most of the Wagoners were gone to draw up their wagons, in this sort I being alone had quickly filed off my boltes, and so espying my time in the darke of the evening before they returned downe the hill againe, I conveyed my selfe into the woods there adjoyning, carrying my bolts and manacles with me, & a few biscuits, and two small cheeses. And being come into the woods, I threw my yrons into a thicke bush, and then covered them with mosse and other things, and then shifted for my selfe as I might all that night. And thus by the good providence of Almighty God, I was freed from mine yrons all saving the collar that was about my necke, and so got my libertie the second time.

Chap. 7.

*Wherein is shewed how I escaped to Guatimala, upon the South sea, and from thence to the port of Cavallos, where I got passage to goe into Spaine, and of our arrivall at Havana, and our comming to Spaine, where I was againe like to have bene committed prisoner, and how through the great mercy of God I escaped, and came home in safetie into England in February 1582.*



HE next morning (day light being come) I perceived by the Sunne rising what way to take to escape their hands, for when I fledde, I tooke the way into the woods upon the left hand: and having left that way that went to Mexico upon my right hand, I thought to keepe my course as the woods and mountaines lay, still direct South as neere as I could: by meanes whereof I was sure to convey my selfe farre ynough from that way that went to Mexico. And as I was thus going in the woods, I saw many great fires made to the North not past a league from the mountaine where I was, and travailing thus in my bootes with mine yron coller about my necke, and my bread and cheese, the very same forenoone I mette with a company of Indians which were hunting of Deere for their sustenance: to whom I spake in the Mexican tongue, and told them how that I had of a long

time bin kept in prison by the cruel Spanyards, and did desire them to helpe me to file off mine yron collar, which they willingly did : rejoycing greatly with me, that I was thus escaped out of the Spanyards hands. Then I desired that I might have one of them to guide mee out of those desert mountaines towards the South, which they also most willingly did : and so they brought mee to an Indian towne 8. leagues distant from thence, named Shalapa, where I stayed three dayes, for that I was somewhat sickely. At which towne (with the gold that I had quilted in my dublet) I bought me an horse of one of the Indians, which cost mee 6. pezos, and so travailing South, within the space of 2. leagues I happened to overtake a gray Frier, one that I had bene familiar withall in Mexico, whom then I knewe to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lament the crueltie used against us by the Inquisitors, and truly hee used me very courteously : and I having confidence in him did indeede tel him, that I was minded to adventure to see if I could get out of the sayd countrey if I could finde shipping, and did therefore pray him of his ayde, direction, and advise herein, which he faithfully did, not onely in directing me which was my safest way to travaile, but he also of himselfe kept me company for the space of three dayes, and ever as we came to the Indians houses (who used and intertained us well) hee gathered among them in money to the value of 20. pezos, which at my departure from him hee freely gave unto mee. So came I to the citie of Guatimala upon the South sea, which is distant from Mexico about 250. leagues, where I stayed 6. dayes, for that my horse was weake. And from thence I travailed still South and by East seven dayes journey, passing by certaine Indian townes, untill I came to an Indian towne distant from Mexico, direct South 309. leagues. And here at this towne enquiring to go to the Port de Cavallos in the Northeast sea, it was answered that in travailing thither I should not come to any towne in 10. or 12. dayes journey : so heere I hired two Indians to be my guides, and I bought hennes, and bread to serve us so long time, and tooke with us things to kindle fire every night, because of wilde beastes, and to dresse our meate : and every night when we rested, my Indian guides would make two great fires, betweene the which we placed our selves, and my horse. And in the night time we should heare the Lions roare, with Tygres, Ounces, and other beastes, and some of them we should see in the night, which had eyes shining like fire. And travailing thus for the space of twelve dayes, wee came at last to the port of Cavallos upon the East sea, distant from Guatimala South and by East, two hundreth leagues, and from Mexico



450. or thereabouts. This is a good harborough for shippes, and is without either castle or bulwarke. I having dispatched away my guides, went downe to the Haven, where I saw certaine ships loden chiefly with Canary wines, where I spake with one of the Masters, who asked me what Countrey man I was, and I told him that I was borne in Granado, & he said, that then I was his countreyman. I required him that I might passe home with him in his ship, paying for my passage: and he said yea, so that I had a safe conduct, or letter testimonial to shew, that he might incurre no danger: for said he, it may be that you have killed some man, or be indebted, and



would therefore run away. To that I answered, that there was not any such cause. Wel, in the end we grew to a price, that for 60. pezos he would cary me into Spaine: a glad man was I at this good hap, and I quickly solde my horse, and made my provision of hennes and bread to serve me in my passage; And thus within 2. dayes after we set saile, and never stayed untill we came to Havana, which is distant from puerto de Cavallos by sea 500. leagues: where we found the whole fleete of Spaine, which was bound home from the Indies. And heere I was hired for a souldier to serve in the Admiral ship of the same fleete, wherein the General himself went. There landed while I was here 4.

ships out of Spaine, being all full of souldiers and ordinance, of which number there were 200. men landed here, & 4. great brasse pieces of ordinance, although the castle were before sufficiently provided: 200. men more were sent to Campeche, & certaine ordinance: 200. to Florida with ordinance: and 100. lastly to S. John Ullua. As for ordinance there they have sufficient, and of the very same which was ours, which we had in the Jesus, and those others which we had planted in the place, where the Vice-roy betrayed M. Hawkins our general, as hath bene declared. The sending of those souldiers to every of those Ports, and the strengthening of them, was done by commandement from the king of Spaine, who wrote also by them to the general of his fleete, giving him in charge so to doe, as also directing him what course he should keepe in his comming home into Spaine, charging him in any hand

not to come nigh to the yles of Açores, but to keepe his course more to the Northward, advertising him withal, what number and power of French ships of warre, and other, Don Antonio had at that time at Terçera, & the yles aforesaid : which the general of the fleete wel considering, and what great store of riches he had to bring home with him into Spaine, did in all very duetifully observe and obey : for in trueth he had in his said fleete 37. saile of ships, and in every of them there was as good as 30. pipes of silver one with another, besides great store of gold, Cochinilla, sugars, hides, and Cana Fistula, with other Apothecary drugs. This our general, who was called Don Pedro de Guzman, did providently take order for, for their most strength and defence, if neede should be, to the uttermost of his power, and commanded upon paine of death, that neither passenger nor souldier should come aboard without his sword and harquebush, with shot and powder, to the end that they might be the better able to encounter the fleete of Don Antonio, if they should hap to meete with them, or any of them : and ever as the weather was faire, the said general would himself go aboard from one ship to another, to see that every man had his ful provision according to the commandement given. Yet to speake truely what I thinke, two good tall ships of warre would have made a foule spoile amongst them. For in all this fleete there were not any that were strong and warlike appointed, saving only the Admiral, and Vice-admiral : And againe over and besides the weakenesse and the ill furnishing of the rest, they were all so deeply laden, that they had not bene able (if they had bene charged) to have held out any long fight. Wel, thus we set saile, & had a very ill passage home, the weather was so contrary. We kept our course in maner Northeast, and brought our selves to the height of 42. degrees of latitude, to be sure not to meete with Don Antonio his fleete, and were upon our voyage from the 4. of June, untill the 10. of September, and never saw land till we fell with the Arenas Gordas hard by S. Lucar. And there was an order taken that none should goe on shoare untill he had licence : as for me, I was knownen by one in the ship, who told the Master that I was an Englishman; which (as God would) it was my good hap to heare : for if I had not heard it, it had cost me my life. Notwithstanding, I would not take any knowledge of it, and seemed to be mery & pleasant, that we were all come so wel in safety. Presently after, licence came that we should go on shoare, and I pressed to be gone with the first : howbeit, the Master came unto me, & said, Sirra, you must goe with me to Sivil by water : I knew his meaning well enough, & that he meant there to offer me up as a sacrifice to the Holy



house. For the ignorant zeale of a number of these superstitious Spaniards is such, that they thinke that they have done God good service, when they have brought a Lutheran heretike to the fire to be burnt : for so do they account of us. Wel, I perceiving all this, tooke upon me not to suspect any thing, but was still jocund & mery : howbeit, I knew it stood me upon to shift for my selfe. And so wayting my time when the Master was in his cabbin asleepe, I conveyed my selfe secretly downe by the shrowds into the ship boate, and made no stay but cut the rope wherewithal she was moored, and so by the cable haled on shore, where I leapt on land, & let the boate goe whither it would. Thus by the helpe of God I escaped that day, & then never stayed at S. Lucar, but went all night by the way which I had seene other take toward Sivil : so that the next morning I came to Sivil, and sought me out a workemaster, that I might fall to my science, which was weaving of taffataes ; and being intertained I set my selfe close to my worke, and durst not for my life once to stirre abroad for feare of being knownen : and being thus at my worke, within 4. dayes after I heard one of my fellowes say, that he heard there was great inquiry made for an Englishman that came home in the fleete : what an heretique Lutheran (quoth I) was it, I would to God I might knowe him, surely I would present him to the Holy house. And thus I kept still within doores at my worke, and fained my selfe not well at ease, & that I would labour as I might to get me new clothes. And continuing thus for the space of 3. moneths I called for my wages, and bought me all things new, different from the apparell that I did weare at sea, and yet durst not be overbold to walke abroad : and after understanding that there were certaine English ships at S. Lucar bound for England, I tooke a boat and went aboard one of them, and desired the Master that I might have passage with him to goe into England, and told him secretly that I was one of those which Captaine Hawkins did set on shore in the Indies : he very courteously prayed me to have him excused, for he durst not meddle with me, & prayed me therefore to returne from whence I came. Which when I perceived, with a sorrowful heart, God knoweth, I tooke my leave of him, not without watry cheekes. And then I went to S. Mary port, which is 3. leagues from S. Lucar, where I put my selfe to be a souldier to goe in the king of Spaine. Gallies, which were bound for Majorca, and comming thither in the end of the Christmas holidayes, I found there two English ships, the one of London, and the other of the West countrey, which were ready freighted and stayed but for a faire wind. To the Master of the one, which was of

*A Discourse written by One Miles Philips Englishman*

the West countrey went I, and told him that I had bene 2. yeeres in Spaine to learne the language, and that I was now desirous to goe home and see my friends, for that I lacked maintenance : and so having agreed with him for my passage, I tooke shipping. And thus through the providence of Almighty God, after 16. yeeres absence, having sustained many and sundry great troubles and miseries, as by this discourse appeareth, I came home to this my native countrey of England in the yeere 1582. in the moneth of February, in the ship called the Landret, and arrived at Poole.





## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

1540?—1596



RAKE and Shakespeare were the two greatest Elizabethans; they share, moreover, the curious distinction that in both cases there is a fascinating obscurity attached to their early lives. There are so many different accounts of Drake's birth and parentage that we seem to be at liberty to adopt the most attractive legend. It is said that his father, a parson, having sudden cause to leave his native town, Tavistock, fled to Upnor or Upchurch, in Kent, and took up his abode, like Peggotty, in an old hulk. In this hulk twelve children first saw the light of day; the eldest of these was Francis. As a boy he worked with an old sailor on a coasting vessel, and when the latter died he left his young assistant his boat as a reward for his good services. Young Drake continued to work this boat for a time, until, hearing that Sir John Hawkins was about to make his third voyage to the New World, and having collected a little money together, he threw in his fortunes with Hawkins, and lost them at St. John d'Ulloa.

But he escaped with his life and reached home in the *Judith*, a vessel of 50 tons. Drake's exploits, not including his voyage round the world, would fill a handsome volume themselves. Three years after this disaster, which might have damped the ardour of the bravest, he sacked Nombre de Dios, receiving a severe wound in the assault of the city, burnt Porto Bello, and, having from a tree-top sighted the South Sea—the first Englishman to do so—he returned home with 30 tons of bar silver in his hold. The proceeds of this expedition having strengthened his purse and his position, he served for a short time under the Earl of Essex in Ireland before embarking to realise his chief ambition, namely to sail an English ship in the South Sea. When he returned from his great voyage of circum-

### Biographical Note

navigation, he met with a mixed reception : some were overjoyed at his success ; others damned him as a provoking pirate. We may be sure that if England has changed fundamentally but little since then, after the visit of the Queen to the *Golden Hind* and the subsequent knighting of this staunch vessel's captain, little more was heard of his detractors.

He then seems to have set about goading the Spaniards into fury, satisfying a justifiable appetite for revenge for their treatment of him at St. John d'Ulloa. Their chastisement grew more and more acute, until, stung finally into action by having 10,000 tons of shipping burnt at Cadiz, they determined to crush their oppressor and his fellow-countrymen with an Armada.

The final irreparable blow that he dealt them in 1588 is graphically described in the report of this Armada's signal defeat ; during these engagements he seems to have been at the zenith of his career. Having performed miracles, the expedition to Corunna and Lisbon, following immediately after the scattering of the Armada, comes as something of an anticlimax. He achieved his aim, which was to render a second attempt at the invasion of England by the Spaniards an impossibility, but he lost sixteen thousand men in the process. Seeing that in the first day's fighting in the Channel with the Armada we lost but one man, this may seem a heavy price to have paid ; but throughout English history we find that, though we invariably triumph against overwhelming odds, when we attempt to embark upon grand military operations we are not so successful.

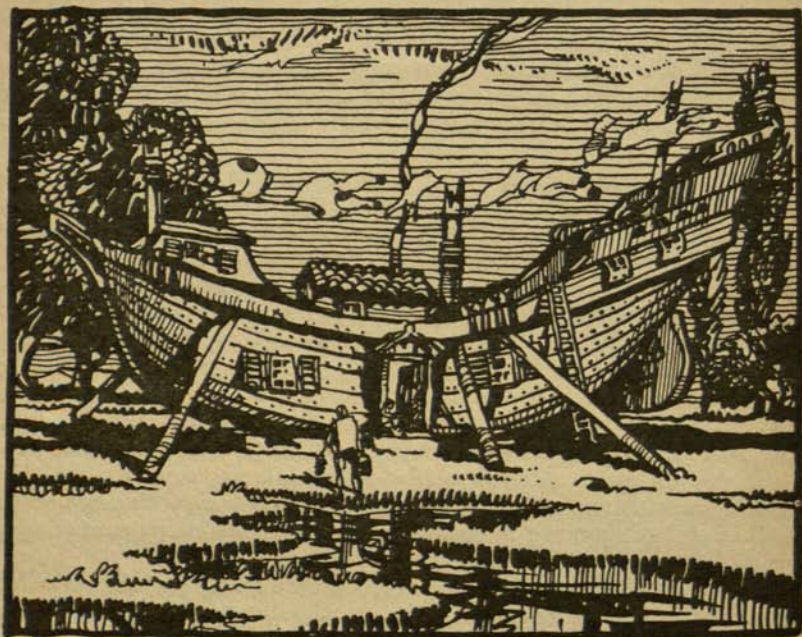
For a few years he retired from the sea, but kept alive his devotion to this element by improving the water supply of Plymouth and constructing corn mills.

But in 1595 he was ordered to sea once more, and, with Sir John Hawkins serving under him as vice-admiral, he set sail for the West Indies. To find himself serving under the man who but a few years before had come to him a rough youth with his hard-earned savings in his hand, and glad to take a very subordinate position in his own fleet, must have been very trying to a man of Sir John's temperament. The conflicting views of these two great men may have prejudiced the chances of the expedition ; at all events, it was a failure, dogged by misfortune from the very first.

But Drake was never to know what failure meant : he died at sea at Porto Bello, his vice-admiral having passed on a few days before him. Once more he followed in the wake of his old leader ; two more perplexing spirits can seldom have appeared before the Recording Angel.



*Biographical Note*



A  
Summarie and True Discourse of  
SIR FRANCIS DRAKES WEST INDIAN VOYAGE,  
begun in the yeere 1585.

6225

*Wherein were taken the cities of Saint Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and the towne of Saint Augustine in Florida ; Published by M. Thomas Cates.*



HIS worthy knight for the service of his Prince and countrey having prepared his whole fleete, and gotten them downe to Plimmouth in Devonshire, to the number of five and twenty saile of ships and pinnesses, and having assembled of souldiers and mariners, to the number of 2300. in the whole, embarked them and himselfe at Plimmouth aforesaid, the 12. day of September 1585. being accompanied with these men of name and charge, which hereafter follow :

Master Christopher Carleil Lieutenant general, a man of long experience in the warres as well by sea as land, who had formerly caried high offices in both kindes in many fights, which he discharged alwaies very happily, and with great good reputation.

Anthonie Powel Sergeant Major.

Captaine Matthew Morgan, and Captaine John Sampson, Corporals of the field.

These officers had commandement over the rest of the land-Captaines, whose names hereafter follow.

Captaine Anthony Plat.	}	Captaine John Merchant.
Captaine Edward Winter.		Captaine William Cecill.
Captaine John Goring.		Captaine Walter Bigs.
Captaine Robert Pew.		Captaine John Hannam.
Captaine George Barton.		Captaine Richard Stanton.



### *Hakluyt's Voyages*

Captaine Martine Frobisher Viceadmirall, a man of great experience in sea-faring actions, who had caried the chiefe charge of many ships himselfe, in sundry voyages before, being now shipped in the Primrose.

Captaine Francis Knolles, Reereadmirall in the Galeon Leicester.

Master Thomas Vennor Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonadventure under the General.

Master Edward Winter Captaine in the Aide.

Master Christopher Carleil the Lieutenant generall, Captaine of the Tygar.

Henry White Captaine of the sea Dragon.

Thomas Drake Captaine of the Thomas.

Thomas Seelie Captaine of the Minjon.

Baily Captaine of the Barke Talbot.

Robert Crosse Captaine of the Bark Bond.

George Fortescue Captaine of the Barke Bonner.

Edward Carelesse Captaine of the Hope.

James Erizo Captaine of the White Lyon.

Thomas Moone Captaine of the Francis.

John Rivers Captaine of the Vantage.

John Vaughan Captaine of the Drake.

John Varney Captaine of the George.

John Martin Captaine of the Benjamin.

Edward Gilman Captaine of the Skout.

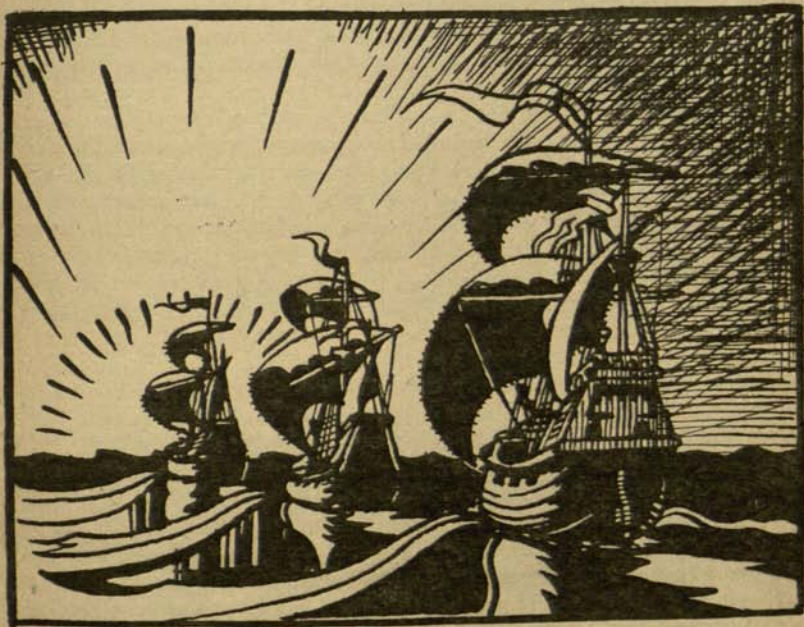
Richard Hawkins Captaine of the Galiot called the Ducke.

Bitfield Captaine of the Swallow.

After our going hence, which was the foureteenth of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1585. and taking our course towards Spaine, wee had the winde for a fewe dayes somewhat skant, and sometimes calme. And being arrived neere that part of Spaine, which is called the Moores, wee happened to espie divers sailes, which kept their course close by the shore, the weather being faire and calme. The Generall caused the Viceadmirall to goe with the pinnesses well manned to see what they were, who upon sight of the said pinnesses approching neere unto them, abandoned for the most part all their ships (being Frenchmen) laden all with salt, and bound homewards into France, amongst which ships (being all of small burthen) there was one so wel liked, which also had no man in her, as being brought unto ye general, he thought good to make stay of her for the service, meaning to pay for her, as also accordingly he performed at our returne : which barke was called

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the Drake. The rest of these ships (being eight or nine) were dismissed without any thing at all taken from them. Who being afterwarde put somewhat farther off from the shore, by the contrariety of the wind, we happened to meet with some other French ships, full laden with Newland fish, being upon their returne homeward from the said Newfoundland :



whom the Generall after some speech had with them (and seeing plainly that they were Frenchmen) dismissed, without once suffering any man to go aboard of them

The day following standing in with the shore againe, we discried another tall ship of twelve score tunnes or thereabouts, upon whom Master Carliel the Lieutenant generall being in the Tygar, undertooke the chase, whom also anon after the Admirall followed, and the Tygar having caused the



said strange ship to strike her sailes, kept her there without suffering any body to go aboard untill the Admirall was come up : who forthwith sending for the Master, and divers others of their principall men, and causing them to be severally examined, found the ship and goods to be belonging to the inhabitants of S. Sebastian in Spaine, but the mariners to bee for the most part belonging to S. John de Luz, and the Passage. In this ship was great store of dry Newland fish, commonly called with us Poore John, whereof afterwards (being thus found a lawfull prize) there was distribution made into all the ships of the fleet, the same being so new and good, as it did very greatly bestead us in the whole course of our voyage. A day or two after the taking of this ship, we put in within the Isles of Bayon, for lacke of favourable wind : where wee had no sooner ankered some part of the fleete, but the Generall commanded all the pinnesses with the shipboats to be manned, and every man to be furnished with such armes as were needful for that present service ; which being done, the Generall put himselfe into his gallie, which was also well furnished, and rowing towards the city of Bayon, with intent, and the favour of the Almighty to surprise it, before we had advanced one halfe league of our way, there came a messenger being an English merchant from the Governour, to see what strange fleet we were, who came to our General, conferred a while with him, and after a small time spent, our Generall called for Captaine Sampson, and willed him to go to the Governour of the citie, to resolve him of two points. The first, to know if there were any warres betweene Spaine and England. The second, why our marchants with their goods were embarged or arrested. Thus departed captain Sampson with the said messenger to the citie, where he found the governour & people much amazed of such a sudden accident.

The Generall with the advise and counsell of M. Carleil his Lieutenant generall, who was in the galley with him, thought not good to make any stand, till such time as they were within the shot of the citie, where they might bee ready upon the returne of Captaine Sampson, to make a sudden attempt if cause did require before it were darke.

Captaine Sampson returned with his message in this sort. First, touching peace or warres the Governour said he knew of no warres, and that it lay not in him to make any, hee being so meane a subject as he was. And as for the stay of the merchants with their goods, it was the kings pleasure, but not with intent to endamage any man. And that the kings counter-commandment was (which had bene received in that place some sevensnight before) that English merchants with their goods should be discharged : for



the more verifying wherof, he sent such merchants as were in the towne of our nation, who traffiqued those parts : which being at large declared to our General by them, counsell was taken what might best be done. And for that the night approched, it was thought needful to land our forces, which was done in the shutting up of the day, & having quartered our selves to our most advantage, with sufficient gard upon every strait, we thought to rest our selves for that night there. The Governour sent us some refreshing, as bread, wine, oyle, apples, grapes, marmalad and such like. About midnight the weather beganne to overcast, insomuch that it was thought meeter to repaire aboard, then to make any longer abode on land, and before wee could recover the Fleete, a great tempest arose, which caused many of our shippes to drive from their anker-hold, and some were forced to sea in great perill, as the barke Talbot, the barke Hawkins, and the Speedewell, which Speedewel was onely driven into England, the others recovered us againe : the extremitie of the storme lasted three dayes, which no sooner began to assuage, but M. Carleil our Lieutenant generall was sent with his owne shippe and three others : as also with the gallie and with divers pinnesses, to see what he might doe above Vigo, where hee tooke many boates and some caravels, diversly laden with things of small value, but chiefly with houshold stuffe, running into the high countrey, and amongst the rest, he found one boat laden with the principal church-stuffe of the high Church of Vigo, where also was their great crosse of silver, of very faire embossed worke, and double gilt all over, having cost them a great masse of money. They complained to have lost in all kind of goods above thirty thousand duckets in this place.

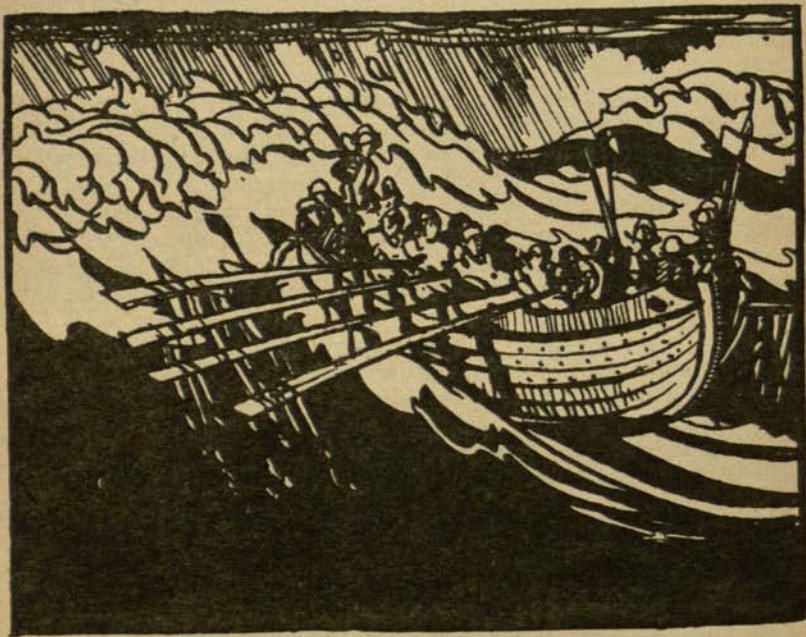
The next day the Generall with his whole fleete went from up the Isles of Bayon, to a very good harbour above Vigo, where M. Carleil stayed his comming, aswell for the more quiet riding of his ships, as also for the good commoditie of fresh watering, which the place there did afourd full well. In the meane time the Governour of Galicia had reared such forces as hee might, his numbers by estimate were some two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and marched from Bayon to this part of the countrey, which lay in sight of our fleete, where making a stand, he sent to parley with our Generall, which was granted by our Generall, so it might bee in boats upon the water : and for safetie of their persons, there were pledges delivered on both sides : which done, the Governor of Galicia put himselfe with two others into our Viceadmirals skiffe, the same having bene sent to the shore for him, and in like sort our Generall went in his owne skiffe ; where it



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was by them agreed, we should furnish our selves with fresh water, to be taken by our owne people quietly on the land, and have all other such necessities, paying for the same, as the place would affourd.

When all our businesse was ended, wee departed, and tooke our way by the Islands of Canaria, which are esteemed some three hundred leagues from this part of Spaine, and falling purposely with Palma, with intention



to have taken our pleasure of that place, for the full digesting of many things into order, and the better furnishing our store with such severall good things as it affourdeth very abundantly, we were forced by the vile Sea-gate, which at that present fell out, and by the naughtinesse of the landing place, being but one, and that under the favour of many platformes well furnished with great ordinance, to depart with the receipt of many of their Canon-shot, some into our ships, and some besides, some of them being in very deepe full

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Canon high. But the only or chiefe mischiefe was the dangerous sea-surge, which at shore all alongst plainly threatned the overthrow of as many pinnesses and boates, as for that time should have attempted any landing at all.

Now seeing the expectation of this attempt frustrated by the causes aforesaid, we thought it meeter to fall with the Isle Hierro, to see if we could find any better fortune : and comming to the Island, we landed a thousand men in a valley under a high mountaine, where we stayed some two or three houres, in which time the inhabitants, accompanied with a yong fellow borne in England, who dwelt there with them, came unto us, shewing their state to be so poore, that they were all ready to starve, which was not untrue : and therefore without any thing gotten, we were all commanded presently to imbarke, so as that night wee put off to sea Southsoutheast along towards the coast of Barbary.

Upon Saturday in the morning, being the 13. of November, we fell with Cape Blanke, which is a low land and shallow water, where we caught store of fish, and doubling the Cape, we put into the Bay, where we found certaine French ships of warre, whom wee entertained with great courtesie, and there left them. This afternoone the whole fleet assembled, which was a little scattered about their fishing, and put from thence to the Isles of Cape Verde, sailing till the 16. of the same moneth in the morning, on which day we discried the Island of S. Iago, and in the evening we ankered the fleet between the towne called the Playa or Praya, and S. Iago, where we put on shore 1000. men or more, under the leading of M. Christopher Carleil Lieutenant general, who directed the service most like a wise commander. The place where we had first to march did affourd no good order, for the ground was mountainous & full of dales, being a very stony and troublesome passage ; but such was his industrious disposition, as he would never leave, untill wee had gotten up to a faire plain, where we made stand for the assembling of the army. And when we were al gathered together upon the plaine, some 2 miles from the town, the lieutenant general thought good not to make attempt til daylight : because there was not one that could serve for guid or giving knowledge at al of ye place. And therfore after having wel rested, even halfe an houre before day, he commanded the army to be divided into 3 speciall parts, such as he appointed, wheras before we had marched by several companies, being therunto forced by the badnesse of the way as is aforesaid.

Now by the time wee were thus ranged into a very brave order, daylight



began to appeare, and being advanced hard to the wall, we saw no enemy to resist, whereupon the Lieutenant generall appointed Captaine Sampson with thirtie shot, and Captaine Barton with other thirtie, to goe downe into the towne which stood in the valley under us, and might very plainly bee viewed all over from that place where the whole Army was now arrived : and presently after these Captaines was sent the great ensigne, which had nothing in it but the plaine English crosse, to be placed towardes the Sea, that our Fleet might see Saint Georges cross florish in the enemies fortresse. Order was given that all the ordinance throughout the towne and upon all the platformes, which were above fiftie pieces all ready charged, should be shot off in honour of the Queenes Majesties coronation day, being the seventeenth of November, after the yeerely custome of England, which was so answered againe by the ordinance out of all the ships in the flecte which now was come neere, as it was strange to heare such a thundering noyse last so long together. In this meane while the Lieutenant generall held till the most part of his force on the hill top, till such time as the towne was quartered out for the lodging of the whole Armie : which being done every captaine tooke his own quarter, and in the evening was placed such a sufficient gard upon every part of the towne that we had no cause to feare any present enemy.

Thus we continued in the citie the space of 14. dayes, taking such spoiles as the place yeelded, which were for the most part, wine, oyle, meale, and some such like things for victuall, as vineger, olives, and some such other trash, as merchandise for their Indians trades. But there was not found any treasure at all, or any thing else of worth besides.

The situation of S. Iago is somewhat strange, in forme like a triangle, having on the East and West sides two mountaines of rocke and cliffe, as it were hanging over it, upon the top of which two mountaines were builded certaine fortifications to preserve the towne from any harme that might bee offered, as in a plot is plainly shewed. From thence, on the South side of the towne is the maine sea, and on the North side, the valley lying betweene the foresayd mountaines, wherein the towne standeth : the said valley & towne both do grow very narrow, insomuch that the space betweene the two cliffes of this end of the towne is estimated not to be above 10. or 12. score over.

In the midst of the valley commeth downe a riveret, rill, or brooke of fresh water, which hard by the sea side maketh a pond or poole, whereout our ships were watered with very great ease and pleasure. Somewhat above

the towne on the North side betweene the two mountains, the valley waxeth somewhat larger then at the townes end, which valley is wholly converted into gardens and orchards well replenished with divers sorts of fruites, herbes and trees, as lymmons, oranges, sugar-canes, cochars or cochos nuts, plantans, potato-rootes, cucumbers, small and round onions, garlicke, and some other things not now remembered, amongst which the cochos nuts, and plantans are very pleasant fruites, the saide cochos hath a hard shell and a greene huske over it, as hath our walnut, but it farre exceedeth in greatnesse, for this cochos in his greene huske is bigger than any mans two fistes : of the hard shell many drinking cups are made here in England, and set in silver as I have often seene.

Next within this hard shell is a white rine resembling in shewe very much even as any thing may do, to the white of an egge when it is hard boyled. And within this white of the nut lyeth a water, which is whitish and very cleere, to the quantitie of halfe a pynt or thereaboutes, which water and white rine before spoken of, are both of a very coole fresh tast, and as pleasing as any thing may be. I have heard some hold opinion, that it is very restorative.

The plantan groweth in cods, somewhat like to beanes, but is bigger and longer, and much more thicke together on the stalke, and when it waxeth ripe, the meate which filleth the rine of the cod becommeth yellow, and is exceeding sweet and pleasant.

In this time of our being there hapned to come a Portugall to the Westerne fort, with a flag of truce, to whom Captaine Sampson was sent with Captaine Goring, who comming to the said messenger, he first asked them what nation they were, they answered Englishmen, hee then required to knowe if warres were betweene England and Spaine, to which they answered that they knew not, but if he would goe to their Generall he could best resolve him of such particulars, and for his assurance of passage and repassage, these Captaines made offer to ingage their credits, which he refused for that he was not sent from his Governor. Then they told him, if his Governor did desire to take a course for the common benefit of the people and countrey, his best way were to come and present himselfe unto our noble and mercifull Governour sir Francis Drake, whereby hee might bee assured to find favour, both for himselfe and the inhabitantes. Otherwise within three dayes wee should march over the land, and consume with fire all inhabited places, and put to the sword all such living soules as wee shoulde chance upon : so thus much he tooke for the conclusion of his answere, and departing, hee promised to returne the next day, but we never heard more of him.



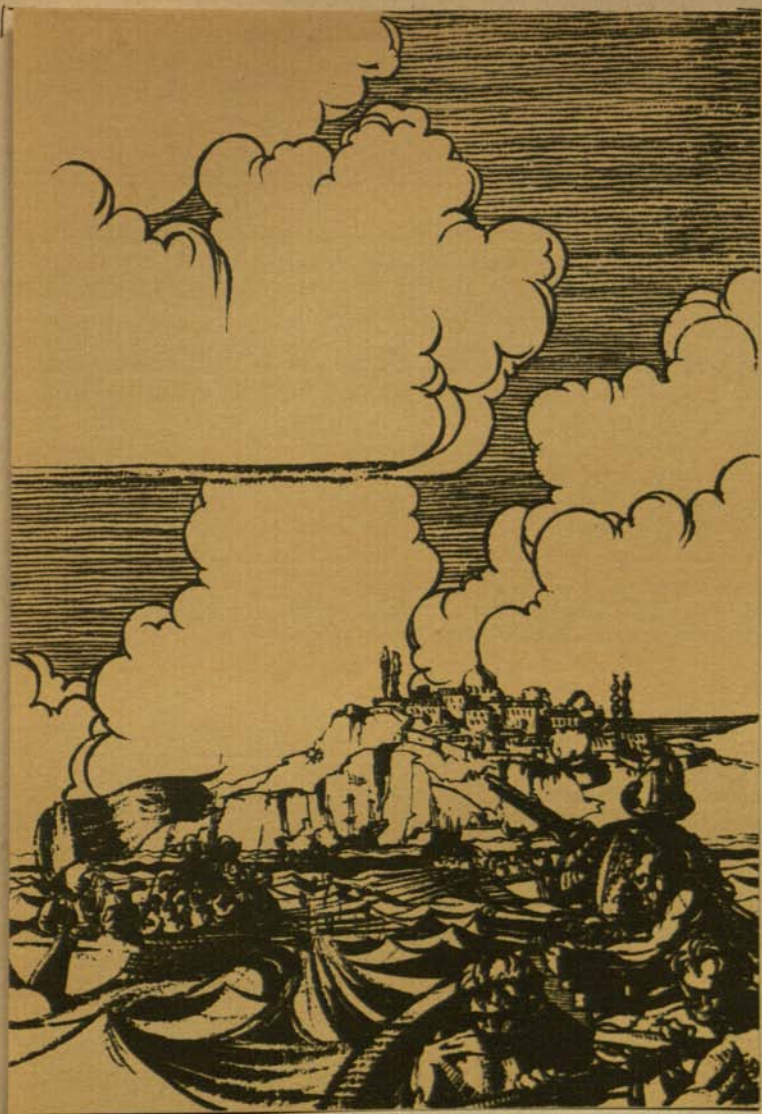
Upon the foure and twentieth of November, the Generall accompanied with the lieutenant generall and sixe hundred men marched foorth to a village twelve miles within the land, called Saint Domingo, where the Governour and the Bishoppe with all the better sort were lodged, and by eight of the clocke wee came to it, finding the place abandoned, and the people fled into the mountaines: so we made stand a while to ease our selves, and partly to see if any would come to speake to us.

After we had well rested our selves, the Generall commaunded the troupes to march away homewards, in which retreat the enemie shewed themselves, both horse and foote, though not such force as durst encounter us: and so in passing sometime at the gase with them, it waxed late and towards night before we could recover home to S. Iago.

On Munday the sixe and twentieth of November, the Generall commaunded all the pinnesses with the boates, to use all diligence to imbarke the Armie into such shippes as every man belonged. The Lieutenant generall in like sort commanded Captaine Goring and Lieutenant Tucker, with one hundred shot to make a stand in the market place, untill our forces were wholly imbarked, the viceadmiral making stay with his pinnesse & certaine boats in the harbour, to bring the sayd last companie aboard the ships. Also the Generall willed forthwith the gallie with two pinnesses to take into them the company of Captaine Barton, and the company or Captaine Bigs, under the leading of captaine Sampson, to seeke out such munition as was hidden in the ground, at the towne of Praya or Playa, having bene promised to be shewed it by a prisoner, which was taken the day before.

The Captaines aforesayd comming to the Playa, landed their men, and having placed the troupe in their best strength, Captaine Sampson tooke the prisoner, and willed him to shewe that hee had promised, the which he could not, or at least would not: but they searching all suspected places, found two pieces of ordinance, one of yron, an other of brasse. In the after noone the Generall ankered with the rest of the Fleet before the Playa, comming himselfe ashore, willing us to burne the towne and make all haste aboard, the which was done by sixe of the clocke the same day, and our selves imbarked againe the same night, and so we put off to Sea Southwest.

But before our departure from the towne of S. Iago, wee established orders for the better government of the Army, every man mustered to his captaine, and othes were ministred to acknowledge her Majestie supreme Governour, as also every man to doe his uttermost endeavour to advance the







service of the action, and to yeeld due obedience unto the directions of the Generall and his officers. By this provident counsell, and laying downe this good foundation before hand, all things went forward in a due course, to the atchieving of our happy enterprise.

In all the time of our being here, neither the Governour for the king of Spaine, (which is a Portugall) neither the Bishop, whose authoritie is great, neither the inhabitants of the towne, or Island ever came at us (which we expected they should have done) to intreate us to leave them some part of their needfull provisions, or at the least, to spare the ruining of their towne at our going away. The cause of this their unreasonable distrust (as I doe take it) was the fresh remembrance of the great wrongs they had done to old M. William Hawkins of Plimmouth, in the voyage he made 4. or 5. yeeres before, when as they did both breake their promise, and murdered many of his men, whereof I judge you have understood, & therefore it is needlesse to be repeated. But since they came not at us, we left written in sundry places, as also in the spittle house, (which building was only appointed to be spared)



the great discontentment & scorne we tooke at this their refraining to come unto us, as also at the rude maner of killing, & savage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boyes found by them stragling al alone, from whom they had taken his head and heart, and had stragled the other bowels about the place, in a most brutish and beastly maner.

In revenge whereof at our departing we consumed with fire all the houses, aswell in the cuntry which we saw, as in the towne of S. Iago.

From hence putting off to the West Indies, wee were not many dayes at Sea, but there beganne among our people such mortalitie, as in fewe dayes there were dead above two or three hundred men. And until some seven or eight dayes after our comming from S. Iago, there had not died any one man of sicknesse in all the fleete : the sicknesse shewed not his infection



wherewith so many were stricken, untill we were departed thence, and then seized our people with extreme hot burning and continuall agues, whereof very fewe escaped with life, and yet those for the most part not without great alteration and decay of their wittes and strength for a long time after. In some that died were plainly shewed the small spots, which are often found upon those that be infected with the plague: wee were not above eighteene dayes in passage betweene the sight of Saint Iago aforesaid, and the Island of Dominica, being the first Island of the West Indies that we fell withall, the same being inhabited with savage people, which goe all naked, their skinne coloured with some painting of a reddish tawney, very personable and handsome strong men, who doe admit litle conversation with the Spanyards: for as some of our people might understand them, they had a Spaniard or twaine prisoners with them, neither doe I thinke that there is any safetie for any of our nation, or any other to be within the limits of their commandement, albeit they used us very kindly for those few houres of time which wee spent with them, helping our folkes to fill and carry on their bare shoulders fresh water from the river to our ships boates, and fetching from their houses great store of Tabacco, as also a kind of bread which they fed on, called Cassavi, very white and savourie, made of the rootes of Cassavi. In recompence whereof, we bestowed liberall rewards of glasse, coloured beades, and other things, which we had found at Saint Iago, wherewith (as it seemed) they rested very greatly satisfied, and shewed some sorrowfull countenance when they perceived that we would depart.

From hence wee went to another Island Westward of it, called Saint Christophers Island, wherein we spent some dayes of Christmas, to refresh our sicke people, and to cleanse and ayre our ships. In which Island were not any people at all that we could heare of.

In which time by the General it was advised and resolved, with the consent of the Lieutenant generall, the Vice-admiral, and all the rest of the Captaines to proceede to the great Islande of Hispaniola, aswell for that we knewe our selves then to bee in our best strength, as also the rather allured thereunto, by the glorious fame of the citie of S. Domingo, being the ancientest and chiefe inhabited place in all the tract of Countrey thereabouts. And so proceeding in this determination, by the way we mette a small Frigat, bound for the same place, the which the Vice-admirall tooke: and having duely examined the men that were in her, there was one found, by whom wee were advertised, the Haven to be a barren Haven, and the shore or land thereof to bee well fortified having a Castle thereupon

furnished with great store of Artillerie, without the danger whereof was no convenient landing place within ten English miles of the Citie, to which the sayd Pilot tooke upon him to conduct us.

All things being thus considered on, the whole forces were commaunded n the Evening to embarke themselves in Pinnesses, boats, and other small barks appoynted for this service. Our souldiers being thus imbarked, the Generall put himselfe into the barke Francis as Admirall, and all this night we lay on the sea, bearing small saile untill our arrivall to the landing place, which was about the breaking of the day, and so we landed, being Newyeeres day, nine or ten miles to the Westwards of that brave Citie of S. Domingo : for at that time nor yet is knowen to us any landing place, where the sea-surge doth not threaten to overset a Pinnesse or boate. Our Generall having seene us all landed in safetie, returned to his Fleete, bequeathing us to God, and the good conduct of Master Carliell our Lieutenant Generall : at which time, being about eight of the clocke, we began to march, and about noone time, or towards one of the clocke, we approached the towne, where the Gentlemen and those of the better sort, being some hundred and fiftie brave horses or rather more, began to present themselves ; but our small shot played upon them, which were so susteined with good proportion of pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our troope unprepared to receive them (for you must understand they viewed all round about) they were thus driven to give us leave to proceed towards the two gates of the towne, which were the next to the seaward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordinance for that present, and sudden alarme without the gate, and also some troopes of small shot in Ambuscado upon the hie way side. We divided our whole force, being some thousand or twelve hundred men into two partes, to enterprise both the gates at one instant, the Lieutenant Generall having openly vowed to Captaine Powel (who led the troope that entred the other gate) that with Gods good favour he would not rest untill our meeting in the market place.

Their ordinance had no sooner discharged upon our neere approach, and made some execution amongst us, though not much, but the Lieutenant generall began forthwith to advance both his voice of encouragement, and pace of marching : the first man that was slaine with the ordinance being very neere unto himselfe : and thereupon hasted all that hee might, to keepe them from the recharging of the ordinance. And notwithstanding their Ambuscados, we marched or rather ran so roundly in to them, as pell mell wee entred the gates, and gave them more care every man to save



himselfe by flight, then reason to stand any longer to their broken fight. Wee forthwith repayred to the market place : but to be more truely understood, a place of very faire spacious square ground, whither also came as had bene agreed Captaine Powel with the other troope : which place with some part next unto it, we strengthened with Barricados, and there as the most convenient place assured our selves, the Citie being farre too spacious for so small and weary a troope to undertake to garde. Somewhat after midnight, they who had the guard of the Castle, hearing us busie about the gates of the said Castle, abandoned the same : some being taken prisoners, and some fleeing away by the helpe of boates to the other side of the Haven, and so into the countrey.

The next day we quartered a litle more at large, but not into the halfe part of the towne, and so making substantiall trenches, and planting all the ordinance, that ech part was correspondent to other, we held this towne the space of one moneth.

In the which time happened some accidents, more then are well remembered for the present, but amongst other things, it chanced that the Generall sent on his message to the Spanyards a Negro boy with a flagge of white, signifying truce, as is the Spanyards ordinarie maner to doe there, when they approch to speake to us : which boy unhappily was first mette withall by some of those, who had bene belonging as officers for the King in the Spanish Galley, which with the Towne was lately fallen into our hands, who without all order or reason, & contrary to that good usage wherewith wee had intertained their messengers, furiously strooke the poore boy thorow the body with one of their horsemens staves : with which wound the boy returned to the General, and after hee had declared the maner of this wrongfull crueltie, died forthwith in his presence, wherewith the Generall being greatly passioned, commaunded the Provost Martiall, to cause a couple of Friers then prisoners, to be caried to the same place where the boy was stroken, accompanied with sufficient guard of our souldiers, and there presently to be hanged, dispatching at the same instant another poore prisoner, with this reason wherefore this execution was done, & with this message further, that until the party who had thus murdered the Generals messenger were delivered into our hands, to receive condigne punishment, there should no day passe, wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, until they were all consumed which were in our hands.

Whereupon the day following, hee that had bene Captaine of the kings Galley, brought the offender to the townes end, offering to deliver him into

our hands ; but it was thought to be a more honourable revenge to make them there in our sight, to performe the execution themselves : which was done accordingly.

During our being in this towne, as formerly also at S. Iago there had passed justice upon the life of one of our owne company for an odious matter, so heere likewise was there an Irishman hanged, for the murthring of his Corporall.

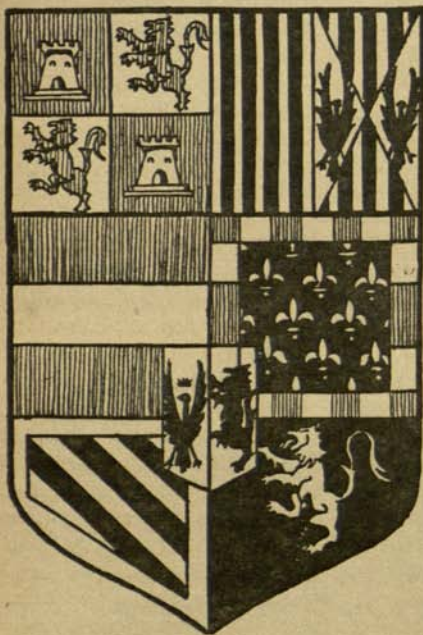
In this time also passed many treaties betweene their Commissioners and us, for ransome of their Citie ; but upon disagreements we still spent the early mornings in fiering the outmost houses : but they being built very magnificently of stone, with high loftes, gave us no small travell to ruine them. And albeit for divers dayes together we ordeined ech morning by day breake, until the heat began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred Mariners did nought els but labour to fire and burne the said houses without our trenches, whilst the souldiers in a like proportion stood forth for their guard : yet did wee not, or could not in this time consume so much as one third part of the towne : which towne is plainely described and set forth in a certaine Map. And so in the end, what wearied with firing, and what hastened by some other respects, wee were contented to accept of five and twentie thousand Ducats of five shillings sixe pence the peece, for the ransome of the rest of the towne.

Amongst other things which happened and were found at S. Domingo, I may not omit to let the world know one very notable marke & token of the unsatiable ambition of the Spanish king and his nation, which was found in the kings house, wherein the chiefe governour of that Citie and Countrey is appoynted alwayes to lodge, which was this : In the comming to the Hall or other roomes of this house, you must first ascend up by a faire large paire of staires ; at the head of which staires is a handsome spacious place to walke in, somewhat like unto a gallery : wherein upon one of the wals, right over against you as you enter the said place, so as your eye cannot escape the sight of it, there is described & painted in a very large Scutchion the armes of the king of Spaine, and in the lower part of the said Scutchion, there is likewise described a Globe, containing in it the whole circuit of the sea and the earth wherupon is a horse standing on his hinder part within the globe, and the other fore-part without the globe, lifted up as it were to leape, with a scroll painted in his mouth, wherein was written these words in Latin, *Non sufficit orbis* : which is as much to say, as the world sufficeth not. Whereof the meaning was required to be knownen of some of those



of the better sort, that came in commission to treate upon the ransome of the towne, who would shake their heads, and turne aside their countenance in some smyling sort, without answering any thing, as greatly ashamed thereof. For by some of our company it was tolde them, that if the Queene of England would resolutely prosecute the warres against the king of Spaine,

hee should be forced to lay aside that proude and unreasonable reaching vaine of his : for hee should finde more then inough to doe to keepe that which hee had alreadye, as by the present example of their lost towne they might for a beginning perceiue well inough.



Now to the satisfying of some men, who marvell greatly that such a famous and goodly builded Citie so well inhabited of gallant people, very brave in their apparell (whereof our souldiers found good store for their reliefe) should afford no greater riches then was found there : herein it is to be understood that the Indian people, which were the naturals of this whole Island of Hispaniola (the same being neere hand as great as England) were many yeeres since cleane consumed by the tyrannie of the Spanyards, which was ye cause, that for

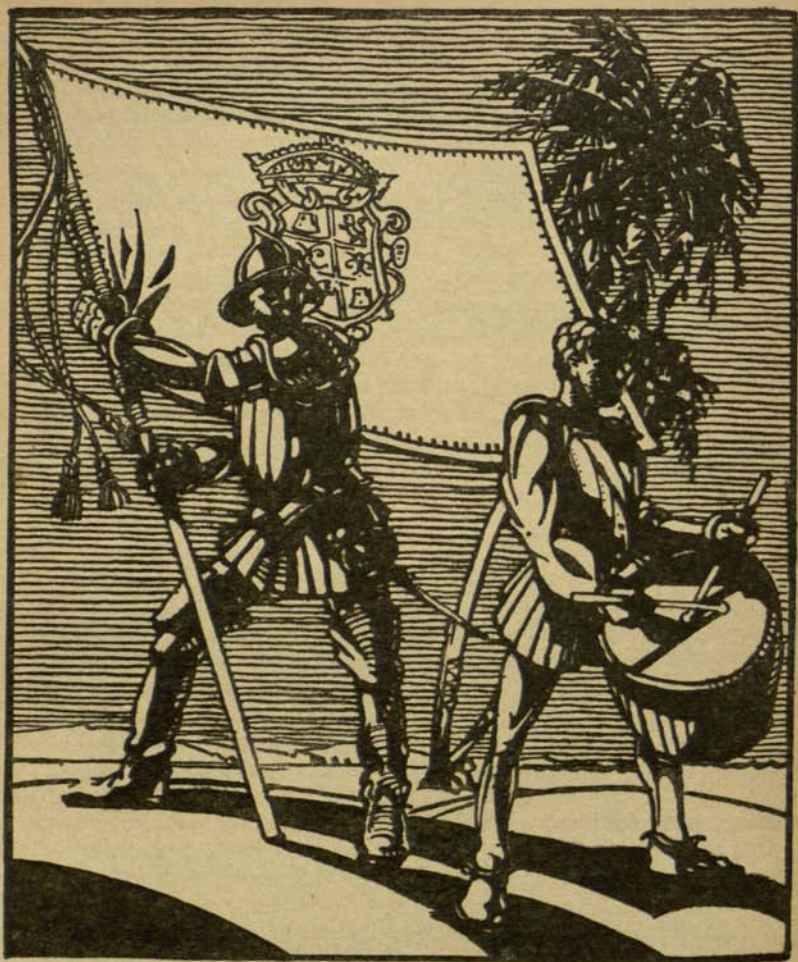
lacke of people to worke in the Mines, the golde and silver Mines of this Island are wholly given over, and thereby they are faine in this Island to use Copper money, whereof was found very great quantitie. The chiefe trade of this place consisteth of Sugar and Ginger, which groweth in the Island, and of Hides of oxen and kine, which in this waste countrey of the Island are bredde in infinite numbers, the soyle being very fertile : and the sayd beasts are fedde up to a very large growth, and so

killed for nothing so much, as for their Hides aforesayd. Wee found heere great store of strong wine, sweete oyle, vineger, olives, and other such like provisions, as excellent Wheate-meale packed up in wine-pipes and other caske, and other commodities likewise, as Woollen and Linnen cloth, and some Silkes : all which provisions are brought out of Spaine, and served us for great reliefe. There was but a little Plate or vessell of Silver, in comparison of the great pride in other things of this towne, because in these hotte Countreys they use much of those earthen dishes finely painted or varnished, which they call Porcellana, which is had out of the East India : & for their drinking, they use glasses altogether, whereof they make excellent good and faire in the same place. But yet some plate we found, and many other good things, as their houshold garniture very gallant and rich, which had cost them deare, although unto us they were of small importance.

From Saint Domingo we put over to the maine or firme land, and going all alongst the coast, we came at the last in sight of Cartagena, standing upon the sea side, so neere, as some of our barks in passing alongst, approched within the reach of their Culverin shot, which they had planted upon certaine platformes. The Harbour mouth lay some three miles toward the Westward of the towne, whereinto wee entred about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone without any resistance of ordinance, or other impeachment planted upon the same. In the Evening we put our selves on land towards the harbour mouth, under the leading of Master Carliell our Lieutenant Generall, who after hee had digested us to march forward about midnight, as easily as foote might fall, expresly commanded us to keepe close by the sea-wash of the shore for our best & surest way, whereby we were like to goe through, and not to misse any more of the way, which once wee had lost within an houre after our first beginning to march, through the slender knowledge of him that tooke upon him to be our guide, whereby the night spent on, which otherwise must have bene done by resting. But as we came within some two miles of the towne, their horsemen which were some hundred, met us, and taking the alarme, retired to their townward againe upon the first volley of our shot that was given them : for the place where wee encountred being woody and bushy even to the water side was unmeet for their service.

At this instant we might heare some pieces of Artillerie discharged, with divers small shot towards the harbour, which gave us to understand, according to the order set downe in the Evening before by our Generall, that the Vice-admirall accompanied with Captaine Venner, Captaine White, and Captaine





Crosse, with other sea Captaines, and with divers Pinnesses and boates should give some attempt unto the litle Fort standing on the entrie of the inner Haven, neere adjoyning to the towne, though to small purpose, for that the place was strong, and the entry very narrow was chained over : so as there could be nothing gotten by the attempt, more than the giving of them an alarme on that other side of the Haven being a mile and a halfe from the place we now were at. In which attempt the Vice-admirall had the rudder of his skiffe stroken through with a Saker shot, and a litle or no harme received elsewhere.

The troopes being now in their march, halfe a myle behither the Towne or lesse, the ground we were on grewe to bee streight, and not above fiftie paces over, having the maine Sea on the one side of it, and the harbour-water or inner sea (as you may tearme it) on the other side, which in the plot is plainly shewed. This streight was fortified cleane over with a stone wall and a ditch without it : the sayd wall being as orderly built with flanking in every part, as can be set downe. There was onely so much of this streight unwall'd, as might serve for the issuing of the horsemen, or the passing of caryage in time of neede : but this unwall'd part was not without a very good Barricado of wine-buts or pipes, filled with earth, full and thicke as they might stand on ende one by another, some part of them standing even within the maine sea.

This place of strength was furnished with sixe great peeces, Demi-culverins, and Sakers, which shotte directly in front upon us as wee approached. Now without this wall upon the inner side of the streight, they had brought likewise two great Galleis with their prowes to the shore, having planted in them eleven peeces of ordinance, which did beate all crosse the streight, and flanked our comming on. In these two Galleis were planted three or foure hundred small shot, and on the land in the guard onely of this place, three hundred shot and pikes.

They in this their full readinesse to receive us, spared not their shot both great and small. But our Lieutenant generall, taking the advantage of the darke (the day light as yet not broken out) approached by the lowest ground, according to the expresse direction which himselfe had formerly given, the same being the sea-wash shore, where the water was somewhat fallen, so as most of all their shot was in vaine. Our Lieutenant generall commanded our shot to forbear shooting untill we were come to the wall side, and so with pikes roundly together we approached the place, where we soone found out the Barricados of pipes or buts, to be the meetest place for our assault,





which, notwithstanding it was well furnished with pikes and shot, was without staying attempted by us : downe went the butts of earth, and pell mell came our swordes and pikes together, after our shot had first given their volley, even at the enemies nose. Our pikes were somewhat longer then theirs, and our bodies better armed ; for very few of them were armed : with which advantage our swordes and pikes grew too hard for them, and they driven to give place. In this furious entry, the Lieutenant generall slew with his owne hands the chiefe Ensigne bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his lives end.

We followed into the towne with them, and giving them no leasure to breath, we wanne the Market-place, albeit they made head, and fought a while before we got it, and so wee being once seized and assured of that, they were content to suffer us to lodge within their towne, and themselves to goe to their wives, whom they had caryed into other places of the countrey before our comming thither.

At every streetes end they had raised very fine Barricados of earth-workes, with trenches without them, as well made as ever we saw any worke done : at the entring whereof was some litle resistance, but soone overcome it was, with few slaine or hurt. They had joyned with them many Indians, whom they had placed in corners of advantage, all bowmen, with their arrowes most villanously empoysoned, so as if they did but breake the skinne, the partie so touched died without great marvell : some they slew of our people with their arrowes : some they likewise mischieved to death with certaine pricks of small sticks sharply pointed, of a foote and a halfe long, the one ende put into the ground, the other empoysoned, sticking fast up, right against our comming in the way, as we should approch from our landing towards the towne, whereof they had planted a wonderfull number in the ordinarie way : but our keeping the sea-wash shore missed the greatest part of them very happily.

I overpasse many particular matters, as the hurting of Captaine Sampson at sword blowes in the first entring, unto whom was committed the charge of the pikes of the Vantguard by his lot and turne ; as also of the taking of Alonso Bravo the chiefe commander of that place by Captaine Goring, after the said captaine had first hurt him with his sword : unto which Captaine was committed the charge of the shot of the sayd Vantguard.

Captaine Winter was likewise by his turne of the Vantguard in this attempt, where also the Lieutenant generall marched himselfe : the said Captaine Winter through a great desire to serve by land, having now

exchanged his charge by sea with Captaine Cecil for his band of footemen.

Captaine Powel the Sergeant maior had by his turne the charge of the foure companies which made the battaile.

Captaine Morgan, who at S. Domingo was of the Vantguard, had now by turne his charge upon the companies of the Rereward.

Every man as well of one part as of another, came so willingly on to the service, as the enemie was not able to endure the furie of such hot assault.

We stayed here sixe weekes, and the sicknesse with mortalitie before spoken of still continued among us, though not with the same furie as at the first : and such as were touched with the sayde sicknesse, escaping death, very few or almost none could recover their strength : yea, many of them were much decayed in their memorie, insomuch that it was growen an ordinarie judgement, when one was heard to speake foolishly, to say he had bene sicke of the Calentura, which is the Spanish name of their burning Ague : for as I tolde you before, it is a very burning and pestilent ague. The originall cause thereof, is imputed to the Evening or first night ayre, which they tearme *La serena*, wherein they say and hold very firme opinion, that who so is then abroad in the open ayre, shall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the Indian or naturall race of those countrey people : by holding their watch, our men were thus subjected to the infectious ayre, which at S. Iago was most dangerous and deadly of all other places.

With the inconvenience of continuall mortalitie, we were forced to give over our intended enterprise to goe with *Nombre de Dios*, and so overland to Panama, where we should have strooken the stroke for the treasure, and full recompence of our tedious travailes. And thus at Cartagena wee tooke our first resolution to returne homewardest.

But while wee were yet there, it happened one day, that our watch called the Centinell, upon the Church-steeple, had discovered in the Sea a couple of small Barkes or Boates, making in with the Harbour of Cartagena, whereupon Captaine Moone and Captaine Varney, with John Grant the Master of the Tyger, and some other Seamen, embarked themselves in a couple of small Pinnesses, to take them before they should come nigh the shore, at the mouth of the Harbour, lest by some stragling Spanyardes from the Lande, they might bee warned by signes from comming in : which fell out accordingly, notwithstanding all the diligence that our men could use : for the Spanish Boates, upon the sight of our Pinnesses comming towards them, ranne themselves ashore, and so their men presently hidde



themselves in bushes hard by the Sea side, amongst some others that had called them by signes thither. Our men presently without any due regard had to the qualitie of the place, and seeing no man of the Spanyards to shew themselves, aboarded the Spanish Barkes or Boates, and so standing all open in them, were suddenly shotte at by a troope of Spanyardes out of the bushes: by which volley of shotte there were slaine Captaine Varney, which dyed presently, and Captaine Moone, who dyed some fewe dayes after, besides some foure or five others that were hurt: and so our folkes returned without their purpose, not having any sufficient number of souldiers with them to fight on shore. For those men they caryed were all Mariners to rowe, few of them armed, because they made account with their ordinance to have taken the Barkes well enough at sea, which they might full easily have done, without any losse at all, if they had come in time to the harbour mouth, before the Spaniards boates had gotten so neere the shore.

During our abode in this place, as also at S. Domingo, there passed divers courtesies betweene us and the Spaniards, as feasting, and using them with all kindnesse and favour: so as amongst others there came to see the Generall, the Governour of Cartagena, with the Bishop of the same, and divers other Gentlemen of the better sort.

This towne of Cartagena we touched in the out parts, & consumed much with fire, as we had done S. Domingo upon discontentments, and for want of agreeing with us in their first treaties touching their ransome, which at the last was concluded between us, should be 100. and 10000. Ducats for that which was yet standing, the Ducat valued at five shillings sixe pence sterling.

This towne though not halfe so bigge as S. Domingo, gives as you see, a farre greater ransome, being in very deepe of farre more importance, by reason of the excellencie of the Harbour, and the situation thereof, to serve the trade of Nombre de Dios and other places, and is inhabited with farre more richer Merchants. The other is chiefly inhabited with Lawyers and brave Gentlemen, being the chiefe or highest appeale of their suites in law of all the Islands about it, and of the maine land coast next unto it. And it is of no such accompt as Cartagena, for these and some other like reasons, which I could give you, over long to be now written.

The warning which this towne received of our comming towards them from S. Domingo, by the space of twentie dayes before our arrivall here, was cause that they had both fortified and every way prepared for their best defence. As also that they had caried and conveyed away all their treasure and principall substance.

The ransome of an hundred & ten thousand Ducats thus concluded on, as is aforesaid, the same being written, and expressing for nothing more then the towne of Cartagena, upon the payment of the sayd ransome, we left the said towne, and drewe some part of our souldiers into the Priorie or Abbey, standing a quarter of an English mile belowe the towne upon the harbour waterside, the same being walled with a wall of stone, which we told the Spaniards was yet ours, and not redeemed by their composition : whereupon they finding the defect of their contract, were contented to enter into another ransome for all places, but specially for the sayde house, as also the Blockehouse or Castle, which is upon the mouth of the inner harbour. And when wee asked as much for the one as for the other, they yeelded to give a thousand Crownes for the Abbey, leaving us to take our pleasure upon the Blockehouse, which they sayd they were not able to ransome, having stretched themselves to the uttermost of their powers : and therefore the sayd Blockehouse was by us undermined, and so with gunne powder blowen up in pieces.

While this latter contract was in making, our whole Fleete of ships fell downe towards the harbour mouth, where they anchored the third time, and employed their men in fetching of fresh water aboard the ships for our voyage homewards, which water was had in a great well, that is in the Island by the harbour mouth : which Island is a very pleasant place as hath bene seene, having in it many sorts of goodly and very pleasant fruites, as the Orange trees and others, being set orderly in walkes of great length together. Insomuch as the whole Island being some two or three miles about, is cast into grounds of gardening and orchards.

After sixe weekes abode in this place, we put to sea the last of March, where after two or three dayes a great ship which we had taken at S. Domingo, and thereupon was called *The new yeeres gift*, fell into a great leake, being laden with ordinance, hides, and other spoyles, and in the night she lost the company of our Fleete ; which being missed the next morning by the Generall, hee cast about with the whole Fleete, fearing some great mischance to bee happened unto her, as in very deede it so fell out : for her leake was so great, that her men were all tyred with pumping. But at the last having found her & the *Bark Talbot* in her company, which stayed by great hap with her, they were ready to take their men out of her, for the saving of them. And so the Generall being fully advertised of their great extremitie, made saile directly backe againe to Cartagena with the whole Fleete, where having staid eight or ten dayes more, about



the unlading of this ship, and the bestowing thereof and her men into other Ships, we departed once againe to Sea, directing our course towards the Cape S. Anthony, being the Westernmost part of Cuba, where wee arrived the seven and twentieth of April. But because fresh water could not presently be found, we weyed anchor, and departed, thinking in few dayes to recover the Matanças, a place to the Eastward of Havana.

After wee had sailed some fourteen dayes, wee were brought to Cape S. Anthony againe, through lacke of favourable wind; but then our scarcity was grown such, as neede made us looke a litle better for water, which we found in sufficient quantitie, being indeede, as I judge, none other then raine water newly fallen, and gathered up by making pits in a plot of marrish ground, some three hundred pases from the sea side.

I doe wrong if I should forget the good example of the Generall at this place, who to encourage others, and to hasten the getting of fresh water aboard the ships, tooke no lesse paine himselfe then the meanest; as also at S. Domingo, Cartagena, and all other places, having alwayes so vigilant a care and foresight in the good ordering of his Fleete, accompanying them, as it is sayde, with such wonderfull travell of body, as doubtlesse had he bene the meanest person, as hee was the chiefest, he had yet deserved the first place of honour: and no lesse happy doe we account him, for being associated with Master Carliel his Lieutenant generall, by whose experience, prudent counsell, and gallant performance he atchieved so many and happy enterprises of the warre, by whom also he was very greatly assisted, in setting downe the needfull orders, lawes, and course of justice, and the due administration of the same upon all occasions.

After three dayes spent in watering our Ships, wee departed now the second time from this Cape of S. Anthony the thirteenth of May, and proceeding about the Cape of Florida, wee never touched any where; but coasting alongst Florida, and keeping the shore still in sight, the 28. of May early in the Morning wee descried on the shore a place built like a Beacon, which was in deede a scaffold upon foure long mastes raised on ende, for men to discover to the seaward, being in the latitude of thirtie degrees, or very neere thereunto. Our Pinnesses manned, and comming to the shore, wee marched up alongst the river side, to see what place the enemie held there: for none amongst us had any knowledge thereof at all.

Here the Generall tooke occasion to march with the companies himselfe

in person, the Lieutenant Generall having the Vantguard ; and going a mile up or somewhat more by the river side, we might discerne on the other side of the river over against us, a Fort which newly had bene built by the Spaniards : and some mile or thereabout above the Fort was a little Towne or Village without walles, built of woodden houses, as the Plot doeth plainly shew. Wee forthwith prepared to have ordinance for the batterie ; and one peece was a litle before the Evening planted, and the first shot being made by the Lieutenant generall himselfe at their Ensigne, strake through the Ensigne, as wee afterwards understood by a French man, which came unto us from them. One shot more was then made, which strake the foote of the Fort wall, which was all massive timber of great trees like Mastes. The Lieutenant generall was determined to passe the river this night with 4. companies, and there to lodge himselfe intrenched as neere the Fort, as that he might play with his muskets and smallest shot upon any that should appeare, and so afterwards to bring and plant the batterie with him : but the helpe of Mariners for that sudden to make trenches could not be had, which was the cause that this determination was remitted untill the next night.

In the night the Lieutenant generall tooke a little rowing Skiffe, and halfe a dozen well armed, as Captaine Morgan, and Captaine Sampson, with some others besides the rowers, & went to view what guard the enemy kept, as also to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as covertly as might be, yet the enemy taking ye Alarme, grew feareful that the whole force was approaching to the assault, and therefore with all speede abandoned the place after the shooting of some of their peeces. They thus gone, and hee being returned unto us againe, but nothing knowing of their flight from their Fort, forthwith came a French man being a Phipper (who had bene prisoner with them) in a litle boate, playing on his Phiph the tune of the Prince of Orenge his song ; and being called unto by the guard, he tolde them before he put foote out of the boate, what he was himselfe, and how the Spaniards were gone from the Fort, offering either to remaine in hands there, or els to returne to the place with them that would goe.

Upon this intelligence, the Generall, the Lieutenant generall, with some of the Captaines in one Skiffe, and the Vice-admirall with some others in his Skiffe and two or three Pinnesses furnished of souldiers with them, put presently over towards the Fort, giving order for the rest of the Pinnesses to follow. And in our approach, some of the enemy bolder then the rest,



having stayed behinde their company, shot off two peeces of ordinance at us : but on shore wee went, and entred the place without finding any man there.

When the day appeared, we found it built all of timber, the walles being none other but whole Mastes or bodies of trees set up right and close together in maner of a pale, without any ditch as yet made, but wholly intended with some more time ; for they had not as yet finished al their worke, having begunne the same some three or foure moneths before : so as, to say the trueth, they had no reason to keepe it, being subject both to fire, and easie assault.

The platforme whereon the ordinance lay, was whole bodies of long pine trees, whereof there is great plentie, layd a crosse one on another, and some litle earth amongst. There were in it thirteene or fourteene great peeces of Brasse ordinance, and a chest unbroken up, having in it the value of some two thousand pounds sterling by estimation of the kings treasure, to pay the souldiers of that place, who were a hundred and fiftie men.

The Fort thus wonne, which they called S. Johns Fort, and the day opened, wee assayed to goe to the towne, but could not by reason of some rivers and broken ground which was betweene the two places : and therefore being enforced to imbarke againe into our Pinnesses, wee went thither upon the great maine river, which is called as also the Towne, by the name of S. Augustin.

At our approaching to land, there were some that began to shew themselves, and to bestow some few shot upon us, but presently withdrew themselves. And in their running thus away, the Sergeant Major finding one of their horses ready sadled and brided, tooke the same to follow the chase ; and so overgoing all his company, was (by one layd behind a bush) shotte through the head : and falling downe therewith, was by the same and two or three more, stabbed in three or foure places of his body with swords and daggers, before any could come neere to his rescue. His death was much lamented, being in very deede an honest wise Gentleman, and a souldier of good experience, and of as great courage as any man might be.

In this place called S. Augustin, we understood the king did keepe, as is before said, one hundred and fiftie souldiers, and at another place some dozen leagues beyond to the Northwards, called S. Helena, he did there likewise keepe an hundred and fiftie more, serving there for no other purpose, then to keepe all other nations from inhabiting any part of all that

coast; the government whereof was committed to one Pedro Melendez Marquesse, nephew to that Melendez the Admirall, who had overthrowen Master John Hawkins in the bay of Mexico some seventeen or eightene yeeres agoe. This Governour had charge of both places, but was at this time in this place, and one of the first that left the same.

Heere it was resolved in full assembly of Captaines, to undertake the enterprise of S. Helena, and from thence to seeke out the inhabitation of our English countrey men in Virginia, distant from thence some sixe degrees Northward.

When wee came thwart of S. Helena, the sholds appearing dangerous, and we having no Pilot to undertake the entrie, it was thought meetest to goe hence alongst. For the Admirall had bene the same night in foure fadome and a halfe, three leagues from the shore: and yet wee understood by the helpe of a knowen Pilot, there may and doe goe in Ships of greater burthen and draught then any we had in our Fleete.

We passed thus alongst the coast hard aboard the shore, which is shallow for a league or two from the shore, and the same is lowe and broken land for the most part.

The ninth of June upon sight of one speciall great fire (which are very ordinarie all alongst this coast, even from the Cape of Florida hither) the Generall sent his Skiffe to the shore, where they found some of our English countrey men (that had bene sent thither the yeere before by Sir Walter Raleigh) and brought them aboard: by whose direction wee proceeded along to the place which they make their Port. But some of our ships being of great draught unable to enter, anchored without the harbour in a wilde roade at sea, about two miles from shore.

From whence the General wrote letters to master Ralfe Lane, being governour of those English in Virginia, and then at his Fort about sixe leagues from the Rode in an Island which they call Roanoac, wherein especially he shewed how ready he was to supply his necessities and wants, which he understood of, by those he had first talked withall.

The morrow after, Master Lane himselfe and some of his company comming unto him, with the consent of his captaines he gave them the choice of two offers, that is to say: Either he would leave a ship, a pinnesse, and certaine boates with sufficient Masters and Mariners, together furnished with a moneths victuall, to stay and make farther discovery of the countrey and coastes, and so much victuall likewise as might be sufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three persons) into England, if



they thought good after such time, with any other thing they would desire, and that he might be able to spare.

Or els if they thought they had made sufficient discoverie already, and did desire to returne into England, he would give them passage. But they, as it seemed, being desirous to stay, accepted very thankfully and with great gladnesse, that which was offred first. Whereupon the ship being appointed and received into charge by some of their owne company sent into her by Master Lane, before they had received from the rest of the Fleete the provision appoynted them, there arose a great storme (which they sayd was extraordinary and very strange) that lasted three dayes together, and put all our Fleete in great danger, to bee driven from their anchoring upon the coast. For we brake many Cables, and lost many Anchors : and some of our Fleete which had lost all (of which number was the ship appointed for Master Lane and his company) was driven to put to sea in great danger, in avoyding the coast, and could never see us againe untill we mette in England. Many also of our small Pinnesses and boates were lost in this storme.

Notwithstanding after all this, the Generall offred them (with consent of his Captaines) an other ship with some provision, although not such a one for their turnes, as might have bene spared them before, this being unable to be brought into their Harbour. Or els if they would, to give them passage into England, although he knew we should performe it with greater difficultie then he might have done before.

But Master Lane with those of the chiefest of his company which hee had then with him, considering what should be best for them to doe, made request unto the General under their hands, that they might have passage for England : the which being graunted, and the rest sent for out of the countrey and shipped, we departed from that coast the 18. of June.

And so, God bee thanked, both they and wee in good safetie arrived at Portesmouth the 28. of July 1586. to the great glory of God, and to no small honour to our Prince, our Countrey, and our selves.

The totall value of that which was gotten in this voyage is esteemed at three score thousand pounds, whereof the companies which have travelled in the voyage were to have twentie thousand pounds, the adventurers the other fortie. Of which twentie thousand pounds (as I can judge) will redound some sixe pounds to the single share.

We lost some seven hundred and fiftie men in the voyage : above three parts of them onely by sicknesse.

*Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*

The men of name that dyed and were slaine in this voyage, which I can presently call to remembrance, are these.

Captaine Powel.	}	Captaine Bigges.
Captaine Varney.		Captaine Cecill.
Captaine Moone.		Captaine Hannam.
Captaine Fortescue.		Captaine Greenefield.

Thomas Tucker a Lieutenant.  
Alexander Starkey a Lieutenant.  
Master Escot a Lieutenant.  
Master Waterhouse a Lieutenant.  
Master George Candish.  
Master Nicholas Winter.  
Master Alexander Carliell.  
Master Robert Alexander.  
Master Scroope.  
Master James Dier.  
Master Peter Duke.

With some other, whom for haste I cannot suddenly thinke on.

The ordinance gotten of all sorts Brasse and Iron, were about two hundred and forty peeces, whereof the two hundred and some more were brasse, and were thus found and gotten.

At S. Iago some two or three and fiftie peeces.

In S. Domingo about fourescore, whereof was very much great ordinance, as whole Cannon, Demi-canon, Culverins, and such like.

In Cartagena some sixtie and three peeces, and good store likewise of the greater sort.

In the Fort of S. Augustin were foureteene peeces.

The rest was Iron ordinance, of which the most part was gotten at S. Domingo, the rest at Cartagena.



The Famous  
VOYAGE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

into the South sea, and therehence about the  
whole Globe of the earth, begun in the  
yeere of our Lord, 1577.



HE 15. day of November, in the yeere of our Lord 1577. M. Francis, Drake, with a fleete of five ships and barkes, and to the number of 164. men, gentlemen and sailers, departed from Plimmouth, giving out his pretended voyage for Alexandria: but the wind falling contrary, hee was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth haven in Cornwall, where such and so terrible a tempest tooke us, as few men have seene the like and was in deed so vehement, that all our ships were like to have gone to wracke: but it pleased God to preserve us from that extremitie, and to afflict us onely for that present with these two particulars: The mast of our Admirall which was the Pellican, was cut over boord for the safegard of the ship, and the Marigold was driven ashore, and somewhat bruised: for the repairing of which damages wee returned againe to Plimmouth, and having recovered those harmes, and brought the ships againe to good state, we set forth the second time from Plimmouth, and set saile the 13. day of December following.

The 25. day of the same moneth we fell with the Cape Cantin, upon the coast of Barbarie, and coasting along, the 27. day we found an Island called Mogador, lying one mile distant from the maine, betweene which Island and the maine, we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to ride in, as also very good entrance, and voyde of any danger.

On this Island our Generall erected a pinnesse, whereof he brought out of England with him foure already framed. While these things were in doing, there came to the waters side some of the inhabitants of the countrey, shewing forth their flags of truce, which being seene of our Generall, hee

sent his ships boate to the shore, to know what they would : they being willing to come aboard, our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboard our ship, which by signes shewed our General, that the next day they would bring some provision, as sheepe, capons and hennes, and such like : whereupon our Generall bestowed amongst them some linnen cloth and shooes, and a javeling, which they very joyfully received, and departed for that time.

The next morning they failed not to come againe to the waters side, and our Generall againe setting out our boate, one of our men leaping over rashly ashore, and offering friendly to imbrace them, they set violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throte if hee had made any resistance, and so laying him on a horse, caried him away ; so that a man cannot be too circumspect and warie of himselfe among such miscreants.

Our pinnesse being finished, wee departed from this place the 30. and last day of December, and coasting along the shore, wee did descrie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine Canters which were Spanish fishermen, to whom we gave chase and tooke three of them, and proceeding further we met with 3. Caravels and tooke them also.

The 17. day of January we arrived at Cape Blanco, where we found a ship riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple Mariners in her, which ship we tooke and caried her further into the harbour, where we remained 4. dayes, and in that space our General mustered, and trayned his men on land in warlike maner, to make them fit for all occasions.

In this place we tooke of the Fishermen such necessities as wee wanted, and they could yeeld us, and leaving heere one of our litle barkes called the Benedict, wee tooke with us one of theirs which they called Canters, being of the burden of 40 tunnes or thereabouts.

All these things being finished, wee departed this harbour the 22. of Januarie, carying along with us one of the Portugall Caravels which was bound to the Islands of Cape Verde for salt, whereof good store is made in one of those Islands.

The master or Pilot of that Caravel did advertise our Generall that upon one of those Islands called Mayo, there was great store of dryed Cabritos, which a few inhabitants there dwelling did yeerely make ready for such of the kings Ships as did there touch, being bound for his countrey of Brasile or elsewhere. Wee fell with this Island the 27. of January, but the Inhabitants would in no case traffique with us, being thereof forbidden by the kings Edict : yet the next day our Generall sent to view the Island, and



the likelihoodes that might be there of provision of victuals, about threescore and two men under the conduct and government of Master Winter and Master Doughtie, and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Island (as by the Portugall wee were informed) having travailed to the mountaines the space of three miles, and arriving there somewhat before the day breake, we arrested our selves to see day before us, which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled : but the place, by reason that it was manured, wee found to be more fruitfull then the other part, especially the valleys among the hills.

Here we gave our selves a litle refreshing, as by very ripe and sweete grapes, which the fruitfulnessse of the earth at that season of the yeere yeilded us : and that season being with us the depth of Winter, it may seeme strange that those fruites were then there growing : but the reason thereof is this, because they being betweene the Tropike and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne passeth twice in the yeere through their Zenith over their heads, by meanes whereof they have two Summers, & being so neere the heate of the line, they never lose the heate of the Sunne so much, but the fruites have their increase and continuance in the midst of Winter. The Island is wonderfully stored with goates and wilde hennes, and it hath salt also without labour, save onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is increased upon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiving heate of the Sunne kerning the same, so that of the increase thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours.

Amongst other things we found here a kind of fruit called Cocos, which because it is not commonly knowen with us in England, I thought good to make some description of it.

The tree beareth no leaves nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stemme of the tree, as big every severall fruite as a mans head : but having taken off the uttermost barke, which you shall find to bee very full of strings or sinowes, as I may terme them, you shall come to a hard shell which may holde of quantitie in liquor a pint commonly, or some a quart, and some lesse : within that shell of the thicknessse of halfe an inch good, you shall have a kinde of hard substance and very white, no lesse good and sweete then almonds : within that againe a certaine cleare liquor, which being drunke, you shall not onely finde it very delicate and sweete, but most comfortable and cordiall.

After wee had satisfied our selves with some of these fruites, wee marched

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further into the Island, and saw great store of \* Cabritos alive, which were so chased by the inhabitants, that wee could doe no good towards our provision, but they had layde out as it were to stoppe our mouthes withall, certaine olde dried Cabritos, which being but ill, and small and few, wee made no account of.

Being returned to our ships, our Generall departed hence the 31: of this moneth, and sayled by the Island of S. Iago, but farre enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at us three peeces, but they all fell short of us, and did us no harme. The Island is fayre and large, and as it seemeth, rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portugals, but the mountaines and high places of the Island are sayd to be possessed by the Moores, who having bin slaves to the Portugals, to ease themselves, made escape to the desert places of the Island, where they abide with great strength.

Being before this Island, we espied two ships under sayle, to the one of which wee gave chase, and in the end boorded her with a ship-boat without resistance, which we found to be a good prize, and she yeelded unto us good store of wine : which prize our General committed to the custodie of Master Doughtie, and reteining the Pilot, sent the rest away with his Pinnesse, giving them a Butte of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed.

The same night wee came with the Island called by the Portugals, Ilha del fogo, that is, the burning Island : in the Northside whereof is a consuming fire, the matter is sayde to be of Sulphure, but notwithstanding it is like to bee a commodious Island, because the Portugals have built, and doe inhabite there.

Upon the South side thereof lyeth a most pleasant and sweete Island, the trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke upon, in respect whereof they call it Ilha Brava, that is, the brave Island. From the bankes thereof into the sea doe run in many places reasonable streames of fresh waters easie to be come by, but there was no convenient roade for our ships : for such was the depth, that no ground could bee had for anchoring, and it is reported, that ground was never found in that place, so that the tops of Fogo burne not so high in the ayre, but the rootes of Brava are quenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these Islands, we drew towards the line, where wee were becalmed the space of 3. weekes, but yet subject to divers great stormes,

\* Or goates.



terrible lightnings and much thunder : but with this miserie we had the commoditie of great store of fish, as Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying fishes, whereof some fell into our shippes, wherehence they could not rise againe for want of moisture, for when their wings are drie, they cannot flie.

From the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape Verde, wee sayled 54. dayes without sight of land, and the first land that we fell with was the coast of Brasil, which we saw the fift of April in ye height of 33. degrees towards the pole Antartike, and being discovered at sea by the inhabitants of the countrey, they made upon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the devils, about which they use conjurations, making heapes of sande and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall goe about to stay upon their coast, not onely sands may be gathered together in shoalds in every place, but also that stormes and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof (as it is reported) there have bene divers experiments.

The seventh day in a mightie great storme both of lightning, rayne and thunder, wee lost the Canter which we called the Christopher : but the eleventh day after, by our Generals great care in dispersing his ships, we found her againe, and the place where we met, our Generall called the Cape of Joy, where every ship tooke in some water. Heere we found a good temperature and sweete ayre, a very faire and pleasant countrey with an exceeding fruitfull soyle, where were great store of large and mightie Deere, but we came not to the sight of any people : but travelling further into the countrey, we perceived the footing of people in the clay-ground, shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our ships, we wayed anchor, and ranne somewhat further, and harboured our selves betweene a rocke and the maine, where by meanes of the rocke that brake the force of the sea, we rid very safe, and upon this rocke we killed for our provision certaine sea-wolves, commonly called with us Seales.

From hence we went our course to 36. degrees, and entred the great river of Plate, and ranne into 54. and 55. fadomes and a halfe of fresh water, where wee filled our water by the ships side : but our Generall finding here no good harborough, as he thought he should, bare out againe to sea the 27. of April, and in bearing out we lost sight of our Flieboate wherein master Doughtie was, but we sayling along, found a fayre and reasonable good Bay wherein were many, and the same profitable Islands, one whereof had so many Seales, as would at the least have laden all our Shippes, and the rest of the Islands are as it were laden with foules which is wonderfull to

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see, and they of divers sortes. It is a place very plentifull of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water.

Our Generall after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, being on shore in an Island, the people of the countrey shewed themselves unto him, leaping and dauncing, and entred into traffique with him, but they would not receive



any thing at any mans hands, but the same must bee cast upon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foote, and seeme to be very active.

The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought it needfull to have a care of such Ships as were absent, and therefore indeavouring to seeke the Flieboate wherein master Doughtie was, we espied her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ships were sent to discover the coast and to search an harbour, the Marygold and the Canter being imployed in that



businessse, came unto us and gave us understanding of a safe harbour that they had found, wherewith all our ships bare, and entred it, where we watered and made new provision of victuals, as by Seales, whereof we slew to the number of 200. or 300. in the space of an houre.

Here our Generall in the Admirall rid close aboard the Flie-boate, and tooke out of her all the provision of victuals and what els was in her, and halling her to the Lande, set fire to her, and so burnt her to save the iron worke : which being a doing, there came downe of the countrey certaine of the people naked, saving only about their waste the skinne of some beast with the furre or haire on, and something also wreathed on their heads : their faces were painted with divers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of hornes, every man his bow which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrowes. They were very agill people and quicke to deliver, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feates of warres, as by their order of ranging a few men, might appeare. These people would not of a long time receive any thing at our handes ; yet at length our Generall being ashore, and they dauncing after their accustomed maner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one leapt suddenly to him, and tooke his cap with his golde band off his head, and ran a litle distance from him and shared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other.

Having dispatched all our businessse in this place, wee departed and set sayle, and immediatly upon our setting forth we lost our Canter which was absent three or foure dayes : but when our General had her againe, he tooke out the necessaries, and so gave her over neere to the Cape of Good hope.

The next day after being the twentieth of June, wee harboured our selves againe in a very good harborough, called by Magellan Port S. Julian, where we found a gibbet standing upon the maine, which we supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

The two and twentieth day our Generall went ashore to the maine, and in his companie, John Thomas, and Robert Winterhie, Oliver the Master gunner, John Brewer, Thomas Hood, and Thomas Drake, and entring on land, they presently met with two or three of the countrey people, and Robert Winterhie having in his hands a bowe and arrowes, went about to make a shoote of pleasure, and in his draught his bowstring brake, which the rude Savages taking as a token of warre, began to bend the force of their bowes against our company, and drove them to their shifts very narrowly.

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In this Port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of M. Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or some other disorder, whereby (without redresse) the successe of the voyage might greatly have bene hazarded: whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by



master Doughties owne confession, and partly by the evidence of the fact, to be true: which when our Generall saw, although his private affection to M. Doughtie (as hee then in the presence of us all sacredly protested) was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Majestie, and of the honour of his countrey did more touch him, (as indeede it ought) then the private respect of one man: so that the cause being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order as neere as might be to the course of our lawes in England, it was concluded that M. Doughtie



should receive punishment according to the qualitie of the offence : and he seeing no remedie but patience for himselfe, desired before his death to receive the Communion, which he did at the hands of M. Fletcher our Minister, and our Generall himselfe accompanied him in that holy action : which being done, and the place of execution made ready, hee having embraced our Generall and taken his leave of all the companie, with prayer for the Queenes majestie and our realme, in quiet sort laid his head to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being done, our Generall made divers speaches to the whole company, perswading us to unitie, obedience, love, and regard of our voyage ; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed every man the next Sunday following to prepare himselfe to receive the Communion, as Christian brethren and friends ought to doe, which was done in very reverent sort, and so with good contentment every man went about his businesse.

The 17. day of August we departed the port of S. Julian, & the 20. day we fell with the streight or freat of Magellan going into the South sea, at the Cape or headland whereof we found the bodie of a dead man, whose flesh was cleane consumed.

The 21. day we entred The streight, which we found to have many turnings, and as it were shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof we had the wind often against us, so that some of the fleete recovering a Cape or point of land, others should be forced to turne backe againe, and to come to an anchor where they could.

In this streight there be many faire harbors, with store of fresh water, but yet they lacke their best commoditie : for the water is there of such depth, that no man shal find ground to anchor in, except it bee in some narrow river or corner, or betweene some rocks, so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is much subject) it carieth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very huge & mountainous, the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderfull to looke upon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceede them in a strange maner, reaching themselves above their fellowes so high, that betweene them did appeare three regions of cloudes.

These mountaines are covered with snow : at both the Southerly and Easterly partes of the streight there are Islands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the streights, even as it hath in the maine entrance of the freat.

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This streight is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually ; the trees seeme to stoope with the burden of the weather, and yet are greene continually, and many good and sweete herbes doe very plentifully grow and increase under them.

The bredth of the streight is in some place a league, in some other places 2. leagues, and three leagues, and in some other 4. leagues, but the narrowest place hath a league over.

The 24. of August we arrived at an Island in the streights, where we found great store of foule which could not flie, of the bignesse of geese, whereof we killed in lesse then one day 3000. and victualled our selves throughly therewith.

The 6. day of September we entred the South sea at the Cape or head shore.

The seventh day wee were driven by a great storme from the entring into the South sea two hundred leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the Streight : in which height, and so many leagues to the Westward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the Eclipse of the Moone at the houre of sixe of the clocke at night : but neither did the Eclipticall conflict of the Moone impayre our state, nor her clearing againe amend us a whit, but the accustomed Eclipse of the Sea continued in his force, wee being darkened more then the Moone seven fold.

From the Bay (which we called The Bay of severing of friends) wee were driven backe to the Southward of the streights in 57. degrees and a terce : in which height we came to an anker among the Islands, having there fresh and very good water, with herbes of singular vertue. Not farre from hence we entred another Bay, where wee found people both men and women in their Canoas, naked, and ranging from one Island to another to seeke their meat, who entered traffique with us for such things as they had.

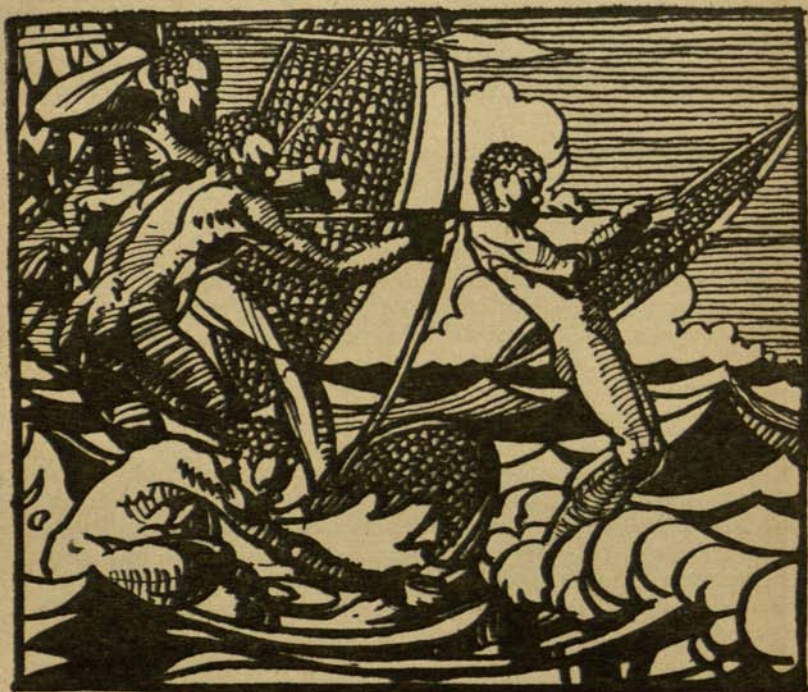
We returning hence Northward againe, found the 3. of October three Islands, in one of which was such plentie of birdes as is scant credible to report.

The 8. day of October we lost sight of one of our Consorts wherein M. Winter was, who as then we supposed was put by a storme into the streights againe, which at our returne home wee found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our company feared.

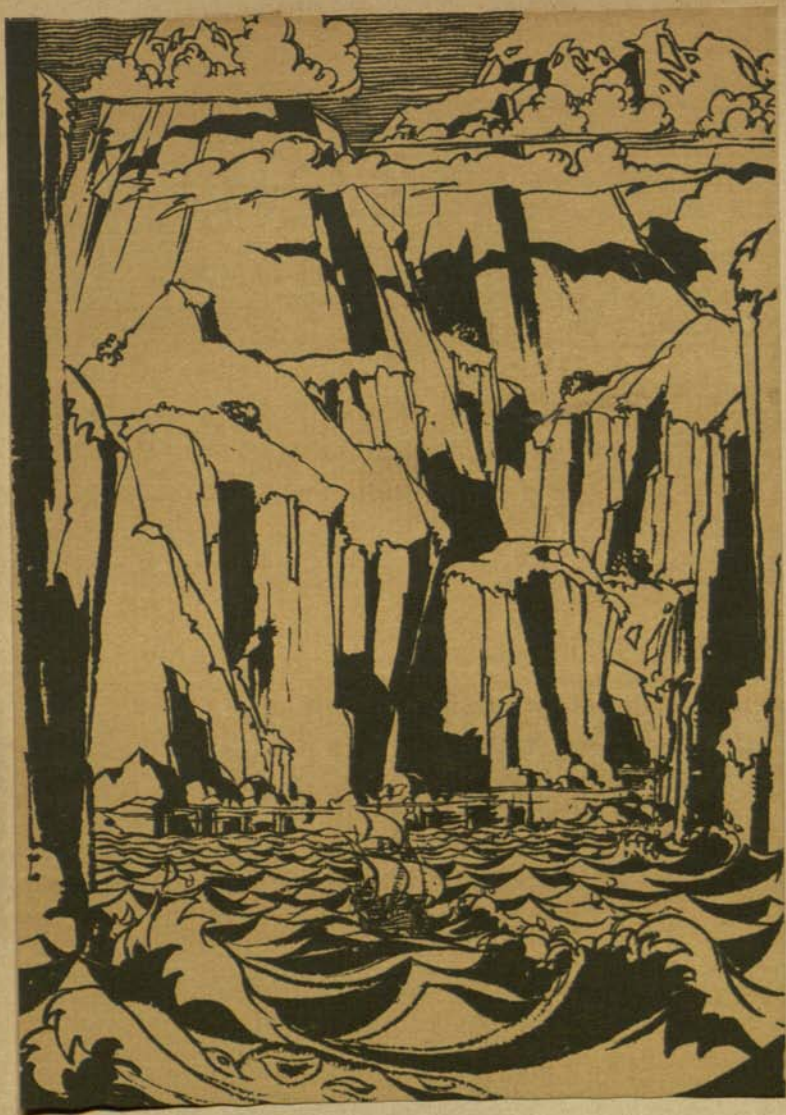
Thus being come into the height of The streights againe, we ran, supposing the coast of Chili to lie as the generall Maps have described it, namely Northwest, which we found to lie and trend to the Northeast and



Eastwards, whereby it appeareth that this part of Chili hath not bene truly hitherto discovered, or at the least not truly reported for the space of 12. degrees at the least, being set downe either of purpose to deceive, or of ignorant conjecture.



We continuing our course, fell the 29. of November with an Island called la Mocha, where we cast anchor, and our Generall hoysing out our boate, went with ten of our company to shore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards have forced for their owne safetie and libertie to flee from the maine, and to fortifie themselves in this Island. We being on land, the people came downe to us to the water







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side with shew of great courtesie, bringing to us potatoes, rootes, and two very fat sheepe, which our Generall received and gave them other things for them, and had promise to have water there : but the next day repayingr againe to the shore, and sending two men aland with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they use to shew no favour if they take them) layde violent hands on them, and as we thinke, slew them.

Our Generall seeing this, stayed here no longer, but wayed anchor, and set sayle towards the coast of Chili, and drawing towards it, we mette neere to the shore an Indian in a Canoa, who thinking us to have bene Spaniards, came to us and tolde us, that at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdome of Peru : for which good newes our Generall gave him divers trifles, wherof he was glad, and went along with us and brought us to the place, which is called the port of Valparizo.

When we came thither, we found indeede the ship riding at anker, having in her eight Spaniards and three Negros, who thinking us to have bene Spaniards and their friends, welcommed us with a drumme, and made ready a Bottija of wine of Chili to drinke to us : but as soone as we were entred, one of our company called Thomas Moore began to lay about him, and strooke one of the Spaniards, and sayd unto him, Abaxo Perro, that is in English, Goe downe dogge. One of these Spaniards seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to crossed, and blessed himselfe : but to be short, wee stowed them under hatches all save one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt over boord into the sea, and swamme ashore to the towne of S. Iago, to give them warning of our arrivall.

They of the towne being not above 9. houtholds, presently fled away and abandoned the towne. Our generall manned his boate, and the Spanish ships boate, and went to the Towne, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chappell which wee entred, and found therein a silver chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gave to M. Fletcher his minister.

We found also in this towne a warehouse stored with wine of Chili, and many boords of Cedar-wood, all which wine we brought away with us, and certaine of the boords to burne for fire-wood : and so being come aboard, wee departed the Haven, having first set all the Spaniards on land, saving one John Griego a Greeke borne, whom our Generall caried with him for his Pilot to bring him into the haven of Lima.

When we were at sea, our Generall rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of Chili, and 25000. pezoës of very pure and fine



gold of Baldivia, amounting in value to 37000. ducats of Spanish money, and above. So going on our course, wee arrived next at a place called Coquimbo, where our Generall sent 14. of his men on land to fetch water : but they were espied by the Spaniards, who came with 300. horsemen and 200 footemen, and slewe one of our men with a piece, the rest came aboard in safetie, and the Spaniards departed : wee went on shore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a flag of truce, but we set sayle and would not trust them.

From hence we went to a certaine port called Tarapaza, where being landed, we found by the Sea side a Spaniard lying asleepe, who had lying by him 13. barres of silver, which weighed 4000. ducats Spanish ; we tooke the silver, and left the man.

Not farre from hence going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driving 8. Llamas or sheepe of Peru which are as big as asses ; every of which sheepe had on his backe 2. bags of leather, each bagge containing 50. li. weight of fine silver : so that bringing both the sheepe and their burthen to the ships, we found in all the bags 800. weight of silver.

Here hence we sailed to a place called Arica, and being entred the port, we found there three small barkes which we rifled, and found in one of them 57 wedges of silver, each of them weighing about 20 pound weight, and every of these wedges were of the fashion and bignesse of a brickbat. In all these 3. barkes we found not one person : for they mistrusting no strangers, were all gone aland to the Towne, which consisteth of about twentie houses, which we would have ransacked if our company had bene better and more in number. But our Generall contented with the spoyle of the ships, left the Towne and put off againe to sea and set sayle for Lima, and by the way met with a small barke, which he boarded, and found in her good store of linnen cloth, whereof taking some quantitie, he let her goe.

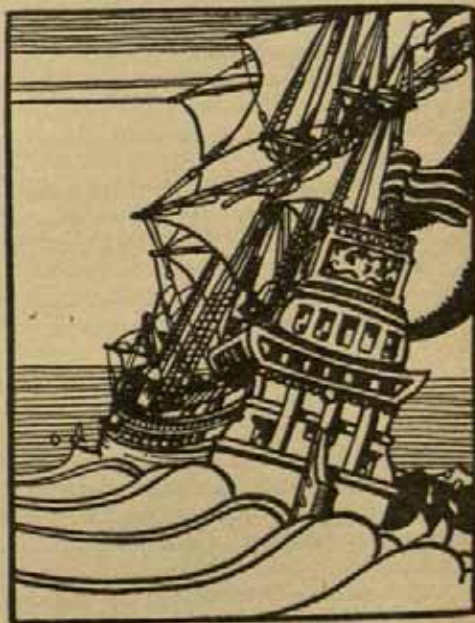
To Lima we came the 13. day of February, and being entred the haven, we found there about twelve sayle of ships lying fast moored at an anker, having all their sayles caried on shore ; for the masters and marchants were here most secure, having never bene assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as we were. Our generall rifled these ships, and found in one of them a chest full of royals of plate, and good store of silkes and linnen cloth, and tooke the chest into his owne ship, and good store of the silkes and linnen. In which ship hee had newes of another

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ship called the Cacafuego which was gone towards Païta, and that the same shippe was laden with treasure : whereupon we staied no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the shippes in the haven, we let them drive whither they would, either to sea or to the shore, and with all speede we followed the Cacafuego toward Païta, thinking there to have found her : but before wee arrived there, she was gone from thence towards Panama, whom our Generall still pursued, and by the way met with a barke laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which hee boarded and searched, and found in her 80.li. weight of golde, and a crucifixe of gold with goodly great Emerauds set in it which he tooke, and some of the cordage also for his owne ship.

From hence we departed, still following the Cacafuego, and our Generall promised our company, that whosoever could first descree her, should have his chaine of gold for his good newes. It fortun'd that John Drake going up into the top, descried her about three of the clocke, and about sixe of the clocke we came to her and boarded her, and shotte at her three peeces of ordinance, and strake downe her Misen, and being entered, we found in her great riches, as jewels and precious stones, thirteene chests full of royals of plate, foure score pound weight of golde, and sixe and twentie tunne of silver. The place where we tooke this prize, was called Cape de San Francisco, about 150. leagues from Panama.

The Pilots name of this Shippe was Francisco, and amongst other plate that our Generall found in this ship, he found two very faire guilt bowles





of silver, which were the Pilots : to whom our Generall sayd : Senior Pilot, you have here two silver cups, but I must needs have one of them : which the Pilot because hee could not otherwise chuse, yeelded unto, and gave the other to the steward of our Generalls ships.

When this Pilot departed from us, his boy sayde thus unto our Generall : Captaine, our ship shall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your shippe shall bee called the Cacafuego : which pretie speach of the Pilots boy ministred matter of laughter to us, both then and long after.

When our Generall had done what hee would with this Cacafuego, hee cast her off, and wee went on our course still towards the West, and not long after met with a ship laden with linnen cloth and fine China-dishes of white earth, and great store of China-silks, of all which things wee tooke as we listed.

The owner himselfe of this ship was in her, who was a Spanish Gentleman, from whom our Generall tooke a Fawlc on of golde, with a great Emeraude in the breast thereof, and the Pilot of the ship he tooke also with him, and so cast the ship off.

This Pilot brought us to the haven of Guatulco, the towne whereof, as he told us, had but 17. Spaniards in it. Assoone as we were entred this haven, wee landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Townehouse, where we found a Judge sitting in judgement, being associate with three other officers, upon three Negros that had conspired the burning of the Towne : both which Judges & prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shipboard, and caused the chiefe Judge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to avoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransaked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our company, tooke a Spanish Gentleman as hee was flying out of the towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of golde about him, and other jewels, which he tooke, and so let him goe.

At this place our General among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugall Pilote, which hee tooke at the Islands of Cape Verde, out of a ship of S. Mary port of Portugall : and having set them ashore, we departed hence, and sailed to the Island of Canno, where our Generall landed, and brought to shore his owne ship, and discharged her, mended, and graved her, and furnished our ship with water and wood sufficiently.

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And while wee were here, we espied a shippe, and set saile after her, and tooke her, and found in her two Pilots, and a Spanish Governour, going for the Islands of the Philippinas : wee searched the shippe, and tooke some of her marchandizes, and so let her goe. Our Generall at this place and time, thinking himselfe both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and revenged : and supposing that her Majestie at his returne would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes : the one, lest the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands, hee being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the streights in the South sea, where continuall stormes reigning and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoalds and sands upon the coast, he thought it not a good course to adventure that way : he resolved therefore to avoyde these hazards, to goe forward to the Islandes of the Malucos, and thence to saile the course of the Portugals by the Cape of Buena Esperanza.

Upon this resolution, hee beganne to thinke of his best way to the Malucos, and finding himselfe where he now was becalmed, he saw that of necessitie hee must be forced to take a Spanish course, namely to sayle somewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 600. leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sailed from the 16. of April, till the 3. of June.

The 5. day of June, being in 43. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the ayre so colde, that our men being grievously pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased upon us. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke the land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, till wee came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same.

In this Baye wee anchored, and the people of the Countrey having their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came unto us, they greatly wondred at the things that wee



brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary: the presents which they sent to our Generall, were feathers, and calles of net-worke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and have from the uttermost brimmes of the circle, cliffs of wood set upon them, joyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with rushes strowed on it, and lying about the house, have the fire in the midst. The men go naked, the women take bulrushes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hippes, having also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from us, they came and visited us the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for presents: And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they staid themselves: where one appointed for speaker wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes upon the hill, and came downe with their presents.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceived that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time our Generall with his company went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentive, & seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come unto us, they restored againe unto us those things which before we bestowed upon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the King himselfe, a man of a goodly stature, & comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming, in doing of which message, their speach was continued about halfe an houre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send some thing by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might be in peace: wherein our Generall having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their

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King, who marched to us with a princely majestie, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drew neere unto us, so did they strive to behave themselves in their actions with comelinesse.

In the fore-front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a marveilous length : the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with fethers of divers colours : the chaines were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them : and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some 12. &c. Next unto him which bare the scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Guard about his person, clad with Conie skins, & other skins : after them followed the naked common sort of people, every one having his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, & having in their hands one thing or another for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meane time our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching a very warre-like shew. They being trooped together in their order, and a generall salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the King, being informed by another, whom they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voyce proclaymed that which the other spake to him in secrete, continuing halfe an houre : which ended, and a generall Amen as it were given, the King with the whole number of men and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselves in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter-bearer began a song, observing his measures in a daunce, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Guard, and every degree of persons following, did in like maner sing and daunce, saving onely the women, which daunced & kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwarke, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signes to our General to sit downe, to whom the King, and divers others made several orations, or rather supplications, that hee would take their province and kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which, to perswade us the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, did set the crowne upon



his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offred unto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of triumph : which thing our Generall thought not meete to reject, because he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the use of her Majestie he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the inriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in ye same.

The common sorte of people leaving the King and his Guardes with our Generall, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of every person : and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about offred their sacrifices unto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nailles, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee used signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the living God, whom onely they ought to worship. They shewed unto us their wounds, and craved helpe of them at our hands, whereupon we gave them lotions, plaisters, and oyntments, agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Every third day they brought their sacrifices unto us, until they understood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them : yet they could not be long absent from us, but dayly frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so greivous unto them, that their joy was turned into sorrow. They intreated us, that being absent we would remember them, and by stealth provided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his company travailed up into the Countrey to their villages, where we found herdes of Deere by 1000. in a company, being most large, and fat of body.

We found the whole Countrey to bee a warren of a strange kinde of Connies, their bodies in bignes as be the Barbary Connies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feete of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length : under her chinne is on either side a bag, into the which she gathereth her meate, when she hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great accompt of their skinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Our Generall called this Countrey Nova Albion, and that for two causes : the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the sea :

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and the other, because it might have some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

There is no part of earth heere to bee taken up, wherein there is not some probable shew of gold or silver.

At our departure hence our Generall set up a monument of our being there, as also of her Majesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed upon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingraven her Majesties name, the day and yeere of our arrivall there, with the free giving up of the province and people into her Majesties hands, together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence of current English money under the plate, whereunder was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had never been in this part of the Countrey, neither did ever discover the land by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.

After we had set saile from hence, wee continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning wee fell with certaine Islands 8. degrees to the Northward of the line, from which Islands came a great number of Canoas, having in some of them 4. in some 6. and in some also 14. men, bringing with them cocos, and other fruites. Their Canoas were hollow within, and cut with great arte and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glasse as if it were a horne daintily burnished, having a prow, and a sterne of one sort, yeelding inward circle-wise, being of a great height, and full of certaine white shels





for a braverie, and on each side of them lie out two peeces of timber about a yard and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the smalnesse, or bignesse of the boate.

This people have the nether part of their eares cut into a round circle, hanging downe very lowe upon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nailes of their hands are an ynche long, their teeth are as blacke as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herbe with a kinde of powder, which they alwayes carrie about them in a cane for the same purpose.

Leaving this Island the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October, we lighted upon divers others, some whereof made a great shew of Inhabitants.

Wee continued our course by the Islands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra, being friends to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of Cinnamom.

The 14. of November we fell with the Islands of Maluco, which day at night (having directed our course to runne with Tydore) in coasting along the Island of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputie or Vice-king seeing us at sea, came with his Canoa to us without all feare, and came aboard, and after some conference with our Generall, willed him in any wise to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him that the King would bee glad of his comming, and would be ready to doe what he would require, for which purpose he himselfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes, with whom if he once dealt, hee should finde that as he was a King, so his word should stand: adding further, that if he went to Tydore before he came to Ternate, the King would have nothing to doe with us, because hee held the Portugall as his enemy: whereupon our General resolved to runne with Ternate, where the next morning early we came to anchor, at which time our Generall sent a messenger to the king with a velvet cloke for a present, and token of his comming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffique and exchange of marchandize, whereof he had good store, in such things as he wanted.

In the meane time the Vice-king had bene with the king according to his promise, signifying unto him what good things he might receive from us by traffique: whereby the King was mooved with great liking towards us, and sent to our Generall with speciall message, that hee should have what things he needed, and would require with peace and friendship, and

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moreover that hee would yeeld himselfe, and the right of his Island to bee at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a Prince as we served. In token whereof he sent to our Generall a signet, and within short time after came in his owne person, with boates, and Canoas to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer roade then she was in at present.

In the meane time, our Generalls messenger beeing come to the Court, was met by certaine noble personages with great solemnitie, and brought to the King, at whose hands hee was most friendly and graciously intertained.

The King purposing to come to our ship, sent before 4. great and large Canoas, in every one whereof were certaine of his greatest states that were about him, attired in white lawne of cloth of Calicut, having over their heads from the one ende of the Canoa to the other, a covering of thinne perfumed mats, borne up with a frame made of reedes for the same use, under which every one did sit in his order according to his dignitie, to keepe him from the heate of the Sunne, divers of whom beeing of good age and gravitie, did make an ancient and fatherly shew. There were also divers yong and comely men attired in white, as were the others: the rest were souldiers, which stood in comely order round about on both sides, without whom sate the rowers in certaine galleries, which being three on a side all along the Canoas, did lie off from the side thereof three or foure yarges, one being orderly builded lower then another, in every of which galleries were the number of 4. score rowers.

These Canoas were furnished with warlike munition, every man for the most part having his sword and target, with his dagger, beside other weapons, as launces, calivers, darts, bowes and arrowes: also every Canoa had a small cast base mounted at the least one full yarde upon a stocke set upright.

Thus comming neere our shippe, in order they rowed about us, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnitie, the great personages beginning with great gravitie and fatherly countenances, signifying that ye king had sent them to conduct our ship into a better roade.

Soone after the King himselfe repaired, accompanied with 6. grave and ancient persons, who did their obeisance with marveilous humilitie. The king was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our musicke, to whom as also to his nobilitie, our Generall gave presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

At length the King craved leave of our Generall to depart, promising the next day to come aboard, and in the meane time to send us such victuals, as were necessarie for our provision: so that the same night we received



of them meale, which they call Sagu, made of the tops of certaine trees, tasting in the mouth like sowre curds, but melteth like sugar, whereof they make certaine cakes, which may be kept the space of ten yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. We had of them store of rice, hennes, unperfect and liquid sugar, sugar canes, and a fruite which they call Figo, with store of cloves.

The King having promised to come aboard, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to intreate our Generall to come on shoare, offering himselfe pawne aboard for his safe returne. Whereunto our Generall consented not, upon mislike conceived of the breach of his promise, the whole company also utterly refusing it. But to satisfie him, our General sent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the King's brother, reserving the Vice-king for their safe returne. They were received of another brother of the kings, and other states, and were conducted with great honour to the Castle. The place that they were brought unto, was a large and faire house, where were at the least 1000. persons assembled.

The King being yet absent, there sate in their places 60. grave personages, all which were said to be of the kings Counsel. There were besides 4. grave persons, apparellled all in red, downe to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turkes, and these were said to be Romanes, and Ligiers there to keepe continual traffike with the people of Ternate. There were also 2. Turks Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at last came in guarded with 12. launces covered over with a rich canopy, with embossed gold. Our men accompanied with one of their Captaines called Moro, rising to meete him, he graciously did welcome, and intertaine them. He was attired after the manner of the Countrey, but more sumptuously then the rest. From his waste downe to the ground, was all cloth of golde, and the same very rich: his legges were bare, but on his feete were a paire of shooes, made of Cordovan skinne. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his necke he had a chaine of perfect golde, the linkes whereof were great, and one folde double. On his fingers hee had sixe very faire jewels, and sitting in his chaire of estate, at his right hand stood a page with a fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the ayre to the King. The fanne was in length two foote, and in bredth one foote, set with 8. saphyres, richly imbrodered, and knit to a staffe 3. foote in length, by the which the Page did hold, and moove it. Our Gentlemen having delivered their message, and received order accord-

ingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted backe againe by one of the kings Counsell.

This Island is the chieftest of all the Islands of Maluco, and the King hereof is King of 70. Islands besides. The king with his people are Moores in religion, observing certaine new Moones, with fastings : during which fasts, they neither eat nor drinke in the day, but in the night.

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that we had heere by the favour of the king received all necessary things that the place could yeeld us : our General considering the great distance, and how farre he was yet off from his Countrey, thought it not best here to linger the time any longer, but waying his anchors, set out of the Island, and sayled to a certaine litle Island to the Southwards of Celebes, where we graved our ship, and continued there in that and other businesses 26. dayes. This Island is thoroughly growen with wood of a large and high growth, very straight and without boughes, save onely in the head or top, whose leaves are not much differing from our broome in England. Amongst these trees night by night, through the whole land, did shew themselves an infinite swarme of fiery wormes flying in the ayre, whose bodies beeing no bigger then our common English flies, make such a shew and light, as if every twigge or tree had bene a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderfull store of Bats, as bigge as large hennes : of Crayfishes also heere wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bignesse, one whereof was sufficient for 4. hungry stomachs at a dinner, beeing also very good, and restoring meate, whereof we had experience : and they digge themselves holes in the earth like Conies.

When wee had ended our businesse here, we waied, and set saile to runne for the Malucos : but having at that time a bad winde, and being amongst the Islands, with much difficultie wee recovered to the Northward of the Island of Celebes, where by reason of contrary winds not able to continue our course to runne Westwards, we were inforced to alter the same to the Southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for us, by reason of infinite shoalds which lie off, and among the Islands : whereof wee had too much triall to the hazard and danger of our shippe and lives. For of all other dayes upon the 9. of Januarie, in the yeere 1579. wee ranne suddenly upon a rocke, where we stucke fast from 8. of the clocke at night, til 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the next day, being indeede out of all hope to escape the danger : but our Generall as hee had alwayes hitherto shewed himselfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God : so now he continued in the same, and



lest he should seeme to perish wilfully, both he, and we did our best indeavour to save our selves, which it pleased God so to blesse, that in the ende we cleared our selves most happily of the danger.

We lighted our ship upon the rockes of 3. tunne of cloves, 8. peeces of ordinance, and certaine meale and beanes : and then the winde (as it were in a moment by the speciall grace of God) changing from the starreboord to the larboord of the ship, we hoised our sailes, and the happy gale drove our ship off the rocke into the sea againe, to the no litle comfort of all our hearts, for which we gave God such prayse and thanks, as so great a benefite required.

The 8. of Februarie following, wee fell with the fruitfull Island of Barateve, having in the meane time suffered many dangers by windes and shoalds. The people of this Island are comely in body and stature, and of a civill behaviour, just in dealing, and courteous to strangers, whereof we had the experience sundry wayes, they being most glad of our presence, and very ready to releve our wants in those things which their Countrey did yelde. The men goe naked, saving their heads and privities, every man having something or other hanging at their eares. Their women are covered from the middle downe to the foote, wearing a great number of bracelets upon their armes, for some had 8. upon each arme, being made some of bone, some of horne, and some of brasse, the lightest whereof by our estimation waied two ounces apeece.

With this people linnen-cloth is good marchandize, and of good request, whereof they make rols for their heads, and girdles to weare about them.

Their Island is both rich and fruitfull : rich in golde, silver, copper, and sulphur, wherein they seeme skilfull and expert, not onely to trie the same, but in working it also artificially into any forme and fashion that pleaseth them.

Their fruits be divers and plentiful, as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemmons, cucumbers, cocos, figu, sagu, with divers other sorts : and among all the rest, wee had one fruite, in bignes, forme, and huske, like a Bay berry, hard of substance, and pleasant of taste, which being sodden, becommeth soft, and is a most good and wholesome victuall, whereof we tooke reasonable store, as we did also of the other fruits and spices : so that to confesse a trueth, since the time that we first set out of our owne Countrey of England, we happened upon no place (Ternate onely excepted) wherein we found more comforts and better meanes of refreshing.

At our departure from Barateve, we set our course for Java major, where arriving, we found great courtesie, and honourable entertainment. This Island is governed by 5. Kings, whom they call Rajah : as Rajah Donaw,

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and Rajah Mang Bange, and Rajah Cabuccapollo, which live as having one spirit, and one minde.

Of these five we had foure a shipboord at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and greene: their upper parts of their bodies are naked, save their heads, whereupon they weare a Turkish roll, as do the Maluccians: from the middle downward they weare a pintado of silke, trailing upon the ground, in colour as they best like.

The Maluccians hate that their women should bee seene of strangers: but these offer them of high courtesie, yea the kings themselves.

The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well provided of swords and targets, with daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their mettall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store.

They have an house in every village for their common assembly: every day they meete twise, men, women, and children, bringing with them such victuals as they thinke good, some frutes, some rice boiled, some hennes roasted, some sagu, having a table made 3. foote from the ground, whereon they set their meate, that every person sitting at the table may eate, one rejoycing in the company of another.

They boile their rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a sugar loaf, being ful of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great ende, wherein they put their rice drie, without any moisture. In the meane time they have ready another great earthen pot, set fast in a fornace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme substance they become, so that in the end they are a firme & good bread, of the which with oyle, butter, sugar, and other spices, they make divers sorts of meates very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature.

The French pocks is here very common to all, and they helpe themselves, sitting naked from ten to two in the Sunne, whereby the venemous humour is drawn out. Not long before our departure, they tolde us, that not farre off there were such great Ships as ours, wishing us to beware: upon this our Captaine would stay no longer.

From Java Major we sailed for the cape of Good Hope, which was the first land we fell withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other land,



untill we came to Sierra Leona, upon the coast of Guinea : notwithstanding we ranne hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirme, that it is the most dangerous Cape of the world, never without intolerable stormes and present danger to travailers, which come neere the same.

This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it the 18. of June.

From thence we continued our course to Sierra Leona, on the coast of Guinea, where we arrived the 22. of July, and found necessarie provisions, great store of Elephants, Oisters upon trees of one kind, spawning and increasing infinitely, the Oister suffering no budde to grow. We departed thence the 24. day.

We arrived in England the third of November 1580. being the third yeere of our departure.

The names of the Kings or Princes of Java at the time of our English mens being there.

{ Raja Donaw.	{ Raja Tymbanton.
{ Raja Rabacapala.	{ Raja Mawgbange.
{ Raja Bacabatra.	{ Raja Patimara.

Certaine wordes of the naturall language of Java, learned and observed by our men there.

{ Sabuck, silke.	{ Larnike, drinke.
{ Sagu, bread of the Countrey.	{ Paree, ryce in the huske
{ Braas, sodden ryce.	{ Bebeck, a ducke.
{ Calapa, Cocos.	{ Anjange, a deere.
{ Cricke, a dagger.	{ Popran, oyntment.
{ Catcha, a looking glasse	{ Coar, the head
{ Arbo, an oxe.	{ Endam, raine.
{ Vados, a goate.	{ Jonge, a shippe.
{ Cabo, golde.	{ Chay, the sea.
{ Gardange, a plantane	{ Sapelo, ten in number.
{ Hiam, a henne.	{ Dopollo, twentie
{ Sevit, linnen cloth.	{ Treda, no.
{ Doduck, blew cloth.	{ Lau, understand you.
{ Totopps, one of their caps	{ Bayer, goe.
{ Gula, blacke sugar.	{ Adadizano, I will fetch it
{ Tadon, a woman.	{ Suda, ynough.

The relation of a Voyage made by a Pilot called Nuno da Silva for the Vice-roy of new Spaine, the 20. of May, in the yere of our Lord 1579. in the citie of Mexico, from whence it was sent to the Vice-roy of the Portugall-Indies : wherein is set downe the course and actions passed in the Voyage of Sir Francis Drake that tooke the aforesayd Nuno da Silva at S. Iago one of the Islands of Cabo Verde, and caried him along with him through the Streights of Magellan, to the Haven of Guatulco in new Spaine, where he let him goe againe.



UNO DA SILVA borne in Porto, a Citizen and inhabitant of Guaia, saith, that hee departed out of his house in the beginning of November in the yeere of our Lorde 1577. taking his course to Cabo Verde, or The greene Cape, where he anchored with his Shippe close by the Haven of the Island of Sant Iago, one of the Islandes of Cabo Verde aforesayde, beeing the nineteenth of January in the yeere of our Lord 1578. And lying there, there came sixe ships, which seemed to be Englishmen, whereof the Admirall boarded his ship, and by force with his men tooke him out of his ship, bringing him in the boate aboard the Admirals shippe, leaving some of his best men aboard his ship : and although



the fortresse of the Island shot foure or five times at them, yet they hurt not the Englishmen : who having done, set saile from thence to the Island of Brava, taking with them the ship of the sayd Nuno da Silva : being there, they filled certaine vessels with fresh water : from thence holding their course, inward to sea, having first with a boat set the men of Nuno da Silvas ship on land, onely keeping Nuno da Silva in his ship, as also his ship with the wines that were therein. And Nuno da Silva saith, the cause why they kept him on boord was, because they knew him to bee a pilot for the coast of Brasilia, that hee might bring them to such places in those countreys as had fresh water.

Being put off from the Island of Brava, they helde their course to the land of Brasilia, which they descried upon the first of Aprill, under the height of thirtie degrees : and without landing or taking in fresh water, they helde on their course to Rio de la Plata, that is, The river of silver, lying under five and thirtie degrees, little more or lesse : where they went on land, and provided themselves of fresh water.

From thence they helde on their course till they came under nine and thirtie degrees, where they ankered : and beeing there they left two of their sixe shippes behinde them, and sailed but foure in companie (that of Nuno da Silva being one) till they came to the Bay called Baya de las Islas, that is, The Bay of the Ilands, lying under nine and fortie degrees, where it is sayde, that Magellan lay and wintered there with his shippe, when hee first discovered the Streight, which now holdeth his name. Into this Bay the twentieth of June they entred, and there ankered so close to the land, that they might send to it with a harquebuse shot : and there they sawe the land to bee inhabited with Indians, that were apparelled with skinnies, with their legges from the knees downeward, and their armes from the elbows downeward naked, all the rest of their bodies beeing clothed, with bowes and arrowes in their handes, being subtile, great, and well formed people, and strong and high of stature : where sixe of the Englishmen went on land to fetch fresh water, and before they leapt on land, foure of the Indians came unto their boate, to whome the Englishmen gave bread and wine : and when the Indians had well eaten and drunke, they departed thence : and going somewhat farre from them, one of the Indians cryed to them, and sayde : *Magallanes, Esta he minha Terra*, that is, *Magallanes, this is my country* : and because the Englishmen followed them, it seemed the Indians fledde upward into the land, and beeing somewhat farre off, they turned backe againe, and with their arrowes slewe two of the English

shippers, one being an Englishman, the other a Netherlander : the rest came backe againe and saved themselves in the boate, wherewith they presently put off from the shore. Here they stayed till the seventeenth of August, upon the which day they set saile, running along by the coast about a league and a halfe from the land, (for there it is all faire and good ground, at twentie, and five and twentie fathome deepe) and were about foure or five dayes before they came to the mouth or entrie of the Streight : but because the wind was contrary, they stayed till the 24 of August before they entred.

The entrie or mouth of the Streight is about a league broad, on both sides being bare and flatte land : on the North side they sawe Indians making great fires, but on the South side they saw no people stirring. The foure and twentieth day aforesayd, they beganne to enter into the Streight, with an Eastnortheast wind. This Streight may bee about an hundred and tenne leagues long, and in bredth a league. About the entry of the Streight, and halfe way into it, it runneth right foorth without any windings or turnings : and from thence about eight or tenne leagues towards the ende, it hath some boutes and windings, among the which there is one so great a hooke or headland, that it seemed to runne into the other land : and there it is lesse then a league broad from one land to the other : and from thence forward it runneth straight out againe : And although you finde some crookings, yet they are nothing to speake of. The issue of the Streight lieth Westward, and about eight or tenne leagues before you come to the ende, then the Streight beginneth to bee broader, and it is all high land to the ende thereof, after you are eight leagues within the Streight, for the first eight leagues after you enter is low flat land, as I sayd before : and in the entrie of the Streight you find the streame to runne from the South sea to the North sea.

And after they began to saile in with the Eastnortheast wind, being entred they passed along without any let or hinderance either of wind or weather : and because the high land on both sides lay covered with snow, and that all the Streight is faire and cleare, they helde their course a harquebuse-shot in length from off the North side, having nine and tenne fathome depth, with good ground, as I said before, where (if neede require) a man may anker : the hilles on both sides being full of trees, some of the hilles and trees reaching downe to the sea side in some places having plaine and even land : and there they sawe not any great rivers, but some small rivers that issued out of the rifies and breaches of the land : and in the countrey where the great Cape or crooking is, on the South side they saw



certaine Indian fishermen in their Canoas or skiffs, being such as they saw first on the North side, but more people they saw not on the South side.

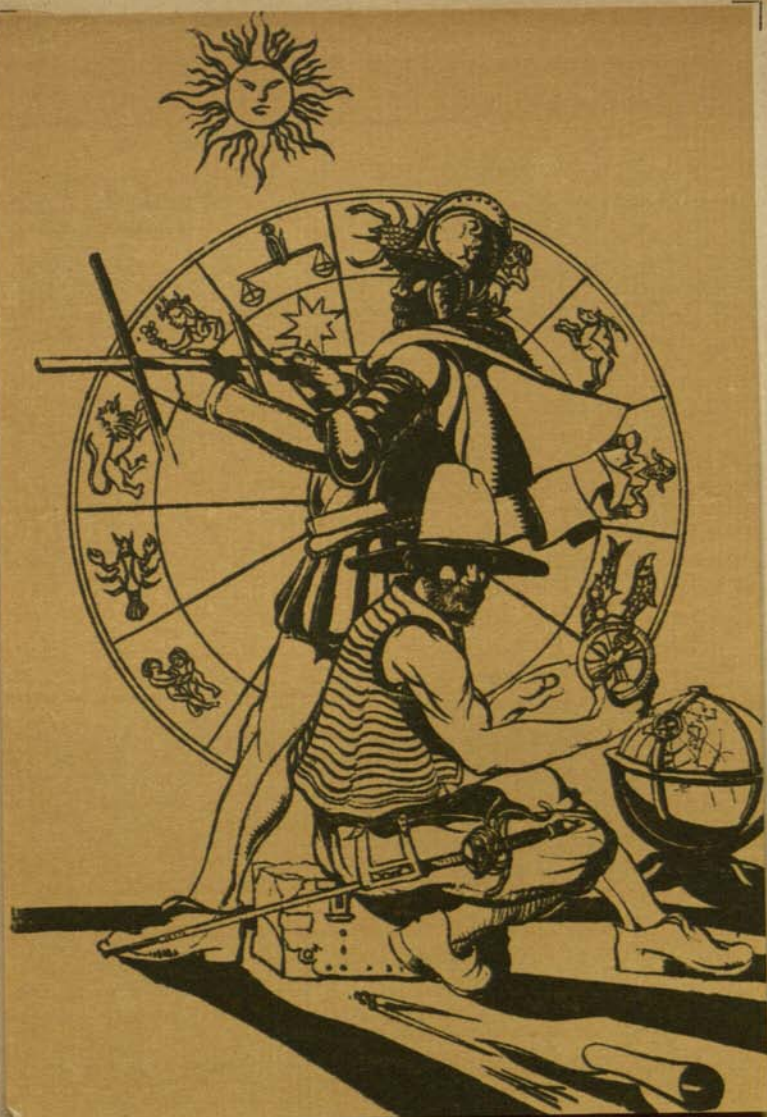
Being out of the Streight on the other side, upon the sixt of September of the aforesaid yeere, they held their course Northwest for the space of three dayes, and the third day they had a Northeast wind, that by force drave them Westsouthwest, which course they held for the space of ten or twelve dayes with few sailes up : and because the wind began to be very great, they tooke in all their sailes, and lay driving till the last of September.

The 24 day of the same moneth having lost the sight of one of their shippes which was about an hundred tunne, then againe they hoised saile because the winde came better, holding their course Northeast for the space of seven dayes, and at the ende of the sayde seven dayes, they had the sight of certayne Islands, which they made towards for to anker by them, but the weather would not permit them : and being there, the wind fell North-west : whereupon they sailed Westsouthwest.

The next day they lost the sight of another ship of their company, for it was very foule weather, so that in the ende the Admirals shippe was left alone, for the ship of Nuno da Silva was left in the Bay where they wintered before they entered into the Streights : and with this foule weather they ranne till they were under seven and fiftie degrees, where they entred into a haven of an Island, and ankered about the length of the shot of a great piece from the land, at twentie fathome deepe, where they stayed three or foure dayes, and the wind comming Southward, they weyed anker, holding their course Northward for the space of two daies, and then they espied a small uninhabited Island, where being arrived, they stroke sailes, and hoised out their boate, and there they tooke many birds and Seales.

The next day they set saile againe, holding their course Northnortheast, and North, to another Island lying five or sixe leagues from the firme land, on the North side of the Streight, where they ankered about a quarter of a league from the land, in twelve fathome water. This Island is small and lowe land, and full of Indians, the Island being altogether possessed and inhabited by them, where they hoysed out their boate, wherein the Admirall and twelve Englishmen entred, going to fetch fresh water, and to seeke for victuals : and being landed upon the Island, the Indians in exchange of other things, brought two Spanish sheepe, and a little Maiz or rootes whereof they make bread, and because it was late, they returned againe unto their ship, without doing any other thing for that day.

The next day the said Captaine with the aforesaid twelve men being

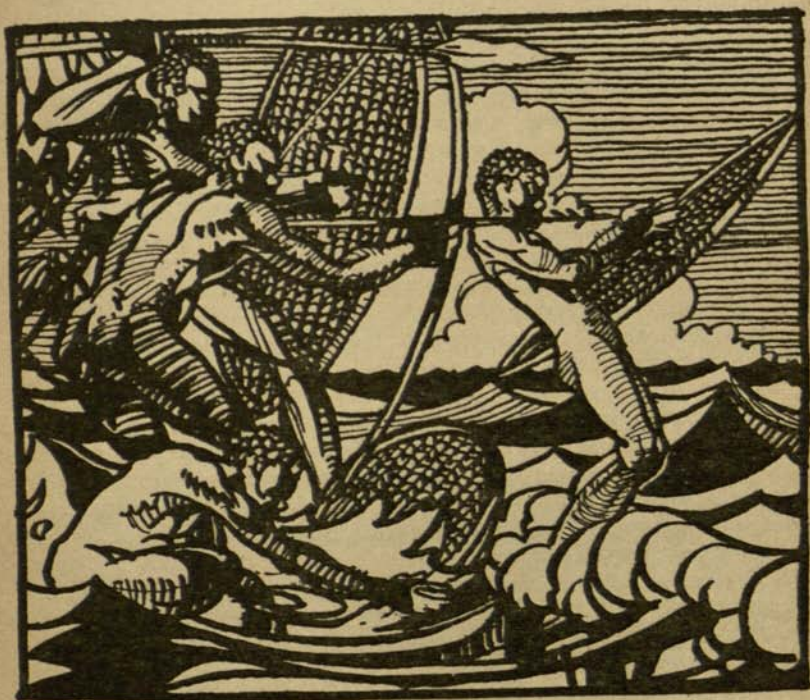






*The relation of a Voyage made by a Pilot*

harquebusiers, rowed to land againe, and set two of their company on shore with their vessels to fetch fresh water, and by the place where they should fill their water there lay certaine Indians secretly hidden, that fell upon the two Englishmen and tooke them : which they in the boat perceiving, went



out to helpe them, but they were so assailed with stones & arrowes, that all or the most part of them were hurt, the Captaine himselfe being wounded with an arrow on the face, and with an other arrow in the head, whereby they were constrained to turne backe againe, without once hurting any of the Indians, and yet they came so neere the boate, that they tooke foure of their oares from them. This done, they set saile againe, running along the



coast with a South winde, sailing so for the space of sixe dayes, passing by the haven called Sant Iago, and put into another haven, and there they tooke an Indian that lay fishing in a Canoa, giving him linnen and butchers chopping knives, with other trifles, and not long after there came another Indian aboard their shippe called Felipe, and he spake Spanish, he gave the English Captaine notice of a certaine shippe that lay in the haven of Sant Iago, which they had left sixe leagues behind them : with that intelligence the Indian being their guide, the next day they set saile and went to the aforesayd haven of S. Iago, and entring therein, they tooke the said shippe, wherein they found a thousand seven hundred and 70 Botijas or Spanish pots full of wine, and other things : which having done, they left on land, where they tooke certaine sackes with meale, with whatsoever they could find ; they tooke likewise the ornaments and the reliques out of the Church, wherewith they departed from thence, taking the aforesayd shippe, with two men (that they found in her) with them, and so departed from that haven, which lyeth under 32 degrees and a halfe, running along by the coast till they came under one and thirtie, and thirtie degrees : which was the place where they had appointed to meete, and there to stay for ech other, if by tempest or foule weather they chanced to be separated, and so loose eche others company.

And comming under thirtie degrees, they found a very good haven, whereinto they entred, and ankered at sixe fathome deepe, the shot of a great peece from the land, which was right over against a river, where they tooke in sixe pipes of fresh water : and to defend them that fetched the water, they set twelve men upon the land, and being busied in filling of their water, they espied a company of men comming towards them, whereof halfe of them were Spaniards, being about two hundred and fifty horsemen, and as many footemen, but they had no sooner espied them, but they presently entred into the boat, and escaped away, loosing but one man.

The same night they set saile againe with both their ships, running along the coast about ten leagues farther, where they tooke in some fresh water, but because they perceived certaine horsemen, they departed without lading any more water.

From thence they followed on their course along the coast for the space of 30. leagues, where they entred into a desert or uninhabited haven : yet they went not on land, for every day they saw people upon the shore, & there they made out a smal pinnesse, the peeces wherof they brought ready framed out of England, and having prepared it, they launched it into the

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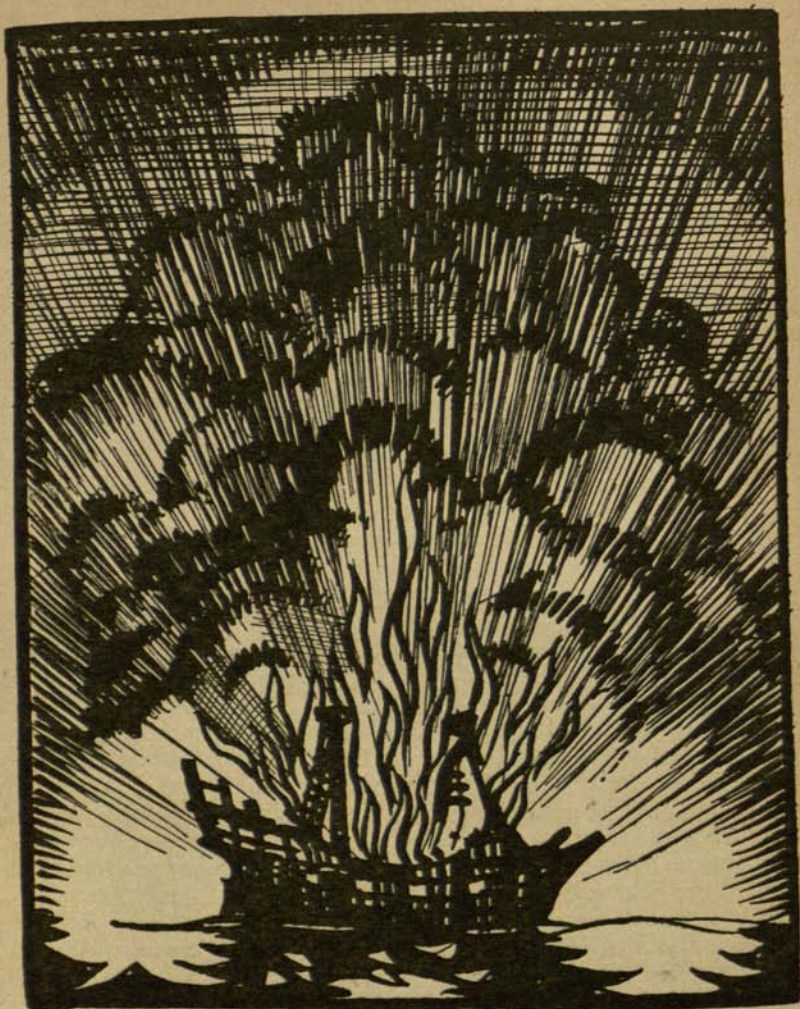
water, wherein the Captaine with fiftene men entred with the chiefe boatesman called John the Greeke, (being Master of the ship which they had taken in the haven of S. Iago,) wherewith they went to see if they could find the two shippes that they had lost by stormie weather, as I sayd before : and likewise thinking to goe on land to fill certaine vessels with fresh water, they durst not venture, for they saw people on all sides of the shore : so that in the ende they returned againe without hearing of the other ships : being there, they tooke all the ordinance out of their ship, and new dressed and rigged her : which done, they put a small peece of ordinance into the pinnesse, wherewith they set saile againe, following on their course.

Having sailed thirteene dayes, they came to an Island lying about the shotte of a base from the land, where they ankered, and there they found foure Indian fishermen in two Canoas who told them that on the firme land they might have fresh water, but they understanding that there was not much, and that it was somewhat within the land, would not spend any time about it, but set saile againe, leaving the fishermen with their Canoas, following on their course along by the shore.

The next day being somewhat further, they espied certaine Indian fishermen that were upon the land in their houses, which the English captaine perceiving, presently entred into his pinnesse, and rowed on land, where he tooke three of the said fishermen, taking with him halfe of the fish that lay packed upon the shore ready to be laden, with the which Indians and booty, they came on boord againe.

The next day following, they saw a barke laden with fish, that belonged to the Spaniards, with foure Indians in it. This barke with the Indians and the fish they tooke, and bound the Spanish ship to their sterne, and so drewe it after them, leaving the said Indians within it, who by night unbound the barke, and secretly made away with barke and fish, and were no more seene. The next day the Captaine went into the pinnesse, and because he saw certaine houses upon the shore, he made thither, and being on land, he found two men in them, one whereof he tooke, leaving the other behind, and there he found three thousand pezos of silver, (every pezo being the value of a ryall of eight,) and seven Indian sheepe, and hennes, & tooke al whatsoever they found : wherewith they departed from thence, following on their course. And two dayes after they came to the haven called Arica, where they found two ships, the one laden with goods and Spanish wares, out of the which they tooke only two hundred Botijas, or Spanish pots with wine, and out of the other seven and thirty barres of silver, which are peeces





of ten or twelve pound eche barre, and thinking to leape on shore (with two barks that they found in the said haven, with about seven and thirty harquebuses and bowes) they perceived on the land certaine horsemen comming towards them, whereupon they left off their pretence, and tooke with them a Negro that they found in the barks, with whom they returned aboard.

The next day in the morning they burnt the ship, that was laden with the Spanish wares, and tooke the other with them, passing forward with it on their course, the Captaine sailing along the shore with his pinnesse, and the ship keeping about a league from him to seaward, to seeke for a ship wherof they had intelligence : and having in that maner sailed about five and forty leagues, they found the ship that lay at anker in a haven, who about two houres before had bene advertised of an English pirate or sea-rover, and had discharged eight hundred barres of silver out of her, and hidden it on the land, which silver belonged to the king of Spaine, of the which silver the Englishmen had received some intelligence, but they durst not go on land, because there were many Indians and Spaniards that stood to gard it, and they found nothing in the ship but three pipes of water : the ship they tooke with them, and being about a league in the sea, they hoysed up all her sailes and let her drive, doing the like with the ship that they had taken in Arica, as also the other of Sant Iago, which likewise they let drive, following on their course with their owne ship, and the pinnesse.

Being seven or eight leagues from the haven of Calao de Lyma, they espied three ships, and boarding one of them, they tooke three men out of her, and so held on their course towards Calao de Lyma, where they entred, being about two or three houres within night, sailing in betweene all the ships that lay there, being seventeene in number : and being among the ships, they asked for the ship that had laden the silver, but when answere was made them, that the silver was layd on land, they cut the cables of the ships, and the masts of two of the greatest ships, and so left them. At the same time there arrived a ship from Panama laden with wares and merchandise of Spaine, that ankered close by the English ship, which was, while the English Captaine sought in the other ships for the silver. Assoone as the ship of Panama had ankered, there came a boat from the shore to search it : but because it was in the night, they let it alone till morning, and comming to the English ship, they asked what ship it was : whereupon one of the Spanish prisoners (by the English Captaines commandement) answered and said it was the ship of Michael Angelo, that came from



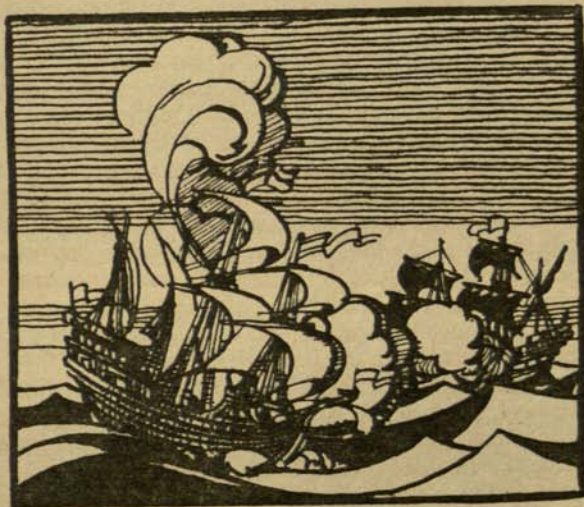
Chili : which they of the boat hearing sent a man on board, who climbing up, light upon one of the great peeces, wherewith he was afraid, and presently stept backe againe into the boat (because the shippes that lay there, and that sailed in those countreys, used to carry no great shot) and therewith they were abashed, and made from it : which the ship of Panama hearing, that was newly come in, shee judged it to be a rover, and therewith cutting her cables, shee put to sea, which the Englishmen perceiving, shipped certaine men in their pinnesse, and followed her : and being hard by her, they badde her strike, which they of the ship refused to doe, and with a harquebuse shot killed one of the Englishmen, wherewith they turned againe into their shippe, and presently set saile, following after the ship, which not long after they overtooke : which they of the shippe perceiving hoysed out their boate, and leaping into it, rowed to the land, leaving the shippe with all the goods, which the Englishmen presently tooke, and with her sayled on their course.

The next day they saw a boat with sailes making towards them, whereby they presently mistrusted it to be a spie, and not long after they perceived two great ships comming towards them, which made the English thinke they came to fight with them, whereupon they let the shippe of Panama drive, therein leaving John the Greeke, with the two men that they had taken the same day that they entred into the Calao de Lyma, as I sayde before, and presently hoysed all their sailes, and sailed forward, not once setting eye againe upon the aforesayde ships, for they made towards the ship of Panama, which the Englishmen let drive. From thence they sailed againe along the coast, following on their course : and having sailed certaine dayes, they met a frigate that went towards Lyma, laden with wares and merchandises of the countrey, from whence the Englishmen tooke a lampe and a fountaine of silver, and asked the pilote being a Spaniard, if they met not with a ship, that they understood should be laden with silver, but the one Pilote saide he met her not, and the other said he saw her about three dayes before. This frigate came not to the ship, but to the pinnesse, wherein the Captaine sailed, for the pinnesse ranne close by the shore, and the ship kept a league and a halfe from the lande : whereupon they let the frigate goe, following on their course.

Two dayes after, they came to the haven called Payta, where they found a ship laden with Spanish wares, which the pinnesse boarded, and tooke without any resistance : for assoone as the Spaniards perceived the Englishmen, they presently made to land with their boate, and two of them leapt

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into the sea, none staying in the shippe, but the Master, Pilote, and some Negros, out of the which shippe the Englishmen tooke the pilote, and all the bread, hennes and a hogge, and so sailed forward with the ship : but being about two harquebuse shot to seaward, they let it goe againe, not taking any thing out of it, and asking after the ship, which they sought for, they told them that about two dayes before she departed from that place, where-with they followed on their course, and before night they met with a ship



of Panama, which they presently boarded, but tooke nothing from her but onely a Negro, and so left it, holding on their course.

The next day being the first of Februarie, they met another ship that sailed to Panama, laden with fish and other victuals, and fortie barres of silver, and some gold, but I know not how much, which they tooke, and sent the passengers (with two friers that were in her) in a boate to land. The next day they hanged a man of the ship, because hee would not confesse two plates of golde that he had taken, which after they found about him : which done, they let the ship drive, following on their course.

The first of March towards noone, they espied the ship laden with



silver, being about foure leagues to seaward from them : and because the English ship was somewhat heauie before, whereby it sailed not as they would have it, they tooke a company of Botijas or Spanish pots for oyle, and filling them with water, hung them by ropes at the sterne of the ship to make her sayle the better : and the shippe that sayled towards Panama made towards the English shippe to know what shee was, thinking it to bee one of the shippes that used to saile along the coastes, and to traffique in the countrey : and beeing hard by her, the English Captaine badde them strike, but the other refusing to doe it, with a great peece hee shotte her mast overboard, and having wounded the Master with an arrowe, the shippe presently yeelded, which they tooke, and sayled with her further into the sea, all that night and the next day and night, making all the way they could.

The third day being out of sight of the land, they beganne to search the ship, and to lade the goods out of her into their ship, which was a thousand three hundred barres or peeces of silver, and foureteene chestes with ryals of eight, and with gold : but what quantitie it was I know not, onely the passengers sayd that there was great store, and that three hundred barres of the silver belonged to the king, the rest belonged to certaine merchants. That done, they let the ship with the men saile on their course, putting the three pilots in her that they brought with them, so that as then they had none but their owne men aboard, being the sixt of March, and from thence they held their course towards the land of Nicaragua.

The thirteenth of March, either the day before or after, in the morning they descried land, not being very high, being a small Island two leagues from the firme land, and there they found a small Bay, wherein they ankered at five fathome deepe close by the land, and there they stayed till the twentie day. Upon the which day there passed a Frigate close by the Island, which with their pinnesse they followed, and taking her, brought her to the English ship, which frigate was laden with Salsaperilla, and Botijas or pots with butter and hony, and with other things. The English Captaine went on boord, and cast the Salsaperilla on the land, leaving all the rest of the wares in the frigate, and then he put all his peeces into the frigate, that so he might lay his ship on shore, to new calke and trimme her, which continued till the three and twentie or foure and twentie of March. Which done, and having made provision of wood and fresh water, they held on their course along by the coast, sayling Westward, taking the sayd frigate and her men with them, and having sailed two dayes, they tooke their men out of her, and set them in the pinnesse, among the which were foure sailers,

that meant to sayle to Panama, and from thence to China, whereof one they tooke, with the letters and patents that hee had about him, among the which were the letters of the king of Spaine, sent to the governour of the Philippinas, as also the sea-cards wherewith they should make their voyage, and direct themselves in their course.

And so sailing untill the sixt of Aprill, about evening they discovered a shippe that held two leagues to seaward from the land : and before the next day in the morning they were hard by her, and suddenly fell upon her while her men slept, and presently made the men enter into their ship, among the which was one Don Francisco Xarate. Which done, they followed on their course with the sayd ship, out of the which they tooke certaine packes and other wares, but I know not what it was. They likewise tooke a Negro out of it, and three dayes after they both let the ship and men goe whether they would, setting therein the two saylers that should goe for China, which they had taken in the frigate, keeping onely one sailer to shewe them where they should find fresh water, to the which ende they tooke the emptie vessels with them to fill with water, and so kept on their course to the haven of Guatulco, where they put in, being upon Munday the thirteenth of Aprill, and having ankered, they stayed there till the sixe and twentie of Aprill : and about three or foure houres within the night, they set sayle, holding their course Westward, and an houre or two before they let Nuno da Silva goe, putting him into another ship, that lay in the haven of Guatulco.

From thence forward the Englishmen passed on their voyage, to the Islands of Malucos, and from thence they passed by the Cape de Buena Esperanza, and so to England, as it is well knowen, so that this is onely the description of the voyage that they made, while the said pilote Nuno da Silva was with them.

Hereafter followeth the copie of a letter written by sir Francis Drake (being in the South sea of New Spaine, in his ship called *The Pellican* or the *Golden Hinde* with the ship of *Sant John de Anton*, which hee had taken) to his companions in the other shippes that were of his company, and by foule weather separated from him, as I said before : The contents whereof were these :

Master Winter, if it pleaseth God that you should chance to meete with this ship of *Sant John de Anton*, I pray you use him well, according to my word and promise given unto them, and if you want any thing that is in this ship of *Sant John de Anton*, I pray you pay them double the value for



it, which I will satisfie againe, and command your men not to doe her any hurt : and what composition or agreement we have made, at my returne into England I will by Gods helpe perfourme, although I am in doubt that this letter will never come to your hands : notwithstanding I am the man I have promised to be : Beseeching God, the Saviour of all the world, to have us in his keeping, to whom onely I give all honour, praise and glory. What I have written, is not only to you M. Winter, but also to M. Thomas, M. Charles, M. Caube, and M. Anthonie, with all our other good friends, whom I commit to the tuition of him that with his blood redeemed us, and am in good hope, that we shal be in no more trouble, but that he will helpe us in adversitie, desiring you for the Passion of Christ, if you fall into any danger, that you will not despaire of Gods mercy, for hee will defend you and preserve you from all danger, and bring us to our desired haven, to whom bee all honour, glory, and praise for ever and ever. Amen. Your sorowfull Captaine, whose heart is heavy for you : Francis Drake.



THOMAS CAVENDISH (1560—1592) AND  
JOHN DAVYS (1550—1605)



IN Thomas Cavendish we find the perfect and self-confessed, pirate who having almost dissipated his inheritance, spent what remained of it in building and fitting out a fleet with the object of repeating Drake's successes in the South Seas. Born at Trimley St. Martin, Suffolk, in 1560, at the early age of twenty-five he commanded his own ship in the first ill-fated attempt to found a colony in Virginia. This expedition was under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, whose behaviour towards the natives was hardly a good example to young colonists, and may, by force of example, have contributed to the cruelty and ferocity which Cavendish in after-years himself displayed. Not that he was naturally ferocious, for in a letter written shortly before his death to Sir Tristram Gorges he shows himself to have been a man of deep and tender feelings; frequently we find that even the most high-minded gentlemen of the period were apt to look upon all savages as so many beasts. During the year following his return from Virginia he sailed away on his voyage of circumnavigation. In many ways it is very similar to Drake's voyage, but, of course, one cannot fail to remark that whereas Drake's success was due to brilliant organisation, discipline and foresight, Cavendish's exploit was a happy-go-lucky affair, leaving behind it a trail of fire and bloodshed, clouded from time to time by murmurs of mutiny, and kindling a fierce animosity in the hearts of such natives as were so unfortunate to lie in his path where Drake had promoted trust and good feeling.

His last voyage, however, is of particular interest for two reasons. In the first place, it gives us a graphic description of an expedition which experienced every manner of disaster, and whose small company of survivors owed their escape to a series of miracles. Many expeditions must have perished under similar circumstances, and with them all record of their hardships; this grim tragedy reveals to us the perils and terrors which all those who ran the gauntlet of the Straits of Magellan had to face; with



such a rule as this are we better able to gauge the infinite courage of all those who held their westerly course undaunted by the tumultuous seas and grey walls of the narrow passage to the South Seas.

Secondly, this journal introduces us to one of the miracles to which the survivors owed their lives, namely John Davys. Had John Davys expended his energies upon spoiling the Spaniards rather than in perpetual conflict with the forces of Nature, he would have enjoyed as wide a fame as Drake. As a navigator and explorer he is without a rival among his contemporaries. He was born about 1550, and with characteristic self-assurance he describes himself as being "of Sandridge, a gentleman"; he never fell below his self-estimation. Sandridge is near Dartmouth, a neighbourhood that can boast of having been the playground of many distinguished navigators. Consequently Davys enjoyed lifelong friendships with Raleigh and the Gilberts; it is probable that it was from Humphrey Gilbert that he caught the infectious idea of a North-West passage. In search of this he conducted several expeditions; during the first he sighted Greenland. The third, in 1587, resulted in the discovery of the strait which still bears his name.

He took an active part in the defeat of the Armada, and he is said to have been in command of a 20-ton tender to the *Ark Royal*, the Lord Admiral's flagship. In 1591 he embarked upon this unhappy venture, and, after losing Cavendish during bad weather in the strait, we find that he preferred to wait for four months in these inhospitable regions rather than give up his general for lost or forsake an enterprise once undertaken. It appears that he accompanied Cavendish on the understanding that when the Pacific coast of North America was reached he should be at liberty to take his ship and a pinnace in order to search once more for a North-West passage. His tenacity, therefore, in attempting again and again to reach the South Sea, was, in a measure, inspired by this popular and noble delusion.

He returned in 1593, only to find, like Enoch Arden, that his wife, who bore the singularly inappropriate name Faith, had given him up for lost, and had taken up with a coiner. This in itself must have been very painful to a man of Davys' principles, but worse was to come: the coiner trumped up a charge against the injured husband, and Davys was arrested, but was finally released owing to Raleigh bringing his influence to bear on Sir Robert Cecil.

After this cheerless home-coming he devoted himself to writing books on navigation and seamanship; one of these, "Seamen's Secrets," ran into eight editions.

*Thomas Cavendish (1560—1592) and John Davys (1550—1605)*

But in 1590 he was afloat once more, and for fifteen years adventure followed adventure in different seas and oceans. In 1604 we find him pilot of the *Tiger*, a ship belonging to Sir Edward Michelbourne cruising to Sumatra. Near Singapore the *Tiger* fell in with a Japanese pirate junk, which seemed to be in considerable distress. Her crew befriended the Japanese, with tragic consequences. The pirates treacherously set upon them and, although finally overcome, succeeded in killing twenty or thirty Englishmen. Among the dead was John Davys. Hearing the disturbance, he rushed out of his cabin, but ran into a party of the murderers, who dragged him back and cut him to pieces.





The admirable and prosperous  
VOYAGE OF THE WORSHIPFULL MASTER  
THOMAS CANDISH OF TRIMLEY

in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, into the South  
sea, and from thence round about the circumfe-  
rence of the whole earth, begun in the yeere  
of our Lord 1586, and finished 1588.

6225

*Written by Master Francis Pretty lately of Ey in Suffolke, a Gentleman  
employed in the same action.*



EE departed out of Plimmouth on Thursday the 21. of  
July 1586. with 3. sayles, to wit, The Desire a ship of  
120. tunnes, The Content of 60 tuns, and the Hugh gallant  
a barke of 40. tunnes : in which small Fleete were 123.  
persons of all sortes with all kinde of furniture and victuals  
sufficient for the space of two yeeres, at the charges of  
the worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in  
the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, beeing our Generall.

On Tuesday the 26. of the same moneth, we were 45. leagues from Cape  
Finis terræ where wee mette with 5. sayles of Biskaynes comming from the  
Grande Bay in Newfound-land, as we supposed, which our Admirall shot  
at, and fought with them 3. houres, but wee tooke none of them by reason  
the night grew on.

The first of August wee came in sight of Forteventura, one of the Isles  
of the Canaries, about ten of the clocke in the morning.

On Sunday being the 7. of August, we were gotten as high as Rio del oro  
on the coast of Barbarie.

*Voyage of the Worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley*

On Munday the 19. we fell with cape Blanco : but the winde blew so much at the North, that we could not get up where the Canters doe use to ride and fish : therefore wee lay off 6. houres West Southwest, because of the sand which lieth off the cape Southwest and by South.

The 15. day of the same moneth we were in the height of cape Verde by estimation 50. leagues off the same.

The 18. Sierra leona did beare East off us, beeing 45. leagues from us : and the same day the winde shifted to the Northwest, so that by the 20. day of the sayd moneth we were in 6. degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$  to the Northward, from the Equinoctiall line.

The 23. we put roome for Sierra leona, and the 25. day wee fell with the poynt on the South side of Sierra leona, which Master Brewer knew very well, and went in before with the Content which was Vice-admirall : and we had no lesse then 5. fathoms water when we had least, and had for 14. leagues in Southwest all the way running into the harbour of Sierra leona 16. 14. 12. 10 and 8. fathoms of water.

The 26. of the said moneth we put into the harborough, and in going in we had by the Southermost point when we had least 5. fathoms water faire by the rocke as it lieth at the said point, and after we came, 2 or 3. cables length within the said rocke, we never had lesse then 10. fathoms, untill wee came up to the roade, which is about a league from the poynt, borrowing alwayes on the South side untill you come up to the watering place, in which Baye is the best roade ; but you must ride farre into the Baye, because there run marvellous great tydes in the offin, and it floweth into the road next of any thing at a Southeast and by East moone.

It is out of England to this place 930. leagues : which wee ranne from the 21. of July to the 26. of this moneth of August.

On Saturday being the 27. day there came 2. Negros aboard our Admiral from the shore, and made signes unto our Generall that there was a Portugal ship up within the harborough ; so the Hugh Gallant beeing the Rere-admirall went up 3. or 4. leagues, but for want of a Pilot they sought no farther : for the harborough runneth 3. or 4. leagues up more, and is of a marvellous bredth and very dangerous, as we learned afterward by a Portugal.

On Sunday the 28. the Generall sent some of his company on shore, and there as they played and daunced all the forenoone among the Negros, to the end to have heard some good newes of the Portugal ship, toward their



comming aboard they espied a Portugal which lay hid among the bushes, whom we tooke and brought away with us the same night : and he tolde us it was very dangerous going up with our boates for to seeke the ship that was at the towne. Whereupon wee went not to seeke her, because we knew he told us the trueth : for we bound him and made him fast, and so examined him. Also he told us that his ship was there cast away, and that there were two more of his company among the Negros : the Portugals name was Emmanuel, and was by his occupation a Calker, belonging to the Port of Portugal.

On Munday morning being the 29. day, our Generall landed with 70. men or thereabout, and went up to their towne, where we burnt 2. or 3. houses, and tooke what spoyle wee would, which was but litle, but al the people fled : and in our retiring aboard in a very litle plaine at their townes ende they shot their arrowes at us out of the woods, and hurt 3. or 4. of our men ; their arrowes were poysoned, but yet none of our men miscaryed at that time, thanked be God. Their towne is marveilous artificially builded with mudde walles, and built round, with their yards paled in and kept very cleane as well in their streetes as in their houses. These Negros use good obedience to their king, as one of our men sayd, which was with them in pawne for the Negros which came first. There were in their towne by estimation about one hundred houses.

The first of September there went many of our men on shore at the watering place, and did wash shirts very quietly all the day : and the second day they went againe, and the Negros were in ambush round about the place : and the carpenter of the Admiral going into the wood to doe some speciall businesse, espied them by good fortune. But the Negros rushed out upon our men so suddenly, that in retiring to our boates, many of them were hurt : among whom one William Pickman a souldier was shot into the thigh, who plucking the arrow out, broke it, and left the head behinde ; and he told the Chirurgions that he plucked out all the arrow, because he would not have them lance his thigh : whereupon the poyson wrought so that night, that hee was marveilously swollen, and all his belly and prive parts were as blacke as ynke, and the next morning he died, the peece of the arrow with the poyson being plucked out of his thigh.

The third day of the sayd moneth, divers of our fleete went up 4 myles within the harbour with our boate, and caught great store of fish, and went on shore and tooke Limmons from the trees, and comming aboard againe, saw two Buffes.

*Voyage of the Worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley*

The 6. day we departed from Sierra leona, and went out of the harborough, and stayed one tide 3. leagues from the point of the mouth of the Harborough in 6. fathoms, and it floweth South Southwest.

On Wednesday being the 7. of the same moneth wee departed from one of the Isles of Cape Verde, aliàs the Isles of Madrabumba, which is 10. leagues distant from the poynt of Sierra leona : and about five of the clocke the same night we anchored 2. miles off the Iland in 6. fathoms water, and landed the same night, and found Plantans only upon the Ilande.

The 8. day one of our boats went out & sounded round about the Iland, & they passed through a sound at the west end of the Iland, where they found 5. fathoms round about the Iland, until they came unto the very gutte of the sound, and then for a cast or two they had but two fathoms, and presently after, 6. fathoms, and so deeper and deeper. And at the East ende of the Iland there was a towne, where Negros doe use at sometimes, as we perceived by their provision.

There is no fresh water on all the South side, as we could perceive, but on the North side three or foure very good places of fresh water : and all the whole Iland is a wood, save certaine litle places where their houses stand, which are invironed round about with Plantan-trees, whereof the fruit is excellent meat. This place is subject marveilous much to thunder, raine, and lightning in this moneth. I thinke the reason is, because the sunne is so neere the line Equinoctiall.

On Saturday the tenth wee departed from the sayde Iland about 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde being at the Southwest.

The last of October running West Southwest about 24. leagues from Cape Frio in Brasile, we fell with a great mountaine which had an high round knoppe on the top of it standing from it like a towne, with two litle Ilands from it.

The first of November wee went in betweene the Iland of Saint Sebastian and the mayne land, and had our things on shore, and set up a Forge, and had our caske on shore : our coopers made hoopes, and so we remayned there untill the 23. day of the same moneth : in which time we fitted our things, built our Pinnesse, and filled our fresh water. And while our Pinnesse was in building, there came a Canoa from the river of Jenero, meaning to goe to S. Vincent, wherein were sixe naked slaves of the Countrey people, which did rowe the Canoa, and one Portugal. And the Portugal knewe Christopher Hare Master of the Admirall, for that Master Hare had bene at Saint Vincent in the Minion of London in the yeere 1581.



And thinking to have John Whithal the Englishman which dwelleth at Saint Vincent come unto us, which is twentie leagues from this Harborough with some other, thereby to have had some fresh victuals, we suffered the Portugal to goe with a letter unto him, who promised to returne or send some answer within ten dayes, for that we told him we were Marchants, and would traffique with them : but we never received answer from him



any more ; and seeing that he came not according to appoyntment, our businesse being dispatched wee weyed anchor, and set sayle from S. Sebastian on the 23. of November.

The 16. day of December we fell with the coast of America in 47. degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ . the land bearing West from us about 6. leagues off : from which place we ran along the shore, untill we came into 48. degrees. It is a steepe beach all along.

The 17. day of December in the afternoone we entred into an har-

borough, where our Admirall went in first : wherefore our Generall named the said harborough Port Desire : in which harborough is an Iland or two, where there is wonderful great store of Seales, and another Iland of birds which are grey guls. These Seales are of a wonderful great bignesse, huge, and monstrous of shape, and for the fore-part of their bodies cannot be compared to any thing better then to a lion : their head, and necke, and fore-parts of their bodies are full of rough haire : their feete are in maner of a finne, and in forme like unto a mans hand : they breed and cast every moneth, giving their yong milke, yet continually get they their living in the sea, and live altogether upon fish : their yong are marveilous good meate, and being boyled or rosted, are hardly to be knowen from lambe or mutton. The olde ones be of such bignesse and force, that it is as much as 4. men are able to doe to kill one of them with great cowl-staves : and hee must be beaten downe with striking on the head of him : for his body is of that bignesse that foure men could never kill him, but only on the head. For being shotte through the body with an Harquebuzer or a Musket, yet he will goe his way into the sea, and never care for it at the present. Also the fowles that were there, were very good meate, and great store of them : they have burrowes in the ground like conies, for they cannot flie. They have nothing but downe upon their pinions : they also fish and feede in the sea for their living, and breede on shore.

This harborough is a very good place to trimme ships in, and to bring them on ground, and grave them in : for there ebbeth and floweth much water : therefore wee graved and trimmed all our ships there.

The 24. of December being Christmas Even, a man and a boy of the Rere-admirall went some fortie score from our ships into a very faire greene valley at the foote of the mountaines, where was a litle pitte or well which our men had digged and made some 2. or 3. dayes before to get fresh water : for there was none in all the Harborough ; and this was but brackish : therefore this man and boy came thither to wash their linnen : and being in washing at the sayde Well, there were great store of Indians which were come downe, and found the sayd man and boy in washing. These Indians being divided on eche side of the rockes, shotte at them with their arrowes and hurt them both, but they fledde presently, beeing about fiftie or threescore, though our Generall followed them but with 16. or 20. men. The mans name which was hurt was John Garge, the boyes name was Lutch : the man was shot cleane through the knee, the boy into the shoulder :



either of them having very sore wounds. Their arrowes are made of litle canes, and their heads are of a flint stone, set into the cane very artificially : they seldome or never see any Christians : they are as wilde as ever was a bucke or any other wilde beast : for wee followed them, and they ranne from us as it had bene the wildest thing in the worlde. Wee tooke the measure of one of their feete, and it was 18. inches long. Their use is when any of them dye, to bring him or them to the clifles by the sea-side, and upon the toppe of them they burie them, and in their graves are buried with them their bowes and arrowes, and all their jewels which they have in their life time, which are fine shelles which they finde by the sea side, which they cut and square after an artificiall maner : and all is layd under their heads. The grave is made all with great stones of great length and bignesse, being set all along full of the dead mans darts which he used when he was living. And they colour both their darts and their graves with a red colour which they use in colouring of themselves.

The 28 of December we departed out of the Port of Desire, and went to an Iland which lieth 3. leagues to the Southward of it ; where we trimmed our saved pengwins with salt for victual all that and the next day, and departed along the coast Southwest and by South.

The 30. day we fell with a rocke which lieth about 5. leagues from the land, much like unto Ediestone, which lieth off the sound of Plimouth, and we sounded, and had 8. fathoms rockie ground, within a mile thereof : the rocke bearing West Southwest. Wee went coasting along South Southwest, and found great store of Seales all along the coast. This rocke standeth in 48. degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ . to the Southward of the line.

The 2. day of Januarie wee fell with a very faire white Cape, which standeth in 51. degrees, and had 7. fathoms water a league off the land.

The third day of the foresayd moneth we fell with another great white cape, which standeth in 52. degrees and 45. minutes : from which Cape there runneth a lowe beach about a league to the Southward, and this beach reacheth to the opening of the dangerous Streight of Magellan, which is in divers places 5. or 6. leagues wide, and in two severall places more narrow. Under this Cape wee anchored and lost an anchor, for it was a great storme of foule weather, and lasted three dayes very dangerous.

The 6. day we put in for the Streights.

The 7. day betweene the mouth of the Streights and the narrowest place thereof, wee tooke a Spaniard whose name was Hernando, who was there with 23 Spaniards more, which were all that remayned of foure hundred,

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which were left there three yeeres before in these streights of Magellan, all the rest being dead with famine. And the same day wee passed through the narrowest of the Streights, where the aforesayd Spanyard shewed us the hull of a small Barke, which we judged to be a Barke called The John Thomas. It is from the mouth of the streights unto the narrowest of the Streights 14. leagues, and the course lieth West and by North. The mouth of the streights standeth in 52. degrees.

From the narrowest of the Streights unto Penguin Iland is 10. leagues, and lyeth West Southwest somewhat to the Southward, where wee anchored the 8. day, and killed and salted great store of Penguins for victuals.

The ninth day wee departed from Penguin Ilande, and ranne South Southwest to King Phillips citie which the Spaniards had built: which Towne or citie had foure Fortes, and every Fort had in it one cast peece, which peeces were buried in the ground, the cariages were standing in their places unburied: wee digged for them and had them all. They had contrived their Citie very well, and seated it in the best place of the Streights for wood and water: they had builded up their Churches by themselves: they had Lawes very severe among themselves, for they had erected a Gibet, whereon they had done execution upon some of their company. It seemed unto us that their whole living for a great space was altogether upon muskles and lympts: for there was not any thing else to bee had, except some Deere which came out of the mountaines downe to the fresh rivers to drinke. These Spaniards which were there, were onely come to fortifie the Streights,





to the ende that no other nation should have passage through into the South sea saving onely their owne : but as it appeared, it was not Gods will so to have it. For during the time that they were there, which was two yeeres at the least, they could never have any thing to growe or in any wise prosper. And on the other side the Indians oftentimes preyed upon them, untill their victuals grewe so short, (their store being spent which they had brought with them out of Spaine, and having no meanes to renew the same) that they dyed like dogges in their houses, and in their clothes, wherein we found them still at our comming, untill that in the ende the towne being wonderfully taynted with the smell and the savour of the dead people, the rest which remayned alive were driven to burie such things as they had there in their towne either for provision or for furniture, and so to forsake the towne, and to goe along the sea-side, and seeke their victuals to preserve them from sterving, taking nothing with them, but every man his harquebuzze and his furniture that was able to cary it (for some were not able to cary them for weakenesse) and so lived for the space of a yeere and more with rootes, leaves, and sometimes a foule which they might kill with their peece. To conclude, they were determined to have travailed towards the river of Plate, only being left alive 23. persons, whereof two were women, which were the remainder of 4. hundred. In this place we watered and woodded well and quietly. Our Generall named this towne Port famine : it standeth in 53. degrees by observation to the Southward.

The 14. day we departed from this place, and ran South southwest, and from thence southwest unto cape Froward 5. leagues West Southwest, which Cape is the Southermost part of all the streights, and standeth in the latitude of 54. degrees. From which cape we ran West and by north 5. leagues, and put into a bay or Cove on the south side, which we called Muskle-Cove, because there were great store of them : we ridde therein 6. dayes, the wind being still Westerly.

The 21. day of Januarie we departed from Muskle-cove, and went Northwest and by West 10. leagues to a very faire sandie Bay on the North side, which our Generall called Elizabeth Baye, and as wee ridde there that night, one of our men dyed which went in the Hugh Gallant, whose name was Grey, a Carpenter by his occupation, and was buried there in that Baye.

The 22. wee departed from Elizabeth Bay in the afternoone, and went about 2. leagues from that place, where there was a fresh water river, where our Generall went up with the ship-boate about three myles, which river

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hath very good and pleasant ground about it, and it is lowe and champion soyle, and so we saw none other ground els in all the Streights but that was craggie rocks and monstros high hilles and mountaines. In this river are great store of Savages which wee sawe, and had conference with them : They were men-eaters, and fedde altogether upon rawe flesh, and other



filthie foode : which people had preyed upon some of the Spaniards before spoken of. For they had gotten knives and peeces of Rapiers to make dartes of. They used all the meanes they could possibly to have allured us up farther into the river, of purpose to have betrayed us, which being espyed by our Generall, hee caused us to shoote at them with our harquebuzes, whereby we killed many of them. So wee sayled from this river to the Chanell of Saint Jerome, which is 2 leagues off.



From the river of Saint Jerome about three or foure leagues, wee ranne West unto a Cape which is on the North side : and from that Cape unto the mouth of the Streights the course lyeth Northwest and by West, and Northwest. Betweene which place and the mouth of the Streights to the Southward we lay in Harbrough untill the three and twentieth of Februarie, by reason of contrary windes and most vile and filthie fowle weather, with such rayne and vehement stormie windes which came downe from the mountaines and high hilles, that they hazarded the best cables and anchors that we had for to holde, which if they had fayled, wee had bene in great danger to have bene cast away, or at the least famished. For during this time, which was a full moneth, we fedde almost altogether upon muskles and limpits, and birds, or such as we could get on shore, seeking every day for them, as the fowles of the ayre doe, where they can finde foode, in continuall raynie weather.

There is at every myle or two myles ende an Harbrough on both sides of the land. And there are betweene the river of Saint Jerome and the mouth of the Streights going into the South sea about 34. leagues by estimation. So that the length of the whole Streights is about 90. leagues. And the said mouth of the Streights standeth in the same height that the entrance standeth in when we passe out of the North sea, which is about 52. degrees and  $\frac{3}{4}$  to the Southward of the line.

The 24. day of February wee entred into the South sea : and on the South side of the going out of the Streights is a faire high Cape with a lowe poynt adjoyning unto it : and on the North side are 4. or 5. Ilands, which lye 6. leagues off the mayne, and much broken and sunken ground about them : by noone the same day wee had brought these Ilands East of us 5. leagues off ; the winde being Southerly.

The first of March a storme tooke us at North, which night the ships lost the company of the Hugh Gallant, beeing in 49.  $\frac{1}{2}$  and 45. leagues from the land. This storme continued 3. or 4. dayes, and for that time we in the Hugh Gallant being separated from the other 2. ships, looked every houre to sinke, our barke was so leake, and our selves so dilvered and weakened with freeing it of water, that we slept not in three dayes and three nights.

The 15. of March in the morning the Hugh Gallant came in betweene the Iland of S. Mary and the mayne, where she met with the Admiral and the Content, which had rid at the Iland called La Mocha 2. dayes, which standeth in the Southerly latitude of 38 degrees : at which place some of

our men went on shore with the Vice-admirals boate, where the Indians fought with them with their bowes and arrowes, and were marvellous warie of their Calivers. These Indians were enemies to the Spaniards, and belonged to a great place called Arauco, and tooke us for Spaniards, as afterward we learned.

This place which is called Arauco is wonderfull rich, and full of golde mynes, and yet could it not be subdued at any time by the Spaniards, but they always returned with the greatest losse of men. For these Indians are marvellous desperate and carelesse of their lives to live at their owne libertie and freedome.

The 15. day aforesayde in the afternoone wee weighed anchor, and ranne under the West side of Saint Marie Iland, where we ridde very well in 6. fathoms water, and very faire ground all that night.

The 16. day our General went on shore himselfe with 70. or 80. men every one with his furniture: there came downe to us certaine Indians with two which were the principals of the Iland to welcome us on shore, thinking we had bin Spaniards, for it is subdued by them: who brought us up to a place where the Spaniards had erected a Church with crosses & altars in it. And there were about this Church 2. or 3. store houses, which were full of wheate and barley ready threshed and made up in cades of strawe to the quantitie of a bushel of corne in every cade. The wheate and barley was as faire, as cleane, and every way as good as any we have in England. There were also the like cades full of potato rootes, which were very good to eate, ready made up in the store houses for the Spaniards against they should come for their tribute. This Iland also yeeldeth many sorts of fruits, hogs, and hens. These Indians are held in such slavery by them, that they dare not eate a hen or an hogge themselves. But the Spaniards have made them all in that Iland Christians. Thus we fitted our selves here with corne asmuch as we would have, and as many hogges as we had salt to powder them withall, and great store of hennes, with a number of bags of Potato rootes, and about 500. dried dogge-fishes, and Guinie wheate, which is called Maiz. And having taken as much as we would have, yet we left marvellous great store behind us. Our General had the two principals of the Iland aboard our shippe, and provided great cheere for them, and made them merie with wine: and they in the ende perceiving us to bee no Spaniards, made signes, as neere as our Generall could perceive, that if wee would goe over unto the mayne land unto Arauco, that there was much Golde, making us signes, that we should have great store of riches.



But because we could not understand them, our Generall made some haste, and within 2. or three dayes we furnished our selves.

The 18. day in the morning we departed from this place, and ran all that day Northnortheast about 10. leagues, and at night lay with a short sayle off and on the coast.

The 19. wee ranne in East Northeast with the land, and bare in with a place called The Conception, where wee anchored under an Iland, and departed the next morning without going on land.

The 20. wee departed from The Conception, and went into a litle Baye which was sandie, where we saw fresh water and cattell, but we stayed not there.

The 30. day we came into the Bay of Quintero, which standeth in 33. degrees & 50 minutes.

The said day presently after we were come unto an ancre in the Bay, there was a Neteherd or one that kept cattle which lay upon the point of the hill asleepe, which when he awaked and had espied three shippes which were come into the Bay, before wee could get on shore, he had caught an horse which was feeding by, and rode his way as fast as ever hee might : and our Generall with 30. shot with him went on shore. He had not bene on land one houre, but there came 3. horsemen with

bright swords towards us so hard as they might ride, until they came within some twentie or thirtie score of us, and so stayed, and would come no neerer unto us : so our Generall sent unto them a couple of our men with their shotte, and one Fernando, which was the Spaniard that wee had taken up at the mouth of the Streights, which was one of the 400. that were sterved there. But the Spaniards would not suffer our men to come neere with their shot, but made signes that one of our men should come alone unto them : so the said Fernando the Spaniard went unto them, and our two men stood not farre from them. They had great conference, and in the end Fernando came backe from them, and told our Generall that he had parled with them for some victuals, who had promised as much as we would have. Our Generall sent him backe againe with another message and another shotte



with him : and being come neere unto them, they would not suffer any more than one to approach them, whereupon our men let the Spaniard goe unto them alone himselfe : who being some good distance from them, they stayed but a small time together, but that the said Fernando leaped up behind one of them and rid away with them, for all his deepe and damnable othes which hee had made continually to our general and all his company never to forsake him, but to die on his side before he would be false. Our Generall seeing how he was dealt withall, filled water all that day with good watch, and caried it aboard : and night being come, he determined the next day to send into the countrey to find their towne, and to have taken the spoyle of it, and to have fired it if they could have found it.

The last of March Captaine Havers went up into the Countrey with 50. or 60. men with their shot and furniture with them, and we travailed 7. or 8. miles into the land : and as we were marching along, we espied a number of herdes of cattell, of kine and bullockes which were wonderfull wilde : we saw also great store of horses, mares and coltes which were very wilde and unhandled : there is also great store of hares and conies, and plenty of partridges and other wild foules. The countrey is very fruitful with faire fresh rivers all along full of wilde foule of all sorts. Having travailed so farre that we could goe no further for the monstrous high mountaines, we rested our selves at a very fayre fresh River running in and amongst faire lowe medowes at the foote of the mountaines, where every man drunke of the River, and refreshed themselves. Having so done, we returned to our Ships the likest way that we thought their Towne should bee : so wee travailed all the day long, not seeing any man, but we mette with many wilde dogges : yet there were two hundred horsemen abroad that same day by meanes of the Spaniard which they had taken the day before from us, who had tolde them that our force was but small, and that wee were wonderfully weake ; who though they did espie us that day, yet durst they not give the on-sette upon us. For wee marched along in array, and observed good order, whereby wee seemed a great number more then we were, untill we came unto our ships that night againe.

The next day being the first of Aprill 1587, our men went on shoare to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the waters side : and being earely hard at their businesse were in no readinesse. In which meane while there came powring downe from the hilles almost 200 horsemen, and before our people could returne to the rockes from the watering place, twelve of them were cut off, part killed, and part taken prisoners,



the rest were rescued by our souldiers which came from the rocks to meete with them, who being but fiftene of us that had any weapons on shoare, yet we made the enemie retire in the end with losse of some foure and twentie of their men, after we had skirmished with them an houre.

The names of our men that were slaine were these.

Thomas Lucas of London, souldier.	} Out of the Admirall.
Richard Wheeler of London.	
Robert Pitcher of Norffolke, souldier.	
John Langston of Gloucestershire.	
William Kingman of Dorsetshire, souldier.	
William Hilles of Cornwall.	} Killed out of the vice adm.
1 William Byet of Weymouth.	
2 Laurence Gamesby, of Newcastle.	} Killed out of the Hugh Gallant.
1 Henry Blackenals of Weymouth.	
2 William Stevens of Plymmouth, gunner.	
3 William Pitte of Shereborne in Dorsetshire.	
4 Humphrey Derricke of London.	

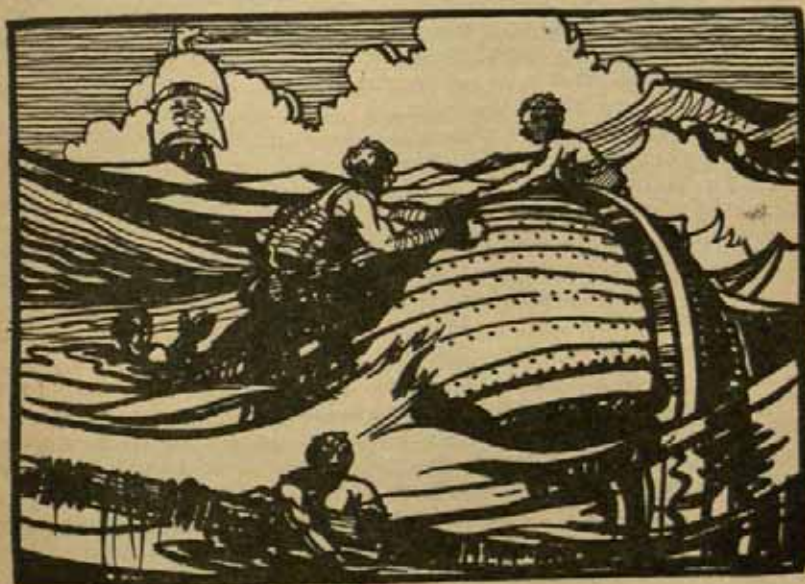
After the losse of these men, wee rid in the roade, and watered in despite of them with good watch and ward, until the fift of the sayd moneth.

The fift day wee departed out of this bay of Quintero : and off from the bay there lyeth a little Iland about a league distant, whereon there are great store of penguins and other fowles ; wherof we tooke to serve our turnes, and sailed away North and North and by West : for so lyeth the coast along in this place.

The fifteenth wee came thwart of a place which is called Morro moreno, which standeth in 23 degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and is an excellent good harborough : and there is an Iland which maketh it an harborough : and a ship may go in at either end of the Iland : here we went with our Generall on shore to the number of 30 men : and at our going on shore upon our landing, the Indians of the place came downe from the rockes to meete with us, with fresh water and wood on their backs. They are in marvellous awe of the Spaniards, and very simple people, and live marvellous savagely : For they brought us to their bidings about two miles from the harborough, where wee saw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the skin of some beast layd upon the ground : and over them in stead of houses, is nothing but five or sixe sticks layd acrosse, which stand upon two forkes with stickes

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on the ground and a fewe boughes layd on it. Their diet is raw fish, which stinketh most vilely. And when any of them die, they burie their bowes and arrowes with them, with their canoa and all that they have : for wee opened one of their graves, and saw the order of them. Their canoas or boates are marvellous artificially made of two skinned like unto bladders, and are blown full at one ende with quilles : they have two of these bladders blown full, which are sowed together and made fast with a sinew of some



wild beast ; which when they are in the water swell, so that they are as tight as may bee. They goe to sea in these boates, and catch very much fish with them, and pay much of it for tribute unto the Spaniards : but they use it marvellous beastly.

The 23 in the morning we tooke a small barke which came out of Arica road, which wee kept and called *The George* : the men forsooke it, and went away with their boate. Our admirals pinnesse followed the boate, & the *Hugh Gallants* boate tooke the barke : our admirals pinnesse could



not recover the boat before it got on shoare, but went along into the road of Arica, and layd aboard a great shippe of an hundreth tunnes riding in the road right afore the towne, but all the men and goods were gone out of it, onely the bare ship was left alone. They made three or foure very faire shots at the pinnesse as shee was comming in, but missed her very narrowly with a Minion shot which they had in the fort. Whereupon wee came into the road with the admirall and the *Hugh Gallant*: but the *Content* which was viceadmirall was behinde out of sight: by meanes whereof, and for want of her boate to land men withall wee landed not: otherwise if wee had bene together, our Generall with the companie would resolutely have landed to take the towne, whatsoever had come of it. The cause why the *Content* stayed behind was, that shee had found about 14 leagues to the Southward of Arica, in a place where the Spaniards had landed, a whole ships lading of botijas of wine of Castillia, whereof the sayd *Content* tooke into her as many as shee could conveniently carrie, and came after us into the road of Arica the same day. By this time wee perceived that the towne had gathered all their power together, and also conveyed all their treasure away, and buried it before wee were come neere the towne: for they had heard of us. Nowe because it was very populous with the ayde of one or two places up in the land, our Generall sawe there was no landing without losse of many men: wherefore hee gave over that enterprise. While wee rid in the road they shot at us, and our ships shot at them againe for every shot two. Moreover, our pinnesse went in hard almost to the shoare, and fetched out another barke which rid there in despite of all their forts though they shot still at the pinnesse, which they could never hit. After these things our Generall sent a boate on shoare with a flag of truce to knowe if they would redeeme their great shippe or no; but they would not: for they had received speciall commandement from the viceroy from Lima, not to buy any shippe, nor to ransom any man upon paine of death. Our Generall did this in hope to have redeemed some of our men, which were taken prisoners on shoare by the horsemen at *Quintero*, otherwise hee would have made them no offer of parley.

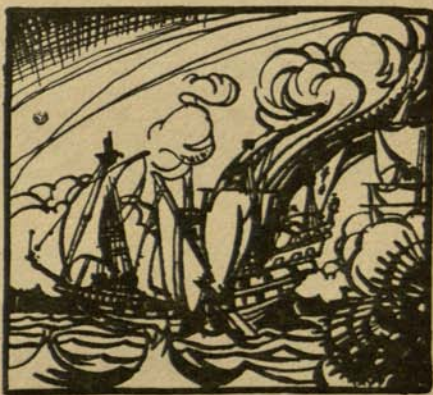
The 25 riding stil in the said road, we spied a saile comming from the Southward, and our Generall sent out his pinnesse to meete her, with all our boates; but the towne made such signes from the hill with fires and tokens out of the watch-house, that before our pinnesse could get to them, they ran the barke on shoare two miles to the Southward of the towne; but they had small leasure to carrie any thing with them; but all the men

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skaped, among whom there were certaine friers : for wee sawe them in their friers weedes as they ran on shoare : many horsemen came from the towne to rescue them, and to carrie them away, otherwise wee had landed and taken or killed them. So wee went aboard the barke as she lay sunke, and fetched out the pillage : but there was nothing in it of any value, and came aboard our shippes againe the same night : and the next morning wee set the great shippe on fire in the road, and sunke one of the barks, and carried the other along with us, and so departed from thence, and went away Northwest.

The 27 day wee tooke a small barke, which came from S. Iago neere unto Quintero, where wee lost our men first. In this barke was one George a Greeke, a reasonable pilot for all the coast of Chili. They were sent to the citie of Lima with letters of adviso of us, and of the losse of our men. There were also in the sayde barke one Flemming and three Spaniards : and they were all sworne and received the Sacrament before they came to sea by three or foure friers, that if wee should chance to meete them, they should throw those letters over boord : which (as wee were giving them chase with our pinnesse) before wee could fetch them up, they had accordingly throwen away. Yet our Generall wrought so with them, that they did confesse it : but hee was faine to cause them to bee tormented with their thumbes in a wrinch, and to continue them at severall times with extreme paine. Also hee made the old Flemming beleieve that hee would hang him ; and the rope being about his necke hee was pulled up a little from the hatches, and yet hee would not confesse, chusing rather to die, then hee would bee perjured. In the end it was confessed by one of the Spaniards, whereupon wee burnt the barke, and carried the men with us.

The third of May wee came into a bay where are three little townes, which are called Paracca, Chincha, and Pisca, where some of us landed and





tooke certaine houses, wherein was bread, wine, figs and hennes : but the sea went so high, that wee could not land at the best of the townes without sinking of our boats, and great hazard of us all. This place standeth in thirteene degrees and  $\frac{2}{3}$  to the Southward of the line.

The fift of May wee departed from this harbour, leaving the Content our viceadmirall within at an Iland of scales, by which meanes at that time wee lost her companie.

The ninth wee gave chase to a saile, namely, Our admirall, The Hugh Gallant, and The George which wee had taken before comming out of the roade of Arica ; The Content which was our viceadmirall being still lost : but wee could not fetch it. The George made after it, but lost it that night.

The tenth day the Hugh Gallant (in which barke I Francis Pretie was) lost companie of our admirall.

The eleventh we which were in the Hugh Gallant put into a bay which standeth in 12 degrees  $\frac{2}{3}$ , in which bay wee found a river of fresh water about eight of the clocke at night ; and though we were but of small force, and no more but one barke and 18 men in it, yet wee went on shoare to fill water ; where having filled one boates lading, while our boate was in going aboard, two or three of our companie which were on shoare, as they were going a little from the watering place with their furniture about them, espied where there were foure or five hundred bagges of meale on an heape covered with a fewee reedes. So that night we filled water and tooke as much meale as wee thought good : which fell out well for us that were then lost and stooode in neede of victuals : and by breake of day in the morning wee came aboard, and there stayed and rode untill the after-noone. In which meane time the towne seeing us ride there still, brought downe much cattell to the sea side to have intised us to come on shoare : but wee sawe their intent, and weyed anker and departed the twelfth day.

The 13 day at night wee put into a bay which standeth in 9 degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , where wee sawe horsemen : and that night wee landed, namely, M. Bruer Captaine, my selfe Francis Pretie, Arthur Warford, John Way Preacher, John Newman, Andrew Wyght, William Gargefield, and Henry Hilliard. And we 8 onely, having every man his harquebuze and his furniture about him, marched three quarters of a mile along the sea side, where wee found a boate of five or sixe tunnes haled up drie on the shoare about a cables length from the water : and with extreme labour wee lanced the barke ; when it was on flote, Captaine Bruer and I went in, while the

rest of our companie were fetching their things : but suddenly it was readie to sinke : And the Captaine and I stooode up to the knees lading out water with our targets ; but it sunke downe faster then wee were able to free it, insomuch as in the end wee had much adoe to save our selves from drowning. When wee were out, wee stood in great feare that our owne boate wherein wee came on shoare was sunke : for wee could no where see it. Howbeit the Captaine commanded them to keepe it off, for feare of the great surge that went by the shoare. Yet in the end wee spied it, and went aboard by two and two, and were driven to wade up to the arme-holes 60 paces into the sea before wee could get into the boate, by reason of the shoaldnesse : and then departed the foureteenth day in the morning.

The 16 wee tooke with the Hugh Gallant, being but sixteene men of us in it, a great shippe which came from Guaianil, which was called The Lewis, and was of the burthen of three hundred tuns, having foure and twentie men in it, wherein was pilot one Gonsalvo de Ribas, whom wee carried along with us, and a Negro called Emmanuel. The shippe was laden with nothing but timber and victuals : wherefore wee left her seven leagues from the land very leake and ready to sinke in 7 degrees to the Southward of the line : wee sunke her boate and tooke away her foresaile and certaine victuals.

The 17 of May wee met with our admirall againe, and all the rest of our fleete. They had taken two ships, the one laden with sugar, molosses, maiz, Cordovan-skinnes, montego de Porco, many packes of pintados, many Indian coates, and some marmalade, and 1000 hennes : and the other ship was laden with wheate-meale, and boxes of marmalade. One of these ships which had the chiefe marchandise in it, was worth twentie thousand pounds, if it had bene in England or in any other place of Christendome where wee might have solde it. Wee filled all our ships with as much as wee could bestow of these goods : the rest wee burnt and the ships also ; and set the men and women that were not killed on shoare.

The 20 day in the morning wee came into the road of Paita, and being at an anker, our Generall landed with sixtie or seventie men, skirmished with them of the towne, and drave them all to flight to the top of the hill which is over the towne, except a few slaves and some other which were of the meaner sort, who were commanded by the governours to stay below in the towne, at a place which is in building for a fort, having with them a bloodie ensigne, being in number about one hundred men. Nowe as wee were rowing betweene the ships and the shoare, our gunner shot off a great



peece out of one of the barkes, and the shot fel among them, and drave them to flie from the fort as fast as they might runne, who got them up upon an hill, and from thence shot among us with their small shot. After wee were landed and had taken the towne, wee ran upon them, and chased them so fiercely up the hilles for the space of an houre that wee drave them in the ende away perforce, and being got up the hilles, wee found where they had layd all their stuffe which they had brought out of the towne, and had hidden it there upon the mountaines. We also found the quantitie of 25 pounds weight in silver in peeces of eight rials, and abundance of household stuffe and storehouses full of all kinde of wares : but our Generall would not suffer any man to carrie much cloth or apparell away, because they should not cloy themselves with burthens : for hee knew not whether our enemies were provided with furniture according to the number of their men : for they were five men to one of us : and wee had an English mile and an halfe to our ships. Thus wee came downe in safetie to the towne, which was very well builded, and marvellous cleane kept in every streete, with a towne-house or Guild hall in the middest, and had to the number of two hundred houses at the least in it. Wee set it on fire to the ground, and goods to the value of five or sixe thousand pounds : there was also a barke riding in the roade which wee set on fire, and departed, directing our course to the Iland of Puna.

The 25 day of May wee arrived at the Iland of Puna, where is a very good harbour, where wee found a great shippe of the burthen of 250 tunnes riding at an anker with all her furniture, which was readie to bee haled on ground : for there is a speciall good place for that purpose. Wee sunke it, and went on shoare where the lord of the Iland dwelt, which was by the waters side, who had a sumptuous house marvellous well contrived with very many singular good roomes and chambers in it : and out of every chamber was framed a gallerie with a stately prospect into the sea on the one side, and into the Iland on the other side, with a marvellous great hall below, and a very great storehouse at the one ende of the hall, which was filled with botijas of pitch and bash to make cables withall : for the most part of the cables in the South sea are made upon that Iland. This great Casique doth make all the Indians upon the Iland to worke and to drudge for him : and hee himselfe is an Indian borne, but is married to a marvellous faire woman which is a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation and of his great wealth.

This Spanish woman his wife is honoured as a Queene in the Iland, and

never goeth on the ground upon her feete : but holdeth it too base a thing for her : But when her pleasure is to take the ayre, or to goe abroad, shee is alwayes carried in a shadowe like unto an horse-litter upon foure mens shoulders, with a veile or canopie over her for the sunne or the winde, having her gentlewomen still attending about her with a great troope of the best men of the Iland with her. But both shee and the lorde of the Iland with all the Indians in the towne were newly fled out of the Iland before wee could get to an anker, by reason wee were becalmed before wee could get in, and were gone over unto the maine lande, having carried away with them to the summe of 100000 crownes, which wee knew by a capitaine of the Iland an Indian, which was left there with some other upon the Iland under him, whom wee had taken at sea as wee were comming into the road, being in a balsa or canoa for a spie to see what wee were.

The 27 our General himselfe with certaine shot and some targettiers went over into the maine unto the place where this foresayde Indian capitaine which wee had taken had tolde us that the Casique, which was the lord of all the Iland, was gone unto, and had caried all his treasure with him : but at our comming to the place which wee went to lande at, wee found newly arrived there foure or five great balsas, which were laden with plantans, bags of meale, and many other kinds of victuals. Our Generall marvelled what they were and what they meant, asking the Indian guide and commanding him to speake the trueth upon his life : being then bound fast, hee answered being very much abashed, as well as our companie were, that hee neither knewe from whence they should come, nor who they should bee : for there was never a man in any one of the balsas : and because hee had told our Generall before, that it was an easie matter to take the sayd Casique and all his treasure, and that there were but three or foure houses standing in a desert place and no resistance, and that if hee found it not so, hee should hang him. Againe being demaunded to speake upon his life what hee thought these Balsas should bee, hee answered that hee could not say from whence they should come, except it were to bring 60 souldiers, which hee did heare were to go to a place called Guaiaguil, which was about 6 leagues from the saide yland, where two or three of the kings shippes were on the stocks in building, where are continually an hundred souldiers in garisons who had heard of us, and had sent for sixtie more for feare of burning of the shippes and towne. Our Generall not any whit discouraged either at the sight of the balsas unlooked for, or for hearing of the threescore souldiers not untill then spoken of, with a brave courage





animating his companie in the exployte, went presently forward, being in the night in a most desert path in the woods, untill such time as hee came to the place ; where, as it seemed, they had kept watch either at the waters side, or at the houses, or else at both, and were newly gone out of the houses, having so short warning, that they left the meate both boyling and roasting at the fire and were fledde with their treasure with them, or else buried it where it could not bee found, being also in the night. Our companie tooke hennes and such things as wee thought good, and came away.

The 29 day of May our Generall went in the ship-boate into a little Iland there by, whereas the sayd Casique which was the lord of Puna, had caused all the hangings of his chambers, which were of cordovan leather all gilded over, and painted very faire and rich, with all his houshold stuffe, and all the ships tackling which was riding in the road at our coming in, with great store of nailes, spikes of yron, and very many other things to be conveyed : all which wee found, and brought away what our Generall thought requisite for the ships businesse.

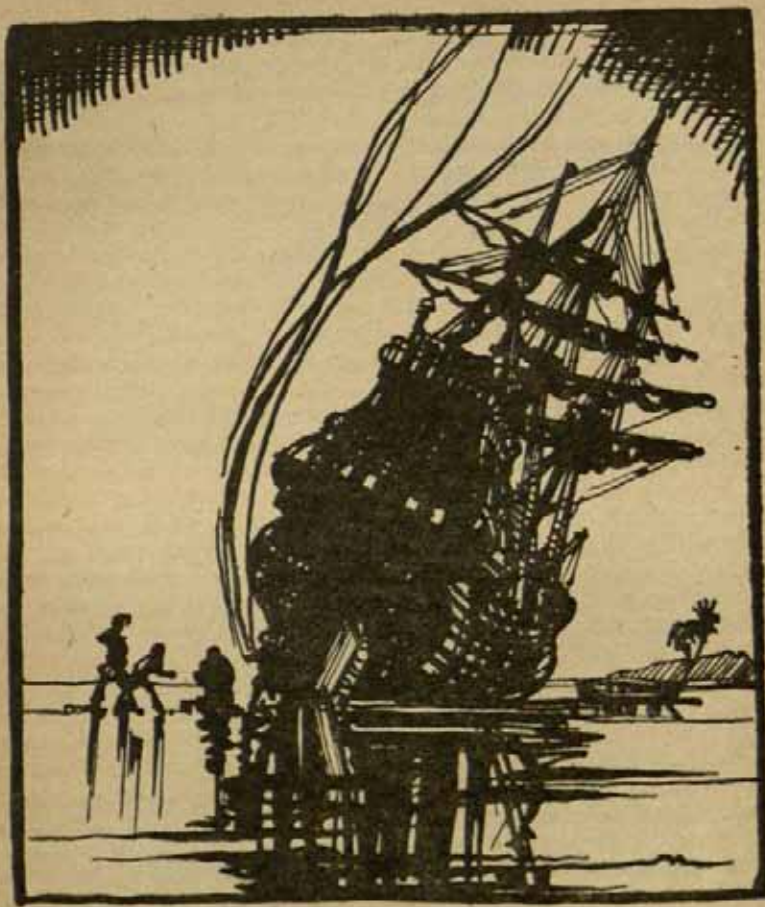
This Iland is very pleasant for all things requisite, and fruitful : but there are no mines of gold nor silver in it. There are at the least 200 houses in the towne about the Casiques pallace, and as many in one or two townes more upon the Iland, which is almost as bigge as the Ile of Wight in England. There is planted on the one side of the Casiques house a faire garden, with all herbes growing in it, and at the lower end a well of fresh water, and round about it are trees set, whereon bombasin cotton groweth after this maner : The tops of the trees grow full of cods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a seede of the bignesse of a pease, and in every codde there are seven or eight of these seedes : and if the cotton bee not gathered when it is ripe, then these seedes fall from it, and spring againe.

There are also in this garden fig-trees which beare continually, also pompions, melons, cucumbers, radishes, rosemarie and thyme, with many other herbes and fruits. At the other end of the house there is also another orchard, where grow oranges sweete and sower, limmons, pomegranates and lymes, with divers other fruits.

There is very good pasture ground in this Iland ; and withall many horses, oxen, bullockes, sheepe very fat and faire, great store of goates which be very tame, and are used continually to bee milked. They have moreover abundance of pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of a marvellous bignesse.

There was also a very large and great church hard by the Casiques house,

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whither hee caused all the Indians in the Iland to come and heare masse : for he himselfe was made a Christian when he was married to the Spanish woman before spoken of, and upon his conversion he caused the rest of his subjects to be Christened. In this church was an high altar with a crucifixe, and five belles hanging in the nether end thereof. We burnt the church and brought the belles away.

By this time wee had haled on ground our admirall, and had made her cleane, burnt her keele, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on flote againe. And in the meane while continually kept watch and ward in the great house both night and day.

The second day of June in the morning, by and by after breake of day, every one of the watch being gone abroad to seeke to fetch in victuals, some one way, some another, some for hennies, some for sheepe, some for goats, upon the sudden there came down upon us an hundred Spanish souldiers with muskets and an ensigne, which were landed on the other side of the Iland that night, and all the Indians of the Iland with them, every one with weapons and their haggage after them : which was by meanes of a Negro, whose name was Emmanuel, which fled from us at our first landing there. Thus being taken at advantage we had the worst : for our companie was not past sixteene or twentie ; whereof they had slaine one or two before they were come to the houses : yet we skirmished with them an houre and an halfe : at the last being sore overcharged with multitudes, we were driven down from the hill to the waters side, and there kept them play a while, until in the end Zacharie Saxie, who with his halberd had kept the way of the hill, and slaine a couple of them, as hee breathed himselfe being somewhat tired, had an honourable death and a short : for a shot strooke him to the heart : who feeling himselfe mortally wounded cryed to God for mercie, and fell downe presently dead. But soone after the enemy was driven somewhat to retire from the bankes side to the greene : and in the ende our boate came and carried as many of our men away as could goe in her, which was in hazard of sinking while they hastened into it : And one of our men whose name was Robert Maddocke was shot through the head with his owne peece, being a snap-hance, as hee was hasting into the boate. But foure of us were left behinde which the boate could not carrie : to wit, my selfe Francis Pretie, Thomas Andrewes, Steven Gunner, and Richard Rose : which had our shot readie and retired our selves unto a cliffe, untill the boate came againe, which was presently after they had carried the rest aboard. There were sixe and fortie of the

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enemies slaine by us, whereof they had dragged some into bushes, and some into olde houses, which wee found afterward. Wee lost twelve men in maner following.

- |   |                      |
|---|----------------------|
| 1 Zacharie Saxie,                         | } Slaine by theemie. |
| 2 Neales Johnson,                         |                      |
| 3 William Geirgifielde,                   |                      |
| 4 Nicolas Hendie,                         |                      |
| 5 Henry Cooper,                           |                      |
| 1 Robert Maddocke, killed with his peece. |                      |
| 2 Henry Mawdly, burnt.                    |                      |
| 1 Edward the gunners man,                 | } drowned            |
| 2 Ambrose the musitian,                   |                      |
| 1 Walter Tilliard,                        | } taken prisoners.   |
| 2 Edward Smith,                           |                      |
| 3 Henry Aselye,                           |                      |

The selfe same day being the second of June, we went on shoare againe with seventie men, and had a fresh skirmish with the enemies, and drave them to retire, being an hundred Spaniards serving with muskets, and two hundred Indians with bowes, arrowes and darts. This done, wee set fire on the towne and burnt it to the ground, having in it to the number of three hundred houses: and shortly after made havocke of their fieldes, orchards and gardens, and burnt foure great ships more which were in building on the stockes.

The third of June the Content which was our vice-admirall was haled on ground, to grave at the same place in despite of the Spaniards: and also our pinnesse which the Spaniards had burned, was new trimmed.

The fift day of June wee departed out of the roade of Puna, where wee had remained eleven dayes, and turned up for a place which is called Rio dolce, where wee watered: at which place also wee sunke our rere-admirall called The Hugh Gallant for want of men, being a barke of fortie tunnes.

The tenth day of the same moneth wee set the Indians on shoare, which we had taken before in a balsa as we were comming into the road of Puna.

The eleventh day wee departed from the sayd Rio dolce.

The twelfth of June wee doubled the Equinoctial line, and continued our course Northwarde all that moneth.

The first of Julie wee had sight of the coast of Nueva Espanna, being



four leagues distant from land in the latitude of ten degrees to the Northward of the line.

The ninth of Julie wee tooke a new ship of the burthen of 120 tunnes, wherein was one Michael Sancius, whom our Generall tooke to serve his turne to water along the coast : for hee was one of the best coasters in the South sea. This Michael Sancius was a Provensal, borne in Marseils, and was the first man that tolde us newes of the great ship called The Santa Anna, which wee afterward tooke comming from the Philippinas.

There were sixe men more in this new shippe : we tooke her sailes, her ropes, and firewood, to serve our turnes, set her on fire, and kept the men.

The tenth we tooke another barke which was going with advise of us and our ships all along the coast, as Michael Sancius tolde us : but all the companie that were in the barke were fledde on shoare. None of both these ships had any goods in them. For they came both from Sonsonate in the province of Guatimala ; the new shippe, for feare we should have taken her in the road, and the barke, to carrie newes of us along the coast ; which barke also wee set on fire.

The 26 day of July wee came to an anker at 10 fathoms in the river of Copalita, where wee made account to water. And the same night wee departed with 30 men in the pinnesse, and rowed to Aguatulco, which is but two leagues from the aforesayd river ; and standeth in 15 degrees 40 minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctial line.

The 27 in the morning by the breake of day wee came into the roade of Aguatulco, where wee found a barke of 50 tunnes, which was come from Sonsonate laden with cacaos and anile which they had there landed : and the men were all fled on shoare. Wee landed there, and burnt their towne, with the church and custome-house which was very faire and large : in which house were 600 bags of anile to dye cloth ; every bag whereof was worth 40 crownes, and 400 bags of cacaos : every bag whereof is worth ten crownes. These cacaos goe among them for meate and money. For 150 of them are in value one rial of plate in ready payment. They are very like unto an almond, but are nothing so pleasant in taste : they eat them, and make drinke of them. This the owner of the shippe tolde us. I found in this towne before wee burnt it, a flasket full of boxes of balme. After we had spoyled and burnt the towne, wherein there were some hundred houses, the owner of the shippe came downe out of the hilles with a flag of truce unto us, which before with the rest of all the townesmen was run away at our first comming ; and at length came aboard our

*Voyage of the Worshippfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley*

pinnesse upon Captaine Havers worde of safe returne. We carried him to the river of Copalita where our shippes rode : and when hee came to our Generall, hee caused him to bee set on shoare in safetie the same night, because hee came upon the captaines word.

The 28 day we set saile from Copalita, because the sea was so great there, that wee could not fill water, and ran the same night into the roade of Aguatulco.

The 29 our Generall landed and went on shoare with thirtie men two miles into the woods, where wee tooke a Mestizo, whose name was Michael de Truxillo, who was customer of that towne, and wee found with him two chambers full of his stuffe : wee brought him and his stuffe aboard. And whereas I say he was a Mestizo, it is to be understood that a Mestizo is one which hath a Spaniard to his father and an Indian to his mother.

The second day of August, we had watered, and examined the said Mestizo, and set him on shore againe and departed from the port of Aguatulco the same night, which standeth as I sayd before in 15 degrees and 40 minuts to the Northward of the lyne.

Here wee overslipped the haven of Acapulco, from whence the shippes are set forth for the Philippinas.

The foure and twentieth day of August, our Generall with 30 of us went with the pinnesse unto an haven called Puerto de Natividad, where wee had intelligence by Michael Sancius that there should bee a pinnesse, but before wee could get thither the sayde pinnesse was gone to fish for pearles 12 leagues farther, as we were informed by certaine Indians which we found there. We tooke a mullato in this place, in his bedde, which was sent with letters of advise concerning us along the coast, of Nueva Galicia, whose horse wee killed, tooke his letters, left him behinde, set fire on the houses, and burnt two newe shippes of 200 tunnes the piece, which were in building there on the stockes, and came aboard of our shippes againe.

The sixe and twentie day of August, wee came into the bay of S. Iago, where wee watered at a fresh River, along which river many plantans are growing : here is great abundance of fresh fish. Heere also certaine of our companie dragged for pearles and caught some quantitie.

The second of September wee departed from Sant Iago at foure of the clocke in the evening. This bay of Sant Iago standeth in nineteene degrees and eightene minuts to the Northward of the lyne.

The 3 of September wee arrived in a litle bay a league to the Westwarde off Port de Natividad called Malacca, which is a very good place to ride in :



and the same day about twelve of the clocke our Generall landed with thirtie men or there about, and went up to a towne of Indians which was two leagues from the road, which towne is called Acatlan : there were in it about 20 or 30 houses and a Church, which we defaced and came aboard againe the same night. All the people were fled out of the towne at the sight of us.

The fourth of September, wee departed from the roade of Malacca, and sayled along the coast.

The 8 we came to the roade of Chacalla, in which bay there are two litle houses by the waters side. This bay is 18 leagues from the Cape de los Corrientes.

The 9 in the morning our Generall sent up Captaine Havers with fortie men of us before day, and Michael Sancius being our guide, wee went unto a place about two leagues up into the countrey in a most villainous desert path through the woods and wilderness : and in the ende we came to a place where wee tooke three householders with their wives and children and some Indians, one carpenter which was a Spaniard, and a Portugall, wee bound them all and made them to come to the sea side with us.

Our Generall made their wives to fetch us Plantans, Lymmons, and Oranges, Pine-aples and other fruites whereof they had abundance, and so let their husbandes depart, except Sembrano the Spanish Carpenter, and Diego the Portugal ; and the tenth day wee departed the roade.

The twelfth day wee arrived at a little Island called the Isle of Sant Andrewe, on which there is great store of fowle and wood : where wee dryed and salted as many of the fowles as we thought good : wee also killed there abundance of seales, and Iguanos which are a kinde of Serpents, with foure feete, and a long sharpe tayle, strange to them which have not seene them ; but they are very good meate. Wee ridde here untill the seventeenth day, at which time wee departed.

The 24 day wee arrived in the roade of Massatlan, which standeth in 23 degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ , just under the Tropicke of Cancer : It is a very great river within, but it is barred at the mouth : and upon the North side of the barre without, is good fresh water : but there is very evill filling of it ; because at a lowe water it is shoald halfe a mile off the shoare. There is great store of fresh fish in that bay : and good fruites up into the countrey, whereof wee had some, though not without danger.

The seven and twentieth day of September, wee departed from the roade of Massatlan and ran to an island which is a league to the Northward the

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said Massatlan, where wee trimmed our ships and new built our pinnesse : and there is a litle island a quarter of a league from it, on which are seales : where a Spanish prisoner, whose name was Domingo, being sent to wash shirtes with one of our men to keep him, made a scape, & swam to the maine, which was an English mile distant : at which place we had seen 30 or 40 Spaniards & Indians, which were horsemen, and kept watch there, which came from a towne called Chiametla, which was 11 leagues up into the countrey, as Michael Sancius told us. We found upon the island where we trimmed our pinnesse, fresh water by the assistance of God in that our great neede by digging two or three foote deepe in the sande, where no water nor signe of water was before to be perceived. Otherwise we had gone backe 20 or 30 leagues to water : which might have bene occasion that we might have missed our prey wee had long wayted for. But God raysed one Flores a Spaniard, which was also a prisoner with us, to make a motion to digge in the sands. Now our Generall having had experience ones before of the like, commanded to put his motion in practise, and in digging three foote deepe wee found very good and fresh water. So we watered our ships, and might have filled a thousand tunnes more, if we had would.

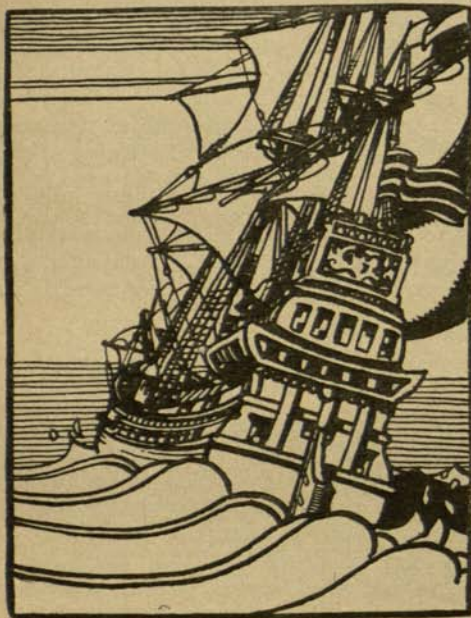
We stayed in this island untill the 9 day of October, at which time we departed at night for the cape of S. Lucar, which is on the West side of the point of California.

The 14 of October we fell with the cape of S. Lucar, which cape is very like the Needles at the isle of Wight ; and within the said cape is a great bay called by the Spaniards Aguada Segura : into which bay falleth a faire fresh river, about which many Indians use to keepe : wee watered in the river and lay off and on from the saide cape of S. Lucar untill the fourth of November, and had the windes hanging still Westerly.

The 4 of November the Desire and the Content, wherein were the number of Englishmen onely living, beating up and downe upon the headland of California, which standeth in 23 degrees and  $\frac{3}{4}$  to the Northward, betwene seven and 8 of the clocke in the morning one of the company of our Admirall which was the trumpeter of the ship going up into the top espied a sayle bearing in from the sea with the cape, whereupon hee cryed out with no small joy to himselfe and the whole company, A sayle, A sayle, with which cheerefull word the master of the ship and divers others of the company went also up into the maine top, who perceiving the speech to be very true gave information unto our Generall of these



happy newes, who was no lesse glad then the cause required : whereupon he gave in charge presently unto the whole company to put all things in readines, which being performed we gave them chase some 3 or 4 houres, standing with our best advantage and working for the winde. In the afternoone we gat up unto them, giving them the broad side with our great ordinance and a volée of small shot, and presently layed the ship



aboard, whereof the king of Spaine was owner, which was Admiral of the south sea, called the S. Anna, & thought to be 700 tunnes in burthen. Now as we were ready on their ships side to enter her, being not past 50 or 60 men at the uttermost in our ship, we perceived that the Captaine of the said ship had made fights fore and after, and layd their sailes close on their poope, their mid ship, with their fore castle, and having not one man to be seene, stood close under their fights, with lances, javelings, rapiers, & targets, & an innumerable sort of great stones, which they threw overboord upon our heads and into our ship so fast and being so many of them, that they put us

off the shippe againe, with the losse of 2 of our men which were slaine, & with the hurting of 4 or 5. But for all this we new trimmed our sailes, and fitted every man his furniture, and gave them a fresh encounter with our great ordinance and also with our small shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their Captaine still like a valiant man with his company stood very stoutely unto his close fights, not yeelding as yet : Our General encouraging his men

a fresh with the whole noyse of trumpets gave them the third encounter with our great ordinance and all our small shot to the great discomforting of our enemies raking them through in divers places, killing and spoiling many of their men. They being thus discomforted and spoiled, and their shippe being in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, wherof some were under water, within 5 or 6 houres fight set out a flagge of truce and parled for mercy, desiring our Generall to save their lives and to take their goods, and that they would presently yeeld. Our Generall of his goodnes promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sayles, and to hoysed out their boate and to come aboard: which newes they were ful glad to heare of, and presently strooke their sailes, hoysed their boat out, and one of their cheife marchants came aboard unto our Generall: and falling downe upon his knees, offered to have kissed our Generals feete, and craved mercie: our General most graciously pardoned both him and the rest upon promise of their true dealing with him and his company concerning such riches as were in the shippe: and sent for the Captaine and their Pilote, who at their comming used the like duetie and reverence as the former did. The Generall of his great mercy & humanitie, promised their lives and good usage. The sayd Captaine and Pilote presently certified the Generall what goods they had within boord, to wit, an hundreth and 22 thousand pezos of golde: and the rest of the riches that the ship was laden with, was in silkes, sattens, damasks, with muske & divers other marchandize, and great store of al maner of victuals with the choyse of many conserves of all sortes for to eate, and of sundry sorts of very good wines. These things being made knowne to the Generall by the aforesaide Captaine and Pilote, they were commanded to stay aboard the Desire, and on the 6 day of November following wee went into an harbour which is called by the Spaniards, Aguada Segura, or Puerto Seguro.

Here the whole company of the Spaniardes, both of men and women to the number of 190 persons were set on shore: where they had a fayre river of fresh water, with great store of fresh fish, foule, and wood, and also many hares and conies upon the maine land. Our generall also gave them great store of victuals, of garuansos, peason, and some wine. Also they had all the sailes of their shippe to make them tents on shore, with licence to take such store of planks as should bee sufficient to make them a barke. Then we fell to hoysing in of our goods, sharing of the treasure, and alotting to every man his portion. In devision whereof the eight of

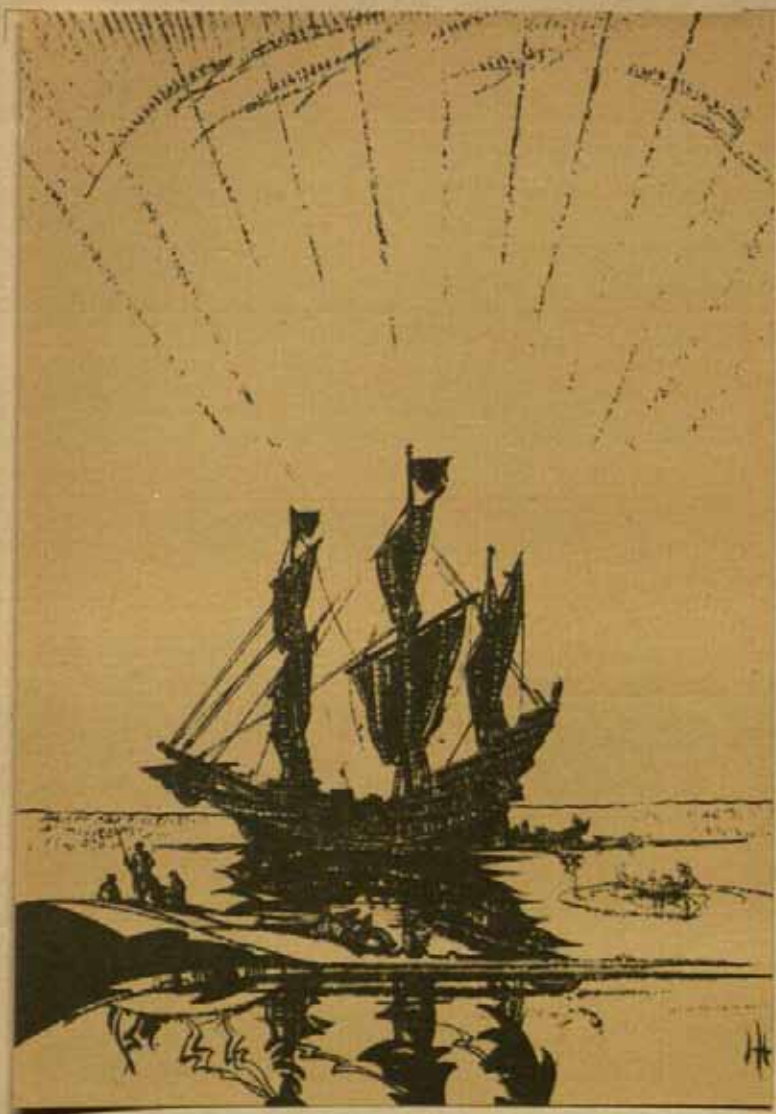


this moneth, many of the company fell into a mutinie against our Generall, especially those which were in the Content, which nevertheless were after a sort pacified for the time.

On the 17 day of November, which is the day of the happy Coronation of her Majestic, our Generall commanded all his ordinance to be shot off, with the small shot both in his owne shippe where himselfe went, and also in the Content, which was our Vice-admirall. This being done, the same night we had many fireworkes and more ordinance discharged, to the great admiration of all the Spaniards which were there : for the most part of them had never seene the like before.

This ended, our Generall discharged the Captaine, gave him a royall reward, with provision for his defence against the Indians and his company, both of swords, targets, pieces, shot and powder to his great contentment : but before his departure, he tooke out of this great shippe two yong lads borne in Japon, which could both wright and reade their owne language, the eldest being about 20 yeeres olde was named Christopher, the other was called Cosmus, about 17 yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He tooke also with him out of their ship, 3 boyes borne in the isles of Manilla, the one about 15, the other about 13, and the yongest about 9 yeeres old. The name of the eldest was Alphonso, the second Anthony de Dasi, the third remaineth with the right honourable the Countesse of Essex. He also tooke from them, one Nicholas Roderigo a Portugall, who hath not onely bene in Canton and other parts of China, but also in the islands of Japon being a countrey most rich in silver mynes, and hath also bene in the Philippinas.

Hee tooke also from them a Spaniard whose name was Thomas de Ersola, which was a very good Pilote from Acapulco and the coast of Nueva Espanna unto the islands of Ladrones, where the Spaniardes doe put in to water, sayling betweene Acapulco and the Philippinas : in which isles of Ladrones, they finde fresh water, plantans, and potato rootes : howbeit the people be very rude and heathens. The 19 day of November aforesaid, about 3 of the clock in the afternoone, our Generall caused the kings shippe to be set on fire, which having to the quantitie of 500 tunnes of goods in her we saw burnt unto the water, and then gave them a piece of ordinance and set sayle joyfully homewardes towards England with a fayre winde, which by this time was come about to Eastnortheast : and night growing neere, we left the Content a sterne of us, which was not as yet come out of the road. And here thinking she would have overtaken







us, we lost her companie and never saw her after. Wee were sayling from this haven of Aguada Segura in California unto the iles of Ladrones the rest of November, and all December, and so forth until the 3 of Januarie 1588, with a faire winde for the space 45 dayes : and we esteemed it to be between 17 and 18 hundred leagues. The 3 day of January by sixe of the clocke in the morning wee had sight of one of the islands of Ladrones called the island of Guana, standing in 13 degrees  $\frac{3}{4}$  toward the North, and sayling with a gentle gale before the winde, by 1 or 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, wee were come up within 2 leagues of the island, where we met with 60 or 70 sailes of canoas full of Savages, who came off to sea unto us, and brought with them in their boates plantans, cocos, potato rootes, and fresh fish, which they had caught at sea, and helde them up unto us for to truck or exchange with us ; which when we perceived, we made fast little pieces of old iron upon small cords and fishing lines, and so vered the iron unto their canoas, and they caught hold of them and tooke off the iron, and in exchange of it they would make fast unto the same line either a potato roote, or a bundle of plantans, which we haled in : and thus our company exchanged with them until they had satisfied themselves with as much as did content them : yet we could not be rid of them. For afterward they were so thicke about the ship, that it stemmed & brake 1 or 2 of their canoas : but the men saved themselves being in every canoa 4, 6, or 8 persons all naked & excellent swimmers and divers. They are of a tawny colour & marveilous fat, & bigger ordinarily of stature then the most part of our men in England, wearing their haire marveilous long ; yet some of them have it made up and tyed with a knot on the crowne, & some with 2 knots, much like unto their images which wee saw them have carved in wood, and standing in the head of their boates like unto the images of the devill. Their canoas were as artificially made as any that ever wee had seene : considering they were made and contrived without any edge-toole. They are not above halfe a yard in bredth and in length some seven or eight yardes, and their heades and sternes are both alike, they are made out with raftes of canes and reedes on the starrebordside, with maste and sayle : their sayle is made of mattes of sedges, square or triangle wise : and they saile as well right against the winde, as before the winde : These Savages followed us so long, that we could not be ridde of them : untill in the end our General commanded some halfe dozen harquebuzes to be made ready ; and himselfe strooke one of them and the rest shot at them : but they were so yare and nimble, that we could not



discerne whether they were killed or no, because they could fall backward into the sea and prevent us by diving.

The 14 day of January lying at hull with our ship all the middle watch, from 12 at night until foure in the morning, by the breake of day wee fell with an headland of the isles of the Philippinas, which is called Cabo del Spirito Santo which is of very great bignes and length, high land in the midst of it, and very low land as the Cape lyeth East and West, trending farre into the sea to the westward. This cape or island is distant from the ile of Guana, one of the Ladrones, 310 leagues. We were in sayling of this course eleven dayes with skant windes and some foule weather, bearing no sayle two or three nights. This island standeth in 13 degrees, and is a place much peopled with heathen people, and all woodie through the whole land: and it is short of the chieftest island of the Philippinas called Manilla about 60 leagues. Manilla is well planted and inhabited with Spaniards to the number of sixe or seven hundred persons: which dwell in a towne unwallled, which hath 3 or 4 small blocke houses, part made of wood, and part of stone beeing indeede of no great strength: they have one or two small Gallies belong to the towne. It is a very rich place of golde and many other commodities; and they have yeerely trafficke from Acapulco in Nueva Espanna, and also 20 or 30 shippes from China and from the Sanguelos, which bring them many sorts of marchandize. The marchants of China and the Sanguelos are part Moores and part heathen people. They bring great store of gold with them, which they trafficke and exchange for silver, and give waight for waight. These Sanguelos are men of marveilous capacitie in devising and making all maner of things, especially in all handie craftes and sciences: and every one is so expert, perfect, and skilfull in his facultie, as fewe or no Christians are able to goe beyond them in that which they take in hand. For drawing & embrodering upon satten, silck, or lawne, either beaste, fowle, fish or worme, for livelines and perfectnes, both in silke, silver, gold, & pearle, they excell. Also the 14 day at night wee entred the streights betweene the island of Luzon, & the island of Camlaia.

The fifteenth of January wee fell with an island called Capul, and had betwixt the sayd island and another island but an narrowe passage, and a marveilous rippling of a very great tyde with a ledge of rockes lying off the poynt of the island of Capul: and no danger but water ynough a fayre bredth off: and within the point a fayre bay and a very good harborough in foure fathomes water hard aboard the

shore within a cables length. About 10 of the clocke in the morning wee came to an anker.

Our shippe was no sooner come to an anker, but presently there came a canoa rowing aboard us, wherein was one of the chief Casiques of the island whereof there be seven, who supposing that we were Spaniardes, brought us potato rootes, which they call camotas, and greene cocos, in exchange whereof we gave his company pieces of linnen to the quantitie of a yard for foure Cocos, and as much linnen for a basket of potato rootes of a quart in quantitie; which rootes are very good meat, and excellent sweete either roasted or boyled.

This Casiques skinne was carved and cut with sundry and many strakes and devises all over his body. We kept him still aboard and caused him to send those men which brought him aboard backe to the island to cause the rest of the principals to come aboard: who were no sooner gone on shore, but presently the people of the island came downe with their cocos and potato rootes, and the rest of the principals likewise came aboard and brought with them hennes and hogges: and they used the same order with us which they doe with the Spaniardes. For they tooke for every hog (which they cal Balboye) eight rials of plate, and for every henne or cocke one riall of plate. Thus we rode at anker all that day, doing nothing but buying rootes, cocos, hennes, hogges, and such things as they brought, refreshing our selves marvellously well.

The same day at night beeing the fifteenth of January 1588, Nicolas Roderigo the Portugal, whom wee tooke out of the great Santa Anna at the Cape of California, desired to speake with our General in secret: which when our General understood, he sent for him, & asked him what he had to say unto him. The Portugal made him this answer, that although he had offended his worship heretofore, yet nowe hee had vowed his faith and true service unto him, and in respect thereof he neither could nor would conceale such treason as was in working against him and his company: and that was this. That the Spaniard which was taken out of the great sant Anne for a Pilote, whose name was Thomas de Ersola, had written a letter, and secretly sealed it and locked it up in his cheste, meaning to convey it by the inhabitants of this island to Manilla, the contents whereof were: That there had bene two English ships along the coast of Chili, Peru, Nueva Espanna, and Nueva Galicia, and that they had taken many shippes and marchandize in them, and burnt divers townes, and spoiled all that ever they could come unto, and that they had taken the kings ship



which came from Manilla and all his treasure, with all the marchandize that was therein; and had set all the people on shore, taking himselfe away perforce. Therefore he willed them that they should make strong their bulwarks with their two Gallies, and all such provision as they could possibly make. He farther signified, that wee were riding at an island called Capul, which was at the end of the island of Manilla, being but one shippe with small force in it, and that the other ship, as he supposed, was gone for the North-west passage, standing in 55 degrees: and that if they could use any meanes to surprize us being there at an anker, they should dispatch it: for our force was but small, and our men but weake, and that the place where we roade was but 50 leagues from them. Otherwise if they let us escape, within fewe yeeres they must make account to have their towne besieged and sacked with an armie of English. This information being given, our Generall called for him, and charged him with these things, which at the first he utterly denied: but in the ende, the matter being made manifest and knowen of certaintie by especiall tryall and proofes, the next morning our General willed that he should be hanged: which was accordingly performed the 16 of January.

On the 23 day of January, our Generall M. Thomas Candish caused al the principals of this island, and of an hundred islands more, which he had made to pay tribute unto him (which tribute was in hogges, hennes, potatoes and cocos,) to appeare before him, and made himselfe and his company knowne unto them, that they were English men, and enemies to the Spaniardes: and thereupon spredde his Ensigne and sounded up the drummes, which they much marvelled at: to conclude, they promised both themselves and all the islands thereabout to ayde him, whensoever hee shoulde come againe to overcome the Spaniardes. Also our Generall gave them, in token that wee were enemies to the Spaniardes, money backe againe for all their tribute which they had payed: which they tooke marvellous friendly, and rowed about our shippe to shewe us pleasure marvellous swiftly: at the last our generall caused a saker to be shot off, whereat they wondered, and with great contentment took their leaves of us.

The next day being the twentie foure of Januarie, wee sette sayle aboute sixe of the clock in the morning, and ran along the coast of the island of Manilla, shaping our course Northwest betweene the isle of Manilla, and the isle of Masbat.

The 28 day in the morning about 7 of the clocke, riding at an anker betwixt 2 islands, wee spied a Frigat under her two coarces, comming out

betweene 2 other islands, which as we imagined came from Manilla sayling, close aboard the shore along the maine island of Panama : we chased this frigate along the shore, & gat very fast upon it, until in the end we came so neere that it stood in to the shore close by a winde, untill shee was becalmed and was driven to stricke her sayle, and banked up with her oares : whereupon we came unto an anker with our ship, a league and an halfe from the place where the Frigate rowed in ; and manned our boat with halfe a dozen shot and as many men with swords, which did row the boat : thus we made after the Frigate which had hoysed saile and ran into a river, which we could not find. But as we rowed along the shore, our boate came into very shallow water, where many weares and sticks were set up in divers places in the sea, from whence 2 or 3 canoas came forth, whereof one made somewhat neere unto us, with 3 or 4 Indians in it : we called unto them, but they would not come neerer unto us, but rowed from us : whom wee durst not followe too farre from feare of bringing our selves to much to the leewarde of our ship. Here, as we looked about us, we espied another Balsa or canoa of a great bignes which they which were in her, did set along as we do usually set a barge with long staves or poles, which was builded up with great canes, and below hard by the water made to row with oares ; wherein were about 5 or 6 Indians and one Spaniard : nowe as wee were come almost at the Balsa, wee ran a ground with our boate ; but one or two of our men leaped over-boord and freed it againe presently, and keeping thwarte her head, we layed her aboard and tooke in to us the Spaniard, but the Indians leaped into the sea and dived and rose farre off againe from us. Presently upon the taking of this canoa, there shewed upon the sand a band of souldiers marching with an ensigne having a red Crosse like the flagge of England, which were about 50 or 60 Spaniardes, which were lately come from Manilla to that towne which is called Ragaun in a Barke to fetch a new shippe of the kings, which was building in a river within the bay, and stayed there but for certain yrons that did serve for the rudder of the said ship, which they looked for every day.

This band of men shot at us from the shore with their muskets, but hyt none of us, and wee shot at them againe : they also manned a Frigate and sent it out after our boat to have taken us, but we with saile and oares went from them : and when they perceived that they could not fetch us, but that they must come within danger of the ordinance of our ship, they stood in with the shore againe and landed their men, and presently sent their Frigate



about the point, but whether we knew not. So we came aboard with this one Spaniard, which was neither souldier nor sayler, but one that was come among the rest from Manilla, and had bene in the hospital there a long time before, and was a very simple soule, and such a one as could answer to very litle that hee was asked, concerning the state of the countrey. Here wee roade at anker all that night, and perceived that the Spaniards had dispersed their band into 2 or 3 parts, and kept great watch in several steedes with fires and shooting off their pieces. This island hath much plaine ground in it in many places, and many fayre and straight trees do grow upon it, fit for to make excellent good mastes for all sorts of ships. There are also mynes of very fine gold in it which are in the custodie of the Indians. And to the South-ward of this place, there is another very great island, which is not subdued by the Spaniards, nor any other nation. The people which inhabite it are all Negros; and the island is called the island of Negros: and is almost as bigge as England, standing in 9 degrees: the most part of it seemeth to be very lowe land, and by all likelihood is very fruitfull.

The 29 day of January aboute sixe of the clocke in the morning we set saile, sending our boate before until it was two of the clock in the afternoone, passing all this time as it were through a straight betwixt the said 2 islands of Panama, and the island of Negros, and about 16 leagues off we espied a fayre opening, trending Southwest and by South, at which time our boate came aboard, and our Generall sent commendations to the Spanish captaine which wee came from the evening before by the Spaniard which we tooke, and willed him to provide good store of gold: for he meant for to see him with his company at Manilla within fewe yeeres, and that he did but want a bigger boate to have landed his men, or else hee would have seene him then: and so caused him to be set on shore.

The 8 day of February by 8 of the clocke in the morning we espied an island neere Gilolo, called Batochina, which standeth in one degree from the Equinoctial line Northward.

The 14 day of February we fell with 11 or 12 very small islands, lying very low and flat, full of trees, and passed by some islands which be suncke and have the dry sands lying in the maine sea. These islands neere the Malucoes, stand in 3 degrees and 10 min. to the South-ward of the lyne.

On the 17 day, one John Gameford a Cooper dyed, which had bene sicke of an olde disease a long time. The 20 day wee fell with certaine other islands which had many small islands among them, standing 4 degrees

to the South-ward of the lyne. On the 21 day of Februarie, being Ashwednesday Captaine Havers dyed of a most fervent and pestilent ague, which held him furiously some 7 or 8 dayes, to the no small grieve of our Generall and of all the rest of the company, who caused two Falcons and one Sacre to be shot off, with all the small shotte in the ship, who after he was shrowded in a sheete and a prayer sayd, was heved over bord with great lamentation of us all. Moreover, presently after his death my selfe with divers others in the ship fell marveilously sicke, and so continued in very great paine for the space of three weekes or a moneth by reason of the extreeme heat and untemperatnesse of the Climate.

The first day of March having passed through the Straights of Java minor and Java major, wee came to an ancker under the Southwest parts of Java major : where wee espied certaine of the people which were fishing by the sea side in a bay which was under the yland. Then our Generall taking into the ship-boat certaine of his company, and a Negro which could speake the Morisco tongue, which hee had taken out of the great S. Anna, made toward those fishers, which having espied our boat ranne on shoare into the wood for feare of our men : but our Generall caused his Negro to call unto them : who no sooner heard him call, but presently one of them came out to the shore side and made answer. Our Generall by the Negro enquired of him for fresh water, which they found, and caused the fisher to goe to the King and to certifie him of a shippe that was come to have trafique for victuals, and for diamants, pearles, or any other riche jewels that hee had : for which hee should have either golde or other marchandise in exchange. The fisher answered that we should have all maner of victuals that wee would request. Thus the boat came aboard againe. Within a while after wee went about to furnishe our shippe thoroughly with wood and water.

About the eighth of March two or three Canoas came from the towne unto us with egges, hennes, fresh fish, oranges, and lymes, and brought worde wee should have had victuals more plentifully, but that they were so farre to bee brought to us where wee ridde. Which when our Generall heard hee weighed ancker and stode in neerer for the towne : and as wee were under saile wee mette with one of the kings canoas comming towarde us : whereupon wee shoke the shippe in the winde and stayed for the canoa untill it came aboard of us, and stode into the bay which was hard by and came to an ancker. In this canoa was the Kings Secretarie, who had on his head a piece of died linen cloth folded up like a Turkes Tuliban : he



was all naked saving about his waste, his breast was carved with the broad arrow upon it : hee went barefooted : he had an interpretour with him, which was a Mestizo, that is, halfe an Indian and halfe a Portugall, who could speake very good Portugese. This Secretarie signified unto our Generall that he had brought him an hogge, hennes, egges, fresh fish, sugar-canes and wine : (which wine was as strong as any aquavitæ, and as cleare as any rocke water :) he tolde him farther that hee would bring victuals so sufficiently for him, as hee and his company would request, and that within the space of foure dayes. Our Generall used him singularly



well, banquetted him most royally with the choyce of many and sundry conserves, wines both sweete and other, and caused his Musitians to make him musicke. This done our Generall tolde him that hee and his company were Englishmen ; and that wee had bene at China and had had trafique there with them, and that wee were come thither to discover, and purposed to goe to Malaca. The people of Java tolde our Generall that there were certaine Portugals in the yland which lay there as Factours continually to trafique with them, to buy Negros, cloves, pepper, sugar, and many other commodities. This Secretarie of the King with his interpretour lay one night aboard our shippe. The same night, because they lay aboard, in the evening

at the setting of the watch, our Generall commanded every man in the shippe to provide his harquebuze and his shotte, and so with shooting off 40. or 50. small shot and one Sacre, himselfe set the watch with them. This was no small marveile unto these heathen people, who had not commonly seene any shippe so furnished with men and Ordinance. The next morning wee dismissed the Secretarie and his interpretour with all humanitie.

The fourth day after, which was the 12. of March, according to their appointment came the Kings canoas ; but the winde being somewhat skant they could not get aboard that night, but put into a bay under the yland untill the next day, and presently after the breake of day there came to

the number of 9. or 10. of the Kings canoas so deeply laden with victuals as they could swim, with two great live oxen, halfe a skore of wonderfull great and fat hogges, a number of hennes which were alive, drakes, geese, eggs, plantans, sugar canes, sugar in plates, cocos, sweet oranges and sowre, lymes, great store of wine and aquavitæ, salt to season victuals withall, and almost all maner of victuals else, with divers of the Kings officers which were there. Among all the rest of the people in one of these canoas came two Portugales, which were of middle stature, and men of marveilous proper personage; they were each of them in a loose jerkin, and hose, which came downe from the waste to the ancle, because of the use of the Countrey, and partly because it was Lent, and a time for doing of their penance, (for they accompt it as a thing of great dislike among these heathens to weare either hose or shoes on their feete :) they had on ech of them a very faire and a white lawne shirt, with falling bands on the same, very decently, onely their bare legs excepted. These Portugales were no small joy unto our Generall and all the rest of our company: For we had not seene any Christian that was our friend of a yeere and an halfe before. Our Generall used and intreated them singularly well, with banquets and musicke: They told us that they were no lesse glad to see us, then wee to see them, and enquired of the estate of their countrey, and what was become of Don Antonio their King, and whether hee were living or no: for that they had not of long time bene in Portugall, and that the Spaniards had alwayes brought them worde that hee was dead. Then our Generall satisfied them in every demaund; Assuring them, that their King was alive, and in England, and had honourable allowance of our Queene, and that there was warre betweene Spaine and England, and that we were come under the King of Portugall into the South sea, and had warred upon the Spaniards there, and had fired, spoiled and sunke all the ships along the coast that we could meeete withall, to the number of eighteene or twentie sailes. With this report they were sufficiently satisfied.

On the other side they declared unto us the state of the yland of Java. First the plentifulnes and great choise and store of victuals of all sorts, & of all maner of fruits as before is set downe: Then the great and rich marchandize which are there to be had. Then they described the properties and nature of the people as followeth. The name of the King of that part of the yland was Raja Bolamboam, who was a man had in great majestie and feare among them. The common people may not bargain, sell, or exchange any thing with any other nation without speciall licence from



their king : and if any so doe, it is present death for him. The King himselfe is a man of great yeeres, and hath an hundred wives, his sonne hath fiftie. The custome of the countrey is, that whensoever the king doeth die, they take the body so dead and burne it and preserve the ashes of him, and within five dayes next after, the wives of the said king so dead, according to the custome and use of their countrey, every one of them goe together to a place appointed, and the chiefe of the women, which was nearest unto him in accompt, hath a ball in her hand, and throweth it from her, and to the place where the ball resteth, thither they goe all, and turne their faces to the Eastward, and every one with a dagger in their hand, (which dagger they call a Crise, and is as sharpe as a rasor) stab themselves to the heart, and with their hands all to bee-bath themselves in their owne blood, and falling grovelling on their faces so ende their dayes. This thing is as true as it seemeth to any hearer to be strange.

The men of themselves be very politique and subtle, and singularly valiant, being naked men, in any action they undertake, and wonderfully at commandement and feare of their king. For example : if their king command them to undertake any exploit, be it never so dangerous or desperate, they dare not nor will not refuse it, though they die every man in the execution of the same. For hee will cut off the heads of every one of them which returne alive without bringing of their purpose to passe : which is such a thing among them, as it maketh them the most valiant people in all the Southeast parts of the world : for they never feare any death. For being in fight with any nation, if any of them feeleth himselfe hurt with launce or sword, he will willingly runne himselfe upon the weapon quite through his body to procure his death the more speedily, and in this desperate sort ende his dayes, or overcome his enemy. Moreover, although the men be tawny of colour and go continually naked, yet their women be faire of complexion and go more apparelled.

After they had thus described the state of the yland, and the orders and facions of the people ; they tolde us farther, that if their king Don Antonio would come unto them, they would warrant him to have all the Malucos at commandement, besides, China, Sangles, and the yles of the Philippinas, and that hee might be assured to have all the Indians on his side that are in the countrey. After we had fully contented these Portugals, and the people of Java which brought us victuals in their Canoas, they tooke their leaves of us with promise of all good entertainment at our returnes, and our Generall gave them three great pieces of Ordinance at their departing

*Voyage of the Worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley*

Thus the next day being the 16. of March we set saile towards the Cape of good hope, called by the Portugals Cabo de buena Esperanza on the Southermost coast of Africa.

The rest of March and all the moneth of April wee spent in traversing that mightie and vaste Sea, betweene the yle of Java and the maine of Africa, observing the heavens, the Crosiers or South-pole, the other starres, the foules, which are markes unto the Sea men of faire weather, foule weather, approching of lands or ylands, the winds, the tempests, the raines & thunders, with the alterations of tides and currents.

The 10. day of May we had a storme at the West, and it blew so hard that it was as much as the ship could stirre close by under the wind : and the storme continued al that day and al that night.

The next day being the 11. of May in the morning one of the company went into the top, and espied land bearing North, and North and by West off us, & about noone wee espied land to beare West off us, which as we did imagine was the cape of Buena Esperanza, wherof indeed we were short some 40. or 50. leagues : and by reason of the skantnesse of the winde we stood along to the Southeast untill midnight ; at which time the winde came faire, and we haled along Westward.

The 12. and 13. dayes we were becalmed, and the sky was very hazie and thicke until the 14. day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the sky cleared, and we espied the land againe which was the cape called Cabo Falso, which is short of the Cape de buena Esperanza 40 or 50 leagues. This Cape is very easie to be known. For there are right over it three very high hilles standing but a smal way one off another, and the hiest standeth in the midst, and the ground is much lower by the seaside. The Cape of Good hope beareth West and by South from the said Cabo Falso.

The 16. day of May about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came up at East a very stiffe gale, which helde untill it was Saturday with as much winde as ever the ship could goe before : at which time by sixe of the clocke in the morning wee espied the promontorie or headland, called the Cape de Buena Esperanza, which is a reasonable hie land, & at the Westernmost point a litle off the maine do shew two hammocks, the one upon the other, and three other hammocks lying further off into the sea, yet low land betweene and adjoyning unto the sea.

This cape of Buena Esperanza is set down and accompted for two thousand leagues from the yland of Java in the Portugall sea carts : but it



is not so much almost by an hundred and fiftie leagues, as we found by the running of our ship. We were in running of these eighteene hundred and fiftie leagues just nine weekes.

The eighth day of June by breake of day we fel in sight of the yland of S. Helena, seven or eight leagues short of it, having but a small gale of winde, or almost none at all : insomuch as we could not get into it that day, but stood off and on all that night.

The next day being the 9. of June having a pretie easie gale of wind we stood in with the shore, our boat being sent away before to make the harborough ; and about one of the clocke in the afternoone we came unto an ancker in 12. fathoms water two or three cables length from the shore, in a very faire and smooth bay under the Northwest side of the yland.

This yland is very high land, and lieth in the maine sea standing as it were in the middest of the sea betweene the maine land of Africa, and the maine of Brasilia and the coast of Guinea : And is in 15. degrees and 48. minuts to the Southward of the Equinoctiall line, and is distant from the Cape of Buena Esperanza betweene 5. and 6. hundreth leagues.

The same day about two or three of the clocke in the afternoone wee went on shore, where wee found a marveilous faire & pleasant valley, wherein divers handsome buildings and houses were set up, and especially one which was a Church, which was tyled & whited on the outside very faire, and made with a porch, and within the Church at the upper end was set an altar, whereon stood a very large table set in a frame having in it the picture of our Saviour CHRIST upon the Crosse and the image of our Lady praying, with divers other histories curiously painted in the same. The sides of the Church were all hanged with stained clothes having many devises drawn in them.

There are two houses adjoining to the Church, on each side one, which serve for kitchins to dresse meate in, with necessary roomes and houses of office : the coverings of the said houses are made flat, whereon is planted a very faire vine, and through both the saide houses runneth a very good and holsome streame of fresh water.

There is also right over against the saide Church a faire causey made up with stones reaching unto a valley by the seaside, in which valley is planted a garden, wherein grow great store of pompions and melons : And upon the saide causey is a frame erected whereon hange two bells wherewith they ring to Masse ; and hard unto it is a Crosse set up, which is squared, framed

and made very artificially of free stone, whereon is carved in cyphers what time it was builded, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1571.

This valley is the fairest and largest lowe plot in all the yland, and it is marveilous sweete and pleasant, and planted in every place either with fruite trees, or with herbes. There are fig trees, which beare fruit continually, & marveilous plentifully : for on every tree you shal have blossoms, greene figs, and ripe figs, all at ones : and it is so all the yere long : the reason is that the yland standeth so neere the Sunne. There be also great store of lymon trees, orange trees, pomegranate trees, pomecitron trees, date trees, which beare fruite as the fig trees do, and are planted carefully and very artificially with very pleasant walkes under and betweene them, and the saide walkes bee overshadowed with the leaves of the trees : and in every voyde place is planted parceley, sorell, basill, fenell, annis seede, mustard seede, radishes, and many speciall good hearbes : and the fresh water brooke runneth through divers places of this orchard, and may with very small paines be made to water any one tree in the valley.

This fresh water streame commeth from the tops of the mountaines, and falleth from the cliffe into the valley the height of a cable, and hath many armes out of it, which refresh the whole yland, and almost every tree in it. The yland is altogether high mountaines and steepe valleis, except it be in the tops of some hilles, and downe below in some of the valleis, where marveilous store of all these kinds of fruits before spoken of do grow : there is greater store growing in the tops of the mountaines then below in the valleis : but it is wonderfull laboursome and also dangerous travailing up unto them and downe againe, by reason of the height and steepeesse of the hilles.

There is also upon this yland great store of partridges, which are very tame, not making any great hast to flie away though one come very neere them, but onely to runne away, and get up into the steepe cliffes : we killed some of them with a fowling piece. They differ very much from our partridges which are in England both in bignesse and also in colour. For they be within a little as bigge as an henne, and are of an ashe colour, and live in covies twelve, sixteen, and twentie together : you cannot go ten or twelve score but you shall see or spring one or two covies at the least.

There are likewise no lesse store of fesants in the yland, which are also marveilous bigge and fat, surpassing those which are in our countrey in bignesse and in numbers of a company. They differ not very much in colour from the partridges before spoken of.



Wee found moreover in this place great store of Guinie cocks, which we call Turkies, of colour blacke and white, with red heads: they are much about the same bignes which ours be of in England: their egges be white, and as bigge as a Turkies egge.

There are in this yland thousands of goates, which the Spaniards call Cabritos, which are very wilde: you shall see one or two hundred of them together, and sometimes you may beholde them going in a flocke almost a mile long. Some of them, (whether it be the nature of the breed of them, or of the country I wot not) are as big as an asse, with a maine like an horse and a beard hanging downe to the very ground: they will clime up the cliffes which are so steepe that a man would thinke it a thing impossible for any living thing to goe there. We tooke and killed many of them for all their swiftnes: for there be thousands of them upon the mountaines.

Here are in like maner great store of swine which be very wilde and very fat, and of a marveilous bignes: they keepe altogether upon the mountaines, and will very seldome abide any man to come neere them, except it be by meere chance when they be found asleepe, or otherwise, according to their kinde, be taken layed in the mire.

We found in the houses at our comming 3. slaves which were Negros, & one which was borne in the yland of Java, which tolde us that the East Indian fleete, which were in number 5. sailes, the least whereof were in burthen 8. or 900. tunnes, all laden with spices and Calicut cloth, with store of treasure and very rich stones and pearles, were gone from the saide yland of S. Helena but 20. dayes before we came thither.

This yland hath bene found of long time by the Portugals, and hath bene altogether planted by them, for their refreshing as they come from the East Indies. And when they come they have all things plentiful for their reliefe, by reason that they suffer none to inhabit there that might spend up the fruit of the yland, except some very few sicke persons in their company, which they stand in doubt will not live untill they come home, whom they leave there to refresh themselves, and take away the yeere following the other Fleete if they live so long. They touch here rather in their comming home from the East Indies, then at their going thither, because they are throughly furnished with corne when they set out of Portugal, but are but meanelly victualled at their comming from the Indies, where there groweth little corne.

The 20. day of June having taken in wood & water and refreshed our

*Voyage of the Worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimlev*

selves with such things as we found there, and made cleane our ship, we set saile about 8. of the clocke in the night toward England. At our setting saile wee had the winde at Southeast, and we haled away Northwest and by West. The winde is commonly off the shore at this yland of S. Helena.

On Wednesday being the thirde day of July we went away Northwest the winde being still at Southeast; at which time we were in 1. degree and 48 minuts to the Southward of the Equinoctial line.

The twelfth day of the said moneth of July it was very little winde, and toward night it was calme and blew no winde at all, and so continued untill it was Munday, being the 15. day of July.

On Wednesday the 17. day of the abovesaid moneth wee had the winde skant at West northwest. Wee found the wind continually to blow at East, and Northeast, and Eastnortheast after we were in 3. or 4. degrees to the Northward; and it altered not untill we came betweene 30. and 40. degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctial Line.

On Wednesday the 21. day of August the wind came up at Southwest a faire gale: by which day at noone we were in 38. degrees of Northerly latitude.

On Friday in the morning being the 23. day of August, at foure of the clocke we haled East, and East and by South for the Northermost ylands of the Azores.

On Saturday the 24. day of the said moneth by 5. of the clocke in the morning we fel in sight of the two ylands of Flores and Corvo standing in 39. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . and sailed away Northeast.

The third of September we met with a Flemish hulke which came from Lisbone, & declared unto us the overthrowing of the Spanish Fleete, to the singuler rejoycing and comfort of us all.

The 9. of September, after a terrible tempest which caried away most part of our sailes, by the mercifull favour of the Almightye we recovered our long wished port of Plimmouth in England, from whence we set foorth at the beginning of our voyage.



The last  
VOYAGE OF THE WORSHIPFULL M. THOMAS  
CANDISH ESQUIRE,

intended for the South sea, the Philippinas, and the  
coast of China, with 3. tall ships, and two barks.

6225

*Written by M. John Jane, a man of good observation, imployed in the same,  
and many other voyages.*



HE 26. of August 1591, wee departed from Plimmouth with 3. tall ships, and two barks, The Galeon wherein M. Candish went himselfe being Admiral, The Roebucke vice admirall whereof M. Cocke was Captaine, The Desire Rere-admirall whereof was Captaine M. John Davis (with whom and for whose sake I went this voyage) The Blacke pinnesse, and a barke of M. Arian Gilbert, whereof M. Randolfe Cotton was Captaine.

The 29. of November wee fell with the bay of Salvador upon the coast of Brasil 12. leagues on this side Cabo Frio, where wee were becalmed untill the second of December : at which time wee tooke a small barke bound for the River of Plate with sugar, haberdash wares, and Negros. The Master of this barke brought us unto an yle called Placencia thirtie leagues West from Cabo Frio, where wee arrived the fift of December, and rifled sixe or seven houses inhabited by Portugales. The 11. wee departed from this place, and the fourteenth we arrived at the yle of S. Sebastian : from whence M. Cocke and Captaine Davis presently departed with The Desire and the blacke pinnesse, for the taking of the towne of Santos. The 15. at evening we anckered at the barre of Santos, from whence we departed with our boates to the towne ; and the next morning

*The last Voyage of the Worshipfull M. Thomas Candish Esquire*

about nine of the clocke wee came to Santos, where being discovered, wee were inforced to land with 24. gentlemen, our long boat being farre a sterne, by which expedition wee tooke all the people of the towne at Masse both men and women, whom wee kept all that day in the Church as prisoners. The cause why master Candish desired to take this towne was to supply his great wants : For being in Santos, and having it in quiet possession, wee stood in assurance to supply all our needes in great abundance. But such was the negligence of our governour master Cocke, that the Indians were suffered to carry out of the towne whatsoever they would in open viewe, and no man did controll them : and the next day after wee had wonne the towne, our prisoners were all set at libertie, onely foure poore olde men were kept as pawns to supply our wants. Thus in three dayes the towne that was able to furnish such another Fleete with all kinde of necessities, was left unto us nakedly bare, without people and provision.

Eight or tenne dayes after master Candish himselfe came thither, where hee remained untill the 22. of January, seeking by intreatie to have that, whereof we were once possessed. But in conclusion wee departed out of the towne through extreeme want of victuall, not being able any longer to live there, and were glad to receive a fewe canisters or baskets of Cassavi meale ; so that in every condition wee went worse furnished from the towne, then when wee came unto it. The 22. of January we departed from Santos, and burnt Sant Vincent to the ground. The 24. we set saile, shaping our course for the Streights of Magellan.

The seventh of February we had a very great storme, and the eighth our Fleet was separated by the fury of the tempest. Then our Captaine called unto him the Master of our ship, whom hee found to be a very honest and sufficient man, and conferring with him he concluded to goe for Port Desire, which is in the Southerly latitude of 48. degrees ; hoping that the Generall would come thither, because that in his first voyage he had found great reliefe there. For our Captaine could never get any direction what course to take in any such extremities, though many times hee had intreated for it, as often I have heard him with griefe report. In sayling to this port by good chance we met with The Roe-bucke, wherein master Cocke had endured great extremities, and had lost his boate, and therefore desired our Captaine to keepe him company, for hee was in very desperate case. Our Captaine hoised out his boate, and went aboard him to know his estate, and returning tolde us the hardnesse thereof, and desired the Master and all the company to be carefull in all their watches not to



loose The Roe-bucke, and so wee both arrived at Port Desire the sixth of March.

The 16. of March The Blacke pinnesse came unto us, but master Gilberts barke came not, but returned home to England, having their Captaine aboard the Roe-bucke without any provision more then the apparell that hee wore, who came from thence aboard our ship to remaine with our Captaine, by reason of the great friendship betweene them. The 18. the Galeon came into the road, and master Candish came into the harborough in a boat which he had made at sea : for his long boat and light-horseman were lost at sea, as also a pinnesse which he had built at Santos : and being aboard The Desire he tolde our Captaine of all his extremities, and spake



most hardly of his company, and of divers gentlemen that were with him, purposing no more to goe aboard his owne ship, but to stay in The Desire. We all sorrowed to heare such hard speeches of our good friends ; but having spoken with the gentlemen of the Galeon wee found them faithfull, honest, and resolute in proceeding, although it pleased our Generall otherwise to conceive of them.

The 20. of March we departed from Port Desire, master Candish being in The Desire with us. The eighth of April 1592, wee fell with the Straights of Magellan, induring many furious stormes betweene Port Desire and the Straight. The 14. we passed through the first Straight. The 16. we passed the second Straight being ten leagues distant from the first. The 18. we doubled Cape Froward, which Cape lieth in 53. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The 21. wee were inforced by the fury of the weather to put into a small coove with our ships, 4. leagues from the said Cape, upon the South

shore, where wee remained until the 15. of May. In the which time wee indured extreeme stormes, with perpetual snow, where many of our men died with cursed famine, and miserable cold, not having wherewith to cover their bodies, nor to fill their bellies, but living by muskles, water, and weeds of the sea, with a small reliefe of the ships store in meale sometimes. And all the sicke men in the Galeon were most uncharitably put a shore into the woods in the snowe, raine, and cold, when men of good health could skarcely indure it, where they ended their lives in the highest degree of misery, master Candish all this while being aboard the Desire. In these great extremities of snow and cold, doubting what the ende would be, he asked our Captaines opinion, because he was a man that had good experience of the Northwest parts, in his 3. severall discoveries that way, imploied by the marchants of London. Our Captaine tolde him, that this snow was a matter of no long continuance, and gave him sufficient reason for it, and that thereby hee could not much be prejudiced or hindered in his proceeding. Notwithstanding he called together all the company, and tolde them, that he purposed not to stay in the Streights, but to depart upon some other voyage, or else to returne againe for Brasil. But his resolution was to goe for the Cape of Buena Esperanza. The company answered, that if it pleased him, they did desire to stay Gods favour for a winde, and to indure all hardnesse whatsoever, rather then to give over the voyage, considering they had bene here but a smal time, and because they were within fourtie leagues of the South sea, it grieved them now to returne; notwithstanding what hee purposed that they would performe. So hee concluded to goe for the Cape of Buena Esperanza, and to give over this voyage. Then our Captaine, after master Candish was come aboard The Desire from talking with the company, tolde him, that if it pleased him to consider the great extremitie of his estate, the slendernesse of his provisions, with the weakenesse of his men, it was no course for him to proceed in that newe enterprize: for if the rest of your shippes (said hee) bee furnished answerable to this, it is impossible to performe your determination: for wee have no more sailes then mastes, no victuals, no ground-tackling, no cordage more then is over head, and among seventie and five persons, there is but the Master alone that can order the shippe, and but foureteene saylers. The rest are gentlemen, servingmen, and artificers. Therefore it will be a desperate case to take so hard an enterprize in hand. These perswasions did our Captaine not onely use to master Candish, but also to master Cocke. In fine upon a petition delivered in writing by the chiefe of the whole



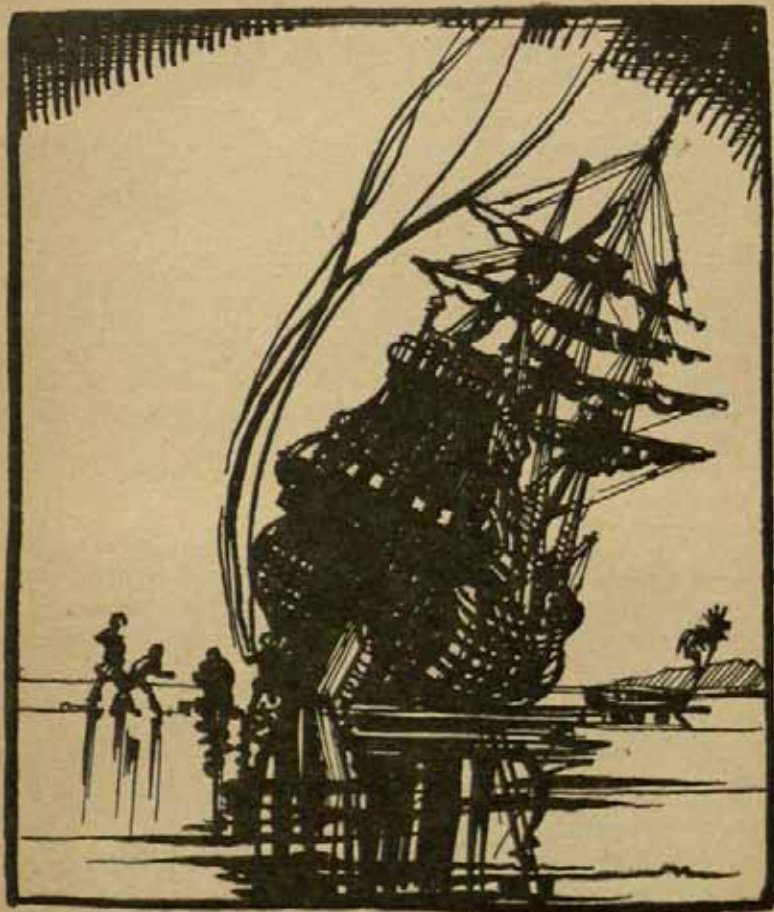
company, the Generall determined to depart out of The Streights of Magellan, and to returne againe for Santos in Brasil.

So the 15. of May wee set saile, the Generall then being in the Galeon. The eighteenth wee were free of the Streights, but at Cape Froward it was our hard hap to have our boat sunke at our sterne in the night, and to be split and sore spoiled, and to loose all our ores.

The twentieth of May being thwart of Port Desire, in the night the Generall altered his course, as we suppose, by which occasion wee lost him: for in the evening he stood close by a winde to seaward, having the winde at Northnortheast, and wee standing the same way, the winde not altering, could not the next day see him: so that we then perswaded our selves, that hee was gone for Port Desire to relieve himselfe, or that hee had sustained some mischance at Sea, and was gone thither to remedy it. Whereupon our Captaine called the Generals men unto him, with the rest, and asked their opinion what was to bee done. Every one sayde, that they thought that the Generall was gone for Port Desire. Then the Master being the Generals man, and carefull of his masters service, as also of good judgement in Sea-matters, tolde the company howe dangerous it was to goe for Port Desire, if wee shoulde there misse the Generall: for (saide hee) wee have no boate to lande our selves, nor any cables nor anckers that I dare trust in so quicke streames as are there: yet in all likelyhood concluding that the Generall was gone thither, wee stayed our course for Port Desire, and by chance mette with the Blacke pinnesse, which had likewise lost the Fleete, being in very miserable case: so wee both concluded to seeke the Generall at Port Desire.

The sixe and twentieth day of May we came to Port Desire, where not finding our Generall, as we hoped, being most slenderly victualled, without sailes, boate, ores, nailes, cordage, and all other necessities for our reliefe, wee were strooken into a deadly sorrow. But referring all to the providence and fatherly protection of the Almighty, wee entered the harbour, and by Gods favour found a place of quiet roade, which before wee knewe not. Having moored our shippe with the pinnesse boate, wee landed upon the South shore, where wee found a standing poole of fresh water, which by estimation might holde some tenne tunnes, whereby wee were greatly comforted. From this poole wee fet more then fortie tunnes of water, and yet we left the poole as full as wee found it. And because at our first being in this harbour wee were at this place and found no water, we perswaded our selves that God had sent it for our reliefe. Also there were such

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extraordinary low ebbes as we had never seene, whereby wee got muskles in great plentie. Likewise God sent about our shippes great abundance of smelts, so that with hookes made of pinnes every man caught as many as hee coulde eate : by which meanes wee preserved our ships victuals, and spent not any during the time of our abode here.

Our Captaine and Master falling into the consideration of our estate and dispatch to goe to the Generall, found our wants so great, as that in a moneth wee coulde not fitt our shippe to set saile. For wee must needes set up a Smiths forge, to make boltes, spikes, and nayles, besides the repairing of our other wants. Whereupon they concluded it to bee their best course to take the pinnesse, and to furnish her with the best of the company, and to goe to the Generall with all expedition, leaving the shippe and the rest of the company untill the Generals returne ; for hee had vowed to our Captaine, that hee would returne againe for the Streights, as hee had tolde us. The Captaine and Master of the pinnesse being the Generals men were well contented with the motion.

But the Generall having in our shippe two most pestilent fellowes, when they heard of this determination they utterly misliked it, and in secret dealt with the company of both shippes, vehemently perswading them, that our Captaine and Master would leave them in the countrey to bee devoured of the Canibals, and that they were mercilesse and without charitie : whereupon the whole company joyned in secret with them in a night to murder our Captaine and Master, with my selfe, and all those which they thought were their friendes. There were markes taken in his caben howe to kill him with muskets through the shippes side, and bullets made of silver for the execution, if their other purposes should faile. All agreed hereunto, except it were the boteswaine of our shippe, who when hee knew the matter, and the slender ground thereof, reveiled it unto our Master, and so to the Captaine. Then the matter being called in question, those two most murtherous fellowes were found out, whose names were Charles Parker and Edward Smith.

The Captaine being thus hardly beset in perill of famine, and in danger of murthering, was constrained to use lenitie, and by courteous meanes to pacifie this furie : shewing, that to doe the Generall service, unto whom he had vowed faith in this action, was the cause why hee purposed to goe unto him in the pinnesse, considering, that the pinnesse was so necessary a thing for him, as that hee could not bee without her, because hee was fearefull of the shore in so great shippes. Whereupon all cried out with

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cursing and swearing, that the pinnesse should not goe unlesse the shippe went. Then the Captaine desired them to shewe themselves Christians, and not so blasphemously to behave themselves, without regard or thanksgiving to God for their great deliverance, and present sustenance bestowed upon them, alleaging many examples of Gods sharpe punishment for such ingratitude; and withall promised to doe any thing that might stand with their good liking. By which gentle speeches the matter was pacified, and the Captaine and Master at the request of the company were content to forgive this great treachery of Parker and Smith, who after many admonitions concluded in these wordes: The Lord judge betweene you and mee: which after came to a most sharpe revenge even by the punishment of the Almightye. Thus by a generall consent it was concluded not to depart, but there to stay for the Generalls returne. Then our Captaine and Master, seeing that they could not doe the Generall that service which they desired, made a motion to the companie, that they would lay downe under their handes the losing of the Generall, with the extremities wherein we then stoode: whereunto they consented, and wrote under their hands as followeth.

The testimoniall of the companie of The Desire touching their losing of their Generall, which appeareth to have beene utterly against their meanings.



THE 26 of August 1591 wee whose names bee here under written with divers others departed from Plimmouth under M. Thomas Candish our Generall, with 4 ships of his, to wit, The Galeon, The Robuck, The Desire, and The Black pinnesse, for the performance of a voyage into The South sea. The 19 of November we fell with the bay of Salvador in Brasil. The 16. of December we tooke the towne of Santos, hoping there to revictuall our selves, but it fell not out to our contentment. The 24 of January we set saile from Santos, shaping our course for The Streights of Magellan. The 8 of Februarie by violent stormes the sayde fleete was parted: The Robuck and The Desire arrived in Porte Desire the 6 of March. The 16 of March The Black pinnesse arrived there also: and the 18 of the same our admirall came into the roade; with whom we



departed the 20 of March in poore and weake estate. The 8 of Aprill 1592 we entred The Streights of Magellan. The 21 of Aprill wee ankered beyond Cape Froward, within 40 leagues of The South sea, where wee rode untill the 15 of May. In which time wee had great store of snowe, with some gustie weather, the wind continuing still at Westnorthwest against us. In this time wee were inforced for the preserving of our victuals, to live the most part upon muskles, our provision was so slender; so that many of our men died in this hard extremitie. Then our General returned for Brasil there to winter, & to procure victuals for this voyage against the next yeere. So we departed The Streights the 15 of May. The 21 being thwart of Port Desire 30 leagues off the shoare, the wind then at Northeast and by North, at five of the clock at night lying Northeast, wee suddenly cast about lying Southeast and by South, and sometimes Southeast: the whole flecte following the admirall, our ship comming under his lee shot ahead him, and so framed saile fit to keepe companie. This night wee were severed, by what occasion wee protest wee know not, whither we lost them or they us. In the morning we only saw The Black pinnesse, then supposing that the admirall had overshot us. All this day wee stooode to the Eastwards, hoping to find him, because it was not likely, that he would stand to the shoare againe so suddenly. But missing him towards night, we stood to the shoareward, hoping by that course to finde him. The 22 of May at night we had a violent storme, with the winde at Northwest, and wee were inforced to hull, not being able to beare saile, and this night we perished our maine tressletrees, so that wee could no more use our maine top-saile, lying most dangerously in the sea. The pinnesse likewise received a great leake, so that wee were inforced to seeke the next shoare for our reliefe. And because famine was like to bee the best ende, wee desired to goe for Port Desire, hoping with seales and penguins to relieve our selves, and so to make shift to followe the Generall, or there to stay his comming from Brasil. The 24 of May wee had much winde at North. The 25 was calme, and the sea very loftie, so that our ship had dangerous foule weather. The 26 our fore-shrowdes brake, so that if wee had not beene neere the shoare, it had beene impossible for us to get out of the sea. And now being here moored in Port Desire, our shroudes are all rotten, not having a running rope whereto wee may trust, and being provided onely of one shift of sailes all worne, our top-sailes not able to abide any stresse of weather, neither have wee any pitch, tarre, or nailes, nor any store for the supplying of these wantes; and wee live onely upon seales and muskles, having but

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five hogshheads of porke within bourd, and meale three ounces for a man a day, with water for to drinke. And forasmuch as it hath pleased God to separate our fleete, and to bring us into such hard extremities, that only now by his mere mercy we expect reliefe, though otherwise we are hopelesse of comfort, yet because the wonderfull workes of God in his exceeding great favour toward us his creatures are farre beyond the scope of mans capacitie, therefore by him we hope to have deliverance in this our deepe distresse. Also forasmuch as those upon whom God will bestow the favour of life, with returne home to their countrey, may not onely themselves remaine blamelesse, but also manifest the trueth of our actions, wee have thought good in Christian charitie to lay downe under our hands the trueth of all our proceedings even till the time of this our distresse.

Given in Port Desire the 2 of June 1592. Beseching the almightie God of his mercie to deliver us from this miserie, how or when it shall please his divine Majestie.

John Davis Captaine.  
Randolph Cotton.  
John Pery.  
William Maber gunner.  
Charles Parker.  
Rouland Miller.  
Edward Smith.  
Thomas Purpet.  
Matthew Stubbes.  
John Jenkinson.  
Thomas Edwards.  
Edward Granger.  
John Lewis.  
William Hayman.  
George Straker.  
Thomas Walbie.  
William Wyeth.  
Richard Alard.  
Stephan Popham  
Alexander Cole.

Thomas Watkins.  
George Cunington.  
John Whiting.  
James Ling.  
The Boat-swain.  
Francis Smith.  
John Layes.  
The Boat-swaines mate.  
Fisher.  
John Austin.  
Francis Copstone.  
Richard Garet.  
James Eversby.  
Nicolas Parker.  
Leonard.  
John Pick.  
Benjamin.  
William Maber.  
James Not.  
Christopher Hauser.

After they had delivered this relation unto our captaine under their handes, then wee began to travell for our lives, and wee built up a smiths



forge, and made a colepit, and burnt coles, and there wee made nails, boltes, and spikes, others made ropes of a peece of our cable, and the rest gathered muskles, and tooke smeltes for the whole companie. Three leagues from this harborough there is an Isle with foure small Isles about it, where there are great abundance of seales, and at the time of the yeere the penguins come thither in great plentie to breede. Wee concluded with the pinnesse, that she should sometimes goe thither to fetch seales for us; upon which condition wee would share our victuals with her man for man; whereunto the whole companie agreed. So wee parted our poore store, and shee laboured to fetch us seales to eate, wherewith wee lived when smeltes and muskles failed: for in the nepe streames wee could get no muskles. Thus in most miserable calamitie wee remained untill the sixt of August, still keeping watch upon the hils to looke for our Generall, and so great was our vexation and anguish of soule, as I thinke never flesh and blood endured more. Thus our miserie dayly increasing, time passing, and our hope of the Generall being very colde, our Captaine and Master were fully perswaded, that the Generall might perhaps goe directly for The Streights, and not come to this harborough: whereupon they thought no course more convenient than to goe presently for The Streights, and there to stay his comming, for in that place hee could not passe, but of force wee must see him: whereunto the companie most willingly consented, as also the Captaine and Master of the pinnesse; so that upon this determination wee made all possible speede to depart.

The sixt of August wee set saile, and went to Penguin-isle, and the next day wee salted twentie hogsheds of seales, which was as much as our salt could possibly doe, and so wee departed for The Streights the poorest wretches that ever were created. The seventh of August towarde night wee departed from Penguin-isle, shaping our course for The Streights, where wee had full confidence to meete with our Generall. The ninth wee had a sore storme, so that wee were constrained to hull, for our sailes were not to indure any force. The 14 wee were driven in among certaine Isles never before discovered by any knownen relation, lying fiftie leagues or better from the shoare East and Northerly from The Streights: in which place, unlesse it had pleased God of his wonderfull mercie to have ceased the winde, wee must of necessitie have perished. But the winde shifting to the East, wee directed our course for The Streights, and the 18 of August wee fell with the Cape in a very thicke fogge; and the same night we ankered ten leagues within the Cape. The 19 day wee passed the first and

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the second Streights. The 21 wee doubled Cape Froward. The 22 we ankered in Salvage coove, so named, because wee found many Salvages there : notwithstanding the extreme colde of this place, yet doe all these wilde people goe naked, and live in the woods like Satyrs, painted and disguised, and flie from you like wilde deere. They are very strong, and



threw stones at us of three or foure pound weight an incredible distance. The 24 in the morning wee departed from this coove, and the same day we came into the Northwest reach, which is the last reach of the Streights. The 25 we ankered in a good coove, within fourteene leagues of the South sea : in this place we purposed to stay for the General, for the streight in this place is scarce three miles broad, so that he could not passe but we must see him. After we had stayed here a fortnight in the deep of winter,



our victuals consuming, (for our Seals stunke most vily, and our men died pitifully through cold and famin, for the greatest part of them had not clothes to defend the extremitie of the winters cold) being in this heavie distresse, our capitaine and Master thought it the best course to depart from the Streights into the South sea, and to go for the Isle of Santa Maria, which is to the Northward of Baldivia in 37 degrees & a quarter, where we might have reliefe, and be in a temperate clime, and there stay for the Generall, for of necessity he must come by that Isle. So we departed the 13 of September, & came in sight of the South sea. The 14 we were forced backe againe, and recovered a coove 3 leagues within the streights from the South sea. Againe we put foorth, & being 8 or 10 leagues free of the land, the wind rising furiously at Westnorthwest, we were inforced againe into the streights only for want of sails; for we never durst beare saile in any stresse of weather, they were so weake: so againe we recovered the coove three leagues within the streights, where we indured most furious weather, so that one of our two cables brake, whereby we were hopeles of life. Yet it pleased God to calme the storme, and wee unrived our sheates, tackes, halliers, and other ropes, and mored our ship to the trees close by the rockes. We laboured to recover our ankor againe, but could not by any means, it lay so deepe in the water, and as we thinke cleane covered with oaze. Now had we but one ankor which had but one whole Flouke, a cable spliced in two places, and a piece of an olde cable. In the midst of these our troubles it pleased God that the wind came faire the first of October; whereupon with all expedition wee loosed our morings, and weighed our ankor, and so towed off into the chanel; for wee had mended our boate in Port Desire, and had five oares of the pinnesse. When we had weighed our ankor, we found our cable broken, onely one strand helde: then wee prayed God; for we saw apparantly his mercies in preserving us. Being in the chanel, we rived our ropes, & againe rigged our ship, no mans hand was idle, but all laboured even for the last gaspe of life. Here our company was devided; some desired to go againe for Port Desire, and there to be set on shore, where they might travell for their lives, and some stood with the Capitaine & Master to proceed. Whereupon the Capitaine sayd to the Master: Master, you see the wonderfull extremitie of our estate, and the great doubts among our companie of the truth of your reports, as touching reliefe to be had in the South sea: some say in secret, as I am informed, that we undertake these desperate attempts through blind affection that we beare to the General. For mine owne part I plainly make known unto

you, that the love which I bare to the Generall caused mee first to enter into this action, whereby I have not onely heaped upon my head this bitter calamity now present, but also have in some sort procured the dislike of my best friends in England, as it is not unknowen to some in this company. But now being thus intangled by the providence of God for my former offences (no doubt) I desire, that it may please his divine Majestie to show us such mercifull favour, that we may rather proceed, then otherwise : or if it be his wil, that our mortall being shal now take an ende, I rather desire that it may bee in proceeding then in returning. And because I see in reason, that the limits of our time are now drawing to an end, I do in Christian charity intreat you all, first to forgive me in whatsoever I have bin grievous unto you ; secondly that you wil rather pray for our General, then use hard speeches of him ; and let us be fully perswaded, that not for his cause & negligence, but for our own offences against the divine Majesty we are presently punished ; lastly, let us forgive one another and be reconciled as children in love & charity, and not think upon the vanities of this life : so shall we in leaving this life live with our glorious redeemer, or abiding in this life, find favour with God. And now (good master) forasmuch as you have bin in this voyage once before with your master the general, satisfie the company of such truths, as are to you best knownen ; & you the rest of the generals men, which likewise have bin with him in his first voyage if you heare any thing contrary to the truth, spare not to reprove it, I pray you. And so I beseech the Lord to bestow his mercy upon us. Then the master began in these speeches : Captain, your request is very reasonable, & I referre to your judgment my honest care, & great pains taken in the generals service, my love towards him, & in what sort I have discharged my duety, from the first day to this houre. I was commanded by the general to follow your directions, which hitherto I have performed. You all knowe, that when I was extreemely sicke, the General was lost in my mates watch, as you have well examined : sithens which time, in what anguish and grieve of minde I have lived, God onely knoweth, and you are in some part a witnesse. And nowe if you thinke good to returne, I will not gainesay it : but this I assure you, if life may be preserved by any meanes, it is in proceeding. For at the Isle of Santa Maria I doe assure you of wheate, porke, and rootes enough. Also I will bring you to an Isle, where Pelicans bee in great abundance, and at Santos wee shall have meale in great plenty, besides all our possibilitie of intercepting some shippes upon the coast of Chiii and Peru. But if wee returne



there is nothing but death to be hoped for : therefore doe as you like, I am ready, but my desire is to proceede. These his speeches being confirmed by others that were in the former voyage, there was a generall consent of proceeding ; and so the second of October we put into the South sea, and were free of all land. This night the winde began to blowe very much at Westnorthwest, and still increased in fury, so that wee were in great doubt what course to take : to put into the Streights wee durst not for lacke of ground tackle : to beare sayle wee doubted, the tempest was so furious, and our sayles so bad. The pinnesse come roome with us, and tolde us that shee had received many grievous Seas, and that her ropes did every houre fayle her, so as they could not tell what shift to make : wee being unable in any sort to helpe them, stood under our coarces in view of the lee-shore, still expecting our ruinous end.

The fourth of October the storme growing beyond all reason furious, the pinnesse being in the winde of us, strake suddenly ahull, so that we thought shee had received some grievous sea, or sprung a leake, or that her sayles failed her, because she came not with us : but we durst not hull in that unmercifull storme, but sometimes tried under our maine coarse, sometime with a haddock of our sayle, for our ship was very leeward, and most laboursome in the sea. This night wee lost the pinnesse, and never saw her againe.

The fift, our foresayle was split, and all to torne : then our Master tooke the mizzen, and brought it to the foremast, to make our ship worke, and with our sprit-saile we mended our foresayle, the storme continuing without all reason in fury, with haile, snowe, raine, and winde such and so mighty, as that in nature it could not possibly be more, the seas such and so lofty, with continuall breach, that many times we were doubtfull whether our ship did sinke or swimme.

The tenth of October being by the accompt of our Captaine and Master very neere the shore, the weather darke, the storme furious, and most of our men having given over to travell, we yeelded our selves to death, without further hope of succour. Our captaine sitting in the gallery very pensive, I came and brought him some *Rosa solis* to comfort him ; for he was so cold, that hee was scarce able to moove a joint. After he had drunke, and was comforted in heart, hee began for the ease of his conscience to make a large repetition of his forepassed time, and with many grievous sighs he concluded in these words : Oh most glorious God, with whose power the mightiest things among men are matters of no moment, I most humbly

*The last Voyage of the Warshipfull M. Thomas Candish Esquire*

beseech thee, that the intollerable burthen of my sinnes may through the blood of Jesus Christ be taken from me : and end our daies with speede, or shew us some mercifull signe of thy love and our preservation. Having thus ended, he desired me not to make knowne to any of the company his intollerable griefe and anguish of minde, because they should not thereby be dismayed. And so suddenly, before I went from him the Sunne shined cleere ; so that he and the Master both observed the true elevation of the Pole, whereby they knew by what course to recover the Streights. Where-withall our captaine and Master were so revived, & gave such comfortable speeches to the company, that every man rejoiced, as though we had received a present deliverance. The next day being the 11 of October, we saw Cabo Descado being the cape on the South shore (the North shore is nothing but a company of dangerous rocks, Isles, & sholds.) This cape being within two leages to leeward off us, our master greatly doubted, that we could not double the same : whereupon the captain told him : You see there is no remedy, either we must double it, or before noon we must die : therefore loose your sails, and let us put it to Gods mercy. The master being a man of good spirit resolutely made quicke dispatch & set sails. Our sailes had not bene halfe an houre aboard, but the footrope of our foresaile brake, so that nothing held but the oylet holes. The seas continually brake over the ships poope, and flew into the sailes with such violence, that we still expected the tearing of our sayles, or oversetting of the ship, and withall to our utter discomfort, wee perceived that wee fell still more and more to leeward, so that wee could not double the cape : wee were nowe come within halfe a mile of the cape, and so neere the shore, that the counter-suffe of the sea would rebound against the shippes side, so that wee were much dismayed with the horror of our present ende. Beeing thus at the very pinch of death, the winde and Seas raging beyond measure, our Master veared some of the maine sheate ; and whether it was by that occasion, or by some current, or by the wonderfull power of God, as wee verily thinke it was, the ship quickened her way, and shot past that rocke, where wee thought shee would have shored. Then betweene the cape and the poynt there was a little bay ; so that wee were somewhat farther from the shoare : and when we were come so farre as the cape, wee yielded to death : yet our good God the Father of all mercies delivered us, and wee doubled the cape about the length of our shippe, or very little more. Being shot past the cape, we presently tooke in our sayles, which onely God had preserved unto us : and when we were shot



in betweene the high lands, the wind blowing trade, without any inch of sayle, we spooned before the sea, three men being not able to guide the helme, and in sixe houres wee were put five and twenty leagues within the Streights, where wee found a sea answerable to the Ocean.

In this time we freed our ship from water, and after wee had rested a little, our men were not able to moove; their sinewes were stiffe, and



their flesh dead, and many of them (which is most lamentable to bee reported) were so eaten with lice, as that in their flesh did lie clusters of lice as big as peason, yea and some as big as beanes. Being in this miseriewe were constrained to put into a coove for the refreshing our men. Our Master knowing the shore and every coove very perfectly, put in with the shore, and moved to the trees, as before-time we had done, laying our ankor to the seaward. Here we continued until the twentieth of October; but not being able any longer to stay through extremitie of famine, the one and twentieth we put off into the chanell, the weather being reasonable calme: but before night it blew most extremely at Westnorthwest. The storme growing outrageous, our men could scarcely stand by their

labour; and the Streights being full of turning reaches we were constrained by discretion of the Captaine and Master in their accounts to guide the ship in the hell-darke night, when we could not see any shore, the chanell being in some places scarce three miles broad. But our captaine, as wee first passed through the Streights drew such an exquisite plat of the same, as I am assured it cannot in any sort be bettered: which plat hee and the Master so often perused, and so carefully regarded, as that in memorie they had every turning and creeke, and in the deepe darke night

*The last Voyage of the Worshipfull M. Thomas Candish Esquire*

without any doubting they conveyed the ship through that crooked chanell : so that I conclude, the world hath not any so skilfull pilots for that place, as they are : for otherwise wee could never have passed in such sort as we did.

The 25 wee came to an Island in the Streights named Penguin-isle, whither wee sent our boate to seeke reliefe, for there were great abundance of birds, and the weather was very calme ; so wee came to an ankor by the Island in seven fadomes. While our boate was at shore, and we had great store of Penguins, there arose a sudden storme, so that our ship did drive over a breach and our boate sanke at the shore. Captaine Cotton and the Lieutenant being on shore leapt in the boate, and freed the same, and threw away all the birdes, and with great difficultie recovered the ship : my selfe also was in the boate the same time, where for my life I laboured to the best of my power. The ship all this while driving upon the lee-shore, when wee came aboard, we helped to set sayle, and weighed the ankor ; for before our comming they could scarce hoise up their yardes, yet with much adoe they set their fore-coarse. Thus in a mighty fret of weather the seven and twentieth day of October wee were free of the Streights, and the thirtieth of October we came to Penguin-isle being three leagues from Port Desire, the place which wee purposed to seeke for our reliefe.

When wee were come to this Isle wee sent our boate on shore, which returned laden with birdes and egges ; and our men sayd that the Penguins were so thicke upon the Isle, that shippes might be laden with them ; for they could not goe without treading upon the birds, whereat we greatly rejoiced. Then the captaine appointed Charles Parker and Edward Smith, with twenty others to go on shore, and to stay upon the Isle, for the killing and drying of those Penguins, and promised after the ship was in harborough to send the rest, not onely for expedition, but also to save the small store of victuals in the shippe. But Parker, Smith, and the rest of their faction suspected, that this was a devise of the Captaine to leave his men on shore, that by these meanes there might bee victuals for the rest to recover their countrey : and when they remembered, that this was the place where they would have slaine their Captaine and Master, surely (thought they) for revenge hereof will they leave us on shore. Which when our Captaine understood, hee used these speeches unto them : I understand that you are doubtfull of your security through the perversenesse of your owne guilty consciences : it is an extreame griefe unto me, that you should judge



mee blood-thirstie, in whome you have seene nothing but kinde conversation : if you have found otherwise, speake boldly, and accuse mee of the wrongs that I have done ; if not, why do you then measure me by your owne uncharitable consciences ? All the company knoweth indeed, that in this place you practized to the utmost of your powers, to murthier me and the master causeles, as God knoweth, which evil in this place we did remit you : & now I may conceive without doing you wrong, that you againe purpose some evill in bringing these matters to repetition : but God has so shortened your confederacie, as that I nothing doubt you : it is for your Masters sake that I have forborne you in your unchristian practizes : and here I protest before God, that for his sake alone I will yet indure this injury, and you shall in no sorte be prejudiced or in any thing be by me commanded : but when we come into England (if God so favour us) your master shall knowe your honesties : in the meane space be voide of these suspicions, for, God I call to witnes, revenge is no part of my thought. They gave him thanks, desiring to go into the harborough with the ship, which he granted. So there were ten left upon the Isle, and the last of October we entred the harborough. Our Master at our last being here having taken carefull notice of every creeke in the river, in a very convenient place, upon sandy oaze, ran the ship on ground, laying our ankor to seaward, and with our running ropes moored her to stakes upon the shore, which hee had fastened for that purpose ; where the ship remained till our departure.

The third of November our boat with water, wood, and as many as shee could carry, went for the Isle of Penguins : but being deepe, she durst not proceed, but returned againe the same night. Then Parker, Smith, Townesend, Purpet, with five others, desired that they might goe by land, and that the boate might fetch them when they were against the Isle, it being scarce a mile from the shore. The captaine bade them doe what they thought best, advising them to take weapons with them : for (sayd he) although we have not at any time seene people in this place, yet in the countrey there may be Savages. They answered, that here were great store of Deere, and Ostriches ; but if there were Salvages, they would devoure them : notwithstanding the captaine caused them to cary weapons, calievers, swordes, and targets : so the sixt of November they departed by land, and the bote by sea ; but from that day to this day wee never heard of our men. The 11 while most of our men were at the Isle, onely the Captaine and Master with sixe others being left in the ship, there came a

great multitude of Salvages to the ship, throwing dust in the ayre, leaping and running like brute beasts, having vizards on their faces like dogs faces, or else their faces are dogs faces indeed. We greatly feared least they would set our ship on fire, for they would suddenly make fire, whereat we much marvelled; they came to windward of our ship, and set the bushes on fire, so that we were in a very stinking smoke: but as soone as they came within our shot, we shot at them, & striking one of them in the thigh they all presently fled, so that we never heard nor saw more of them. Hereby we judged that these Canibals had slaine our 9 men. When we considered what they were that thus were slaine, and found that they were the principall men that would have murdered our Captaine and Master, with the rest of their friends, we saw the just judgement of God, and made supplication to his divine Majesty to be mercifull unto us. While we were in this harborough, our Captaine and Master went with the boat to discover how farre this river did run, that if neede should enforce us to leave our ship, we might know how farre we might go by water. So they found, that farther than 20 miles they could not go with the boat. At their returne they sent the boate to the Isle of Penguins; whereby wee understood that the Penguins dyed to our hearts content, and that the multitude of them was infinite. This Penguin hath the shape of a bird, but hath no wings, only two stumps in the place of wings, by which he swimmeth under water with as great swiftnes as any fish. They live upon smelts, whereof there is great abundance upon this coast: in eating they be neither fish nor flesh: they lay great eggs, and the bird is of a reasonable bignes, very neere twise so big as a ducke. All the time that wee were in this place, we fared passing well with eggs, Penguins, yong Scales, young Gullles, besides other birds, such as I know not: of all which we had great abundance. In this place we found an herbe called Scurvygrasse, which wee fried with eggs, using traine oyle in stead of butter. This herbe did so purge ye blood, that it tooke away all kind of swellings, of which many died, & restored us to perfect health of body, so that we were in as good case as when we came first out of England. We stayed in this harbour until the 22 of December, in which time we had dried 20000 Penguins; & the Captaine, the Master, and my selfe had made some salt, by laying salt water upon the rocks in holes, which in 6 daies would be kernerd. Thus God did feed us even as it were with Manna from heaven.

The 22 of December we departed with our ship for the Isle, where



with great difficulty, by the skilful industry of our Master we got 14000 of our birds, and had almost lost our captaine in labouring to bring the birds aboard : & had not our Master bene very expert in the set of those wicked tides, which run after many fashions, we had also lost our ship in the same place : but God of his goodnes hath in all our extremities bene our protector. So the 22 at night we departed with 14000 dried Penguins, not being able to fetch the rest, and shaped our course for Brasil. Nowe our captaine rated our victuals, and brought us to such allowance, as that our victuals might last sixe moneths ; for our hope was, that within sixe



moneths we might recover our country, though our sailes were very bad. So the allowance was two ounces & a halfe of meale for a man a day, and to have so twice a weeke, so that 5 ounces did serve for a weeke. Three daies a weeke we had oile, three spoonfuls for a man a day ; and 2 daies in a weeke peason, a pint betweene 4 men a day, and every day 5 Penguins for 4 men, and 6 quartes of water for 4 men a day. This was our allowance ; wherewith (we praise God) we lived, though weakly, and very feeble. The 30 of January we arrived at the Ile of Placencia in Brasill, the first place that outward bound we were at : and having made the sholde, our ship lying

off at sea, the Captaine with 24 of the company went with the boat on shore, being a whole night before they could recover it. The last of January at sun-rising they suddenly landed, hoping to take the Portugales in their houses, & by that meanes to recover some Casavi-meale, or other victuals for our reliefe : but when they came to the houses, they were all razed, and burnt to the ground, so that we thought no man had remained on the Iland. Then the captaine went to the gardens, & brought from thence fruits & roots for the company, and came aboard the ship, and brought her into a fine creeke which he had found out, where we might more her by the trees, and where there was water, and hoopes to trim our caske. Our case being very desperate, we presently laboured for dispatch away ; some cut hoopes, which the coopers made, others laboured upon

the sailes and ship, every man travelling for his life, & still a guard was kept on shore to defend those that laboured, every man having his weapon like wise by him. The 3 of February our men with 23 shot went againe to the gardens, being 3 miles from us upon the North shore, and fetched Cazavi-roots out of the ground, to relieve our company instead of bread; for we spent not of our meale while we staid here. The 5 of February being munday, our captaine and master hasted the company to their labour; so some went with the Coopers to gather hoopes, and the rest laboured aboard. This night many of our men in the ship dreamed of murther & slaughter: In the morning they reported their dreames, one saying to another; this night I dreamt, that thou wert slaine; another answered, and I dreamed, that thou wert slaine: and this was general through thy ship. The captaine hearing this, who like wise had dreamed very strangele himselfe, gave very streight charge, that those which went on shore should take weapons with them, and saw them himselfe delivered into the boat, & sent some of purpose to guard the labourers. All the forenoone they laboured in quietnesse, & when it was ten of the clocke, the heat being extreme, they came to a rocke neere the woods side (for al this countrey is nothing but thick woods) and there they boyled Cazavi-roots, & dined: after dinner some slept, some washed themselves in the sea, all being stripped to their shirts, & no man keeping watch, no match lighted, not a piece charged. Suddenly as they were thus sleeping & sporting, having gotten themselves into a corner out of sight of the ship, there came a multitude of Indians & Portugales upon them, and slew them sleeping: onely two escaped, one very sore hurt, the other not touched, by whom we understood of this miserable massacre: with all speed we manned our boat, & landed to succour our men; but we found them slaine, & laied naked on a ranke one by another, with their faces upward, and a crosse set by them: and withall we saw two very great pinnesses come from the river of Jenero very ful of men; whom we mistrusted came from thence to take us: because there came from Jenero souldiers to Santos, when the Generall had taken the towne and was strong in it. Of 76 persons which departed in our ship out of England, we were now left but 27, having lost 13 in this place, with their chiefe furniture, as muskets, calivers, powder, & shot. Our caske was all in decay, so that we could not take in more water than was in our ship, for want of caske, and that which we had was marvellous ill conditioned: and being there mored by trees for want of cables and ankers, we still expected the cutting of our morings, to be beaten from our



decks with our owne furniture, & to be assayled by them of Jenero : what distresse we were now driven into, I am not able to expresse. To depart with 8 tunnes of water in such bad caske was to sterve at sea, & in staying our case was ruinous. These were hard choises ; but being thus perplexed, we made choice rather to fall into the hands of the Lord, then into the hands of men : for his exceeding mercies we had tasted, & of the others cruelty we were not ignorant. So concluding to depart, the 6 of February we were off in the chanell, with our ordinance & small shot in a readines, for any assalt that should come, & having a small gale of winde, we recovered the sea in most deepe distresse. Then bemoaning our estate one to another, and recounting over all our extremities, nothing grieved us more, then the losse of our men twise, first by the slaughter of the Canibals at Port Desire, and at this Ile of Placencia by the Indians and Portugals. And considering what they were that were lost, we found that al those that conspired the murthering of our captaine & master were now slain by salvages, the gunner only excepted. Being thus at sea, when we came to cape Frio, the winde was contrary ; so that 3 weekes we were grievously vexed with crosse windes, & our water consuming, our hope of life was very small. Some desired to go to Baya, & to submit themselves to the Portugales, rather then to die for thirst : but the captaine with faire perswasions altered their purpose of yeelding to the Portugales. In this distresse it pleased God to send us raine in such plenty, as that we were wel watered, & in good comfort to returne. But after we came neere unto the sun, our dried Penguins began to corrupt, and there bred in them a most lothsome & ugly worme of an inch long. This worme did so mightily increase, and devoure our victuals, that there was in reason no hope how we should avoide famine, but be devoured of these wicked creatures : there was nothing that they did not devour, only yron excepted : our clothes, boots, shooes, hats, shirts, stockings : and for the ship they did so eat the timbers, as that we greatly feared they would undoe us, by gnawing through the ships side. Great was the care and diligence of our captaine, master, and company to consume these vermine, but the more we laboured to kill them, the more they increased ; so that at the last we could not sleepe for them, but they would eate our flesh, and bite like Mosquitos. In this wofull case, after we had passed the Equinoctiall toward the North, our men began to fall sick of such a monstrous disease, as I thinke the like was never heard of : for in their ankles it began to swell ; from thence in two daies it would be in their breasts, so that they could not draw their breath. Whereupon our

*The last Voyage of the Worshipfull M. Thomas Candish Esquire*

men grew mad with griefe. Our captain with extreme anguish of his soule, was in such wofull case, that he desired only a speedie end, and though he were scarce able to speake for sorrow, yet he perswaded them to patience, and to give God thankes, & like dutifull children to accept of his chastisement. For all this divers grew raging mad, & some died in most lothsome & furious paine. It were incredible to write our misery as it was : there was no man in perfect health, but the captaine & one boy. The master being a man of good spirit with extreme labour bore out his griefe, so that it grew not upon him. To be short, all our men died except 16, of which there were but 5 able to moove. The captaine was in good health, the master indifferent, captaine Cotton and my selfe swolne and short winded, yet better then the rest that were sicke, and one boy in health : upon us 5 only the labour of the ship did stand. The captaine and master, as occasion served, would take in, and heave out the top-sailes, the master onely attended on the sprit-saile, and all of us at the capsten without sheats and tacks. In fine our miserie and weaknesse was so great, that we could not take in, nor heave out a saile : so our top-saile & sprit-sailes were torne all in pieces by the weather. The master and captaine taking their turnes at the helme, were mightily distressed and monstrously grieved with the most wofull lamentation of our sick men. Thus as lost wanderers upon the sea, the 11 of June 1593, it pleased God that we arrived at Bear-haven in Ireland, and there ran the ship on shore : where the Irish men helped us to take in our sailes, and to more our ship for floating : which slender paines of theirs cost the captaine some ten pounds before he could have the ship in safetie. Thus without victuals, sailes, men, or any furniture God onely guided us into Ireland, where the captaine left the master and three or foure of the company to keepe the ship ; and within 5 dayes after he and certaine others had passage in an English fisher-boat to Padstow in Cornewall. In this maner our small remnant by Gods onely mercie were preserved, and restored to our countrey, to whom be all honour and glory world without end.



The Miraculous  
VICTORY ATCHIEVED BY THE ENGLISH FLEETE,

under the discreet and happy conduct of the right  
honourable, right prudent, and valiant lord, the  
L. Charles Howard, L. high Admirall of Eng-  
land, &c. Upon the Spanish huge Armada  
sent in the yeere 1588. for the invasion  
of England, together with the wofull  
and miserable successe of the said  
Armada afterward, upon the  
coasts of Norway, of the  
Scottish Westernne Isles,  
of Ireland, of Spaine,  
of France, and of  
England, &c.

6225

*Recorded in Latine by Emanuel van Meteran in the 15. booke of his history  
of the low Countreys.*



HAVING in part declared the strange and wonderfull events  
of the yeere eightie eight, which hath bene so long time  
foretold by ancient prophetes ; we will now make relation  
of the most notable and great enterprize of all others which  
were in the foresaid yeere atchieved, in order as it was done.  
Which exploit (although in very deed it was not performed  
in any part of the low Countreys) was intended for their ruine and destruc-  
tion. And it was the expedition which the Spanish king, having a long

*The Miraculous Victory Atchieved by the English Fleete*

time determined the same in his minde, and having consulted thereabout with the Pope, set foorth and undertooke against England and the low Countreys. To the end that he might subdue the Realme of England, and reduce it unto his catholique Religion, and by that meanes might be sufficiently revenged for the disgrace, contempt and dishonour, which hee (having 34. yeeres before enforced them to the Popes obedience) had endured of the English nation, and for divers other injuries which had taken deepe impression in his thoughts. And also for that hee deemed this to bee the most readie and direct course, whereby hee might recover his hereditarie possession of the lowe Countreys, having restrained the inhabitants from sayling upon the coast of England. Which verily, upon most weighty arguments and evident reasons, was thought would undoubtedly have come to passe, considering the great abundance and store of all things necessary wherewith those men were furnished, which had the managing of that action committed unto them. But now let us describe the matter more particularly.

The Spanish King having with small fruite and commoditie, for above twentie yeeres together, waged warre against the Netherlanders, after deliberation with his counsellors thereabout, thought it most convenient to assault them once againe by Sea, which had bene attempted sundry times heretofore, but not with forces sufficient. Unto the which expedition it stode him nowe in hand to joyne great puissance, as having the English people his professed enemies; whose Island is so situate, that it may either greatly helpe or hinder all such as saile into those parts. For which cause hee thought good first of all to invade England, being perswaded by his Secretary Escovedo, and by divers other well experienced Spaniards and Dutchmen, and by many English fugitives, that the conquest of that Iland was lesse difficult then the conquest of Holland and Zeland. Moreover the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would bee farre more behoveful for their King to conquere England and the lowe Countreys all at once, then to be constrained continually to maintaine a warlike Navie to defend his East and West Indie Fleetes, from the English Drake, and from such like valiant enemies.

And for the same purpose the king Catholique had given commandement long before in Italy and Spaine, that a great quantitie of timber should be felled for the building of shippes; and had besides made great preparation of things and furniture requisite for such an expedition; as namely in founding of brasen Ordinance, in storing up of corne and victuals, in

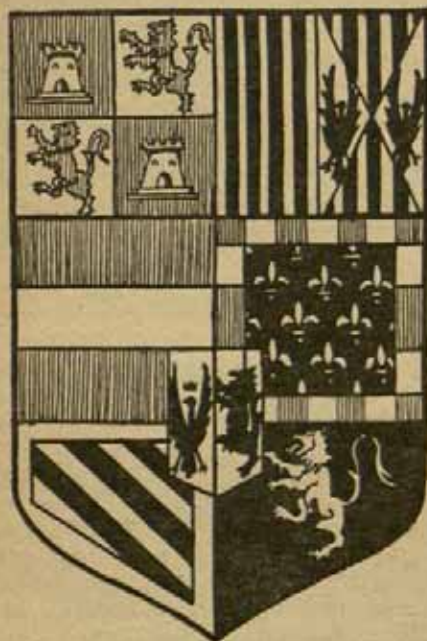


trayning of men to use warlike weapons, in leavying and mustering of souldiers : insomuch that about the beginning of the yeere 1588. he had finished such a mightie Navie, and brought it into Lisbon haven, as never the like had before that time sailed upon the Ocean sea.

A very large and particular description of this Navie was put in print and published by the Spaniards ; wherein were set downe the number, names, and burthens of the shippes, the number of Mariners and souldiers throughout the whole Fleete ; likewise the quantitie of their Ordinance, of their armour, of bullets, of match, of gun-poulder, of victuals, and of all their Navall furniture was in the saide description particularized. Unto all these were added the names of the Governours, Captaines, Noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries, of whom there was so great a multitude, that scarce was there any family of accompt, or any one principall man throughout all Spaine, that had not a brother, sonne or kinseman in that Fleete : who all of them were in good hope to purchase unto themselves in that Navie (as they termed it)

invincible, endlesse glory and renowne, and to possesse themselves of great Seigniories and riches in England, and in the lowe Countreys. But because the said description was translated and published out of Spanish into divers other languages, we will here onely make an abridgement or brieve rehearsall thereof.

Portugal furnished and set forth under the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia generall of the Fleete, ten Galeons, two Zabraes,



*The Miraculous Victory Atchieved by the English Fleete*

1300. Mariners, 3300. souldiers, 300. great pieces, with all requisite furniture.

Biscay, under the conduct of John Martines de Ricalde Admiral of the whole Fleete, set forth tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 250. great pieces, &c.

Guipusco, under the conduct of Michael de Oquendo, tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces.

Italy with the Levant Islands, under Martine de Vertendona, 10. Galeons, 800. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces, &c.

Castile, under Diego Flores de Valdez, 14. Galeons, two Pataches, 1700. mariners, 2400. souldiers, and 380. great pieces, &c.

Andaluzia, under the conduct of Petro de Valdez, 10. Galeons, one Patache, 800. mariners, 2400. souldiers, 280. great pieces, &c.

Item, under the conduct of John Lopez de Medina, 23. great Flemish hulkes, with 700. mariners, 3200. souldiers, and 400. great pieces.

Item, under Hugo de Moncada, foure Galliasses containing 1200. gally-slaves, 460. mariners, 870. souldiers, 200. great pieces, &c.

Item, under Diego de Mandrana, foure Gallies of Portugall, with 888 gally-slaves, 360. mariners, 20. great pieces, and other requisite furniture.

Item, under Anthonie de Mendoza, 22. Pataches and Zabraes, with 574. mariners, 488. souldiers, and 193. great pieces.

Besides the ships aforementioned there were 20. caravels rowed with oares, being appointed to performe necessary services unto the greater ships : insomuch that all the ships appertayning to this Navie amounted unto the summe of 150. eche one being sufficiently provided of furniture and victuals.

The number of Mariners in the saide Fleete were above 8000. of slaves 2088. of souldiers 20000. (besides noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries) of great cast pieces 2650. The foresaid ships were of an huge and incredible capacitie and receipt. For the whole Fleete was large ynough to containe the burthen of 60. thousand tunnes.

The Galeons were 64. in number, being of an huge bignesse, and very stately built, being of marveilous force also, and so high, that they resembled great castles, most fit to defend themselves and to withstand any assault, but in giving any other ships the encounter farre inferiour unto the English and Dutch ships, which can with great dexteritie weild and turne themselves at all assayes. The upperworke of the said Galeons was of thicknesse and



strength sufficient to beare off musket-shot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of measure strong, being framed of planks and ribs foure or five foote in thicknesse, insomuch that no bullets could pierce them, but such as were discharged hard at hand : which afterward proved true, for a great number of bullets were founde to sticke fast within the massie substance of those thicken plakes. Great and well pitched Cables

were twined about the masts of their shippes, to strengthen them against the battery of shot.

The Galliasses were of such bignesse, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houses. The Galliasses were rowed with great oares, there being in eche one of them 300. slaves for the same purpose, and were able to do of their Ordinance. All these great service with the force together with the residue aforementioned were furnished and beautified with trumpets, streamers, banners, warlike ensignes, and other such like ornaments.

Their pieces of brasen ordinance were 1600. and of yron a 1000.

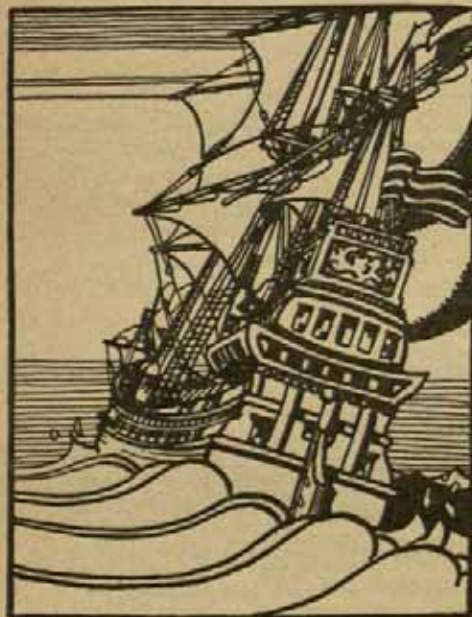
The bullets thereto belonging were 120. thousand.

Item of gun-poulder 5600. quintals. Of matche 1200. quintals.

Of muskets and kaleivers 7000. Of haleberts and partisans 10000.

Moreover they had great store of canons, double-canons, culverings and field-pieces for land services.

Likewise they were provided of all instruments necessary on land to convey and transport their furniture from place to place ; as namely of



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carts, wheeles, wagons, &c. Also they had spades, mattocks and baskets to set pioners on worke. They had in like sort great store of mules and horses, and whatsoever else was requisite for a land-armie. They were so well stored of biscuit, that for the space of halfe a yeere, they might allow eche person in the whole Fleete halfe a quintall every moneth ; whereof the whole summe amounteth unto an hundreth thousand quintals.

Likewise of wine they had 147. thousand pipes, sufficient also for halfe a yeeres expedition. Of bacon 6500. quintals. Of cheese three thousand quintals. Besides fish, rise, beanes, pease, oile, vineger, &c.

Moreover they had 12000. pipes of fresh-water, and ali other necessary provision, as namely candles, lanternes, lampes, sailes, hempe, oxe-hides and lead to stop holes that should be made with the battery of gunshot. To be short, they brought all things expedient either for a Fleete by sea, or for an armie by land.

This Navie (as Diego Pimentelli afterward confessed) was esteemed by the King himselve to containe 32000. persons, and to cost him every day 30. thousand ducates.

There were in the said Navie five terzaes of Spaniards, (which terzaes the Frenchmen call Regiments) under the commaund of five governours termed by the Spaniards, Masters of the field, and amongst the rest there were many olde and expert souldiers chosen out of the garisons of Sicilie, Naples, and Terçera. Their Captaines or Colonels were Diego Pimentelli, Don Francisco de Toledo, Don Alonço de Luçon, Don Nicolas de Isla, Don Augustin de Mexia ; who had eche of them 32. companies under their conduct. Besides the which companies there were many bands also of Castilians and Portugals, every one of which had their peculiar governours, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

It was not lawfull for any man, under grievous penaltie, to cary any women or harlots in the Fleete : for which cause the women hired certaine shippes, wherein they sailed after the Navie : some of the which being driven by tempest arrived upon the coast of France.

The generall of this mightie Navie, was Don Alonso Perez de Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of S. Lucar, and knight of the golden Fleece : by reason that the Marques of santa Cruz appointed for the same dignitie, deceased before the time.

John Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the Fleete.

Francis Bovadilla was chiefe Marshall : who all of them had their officers fit and requisite for the guiding and managing of such a multitude.



Likewise Martin Alorcon was appointed Vicar generall of the Inquisition, being accompanied with more then a hundreth Monkes, to wit, Jesuites, Capuchines, and friers mendicant. Besides whom also there were Phisitions, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatsoever else pertained unto the hospitall.

Over and besides the forenamed governours and officers being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne costs and charges, to the ende they might see fashions, learne experience, and attaine unto glory. Amongst whom was the prince of Ascoli, Alonzo de Leiva, the marques de Pennafiel, the marques de Ganes, the marques de Barlango, count de Paredes, count de Yelvas, and divers other marqueses and earles of the honourable families of Mendoza, of Toledo, of Pachieco, of Cordova, of Guzman, of Manriques, and a great number of others.

While the Spaniards were furnishing this their Navie, the duke of Parma, at the direction of king Philip, made great preparation in the low Countreys, to give ayd & assistance unto the Spaniards; building ships for the same purpose, and sending for Pilots and ship-wrights out of Italy.

In Flanders hee caused certaine deepe chanelles to be made, and among the rest the chanell of Yper commonly called Yper-lee, employing some thousands of workemen about that service: to the end that by the said chanel he might transport ships from Antwerp and Ghendt to Bruges, where hee had assembled above a hundreth small ships called hoyes being well stored with victuals, which hoyes hee was determined to have brought into the sea by the way of Sluys, or else to have conveyed them by the saide Yper-lee being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatsoever.

In the river of Waten he caused 70. ships with flat bottomes to be built, every one of which should serve to cary 30. horses, having eche of them bridges likewise for the horses to come on boord, or to goe foorth on land. Of the same fashion he had provided 200. other vessels at Neiuport, but not so great. And at Dunkerk hee procured 28. ships of warre, such as were there to be had, and caused a sufficient number of Mariners to be levied at Hamburgh, Breme, Emden, and at other places. Hee put in the ballast of the said ships, great store of beames of thicke planks, being hollow and beset with yron pikes beneath, but on eche side full of claspes and hookes, to joyne them together.

Hee had likewise at Greveling provided 20. thousand of caske, which in a short space might be compact and joyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a bridge. To be short, whatsoever

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things were requisite for the making of bridges, and for the barring and stopping up of havens mouthes with stakes, posts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreover not farre from Neiuport haven, he had caused a great pile of wooden fagots to be layd, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing up of a mount. The most part of his ships contained two ovens a piece to bake bread in, with a great number of saddles, bridles, and such other like apparell for horses. They had horses likewise, which after their landing should serve to convey, and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike provisions.

Neere unto Neiuport he had assembled an armie, over the which he had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-master. This army consisted of 30. bands or ensignes of Italians, of tenne bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount unto 56. bands, every band containing a hundreth persons. Neare unto Dixmud there were mustered 80. bands of Dutch men, sixtie of Spaniards, sixe of high Germans, and seven bands of English fugitives, under the conduct of sir William Stanlie an English knight.

In the suburbs of Cortreight there were 4000. horsemen together with their horses in a readinesse : and at Waten 900. horses, with the troupe of the Marques del Gwasto Captaine generall of the horsemen.

Unto this famous expedition and presupposed victorie, many potentates, princes, and honourable personages hied themselves : out of Spaine the prince of Melito called the duke of Pastrana and taken to be the sonne of one Ruygomes de Silva, but in very deed accompted among the number of king Philips base sonnes. Also the Marques of Burgrave, one of the sonnes of Archiduke Ferdinand and Philippa Welsera. Vespasian Gonsaga of the family of Mantua, being for chivalry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in Spaine. Item John Medices base sonne unto the duke of Florence. And Amadas of Savoy, the duke of Savoy his base sonne, with many others of inferiour degrees.

Likewise Pope Sixtus quintus for the setting forth of the foresaid expedition, as they use to do against Turkes & infidels, published a Cruzado, with most ample indulgences which were printed in great numbers. These vaine buls the English and Dutchmen deriding, sayd that the devill at all passages lay in ambush like a thiefe, no whit regarding such letters of safe conduct. Some there be which affirme that the Pope had bestowed the realme of England with the title of Defensor fidei, upon the king of Spaine, giving him charge to invade it upon this condition, that hee should enjoy



the conquered realm, as a vassal and tributarie, in that regard, unto the sea of Rome. To this purpose the said Pope proffered a million of gold, the one halfe thereof to be paid in readie money, and the other halfe when the realme of England or any famous port thereof were subdued. And for the greater furtherance of the whole businesse, he dispatched one D. Allen an English man (whom hee had made Cardinall for the same ende and purpose) into the Low countries, unto whom he committed the administration of all matters ecclesiasticall throughout England. This Allen being enraged against his owne native countrey, caused the Popes bull to be translated into English, meaning upon the arrival of the Spanish fleete, to have it so published in England. By which Bull the excommunications of the two former Popes were confirmed, and the Queenes most sacred Majestie was by them most unjustly deprived of all princely titles and dignities, her subjects being enjoined to performe obedience unto the duke of Parma, and unto the Popes Legate.

But that all matters might be performed with greater secrecie, and that the whole expedition might seeme rather to be intended against the Low countries, then against England, and that the English people might be perswaded that all was but bare words & threatnings, and that nought would come to effect, there was a solemne meeting appointed at Borborch in Flanders for a treatie of peace betweene her majestie and the Spanish king.

Against which treatie the united provinces making open protestation, used all meanes possible to hinder it, alleaging that it was more requisite to consult how the enemie now pressing upon them might be repelled from off their frontiers. Howbeit some there were in England that greatly urged and prosecuted this league, saying, that it would be very commodious unto the state of the realme, as well in regard of traffique and navigation, as for the avoiding of great expenses to maintaine the warres, affirming also, that at the same time peace might easily and upon reasonable conditions be obtained of the Spaniard. Others thought by this meanes to divert some other way, or to keepe backe the navy now comming upon them, and so to escape the danger of that tempest. Howsoever it was, the duke of Parma by these wiles enchanted and dazeled the eyes of many English & Dutch men that were desirous of peace: whereupon it came to passe, that England and the united provinces prepared in deed some defence to withstand that dreadfull expedition and huge Armada, but nothing in comparison of the great danger which was to be feared, albeit the constant report of the whole

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expedition had continued rife among them for a long time before. Howbeit they gave eare unto the relation of certaine that sayd, that this navie was provided to conduct and waft over the Indian Fleets : which seemed the more probable because the Spaniards were deemed not to be men of so small discretion as to adventure those huge and monstrous ships upon the shallow and dangerous chanel of England.

At length when as the French king about the end of May signified unto her Majestie in plaine termes that she should stand upon her guard, because he was now most certainly enformed, that there was so dangerous an invasion imminent upon her realme, that he feared much least all her land and sea-forces would be sufficient to withstand it, &c. then began the Queens Majestie more carefully to gather her forces together, & to furnish her own ships of warre, & the principall ships of her subjects with souldiers, weapons, and other necessary provision. The greatest and strongest ships of the whole navy she sent unto Plimmouth under the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, &c. Under whom the renoumed Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admiral. The number of these ships was about an hundreth. The lesser ships being 30. or 40. in number, and under the conduct of the lord Henry Seimer were commanded to lie between Dover and Caleis.

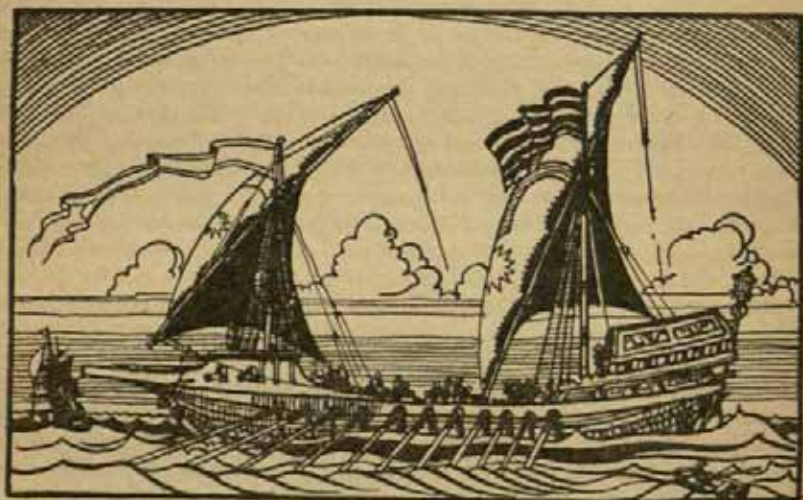
On land likewise throughout the whole realme, souldiers were mustered and trained in all places, and were committed unto the most resolute and faithfull captaines. And whereas it was commonly given out that the Spaniard having once united himselfe unto the duke of Parma, ment to invade by the river of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Essex over-against Gravesend, a mightie army encamped, and on both sides of the river fortifications were erected, according to the prescription of Frederike Genebelli an Italian enginier. Likewise there were certaine ships brought to make a bridge, though it were very late first. Unto the sayd army came in proper person the Queens most roiall Majestie, representing Tomyris that Scythian warlike princesse, or rather divine Pallas her selfe. Also there were other such armies levied in England.

The principall catholique Recusants (least they should stirre up any tumult in the time of the Spanish invasion) were sent to remaine at certaine convenient places, as namely in the Isle of Ely and at Wisbich. And some of them were sent unto other places, to wit, unto sundry bishops and noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the state of the common wealth, and of her sacred Majestie, who of her most gracious clemencie



gave expresse commandement, that they should be intreated with all humanitie and friendship.

The provinces of Holland and Zeland, &c. giving credite unto their intelligence out of Spain, made preparation to defend themselves: but because the Spanish ships were described unto them to be so huge, they relied partly upon the shallow and dangerous seas all along their coasts. Wherefore they stood most in doubt of the duke of Parma his small and flat-bottomed ships. Howbeit they had all their ships of warre to t<sup>h</sup>



number of 90. and above, in a readinesse for all assayes: the greater part whereof were of a small burthen, as being more meete to saile upon their rivers and shallow seas: and with these ships they besieged all the havens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheld, or from the towne of Lillo, and holding on to Greveling and almost unto Caleis, & fortified all their sea-townes with strong garrisons.

Against the Spanish fleets arrivall, they had provided 25. or 30. good ships, committing the government of them unto Admirall Lonck, whom they commanded to joine himselfe unto the lord Henry Seymer, lying

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betweene Dover and Cales. And when as the foresaid ships, (whereof the greater part besieged the haven of Dunkerke) were driven by tempest into Zeland, Justin of Nassau the Admiral of Zeland supplied that squadron with 35. ships being of no great burthen, but excellently furnished with gunnes, mariners and souldiers in great abundance, and especially with 1200. brave Musquetiers, having bene accustomed unto sea-fights, and being chosen out of all their companies for the same purpose : and so the said Justin of Nassau kept such diligent ward in that Station that the duke of Parma could not issue forth with his navy into the sea out of any part of Flanders.

In the meane while the Spanish Armada set saile out of the haven of Lisbon upon the 19. of May, An. Dom. 1588. under the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their course for the Baie of Corunna, aliàs the Groine of Gallicia, where they tooke in souldiers and warlike provision, this port being in Spaine the neere unto England. As they were sailing along, there arose such a mightie tempest, that the whole Fleete was dispersed, so that when the duke was returned unto his company, he could not escry above 80. ships in all, whereunto the residue by litle and litle joyned themselves, except eight which had their mastes blowen over-board. One of the foure gallies of Portingal escaped very hardly, retiring her selfe into the haven. The other three were upon the coast of Baion in France, by the assistance and courage of one David Gwin an English captive (whom the French and Turkish slaves aided in the same enterprise) utterly disabled and vanquished : one of the three being first overcome, which conquered the two other, with the slaughter of their governours and souldiers, and among the rest of Don Diego de Mandrana with sundry others : and so those slaves arriving in France with the three Gallies, se themselves at libertie.

The navy having refreshed themselves at the Groine, & receiving daily commandement from the king to hasten their journey, hoised up sailes the 11. day of July, and so holding on their course till the 19. of the same moneth, they came then unto the mouth of the narow seas or English chanel. From whence (striking their sailes in the meane season) they dispatched certaine of their smal ships unto the duke of Parma. At the same time the Spanish Fleete was escried by an English pinasse, capitaine whereof was M. Thomas Fleming, after they had bene advertised of the Spaniards expedition by their scouters and espials, which having ranged along the coast of Spaine, were lately returned home into Plimmouth for a new



supply of victuals and other necessities, who considering the foresayd tempest, were of opinion that the navy being of late dispersed and tossed up and downe the maine Ocean, was by no means able to performe their intended voiage.

Moreover, the L. Charles Howard L. high admiral of England had received letters from the court, signifying unto him that her Majestie was advertised that the Spanish Fleete would not come foorth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and therefore, that upon her Majesties commandement he must send backe foure of her tallest and strongest ships unto Chattam.

The lord high Admiral of England being thus on the sudden, namely upon the 19. of July about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the pinasse of captaine Fleming aforesaid, of the Spaniards approach, with all speed and diligence possible he warped his ships, and caused his mariners and souldiers (the greater part of whom was absent for the cause aforesayd) to come on boord, and that with great trouble and difficultie, insomuch that the lord Admiral himselfe was faine to lie without in the road with sixe ships onely all that night, after the which many others came foorth of the haven. The very next day being the 20. of July about high noone, was the Spanish Fleete escried by the English, which with a Southwest wind came sailing along, and passed by Plimmouth: in which regard (according to the judgement of many skilful navigators) they greatly overshot themselves, whereas it had bene more commodious for them to have staid themselves there, considering that the Englishmen being as yet unprovided, greatly relied upon their owne forces, and knew not the estate of the Spanish navy. Moreover, this was the most convenient port of all others, where they might with greater securitie have bene advertised of the English forces, and how the commons of the land stood affected, and might have stirred up some mutinie, so that hither they should have bent all their puissance, and from hence the duke of Parma might more easily have conveyed his ships.

But this they were prohibited to doe by the king and his counsell, and were expressly commanded to unite themselves unto the souldiers and ships of the said duke of Parma, and so to bring their purpose to effect. Which was thought to be the most easie and direct course, for that they imagined that the English and Dutch men would be utterly daunted and dismayed thereat, and would each man of them retire unto his owne Province and Porte for the defence thereof, and transporting the armie of the duke under the protection of their huge navy, they might invade England.

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It is reported that the chiefe commanders in the navy, and those which were more skilfull in navigation, to wit, John Martines de Ricalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, and divers others found fault that they were bound unto so strict directions and instructions, because that in such a case many particular accidents ought to concurre and to be respected at one and the same instant, that is to say, the opportunitie of the wind, weather, time, tide, and ebbe, wherein they might saile from Flanders to England. Oftentimes also the darkenesse and light, the situation of places, the depths and shoulds were to be considered: all which especially depended upon the conveniencie of the windes, and were by so much the more dangerous.

But it seemeth that they were enjoined by their commission to ancre neere unto, or about Caleis, whither the duke of Parma with his ships and all his warrelike provision was to resort, and while the English and Spanish great ships were in the midst of their conflict, to passe by, and to land his souldiers upon the Downes.

The Spanish captives reported that they were determind first to have entred the river of Thames, and thereupon to have passed with small ships up to London, supposing that they might easily winne that rich and flourishing Citie being but meanely fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accustomed to the warres, who durst not withstand their first encounter, hoping moreover to finde many rebels against her Majestie and popish catholiques, or some favourers of the Scottish queene (which was not long before most justly beheaded) who might be instruments of sedition.

Thus often advertising the duke of Parma of their approach, the 20. of July they passed by Plimmouth, which the English ships pursuing and getting the wind of them, gave them the chase and the encounter, and so both Fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.

The day following which was the 21. of July, the English ships approached within musquet shot of the Spanish: at what time the lorde Charles Howard most hotly and valiantly discharged his Ordinance upon the Spanish Vice-admirall. The Spaniards then well perceiving the nimblenesse of the English ships in discharging upon the enimie on all sides, gathered themselves close into the forme of an halfe moone, and slackened their sailes, least they should outgoe any of their companie. And while they were proceeding on in this maner, one of their great Galliassees was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole navy was faine to come up rounder together for the safeguard thereof: whereby it came to passe that the principall Galleon of Sivill (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vasques de Silva, Alonzo de Sayas,



and other noble men were embarqued) falling foule of another shippe, had her fore-mast broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spanish Fleete, neither would the sayde Fleete stay to succour it, but left the distressed Galeon behind. The lord Admirall of England when he saw this ship of Valdez, & thought she had bene voyd of Mariners and Souldiers, taking with him as many shippes as he could, passed by it, that he might not loose sight of the Spanish Fleet that night. For sir Francis



Drake (who was notwithstanding appointed to beare out his lanterne that night) was giving of chase unto five great Hulkes which had separated themselves from the Spanish Fleete: but finding them to be Easterlings, he dismissed them. The lord Admirall all that night following the Spanish lanterne in stead of the English, found himselfe in the morning to be in the midst of his enemies Fleete, but when he perceived it, hee cleanly conveyed himselfe out of that great danger.

The day folowing, which was the two and twentie of July, Sir Francis Drake espied Valdez his shippe, whereunto hee sent forth his pinnasse, and being advertised that Valdez himselfe was there, and 450. persons with

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him, he sent him word that he should yeeld himselfe. Valdez for his honors sake caused certaine conditions to be propounded unto Drake : who answered Valdez that he was not now at laisure to make any long parle, but if he would yeeld himselfe, he should find him friendly and tractable : howbeit if he had resolved to die in fight, he should proove Drake to be no dastard.

Upon which answer Valdez and his company understanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being mooved with the renouue and celebritee of his name, with one consent yeelded themselves, and found him very favourable unto them. Then Valdez with 40. or 50. noblemen and gentlemen pertaining unto him, came on boord sir Francis Drakes ship. The residue of his company were caried unto Plimmouth, where they were detained a yere & an halfe for their ransome.

Valdez comming unto Drake and humbly kissing his hand protested unto him, that he and his had resolved to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right curteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to bee most favourable unto his vanquished foe : insomuch that he sayd it was to bee doubted whether his enimies had more cause to admire and love him for his great, valiant, and prosperous exploites, or to dread him for his singular felicitie and wisdom, which ever attended upon him in the warres, and by the which hee had attained unto so great honour. With that Drake embraced him and gave him very honourable entertainment, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his cabbin.

Here Valdez began to recount unto Drake the forces of all the Spanish Fleet, and how foure mightie Gallies were separated by tempest from them : and also how they were determined first to have put into Plimmouth haven, not expecting to bee repelled thence by the English ships which they thought could by no meanes withstand their impregnable forces, perswading themselves that by means of their huge Fleete, they were become lords and commaunders of the maine Ocean. For which cause they marveled much how the English men in their small ships durst approach within musket shot of the Spaniards mightie wooden castles, gathering the wind of them with many other such like attempts.

Immediately after, Valdez and his company, being a man of principal authoritie in the Spanish Fleete, and being descended of one and the same familie with that Valdez, which in the yeere 1574. besieged Leiden in Holland, were sent captives into England. There were in the sayd ship



55. thousand ducates in ready money of the Spanish kings gold, which the souldiers merily shared among themselves.

The same day was set on fire one of their greatest shippes, being Admirall of the squadron of Guipusco, and being the shippe of Michael de Oquendo Vice-admirall of the whole Fleete, which contained great store of gunne-powder and other warrelike provision. The upper part onely of this shippe was burnt, and all the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England with a number of miserable burnt and skorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gun-powder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and unconsumed.



In the meane season the lord Admirall of England in his ship called the Arke-royall, all that night pursued the Spaniards so neere, that in the morning hee was almost left alone in the enemies Fleete, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the residue of the English Fleet could overtake him.

At the same time Hugo de Moncada governour of the foure Galliasses, made humble sute

unto the Duke of Medina that he might be licenced to encounter the Admirall of England: which libertie the duke thought not good to permit unto him, because hee was loth to exceed the limites of his commission and charge.

Upon Tuesday which was the three and twentie of July, the navie being come over against Portland, the wind began to turne Northerly, insomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to invade the English. But the Englishmen having lesser and nimbler Ships, recovered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards, wherat the Spaniards seemed to bee more incensed to fight then before. But when the English Fleete had continually and without intermission from morning to night, beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small: the Spaniardes

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uniting themselves, gathered their whole Fleete close together into a roundell, so that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to invade others, but onely to defend themselves and to make hast unto the place prescribed unto them, which was neere unto Dunkerk, that they might joine forces with the duke of Parma, who was determined to have proceeded secretly with his small shippes under the shadow and protection of the great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to performe the whole expedition.

This was the most furious and bloodie skirmish of all, in which the lord Admirall of England continued fighting amidst his enimies Fleete, and seeing one of his Captaines as farre off, hee spake unto him in these wordes : Oh George what doest thou ? Wilt thou nowe frustrate my hope and opinion conceived of thee ? Wilt thou forsake mee nowe ? With which wordes hee being enflamed, approched forthwith, encountered the enimie, and did the part of a most valiant Captaine. His name was George Fenner, a man that had bene conversant in many Sea-fights.

In this conflict there was a certaine great Venetian ship with other small ships surprised and taken by the English.

The English navie in the meane while increased, whereunto out of all Havens of the Realme resorted ships and men : for they all with one accord came flocking thither as unto a set field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained, and faithfull service to bee performed unto their prince and countrey.

In which number there were many great and honourable personages, as namely, the Erles of Oxford, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, &c. with many Knights and Gentlemen : to wit, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Horatio Palavicini, Sir Henry Brooke, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Charles Blunt, Master Ambrose Willoughbie, Master Henry Nowell, Master Thomas Gerard, Master Henry Dudley, Master Edward Darcie, Master Arthur Gorge, Master Thomas Woodhouse, Master William Harvie, &c. And so it came to passe that the number of the English shippes amounted unto an hundreth : which when they were come before Dover, were increased to an hundred and thirtie, being notwithstanding of no proportionable bignesse to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twentie of the Queenes greater shippes, which onely, by reason of their presence, bred an opinion in the Spaniards mindes concerning the power of the English Fleet : the mariners and souldiers whereof were esteemed to be twelve thousand.

The foure and twentie of July when as the sea was calme, and no winde



stirring, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galleasses and the English shippes, which being rowed with Oares, had great vantage of the sayde English shippes, which notwithstanding for all that would not bee forced to yeeld, but discharged their chaine-shot to cut asunder their Cables and Cordage of the Galleasses, with many other such Stratagemes. They were nowe constrained to send their men on land for a newe supplie of Gunne-powder, whereof they were in great skarcitie, by reason they had so frankly spent the greater part in the former conflicts.

The same day, a Counsell being assembled, it was decreed that the English Fleete should bee devided into foure squadrons: the principall whereof was committed unto the lord Admirall: the second, to Sir Francis Drake: the third, to Captaine Hawkins: the fourth, to Captaine Frobisher.

The Spaniards in their sailing observed very diligent and good order, sayling three and foure, and sometimes more ships in a ranke, and folowing close up one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

The five and twentie of July when the Spaniardes were come over-against the Isle of Wight, the lord Admirall of England being accompanied with his best ships, (namely the Lion, Captaine whereof was the lord Thomas Howard: The Elizabeth Jonas under the commandement of Sir Robert Southwel sonne in lawe unto the lord Admirall: the Beare under the lord Sheffield nephew unto the lord Admirall: the Victorie under Captaine Barker: and the Galeon Leicester under the forenamed Captaine George Fenner) with great valour and dreadfull thundering of shot, encountered the Spanish Admiral being in the very midst of all his Fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceived, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came forth and entered a terrible combate with the English: for they bestowed each on other the broad sides, and mutually discharged all their Ordinance, being within one hundred, or an hundred and twentie yards one of another.

At length the Spaniardes hoised up their sayles, and againe gathered themselves up close into the forme of a roundel. In the meane while Captaine Frobisher had engaged himselfe into a most dangerous conflict. Whereupon the lord Admirall comming to succour him, found that hee had valiantly and discreetly behaved himselfe, and that hee had wisely and in good time given over the fight, because that after so great a batterie he had sustained no damage.

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For which cause the day following, being the sixe and twentie of July, the lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of knighthood, together with the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, M. John Hawkins and others.

The same day the lord Admirall received intelligence from Newhaven in France, by certaine of his Pinnasses, that all things were quiet in France, and that there was no preparation of sending aide unto the Spaniards, which was greatly feared from the Guisian faction, and from the Leaguers : but there was a false rumour spread all about, that the Spaniards had conquered England.

The seven and twentie of July, the Spaniards about the sunne-setting were come over-against Dover, and rode at ancre within the sight of Caleis, intending to hold on for Dunkerk, expecting there to joyne with the duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to doe litle or nothing.

Likewise the English Fleete following up hard upon them, ancred just by them within culvering-shot. And here the lord Henry Seymer united himselfe unto the lord Admiral with his fleete of 30. ships which road before the mouth of Thames.

As the Spanish navie therefore lay at ancre, the duke of Medina sent certaine messengers unto the duke of Parma, with whom upon that occasion many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to refresh themselves on land : and amongst the rest the prince of Ascoli, being accounted the kings base sonne, and a very proper and towardly yong gentleman, to his great good, went on shore, who was by so much the more fortunate, in that hee had not opportunitie to returne on boord the same ship, out of which he was departed, because that in returning home it was cast away upon the Irish coast, with all the persons contained therein.

The duke of Parma being advertised of the Spanish Fleetes arrivall upon the coast of England, made all the haste hee could to bee present himselfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge : vainely perswading himselfe that now by the meanes of Cardinall Allen, hee should be crowned king of England, and for that cause hee had resigned the governement of the Lowe countries unto Count Mansfeld the elder. And having made his vovs unto S. Mary of Hall in Henault (whom he went to visite for his blind devotions sake) hee returned toward Bruges the 28. of July.

The next day travelling to Dunkerk hee heard the thundering Ordinance of either Fleet : and the same evening being come to Dixmud, hee was given to understand the hard successe of the Spanish Fleete.



Upon Tuesday which was the thirtieth of July, about high noone, hee came to Dunkerk, when as all the Spanish Fleete was now passed by: neither durst any of his ships in the meane space come forth to assist the sayd Spanish Fleete for feare of five and thirtie warrelike ships of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and warde under the conduct of the Admirall Justin of Nassau.

The foresayd five and thirtie shippes were furnished with most cunning mariners and olde expert souldiers, amongst the which were twelve hundred Muskietiers, whom the States had chosen out of all their garisons, and whom they knew to have bene heretofore experienced in sea-fights.

This navie was given especially in charge not to suffer any shippe to come out of the Haven, nor to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other small vessels of the Spanish Fleete (which were more likely to aide the Dunkerkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ships were not to be feared by reason of the shallow sea in that place. Howbeit the prince of Parma his forces being as yet unreadie, were not come on boord his shippes, onely the English Fugitives being seven hundred in number under the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to have bene embarked, because they hoped to give the first assault against England. The residue shewed themselves unwilling and loath to depart, because they sawe but a few mariners, who were by constraint drawne into this expedition, and also because they had very bare provision of bread, drinke, and other necessary victuals.

Moreover, the shippes of Holland and Zeland stood continually in their sight, threatening shot and powder, and many inconveniences unto them: for feare of which shippes, the Mariners and Sea-men secretly withdrew themselves both day and night, least that the duke of Parma his souldiers should compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and to breake through the Hollanders Fleete, which all of them judged to bee impossible by reason of the straightnesse of the Haven.

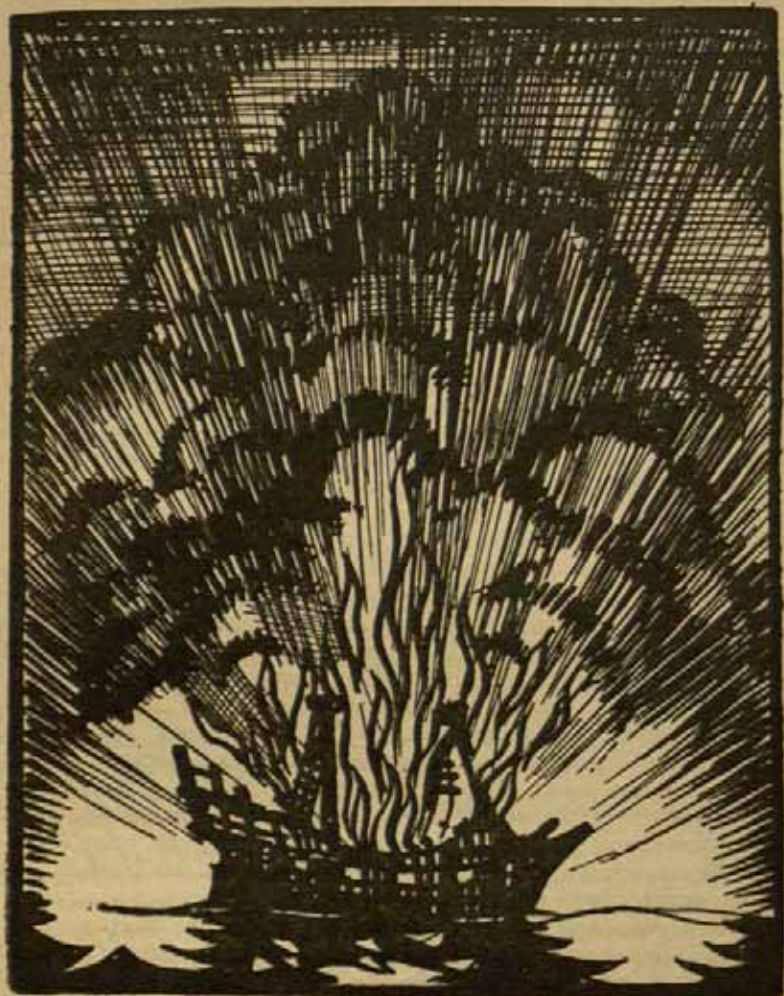
But it seemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded upon a vaine and presumptuous expectation, that all the ships of England and of the Low countreys would at the first sight of the Spanish and Dunkerk Navie have betaken themselves to flight, yeelding them sea roome, and endeavouring onely to defend themselves, their havens, and sea coasts from invasion. Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma in his small and flat-bottomed shippes, should as it were under the shadow and wings of the Spanish fleet, convey over all his troupes, armour, and warlike provision, and with their forces so united, should invade England;

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or while the English fleet were busied in fight against the Spanish, should enter upon any part of the coast, which he thought to be most convenient. Which invasion (as the captives afterward confessed) the Duke of Parma thought first to have attempted by the river of Thames; upon the banks whereof having at his first arrivall landed twenty or thirty thousand of his principall souldiers, he supposed that he might easily have woonne the Citie of London; both because his small shippes should have followed and assisted his land-forces, and also for that the Citie it-selfe was but meanelly fortified and easie to overcome, by reason of the Citizens delicacie and discontinuance from the warres, who with continuall and constant labour might be vanquished, if they yeelded not at the first assault. They were in good hope also to have mette with some rebels against her Majestie, and such as were discontented with the present state, as Papists, and others. Likewise they looked for ayde from the favours of the Scottish Queene, who was not long before put to death; all which they thought would have stirred up seditions and factions.

Whenas therefore the Spanish fleet rode at anker before Caleis, to the end they might consult with the Duke of Parma what was best to be done according to the Kings commandement, and the present estate of their affaires, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purposed upon the second of August being Friday, with one power and consent to have put their intended businesse in practise; the L. Admirall of England being admonished by her Majesties letters from the Court, thought it most expedient either to drive the Spanish fleet from that place, or at leastwise to give them the encounter: and for that cause (according to her Majesties prescription) he tooke forthwith eight of his woorst & basest ships which came next to hand, & disburthening them of all things which seemed to be of any value, filled them with gun-powder, pitch, brimstone, and with other combustible and fry matter; and charging all their ordinance with powder, bullets, and stones, he sent the sayd ships upon the 28 of July being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde and tide against the Spanish fleet: which when they had proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the Pilots, and set on fire, were directly carried upon the King of Spaines Navie: which fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into such a perplexity and horror (for they feared lest they were like unto those terrible ships, which Frederic Jenebelli three yeeres before, at the siege of Antwerpe, had furnished with gun-powder, stones, and dreadfull engines, for the dissolution of the Duke of Parma his bridge, built upon the river of Scheld)





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that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were fastened, and hoising up their sailes, they betooke themselves very confusedly unto the maine sea.

In this sudden confusion, the principall and greatest of the foure galliasses falling fowle of another ship, lost her rudder : for which cause when she could not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certaine showld upon the shore of Caleis, where she was immediatly assaulted by divers English pinasses, hoyes, and drumblers.

And as they lay battering of her with their ordinance, and durst not boord her, the L. Admirall sent thither his long boat with an hundreth choise souldiers under the command of Captaine Amias Preston. Upon whose approch their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the galliasse : against whom the governour thereof and Captaine of all the foure galliasses, Hugo de Moncada, stoutly opposed himselfe, fighting by so much the more valiantly, in that he hoped presently to be succoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane season, Moncada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hitte on the head with a bullet, fell downe starke dead, and a great number of Spaniards also were slaine in his company. The greater part of the residue leaping over-boord into the sea, to save themselves by swimming, were most of them drowned. Howbeit there escaped among others Don Anthonio de Manriques, a principall officer in the Spanish fleet (called by them their Veador generall) together with a few Spaniards besides : which Anthonio was the first man that carried certaine newes of the successe of the fleet into Spaine.

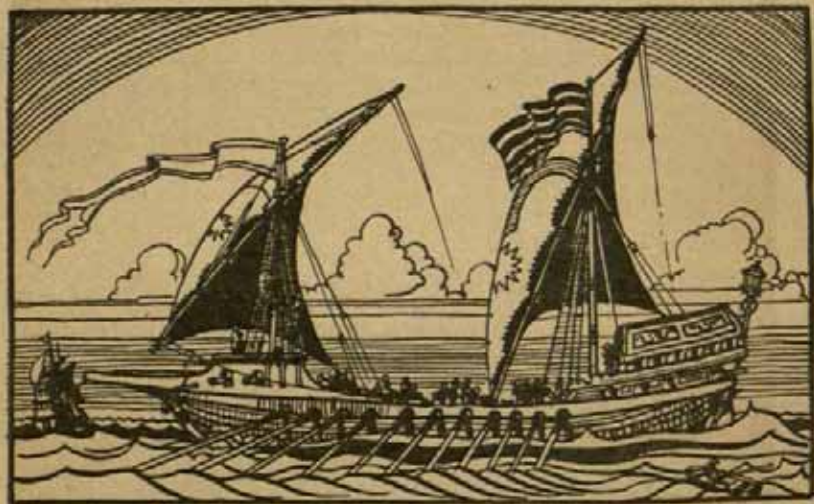
This huge and monstrous galliasse, wherein were contained three hundred slaves to lug at the oares, and foure hundred souldiers, was in the space of three houres rifled in the same place ; and there were found amongst divers other commodities 50000 ducats of the Spanish kings treasure. At length when the slaves were released out of their fetters, the English men would have set the sayd ship on fire, which Monsieur Gourdon the governor of Caleis, for feare of the damage which might thereupon ensue to the Towne and Haven, would not permit them to do, but drave them from thence with his great ordinance.

Upon the 29 of July in the morning, the Spanish Fleet after the foresayd tumult, having arranged themselves againe into order, were, within sight of Greveling, most bravely and furiously encountered by the English ; where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards : who suffered themselves to be deprived of the commodity of the place in Caleis rode, and of the advantage of the winde neere unto Dunkerk, rather then they would



change their array or separate their forces now conjoynd and united together, standing onely upon their defence.

And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarce were there 22 or 23 among them all which matched 90 of the Spanish ships in bignesse, or could conveniently assault them. Wherefore the English shippes using their prerogative of nimble stirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themselves with the winde which way they listed, came often times very neere upon the Spaniards, and charged them



so sore, that now and then they were but a pikes length asunder : & so continually giving them one broad side after another, they discharged all their shot both great and small upon them, spending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kinde of conflict, untill such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it convenient not to pursue the Spaniards any longer, because they had many great vantages of the English, namely for the extraordinary bignesse of their ships, and also for that they were so neerely conjoynd, and kept together in so good array, that they could by no meanes be fought withall







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one to one. The English thought therefore, that they had right well acquitted themselves, in chasing the Spaniards first from Caleis, and then from Dunkerk, and by that meanes to have hindered them from joyning with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the winde of them, to have driven them from their owne coasts.

The Spaniards that day sustained great losse and damage having many of their shippes shot thorow and thorow, and they discharged likewise great store of ordinance against the English ; who indeed sustained some hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards losse : for they lost not any one shippe or person of account. For very diligent inquisition being made, the English men all that time wherein the Spanish Navy sayled upon their seas, are not found to have wanted above one hundreth of their people : albeit Sir Francis Drakes shippe was pierced with shot above forty times and his very cabben was twice shot thorow, and about the conclusion of the fight, the bedde of a certaine gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from under him with the force of a bullet. Likewise, as the Earle of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner upon a time, the bullet of a demi-culvering brake thorow the middest of their cabbin, touched their feet, and strooke downe two of the standers by, with many such accidents befalling the English shippes, which it were tedious to rehearse. Whereupon it is most apparant, that God miraculously preserved the English nation. For the L. Admirall wrote unto her Majestie that in all humane reason, and according to the judgement of all men (every circumstance being duly considered) the English men were not of any such force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approach within sight of the Spanish Fleet : insomuch that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victory unto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.

The same day the Spanish ships were so battered with English shot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them suncke right downe : and among the rest a certaine great ship of Biscay, which Captaine Crosse assaulted, which perished even in the time of the conflict, so that very few therein escaped drowning ; who reported that the governours of the same shippe slew one another upon the occasion following : one of them which would have yeelded the shippe was suddenly slaine ; the brother of the slaine party in revenge of his death slew the murtherer, and in the meane while the ship suncke.

The same night two Portugall galeons of the burthen of seven or eight



hundreth tunnes a piece, to wit the Saint Philip and the Saint Matthew, were forsaken of the Spanish Fleet, for they were so torne with shotte, that the water entered into them on all sides. In the galeon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother unto the Count de Orgas, being Colonell over two and thirty bands : besides other gentlemen ; who seeing their mast broken with shotte, they shaped their course, as well as they could, for the coast of Flanders : whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ship committing themselves to their skiffe, arrived at the next towne, which was Ostend ; and the ship it selfe being left behinde with the residue of their company, was taken by the Ulishingers.

In the other galeon, called the S. Matthew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli another camp-master and colonell of 32 bands, being brother unto the marques of Tamnares, with many other gentlemen and captaines. Their ship was not very great, but exceeding strong, for of a great number of bullets which had batterd her, there were scarce 20 wherewith she was pierced or hurt : her upper worke was of force sufficient to beare off a musket shot : this shippe was shot thorow and pierced in the fight before Greveling ; insomuch that the leakage of the water could not be stopped : whereupon the duke of Medina sent his great skiffe unto the governour thereof, that he might save himselfe and the principal persons that were in his ship : which he, upon a hault courage, refused to do : wherefore the Duke charged him to saile next unto himselfe : which the night following he could not performe, by reason of the great abundance of water which entered his ship on all sides ; for the avoiding wherof, and to save his ship from sincking, he caused 50 men continually to labor at the pumpe, though it were to small purpose. And seeing himselfe thus forsaken & separated from his admirall, he endeavored what he could to attaine unto the coast of Flanders : where, being espied by 4 or 5 men of warre, which had their station assigned them upon the same coast, he was admonished to yeeld himselfe unto them. Which he refusing to do, was strongly assaulted by them altogether, and his ship being pierced with many bullets, was brought into farre worse case then before, and 40 of his souldiers were slaine. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeeld himselfe unto Peter Banderduess & other captaines, which brought him and his ship into Zeland ; and that other ship also last before mentioned : which both of them, immediatly after the greater and better part of their goods were unladen, suncke right downe.

For the memory of this exploit, the foresayd captainie Banderduess caused

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the banner of one of these shippes to be set up in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of so great a length, that being fastened to the very rooffe, it reached downe to the ground.

About the same time another small ship being by necessity driven upon the coast of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was cast away upon the sands, the people therein being saved. Thus almighty God would have the Spaniards huge ships to be presented, not onely to the view of the English, but also of the Zelanders ; that at the sight of them they might acknowledge of what small ability they had beene to resist such impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, providence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his owne arme.

The 29 of July the Spanish fleet being encountered by the English (as is aforesayd) and lying close together under their fighting sailes, with a Southwest winde sailed past Dunkerk, the English ships stil following the chase. Of whom the day following when the Spaniards had got sea roome, they cut their maine sailes ; whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to flie. For which cause the L. Admirall of England dispatched the L. Henrie Seymer with his squadron of small ships unto the coast of Flanders, where, with the helpe of the Dutch ships, he might stop the prince of Parma his passage, if perhaps he should attempt to issue forth with his army. And he himselfe in the meane space pursued the Spanish fleet untill the second of August, because he thought they had set saile for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not assault them any more, for want of powder and bullets. But upon the fourth of August, the winde arising, when as the Spaniards had spread all their sailes, betaking themselves wholly to flight, and leaving Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway, (whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to save themselves by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and crazed ships, the most dangerous navigation of the Northren seas) the English seeing that they were now proceeded unto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being unwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themselves, and because they wanted things necessary, and especially powder & shot, returned backe for England ; leaving behinde them certaine pinasses onely, which they enjoyned to follow the Spaniards aloofe, and to observe their course. And so it came to passe that the fourth of August, with great danger and industry, the English arrived at Harwich : for they had bene tossed up and downe with a mighty tempest for the space of two or three dayes together, which



it is likely did great hurt unto the Spanish fleet, being (as I sayd before) so maimed and battered. The English now going on shore, provided themselves forthwith of victuals, gunne-powder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all assayes to entertaine the Spanish fleet, if it chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainly informed of the Spaniards course, they thought it best to leave them unto those boisterous and uncouth Northren seas, and not there to hunt after them.

The Spaniards seeing now that they wanted foure or five thousand of their people and having divers maimed and sicke persons, and likewise having lost 10 or 12 of their principall ships, they consulted among themselves, what they were best to doe, being now escaped out of the hands of the English, because their victuals failed them in like sort, and they began also to want cables, cordage, ankers, masts, sailes, and other naval furniture, and utterly despaired of the Duke of Parma his assistance (who verily hoping and undoubtedly expecting the returne of the Spanish Fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of ankers to be made, & other necessary furniture for a Navy to be provided) they thought it good at length, so soone as the winde should serve them, to fetch a compass about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne for Spaine.

For they well understood, that commandement was given thorowout all Scotland, that they should not have any succour or assistance there. Neither yet could they in Norway supply their wants. Wherefore, having taken certaine Scottish and other fisherboats, they brought the men on boord their owne ships, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing also least their fresh water should faile them, they cast all their horses and mules overboord: and so touching no where upon the coast of Scotland, but being carried with a fresh gale betweene the Orcades and Faar-Isles, they proceeded farre North, even unto 61 degrees of latitude, being distant from any land at the least 40 leagues. Heere the Duke of Medina generall of the Fleet commanded all his followers to shape their course for Biscay: and he himselfe with twenty or five and twenty of his ships which were best provided of fresh water and other necessaries, holding on his course over the maine Ocean, returned safely home. The residue of his ships being about forty in number, and committed unto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the coast of Ireland, intending their course for Cape Clare, because they hoped there to get fresh water, and to refresh themselves on land. But after they were driven with many contrary windes, at length, upon the second of September, they were cast by a tempest arising from the

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Southwest upon divers parts of Ireland, where many of their ships perished. And amongst others, the shippe of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Galliasses : and two great ships of Venice also, namely, la Ratta and Belanzara, with other 36 or 38 ships more, which perished in sundry tempests, together with most of the persons contained in them.

Likewise some of the Spanish ships were the second time carried with a strong West winde into the chanell of England, whereof some were taken



by the English upon their coast, and others by the men of Rochel upon the coast of France.

Moreover, there arrived at Newhaven in Normandy, being by tempest inforced so to doe, one of the foure great Galliasses, where they found the ships with the Spanish women which followed the Fleet at their setting forth. Two ships also were cast away upon the coast of Norway, one of them being of a great burthen ; howbeit all the persons in the sayd great ship were saved : insomuch that of 134 ships, which set saile out of Portugall, there returned home 53 onely small and great : namely of the foure



galliasse but one, and but one of the foure gallies. Of the 91 great galleons and hulks there were missing 58, and 33 returned : of the pataches and zabraes 17 were missing, and 18 returned home. In briefe, there were missing 81 ships, in which number were galliasse, gallies, galeons, and other vessels both great and small. And amongst the 53 ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the English channell. Two galeons of those which were returned, were by misfortune burnt as they rode in the haven ; and such like mishaps did many others undergo. Of 30000 persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part ; and many of them which came home, by reason of the toiles and inconveniences which they sustained in this voyage, died not long after their arrivall. The Duke of Medina immediatly upon his returne was deposed from his authority, commanded to his private house, and forbidden to repaire unto the Court ; where he could hardly satisfie or yeeld a reason unto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honourable personages and men of great renowme deceased soone after their returne ; as namely John Martines de Ricalde, with divers others. A great part also of the Spanish Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition perished either by fight, diseases, or drowning, before their arrival ; & among the rest Thomas Perenot of Granduell a Dutchman, being earle of Cantebroij, and sonne unto Cardinall Granduell his brother.

Upon the coast of Zeland Don Diego de Pimentell, brother unto the Marques de Tamnares, and kinseman unto the earle of Beneventum & Calva, and Colonell over 32 bands with many other in the same ship was taken and detained as prisoner in Zeland.

Into England (as we sayd before) Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of singular experience, and greatly honoured in his countrey, was led captive, being accompanied with Don Vasquez de Silva, Don Alonzo de Sayas, and others.

Likewise upon the Scottish Westernne Isles of Lewis, and Ila, and about Cape Cantyre upon the maine land, there were cast away certaine Spanish shippes, out of which were saved divers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almost foure hundred souldiers, who for the most part, after their shipwracke, were brought unto Edenborough in Scotland, and being miserably needy and naked, were there clothed at the liberality of the King and the Marchants, and afterward were secretly shipped for Spaine ; but the Scottish fleet wherein they passed touching at Yarmouth on the coast of Norfolke, were there stayed for a time untill the Councels pleasure was knowen ;

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who in regard of their manifolde miseries, though they were enemies, winked at their passage.

Upon the Irish coast many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned ; and divers slaine by the barbarous and wilde Irish. Howbeit there was brought prisoner out of Ireland, Don Alonzo de Luçon, Colonell of two and thirtie bandes, commonly called a terza of Naples ; together with Rodorigo de Lasso, and two others of the family of Cordova, who were committed unto the custodie of Sir Horatio Palavicini, that Monsieur de Teligny the sonne of Monsieur de la Nouë (who being taken in fight neere Antwerpe, was detained prisoner in the Castle of Turney) might be ransomed for them by way of exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor woorthy family in all Spaine, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a kinsman.

For the perpetuall memorie of this matter, the Zelanders caused newe coine of Silver and brasse to be stamped : which on the one side contained the armes of Zeland, with this inscription : GLORY TO GOD ONELY : and on the other side, the pictures of certeine great ships, with these words : THE SPANISH FLEET : and in the circumference about the ships : IT CAME, WENT, AND WAS. Anno 1588. That is to say, the Spanish fleet came, went, and was vanquished this yere ; for which, glory be given to God onely.

Likewise they coined another kinde of money ; upon the one side whereof was represented a ship fleeing, and a ship sincking : on the other side foure men making prayers and giving thanks unto God upon their knees ; with this sentence : Man purposeth ; God disposeth. 1588. Also, for the lasting memory of the same matter, they have stamped in Holland divers such like coines, according to the custome of the ancient Romans.

While this woonderfull and puissant Navie was sayling along the English coastes, and all men did now plainely see and heare that which before they would not be perswaded of, all people thorowout England prostrated themselves with humble prayers and supplications unto God : but especially the outlandish Churches (who had greatest cause to feare, and against whom by name, the Spaniards had threatened most grievous torments) enjoyned to their people continuall fastings and supplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent upon them for their sinnes : knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the onely solace and reliefe for mankinde, being visited with affliction and misery. Like-



wise such solemne dayes of supplication were observed thorowout the united Provinces.

Also a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandement of her Majestie, and in the united Provinces, by the direction of the States, a solemne festivall day publicly appointed, wherein all persons were enjoyned to resort unto the Church, and there to render thanks and praises unto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresayd solemnity was observed upon the 29 of November; which day was wholly spent in fasting, prayer, and giving of thanks.

Likewise, the Queenes Majestie herselfe, imitating the ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her subjects glorious deliverance. For being attended upon very solemnly by all the principall estates and officers of her Realme, she was carried thorow her sayd City of London in a tryumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace unto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the ensignes and colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displayed. And all the Citizens of London in their Liveries stood on either side the street, by their severall Companies, with their ensignes and banners: and the streets were hanged on both sides with Blew cloth, which, together with the foresayd banners, yeilded a very stately and gallant prospect. Her Majestie being entered into the Church, together with her Clergie and Nobles gave thanks unto God, and caused a publike Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls crosse; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered unto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiving. And with her owne princely voice she most Christianly exhorted the people to doe the same: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes.

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselves termed in all places invincible) such as sayled not upon the Ocean sea many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588 vanished into smoake; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authours thereof. In regard of which her Majesties happy successe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many verses were penned to the honour of her Majesty by learned men, whereof some which came to our hands we will here annexe.

AD SERENISSIMAM ELIZABETHAM ANGLIÆ  
REGINAM.

THEODOR. BEZA.



HE Spanish Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,  
And bend her ships against the English shore,  
With so great rage as nothing could appease,  
And with such strength as never seene before :  
And all to joyne the kingdome of that land  
Unto the kingdomes that he had in hand.

Now if you aske what set this king on fire,

To practise warre when he of peace did treat,  
It was his Pride, and never quencht desire,  
To spoile that Islands wealth, by peace made great :  
His Pride which farre above the heavens did swell,  
And his desire as unsuffic'd as hell.

But well have windes his proud blasts overblowen,  
And swelling waves alayd his swelling heart,  
Well hath the Sea with greedie gulfs unknowen,  
Devoured the devourer to his smart :

And made his ships a pray unto the sand,  
That meant to pray upon anothers land.  
And now, O Queene, above all others blest,  
For whom both windes and waves are prest to fight,  
So rule your owne, so succour friends opprest,  
(As farre from pride, as ready to do right)

That England you, you England long enjoy,  
No lesse your friends delight, then foes annoy.



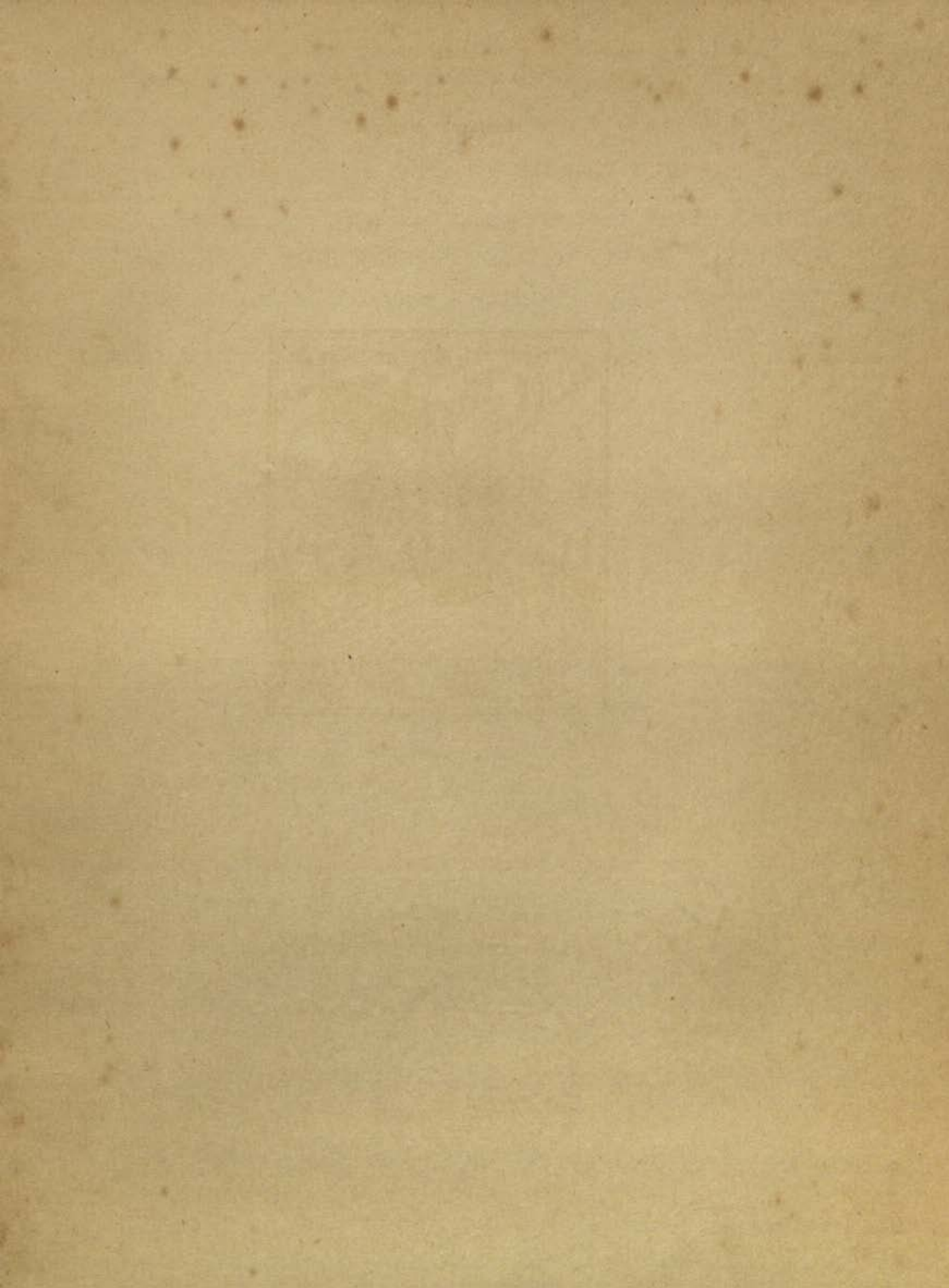


*Hakluyt's Voyages*



✓  
THE END







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