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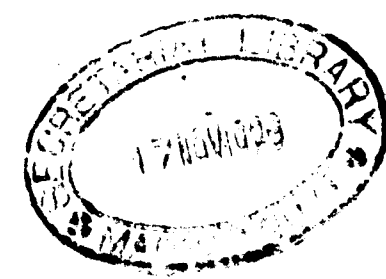
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THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED
AND
ANALOGOUS CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS
CONCERNING
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S
CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE WORLD

EDITOR: N. M. PENZER, M.A., F.R.G.S.

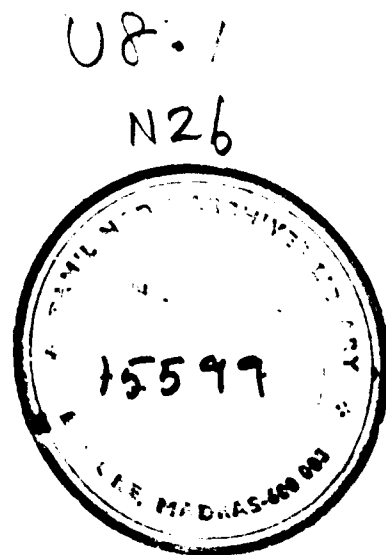
THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED
AND
ANALOGOUS CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS
CONCERNING
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S
CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE WORLD

with an
Appreciation of the Achievement
by
SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, BT.
C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.



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PREFACE

So much has been written about Drake ever since he died in 1596 that it looks like presumption to produce yet another book on any part of his career, but there is still so much that is uncertain about it—in fact almost all information regarding him is to some extent uncertain—that a new work, embodying the facts so far discovered, is justified. The last published authoritative commentaries on *The World Encompassed*, which was published by his nephew and namesake, the first Baronet, Sir Francis Drake, in 1628, viz., Vaux's edition for the Hakluyt Society in 1854, Julian Corbett's *Drake and the Tudor Navy* in 1898, his *Francis Drake* in 1890, and Mrs Nuttall's *New Light on Drake*, also for the Hakluyt Society, in 1914, are not now easy to procure or consult. This is additional justification for the publication of yet another volume on the great navigator.

The World Encompassed does not tell the story of Drake's all-important voyage of circumnavigation as he composed it. That story has most unfortunately been lost, and the story that has survived is a compilation fifty years after the voyage by his nephew, chiefly out of the tales about Drake told by his chaplain Francis Fletcher and other contemporaries. Several of such stories have come down from English sources, and in 1914 Mrs Nuttall's great knowledge of old Spanish documents brought to light a number in that language. To publish *The World Encompassed* by itself would, therefore, bring to the notice of the reader but one version of many, and that not always accurate. At the same time the evidence now available is far too voluminous to print in full in any one volume of reasonable size. The plan that has consequently been adopted has been to print *The World Encompassed* with selections from the principal analogous documents of contemporary date, so that the reader may have a fair view of the story before him.

As above remarked, there is so much uncertainty in the tale of Drake's life and doings that no two investigators tell it quite in the same way, and therefore Sir Richard Temple, who has added an appreciation of Drake's achievement and advised generally on the composition of this volume, has gone his own way in arriving at conclusions and identifying the many places at which Drake touched, though he has carefully collated the statements of his predecessors. Besides his long study of early English travellers and seamen, he has been otherwise in a position to appreciate the quality of Drake's work. It has fallen to him to have experienced

what it means to be in a ship in uncharted waters full of coral reefs, to bump on one of them and get off again, to know what it is like to go in a launch about the size of the *Golden Hind* in order to find in a coral region a possible harbour for the greater ship, and to run on live coral reefs therein and find the way off them. It is those who have experienced such things, in however humble a degree,—there is no excitement, he tells me, to touch that of exploring coral-infested waters—that can fully appreciate the courage and nerve required by a pioneer commander such as Drake, when groping his way about the Caribbean Sea, the Straits of Magellan, or the Malay Archipelago. Further, when one contemplates the facts that the early sailors had ships that were very small and at the best could sail but badly, that their instruments for navigation were poor indeed, that charts did not exist or were only sketches full of errors, and that often they had no predecessors—one cannot but be filled with the highest admiration for the minds and characters of the pioneers of ocean discovery.

The World Encompassed and the analogous documents are in themselves such excellent reading that it has been thought advisable to print them as they stand without annotation, trusting to readers finding all the information they want to make them intelligible in Sir Richard Temple's preliminary essay. For this reason no notes are attached to the text anywhere, though the quaintness of the original spelling and the use or disuse of capitals has been retained.

Every document has been compared with the actual original where possible. The necessity for such care became evident when comparing Fletcher's account of the voyage as printed by Vaux with the original MS. at the British Museum. Not only is his work of transcribing the most careless imaginable, but whenever he was unable to read words in the original MS., he substituted others of his own invention, which he thought made the best sense. His omissions and deletions indeed run to pages, and many even important passages are entirely ignored. All this has been mischievous, because authors have been content to copy Vaux's account without consulting the original, and have imagined that they had a correct copy of what Fletcher wrote. Thus it has been necessary for me to transcribe the whole MS. afresh. My work has been most carefully checked by two officials in the MS. room of the British Museum, and no trouble has been spared to reprint word for word and letter for letter what Francis Fletcher wrote, according to the copy made by Joh. Conyers.

As regards other "Analogous Documents," Vaux had easier material to work on, and the chance of his making mistakes was greatly minimised, while Mrs Nuttall's work in *New Light on Drake* is beyond criticism.

I would draw particular attention to the three maps which I have had drawn from the originals made by Sir Richard Temple. It seems almost incredible, but never before has a map been issued tracing Drake's voyages through the Malay Archipelago, while even his route round South America has never been done so completely as in the present work.

My thanks are due to the President and Council of the Hakluyt Society for their permission to publish in this volume certain extracts from Mrs Nuttall's book, and for the kindly interest they have shown in the founding of the Argonaut Press.

N. M. PENZER

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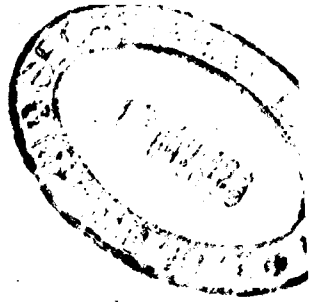
THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED

AN APPRECIATION
OF DRAKE'S ACHIEVEMENT

BY

SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, B:

AN APPRECIATION OF DRAKE'S ACHIEVEMENT



EARLY YEARS

DRAKE was born, as we may assume, at Crowndale near Tavistock in Devonshire, at an uncertain date between 1539 and 1545. The exact date is not on record, but Julian Corbett in his authoritative *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (1898) thinks the date 1545 as the most likely one. This assumption makes Drake 32 when the voyage round the world began, and 51 when he died in 1596. The whole of his truly wonderful career was therefore accomplished in youth and vigorous manhood. Also it may fairly be assumed—it is nearly certain—that he was the son of the Reverend Edmund Drake, at first a seaman of Tavistock, afterwards a preacher to sailors at Gillingham in Kent, and finally a puritanical Protestant vicar of Upchurch on the Medway in Kent. As regards the family standing Drake was by birth undoubtedly a gentleman of the smaller sort and entitled to bear arms. It is known that he had eleven brothers. Further old William Hawkins of Plymouth, the famous seaman and naval adviser to Henry VIII, may be assumed to have been his uncle—brother-in-law of his father, as William Hawkins's sons (William and John)—in close relation afterwards with Drake—called him cousin. The only thing certain about Drake's babyhood is that Lord Russell, the son of the first Earl of Bedford, a great reformation leader, who was his father's landlord in Devonshire, was his godfather, and gave him his own name Francis, a fact that, considering the times, could not but have had an influence on his career as a child.

¶ The uncertainty of the date of Drake's birth and to a certain extent of his actual parentage and relationships—though the social standing of his family is certain enough—is a cardinal point in his career. He was born while Henry VIII was yet king, and while the feudal system of England had been so recently in full strength that many of its ideas were still vigorous among the people at large. As long as a man was not one of the recognised nobility, it did not much matter when or where he was born or exactly whose son he was. It probably never occurred to Drake that in his case these things were of any consequence. He was a gentleman by birth and *armiger*, and that was enough. His station by birth, however, affected his whole career, because if he were ever to reach the supreme leadership in any great or national enterprise, he would have to fight not

only his way to it, but also to keep it. He would never be put in the first position naturally whatever his merit, and there would always be men, nobles born, who would be preferred before him; however great his proved qualifications for the leading position. As a matter of fact he was never employed in such a place if it could be helped, and even then not without dispute. This no doubt affected all his actions, though to him equally without doubt the position was a natural one. It certainly affected his action when ignored, even after the most transparent success, and induced in him an extraordinary patience and resource when under a cloud.

¶ The uncertainty as to Drake's early life extended even to the particular voyage which is the subject of this book, and here is another cardinal point that must always be borne in mind. Drake and his reputed cousin, John Drake, who went with him round the world, were expert draughtsmen, and between them they drew up a carefully illustrated account of the whole tour. Most unfortunately for the world that has been lost and all that can be conjectured about it is that it was given by Queen Elizabeth—under whom Drake passed all his active life—to Henry IV of France. We have not left us, therefore, Drake's own account, nor can we tell for certain how he viewed his achievement or the many people among whom he was thrown in Africa, America and the Malay Archipelago. All we have to go upon is a great number of other accounts, and those not always written by men who understood. Practically all were enemies or deliberate traducers. Both Drake's splendid achievement and his motives have therefore to be literally dug out of materials unsatisfactory in many respects.

¶ Another matter strongly affecting Drake's actions in after life was his birth in a Protestant family. Not only was his father what Julian Corbett has called "a hot-gospeller" as a seaman, but he became fanatical in his form of belief after the troubles in Devonshire, in the days of Edward VI, over the New Prayer Book, caused by the adherents to the old faith in 1549, as they drove him from his home for life, and eventually obliged him to settle at Gillingham in Kent. Here he became a preacher to sailors, living in a hulk there. From that position he became Vicar of Upchurch, as has been already said, and there he died. Several of his sons were born on the hulk and there his elder children grew to adolescence. But here again the glorious uncertainty of everything connected with Drake's childhood asserts itself. It can only be assumed that it was at Gillingham that Edmund Drake preached. All that can be called certain is that he did preach, that he lived on board a hulk where several of his children were born, and that he was eventually Vicar of Upchurch as a strong Protestant.

¶ It will have been perceived then that Drake was born when England was in the throes of a change from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism. Henry VIII had broken with Rome and the religious reform was carried on under Edward VI and the Protector Somerset. The country then relapsed to Catholicism under Mary and returned to Protestantism under Elizabeth. All this was in Drake's boyhood, before he was fourteen. Irrespective of his father's teaching, he must have, therefore, passed his boyhood when religious feeling was as bitter as it could well be. Drake, as a member of a Protestant family which had suffered severely from Roman Catholic violence, and as the son of a fanatical Protestant preacher, acquired therefore a vehement hatred of the religious views of the Spaniards and Portuguese. In the eyes of his early teachers Roman Catholics were anti-Christians, to be fought with every kind of weapon. In addition, as will be seen in the story of his earlier career, he acquired a private grudge against the Spanish government in America, for injury done him personally, so strong that he never overcame it or forgot the injury. These facts show the spirit in which he encountered the Spaniards on the American coast. In fact he felt fully justified in any reprisal he could make.

¶ From their antecedents and surroundings it is clear that the young Drake boys were natural sailors. In very deed they acted up to their name—an unusual thing in family life—and took to the sea as ducklings take to the pond. Francis Drake was soon to learn real seamanship in the roughest of schools. After Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion in 1555, from Rochester Castle not far from Gillingham, over Queen Mary's marriage with Philip II of Spain, Drake's father must have lost his post as Protestant preacher and found himself in very low circumstances. It must have been about then—it is all conjecture, but fairly certain conjecture—that Drake was apprenticed as a boy on board a Channel coaster to a life of almost inconceivable hardship from the present point of view. But he profited by it and pleased his master, a bachelor, to such an extent that he left him his bark, so that by 18 he was skipper of his own ship. This, however, he was soon compelled to sell, when Spain closed the Channel to British trade in 1564. Drake thus became, what was pre-eminently necessary to him, a master sailor. In 1561, Queen Mary having passed away and Queen Elizabeth having been on the throne for some years; things prospered with Edmund Drake and he became a vicar at Upchurch with a sufficient income.

¶ There is yet another cardinal point to consider affecting Drake's career. His doings were so astonishing to his countrymen, and the wealth he

brought home for his country and himself so great, that romance began to gather about him at once and has clung to him ever since. To the people he was a rollicking swashbuckler—the most wonderful that had ever existed—and to many of the reading public he is an irresponsible corsair still. But after all he was, like every other remarkable historical character, just a man—a very great man if you like, yet a man and nothing more—and he must have proceeded as every man who succeeds has to proceed. Until Mrs Nuttall, in her *New Light on Drake* (1914), gave us the benefit of her knowledge of Spanish documents, the evidence as to Drake, though voluminous, was not enough to dispel the romance. Now, however, so much is known of his work on the American coast that we can essay to gauge the true character of all he did. This particular information is all the more satisfactory for coming from the Spaniards whom he injured, and from his English friends who were prisoners of the Spaniards. It consists of depositions, letters and reports, made at the time, which can be judged just as one judges evidence before a Court of Law. These documents show Drake as a man without the clothing of romance to hide him, and the object of this “appreciation” is to present his actions during his voyage round the world—the first ever fully achieved—as those of a man capable of such an achievement. The fact, however, that it can be viewed as the work of a human being unadorned does not detract from the wonder of it. As regards the claim to be the first man round the world, it is only true in the sense that Drake was the first commander who started with the intention of going round and came back to the point whence he started. Magellan was killed when halfway round in 1521, but one of his captains, Sebastian del Cano, did eventually take his ship, the *Victoria*, back to the land whence it came in 1522, and claimed to be the first man who had circumnavigated the globe.

¶ Drake, however, like every other human being, was a man of his time, and also, like most human beings, he maintained the same characteristics throughout life. Taking his actions from the three essential points of view—intellect, character and environment—we find that his intellect was ahead of his day and capable of seeing what was necessary for the good of his profession and his country. He could divine great things—the necessity for discipline, the necessity for placing supreme power on board a ship in one man only, the necessity for a sea-faring nation of the command of the sea and the principles for preserving that power. These were new things in his day and he saw them dimly, but his character made him put them into operation so far as he could in the manner open to

him. In this he never flinched. He was no magician, but doggedly used consistently all his life, such means to his ends as came to him. He was clever enough to see the folly of mere cruelty and to take the advantage to himself of timely clemency to captives.

¶ In character he was strong and determined; kindly natured and certainly not cruel; extremely daring and extraordinarily brave; quick to meet danger, but never reckless or foolhardy, setting about his romantic proceedings with care aforethought. A man of enormous energy, he was never idle, and even when out of fixed employment he was always preparing schemes and proposals for future action or doing something of local value. Yet he met the constant disappointments and ill-treatment, which were his lot, with resource and wonderful patience, and he never allowed the vacillations of his inconstant and ill-disciplined Queen to overcome his judgment and temper. In his youth he was a jovial hearty good fellow, becoming in his later years masterful and ill able to acknowledge defeat, unable to grasp that the conditions of success had changed. Thus he failed in his latest efforts.

¶ The astonishing romance of his many doings is due to his environment—the conditions in which he worked and lived. He was born and bred as the son of a puritanical preacher, and to him all Roman Catholics, especially Spaniards and Portuguese, were anti-Christian and it was the duty of Protestants to despoil them—a duty made the more imperative by private injuries inflicted on him by Spaniards. His doings and manners were often rough, but he had been brought up in a rough school. His successes in defeating the Spaniards were almost invariably due to surprise, and it was when, in late life, surprise was no longer possible that he began to fail. He was unable really to change the tactics or the strategy that had been so long successful, showing himself in this to be a very man. He lived in times when the change from mediæval to modern life was taking place, and his capacity put him in the front rank of those who effected the change. Thus it was that he was in a position to do many things of fundamental importance to his country. To judge Drake therefore correctly we cannot but take into consideration his surroundings, for many of his acts are due to the times in which he lived. But however all this may be, he was nevertheless by intellect and character one of the greatest of all Englishmen, and his life exhibits once again the truth of a very ancient observation—How hardly shall the great achieve greatness. In appearance he was of middle height and thickset, with a ruddy beard and blue eyes.

¶ With these considerations in mind the early career of Drake can be tackled, but as this book is concerned only with *The World Encompassed*, it is not necessary to say more regarding Drake's previous doings than is required to explain his action during the great voyage. His deeds are, however, so numerous and so extraordinary that a rapid survey of them reads like a wild schoolboy romance rather than the record of sober fact. It is, indeed, impossible to keep romance quite out of the story of Drake.

EARLY VOYAGES ON THE ATLANTIC

¶ Drake was still only 19 when in 1564, having sold his own bark, he took for him the important step of joining John and William Hawkins, sons of his kinsman, old William Hawkins, Governor of Plymouth. These two ship captains must not be confused with the William and John Hawkins who sailed with him in *The World Encompassed*. It was the above step that made his subsequent career. Captain John (afterwards Sir John) Hawkins had just returned from his first slave-trading expedition full of money and of high repute, and to be in such company was everything to a young, though accomplished, sailor such as Drake. Slave-trading at that time was not held in bad favour. On the contrary, it was extolled by such saintly missionaries as Bartolomé de Las Casas, the apostle of the American Indies, because the slaves were turned into Christians. It is not for us of the twentieth century to jeer at the views of the mid-sixteenth, and it must be remembered that both John Hawkins and Drake were highly religious men. ¶ Drake, however, did not join John Hawkins, when he started on another slave-trading voyage, but served with his brother William, as soon as the way was open, on his expedition to San Sebastian in the Bay of Biscay, to rescue some Plymouth seamen, victims of the policy of Spain and the horrors of the Inquisition. Grudges against the Spaniards were thus commencing in real earnest in Drake's mind. After this the struggle between England and Spain for superiority on the high seas increased in intensity over the huge success of John Hawkins's second slave-trading voyage. Philip forbade his American representatives to deal with foreigners, especially in slaves, and John Hawkins was prevented from repeating his exploits in 1565. But Captain Lovell went nevertheless to La Hacha, in Hispaniola or the Spanish Main, and Drake went with him. The expedition failed owing to treachery, and Drake came home with nothing. His grudge against the Spaniards increased.

¶ In 1566 Drake went to Guinea, it may fairly be assumed with Thomas Fenner, to recoup his finances, and must have been present in the latter's

brilliant sea-fight in the *Castle of Comfort* with the Portuguese. Then by a turn of fortune Elizabeth felt able to defy Spain, and reverted to her favourite investment—buccaneering. It was a safe investment so far as she was concerned. She merely supplied ships at a valuation to the adventuring firms, there being then practically no difference, except as to ownership, between the royal and mercantile navy. In this way Sir William Garrard, Lord Mayor of London, and the Hawkins family fitted out an expedition in 1567. John Hawkins was the Admiral and Drake was the pilot, *i.e.* second in command, of his ship. It was a fully armed fighting fleet—an *armada* as such fleets were called by the Spaniards. Off Cape Blanco in North-East Africa it captured a Portuguese galley, to avenge Fenner, and off Cape Verde another, already captured by a Frenchman,—an incident that made no difference. Of this last ship, the *Grace of God*, Drake was put in charge. So at 22 he commanded a fighting ship, but was soon transferred to the *Judith*, one of Hawkins's squadron. The fleet then proceeded to collect slaves and with them sailed to Margarita, an island off the Spanish Main or north-east coast of South America. Here it re-victualled and then refitted in a port near Caracas, despite Spanish protests. The Spaniards of course refused to deal with the fleet as to the slaves, but when ready Hawkins with Drake's help—he first showed here how to tackle the Spaniards—cleared La Hacha of Spaniards, and eventually let them back into the town, after they had agreed to buy 200 of the slaves. After that Hawkins, full of gold and pearls as their price, sailed homewards, but in the Yucatan Channel he met hurricanes, and so put into San Juan de Ulua (Vera Cruz), the port of Mexico, to refit. It was an almost incredibly bold thing to do. Just at that time the Spanish home fleet from the River Plate was due. John Hawkins had thus the whole year's revenue of Spanish America in his hands. However, he resisted the temptation and agreed to let the Spaniards alone if he could refit. But Don Martin Enriquez was then the new Spanish Viceroy and he broke his word, though Hawkins kept his scrupulously. The Spaniards attacked the partly dismantled British fleet and completely surprised it. But it fought with astonishing spirit and greatly damaged the Spanish ships. In the end only three English ships, including the *Judith* with Drake on board, got away, and of these only the *Minion* and the *Judith* came back to England with extreme difficulty. The Spanish victory was dearly won, for John Hawkins and Drake were afterwards the sworn enemies of every Spaniard.

¶ Meanwhile a large quantity of Spanish money for the pay of Alva's

army in Holland had been seized by the English at home, and Drake arrived in London in January 1569 with the news of the treachery of Don Martin Enriquez just in time to prevent Elizabeth from handing the money back to Spain. Thus there arose a pretty quarrel between the two countries, and Drake took service in the royal navy, under Sir William Winter—as it may be fairly assumed. In the summer he married Mary Newman of St Brideaux near Plymouth, but soon he had to leave her, and in 1570 he sailed on a secret expedition with the *Dragon* and the *Swan* to the Spanish Indies, bent on reprisals against the Spaniards. In 1571 he went to sea again with the *Swan* in the same way. Little is known of these two voyages, but at 26 Drake had gained a reputation for humanity and his experience as a seaman greatly increased.

THE NOMBRE DE DIOS EXPEDITION

¶ Drake now formed a truly wild scheme, for which he found friends to supply the means to carry it out. In 1572 he left Plymouth in the *Pasha* with his brother Joseph and John Oxenham of tragic memory on board, and with another brother, John Drake, in command of the *Swan*. The project was mad indeed, being nothing less than the seizure with two small ships of Nombre de Dios where the Spanish American treasure lay. From this point the story of Drake's doings is almost pure romance. It can hardly be told briefly in any other form.

¶ Drake brought his little ships into a landlocked bay on the Central American coast, where he had previously buried some surplus stores. On entering it he saw smoke on shore and divined that his hiding-place had been betrayed. On investigation—itself a bold proceeding—it was found that some prisoners, whom he had released instead of killing in the recognised style, had betrayed him, and an old rover friend, Captain John Garrett, had lately left a tablet behind him fastened to a tree and the fire to warn him. Yet Drake, nothing daunted, at once made an entrenchment to cover the setting up of some pinnaces he had brought with him. Next day Captain James Ranse, one of Sir Edward Horsey's rovers, came by chance with two prizes and joined him as a partner in the expedition against Nombre de Dios. In a week they proceeded onwards and on the third day out they seized some negroes at the Islas de Pinos, who gave them bad news. Nombre de Dios was wide awake, watching for an attack by Maroons or Cimarones, i.e. tribes of wild negroes escaped from the Spaniards and married to Indian women. Troops had been asked for from Panama, and there was nothing for it but to act at once before they

DRAKE'S ACHIEVEMENT

could arrive, for to go back never occurred to Drake. Leaving Ranse and the ships at the Islas de Pinos, and relying on making friends with the Cimarones, Drake went on by himself, with 73 men in three pinnaces and a shallop to attack Nombre de Dios, a town as large as his own native Plymouth. For all his wild daring, Drake proceeded with care. He armed most of his men in the latest style for infantry, and fortunately for himself he armed the remainder with bows and arrows. In five days they reached the Cativas Islands. Here they were discovered at the last they made for Nombre Harbour, but they were discovered at the last moment, and were met by armed resistance. Then there was a mad struggle, with Drake's small force in two portions—one under himself and the other under John Oxenham. The Spaniards in the end gave way and were routed. Drake's men thereupon found silver galore in the governor's house, but Drake would not allow them to touch it, and then came a storm with tropical rain and the men collected in the King's Treasure House. Drake had been wounded from the beginning of the attack, and here he suddenly collapsed. His men, in their respect for him, carried him willy-nilly to the Islas de Bastimentos or Victualling Islands near by, and the Treasury after all was never robbed.

¶ Here Drake recovered and still undaunted swore—God giving him "leave"—to use the words attributed to him, "to reap some of the Spaniards' harvest which they got out of the earth and sent to Spain to trouble all the earth." His partner in the wild attack thought otherwise, and parted from him in all good will with such spoil as he had acquired. But Drake went on, and the next thing he did was bold enough. He went to Cartagena, the capital of Spanish America and cut out a large ship. He then intercepted despatch boats and learnt about the uproar he had raised. Next night he disappeared, leaving only the *Swan* burning in the water, abandoned because he had no longer men to sail her. Tom Moone, the carpenter, of whom more is heard afterwards, scuttled her secretly at Drake's request and his brother John, the commander, was induced to fire her. The Spaniards thereupon lost sight of Drake to their great bewilderment.

¶ He had, however, found a little harbour in the Gulf of Darien, which he named first Port Plenty from its natural food resources, and afterwards Fort Diego. From this shelter he acted the pirate all over the Caribbean Sea as far as the Magdalena River beyond Cartagena, where he robbed the warehouses. At this spot with the help of Diego, a faithful negro he found at Nombre de Dios,—and afterwards a close follower—he estab-

lished communication with the Cimaroñes, and formed a project, madder than ever, of seizing the Spanish gold at Panama itself, while the Spaniards were looking for him at sea. Leaving his brother, John Drake, behind in Fort Diego, he proceeded to collect information in his own way. He "played the devil" on the Caribbean Sea, he raided Santiago de Tolu, he cut out vessels under the Spanish guns, he rode out gales in the harbour of Cartagena, he evaded all attempts to capture him and above all he kept his men cheerfully obedient. He had thus become a real terror to the Spaniards—a haunting mystery.

¶ On his return to Fort Diego Drake found that his brother John had been killed in a foolhardy quest conducted with all his own daring and contempt of the Spaniards, but without his wariness, and he now had to wait till the Cimaroñes could tell him of the arrival of the Plate fleet. Then came fever in the camp and Joseph Drake died of it in circumstances of indescribable horror. It was now 1573, and the Plate fleet had put into Nombre de Dios. Then followed an expedition across the Isthmus of sheer romance—the attack on Panama. It failed by an accident at the last moment and the Spanish gold was missed. By a truly heroic decision Drake made for the sanatorium of Venta Cruces on the route from Panama to Nombre de Dios, which he took, and here he managed to further his reputation as the "gentle pirate" and respecter of ladies in distress. But he sacked the town. Then he again vanished and no one felt safe. He soon made a reappearance, however, and sacked Veragua and nearly succeeded in securing a huge quantity of gold, but instead he captured a Nicaraguan frigate with all its treasure. After this with complete unexpectedness he robbed a treasure escort at the very gates of Nombre de Dios with the help of a Huguenot privateer, whose French captain told him of the Massacre of St Bartholomew on 28 August 1572. The Spaniards were now thoroughly alarmed and Drake more than ever incensed against Roman Catholics.

¶ Immediately afterwards he nearly lost all the treasure thus gained in one of the awful storms of the tropics, and did lose trace of his pinnaces, but through the power of his personality and resource he recovered them. He had now an enormous booty and with that he proceeded to go home. He released his prisoners, as he always did. In fact he had acquired a name as the corsair who released prisoners—a wonderful man. He, moreover, gave them the *Pasha* as his company was too small to take her home, so he made for the Magdalena River to get another ship, but at Cartagena he found the whole Plate fleet ready to sail for Spain. He went into the

harbour, saluted it and sailed away. He then found the sort of ship he wanted, and finally went home, reaching Plymouth on Sunday, 9 August, 1573, where the congregation ran out of the church to greet him.

SERVICE IN IRELAND

¶ Drake had nevertheless come home at the wrong time. The friends of Spain were in the ascendant at Elizabeth's Court, and he had to go out to sea again to avoid arrest. The Spanish agent had charged him with piracy and the Queen would not commit herself. Morally he felt that he had been in the right, and he got Puritan ecclesiastical support for the doctrine that it was doing God service to prey upon idolators, i.e. Catholics. He had preyed on the Spaniards only, he had not killed prisoners, nor wantonly destroyed ships, nor had he injured a woman, an unarmed man, or a church. He felt justified of his deeds. But he waited long and yet the Queen would give no sign of countenancing his proceedings on Spanish territory. Others went on expeditions, and among them was his old comrade, John Oxenham, to be hanged eventually as a pirate at Lima. But Drake hid in the Pool in Queenstown harbour for a long while, and in 1575 in despair he joined Essex in his Ulster Expedition with his frigate the *Falcon*—among the first of its kind in the English service. His comrades now were chiefly old soldiers from the wars in the Low Countries, and among them was Thomas Doughty, who had afterwards much to do with the venture recorded in *The World Encompassed*. Doughty was a scholar, a lawyer, a soldier of repute and a polished man of attractive manners. He was also a traitor to more than one friend, and among his friends Drake, now 30, was perhaps the closest.

¶ Essex conducted his mission in a fashion opposite to that followed by Drake on the American continent. His activities were all murder and massacre, culminating in the slaughter of the Scots and Irish refugees at Bruce Castle and the caves of Rathlin—Drake being busy the while in burning the Scottish galleys at sea. When it was all over Drake went home with a letter from Essex to Sir Francis Walsingham, the Secretary of State, as a man specially qualified to serve against Spain. Politics had swung round and war was in the air. Then in January 1576 came the news that a ship of Sir Thomas Osborne had been seized and its crew taken to a prison of the Inquisition. The whole country was roused and Drake's opportunity had come at last.

¶ Walsingham came to him with a plan of reprisals on Philip II, and the Queen herself sent for him. But by March politics had swung the other

on the north-west coast of Africa, and the first land sighted was Cape Cantin "in Barbarie" near "a towne called Asaphi [Saffi]," on Christmas Day, 1577. He sailed the same day for Mogador, which was then, not altogether unnaturally, mistaken for an island, but the whole fleet was not brought into the harbour to the south of that town till the 27th, where it remained till the 31st. A friendship was struck up with the inhabitants and a curious, though no doubt characteristic, custom was enforced: "our Generall sent a boate, into which 2 of the chiefest of the Moores [*i.e.* natives of the place] was presently [immediately] received, and one man of ours, in exchange, left a land, as a pledge for their returne." Next day, however, there occurred an unfortunate incident that might have led to serious trouble. An Englishman, John Fry, who had agreed to go ashore as hostage, was seized as soon as he landed and carried off inland. Thereupon Drake landed with some men to recover him, but fortunately as it turned out, he met no one on whom to wreak his vengeance. So on 31 December he left for Cape Blanco without his man. It was afterwards ascertained that the object of the abduction was only to find out if Drake's fleet was Portuguese or not, and in the end Fry was sent to England in an English merchant vessel.

¶ Drake had prepared, as was then usual, four "pinnesses" in parts at Plymouth, and carried them with him in his ships. One of these he "erected" at Mogador. Before leaving "the Island" he took his courage in both his hands and told his fleet of his real project, and it speaks volumes for the influence he wielded that his comrades, as a body, agreed without demur, it being remembered, as will appear in due course, that he had with him an active opponent in his best friend, Thomas Doughty. On the other hand, he carried with him a copy of Magellan's charts and as far as the Straits of Magellan his way across the Atlantic was thus made as plain to him as was possible in his day.

¶ At first foul weather was met with, and so "Cape de Guerre" (Cape Ghir) was not reached till 7 January, 1578, "where we lighted on 3 Spanish fishermen called *Caunters* [or *canteras*], whom we tooke with our new pinnace" set up at Mogador. The *Caunter* was of "40 tunnes" or thereabouts. On 13 January, after rounding Cape Bojador, the pinnace "tooke a carvell" at Rio del Oro (Cape Durnford). These captures constituted Drake's first reprisals on the Spaniards, and as explanatory of these and many similar exploits it must be borne in mind that Drake started on his voyage with a bitter hatred of the whole Spanish nation, including the Portuguese, and with a firm determination to revenge him-

self on all Spaniards and Portuguese he might come across. He was conducting, in fact, a kind of Protestant Crusade against the Spanish and Portuguese Catholics, which to him justified all spoliation. On 15 January the fleet reached Cape Barbas, where the *Marigold* took "a carvell more," and Cape Blanco was reached on the 16th. Here were seen "the Crosiers," *i.e.* the stars of the Southern Cross.

¶ At Cape Blanco Drake stayed a few days, no doubt in Galgo Bay, finding the inhabitants very little to his liking and much in want of water. Here the fleet "washed and trimmed," and Drake discharged "all the Spanish prizes, excepting one *Caunter* (for which he gave to the owner one of our ships, viz., the *Christopher*), and one carvel formerly bound to Saint Iago [Cape Verde Islands], which we caused to accompanie us thither, where [at Santiago] she was discharged." The *Caunter* exchanged for the *Christopher* thereafter bore her name, written in one place, in quaint 16th century fashion, as the *Xpofere*. Winter's pinnace or "little barke" called the *Benedict* was also given to the Portuguese here.

¶ On 21 January Drake departed for Cape Verde Islands, intending thence with characteristic courage "to runne a long Course (even to the coast of Brasill) without touch of land." With "the Winde Constant at North-East and East North-East" on 27 January "we coasted [the Island of] Bonavista" and next we anchored west of "the island Maio" near Santiago. On this island was found a town in a ruinous condition owing to ravages by "a generation of dronydes, I mean, pyrotts." Here the crews landed and a "pioneer" description of the island is given of much interest, as they found the whole country living in dread of the pirates. The cocoanuts on the islands under the name of "cocos" or (perhaps by a misreading) "coonis," and also *caberytas* or *cabitros* (goats), besides "plantanes" (bananas), are among the products noted. Here, too, and at Cape Blanco as well, Thomas Doughty landed his soldiers to drill and began to tamper with them in order to frustrate Drake's project. But Drake took no notice of any reports he may have heard.

¶ Mayo was left on 30 January, and next day, 31 January, the ship reached Santiago, and of this island Francis Fletcher, Drake's preacher or chaplain and the writer on which *The World Encompassed* is chiefly based, in his account has a passage which shows the spirit that animated at any rate part of Drake's crews, though with all his acts of violence against Spaniards, it was not characteristic of Drake himself. "In saleng along this island wee perceived the inhabitants were too superstitious according to the popes anti-Christian tradition, for upon every cape and small head

way and it looked as if there would be peace. Sir Christopher Hatton, however, turned Elizabeth round once more, and after a while she agreed to subscribe to an expedition to the South Sea, *i.e.* the Pacific in this case. It was Drake's darling project. Its chief opponent, Burleigh the Lord Treasurer, was not to know of it by the Queen's own orders, but here Doughty played the traitor once again. He was Hatton's private secretary and he told Burleigh all about it. Burleigh then arranged that Doughty should accompany the expedition, so that it should come to nothing. Drake had no suspicion of his friend's treachery, but nevertheless a series of difficulties of Doughty's creation arose almost from the beginning.

¶ While Drake, some seven years earlier had been in the midst of his wild expedition to capture the Spaniard's gold as it left Panama, his course took him to the summit of the dividing range of the Isthmus. There he climbed, at the invitation of the Cimarones, a giant tree and from its branches on high he beheld the further sea—the Golden Sea of his dreams, the Pacific—and behind him was the Atlantic, four days' journey back. He then determined in the fashion of his day—if Almighty God of His goodness gave him life—that he would sail in an English ship on that sea. Poor John Oxenham swore to follow him "by God's grace." From that day the South Sea had been in Drake's mind, and now in his 32nd year the time had come. He had established his reputation as a humane fighter and leader of men, as a great captain of seamen, and he had all the experience for such an attempt as a voyage round the world in the footsteps of Magellan.

¶ Such in veriest outline is the story of Drake's wonderful proceedings before his great voyage. Readers will find it all capitally told in greater detail in Julian Corbett's *Sir Francis Drake*.

THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED

THE VOYAGE OUT TO PORT SAN JULIAN

¶ Drake's long-cherished, and for his time almost mad, project of raising a fleet for a voyage under his command to the South Sea, *i.e.* to Java, westwards round the world on the lines of Magellan's great voyage, at last had an opportunity of being achieved. By 1577 there was a fever of speculation in exploration, and of this he took advantage to procure money and means for carrying out the venture he had so much at heart. All classes, including such courtiers as Leicester, Hatton and Walsingham, were eager to take shares in it. John Winter, believed to be nephew of Sir William Winter, Elizabeth's Admiral of the Sea, was appointed Vice-

DRAKE'S ACHIEVEMENT

Admiral, the Admiral or Captain-General being Drake himself, and representatives of important families also formed part of the crews of the proposed expedition. Money in quantities was forthcoming for equipping the fleet in the most sumptuous fashion.

¶ Three ships were brought forward by Drake in Plymouth; the *Pelican*, "admiral," 100 tons and 18 guns, Captain-general, Francis Drake; the *Marigold*, a bark, 30 tons and 16 guns, Captain, John Thomas; the *Swan*, so named after Drake's former ill-fated *Swan*, a fly-boat or provision-ship, 50 tons, 5 guns, in charge of John Chester. Thomas and Chester were gentlemen volunteers or "adventurers." To these three ships were added by John Winter from the Thames, the *Elizabeth*, "vice-admiral," 80 tons and 16 guns, Captain, John Winter himself, and the *Benedict*, a pinnace 12 tons, 1 gun, which, however, was soon parted with and was not counted in the fleet. So the fifth ship was Drake's pinnace, the *Christopher*, 15 tons, in charge of Thomas Moone, who had been his faithful carpenter in the pathetic scuttling of the old *Swan*. To the above "captains" must be added Drake's bosom friend, Thomas Doughty, who accompanied the fleet as Captain of the Land Soldiers, with whom was his half-brother John Doughty as a gentleman volunteer. These two personages afterwards played a prominent part in the tragedy at San Julian in Patagonia. Among other gentlemen volunteers a William and a John Hawkins joined the expedition. The total crews of the five ships were 150 men and 14 boys. In such fashion did Drake depart on his voyage of wild adventure with Queen Elizabeth's commission in his possession, and taking with him his brother Thomas and his reputed cousin John Drake. Thomas Drake was his youngest brother and the father of Sir Francis Drake, the first baronet and author of *The World Encompassed*.

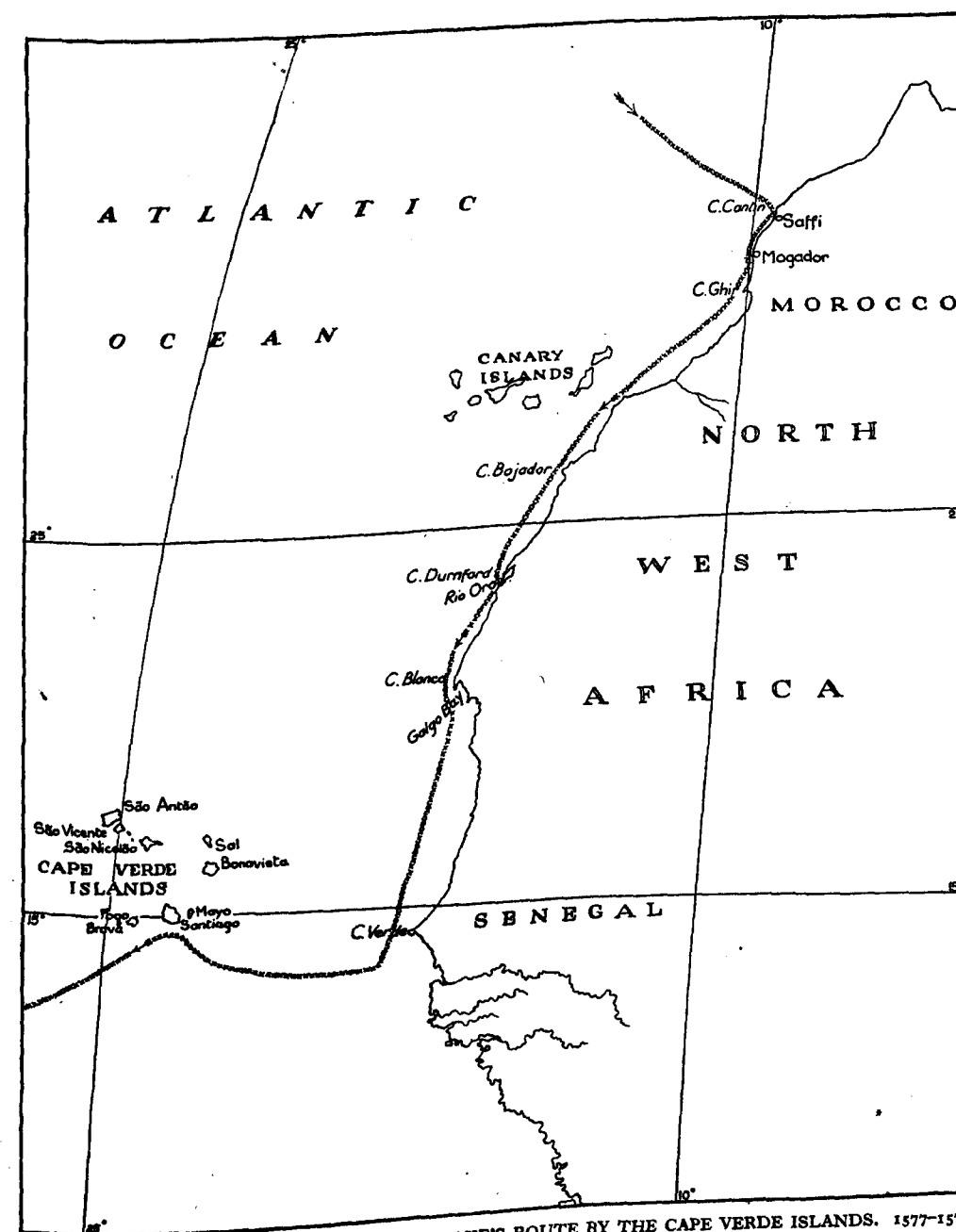
¶ Drake made an unfortunate start. He set sail from Plymouth "about 5 of the clocke in the afternoone, November 15" in 1577, with this fleet of very small ships, but it had got only "as farre as the Lyzard" when contrary winds drove it into "ffa'mout," or Falmouth, on the following day. There it was badly knocked about by a storm on the 17th and 18th, so that it had to return to Plymouth for repairs on the 28th, and it did not make a fair start till 13 December, 1577. While lying at Plymouth trouble arose out of Thomas Doughty's friends and one of them, James Syday, was discharged there by Drake, though he had been one of his comrades in Ireland under Essex.

¶ Proceeding with the ostensible project of a voyage to Alexandria in Egypt, Drake first appointed a "Randevious" at "the Iland" of Mogador

they sett up a cross, on most whereof is engraven an evil faced picture of Christ. One of the crosses myself and others did break down, but with great dislike as well to som of our owne company, being so much addicted to that opinion as the Portugalls themselves." Here was captured a valuable prize, the *Santa Maria*—"a Portugall," afterwards named the *Mary* and exchanged for "the new pinnace erected at Mogador"—of which Drake, stifling any suspicions he might have had against Thomas Doughty, made him commander, with no further precaution than sending his brother Captain Thomas Drake, to watch over his interests.

¶ Passing by Santiago the fleet saw Fogo, a volcano near Brava. At this last island on 1 February, 1578, Drake with a generosity that astonished and not at all pleased his comrades, dismissed his Portuguese prisoners, excepting Nuño da Silva, whom the Englishmen called Sylvester, a pilot well acquainted with "Brasilia and most parts of India on that side of the land, who, when he heard that our travel was into Mare del Zur, that is, the South Sea, was willing to assist." Nuño da Silva thereafter played an important part in the voyage up the western coasts of the American continent.

¶ It was off Brava that Drake's eyes were opened as to Doughty, when he went on board the Portuguese prize, the *Mary*, about his prisoners. As soon as he was on deck, Doughty accused Thomas Drake of pilfering from the prize cargo, an unpardonable offence, but the tables were turned on Doughty by the evidence produced on board. So Drake sent him to his own ship, the *Pelican*, and himself took charge of the *Mary*. Doughty, however, gave much further trouble in the tropical seas, taking advantage of his position as a gentleman volunteer soldier, then an unsettled one. He tried to take command of the *Pelican* as Drake's deputy by right over the head of Thomas Hord, a gentleman volunteer and her Master, but he had not counted on Drake's masterful temper, and the question was then and there settled against him and incidentally for all time—the mighty question as to who is the superior at sea, the sailor or the soldier. In the end Doughty was ordered on board the little victualling ship, the *Swan*, in disgrace, "disgraded" as one account has it, under Captain Chester. In settling the superiority of the sailor over the soldier at sea, Drake performed an immense service to his country, just as the reverse service was performed when the superiority of the soldier over the sailor on land was settled long afterwards in the First Burmese War in 1825 after the disaster at Donabew. It is not to be supposed that Drake grasped the full significance of what he was doing, or that he meant to do more



DRAKE'S ROUTE BY THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS. 1577-1578.

than assert his own supremacy. But he saw the importance of the principle of unity of supreme command and the opposing nations did not. The principle he acted on was one of the elements in his own success thereafter and operated in the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Also, of course, it was not at once universally accepted, and subsequently there were compromises, such as turning the soldier on board into the combatant sailor and making him superior to the sailing sailor, and so on. But the principle remained to the inestimable benefit of Drake's successors.

¶ On 2 February the fleet, which must be now reckoned as of six ships, started on its voyage across the Atlantic, and "sailed 63 days without sight of land...till we fell with the coast of Brasill the fift of April following." On reaching the coast Drake returned to the *Pelican*. Then follows a long and interesting account of what was met with on the ocean, both as to weather and life, especially flying fish. There is also a capital traveller's tale attributed to Nuño da Silva as to the methods used by the "Indians" for driving off the Portuguese "*armathos*." The fleet managed to keep together on the Atlantic, but the *Mary* was lost for a day, 28-29 March.

¶ The point at which the American continent was hit was somewhat north of the River Plate (Rio de la Plata), probably about Rio Grande do Sul. Here "forcible stormes" were encountered. On 7 April an exceptionally violent one separated the *Mary*, under the command of Thomas Drake, for a long while from the rest of the fleet, and also the *Christopher*, i.e. the *Caunter* exchanged at Cape Blanco on the African coast for the original *Christopher*. Thomas Doughty and his half brother John had all this while never ceased from tampering with such men as they could on board the fleet.

¶ Drake kept down the coast sailing always southwards. On 14 April he passed Cape Santa Maria, apparently Cape San Antonio, "neere the mouth of the river of Plate," where he anchored, giving it the name Cape Joy, and here the *Christopher* rejoined the fleet on the 16th. The name Joy was doubtless conferred because Drake had given out at the Cape Verde Islands that the next "randevous" was the River Plate. Hereabouts, somewhere in the El Rincon Road, behind a rocky island under cover from the southerly gales the fleet remained till 20 April, and at this point is given a description of friendly Patagonian giants and ostrich hunting, for the fleet had been up the estuary of the River Plate till it reached fresh water. It did not, however, stay, considering the situation too dangerous, and by the 27th it was again in the open sea. The first night out the fly-boat *Swan* was lost sight of, which upset Drake a good deal—it was his

when examined as a prisoner by the Spaniards in Santa Fé, Province of River Plate, stated: "Master Auter [Doughty] wished to mutiny with the men, and the said Captain Francis [Drake] had him beheaded." This John Drake was subsequently examined a second time by the Inquisition at Lima, and then he stated: "Captain Francis [Drake] had an English gentleman, named Thomas Doughty, beheaded, because he was inciting the men to mutiny." Such is the outside English evidence.

¶ As to foreign evidence, Lopez Vaz, in his *Discourse of the West Indies and South Sea*, founded on the statements of Nuño da Silva, the Portuguese pilot, who went with Drake from Cape Verde Islands through the Straits of Magellan to Aquatulco on the Western American coast, remarks of Drake: "hee also put to death a gentleman of his company, because he would have returned home." Nuño da Silva himself, in his *Log* of the voyage, simply remarks on 30 June: "they passed sentence that he [clearly Doughty] was to die"; and on 2 July: "they cut off his head." Nuño was subsequently examined by the Inquisitor Bonilla in Mexico City, because he had been obliged by Drake to receive the "Lutheran" Communion on the Sunday after Doughty's execution. He then made a valuable statement: "in Abra de las Islas [Port San Julian] where they wintered, when he [Francis Drake] beheaded the said English gentleman, who was named Master Doughty, the said Master Doughty challenged him to show whence and by what power he could behead him, and that then the said Francis Drake assembled all his men, without omitting a single one. Placing himself in a more elevated position than the others, he took out some papers, kissed them, put them on his head, and read them in a loud voice. After reading them he showed them to the others and all saw and inspected them. After the head had been severed, he took the head in his hand, showed it and cast it away, saying, 'Long live the Queen of England.' All present said that those papers were from her and that it was with her authority that he was executing [Doughty] and making the voyage."

¶ On the above evidence the case of Thomas Doughty would not be worthy of further examination, but Drake, like all prominent men of the time, had enemies and they put a very different complexion on it. In *The World Encompassed* the younger Sir Francis Drake, the navigator's nephew, has a long account of Doughty's execution. This may, therefore, be taken as biassed in Drake's favour, but it is based on two other detailed accounts, which are equally biassed the other way. There is firstly the story of Drake's Chaplain, Francis Fletcher, one of the gentlemen volun-

teers on the voyage, who had quarrelled with him off the Moluccas during the voyage and wrote about the Doughty case in a manner obviously hostile as to Drake and friendly as to Doughty. Secondly, there is the tale signed by John Cooke, one of John Winter's men in the *Elizabeth*. This also adopts an unquestionably hostile attitude from the commencement and bears evidence of having been doctored by some one with a greater literary capacity than a mariner was likely to possess. Then there is a third document which has been preserved—*Doughty's Oration on the Pelican*. In this his view of the situation has been set forth. According to these accounts Drake's action in executing Doughty amounted to a judicial murder and they have afterwards been so used to asperse his character as to become of serious moment.

¶ Before Drake got home in September 1580, John Winter with John Cooke had been in England more than a year, and there had been plenty of time for tales against Drake to spread, and indeed many did. John Winter, with John Doughty afterwards, and their partisans saw to that. Thus we find, in a letter of Pedro de Rada, that a report had reached France before August 1580, apparently through John Winter or his men, that Drake would not "dare to go to England on account of having beheaded a noble gentleman whom he had carried in his company, and for other reasons." Also from a letter from Don Antonio de Padilla, President of the Council of the Indies, dated 6 August, 1579, and other Spanish correspondence about that date, we learn that Philip II had heard of Drake's proceedings on the American coast by that time, but fortunately for the navigator he wrote on the letter: "It would be very well to take all suitable steps in this matter and to write to Don Bernardino [de Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador in London] to speak to the Queen [Elizabeth], not now, but after the Englishman has returned there." This order Philip II repeated on other letters, and it was thus that Drake was eventually saved. Moreover, we learn how calumnies about Drake had spread about in England from Bernardino de Mendoza himself in a letter in which he quotes John Winter as his authority and says that "as no one wished to carry out the sentence, Drake himself was the executioner, cutting off the condemned man's head with his own hands." Mendoza further brought many wild charges against Drake based on similar false information. The story about Doughty's death was of interest to the great, as well as the small, for years after Drake's return to England. Peter Carder, who escaped to England after his pinnace had lost Drake's ship on the Pacific side of the Straits of Magellan, says on his return to England

provision boat. He "searched all the coast" from 36° to 47° for a harbour, and meanwhile on 8 May he again lost the *Christopher*.

¶ On 12 May the fleet sighted land in 47° and this was named Cape Hope or "Cape of good hope" (Cape Tres Puntas), because there was a bay there that promised a harbour. Drake went in an open boat on the 13th to investigate it, but was caught in a storm and soon found himself in a dangerous position. From this he was, however, rescued by the pluck of Captain Thomas of the *Marigold*, who went into the bay with his ship despite the storm. Just before it arose the *Mary* turned up, but only for the day, as the whole fleet outside the harbour had to put to sea almost as soon as she arrived. Meanwhile Drake, inside it, had gone on shore and made fires as signals, by which means he recovered all the fleet on the 14th, except the *Swan*, which was still missing, and again the unfortunate *Mary*, once more lost for some time. On the 15th the bay was abandoned as unsuitable, and on the 17th another bay was found in $47^{\circ} 30'$, called by the fleet Seal Bay (Port Desire) from the many seals in it. In this it anchored on the 18th and remained there 15 days.

¶ In this harbour also plenty of fresh food, other than seals, was procured from an enormous number of very tame birds inhabiting an island in it, and we are also treated to long accounts of the Patagonians and their method of traffic. Sending Captain Winter in the *Elizabeth* to search to the southwards for the missing ships, Drake went himself northwards on the same errand and found the *Swan*, which he brought in. She must have been in a very bad condition, for "being discharged of her freight" Drake had her broken up and burnt to save the iron in her, though one account says she was broken up for firewood. On the disposal of the *Swan* Drake took the two Doughtys on to his own ship, the *Pelican*, but as they still continued to be more than troublesome, he first punished and then transferred them to the *Christopher* under Thomas Moone, a strong man in whom he had great trust. John Chester, the commander of the *Swan*, was a gentleman volunteer and only by courtesy a "Captain," and the destruction of his ship does not seem to have raised any difficulties as to dealing with him.

¶ On 3 June the fleet set sail again and on the 12th anchored in a little bay, perhaps Desvelos Bay, for two days when the *Christopher*, being "let float in the sea," was abandoned as unserviceable, and the Doughtys were put on board the *Elizabeth* under Captain Winter. Drake thus lost a second ship from his fleet. On 14 June he proceeded further South and anchored on the 17th in yet another bay (probably Port Santa Cruz) in $50^{\circ} 20'$, only a degree short of the mouth of the Straits of Magellan.

From this spot, however, on 18 June he went north again to look for the *Mary*, and on the 19th he sighted her "farre out of order and very leake," off Port San Julian, a natural harbour, called by Nuño da Silva Abra (or Baya) de las Islas, which the fleet entered with her on the 20th.

¶ In Port San Julian occurred an unfortunate incident with the Patagonians. Drake went ashore with six others on 22 June to look for water, and there arose a quarrel with the natives, in which two of his party, Robert Winterhey or Winter, a gentleman volunteer, and Oliver, a master gunner, and one Patagonian lost their lives. At Port San Julian also trouble with Thomas Doughty came to a head. He and his brother began to interfere with John Winter's men on the *Elizabeth* in defiance of Drake, and at last on 30 June Drake had him tried, after the fashion of the day, by a sort of court martial of 40 members under the presidency of Captain John Winter. Finally, after scenes typical of the time, he was beheaded on 1 July on an island in the harbour, which Drake's enemies called in consequence the Island of Blood and his friends the Island of Justice and Judgment. Near the same spot Magellan, for the same general reasons, 58 years earlier, had executed Juan de Cartagena and another in 1520. Doughty's trial was conducted with much quaint ceremony and the story is related at full length in *The World Encompassed* and several other contemporary narratives.

¶ Drake, as he probably foresaw, was to hear more about Thomas Doughty when he got home again, though to the bulk of his fellow-voyagers, English and foreign, the case did not seem to call for much comment. They evidently looked on it as the natural way of dealing with mutiny when discovered. The French-Norman author, F. de Levencourt, of the *Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea* (translated by Hakluyt), who clearly had access to eyewitnesses of what he recorded, merely remarks *en passant* that the action of Thomas Doughty "tended to the successe of the voyage might greatly have been hazarded": that "the cause was thoroughly heard and all things done in order, as neere as might be to the course of our lawes in England": and that Doughty faced his death "in quiet sort." Edward Cliffe, the mariner, who wrote an account of John Winter's voyage out with Drake and home by himself, merely says that Doughty "was brought to answere, was accused and convicted of certaine articles and by Mr Drake condemned." John Drake, Sir Francis Drake's reputed cousin and fellow-traveller, who was afterwards wrecked in the River Plate estuary during Edward Fenton's expedition in 1581,

encountered off the southern end of the American continent was all the more disheartening.

¶ Drake had thus only three ships with him—the *Pelican*, the *Elizabeth* and the *Marigold*. This last was under Captain John Thomas as before and had on board as Master, Edward (or John) Bright, “a ship’s carpenter” and one of the principal witnesses against Thomas Doughty. And Drake had also with him at least one sworn enemy in Thomas Doughty’s half-brother, John. On 20 August “we fel with the Cape, neere which lies the entrance into the straight [or freate] called by the Spaniards Capo Virgin Maria [Magellan’s Cape of the 11,000 Virgins, Cape Virgenes]” and by the English Cape Victory. Here “our generall [*i.e.* Drake] caused the fleet, in honour to our soveraigne lady the Queene’s [Elizabeth’s] maiesty, to strike their topsailes upon the bunt, in a token of his willing and glad minde:...withall, in remembrance of his honourable friend and favourer, Sir Christopher Hatton, he changed the name of the shippe, which himself went in, from the *Pellican* to be called the *Golden Hinde*.” Hatton’s crest was a “hind trippant or.”

¶ Passing then through a narrow and dangerous strait, the fleet sighted “a volcano” *i.e.* large fires on shore, whence the name “Tierra del Fuego,” and on 24 August fell in with three islands, the southernmost of which Drake named Elizabeth and the other two Bartholomew, after St Bartholomew’s Day, 24 August, and St George. They are now known as Tierra del Fuego, Navarin and Hoste. Beyond these was the limitless ocean, and here Drake made his greatest discovery—the Terra Australis of European maps, the Terra Incognita of fearsome fable, was non-existent.

¶ The little fleet found the “fretes or passages” quite as dangerous as Magellan’s companions had described them. The inhabitants, near a “Bay which we called the Bay of severing of friends,” were low of stature and had excellent “cannowes or boats,” which excited admiration. Incidentally the sailors came across the penguin, of which there are quaintly delightful descriptions—“fowles which could not flye, of the bignes of gese.” Passing Cape Deseado, or Cape Pillar, by “the sixth of September we had left asterne of us all these troublesome Islands and were entered into the South Sea or Mare [or Mar] del Zur [de Sur].” From the next day, 7 September, to 7 October the fleet met with severe gales, so that it lost sight of land, and unfortunately the *Marigold* went down in one of them on 30 September, leaving Drake with only his own ship, the *Golden Hind*, and Winter’s ship, the *Elizabeth*. On 15 September there was an

eclipse of the moon, a horrifying occurrence in the circumstances of the fleet, but the sea was more awful still. Also, according to one account, John Brewer “our trumpeter,” an important witness in the Doughty case, had a remarkable escape from drowning. Indeed, to these pioneer sailors, on their first introduction to it, the South Sea was a sheer terror: “the South Sea, called by some *Mare pacificum*, but proving to us to be *Mare furiosum*.”

¶ Drake had told his men before leaving the Straits of Magellan that the next object of the fleet was “in 30 degrees or thereabouts upon the coast of Peru toward the Equinoctiall,” but in addition to the *Marigold* he lost his “vice-admirall,” the *Elizabeth* under Captain John Winter. It transpired afterwards that Winter, finding himself near the mouth of the Straits of Magellan on 8 October, 1578, went through them from the Pacific, and finally brought his ship to “Ilfoordcombe in Devonshire” on 2 June, 1579, as is narrated by Edward Cliffe, mariner. In other words, Winter deserted his leader, just as one of Magellan’s ships deserted him at the same place and in the same way.

¶ Drake was now alone in the *Golden Hind* without any consort except a pinnace, though he was unaware of Winter’s desertion. But he soon lost even this company. She had in her eight men, including young John Hawkins and Peter Carder of St Verian in Cornwall, and was told off “to waite upon the ship for all necessary purposes,” but lost her “in the night time by foule weather suddenly arising.” The pinnace then repassed the Straits of Magellan and finally found her way to the River Plate. Of the crew only Peter Carder survived and reached England in November 1586, nine years after he had left it. He then had an interview with Queen Elizabeth and told a tale of terrible suffering.

¶ By this accident Drake was left entirely alone, but he remained as undaunted as ever and as determined as at the commencement of his mighty adventure to find his way round the world. Proceeding onwards, he found himself almost at once driven back to the islands of the Straits of Magellan by foul and violent weather, which lasted till 28 October. Having named the islands thereabout the Elizabethides, he set sail again on 30 October full of his great discovery of the ocean beyond them to the south. He went to the “North West, to coast along the parts of Peru (for so the generall mappes set out the land to lie).” On 31 October “we chanced with two Ilands [in one of the archipelagoes to the south-west of the continent] being it were storehouses of most liberall provision of victualls for us of birds.” On 1 November the course was continued for

that, on some date so late as to be after 1 November 1586, he was "brought to her [Queen Elizabeth's] presence at White Hall, when it pleased her to talk with me...among other things of the manner of Master Doughty's death." So Drake had plenty to meet on his arrival in England. His enemies, however, failed to injure him and the rumours born out of the Doughty affair died down without interfering with his career.

¶ The evil effects of the machinations of Drake's opponents were thus merely temporary, but the beneficent results of his firmness in putting down mutiny have been permanent. John Cooke's coadjutors commence his story with a remarkable passage: "The xv November in the yeere above [Anno dñi 1577] Francys Drake, John Winter and Thomas Doughty, as equall companyones and frindly gentlemen, with a fleett of fyve ships and to the number of 164 gentlemen and saylers departed Plimouth, gyvyng oute his pretended voyage for Alexandria, and had for that place made wages with his men." These words largely explain Drake's line of action. In the first place they show that, although he held Queen Elizabeth's commission, he was really regarded as *primus inter pares* in relation to the other two—Captain-general of the Fleet. He brought to it three ships from Plymouth. Winter was a gentleman volunteer, an adventurer participating in the expedition, who brought two ships from the Thames, and was Drake's vice-admiral. Thomas Doughty was also a gentleman volunteer and a soldier—Captain of the Land Soldiers. There were several others of the same category in the fleet who were sailors: *e.g.* Captains Thomas and Chester. Indeed, including Drake, there were sixteen, ten per cent. of the whole crews, of such men, whose names are on record. As above said, Drake, Winter and Doughty sailed "as equal companions," while Drake and Doughty were close friends of some standing. At that time the relative position of sailors and soldiers on board a ship was unsettled, and so was that of the gentleman volunteer. These considerations have to be borne in mind in considering the case of Thomas Doughty. In the first place, Drake was in a difficult and anxious position as regards his gentlemen volunteers, and he had to settle finally who was to command every one in the fleet, sailors and soldiers. Until he did this and until he felt certain that his orders would be immediately obeyed the success of his voyage round the world was precarious. The man who disputed his authority practically from the point at which he declared his intentions to his crews was Thomas Doughty, the soldier, who had a certain backing in England, and owing to his own position Drake had to go warily in dealing with him. Nevertheless it was imperatively necessary

that Drake should keep him in complete subordination. Doughty, however, thought himself to be in so strong a position as a gentleman volunteer soldier as to be able to defy him. He had also in view the power of his friends at home. Leaving out, then, all considerations of treachery against himself before the expedition started, it was impossible for Drake to tolerate this line of opposition, and as Doughty persisted Drake had no option but to put him out of the way in the manner usual in his day. He hesitated a long while, but when he felt quite sure of himself and his men he acted without flinching. He thus upheld not only his own authority over the whole fleet, but, as has been above remarked, he did much more: he created that authority of the sailor over the soldier at sea, which has been the saving of the British Navy.

¶ One word more as to the form of the trial. To readers accustomed to modern trials in an English court of law, the whole of Drake's procedure reads like a farce. But it must be remembered in the first place that we have only hostile accounts of it, and in the second place that Drake and his comrades could only proceed as nearly as they could according to the procedure they could remember of English law-courts in their day. At that time during trials it was customary for every person concerned to talk as he thought fit and the rules of evidence were far indeed from being settled as they now are. It must also be remembered that even now cases in some parts of the European continent are conducted in much the same manner as was Doughty's trial, and apparently with all the confusion that is conspicuous in Doughty's case. According to the ideas of the time, the trial was conducted "all in order" and in a seemly manner, and it was clearly Drake's intention that there should be no doubt on that point.

THE VOYAGE HOME FROM PORT SAN JULIAN

¶ Having decently buried Thomas Doughty, Robert Winterhey and Oliver, and incidentally on 1 August having thoroughly impressed and overawed his companions by twice calling them together and speaking very plainly to them and exhibiting his credentials from Queen Elizabeth, Drake broke up "the *Mary* our Portugall prise" as "she was leake and troublesome," and in his own indomitable way, on 17 August, 1588, started again on his further voyage. How indomitable he was can be gauged by the fact that at that time the seasons in the Southern Hemisphere were not realised, and August had previously been still held to be the height of summer by English sailors. So the winter weather

Peru, finding that the "generall mappes do erre." The land, near Valdivia, all sometimes spoken of as "Peru" and sometimes as "Chili" or "Chile," as far as Lima, was found to be mountainous.

¶ On 25 November Drake anchored off an island "named by the Spaniards Mucho" or La Mocha "not far from Valdivia," where the inhabitants were found to be friendly. Next day, however, two men were sent ashore and were suddenly attacked and killed, and then Drake himself landed with an armed party of ten men. They were attacked by a large number of natives, Drake himself being wounded in the face by an arrow, and four others being killed or dying afterwards of wounds. It appeared that the Englishmen had been mistaken for Spaniards in disguise, because some of them unsuspectingly asked for water as *aqua*. Drake, however, took no vengeance and sailed away that evening, 26 November. He soon recovered from his wound, despite the circumstances: "for our chiefe surgeon being dead and the other absent by the losse of the Vice-Admirall [the *Elizabeth*], and having none left us but a boy, whose good will was more than any skill he had."

¶ After passing "by the towne of Concepcion, not knowing the place," on 30 November "Philips Bay" was reached. Here was captured an Indian fishing in a "cannowe," with whom they made friends. Then, after a little delay, "our Indian Pilote," another Indian "named Felipe and he spake Spanish," captured off the port of Quintero (probably Quillóta), showed them on 5 December the way to the harbour of "Valperigo [Valparaiso] and the town adjoyning, Saint Iames of Chili [Santiago]." At Valparaiso they found a ship called "the *Capitaine of Moriall* [Muriel] or the *Grande Capitaine of the South*, Admirall to the Islands of Solomon." That is what she had been. As a matter of fact she was then a merchant vessel belonging to the Licentiado Torres, or more probably to Andres Muriel, and was properly named *Los Reyes*, but was usually called *La Capitana* (Flagship), because she had served as such in the Spanish voyage of discovery to the Solomon Islands. She was laden with a rich cargo including "fine gold of Baldivia," and she was "eased of so heavy a burthen," as the English record callously puts it. Thus began Drake's famous career on the western American coasts, as a crusader against the Spanish people from his own point of view, as a corsair from that of the Spaniards. The effect of this particular action on the Spaniards must have been startling in the extreme, as they could have had no suspicion that an English ship could possibly find her way to that part of the American continent. Their one idea of communication with Europe was

overland by Panama. One Spaniard of the five on board of *La Capitana* at the time escaped by swimming ashore, and gave the first warning of the presence of Drake—though not of course so that he could be identified—along the western coasts of America.

¶ On 8 December the *Golden Hind* set sail again, searching the coast for her lost companion, the *Elizabeth*, not only with the help of the "Indian Pilote," who, however, was soon landed at his own home, the port of Quintero (*i.e.* Quillóta), but also with that of a much more valuable man, Juan Griego, "a Greeke borne," known also as "John the Greeke," the master and pilot of the unfortunate *La Capitana*, which Drake had taken with him as a prize. Incidentally also Drake had the advantage of the sea charts of Juan Griego, by which he guided himself from port to port along the coasts of Western America. We thus see that the sureness with which Drake first found his way to the Straits of Magellan and afterwards up the western American coast was no miracle—he had firstly Magellan's charts and then those of Juan Griego.

¶ Continuing his search Drake entered the Bay of Tanquey (Tango) in 29° 30' on 19 December and landed fourteen men at Lacerone to the south of "the towne of Cyppo [Coquimbo] now inhabited by Spaniards." They were immediately attacked and one man, the leader, Richard Minivy, was killed in defending his men. Not relishing this reception, Drake went northwards at once, and on 20 December found another bay, Bahia Salada, in 27° 55' south, where some time was spent in "trimming of our ship and building of our pinnace." One result of the action at Coquimbo we learn from an intercepted *Discourse* by Lopez Vaz, "a Portugall," who in his turn received his information from Nuño da Silva. The strange corsair was now known to be an Englishman and the people of "Saint Jago sent a Post by land to give warning unto them of Peru." The land route was used because Drake had closed the sea route, but the road was far and mountainous, and "the Poste was so long in perfourmance of this journey that Captaine Drake was upon the coast of Peru a moneth before the sayd Poste came hither." We now see how it was that Drake was able to continue to surprise the Spaniards for so long.

¶ On 19 January, 1579, Drake started again, and on the 22nd he came upon "an Iland standing in the same height with the North cape of the province of Mormorena [Morro Moreno]." Here they found "4 Indians with their cannoves," who took them to fresh water, but there was very little of it, and a search for more water was instituted, which carried them "to a place called Tarapaca," or according to Lopez Vaz "Los Pescadores,"

on the Pisagua River. Here they found a Spaniard, on his way from the silver mines of Potosi, asleep with "13 barrils of silver waighing in all about 4000 Spanish ducatts," of which the unfortunate man was relieved. They then met another Spaniard "with an Indian boy, driving 8 lambs [llamas] or Peruvian sheep" laden with leathern bags, carrying "800 waight" of silver. This they also took. They then met a number of Indians "in certain bawses [coracles] made of seales skins," with whom they did a profitable trade. In 22° 30' Drake found Mormorena [Morro Moreno], "a large Indian towne," on 26 January, and also two "tractable" Spaniards, with whom he did business and procured some llamas, of which a fair description is given under the name of the "sheape of the countrey—the province of Cusko."

¶ Passing along a harbourless coast "the towne of Arica," the port of the famous silver mines of Potosi, was reached on 7 February. Here were found two barks, belonging respectively to Felipe Corço and Benito Diaz alias Bravo the pilot, from which were taken "some forty odd barres of silver," each weighing "about 20 pounds." The barks were then burnt, apparently against Drake's orders. Sailing thence they arrived at "Chowley," i.e. Chala near Atiquipa, on 9 February, where they found a bark belonging to Bernal Bueno, loading gold and silver, but as she had had notice overland from Arica of Drake's approach, the cargo was unladen before he reached her. However, the "linnen" had been taken out of yet another bark off Quilca, near Arequipa, by way of compensation, and by way of revenge, or it may be merely for convenience, the prizes were either burnt or set adrift at sea, including in the last category *La Capitana*. As a matter of fact Drake was now largely "blown upon," and the news that a corsair was abroad began to be spread about, making all his subsequent exploits more difficult than hitherto. That he could continue them so successfully is an indication of his character as a fighter, although his arrival on the coast was not even yet thoroughly advertised.

¶ Drake next made for Lima, and here the accounts of his proceedings become considerably confused, but they appear to have been as follows. Before reaching the Callao or harbour of Lima he took a bark belonging to Francisco de Trujillo, from the pilot or captain of which, Gaspar Martin, whom he used to guide him into the Callao, he learnt about the ships lying there and of the silver supposed to be in them. Armed with this information and with characteristic disregard of the Spaniards, on 15 February, he entered the harbour and anchored "in the Calao...all night in the midst" of the Spanish ships, the number of which in the

accounts varies from nineteen to twelve. They were moored without sails, as there was no thought of meeting with an enemy on that coast. Drake commenced operations by plundering the *Nuestra Señora del Valle*, belonging to Miguel Angel, a well-known pilot, called both Mighell Angel and Michael Angelo by the English, and found nothing worth taking in her, "for the reason that they [silver bars] had not been embarked." He then seized the *San Christobal*, belonging to Alonso Rodriguez Bautista, or Baptista Patagalana, just arrived from Panama and laden with general merchandise, which he eventually took with him. In the attack on the *San Christobal* an Englishman named Thomas was killed. Ransacking all the other ships fruitlessly, Drake cut them adrift to cause confusion. In the morning he sailed in search of a valuable ship, to which the accounts give many names, but for the present purpose she may be called by her best-known nickname the *Çacafuego* or *Spitfire*, just as on her capture by the *Golden Hind* she was called in derision by the Spaniards the *Çacaplata* or *Spitsilver*. He had heard from Gaspar Martin, above mentioned, that the *Çacafuego* was especially heavily laden with gold, silver and other valuables. Drake also heard while in the Callao that his old companion, the far-famed hero of Kingsley, John Oxenham, was a prisoner in Lima with other Englishmen. Afterwards to these was added his cousin, John Drake, from whom important information regarding his proceedings has come down to us through Spanish accounts. This information had an effect on Drake's action both off Lima and afterwards.

¶ While Drake was thus busily engaged in the Callao, the Spanish Viceroy of Peru, Don Franciso de Toledo, the "murderer" of Tupac Amaru, the last of the Incas, heard of the escapade in his palace at Los Reyes, i.e. Lima, after midnight. Then and there, in the most energetic manner, he organised a force to turn the tables on Drake, for it was now known from Santiago and other ports that it was "Captain Francisco Draque," who was the cause of the trouble. But they were too late, as Drake was out to sea before anything could be done, and though General Diego de Frias Trejo went out with three ships after him, Drake got safely away, leaving the *San Christobal* behind him with Juan Griego, the Greek pilot, on board. From this man the Spaniards learned definitely about Drake's proceedings as far as Lima. Among those sent after Drake was the famous mariner Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, through whose skill the Solomon Islands had been discovered, and from him came lively and valuable accounts of the chase and of the Viceroy's wrath, which have been preserved.

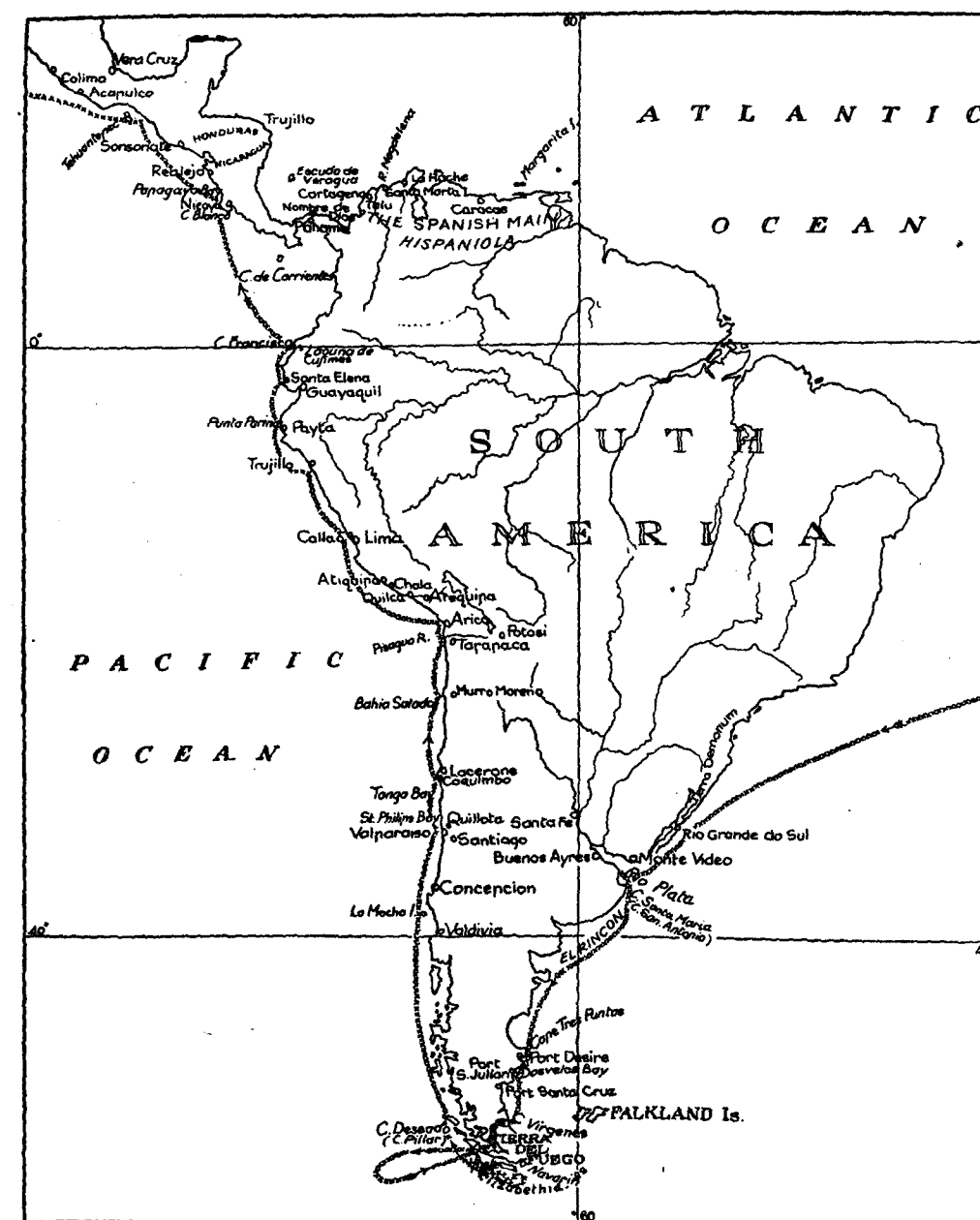
¶ Drake now sailed northwards, capturing ships, and after spoiling them of men and cargo he usually "let them drive," *i.e.* set them to sail on the sea as derelicts, his object being to prevent the Spaniards from learning his whereabouts. On 20 February he reached Payta, where he robbed a bark belonging to the pilot Custodio Rodriguez and obtained news from another pilot named Domingo Martin that San Juan de Anton, the "Biskaian" pilot and master of the *Çacafuego* had left that port only the previous day. This news greatly excited him. On the 24th he was at "Port Saint Hellen [Santa Elena] and the river and port of Guayaquill," after having taken the ship of Gonzalo Alvarez of Panama off the Punta Parina outside Payta. As regards this ship, Drake has been charged with the one act of cruelty attributed to him on this tour. He "hanged" the supercargo to make him discover bullion supposed to have been hidden on board. What he did was the then common practice of "hanging" a man from the yard-arm and dropping him in the water to make him confess.

¶ On the 28th Drake crossed the line, and on the same day he robbed a ship of Benito Diaz Bravo, the pilot, off the Laguna de Cojimies coming out of Panama. The Spanish fleet of vengeance under Pedro de Arana followed him on the 27th from the Callao, and heard of him at Santa and at the port of Trujillo, where he had taken the bark "of a certain Cataro" with a valuable cargo. Following Drake much too late the Spanish fleet on 13 March reached Santa Elena, where all they found was a "letter written by the inn-keeper in which he stated that he was fleeing on account of the news about the Englishmen." Beyond this point the Spaniards did not adopt the advice of Sarmiento de Gamboa and follow Drake further, but after much cogitation as to what they ought to do, they returned to Panama and there braved the wrath of the Viceroy.

¶ Meanwhile Drake on 1 March "fell in with the Cape Francisco" at the entrance to the Bay of Panama. Here he remained six days to refresh, which must have been dangerous with the Spanish fleet after him. Here also he found a bark which he emptied of a valuable cargo, and here, too, it was that John Drake espied the *Çacafuego* at a distance of "about three leagues." This very richly laden ship was surprised partly by stratagem and despoiled of her cargo valued at "360,000 pezoës...every pezo being of the value of a ryall of eight," *i.e.* a dollar. The Spanish accounts of the capture of this very valuable ship are long, numerous and sometimes extremely picturesque. They called her the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion* and sometimes the *Nao Rica*, *i.e.* the *Rich Ship*. Drake had no animosity

against San Juan de Anton, who spoke English, just as Drake spoke Spanish, fluently, and in fact treated him personally extremely well, sending him back to his ship with many presents. In two days San Juan reached Capo de Corrientes and when on shore had a great tale of Drake and his experiences. In addition to all he had given him as gifts Drake gave him a letter of safe-conduct in English, addressed to John Winter and others of his missing crews couched in quaint language. It is otherwise a most important document, as it is the only specimen of letters from Drake himself written during this voyage that has been in any fashion preserved. It now exists in a translation from a Spanish version in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, and is attached to the *Relation* of Nuño da Silva. Drake soon afterwards gave similar safe-conducts to Giuseppe de Parraces and through him to Juan de Espinosa, the hermit, who seems to have befriended the English captives of the Spaniards, and also one to Don Francisco de Zarate, of which last a translation into Spanish was made by John Butler, otherwise Salona or Chalona, a fine Spanish scholar, who was a prisoner in Lima at the time of Drake's visit there. His object in this action was first to safeguard the lives of his friends in Spanish hands at Lima and in this he succeeded for the time at any rate; and secondly to let them know of his presence on the American coast, and the fact that John Butler was asked to translate the letter of safe-conduct for the Spaniards shows that he entirely succeeded in this. Drake more than once expressed his extreme anxiety as to the plight of the English prisoners.

¶ On the same date, 1 March, a curious episode is recorded in several accounts. The version in Nuño da Silva's story in the Hakluyt collection is typical of all. Drake, heavily laden with booty, perceived a ship "about foure leagues to seaward of them, and because the English ship was somewhat heavier before [by the stem], 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 stern of the ship to make her sayle the better." That is, by this "pretie device" they brought her to an even keel. Julian Corbett, however, has another version of this tale and says that "sayle the better" is a mistranslation, and that the real fact is that Drake was using a common device of pirates in his day to deceive their quarry: "If any ships stand in after them, they have out all the sail they can make and hang out drags to hinder their going, that so the other that stand with them might imagine they were afraid and yet they shall fetch them up." Corbett uses this quotation to note that Drake deceived the *Çacafuego* by keeping up sail and yet not overtaking her till



DRAKE'S ROUTE ROUND THE AMERICAN COASTS. 1578-1579.

aware of the name of the "pirate," and when the force he immediately collected to pursue Drake was also becalmed near him and discovered his identity, on the rising of the wind it returned to harbour without interfering with him, because the ships were unarmed. It was unprepared to meet such a man as Drake. The Spanish conduct in this case does not necessarily imply cowardice. Witness an incident in the life of another such sailor as Drake, Hobart Pasha at Syra in 1868 during the Cretan rebellion against the Turks, when the enemy had the aid of a certain Greek captain, known to Hobart as a brave and capable man. *More suo*, Hobart waited for him in the harbour, ready to fight it out. The Greek came sailing in cleared for action, and to Hobart's astonishment struck his colours and surrendered. Then Hobart learned that the poor fellow had just discovered that he had not been supplied with powder.

¶ Drake's uniform success then against the Spaniards was due to his skill and self-restraint, his daring as a naval commander and his hold over his men, combined with the complete surprise and unreadiness of his victims. He never attempted against them at that time more than he could perform and left the scenes of his performances while he was still successful, although the temptation to be foolhardy must often have been very great. Indeed, all his proceedings show that what to him was a crusade against the Spaniards was far from being a matter of a "walk-over," and his was indeed a very human victory. From another point of view Drake reaped on the western American coast an immediate reward for his unflinching firmness in putting down the mutiny of, to him, so powerful an opponent as Thomas Doughty and for his subsequent clever appeals to his other officers and his men. He had shown himself to be absolute master of the situation and won from his crew at the best an enthusiastic support or at worst silent, but implicit, obedience. As a private individual he appears, for all his depredations, as a fair and not cruel man—it is not proved that he killed a single Spaniard during his tour of the coast—and his general courtesy won the approval of more than one of those who found themselves in his power.

¶ Drake had now done with the Spaniards and sailed on with the *Golden Hind* and a pinnace from the Nicaragua coast, till 3 June "along the backside of America" towards "the Californias...1400 leagues in all" till he came to 42° North, about level with Oregon. Here it is reported that it was extremely cold at night and comparatively hot by day. On 5 June he was driven in shore by contrary winds, and here he found it to be colder still. In this way he reached 48°, about the latitude of Vancouver.

it was dark, so that the big ship might not be able to check the intention or the nature of the *Golden Hind*.

¶ Up to the capture of the *Cacafuego* Drake had searched everywhere for his lost comrades, but now, being in possession of to him almost incredible wealth, and finding himself in the northern hemisphere, he began to seek a way home with his immense booty by that Will-o'-th'-Wisp, the sea-passage through the North American continent—the fabulous Straits of Anian. Leaving behind him a romantic and terrible reputation as “an English pirate or sea-rover,” and having evaded his Spanish pursuers, Don Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa and others, he sailed on 7 March along the coast of Nicaragua for the “Iland of Caines [Caño],” which he reached on the 16th. Here he stayed, hidden away, for eight days and felt a severe earthquake. He also built a pinnace. On the way thither he took a bark belonging to Rodrigo Tello of Nicoya, in which were two pilots, Alonso Sanchez Colchero and Martin de Aguirre. Of these Drake wanted to take Colchero with him, as he was “the pilot of the China route” and had “two navigation charts and a collection of sea-charts” of the Pacific, and was thus invaluable, especially as his charts must have been copies of those compiled with so much skill by Padre Urdaneta. He was, however, released, but the charts were kept. On board this vessel also was Giuseppe de Parraces, to whom, as above noticed, Drake gave a safe-conduct. One account refers to him as the “Spanish Governor of the Philippines,” a mistake arising out of the fact that on board Rodrigo Tello’s ship was found *inter alia* a “letter to Judge Sandia, the Governor of the Philippines,” called also “China.”

¶ On 24 March Drake left Caño and sailed onwards to the north for New Spain or Mexico, the Viceroy of which at that time was his old enemy Don Martin Enriquez, the hero of the episode—“an affair of foxes and not of lions” as the Spanish historian has it—at San Juan de Ulua, which was the great cause of Drake’s crusading spirit against the Spaniards. Making generally in the direction of Cape Blanco, Cape Velas, Realejo, Aquatulco, Acapulco and Colima, Drake took a frigate from Aquatulco not far from the Gulf of Papagaya and Sonsonate on 4 April. In this small vessel was an important personage, its owner Don Francisco de Zarate, a nobleman said to be related “to the Viceroy” and “cousin to the Duke of Medina.” De Zarate has left behind him a fine account of his capture, which is creditable to himself and to Drake. Indeed, except for the robbery that occurred de Zarate was well treated, and after being taken as far as the Gulf of Tehuantepec he was let go with the safe-

conduct already mentioned. With him was released the pilot Colchero. *The World Encompassed* tells a very different story and merely says that “wee reasonably as wee thought provided ourselves” at Don Francisco’s expense. When he got to Realejo Don Francisco sent a letter to Martin Enriquez, telling him a fair story of Drake’s voyage and pointing out the danger that existed in so great “a navigator and commander” being let loose in the Pacific. Other released prisoners also warned the Viceroy, Martin Enriquez, that Drake meant to go to the Philippines or Moluccas, and he advised Spain that a fleet be sent from Europe to meet him. Drake in fact was now thoroughly well known, and in ordinary circumstances he was in a very dangerous position, but fortunately perhaps Martin Enriquez’s advice was not followed or never arrived in time.

¶ On 13 or 15 April Drake chanced upon Aquatulco before his released prisoners could spread an alarm, and at that port finished his depredations on the Spanish colonies. Here he also released the Portuguese pilot Nuño da Silva, whom he had brought so far from the Cape Verde Islands, and the Puritans of his “Lutheran” crew sacked the Church and otherwise did damage. According to one account there also occurred here a sort of comic opera scene. A Spanish Court was found sitting to try some Indians for alleged incendiarism, and the whole posse was captured from the judge to the prisoners, the former being forced to clear the town of Spaniards while the Englishmen robbed it. There are many Spanish accounts of Drake’s proceedings at Aquatulco, but though there is much in them about the sacrilege committed in the Church, there is nothing about the above story. At the same time there is quite a pretty anecdote of Drake’s courteous behaviour in asking the local Spaniards of note to dinner, when he had them on board. After this lively escapade as a wind-up to his proceedings on the western American coast under Spanish domination, Drake took the *Golden Hind* on the 16th straight out to sea “to get a winde.”

¶ The story of Drake’s dealings with the Spaniards is, as has been already explained, not his own but largely that of his “Preacher” Fletcher as edited by his nephew, Francis Drake. We have therefore no means of knowing how Drake himself looked at it. Fletcher and his editor have constantly recorded Drake’s proceedings as if they were those of a romping irresponsible schoolboy doing all the mischief he could and enjoying the joke. All the cases of robbing the Spaniards are told in jovial fashion: “easing this ship [*La Capitana*] of so heavy a burthen”: “we freed him [a sleeping Spaniard] of his charge [13 barils of silver]”: “we could not

¶ At last Drake turned southwards, driven by the wind, coasting along a land where in June he found hills with white patches on them, which were taken for snow. In $38^{\circ} 30'$ on 17 June a harbour was found, Drake Bay, near the modern harbour of San Francisco in California, where he anchored till 23 July. It is still reported as being very cold, and the wind as north or north-west in July and north in August and September: so that "some of our mariners in this voyage, [who] had formerly been in Wardhouse [Vardö off the Norwegian coast] in 72 degrees of North Latitude, yet affirmed that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of summer, when they departed thence, as they did here in the hottest month of June and July." This is a statement interesting on its own account, as it shows that the mariner-adventurers in Drake's time belonged to "a set." The first English voyage to Archangel past Vardö (Chancellor's) was as late as 1553 and there could not have been many English sailors in Drake's time who had taken part in it and such subsequent voyages. None of the above statements as to climate, however, apply to that of the Californian coast as far north as Vancouver Island. They are all great exaggerations as to the cold experienced in that region in summer or indeed in winter. Julian Corbett conjectures that by making such statements it was intended to discourage the hankering after the North-West Passage then so strongly advocated by Sir Martin Frobisher and his party.

¶ On 18 July the ship was followed by an extremely shy Indian in a "canow," but on the 21st Drake brought her in shore to search for a leak that had started, and found the Indians friendly. Then follows a very long and very quaint account of their doings. On 26 June the "King himself" came to visit them, and the interviews between Drake and "the king" and his suite are described in the most entertaining fashion. In the end Drake took possession of the land for England and called it New Albion. "The Spaniards never had any dealing or so much as set a foote in this country, the utmost of their discoveries reaching onely to many degrees Southward of this place." The claim that no Spaniard had been seen on the coast is not quite valid, as Cabrillo had been upon it in 1542, but on such information as he had Drake felt justified in his action, and though he was not the first to see the Indians of the north-western American coast, he nevertheless performed here another of his immense services to his country by starting the idea of the Protectorates, which have since led to the creation of the great Commonwealth of Canada. On 23 July he took an affecting farewell of his Indian friends, and on the 24th reached

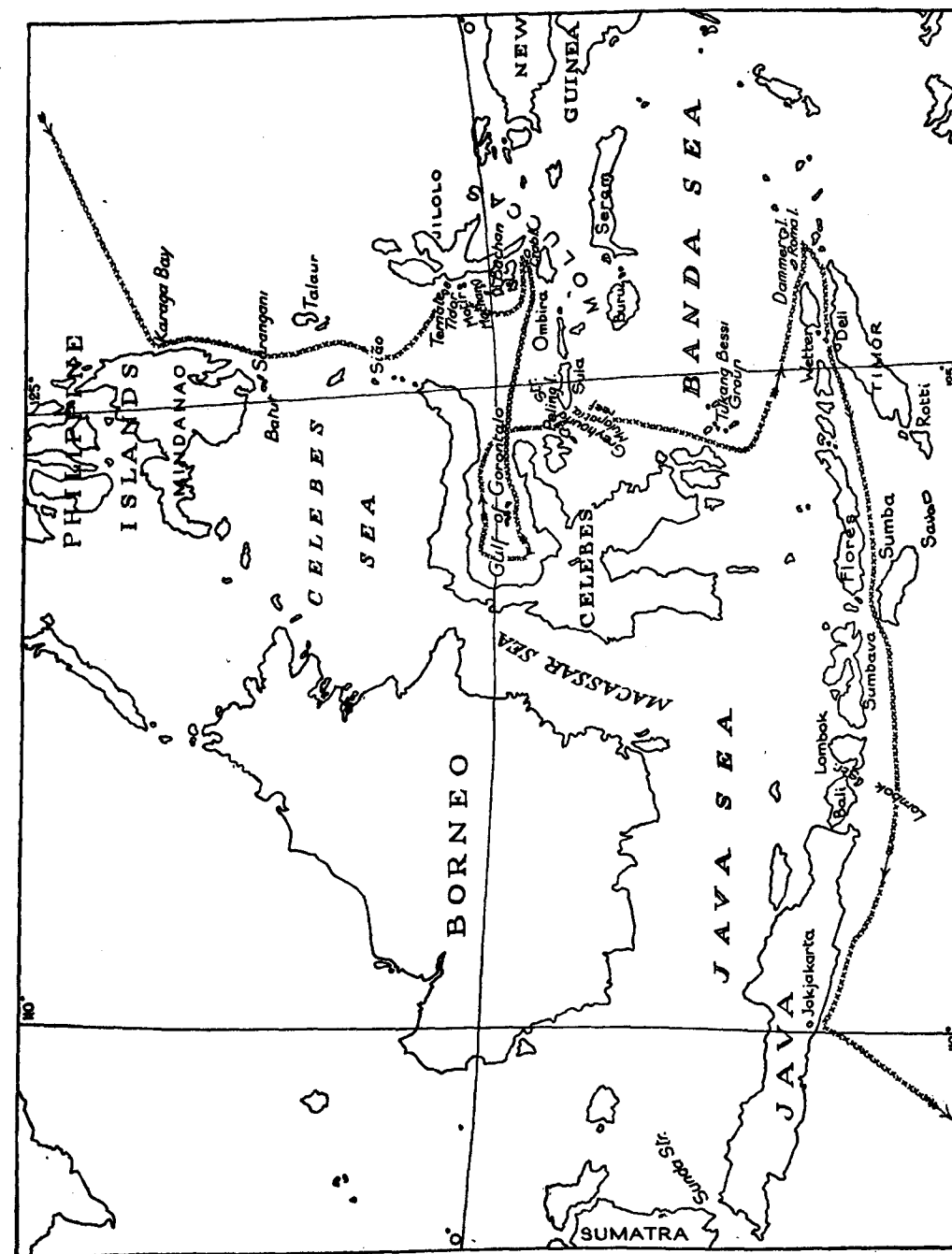
some islands (the Farallones), one of which he called the "Iland of Saint James." Here he found a quantity of seals and birds for food.

¶ From this point Drake, with a boldness and a determination that can hardly be realised, set sail on 25 July, 1579, for the Moluccas, proceeding alone in the *Golden Hind*—he had left the pinnace in New Albion—on the unknown Pacific for 68 days without sight of land. The Pacific, as Drake sailed it, was literally an unknown sea, for though he had captured the Spanish charts for that ocean further south, for a large part of the journey he did not follow them, but took a direct line of his own, with only very imperfect instruments for finding his way. On 30 September "we fell in kenne of certaine Islands [the Pelew Islands] lying about eight degrees Northward of the line." Here a number of "cannowes" came off to the ship, but the people were found to be great thieves from the sailors' point of view, and Drake in the end frightened them away by causing "a great peece to be shot off." Leaving "the Iland of Thieves" on 3 October, he sailed on within sight of land till the 16th, and on 21 October reached Mindanao in the Philippines. By starting on his journey across the Pacific in July, and reaching the region of the Philippines in October, Drake must have run a heavy risk, without realising it, of hurricanes, if there is any truth in the catch—"June too soon, July stand by, August you must, September remember, October all over." In addition to this, to reach the Pelew Islands from San Francisco in a sailing vessel without sight of land was a feat in itself, for Drake must have crossed the Pacific through Polynesia. His course before the wind from San Francisco seems to have been roughly south-west, which would take him south of the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands to the sea between the Marshall and Gilbert Groups, when in $1^{\circ} 50'$ north he turned north-west and reached the Pelew Islands in about 8° north, and not the Ladrones as is usually supposed, as these islands lie much further north; and to reach the Ladrones he would have had to go through the Carolines and could not have kept out of sight of land. After leaving the Pelew Islands Drake seems to have passed St Andrew Island and Mariere Island and reached the south-east of Mindanao in the Philippines. Here he anchored apparently in Karaga Bay in $7^{\circ} 5'$ north. He then sailed eight leagues to Sarangani and Batut Islands and then passing Sião and Tagulanda Islands he reached Ternate, Tidor and Motir off Jilolo in the Moluccas. The route is by no means easy to trace from the accounts owing to misdescription of names and misreading of degrees of latitude, but the above statements must be about right. Drake's further passage through the great Malay Archipelago is nowhere easier to follow.

"much delighted in *Margarettas* [pearls], which in their language they call *Saletas*." With these people Drake made friends, and stayed among them two days, leaving on the 10th. On the 12th and 14th he passed more islands, and on the 16th he lay between "four or five bigge Ilands more." On the 18th he "cast anchor under a little Iland," and on the 22nd three islands in 10° south or thereabouts were "lost sight of." Going westwards till 9 March "wee espied land" in $8^{\circ} 20'$ south. "Next day weighed againe and bearing farther North and nearer shore we came to anchor the second time." On 11 March the island was found to be Java, and thus travelling along in a general westerly direction to the south of Flores, Sumba, Sumbawa, Lombok and Bali, Drake reached the true "South Sea" at last. ¶ At Java Drake stayed till 26 March and made friends with "Raia Donan, the Chiefe King of the whole land," but more probably of Jakarta only, and his people. Then he sailed west-south-west "directly towards the cape of good hope or Bon Esperance" till 21 May, when he "espied Africa" off the Natal coast in $31^{\circ} 30'$. He coasted till 15 June, when he passed the Cape of Good Hope keeping close in. One account says he "haled into a great bay [Table Bay] to the West of Cape bona speranza," looking for water. On 15 July he saw the land again about "Rio de Sesto," or "rio Grande, a river on the coast of Gwinea," but he did not stay. On 22 July he spent two days at Sierra Leone for water and refreshment. On 15 August he was "under the Tropic of Cancer" at "50 leagues off from the nearest land." By 22 August he was "at the height of Sorias [Azores]," but one account says he was level with the Canaries. Lastly, by 26 September, 1580, a Sunday, Drake arrived at "Plimoth," and there he found to greet him, his wife, Mary Newman, whom he had married in 1569 and of whom he used to speak during his great voyage. But he also found that for the second time he had reached home at an inopportune moment.

AFTERWARDS

¶ Drake was now 35 years of age and had been 19 years at sea, more than halfway through his seafaring life, and wonderful as had been his achievements hitherto, they were but a prelude to the mighty career in front of him. However, the main subject before us now is the story of *The World Encompassed* and the remainder of Drake's life must be treated as briefly as may be. For the moment Winter had been home for more than a year, and through him Drake's story as far as the Straits of Magellan was known, including the Doughty episode. Drake's enemies, too, were active, and



DRAKE'S ROUTE THROUGH THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO. 1579-1580.

¶ Sailing along the above line, on 22 October the *Golden Hind* was to the south of Mindanao, when "two cannowes" would "have talked with us," but a high wind prevented communication. A European (most probably Portuguese) ship, from the Island of Bosney (perhaps Borneo, Borneo) was met with and chased, but she escaped; and then some "Indians" (i.e. Malays) were taken off another island "to show the route to the Moluccas." Drake was now well within the Malay Archipelago, and on the 25th he passed the Talaor Islands and saw many others, of which the names, as they were "named by the Indians" are chiefly misreported. On 1 November he passed Sião and Tagulanda and on the 3rd "wee came in sight of the Moluccas as we desired." The Moluccas are described as "foure high piked Ilands" and their names are given as "Tirenate [Ternate], Tidore [Tidor], Matchan [Machan] and Batchan [Bachan]"; and "at the East of them lies a very great Iland called Gilolo [Jilolo]."

¶ The intention was to go to Tidor, but on 4 November "the king of Terenate" sent his "deputy or Viceroy" of "a little Iland [Motir]," who persuaded Drake to put in at Ternate before he went to Tidor, then in the hands of "the Portugall," the enemy of the King of Ternate, Sultan Babur. The Portuguese, under Lopez de Mosquito, had ten years before treacherously murdered Sultan Babur's father. The Sultan, who more than held his own with the Portuguese, was most friendly and received Drake in full state, of which there is also a long story, followed by a most careful account of the island, its products, such as sago, glow-worms, flying-foxes and the like, and of its people and their customs, giving the reasons for their enmity towards the Portuguese. There is also a quaint tale of "a goodly gentleman very well accompanied...apparelled much after our manner," who was a Chinese refugee of standing. He had come from Tidor, and his object was to induce Drake to go to China, but he did not succeed. However, it was at Ternate that Drake performed one of the many important acts of his vigorous life, for he concluded a commercial treaty with Sultan Babur, which was long afterwards of great diplomatic value to England.

¶ Drake left Ternate on 9 November, and his further journey is so difficult that it can only be approximately conjectured. On the 14th he arrived at a little unidentified island to the southward of Jilolo, which he named "Ile Francisca" and found it uninhabited. Here he stayed 26 days to refit. There is a fine account of the island, "which we called Crab-iland." On 12 December he sailed again to the north-east, tacking in the face of the north-east monsoon, apparently in order to find the Celebes Sea and

get out of the Archipelago by the Macassar Sea, through the barrier of the southern islands by the Lombok or Sunda Straits to the east and west of Java respectively. But instead he found himself in the blind alley of the Gulf of Gorontalo between the two northern branches of Celebes. It was here, on the 16th, after again sighting "Celebes or Silebis," that he became almost hopelessly entangled among islands, as the Spaniards in America had thought he would if he really went to the Moluccas. It was not till 9 January, 1580, that he thought himself free of them off Peling Island at the northern mouth of the Greyhound Strait, leading seemingly to the open sea. Then sailing gaily along with the north-east monsoon behind her the "ship was laid up fast upon a desperate shoal," probably the Mulapatia Reef.

¶ There is a very long account, characteristic of the time, of the subsequent trouble, "till the manner of our delivery (for the relation of it will especially be expected) was only this." The wind had been blowing steadily so as to keep the ship in one position on the shoal or reef, but next day, 10 January, it chopped and the ship "fell a heeling towards the deeper water, and by that means freed her keele and made us glad men." She must have run on to a reef of live coral. It must be remembered, however, that there was then no knowledge of coral reefs among Europeans, and the accident thoroughly frightened the crew of the *Golden Hind*, and made them nervous while they were lying amongst the islands to the west and south of the Banda Sea till 8 February. It was during the above-described trouble that the quarrel between Drake and Fletcher arose.

¶ At first bad weather was met with and the ship lay at anchor till 12 January, 1580, but on the 14th she got a little further south, when she was still kept back by "foule weather" till "we were utterly weary of the coast of Sillebis." On the 20th a sudden and violent storm sprang up from the south-west off the lee shore of a small island, probably one of the Tukang Bessi group, but Drake escaped from this dangerous position. Then from 26 January till the end of the month he had west or west-south-west gales. On 1 February he saw some high land, perhaps Dammer Island, but could not put in for the weather, and on the 3rd he had to run past a small island, probably Roma, for the same reason. At last on 6 February he saw five islands and anchored off the largest of them, apparently Wetter, finding himself in the Wetter Strait, between that island and Timor.

¶ On 8 February two "cannowes" conducted Drake to Barativa, possibly Deli on Timor, in 7° 30' south, and he found there a fine people, who

to aid their machinations his doings on the eastern American coast had reached Philip II and were then becoming known in England also. Hesitation in politics was as rife as ever, so that Elizabeth was alarmed and ready to disown Drake. This was the news that reached him on arrival and he did not land. But in a week he was summoned to Court, and went there laden with treasure. So, though Philip had seized Portugal and all its mighty empire in Brazil and elsewhere, making himself thus all-powerful, and though his ambassador in London, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, used every argument, the treasure for the Crown was so great, and Drake himself so wealthy and popular, that Elizabeth held on to him. ¶ Walsingham, now Foreign Minister, began to see visions of what sea-power might do, and Drake became the chief agent in reducing them to practice. That was another of his inestimable services to his sea-faring countrymen—he was the pioneer in creating England's sea-power. So it was arranged that he was to go to Terceira in the Azores in July 1581, ostensibly to help Dom Antonio of Crato in his claim to the throne of Portugal, but really to strike at Philip II of Spain on the sea—to intercept his resources from America. A Company was formed, and the Queen at first openly backed it, knighted Drake and ordered the *Golden Hind* to be preserved as the memorial of the great world-voyage. Then she hesitated and finally receded. The expedition, perhaps to England's great misfortune, never came off and the subscribers lost their money. Next followed Edward Fenton's disastrous attempt, loyally backed by Drake, to retrieve the Company's misfortunes by a voyage to the East Indies, but it all came to nothing. Drake then became the victim of Philip's emissaries and the Queen's vacillations, of the friends of Doughty, and of other jealous enemies at home. Indeed, John Doughty never rested on his brother's behalf and finally ended his life in prison, as being implicated at Philip's instigation in a plot on Drake's life. Thus, with treachery all around him, Drake's affairs dragged heavily along, and in 1583 his wife died.

¶ Drake, however, was now a great admiral, M.P. for Bossiney near Tintagel Head and a member of the Navy Commission. By 1584 England was in real danger from Philip, bent on revenge, and Drake was once more called to the rescue. Time went on in indecision at the Court as usual, and meanwhile in 1585, at the age of 40, he married his second wife, Elizabeth Sydenham, a Somerset heiress. But, as after his first marriage, he soon had to leave her on public business. Philip had treacherously seized a fleet of English provision ships invited to feed the Armada he was preparing

at Cadiz, so by June, 1586, Drake was once more on the high seas on vengeance bound, as Admiral, in the *Elizabeth Bonaventura*, of the greatest privateering fleet as yet raised. Christopher Carleil commanded the soldiers on board, but as his Lieutenant-General. The fate of Thomas Doughty had borne fruit. In time Drake got away, delayed by the usual vacillations and the power of great lords over commoners in his day. He started in the old bold way and defied the Spaniards at Bayona and Vigo during a storm. He then made for Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands, where he wreaked a fearful vengeance on the town for treachery against his friend and cousin William Hawkins. Then he crossed the Atlantic with the first British fleet powerful enough to cope with the Spaniards anywhere. Through him English sea-power had begun to emerge.

¶ His object was San Domingo in Hispaniola, the oldest Spanish settlement in the American Indies and supposed to be the richest. With all his accustomed skill in attack he took it to find the wealth a myth. It had gone to newer colonies, but the feat was a heavy blow to Philip's prestige. Baffled at San Domingo, Drake made for a much more difficult place, the capital, Cartagena. This he took after an even greater exhibition of skill than that he had shown at San Domingo. Here his booty was great. He then plundered St Augustine in Florida and relieved Raleigh's colony in Virginia, and by the middle of 1586 he was home again splendidly victorious. He had shown all Europe what sea-power could do, and the prestige of Spain sank to a low ebb. It was not destroyed because of stupidity in high places. Elizabeth disavowed Drake and kept him in England. That was his reward. Philip meanwhile went on building up his Armada after his slow and dogged fashion.

LA FELICISSIMA ARMADA

¶ At last by 1587 the Queen's eyes were opened and Drake was released as Admiral-at-the-Seas with the veteran hero against the Baltic pirates, William Borough, as his Vice-Admiral. He was to go to Cape St Vincent to harass the Armada, if it threatened England or Ireland. Drake now formed a great resolve. He would command the sea, crush the Spanish fleet, and so gather the spoil. It will be perceived that here he was doing for his country the greatest of all services—showing it the way to become a commanding sea-power. It was a service that cannot be over-estimated, but it was not to be performed all at once. It could only come to fruition slowly. His first object—Cadiz itself—was bold enough in all conscience. It was, as usual, nearly frustrated by the treachery of his enemies and the

instability of purpose at the Court before he started. But he got there nevertheless, and the breaking up of what the old Spanish record called "La Felicissima Armada," which Philip had collected in Cadiz harbour, is as wonderful a tale as any even in his life. In this splendid achievement, too, as in *The World Encompassed*, he had the active opposition of his Vice-Admiral, the veteran sailor of the old school, William Borough, who could not understand the methods Drake had acquired as a sailor-soldier in his long years of buccaneering manœuvres. There was, indeed, a repetition of the tale of Doughty at Port San Julian, and Borough was arrested and sent home, finally to be tried and disgraced for life—a terrible end for a fine old seaman.

¶ There had never been anything like the victory at Cadiz before. Drake had proved what sea-power could do. He had created an epoch, for by his ocean-sailing vessels he had destroyed the nucleus of the Armada collected in Cadiz, and he was waiting at Cape St Vincent to meet the remainder from the Mediterranean. While waiting he landed and tried to take Lagos, and did take St Vincent. Here he learnt that he had rendered the Armada helpless, and then by capturing ships, one after another, he paralysed the Spanish sea-trade. After a while a storm destroyed his own fleet and drove him to England. But on his way he made the greatest capture of his life, the *San Felipe*, Philip's own merchantman, the largest then afloat, with its commander Don Pedro de Valdes.

¶ By his action at Cadiz Drake had shown to the English sailors by actual practice the value of the golden rule at sea in war: Seek out the enemy's fleet. He had also learnt there for himself another master rule for an island kingdom: The proper defence against invasion is a strategic offensive at sea rather than merely defensive measures. This rule, which he passionately advocated, he was never to be permitted to carry out himself unhampered; but there was a splendid example of the value of adhering to both in the Great War, when Lord Fisher sent Admiral Sturdee to seek out and destroy the enemy's fleet at the Falkland Islands.

¶ An evil fate dogged Drake at his home-coming, and he was again to meet disappointment. Mary Stuart had been executed, Elizabeth was in a bad temper in consequence, and all Drake received for showing his country the way to command the sea was a reprimand. But his work had its effect nevertheless. He had thoroughly frightened Spain, and to her sailors he was a wizard in league with the Devil, whom it was not given to them to fight. Yet he was kept idle as to the sea by Elizabeth's

politics, and meanwhile Philip went on stolidly working at his Armada. Suddenly England learnt that it had been renewed and was about to set sail, bent on destroying her. Thereupon Drake came once more to the front in the *Revenge*. This time he was in conjunction with Sir John Norreys, but Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, was put in supreme command of an expedition against Spain, with Drake as his Lieutenant. So even now Drake's social position barred him from the highest place, though he had many of its powers. Lord Henry Seymour was to be in command of the fleet in the North Sea, and all the great sea-names were to be at the two fronts—Sir William Winter, Sir Henry Palmer, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Martin Frobisher, the Fenners and so on.

¶ Then comes a story of pitiful vacillation at the Court, giving Philip's new Armada every possible opportunity to evade even so astute an opponent as Drake, the anxieties of whose life at this juncture must have been unfathomable, increased as they were by unfavourable weather, Elizabeth's continued infirmity of purpose, and Howard's adherence to her orders over his head. At last on 12 July, 1588, Drake's opponents reaped the reward of their narrow politics and the Duke of Medina-Sidonia appeared off Plymouth with the Invincible Armada—to give it the usual English title—while Drake was still on shore there.

¶ It is at this point that the famous folktale of Drake and the game of bowls arose. Anyhow, though thus outmanœuvred through no fault of his own, he was soon at sea to face Sidonia sailing majestically to his prey. Then comes a story of a desperate attempt to throw him off, but though damaged here and there the Armada reached Portland. Thence struggling and fighting the opposing fleets went on to the Isle of Wight, where there was a great fight, but Sidonia drew off to the coast of France, owing to a change of wind, with the English fleet after him. He was himself no captain of the sea, but he had great and dogged sailors under him, and they in fine order passed him on to their destination—a juncture with the Prince of Parma at Dunkirk on the North Sea. He passed Calais and then anchored off Gravelines, with the English fleet within gunshot to the windward.

¶ The great moment had arrived. Sidonia's captains with singular skill had piloted his unwieldy fleet of badly sailing and damaged vessels through the intricacies of the Straits, and he was on the point of joining up with Parma. But Drake was to the windward, and at the dead of the black night eight fire-ships came suddenly sweeping down the wind and tide amongst the Armada anchored off a lee shore. In a moment the whole

Spanish fleet was in confusion. Cables were slipped and crashing against each other the ships drifted away helpless on the tide. The fire-ships had in fact missed their mark, but they had done their work nevertheless. The Armada was flying in hopeless disorder to the north.

¶ In spite of Howard, Drake now took the lead and attacked what ships Sidonia still had off Gravelines and there was an awful battle, for the Spaniards were no cowards. All day and all night it raged and the Armada was driven nearer and nearer to the coast of the Netherlands, but still the enemy did not give in. At the last moment, as it were, the wind changed and the surviving Spanish ships got away—still in good order—to the North Sea as far as the Dogger Bank, with Howard's fleet at their heels, till a mighty gale sent them scattering to destruction.

¶ Drake had had a hard and troubled life despite its many triumphs, but here he thought that at last he had reached his goal. England was saved and in a fair way to be Mistress of the Seas. Spain was humbled beyond complete recovery and the flower of her chivalry had disappeared. His vengeance on the idolator—as Philip was to him—was complete. The decisive Battle of Gravelines had made his name resound throughout the world, for the credit of the victory was given to him, despite the superior positions of Howard and Seymour. Among the other great captains of his country there was, however, a perhaps natural jealousy.

THE LAST YEARS

¶ After Gravelines it was the old story. The English Government fell into apathy and the Queen was as difficult as ever. Drake, however, had in mind, in conjunction with his old friend, Sir John Norreys, great schemes for the further discomfiture of Philip before he could recover himself. The first was to set Dom Antonio on the throne of Portugal, and after a while a remarkable naval squadron in military array embarked with that object. But the project came to nothing owing to weather and the only half-hearted support of the Court. This was followed by an attack on Coruña in 1589, which successfully destroyed stores and ships collected for a new Armada, and won a victory on land over a superior Spanish force. Then in disregard of Elizabeth's orders Drake and Norreys went southwards to Lisbon with Dom Antonio. But though they landed, Portuguese apathy made the expedition fail. Elizabeth thereupon flew into a royal rage, and so they made for the Azores—it was unsafe to go home. But the weather was against them, and they therefore put into Vigo, which they burnt. The weather continued to be hopelessly bad, and

for the forest road was entrenched against him. Here again was a new way of meeting Drake. Then he made for Trujillo in Honduras and Nicaragua. But the weather was against him and he took shelter behind the Island of Escudo de Veragua on the Mosquito Coast, where pestilence and fever seized his crews. He himself contracted dysentery and on 28 January, 1596, he died in failure. The times, indeed, had changed, but, though his old successful strategy could no longer succeed, it was the spirit of indecision in high places in England that had dogged him to the end. He could only wound the great enemy of his country mortally, and show the way to conquer him, but it was not for him to secure the conquest himself.

¶ There is a remarkable parallel in the experiences of the two first circumnavigators of the globe. Like Drake, Magellan, the Portuguese Fernão de Magalhães, was a gentleman (*hidalgo*) by birth, and the date of his birth, about 1470, and his actual birthplace, are known only by assumption. Like Drake, he was misjudged by his king, the Portuguese Manoel, and so his great voyage was performed for Spain, not Portugal. Like Drake, he had to assert his authority at Port San Julian by executing recalcitrant Spanish captains. As in Drake's case, one of Magellan's ships, the *Antonio*, under the command of his personal enemy, Gomez, turned back when Magellan was through the Straits named after him, and evil tales were spread about him in Spain. Unlike Drake, he never reached his home, but was killed on the Island of Mactan near the Island of Cebu in the Philippines, but like Drake he died far away from his native land. Lastly, as in Drake's case, the story of Magellan's mighty achievement has not come down in history as he would have told it, but as it can be gathered largely from the accounts of his enemies. Both were, indeed, typical of their time.

BEAU RIVAGE,
MONTREUX
MCMXXVI

TO
THE TRVLY NOBLE
ROBERT EARLE OF WARWICKE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

FAME and enuie are both needlesse to the dead because vn-knowne, sometimes dangerous to the liuing when too well knowne; reason enough that I rather chuse to say nothing, then too little, in the praise of the deceased author, or of your Lordship my desired fautor. COLUMBUS did neatly checke his emulators, by rearing an egge without assistance. Let the slighter of this voyage applie. If your Lordship vouchsafe the acceptance, 'tis yours, if the reader can picke out either vse or content, 'tis his, and I am pleased. Example being the publique, and your Lordship's fauor the priuate aime, of

Your humbly devoted,

FRANCIS DRAKE

THE WORLD Encompassed

By
Sir FRANCIS DRAKE,

Being his next voyage to that to *Nombro*
de Dios formerly imprinted;

Carefully collected out of the notes of Master
FRANCIS FLETCHER *Preacher in this im-*
ployment, and diuers others his followers in
the same:

Offered now at last to publique view, both for the honour of
the actor, but especially for the stirring vp of *heroick spirits,*
so benefit their Countrie, and eternize their names
by like noble attempts.



LONDON,

Printed for NICHOLAS BOVRNE
and are to be sold at his shop at the
Royall Exchange. 1628.

THE VOYAGE ABOUT THE WORLD,

BY SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

EVER since Almighty God commanded Adam to subdue the earth, there have not wanted in all ages some heroicall spirits which, in obedience to that high mandate, either from manifest reason alluring them, or by secret instinct inforcing them thereunto, have expended their wealth, imployed their times, and aduentured their persons, to finde out the true circuit thereof.

¶ Of these, some haue endeauored to effect this their purpose by conclusion and consequence, drawne from the proportion of the higher circles to this nethermost globe, being the centre of the rest. Others, not contented with schoole points, and such demonstrations (for that a small error in the beginning, growing in the progresse to a great inconuenience), have added thereunto their owne history and experience. All of them in reason haue deserued great commendation of their owne ages, and purchased a iust renowne with all posterity. For if a surueyer of some few Lordships, whereof the bounds and limits were before knowne, worthily deserue his reward, not onely for his trauell, but for his skill also in measuring the whole and euerie part thereof, how much more, aboue comparison, are their famous trauels by all meanes possible to be eternized, who have bestowed their studies and indeauor to suruey and measure this globe, almost vnmeasurable? Neither is here that difference to be objected, which in private possessions is of value: *Whose land suruey you?* forasmuch as the maine Ocean by right is the Lord's alone, and by nature left free for all men to deale withall, as very sufficient for all mens vse, and large enough for all mens industry.

¶ And therefore that valiant enterprise, accompanied with happy successe, which that right rare and thrice worthy Captaine, *Francis Drake*, atcheiued, in first turning up a furrow about the whole world, doth not onely ouermatch the ancient Argonautes, but also outreacheth, in many respects, that noble mariner *Magellanus*, and by farre surpasseth his crowned victory. But hereof let posterity judge.

¶ It shall for the present be deemed a sufficient discharge of duty to register the true and whole history of that his voyage, with as great indifferency of affection as a history doth require, and with the plaine

they might thereby vnderstand that this fleete came in peace and friendship, offering to traffique with them, for such commodities as their contrie yeelded, to their owne content. This offer they seemed most gladly to accept, and promised the next day to resort againe, with such things as they had to exchange for ours. It is a law amongst them to drinke no wine, notwithstanding by stealth it pleaseth them well to haue it abundantly, as here was experience. At their returne ashore, they quietly restored the pledge which they had stayed, and the next day at the houre appointed returning againe, brought with them Camells, in shewe loaden with wares to be exchanged for our commodities, and calling for a boate in haste, had one sent them, according to order, which our generall (being at this present absent) had given before his departure to the Iland.

¶ Our boate comming to the place of landing (which was among the rocks), one of our men, called *John Fry*, mistrusting no danger nor fearing any harme pretended by them, and therefore intending to become a pledge, according to the order vsed the day before, readilie stept out of the boate and ranne a land, which opportunitie (being that which the *Moores* did looke for) they tooke the aduantage of, and not onely they which were in sight layed hands on him to carrie him away with them, but a number more, which lay secretly hidden, did forthwith breake forth from behinde the rocks, whither they had conueyed themselues (as it seemeth the night before), forcing our men to leaue the rescuing of him that was taken as captiue, and with speed to shift for themselues.

¶ The cause of this violence was a desire which the king of *Fesse* had, to vnderstand what this fleet was, whether any forerunner of the kings of *Portugall* or no, and what newes of certaintie the fleet might giue him. And therefore after that he was brought to the kings presence, and had reported that they were Englishmen, bound for the straights, vnder the conduct of generall *Drake*, he was sent back againe with a present to his Captaine and offer of great curtesie and friendship, if he would vse his contry. But in this meane time, the generall being grieved with this shew of iniurie, and intending, if he might, to recouer or redeeme his man, his pinnace being ready, landed his company, and marched somewhat into the countrie, without any resistance made against him, neither would the *Moores* by any meanes come nigh our men to deale with them any way; wherefore hauing made prouision of wood, as also visited an old fort, built sometime by the king of *Portugall*, but now ruined by the king of *Fesse*, we departed, *December 31*, towards *Cape Blanck*, in such sort, that when *Fry* returned, he found to his great grieve that the fleet was gone;

but yet, by the king's fauor, he was sent home into *England* not long after, in an English marchants ship.

¶ [1578.] Shortly after our putting forth of this harbour, we were met with contrary windes and foule weather, which continued till the fourth of January; yet we still held on to our course, and the third day after [Jan. 7] fell with cape *De Guerre*, in 30 deg. []min., where we lighted on 3 Spanish fishermen called *Caunters*, whom we tooke with our new pinnace, and carried along with vs till we came to *Rio del Oro* [Jan. 13], iust under the Tropick of Cancer, where with our pinnace also we tooke a caruell. From hence till the fifteenth day, we sailed on towards cape *Barbas* [Jan. 15], where the Marigold took a caruell more, and so onward to cape *Blanck*, till the next day at night [Jan. 16].

¶ This cape lieth in 20 deg. 30 min., shewing itselfe vpriht like the corner of a wall, to them that come towards it from the North, hauing, between it and cape *Barbas*, lowe, sandy, and very white land all the way. Here we observed the South *Guards*, called the *Crosiers*, 9 deg. 30 min. above the horizon. Within the cape we tooke one Spanish ship more riding at anchor (all her men being fled ashore in the boate saue two), which, with all the rest we had formerly taken, we carried into the harbor, 3 leagues within the cape.

¶ Here our generall determined for certaine dayes to make his abode, both for that the place afforded plenty of fresh victuals, for the present refreshing of our men, and for their future supply at sea (by reason of the infinite store of diuers sorts of good fish, which are there easie to be taken, euen within the harbor, the like whereof is hardly to be found againe in any part of the world), as also because it serued very fitly for the dispatching of some other businesses that we had. During the time of our abode in this place, our generall being ashore was visited by certaine of the people of the country, who brought downe with them a woman, a *Moore* (with her little babe hanging vpon her dry duggie, hauing scarce life in herselfe, much lesse milke to nourish her child), to be sould as a horse, or a cow and calfe by her side, in which sort of merchandise our generall would not deale. But they had also Amber-greece, with certaine gummes of some estimation, which they brought to exchange with our men for water (whereof they haue great want), so that comming with their *All-forges* (they are leathern bags holding liquor) to buy water, they cared not at what price they bought it, so they might haue to quench their thirst. A very heauie iudgement of God vpon that coast! The circumstances whereof considered, our generall would receiue nothing of them for water,

evidence of truth, as it was left recorded by some of the chiefe, and diuers other actors in that action.

¶ The said Captaine *Francis Drake* hauing in a former voyage, in the yeares 72 and 73 (the description whereof is already imparted to the view of the world), had a sight, and onely a sight, of the South Atlantik, and thereupon either conceiuing a new, or renewing a former desire, of sailing on the same, in an English bottom; he so cherished thenceforward, this his noble desire and resolution in himselfe, that notwithstanding he was hindered for some yeares, partly by secret enuie at home, and partly by publique seruice for his Prince and countrie abroad (wherof Ireland under Walter, Earle of Essex, giues honorable testimonie), yet, against the yeare 1577, by gracious commission from his soueraigne, and with the helpe of diuers friends aduenturers, he had fitted himselfe with fiue ships.

¶ 1. The *Pellican*, admirall, burthen 100 tonnes, Captaine-generall *Francis Drake*.

¶ 2. The *Elizabeth*, vice-admirall, burthen 80 tonnes, Captain *John Winter*.

¶ 3. The *Marigold*, a bark of 30 tonnes, Captaine *John Thomas*.

¶ 4. The *Swanne*, a fliboat of 50 tonnes, Captaine *John Chester*.

¶ 5. The *Christopher*, a pinnace of 15 tonnes, Captaine *Thomas Moone*.

¶ These ships he mand with 164 able and sufficient men, and furnished them also with such plentifull prouision of all things necessary, as so long and dangerous a voyage did seeme to require; and amongst the rest, with certaine pinnaces ready framed, but carried aboard in pieces, to be new set vp in smoother water, when occasion serued. Neither had he omitted to make provision also for ornament and delight, carrying to this purpose with him, expert musitians, rich furniture (all the vessels for his table, yea, many belonging euen to the Cooke-roome being of pure siluer), and diuers shewes of all sorts of curious workmanship, whereby the ciuilitie and magnificence of his natiue contrie might, amongst all nations whithersoever he should come, be the more admired.

¶ Being thus appointed, we set saile out of the Sound of Plimmouth, about 5 of the clocke in the afternoone, Nouember 15, of the same yeare [1577], and running all that night Southwest, by the morning [Nov. 16] were come as farre as the Lizard, where meeting the wind at Southwest (quite contrarie to our intended course), we were forced, with our whole fleet, to put in to Falmouth.

¶ The next day [Nov. 17], towards euening, there arose a storme, continuing all that night and the day following [18] (especially betweene

10 of the clocke in the forenoone, and 5 in the afternoone) with such violence, that though it were in a very good harbor, yet 2 of our ships, viz., the admirall (wherein our generall himself went) and the *Marigold*, were faine to cut their maine masts by board, and for the repairing of them, and many other damages in the tempest sustained (as soone as the weather would giue leave), to beare backe to Plimmouth againe, where wee all arrived the 13 day [Nov. 28] after our first departure thence.

¶ Whence (hauing in few daies supplied all defects) with happier sayles we once more put to sea, December 13, 1577.

¶ As soone as we were out of sight of land, our generall gaue us occasion to coniecture in part whither he intended, both by the directing of his course and appointing the *Randeuous* (if any should bee seuered from the fleet) to be the Iland *Mogadore*. And so sailing with fauorable windes, the first land that we had sight of was *Cape Cantine* in *Barbarie*, December 25, Christmas day in the morning. The shoare is faire white sand, and the inland contrie very high and mountainous, it lieth in 32 deg. 30 mi. north latitude, and so coasting from hence southward, about 18 leagues, we arriued the same day at *Mogadore*, the Iland before named.

¶ This *Mogadore* lies vnder the dominion of the king of *Fesse*, in 31 deg. 40 mi., about a mile off from the shoare, by this meanes making a good harbor betweene the land and it. It is vninhabited, of about a league in circuit, not very high land, all ouergrowne with a kind of shrub brest high, not much vnlike our priuet, very full of Doues, and therefore much frequented of Goshaukes, and such like birds of prey, besides diuers sorts of sea-foule very plentie. At the south side of this Iland are three hollow rocks, vnder which are great store of very wholesome but very vglie fish to look to. Lying here about a mile from the maine, a boate was sent to sound the harbor, and finding it safe, and in the very entrance on the north side about 5 or 6 fathome water (but at the souther side it is very dangerous), we brought in our whole fleet, December 27, and continued there till the last day of the same moneth, imploying our leisure the meane while in setting vp a pinnace, one of the 4 brought from home in peices with vs. Our abode here was soone perceiued by the inhabitants of the contrie, who comming to the shoare, by signes and cries made shewe that they desired to be fetched aboard, to whom our generall sent a boate, into which 2 of the chieftest of the *Moores* were presently receiued, and one man of ours, in exchange, left a land, as a pledge for their returne.

¶ They that came aboard were right courteously entertained with a daintie banquet, and such gifts as they seemed to be most glad of, that

as are bound towards Brasill, Guiny, the East Indies, Binny, Calecut, etc.), and a place of rare force, if it were not for the cause afore-recited, which hath much abated the pride and cooled the courage of that people, who (vnder preteñce of traffique and friendship) at first making an entrance, ceased not practising vpon the poore Ilanders (the ancient remainder of the first planters thereof, as it may seeme from the coast of Guinea), vntill they had excluded them from all gouernment and liberty, yea almost life.

¶ On the South-west of this Iland we tooke a Portugall, laden the best part with wine, and much good cloth, both linnen and woollen, besides other necessities, bound for Brazill, with many gentlemen and Marchants in her.

¶ As we passed by with our fleet, in sight of three of their townes, they seemed very ioyfull that wee touched not with their coast; and seeing vs depart peaceably, in honour of our fleet and Generall, or rather to signifie that they were prouided for an assault, shot off two great peeces into the sea, which were answered by one giuen them againe from us.

¶ South-west from Saint Iago, in 14 deg. 30 min., about twelue leagues distant, yet by reason of the height, seeming not aboue three leagues, lyeth another Iland, called of the Portugalls *Fogo*, viz., the burning Iland, or fierie fornace, in which riseth a steepe vpright hill, by coniecture at least six leagues, or eightene English miles from the vpper part of the water; within the bowels whereof is a consuming fire, maintained by sulphury matters, seeming to be of a maruellous depth, and also very wide. The fire showeth itselfe but foure times in an houre, at which times it breaketh out with such violence and force, and in such maine abundance, that besides that it giueth light like the Moone a great way off, it seemeth that it would not stay till it touch the heauens themselves. Herein are ingendred great store of pumice stones, which being in the vehement heate of the fire caried vp without the mouth of that fiery body, fall downe, with other grosse and slimy matter vpon the hill, to the continuall increasing of the same; and many times these stones falling downe into the sea are taken vp and vsed, as we ourselues had experience by sight of them swimming on the water. The rest of the Iland is fruitfull notwithstanding, and is inhabited by Portugals, who liue very commodiously therein, as in the other ilands thereabout.

¶ Vpon the south side, about two leagues off this Iland of burning, lyeth a most sweet and pleasant Iland, the trees thereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke on, the soile almost full set with trees, in respect whereof its named the Braue Iland, being a store house of many fruits and com-

modities, as figges alwayes ripe, cocos, plantons, oranges, limons, cotton, etc. From the bancks into the sea do run in many places the siluer streames of sweet and wholesome water, which with boats or pinnaces may easily be taken in. But there is no conuenient place or roade for ships, neither any anchoring at all. For after long triall, and often casting of leades, there could no ground be had at any hand, neither was it euer knowne (as is reported) that any line would fetch ground in any place about that Iland. So that the top of *Fogo* burneth not so high in the aire, but the roote of *Braua* (so is the Iland called) is buried and quenched as low in the seas. The onely inhabitant of this Iland is an Heremit, as we suppose, for we found no other houses but one, built as it seemed for such a purpose; and he was so delighted in his solitarie liuing, that he would by no meanes abide our comming, but fled, leauing behind him the relicks of his false worship; to wit, a crosse with a crucifix, an altar with his superaltar, and certaine other idols of wood of rude workemanship.

¶ Here we dismissed the Portugalles taken neere Saint Iago, and gaue to them in exchange of their old ship, our new pinnace built at Mogadore; with wine, bread, and fish for their prouision, and so sent them away, Febr. 1.

¶ Hauing thus visited, as is declared, the Ilands of Cape Verde, and prouided fresh water as we could, the second of Febr. we departed thence, directing our course towards the straights, so to passe into the South sea; in which course wee sayled 63 dayes without sight of land (passing the line equinoctiall the 17 day of the same moneth) till we fell with the coast of Brasill, the fift of April following.

¶ During which long passage on the vast gulph, where nothing but sea beneath vs and aire aboue vs was to be seene, as our eies did behold the wonderfull workes of God in His creatures, which He hath made innumerable both small and great beasts, in the great and wide seas: so did our mouthes taste, and our natures feed on, the goodnesse thereof in such fulnesse at all times, and in euery place, as if He had commanded and enioyned the most profitable and glorious workes of His hands to waite vpon us, not alone for the reliefe of our necessities, but also to giue vs delight in the contemplation of His excellence, in beholding the variety and order of His prouidence, with a particular tast of His fatherly care ouer us all the while.

¶ The truth is, wee often met with aduerse winds, vnwelcome stormes, and to vs (at that time) lesse welcome calmes, and being as it were in the bosome of the burning zone, we felt the effects of sultring heat, not without

but freely gaue it them that came to him, yea, and fed them also ordinarily with our victualls, in eating whereof their manner was not onely vnciuill and vnsightly to vs, but euen inhumane and loathsome in itselfe.

¶ And hauing washed and trimd our ships, and discharged all our Spanish prises, excepting one *Caunter* (for which we gaue to the owner one of our owne ships, viz., the *Christopher*), and one caruell, formerly bound to Saint *Iago*, which we caused to accompanie vs hither, where shee also was discharged: after six dayes abode here, we departed [Jan. 21], directing our course for the Ilands of Cape Verde, where (if any where) we were of necessity to store our fleet with fresh water, for a long time, for that our generall intended from thence to runne a long course (euen to the coast of *Brasill*) without touch of land. And now, hauing the winde constant at *North-East* and *East North-East*, which is vsuall about those parts, because it bloweth almost continually from the shoare, *January* the 27, we coasted *Bonavista*, and the next day after [*January* 28], we came to anchor vnder the Wester part (towards Saint *Iago*) of the island *Maio*, it lyeth in 15 deg. 00. high land, sauing that the North-west part stretched out into the sea, the space of a league very low, and is inhabited by subiects to the king of Portugall.

¶ Here landing, in hope of traffique with the inhabitants for water, we found a Towne, not farre from the water's side, of a great number of desolate and ruinous houses, with a poore naked Chappell or Oratory, such as small cost and charge might serue and suffice, being to small purpose, and as it seemeth only to make a shew, and that a false shew, contrary to the nature of a scarecrow, which feareth birds from comming nigh; this entiseth such as passe by to hale in, and looke for commodity, which is not at all to be found there; though in the inner parts of the Iland it be in great abundance.

¶ For when wee found the springs and wells which had beene there (as appeared) stopped vp againe, and no other water, to purpose, to bee had to serue our need, we marched vp to seeke some more conuenient place to supply our want, or at least to see whether the people would be dealt withal to helpe vs therein. In this traueilling, we found the soile to be very fruitfull, hauing euerywhere plenty of figge-trees, with fruite vpon most of them. But in the vallies and low ground, where little low cottages were built, were pleasant vineyards planted, bearing then ripe and most pleasant grapes. There were also tall trees, without any branch till the top, which bare the *Coco nuts*. There were also great store of certaine lower trees, with long and broad leaues, bearing the fruit which they call *Plan-*

*tan*es, in clusters together like puddings, a most dainty and wholesome fruit. All of these trees were euen laden with fruit, some ready to be eaten, others comming forward, others ouerripe. Neither can this seeme strange, though about the middest of Winter with vs, for that the Sunne doth neuer withdraw himselfe farther off from them, but that with his liuely heate he quickeneth and strengtheneth the power of the soyle and plant; neither euer haue they any such frost and cold, as thereby to loose their greene hew and appearance.

¶ We found very good water in diuerse places, but so farre off from the roade, that wee could not with any reasonable paines enioy it. The people would by no meanes be induced to haue any conference with us, but keeping in the most sweet and fruitfull vallies among the hils, where their townes and places of dwelling were, gaue vs leaue without interruption to take our pleasure in suruewing the island, as they had some reason not to endanger themselues, where they saw they could reape nothing sooner then damage and shame, if they should haue offered violence to them which came in peace to do them no wrong at all.

¶ This Iland yeeldeth other great commodities, as wonderfull heards of goats, infinite store of wilde hens, and salt without labour (onely the gathering it together excepted), which continually in a maruellous quantitie is increased vpon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the heate of the sunne kerning the same. So that of the increase thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours in the other adiacent Ilands.

Wee set sayle thence the 30 day [Jan. 30].

¶ Being departed from *Maio*, the next day [Jan. 31] wee passed by the Iland of St. *Iago*, ten leagues west of *Maio*, in the same latitude, inhabited by the Portugals and Moores together. The cause whereof is said to haue beene in the Portugals themselues, who (continuing long time lords within themselues, in the said Iland) vsed that extreame and vnreasonable crueltie ouer their slaues, that (their bondage being intollerable) they were forced to seeke some meanes to help themselves, and to lighten that so heauy a burden; and thereupon chose to flie into the most mountainy parts of the island; and at last, by continuall escapes, increasing to a great number, and growing to a set strength, do now liue, with that terror to their oppressors, that they now endure no lesse bondage in mind then the *Forçatos* did before in body; besides the dammage that they daily suffer at their hands in their goods and cattell, together with the abridging of their liberties in the use of diuerse parts of the fruitfull soile of the said Iland, which is very large, marvellous fruitfull, (a refuge for all such ships

the affrights of flashing lightnings, and terrifyings of often claps of thunder; yet stil with the admixture of many comforts. For this we could not but take notice of, that whereas we were but badly furnished (our case considered) of fresh water, hauing neuer at all watred (to any purpose, or that wee could say wee were much the better for it) from our first setting forth out of England till this time, nor meeting with any place where we might conueniently water, (till our comming to the riuer of Plate, long after) continually, after once we were come within foure degrees of the line on this side, viz., after *Feb. 10*, and till we were past the line as many degrees towards the south, viz., till *Feb. 27*, there was no one day went ouer vs but we receiued some raine, whereby our want of water was much supplied.

¶ This also was obseruable, that of our whole fleet, being now six in number, notwithstanding the vncouthnes of the way, and whateuer other difficulties, by weather or otherwise, wee met withall, not any one, in all this space, lost company of the rest; except onely our Portugall prise for one day, who, *March 28*, was scuered from us, but the day following, *March 29*, shee found vs againe, to both her owne and our no little comfort: she had in her 28 of our men, and the best part of all our prouision for drinke; her short absence caused much doubting and sorrow in the whole companie, neither could shee then haue been finally lost, without the ouerthrow of the whole voyage.

¶ Among the many strange creatures which we sawe, we tooke heedfull notice of one, as strange as any; to wit, the flying fish, a fish of the bignes and proportion of a reasonable or middle sort of pilchards; hee hath finnes, of the length of his whole body, from the bulk to the top of the taile, bearing the forme, and supplying the like vse to him, that wings doe to other creatures. By the helpe of these finnes, when he is chased of the *Bonito*, or great mackrel (whom the *Aurata* or dolphin likewise pursueth), and hath not strength to escape by swimming any longer, hee lifteth vp himselfe aboue the water, and flieth a pretty height, sometimes lighting into boates or barks as they saile along. The quills of their wings are so proportionable, and finelie set together, with a most thinne and dainty filme, that they might seeme to serue for a much longer and higher flight; but the drieness of them is such, after some ten or twelve strokes, that hee must needs into the water againe to moisten them, which else would grow stiffe and vnfit for motion. The increase of this little and wonderfull creature is in a manner infinite, the fry whereof lyeth vpon the vpper part of the waters, in the heate of the sun, as dust vpon the face

of the earth, which being in bignes of a wheat straw, and in length an inch more or lesse, do continually exercise themselues in both their faculties of nature; wherein, if the Lord had not made them expert indeed, their generation could not haue continued, being so desired a prey to so many, which greedily hunt after them, forcing them to escape in the ayre by flight, when they cannot in the waters liue in safety. Neither are they allwayes free, or without danger, in their flying; but as they escape one euill, by refusing the waters, so they sometimes fall into as great a mischiefe, by mounting vp into the ayre, and that, by meanes of a great and rauening foule, named of some a *Don* or *Spurkite*, who feeding chiefly on such fish as he can come at by aduantage, in their swimming in the brim of the waters, or leaping aboue the same, presently ceaseth vpon them with great violence, making great havock, especially among these flying fishes, though with small profit to himselfe.

¶ There is another sort of fish which likewise flieth in the ayre, named a *Cuttill*; its the same whose bones the goldsmiths commonly vse, or at least not vnlike that sort, a multitude of which, haue at one time, in their flight, fallen into our ships, amongst our men.

¶ Passing thus, in beholding the most excellent works of the eternall God in the seas, as if we had beene in a garden of pleasure, *April 5*, we fell with the coast of Brasill, in 31 deg. 30 min., towards the pole Antartick, where the land is lowe neere the sea, but much higher within the countrie, hauing in depth not aboue 12 fathome, 3 leagues off from the shoare, and being descried by the inhabitants, we sawe great and huge fires made by them in sundry places, which order of making fires, though it be vniuersall, as well among Christians as heathens, yet it is not likely that many doe vse it to that end which the Brasilians doe: to wit, for a sacrifice to deuills, whereat they intermixe many and diuers ceremonies of coniurations, casting vp great heapes of sand, to this end, that if any ships shall goe about to stay vpon their coasts, their ministring spirits may make wrack of them, whereof the Portugalls by the losse of diuers of their ships, haue had often experience.

¶ In the reports of Magellanes voyage, it is said that this people pray to no maner of thing, but liue only according to the instinct of nature; which if it were true, there should seeme to be a wonderfull alteration in them, since that time, being fallen from a simple and naturall creature to make Gods of Deuills. But I am of the minde, that it was with them then, as now it is, onely they lacked then the like occasion, to put it in practise, which now they haue; for then, they liued as a free people among

themselves, but now, are in most miserable bondage and slavery, both in body, goods, wife, and children, and life itselfe to the Portugalls, whose hard and most cruell dealings against them forceth them to flie, into the more vnfruitful parts of their owne land, rather there to starue, or at least liue miserably with libertie, then to abide such intollerable bondage as they lay vpon them, using the aforesaid practises with deuills, both for a reuenge against their oppressors and also for a defence, that they haue no further entrance into the country. And supposing indeed that no other had vsed trauell by sea in ships, but their enemies onely, they therefore vsed the same at our comming: notwithstanding, our God made their deuilish intent of none effect; for albeit there lacked not (within the space of our falling with this coast) forcible stormes and tempests, yet did we sustaine no dammage, but onely the seperating of our ships out of sight for a few dayes. Here our Generall would haue gone a shore, but we could finde no harbor in many leagues. And therefore coasting along the land, towards the south, *Aprill 7*, we had a violent storme for the space of 3 hours, with thunder, lightning, and raine in great abundance, accompanied with a vehement south winde directly against vs, which caused a seperation of the *Christopher* (viz., the Caunter which wee tooke at Cape *Blanck*, in exchange for the *Christopher*, whose name she henceforward bore) from the rest of the fleet.

¶ After this, we kept on our course, sometime to the sea ward, sometimes toward the shoare, but alwayes southward, as neere as we could, till *Aprill 14*, in the morning, at which time wee passed by Cape *Saint Mary*, which lies in 35 deg., neere the mouth of the riuer of Plate; and running within it about 6 or 7 leagues along by the maine, we came to anchor in a bay vnder another cape, which our Generall afterwards called Cape *Ioy*, by reason that the second day after our anchoring here, the *Christopher* (whom we had lost in the former storme) came to us againe.

¶ Among other cares which our Generall tooke in this action, next the maine care of effecting the voyage itselfe, these were the principall and chiefly subordinate: to keepe our whole fleet (as neere as possible we could) together; to get fresh water, which is of continuall vse; and to refresh our men, wearied with long toyles at sea, as oft as we should find any opportunitie of effecting the same. And for these causes it was determined, and publique notice thereof giuen at our departure from the Ilands of Cape *Verde*, that the next Randeuous, both for the recollecting of our nauy (if it should be despersed) as also for watering and the like, should

be the riuer of Plate; whither we were all to repaire with all the conuenient speed that could be made, and to stay one for another, if it should happen that we could not arriue there all together; and the effect wee found answerable to our expectations, for here our seuered ship (as hath beene declared) found vs againe, and here we found those other helps also so much desired. The country hereabout is of a temperate and most sweet aire, very faire and pleasant to behold, and besides the exceeding fruitfulness of the soile, its stored with plentie of large and mightie deere.

¶ Notwithstanding that in this first bay wee found sweet and wholesome water, euen at pleasure, yet the same day [*Apr. 16*], after the arriuell of the Caunter, we remoued some twelue leagues farther vp into another, where we found a long rocke, or rather Iland of rocks, not farre from the maine, making a commodious harbor, especially against a Southerly wind: vnder them we anchored and rode till the 20. day at night, in which meane space we killed diuers Seales, or sea wolues (as the Spaniard calls them), which resorted to these rocks in great abundance. They are good meat, and were an acceptable food to vs for the present, and a good supply of our prouision for the future. Hence, *April 20*, we waighed againe and sayled yet further vp into the riuer, euen till we found but three fadome depth, and that we roade with our ships in fresh water; but wee staid not there, nor in any other place of the riuer, because that the winds being strong, the shoales many, and no safe harbour found, we could not without our great danger so haue done. Haling therefore to seaward againe, the 27 of the same moneth (after that we had spent a iust fortnight in that riuer, to the great comfort of the whole fleet), we passed by the South side thereof into the maine. The land here lieth South, South-west, and North N.E., with shole water, some three or foure leagues off into the sea: its about 36 deg. 20 min. and somewhat better South latitude.

¶ At our very first comming forth to sea againe, to wit, the same night [*April 27*], our fly boate, the *Swanne*, lost company of vs: whereupon, though our Generall doubted nothing of her happy comming forward againe to the rest of the fleete, yet because it was grieuous to haue such often losses, and that it was his duty, as much as in him lay, to preuent all inconueniences besides that might grow; he determined to diminish the number of his ships, thereby to draw his men into lesse roome, that both the fewer ships might the better keepe company, and that they might also bee the better appointed with new and fresh supplies of prouision and men, one to ease the burthen of another: especially for that he saw the coast

(it drawing now toward Winter here) to bee subiect to many and grieuous stormes. And therefore he continued on his course, to find out a conuenient harbour for that vse; searching all that coast from 36 to 47 degrees (as diligently as contrary winds and sundry stormes would permit), and yet found none for the purpose. And in the mean time, viz., *May* 8, by another storme the Caunter also was once more seuered frō vs.

¶ *May* 12 wee had sight of land, in 47 deg., where we were forced to come to anchor in such roade as we could find for the time. Neuerthelesse our Generall named the place cape *Hope*; by reason of a bay discouered within the hedland, which seemed to promise a good and commodious harbour. But by reason of many rockes lying off from the place, wee durst not aduenture with our ships into it without good and perfect discouery beforehand made.

¶ Our Generall, especially in matters of moment, was neuer wont to relye onely on other mens care, how trusty or skilfull soeuer they might seeme to be; but alwayes contemning danger, and refusing no toyle, he was wont himselfe to be one, whosoever was a second, at euery turne, where courage, skill, or industry, was to be imployed; neither would hee at this time intrust the discouery of these dangers to anothers paines, but rather to his owne experience in searching out and sounding of them. A boat being therefore hoised forth, himselfe with some others the next morning, *May* 13, rowed into the bay; and being now very nigh the shore, one of the men of the countrey shewed himselfe vnto him, seeming very pleasant, singing and dancing, after the noise of a rattle which he shooke in his hand, expecting earnestly his landing.

¶ But there was sudainly so great an alteration in the weather, into a thick and misty fogge, together with an extreame storme and tempest, that our Generall, being now 3 leagues from his ship, thought it better to returne, then either to land or make any other stay; and yet the fogg thickened so mightily, that the sight of the ships was bereft them, and if Captaine Thomas (vpon the abundance of his loue and seruice to his generall) had not aduentured with his ship to enter that bay in this perplexitie, where good aduice would not suffer our ships to beare in, while the windes were more tolerable, and the ayre cleerer, we had sustained some great losse, or our Generall had been further endangered, who was now quickly receiued aboard his ship; out of which, being within the bay, they let fall an anchor, and rode there (God be praised) in safety; but our other ships, riding without, were so oppressed with the extremitie of the storme, that they were forced to run off to sea for their owne safegard,

being in good hope onely of the good successe of that ship which was gone in to relieve our generall. Before this storme arose, our Caunter, formerly lost, was come in the same day vnto vs into the roade, but was put to sea againe, the same euening, with the rest of the fleete.

¶ The next day, *May* 14, the weather being faire, and the windes moderate, but the fleete out of sight, our Generall determined to go ashore, to this end, that he might, by making of fires, giue signes to the dispersed ships to come together againe into that roade, whereby at last they were all assembled, excepting the *Swanne*, lost long time before, and excepting our Portugall prise, called the *Mary*, which waighing in this last storme the night before, had now lost company, and was not found againe in a long time after.

¶ In this place (the people being remoued vp into the country, belike for feare of our comming) we found neere vnto the rocks, in houses made for that purpose, as also in diuers other places, great store of Ostriches, at least to the number of 50, with much other foule, some dried and some in drying for their prouision, as it seemed, to carry with them to the place of their dwellings. The Ostriches thighs were in bignes equal to reasonable legs of mutton. They cannot flie at all; but they runne so swiftly, and take so long strides, that it is not possible for a man in running by any meanes to take them, neither yet to come so nigh them as to haue any shot at them either with bow or peece; whereof our men had often prooffe on other parts of that coast, for all the countrey is full of them. We found there the tools or instruments which the people vse in taking them.

¶ Among other meanes they vse in betraying these ostriches, they haue a great and large plume of feathers, orderly compact together vpon the end of a staffe, in the forepart bearing the likenesse of the head, necke, and bulke of an Ostrich, and in the hinder part spreading itselfe out very large, sufficient (being holden before him) to hide the most part of the body of a man. With this it seemeth they staulke, driving them into some strait or necke of land close to the sea-side, where spreading long and strong nets, with their dogs which they haue in readinesse at all times, they ouerthrow them, and make a common quarry. The countrey is very pleasant and seemeth to be a fruitfull soyle.

¶ Being afterwards driuen to fall with this place againe, we had great acquaintance and familiarity with the people, who rejoiced greatly in our comming, and in our friendship, in that wee had done them no harme. But because this place was no fit or conuenient harbor for vs to do our necessary business, neither yet to make much prouision of such

things as we wanted, as water, wood, and such like, we departed thence the 15 of *May*.

¶ At our departure hence, we held our course South and by West, and made about 9 leagues in 24 houres, bearing very little sayle, that our fleet might the easier gett vp with vs, which by reason of contrary windes were cast asterne of vs. •

¶ In 47 deg. 30 min. we found a bay, which was faire, safe, and beneficiall to vs, very necessary for our vse, into which we haled, and anchored *May* 17, and the next day, *May* 18, we came further into the same bay, where we cast anchor, and made our abode full fifteene dayes.

¶ The uery first day of our arriuall here, our Generall having set things in some order, for the dispatch of our necessary busines, being most carefull for his two ships which were wanting, sent forth to the southward Captaine Winter in the *Elizabeth*, vice-admiral, himself in the admiral going forth northward, into the sea, to see if happily they might meet with either of them; at which time, by the good prouidence of God, hee himselfe met with the *Swanne*, formerly lost at our departure from the riuier of Plate, and brought her into the same harbor the same day, where being afterward vnloaden and discharged of her freight, shee was cast off, and her iron-worke and other necessities being saued for the better prouision of the rest: of the remainder was made firewood and other implements which we wanted. But all this while of the other ship, which wee lost so lately in our extremitie, we could haue no newes.

¶ While we were thus employed, after certaine dayes of our stay in this place, being on shoare, in an Iland nigh vnto the maine, where at lowe water was free passage on foot from the one to the other, the people of the country did shew themselues vnto vs with leaping, dancing, and holding vp their hands, and making outcries after their manner; but being then high water, we could not go ouer to them on foot. Wherefore the General caused immediatly a boat to bee in readinesse, and sent vnto them such things as he thought would delight them, as knives, bells, bugles, etc. Whereupon they beeing assembled together vpon a hill, half an English mile from the water side, sent downe two of their company, running one after the other with a great grace, trauersing their ground as it seemed after the manner of their warres, by degrees descending towards the waters side very swiftly. Notwithstanding drawing nigh vnto it, they made a stay, refusing to come neere our men; which our men perceiuing, sent such things as they had, tyed with a string vpon a rod, and stucke the same vp a reasonable distance from them, where they might see it.

And assoone as our men were departed from the place, they came and tooke those things, leauing instead of them, as in recompence, such feathers as they vse to weare about their heads, with a bone made in manner of a toothpick, carued round about the top, and in length about six inches, being very smoothly burnished. Whereupon our Generall, with diuers of his gentlemen and companie, at low water, went ouer to them to the maine.

¶ Against his comming they remained still vpon the hill, and set themselues in a ranke, one by one, appointing one of their company to runne before them from the one end of the ranke to the other, and so backe againe, continually East and West, with holding vp his hands ouer his head, and yeelding forward his body in his running toward the rising and setting of the Sunne, and at euery second or third turne at the most, erected his body against the midst of the ranke of the people, lifting himselfe vaultingwise from the ground towards the Moone, being then ouer our heads; signifying thereby, as we conceiued, that they called the Sunne and Moone (whom they serue for gods) to witnesse, that they meant nothing towards vs but peace. But when they perceiued that we ascended the hill apace, and drew nigh vnto them, they seemed very fearefull of our comming.

¶ Wherefore our Generall, not willing to giue them any way any occasion to mislike or be discomfited, retyred his company; wherby they were so allured, and did so therein confirme themselues of vs, that we were no enemies, neither meant them harm, that without al feare diuers came down with great speed after vs, presently entring into traffique with our men. Notwithstanding they would receiue nothing at our hands, but the same must be first cast vpon the ground, vsing this word, *Zussus*, for exchange, *Tóytt*, to cast vpon the ground. And if they misliked anything, they cryed *Coróh*, *Coróh*, speaking the same with ratling in the throat. The wares we receiued from them were arrowes of reeds, feathers, and such bones as are afore described.

¶ This people go naked, except a skin of furre, which they cast about their shoulders when they sit or lye in the cold; but hauing anything to do, as going or any other labour, they vse it as a girdle about their loynes. They weare their haire very long; but lest it might trouble them in their trauell, they knit it vp with a roll of Ostrich feathers, vsing the same rolls and haire together for a quiuer for their arrowes, and for a store house, in which they carry the most things which they carry about them. Some of them within these rolls sticke on either side of their heads (for a signe

of honour in their persons) a large and plaine feather, shewing like hornes afarre off: so that such a head vpon a naked body (if diuels do appeare with hornes) might very nigh resemble diuels. Their whole brauery and setting out themselues standeth in painting their bodies with diuers colours, and such workes as they can deuise. Some wash their faces with sulphure, or some such like substance: some paint their whole bodies black, leauing onely their neckes behind and before white, much like our damosels that weare their squares, their neckes and breasts naked. Some paint one shoulder blacke, another white; and their sides and legs interchangeably, with the same colours, one still contrary to the other. The black part hath set vpon it white moones, and the white part blacke Suns, being the marks and characters of their gods, as is before noted.

¶ They haue some commodity by painting of their bodies, for the which cause they vse it so generally: and that I gather to be the defence it yeeldeth against the piercing and nipping cold. For the colours being close layd on vpon their skinne, or rather in their flesh, as by continuall renewing of these iuyces which are layed on, soakt into the inner part thereof, doth fill vp the pores so close that no aire or cold can enter, or make them once to shrink.

¶ They haue cleane, comely, and strong bodies; they are swift of foot, and seeme very actiue. Neither is anything more lamentable (in my iudgment) then that so goodly a people, and so liuely creatures of God, should bee ignorant of the true and liuing God. And so much the more is this to be lamented, by how much they are more tractable, and easie to be brought to the sheepfold of Christ; hauing, in truth, a land sufficient to recompence any Christian Prince in the world, for the whole trauell and labour, cost and charges bestowed in that behalfe: with a wonderfull enlarging of a kingdome, besides the glory of God by encreasing of the Church of Christ.

¶ Its wonderfull to hear, being neuer knowne to Christians before this time, how familiar they became in short space with vs; thinking themselues to be ioyned with such a people, as they ought rather to serue then offer any wrong or iniurie vnto; presuming that they might be bold with our Generall as with a Father, and with vs as with brethren and their nearest friends; neither seemed their loue lesse towards vs. One of the chieftest among them hauing on a time receiued a cap of the Generals head, which he did daily weare, remouing himselfe but a little from vs, with an arrow pierced his legge deeply, causing the bloud to streame out vpon the ground: signifying thereby, how vnfainedly he loued him, and

giuing therin a couenant of peace. The number of men which here did frequent our companie, were about fiftie persons. Within, in the southernmost part of this bay, there is a riuer of fresh water, with a great many profitable Ilands: of which, some haue alwaies such store of Seales or sea-wolues, as were able to maintaine a huge army of men. Other Ilands, being many and great, are so replenished with birds and foule, as if there were no other victuals: a wonderfull multitude of people might be nourished by the increase of them for many posterities. Of these we killed some with shot, and some with stauies, and tooke some with our hands from mens heads and shoulders, vpon which they lighted. We could not perceiue that the people of the countrey had any sort of boate or canowe, to come to these Ilands. Their owne prouision which they eate, for ought we could perceiue, was commonly raw. For we should sometimes find the remnants of Seales all bloody, which they had gnawne with their teeth liké dogs. They go all of them armed, with a short bow, of about an ell in length, in their hands, with arrowes of reeds, and headed with a flint stone, very cunningly cut and fastned.

¶ This bay, by reason of the plenty of *Seales* therein found (insomuch that we killed two hundred in the space of one houre), we called *Seale Bay*. And hauing now made sufficient prouision of victuals and other necessities, as also happily finished all our businesses, *June 3*, we set saile from thence; and coasting along towards the pole Antartick, *June 12*, we fell in with a little bay, in which we anchored for the space of two dayes, spent in the discharging of our Caunter, the *Christopher*, which wee here layed vp.

¶ The 14 day [*June 14*] we waighed againe, and kept on our course Southward till the 17 [*June 17*], and then cast anchor in another bay, in 50 deg. 20 min., lacking but little more than one degree of the mouth of the Straights through which lay our so much desired passage into the South Sea.

¶ Here our Generall on good aduice determined to alter his course, and turne his sterne to the Northward againe, if happily God would grant we might find our ship and friends whom we lost in the great storme, as is before said. Forasmuch as (if we should enter the Straight without them in our company) it must needs go hard with them; and we also in the meantime, as well by their absence as by the vncertaintie of their state, must needs receiue no small discomfort.

¶ And therefore, *June 18*, in the morning, putting to sea againe, with hartie and often prayers wee ioyned watchfull industry to serue Gods

good prouidence, and held on our purpose to runne backe toward the line into the same height, in which they were first disseuered from vs.

¶ The 19 day of *June*, toward night, hauing sayled within a few leagues of port Saint *Julian*, we had our ship in sight, for which we gave God thanks with most ioyfull minds. And forasmuch as the ship was farre out of order, and very leake, by reason of extremity of weather which she had endured, as well before her loosing company as in her absence, our Generall thought good to beare into Port Saint *Julian* with his fleet, because it was so nigh at hand, and so convenient a place; intending there to refresh his wearied men, and cherish them which had in their absence tasted such bitternesse of discomfort, besides the want of many things which they sustained.

¶ Thus the next day, the 20 of *June*, we entered Port Saint *Julian*, which standeth in 49 deg. 30 min., and hath on the South side of the harbour picked rockes like towers, and within the harbour many Ilands, which you may ride hard aboard off, but in going in you must borrow of the North shoare.

¶ Being now come to anchor, and all things fitted and made safe aboard, our Generall with certaine of his companie (viz., *Thomas Drake* his brother, *John Thomas*, *Robert Winter*, *Oliuer*, the master gunner, *John Brewer*, and *Thomas Hood*), *June* 22, rowed further in with a boate to find out some conuenient place which might yeeld vs fresh water, during the time of our abode there, and furnish vs with supply for prouision to take to sea with vs at our departure; which worke, as it was of great necessitie, and therefore carefully to be performed, so did not he think himselfe discharged of his duty if he himselfe bestowed not the first trauell therein, as his vse was at all times in all other things belonging to the relieuing of our wants and the maintenance of our good estate, by the supply of what was needfull. Presently vpon his landing he was visited by two of the inhabitants of the place, whom *Magellane* named *Patagous*, or rather *Pentagours*, from their huge stature, and strength proportionable. These, as they seemed greatly to reioyce at his arriual, so did they shew themselves very familiar, receiuing at our Generals hands whatsoever he gaue them, and taking great pleasure in seeing Master *Oliuer*, the master gunner of the Admirall, to shoot an English arrow, trying with him to shoot at length, but came nothing neere him.

¶ Not long after, came one more of the same caste, but of a sowerer sorte, for he misliking of the familiarity which his fellowes had vsed, seemed very angry with them, and stroue earnestly to withdrawe them, and to

turne them to become our enemies; which our generall with his men not suspecting in them, vsed them as before, and one Mr. *Robert Winter*, thinking of pleasure to shoote an arrow at length, as Mr. *Oliuer* had done before, that he which came last also might haue a sight thereof, the string of his bow brake, which, as before it was a terror vnto them, so now broken, it gaue them great incouragement and boldnes, and as they thought, great aduantage in their treacherous intent and purpose, not imagining that our calliuers, swords, and targets, were any munition or weapon of warre.

¶ In which perswasion (as the Generall with his companie were, quietly without any suspection of euill, going downe towards his boate) they sodainely, being prepared and gotten by stealth behinde them, shot their arrowes, and cheifely at him which had the bowe, not suffering him to string the same againe, which he was about to haue done, as well as hee could; but being wounded in the shoulder at the first shot, and turning about, was sped with an arrow, which peirced his lunges, yet he fell not. But the Mr gunner being ready to shoote of his calliuer, which tooke not fire in leuelling thereof, was presently slaine outright. In this extremitie, if our generall had not been both expert in such affaires, able to judge, and giue present direction in the danger thereof, and had not valiantly thrust himselfe into the dance against these monsters, there had no one of our men, that there were landed, escaped with life. He therefore, giving order that no man should keepe any certaine ground, but shift from place to place, encroaching still vpon the enemye, vsing their targets and other weapons for the defence of their bodies, and that they should breake so many arrowes as by any meanes they could come by, being shot at them, wherein he himselfe was very diligent, and carefull also in calling on them, knowing that their arrowes being once spent, they should haue these enemies at their deuotion and pleasure, to kill or saue; and this order being accordingly taken, himselfe, I say, with a good courage and trust in the true and liuing God, takeing and shooting off the same peece which the gunner could not make to take fire, dispatched the first beginner of the quarrell, the same man which slewe our Mr gunner. For the peece being charged with a bullet and haile shot, and well aimed, tare out his bellie and gutts, with great torment, as it seemed by his crye, which was so hideous and horrible a roare, as if ten bulls had ioyned together in roaring, wherewith the courage of his partners was so abated, and their hearts appalled, that notwithstanding diuerse of their fellowes and councitmen appeared out of the woods on each side, yet they were

glad, by flying away, to saue themselues, quietly suffering our men either to depart or stay. Our Generall chose rather to depart, then to take further reuenge of them, which now he might, by reason of his wounded man, whom for many good parts he loued dearly, and therefore would rather haue saued him then slaine an hundred enemies; but being past recouery, he died the 2. day after his being brought aboard againe.

¶ That night our Mr gunners body being left ashore, for the speedier bringing of the other aboard, our generall himselve the next day, with his boate well appointed, returned to the shoare to fetch it likewise, which they found lying where it was left, but stript of his vppermost garment, and having an English arrowe stuck in his right eye.

¶ Both of these dead bodies were layd together in one graue, with such reuerence as was fit for the earthen tabernacles of immortall soules, and with such commendable ceremonies as belong vnto souldiers of worth in time of warre, which they most truly and rightfully deserved.

¶ *Magellane* was not altogether deceiued in naming them Giants, for they generally differ from the common sort of men, both in stature, bignes, and strength of body, as also in the hideousnesse of their voice; but yet they are nothing so monstrous or giantlike as they were reported, there being some English men as tall as the highest of any that we could see, but peraduenture the Spaniards did not thinke that ever any English man would come thither to reprove them, and thereupon might presume the more boldly to lie; the name *Pentagones*, *Fiue cubits*, viz., 7 foote and halfe, describing the full height (if not somewhat more) of the highest of them.

¶ But this is certaine, that the Spanish cruelties there vsed, haue made them more monstrous in minde and manners, then they are in body, and more inhospitable to deale with any strangers that shall come hereafter. For the losse of their friends (the remembrance whereof is assigned and conueighed ouer from one generation to another among their posteritie) breedeth an old grudge, which will not easily be forgotten with so quarrellsome and revengefull a people. Notwithstanding, the terrour which they had conceiued of vs, did henceforward so quench their heate, and take down their edge, that they both forgate reuenge, and seeming by their countenance to repent them of the wrong they had offered vs that meant them no harme, suffered vs to doe what we would the whole space of two monethes after this, without any interruption or molestation by them; and it may perhaps be a meanes to breede a peace in that people towards all that may hereafter this, come that way.

¶ To this euill, thus receiued at the hands of infidells, there was adioyned and grewe another mischief, wrought and contriued closely amongst ourselues; as great, yea, farre greater, and of farre more grievous consequence then the former, but that it was by God's prouidence detected and preuented in time, which else had extended itselfe, not onely to the violent shedding of innocent blood by murthering our generall, and such others as were most firme and faithfull to him, but also to the final ouerthrow of the whole action intended, and to diuers other most dangerous effects.

¶ These plotts had beene layd before the voyage beganne, in England: the very modell of them was shewed and declared to our Generall in his garden at Plimmouth before his setting sayle, which yet he either would not credit, as true or likely of a person whom he loued so deerely, and was perswaded of to loue him likewise vnfainedly, or thought by loue and benefits to remoue and remedy it, if there were any euill purposes conceiued against him.

¶ And therefore he did not onely continue (to this suspected and accused person) al countenance, credit, and courtesies, which he was wont to show and giue him; but encreased them, vsing him in a manner as another himselve; giuing him the second place in all companies, in his presence; leauing in his hand the state, as it were, of his owne person in his absence; imparting vnto him all his counsells; allowing him free liberty in all things that were reasonable; and bearing often, at his hands, great infirmities; yea, despising that any priuate iniury should breake so firme a friendship as he meant towards him. And therefore was he oftentimes not a little offended, euen with those who (vpon consciences of their duty, and knowledge that otherwise they should indeed offend) disclosed from time to time vnto him how the fire increased, that threatned his owne, together with the destruction of the whole action.

¶ But at length perceiuing that his lenity and fauours did little good, in that the heat of ambition was not yet allayed, nor could be quenched, as it seemed, but by blood; and that the manifold practises grew dayly more and more, euen to extremities; he thought it high time to call these practises into question, before it were too late to call any question of them into hearing. And therefore setting good watch ouer him, and assembling all his Captaines, and gentlemen of his company together, he propounded to them the good parts which were in the gentleman, the great good will and inward affection, more then brotherly, which he had euer since his first acquaintance borne him, not omitting the respect

which was had of him among no meane personages in England; and afterwards deliuered the letters which were written to him, with the particulars from time to time which had beene obserued, not so much by himselfe as by his good friends; not onely at sea, but euen at Plimmouth; not bare words, but writings; not writings alone, but actions, tending to the ouerthrowe of the seruice in hand, and making away of his person.

¶ Proofes were required and alleaged, so many and so euident, that the gentleman himselfe, stricken with remorse of his inconsiderate and vnkinde dealing, acknowledged himselfe to haue deserued death, yea many deathes; for that he conspired; not onely the ouerthrow of the action, but of the principall actor also, who was not a stranger or il-willer, but a deare and true friend vnto him; and therefore in a great assembly openly besought them, in whose hands iustice rested, to take some order for him, that he might not be compelled to enforce his owne hands against his owne bowells, or otherwise to become his owne executioner.

¶ The admiration and astonishment hereat in all the hearers, euen those which were his neerest friends and most affected him, was great, yea, in those, which for many benefits receiued from him, had good cause to loue him; but yet the generall was most of all distracted, and therefore withdrewe himselfe, as not able to conceale his tender affection, requiring them that had heard the whole matter, to giue their iudgements, as they would another day answer it vnto their prince and vnto Almighty God, judge of all the earth. Therefore they all, aboue 40 in number, the chieftest of place and judgement in the whole fleet, after they had discussed diuersly of the case, and alleaged whatsoeuer came in their mindes, or could be there produced by any of his other friends, with their owne hands, vnder seale, adiudged that: *He had deserued death: And that it stode, by no meanes with their safety, to let him liue: And therefore, they remitted the manner thereof, with the rest of the circumstances, to the Generall.*

¶ This judgement, and as it were assise, was held a land, in one of the Ilands of that port, which afterwards, in memory hereof was called, the Iland of *True iustice and iudgement.*

¶ Now after this verdict was thus returned vnto our generall (vnto whom, for his company, her Maiesty, before his departure, had committed her sword, to vse for his safety, with this word: *We doe account that he which striketh at thee, Drake, striketh at vs*), he called for the guilty party, and caused to be read vnto him the seuerall verdicts which were written and pronounced of him; which being acknowledged for the most part (for none had giuen heauier sentence against him then he had giuen against him-

selfe), our generall proposed vnto him this choice: *Whether he would take, to be executed in this Iland? or to be sett a land on the maine? or returne into England, there to answer his deed before the Lords of her Maiesties Councell?*

¶ He most humbly thanked the Generall for his clemencie, extended towards him in such ample sort: and crauing some respite to consult thereon, and so make his choice aduisedly: the next day he returned this answer, that: *Albeit he had yeelded in his heart to entertaine so great a sinne, whereof now he was iustly condemned: yet he had a care, and that excelling all other cares, to die a Christian man, that whatsoeuer did become of his clay body, he might yet remaine assured of an eternall inheritance in a farre better life. This he feared, if he should be set a land among Infidels, how he should be able to maintaine this assurance, feeling, in his owne frailtie, how mighty the contagion is of lewde custome. And therefore he besought the generall most earnestly, that he would yet haue a care and regarde of his soule, and neuer jeopard it amongst heathen and sauage Infidells. If he should returne into England, he must first haue a ship, and men to conduct it, with sufficient victuals; two of which, though they were had, yet for the third, he thought no man would accompanie him, in so bad a message to so vile an issue, from so honorable a seruice. But if that there were which could induce their mindes to returne with him, yet the very shame of the returne would be as death, or griuouser if it were possible: because he should be so long a dying, and die so often. Therefore he professed, that with all his heart, he did embrace the first branch of the generals proffer, desiring onely this fauour, that they might receiue the holy communion once againe together before his death, and that he might not die other then a gentleman's death.*

¶ Though sundry reasons were vsed by many to perswade him to take either of the other wayes, yet when he remained resolute in his former determination, both parts of his last request were granted; and the next conuenient day a communion was celebrated by Mr. Francis Fletcher, preacher and pastor of the fleet at that time. The generall himselfe communicated at this Sacred ordinance, with this condemned penitent gentleman, who showed great tokens of a contrite and repentant heart, as who was more deeply displeased with his owne act then any man else. And after this holy repast they dined, also at the same table together, as cheerefully in sobriety, as euer in their liues they had done aforetime: each cheering vp the other, and taking their leave, by drinking each to other, as if some journey onely had beene in hand.

¶ After dinner, all things being brought in a readines, by him that supplied the roome of the prouost-Marshall; without any dallying, or delaying the time, he came forth and kneeled downe, preparing at once his necke for

the axe, and his spirit for heauen; which hauing done without long ceremony, as who had before digested this whole tragedy, he desired all the rest to pray for him, and willed the executioner to doe his office, not to feare nor spare.

¶ Thus hauing by the worthie manner of his death (being much more honorable by it, then blameable for any other of his actions) fully blotted out whateuer staine his fault might seeme to bring vpon him; he left vnto our fleete a lamentable example of a goodly gentleman, who in seeking aduancement vnfit for him, cast away himselfe; and vnto posteritie a monument of, I know not what, fatall calamitie, as incident to that Port, and such like actions, which might happilie afford a new paire of paralells to be added to Plutarchs: in that the same place, neere about the same time of the yeare, witnessed the execution of 2 gentlemen, suffring both for the like cause, employed both in like seruice, entertained both in great place, endued both with excellent qualities, the one 58 yeare after the other.

¶ For, on the maine, our men found a gibbet, fallen downe, made of a spruce mast, with mens bones vnderneath it, which they coniectured to be the same gibbet which *Magellane* commanded to be erected, in the yeare 1520, for the execution of *John Carthagene*, the Bishop of Burgos cosen, who by the kings order was ioyned with *Magellane* in commission, and made his vice-admirall.

¶ In the Iland, as we digged to burie this gentleman, we found a great grinding stone, broken in two parts, which wee tooke and set fast in the ground, the one part at the head, the other at the feet, building vp the middle space with other stones and turfes of earth, and engraue in the stones the names of the parties buried there, with the time of their departure, and a memoriall of our generalls name, in Latine, that it might the better be vnderstood, of all that should come after vs.

¶ These things thus ended and set in order, our generall discharged the *Mary*, viz., our Portugall prise, because shee was leake and troublesome, defaced her, and then left her ribs and keele vpon the Iland, where for two moneths together we had pitched our tents. And so hauing woodded, watered, trimmed our ships, dispatched all our other businesses, and brought our fleet into the smallest number, euen 3 onely, besides our pinnaces, that we might the easier keepe ourselues together, be the better furnished with necessities, and be the stronger mand, against whatsoever need should be, *August 17*, we departed out of this port, and being now in great hope of a happie issue to our entreprize, which Almighty God hitherto had so blest and prospered, we set our course for the Straights, Southwest.

¶ *August 20*, we fel with the cape, neere which lies the entrance into the straight, called by the Spaniards *Capo Virgin Maria*, appearing 4 leagues before you come to it, with high and steepe gray cliffes, full of blacke starres, against which the sea beating, sheweth as it were the spoutings of whales, hauing the highest of the cape, like cape Vincent in Portugall. At this cape, our generall caused his fleet, in homage to our soueraigne lady the Queenes maiesty, to strike their top-sailes vpon the bunt, as a token of his willing and glad minde, to shewe his dutifull obedience to her highnes, whom he acknowledged to haue full interest and right in that new discouery; and withall, in remembrance of his honorable friend and fauorer, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, he changed the name of the shippe which himselfe went in from the *Pellican* to be called the *golden Hinde*. Which ceremonies being ended, together with a sermon, teaching true obedience, with prayers and giuing of thanks for her maiesty and most honorable counsell, with the whole body of the common weale and church of God, we continued our course on into the said frete, where passing with land in sight on both sides, we shortly fell with so narrow a strait, as carrying with it much winde, often turnings, and many dangers, requireth an expert judgement in him that shall passe the same: it lieth West North West and East South East. But hauing left this strait a sterne, we seemed to be come out of a riuer of two leagues broad, into a large and maine sea; hauing the night following, an Iland in sight, which (being in height nothing inferior to the Iland *Fogo*, before spoken of) burneth (like it also) alofte in the aire, in a wonderfull sort, without intermission.

¶ It hath formerly been receiued as an undoubted truth, that the seas, following the course of the first mouer, from East to West, haue a continuall current through this strait, but our experience found the contrary; the ebbings and flowings here being as orderly (in which the water rises and falls more than 5 fathomes vpright) as on other coasts.

¶ The 24 of *August*, being Bartholomew day, we fell with three Ilands, bearing triangle-wise one from another; one of them was very faire and large and of a fruitfull soile, vpon which, being next vnto vs and the weather very calme, our Generall with his gentlemen and certaine of his mariners, then landed, taking possession thereof in her Maiesties name, and to her vse, and called the same *Elizabeth Iland*.

¶ The other two, though they were not so large nor so faire to the eye, yet were they to vs exceeding vsefull, for in them wee found great store of strange birds, which could not flie at all, nor yet runne so fast as that they could escape vs with their liues; in body they are less than a goose, and

bigger than a mallard, short and thicke sett together, hauing no feathers, but instead thereof a certaine hard and matted downe; their beakes are not much vnlike the bills of crowes, they lodge and breed vpon the land, where making earthes, as the conies doe, in the ground, they lay their egges and bring vp their young; their feeding and prouision to live on is in the sea, where they swimm in such sort, as nature may seeme to haue granted them no small prerogatiue in swiftnesse, both to prey vpon others, and themselves to escape from any others that seeke to cease vpon them; and such was the infinite resort of these birds to these Ilands, that in the space of 1 day we killed no lesse than 3000, and if the increase be according to the number, it is not to be thought that the world hath brought forth a greater blessing, in one kinde of creature in so small a circuit, so necessarily and plentifully seruing the vse of man; they are a very good and wholesome victuall. Our Generall named these Ilands, the one *Bartholomew*, according to the day, the other *Saint Georges*, in honour of England, according to the ancient custom there obserued.

¶ In the Iland of *Saint George* we found the body of a man, so long dead before that his bones would not hold together, being moued out of the place whereon they lay.

¶ From these Ilands to the entrance into the South-sea, the frete is very crooked, hauing many turnings, and as it were shuttings vp, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof we were often troubled with contrary windes, so that some of our ships recouering a cape of land, entring another reach, the rest were forced to alter their course and come to anchor where they might. It is true which *Magellane* reporteth of this passage: namely, that there be many faire harbours and store of fresh water; but some ships had need to be fraughted with nothing else besides anchors and cables, to find ground in most of them to come to anchor, which when any extreame gusts or contrary windes doe come (whereunto the place is altogether subiect), is a great hindrance to the passage, and carrieth with it no small danger.

¶ The land on both sides is very high and mountainous, hauing on the North and West side the continent of America, and on the South and East part nothing but Ilands, among which lye innumerable fretes or passages into the South sea. The mountaines arise with such tops and spires into the aire, and of so rare a height, as they may well be accounted amongst the wonders of the world; enuironed, as it were, with many regions of congealed clouds and frozen meteors, wherby they are continually fed and increased, both in height and bignes, from time to time

retaining that which they haue once receiued, being little againe diminished by the heate of the sun, as being so farre from reflexion and so nigh the cold and frozen region.

¶ But notwithstanding all this, yet are the lowe and plaine groundes verie fruitful, the grasse greene and naturall; the hearbs, that are of very strange sorts, good and many; the trees, for the most part of them, alwaies greene; the ayre of the temperature of our countrey; the water most pleasant; and the soile agreeing to any graine which we haue growing in our countrey; a place no doubt, that lacketh nothing but a people to vse the same to the Creators glory and the encreasing of the Church. The people inhabiting these parts made fires as we passed by in diuers places.

¶ Drawing nigh the entrance of the South Sea, wee had such a shutting vp to the Northwards, and such large and open fretes toward the South, that it was doubtfull which way wee should passe, without further discouerie; for which cause, our Generall hauing broughte his fleete to anchor vnder an Iland, himselfe, with certaine of his gentlemen, rowed in a boate to descrie the passage, who, hauing discouered a sufficient way towards the North, in their returne to their ships met a cannowe, vnder the same Iland where wee rode then at anchor, having in her diuers persons.

¶ This cannowe, or boate, was made of the barke of diuers trees, hauing a prow and a sterne standing vp, and semicirclewise yeelding inward, of one forme and fashion, the body whereof was a most dainty mould, bearing in it most comely proportion and excellent workmanship, in so much as to our Generall and vs, it seemed neuer to haue beene done without the cunning and expert iudgement of art; and that not for the vse of so rude and barbarous a people, but for the pleasure of some great and noble personage, yea, of some Prince. It had no other closing vp or caulking in the seames, but the stichin with thongs, made of sealeskins, or other such beast, and yet so close that it receiued very little or no water at all.

¶ The people are of a meane stature, but well set and compact in all their parts and limmes; they haue great pleasure in painting their faces, as the others haue, of whom we haue spoken before. Within the said Iland they had a house of meane building, of certaine poles, and couered with skinnes of beasts, hauing therein fire, water, and such meate, as commonly they can come by, as seales, mussels, and such like.

¶ The vessels wherein they keepe their water, and their cups in which they drinke, are made of barks of trees, as was their canow, and that with

our departure from the strait into this sea), with a sorrie saile wee entred a harbour: where hoping to enioy some freedome and ease till the storme was ended, we receiued within few houres after our comming to anchor so deadly a stroake and hard entertainment, that our Admirall left not onely an anchor behind her, through the uiolence and furie of the flawe, but in departing thence, also lost the company and sight of our Vice-admirall, the *Elizabeth*, partly through the negligence of those that had the charge of her, partly through a kind of desire that some in her had to be out of these troubles, and to be at home againe; which (as since is knowne) they thenceforward by all meanes assayed and performed. For the very next day, *October 8*, recouering the mouth of the straits againe (which wee were now so neere vnto) they returned backe the same way by which they came forward, and so coasting *Brasill*, they arrived in *England June 2* the yeare following.

¶ So that now our Admirall, if she had retained her old name of *Pellican*, which she bare at our departure from our country, she might haue beene now indeed said to be as a pellican alone in the wilderness. For albeit our Generall sought the rest of his fleet with great care, yet could we not haue any sight or certaine newes of them by any meanes.

¶ From this day of parting of friends, we were forcibly driuen backe againe into 55 deg. towards the pole Antarticke. In which height we ranne in among the Ilands before mentioned, lying to the Southward of *America*, through which we passed from one sea to the other, as hath beene declared. Where, comming to anchor, wee found the waters there to haue their indraught and free passage, and that through no small gut or narrow channels, but indeed through as large frets or straights as hath at the supposed straights of *Magellane*, through which we came.

¶ Among these Ilands making our abode with some quietnesse for a very little while (viz. two dayes), and finding diuers good and wholesome herbes together with fresh water; our men, which before were weake, and much empaiied in their health, began to receiue good comfort, especially by the drinking of one herbe (not much vnlike that herbe which wee commonly call *Pennyleafe*), which purging with great facilitie, afforded great helpe and refreshing to our wearied and sickly bodies. But the wind returning to their old wont, and the seas raging after their former manner yea everything as it were setting itself against our peace and desired rest here was no stay permitted vs, neither any safety to be looked for.

¶ For such was the present danger by forcing and continuall flaws, that we were rather to looke for present death then hope for any deliuey,

God Almighty should not make the way for vs. The winds were such as if the bowels of the earth had set all at libertie, or as if all the clouds vnder heauen had beene called together to lay their force vpon that one place. The seas, which by nature and of themselues are heauie, and of a weightie substance, were rowled vp from the depths, euen from the roots of the rockes, as if it had beene a scroll of parchment, which by the extremity of heate runneth together; and being aloft were carried in most strange manner and abundance, as feathers or drifts of snow, by the violence of the winds, to water the exceeding tops of high and loftie mountaines. Our anchors, as false friends in such a danger, gaue ouer their holdfast, and as if it had beene with horror of the thing, did shrinke downe to hide themselues in this miserable storme, committing the distressed ship and helpelesse men to the vncertaine and rowling seas, which tossed them, like a ball in a racket. In this case, to let fall more anchors would auaille vs nothing; for being driuen from our first place of anchoring, so vnmeasurable was the depth, that 500 fathome would fetch no ground. So that the violent storme without intermission; the impossibility to come to anchor; the want of opportunitie to spread any sayle; the most mad seas; the lee shores; the dangerous rocks; the contrary and most intollerable winds; the impossible passage out; the desperate tarrying there; and ineuitable perils on euery side, did lay before vs so small likelihood to escape present destruction, that if the speciall prouidence of God himselfe had not supported vs, we could neuer haue endured that wofull state: as being inuironed with most terrible and most fearefull iudgements round about. For truly, it was more likely that the mountaines should haue beene rent in sunder from the top to the bottome, and cast headlong into the sea, by these vnnaturall winds, then that we, by any helpe or cunning of man, should free the life of any one amongst vs.

¶ Notwithstanding, the same God of mercy which deliuered *Ionas* out of the Whales belly, and heareth all those that call vpon him faithfully in their distresse, looked downe from heauen, beheld our teares, and heard our humble petitions, ioyned with holy vowes. Euen God (whom not the winds and seas alone, but euen the diuels themselues and powers of hell obey) did so wonderfully free vs, and make our way open before vs, as it were by his holy Angels still guiding and conducting vs, that, more then the affright and amaze of this estate, we receiued no part of damage in all the things that belonged vnto vs.

¶ But escaping from these straites and miseries, as it were through the needles ey (that God might haue the greater glory in our deliuey), by

determination, but with great trouble, long time, many dangers, hard escapes, and finall separating of our fleet, to yeeld ourselues vnto his will. Yea, such was the extremitie of the tempest, that it appeared to vs as if he had pronounced a sentence, not to stay his hand, nor to withdraw his iudgement, till he had buried our bodies, and ships also, in the bottomlesse depth of the raging sea.

¶ In the time of this incredible storme, the 15 of *September*, the moone was eclipsed in Aries, and darkened about three points, for the space of two glasses; which being ended, might seeme to giue vs some hope of alteration and change of weather to the better. Notwithstanding, as the ecclipticall conflict could adde nothing to our miserable estate, no more did the ending thereof ease vs anything at all, nor take away any part of our troubles from vs: but our eclipse continued still in its full force, so preuailing against vs, that, for the space of full 52 dayes together, we were darkened more then the moone by 20 parts, or more then we by any meanes could euer haue preserued or recouered light of ourselues againe, if the Sonne of God, which layed this burthen vpon our backs, had not mercifully borne it vp with his owne shoulders, and vpheld vs in it by his owne power, beyond any possible strength or skill of man. Neither indeed did we at all escape, but with the feeling of great discomforts through the same.

¶ For these violent and extraordinarie flaws (such as seldome haue beene seene) still continuing, or rather increasing, *September* 30, in the night, caused the sorrowfull separation of the *Marigold* from vs; in which was captaine *John Thomas*, with many others of our deare friends, who by no means that we could conceiue could helpe themselues, but by spooming along before the sea. With whom, albeit wee could neuer meet againe, yet (our Generall hauing aforehand giuen order, that if any of our fleet did loose company, the place of resort to meet againe should be in 30 deg. or thereabouts, vpon the coast of Peru, toward the Equinoctiall), wee long time hoped (till experience shewed our hope was vaine) that there we should ioyfully meet with them: especially for that they were well prouided of uictuals, and lackt no skilfull and sufficient men (besides their Captaine) to bring forwards the ship to the place appointed.

¶ From the seuenth of *September* (in which the storme began) till the seuenth of *October*, we could not by any meanes recouer any land (hauing in the meane time beene driuen so farre South as to the 57 deg. and somewhat better) on this day towards night, somewhat to the Northward of that cape of America (whereof mention is made before, in the description of

the great and effectuall care and trauell of our Generall, the Lord's instrument therein; we could now no longer forbear, but must needes find some place of refuge, as well to prouide water, wood, and other necessities, as to comfort our men, thus worne and tired out by so many and so long intollerable toyles; the like whereof, its to be supposed, no traueller hath felt, neither hath there euer beene such a tempest (that any records make mention of), so violent and of such continuance since *Noahs* flood; for, as hath beene sayd, it lasted from *September 7* to *October 28th*, full 52 dayes.

¶ Not many leagues therefore to the Southwards of our former anchoring, we ranne in againe among these Ilands, where we had once more better likelihood to rest in peace; and so much the rather, for that wee found the people of the countrie traueiling for their liuing from one Iland to another, in their canowes, both men, women, and young infants wrapt in skins, and hanging at their mothers backs; with whom we had traffique for such things as they had, as chaines of certaine shells and such other trifles. Here the Lord gaue vs three dayes to breath ourselues and to prouide such things as we wanted, albeit the same was with continuall care and troubles to auoid imminent dangers, which the troubled seas and blustering windes did euery houre threaten vnto vs.

¶ But when we seemed to haue stayed there too long, we were more rigorously assaulted by the not formerly ended but now more violently renewed storme, and driuen thence also with no small danger, leauing behind vs the greater part of our cable with the anchor; being chased along by the winds and buffeted incessantly in each quarter by the seas, (which our Generall interpreted as though God had sent them of purpose to the end which ensued), till at length wee fell with the vttermost part of land towards the South Pole, and had certainly discouered how farre the same doth reach Southward from the coast of America aforementioned.

¶ The vttermost cape or hedland of all these Ilands, stands neere in 56 deg., without which there is no maine nor Iland to be seene to the Southwards, but that the Atlanticke Ocean and the South Sea, meete in a most large and free scope.

¶ It hath beene a dreame through many ages, that these Ilands haue beene a maine, and that it hath beene *terra incognita*, wherein many strange monsters liued. Indeed, it might truly before this time be called *incognita*, for howsoeuer the mappes and generall descriptions of *cosmographers*, either vpon the deceiueable reports of other men, or the deceitfull imaginations of themselues (supposing neuer herein to be corrected), haue set it downe

yet it is true, that before this time, it was neuer discouered or certainly knowne by any traueller that wee haue heard of.

¶ And here, as in a fit place, it shall not be amisse, to remoue that error in opinion which hath beene held by many, of the impossible returne out of *Mar Del Zur* into the West Ocean, by reason of the supposed Easterne current and leuant windes, which (say they) speedily carrie any thither, but suffer no returne. They are herein likewise altogether deceiued; for neither did we meete with any such current, neither had we any such certaine windes with any such speed to carry vs through; but at all times in our passage there, we found more opportunity to returne backe againe into the West Ocean, then to goe forward into *Mar Del Zur*, by meanes either of current or windes to hinder vs, whereof we had experience more then we wished: being glad oftentimes to alter our course, and to fall asterne againe with francke winde (without any impediment of any such surmised current) farther in our afternoone, then we could fetch vp or recouer againe in a whole day, with a reasonable gale. And in that they alleage the narrownes of the frete, and want of sea-roome, to be the cause of this violent current; they are herein no lesse deceiued, then they were in the other without reason: for besides that it cannot be sayd, that there is one onely passage, but rather innumerable, it is most certaine, that a seaboard all these Ilands, there is one large and maine sea, wherein if any will not be satisfied, nor belieue the report of our experience and eyesight, hee should be aduised to suspend his iudgement, till he haue either tried it himselfe by his owne trauell, or shall vnderstand, by other trauellers, more particulars to confirme his minde herein.

¶ Now as wee were fallen to the vttermost part of these Ilands, *October 28*, our troubles did make an end, the storme ceased, and all our calamities (onely the absence of our friends excepted) were remoued; as if God, all this while, by his secret prouidence, had led vs to make this discouery, which being made, according to his will, he stayed his hand, as pleased his maiestie therein, and refreshed vs as his seruants.

¶ At these Southerly parts we found the night in the latter end of *October*, to be but 2. houres long: the sunne being yet aboue 7. degrees distant from the Tropick: so that it seemeth, being in the Tropick, to leaue very little, or no night at all in that place.

¶ There be few of all these Ilands but haue some inhabitants, whose manners, apparell, houses, canowes and meanes of liuing, is like vnto those formerly spoken of, a little before our departure out of the *Straight*. To all these Ilands did our generall giue one name, to wit, *Elizabethides*.

¶ After two daies stay, which we made in and about these Ilands, the 30. of *October* we set saile, shaping our course right North-west, to coast alongst the parts of *Peru* (for so the generall mappes set out the land to lie), both for that we might, with conuenient speed, fall with the height of 30 deg., being the place appointed for the rest of our fleete to reassemble; as also that no opportunity might be lost in the meane time to finde them out, if it seemed good to God to direct them to vs.

¶ In this course we chanced (the next day) with two Ilands, being, as it were, storehouses of most liberall prouision of victualls for vs, of birds; yeelding not onely sufficient and plentiful store for vs who were present, but enough to haue serued all the rest also which were absent.

¶ Thence (hauing furnished ourselues to our content), we continued our course, *November* 1, still North-west, as wee had formerly done, but in going on we soone espied, that we might easily haue beene deceiued; and therefore casting about and steering vpon another point, wee found, that the generall mappes did erre from the truth in setting downe the coast of *Peru*, for 12. deg. at least to the Northward of the supposed strait; for lesse then is the Northwest point of the compasse different from the North-east, perceiuing hereby that no man had euer by trauell discovered any part of these 12. deg., and therefore the setters forth of such description are not to be trusted, much less honored, in their false and fraudulent coniectures which they vse, not in this alone, but in diuers other point of no small importance.

¶ We found this part of *Peru*, all alongst to the height of *Lima*, which is 12. deg. South of the Line, to be mountainous and very barren, without water or wood, for the most part, except in certaine places, inhabited by the Spaniards, and few others, which are very fruitfull and commodious.

¶ After we were once againe thus fallen with the land, we continually coasted along, til we came to the height of 37 D., or thereabout; and finding no conuenient place of abode, nor likelihood to heare any newe of our ships, we ranne off againe with an Iland, which lay in sight, named of the Spaniards *Mucho*, by reason of the greatnesse and large circuit thereof.

¶ At this Iland comming to anchor *November* 25, we found it to be a fruitfull place, and well stored with sundrie sorts of good things: as sheepe and other cattell, maize (which is a kinde of graine whereof they make bread), potatoes, with such other rootes; besides that, it is thought to be wonderfull rich in gold, and to want no good thing for the vse of man's life. The inhabitants are such Indians, as by the cruell and most extreame dealing of the Spaniards haue beene driuen to flie from the maine here

to releue and fortifie themselues. With this people, our Generall thought it meet to haue traffique for fresh victuals and water; and for that cause, the very same night of our arriual there, himselfe with diuers of his company went ashoare, to whom the people with great courtesie came downe, bringing with them such fruites and other victuals as they had, and two very fat sheepe, which they gaue our Generall for a present. In recompence whereof, hee bestowed vpon them againe many good and necessarie things; signifying vnto them, that the end of his comming was for no other cause but by way of exchange, to traffique with them for such things as wee needed and they could spare: and in particular, for such as they had already brought downe vnto vs, besides fresh water, which wee desired of them. Herein they held themselues well contented, and seemed to be not a little ioyful of our comming, appointing where we should the next morning haue fresh water at pleasure, and withall signifying that then also they would bring us downe such other things as we desired to serue our turnes.

¶ The next day [*Nov.* 26] therefore, very early in the morning (all things being made readie for traffique, as also vessels prepared to bring the water), our Generall taking great care for so necessarie prouision, repaired to the shoare againe; and setting aland two of his men, sent them with their *Barricoes* to the watering place, assigned the night before. Who hauing peaceably past on one halfe of the way, were then with no small violence set vpon by those traitorous people, and suddenly slaine: and to the end that our Generall with the rest of his company should not onely be stayed from rescuing them, but also might fall (if it were possible) into their hands in like manner, they had layed closely behind the rockes an ambushment of (as we guessed) about 500. men, armed and well appointed for such a mischief. Who suddenly attempting their purpose (the rocks being very dangerous for the boate, and the sea-gate exceeding great) by shooting their arrowes hurt and wounded euery one of our men, before they could free themselues, or come to the vse of their weapons to do any good. The Generall himself was shot in the face, vnder his right eye, and close by his nose, the arrow piercing a maruellous way in vnder *basis cerebri*, with no small danger of his life; besides that, he was grievously wounded in the head. The rest, being nine persons in the boate, were deadly wounded in diuers parts of their bodies, if God almost miraculously had not giuen cure to the same. For our chiefe surgeon being dead, and the other absent by the losse of our Vice-Admirall, and hauing none left vs but a boy, whose good will was more then any skill hee had, we were

little better then altogether destitute of such cunning and helpe, as so grievous a state of so many wounded bodies did require. Notwithstanding God, by the good aduice of our Generall, and the diligent putting too of euery mans helpe, did giue such speedy and wonderfull cure, that we had all great comfort thereby, and yeelded God the glory thereof.

¶ The cause of this force and iniurie by these Ilanders, was no other but the deadly hatred which they beare against their cruell enemies the Spaniards, for the bloudy and most tirannous oppression which they had vsed towards them. And therefore with purpose against them (suspecting vs to bee Spaniards indeed, and that the rather by occasion that though command was giuen to the contrary, some of our men in demanding water, vsed the Spanish word *Aqua*) sought some part of reuenge against vs.

¶ Our Generall, notwithstanding he might haue reuenged this wrong, with little hazard or danger, yet being more desirous to preserue one of his owne men aliue, then to destroy 100 of his enemies, committed the same to God; wishing this onely punishment to them, that they did but know whom they had wronged; and that they had done this iniurie, not to an enemy, but to a friend; not to a Spaniard, but to an Englishman; who would rather haue beene a patron to defend them, then any way an instrument of the least wrong that should haue beene done vnto them. The weapons which this people vse in their warres, are arrowes of reeds, with heads of stone very brittle and indented, but darts of a great length, headed with iron or bone.

¶ The same day that we receiued this dangerous affront, in the afternoone, we set sayle from thence; and because we were now nigh the appointed height, wherein our ships were to be looked for, as also the extremity and crasie state of our hurt men aduising vs to vse expedition to find some conuenient place of repose, which might afford them some rest, and yeeld vs necessary supply of fresh victuals for their diet; we bent our course, as the wind would suffer vs, directly to run in with the maine. Where falling with a bay called *Philips Bay*, in 32 deg. or thereabout, *November 30*, we came to anchor, and forthwith manned and sent our boate to discouer what likelihood the place would offer to affoord vs such things as we stood in need of. Our boate doing her vttermost endeavour in a diligent search, yet after long trauell could find no appearance of hope for reliefe, either of fresh victuals or of fresh water: huge heards of wild buffes they might discerne, but not so much as any signe of any inhabitant thereabout. Yet in their returne to vs, they descried within the bay an Indian with his canow, as he was a fishing: him they brought aboard

our generall, canow and all, as he was in it. A comely personage, and of a goodly stature; his apparell was a white garment, reaching scarcely to his knees; his armes and legges were naked; his haire vpon his head verie long; without a beard, as all the Indians for the most part are. He seemed verie gentle, of mild and humble nature, being verie tractable to learne the vse of euery thing, and most gratefull for such things as our generall bestowed vpon him. In him we might see a most liuely patterne of the harmelesse disposition of that people, and how grievous a thing it is that they should by any meanes be so abused as all those are, whom the Spaniards haue any command or power ouer.

¶ This man being courteously entertained, and his paines of comming double requited, after we had shewed him, partly by signes, and partly by such things as we had, what things we needed, and would gladly receiue by his meanes, vpon exchange of such things as he would desire, wee sent him away with our boate and his own canow (which was made of reed straw) to land him where he would. Who being landed, and willing our men to stay his returne, was immediatly met with by two or three of his friends; to whom imparting his newes, and shewing what gifts he had receiued, he gaue so great content, that they willingly furthered his purpose; so that, after certaine houres of our men's abode there, hee with diuers others (among whom was their head or captaine) made their returne, bringing with them their loadings of such things as they thought would do vs good: as some hennes, egges, a fat hogge, and such like. All which (that our men might be without all suspition of all euill to be meant or intended by them) they sent in one of their canowes, a reasonable distance from off the shoare, to our boate, the seagate being at that present very great; and the captaine, having sent backe his horse, would needs commit himselfe to the credit of our men, though strangers, and come with them to our Generall, without any of his owne acquaintance or councillmen with him.

¶ By his comming, as we vnderstood that there was no meane or way to haue our necessities relieued in this place; so he offered himselfe to be our pilote to a place, and that a good harborough, not farre backe to the Southward againe, where, by way of traffique, we might haue at pleasure both water and those other things which we stood in need of. This offer our Generall uery gladly receiued, and so much the rather, for that the place intended was neere about the place appointed for the randeuoes of our fleete. Omitting therefore our purpose of pursuing the buffes formerly spoken of, of which we had otherwise determined, if possible, to

¶ After two daies stay, which we made in and about these Ilands, the 30. of *October* we set saile, shaping our course right North-west, to coast alongst the parts of *Peru* (for so the generall mappes set out the land to lie), both for that we might, with conuenient speed, fall with the height of 30 deg., being the place appointed for the rest of our fleete to reassemble; as also that no opportunity might be lost in the meane time to finde them out, if it seemed good to God to direct them to vs.

¶ In this course we chanced (the next day) with two Ilands, being, as it were, storehouses of most liberall prouision of victualls for vs, of birds; yeelding not onely sufficient and plentiful store for vs who were present, but enough to haue serued all the rest also which were absent.

¶ Thence (hauing furnished ourselues to our content), we continued our course, *November* 1, still North-west, as wee had formerly done, but in going on we soone espied, that we might easily haue beene deceiued; and therefore casting about and steering vpon another point, wee found, that the generall mappes did erre from the truth in setting downe the coast of *Peru*, for 12. deg. at least to the Northward of the supposed strait; no lesse then is the Northwest point of the compasse different from the Northeast, perceiuing hereby that no man had euer by trauell discovered any part of these 12. deg., and therefore the setters forth of such descriptions are not to be trusted, much less honored, in their false and fraudulent coniectures which they vse, not in this alone, but in diuers other points of no small importance.

¶ We found this part of *Peru*, all alongst to the height of *Lima*, which is 12. deg. South of the Line, to be mountainous and very barren, without water or wood, for the most part, except in certaine places, inhabited by the Spaniards, and few others, which are very fruitfull and commodious.

¶ After we were once againe thus fallen with the land, we continually coasted along, til we came to the height of 37 D., or thereabout; and finding no conuenient place of abode, nor likelihood to heare any newes of our ships, we ranne off againe with an Iland, which lay in sight, named of the Spaniards *Mucho*, by reason of the greatnesse and large circuit thereof.

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to releuee and fortifie themselues. With this people, our Generall thought it meet to haue traffique for fresh victuals and water; and for that cause, the very same night of our arriual there, himselfe with diuers of his company went ashoare, to whom the people with great courtesie came downe, bringing with them such fruites and other victuals as they had, and two very fat sheepe, which they gaue our Generall for a present. In recompence whereof, hee bestowed vpon them againe many good and necessarie things; signifying vnto them, that the end of his comming was for no other cause but by way of exchange, to traffique with them for such things as wee needed and they could spare: and in particular, for such as they had already brought downe vnto vs, besides fresh water, which wee desired of them. Herein they held themselues well contented, and seemed to be not a little ioyful of our comming, appointing where we should the next morning haue fresh water at pleasure, and withall signifying that then also they would bring us downe such other things as we desired to serue our turnes.

¶ The next day [*Nov.* 26] therefore, very early in the morning (all things being made readie for traffique, as also vessels prepared to bring the water), our Generall taking great care for so necessarie prouision, repaired to the shoare againe; and setting aland two of his men, sent them with their *Barricoes* to the watering place, assigned the night before. Who hauing peaceably past on one halfe of the way, were then with no small violence set vpon by those traitorous people, and suddenly slaine: and to the end that our Generall with the rest of his company should not onely be stayed from rescuing them, but also might fall (if it were possible) into their hands in like manner, they had layed closely behind the rockes an ambushment of (as we guessed) about 500. men, armed and well appointed for such a mischiefe. Who suddenly attempting their purpose (the rocks being very dangerous for the boate, and the sea-gate exceeding great) by shooting their arrowes hurt and wounded euery one of our men, before they could free themselues, or come to the vse of their weapons to do any good. The Generall himself was shot in the face, vnder his right eye, and close by his nose, the arrow piercing a maruellous way in vnder *basis cerebri*, with no small danger of his life; besides that, he was grieuously wounded in the head. The rest, being nine persons in the boate, were deadly wounded in diuers parts of their bodies, if God almost miraculously had not giuen cure to the same. For our chiefe surgeon being dead, and the other absent by the losse of our Vice-Admirall, and hauing none left vs but a boy, whose good will was more then any skill hee had, we were

haue killed some: this good newes of better prouision, and more easie to come by, drew vs away: and so the 5 day after our arriuall, viz., *December 4*, we departed hence, and the next day, *December 5*, by the willing conduct of our new Indian Pilote, we came to anchor in the desired harbor.

¶ This harbor the Spaniards call *Valperizo*, and the towne adioyning *Saint Iames* of *Chili*: it stands in 35 deg. 40 min., where, albeit, we neither met with our ships nor heard of them; yet there was no good thing which the place afforded, or which our necessities indeed for the present required, but we had the same in great abundance: amongst other things, we found in the towne diuerse storehouses of the wines of *Chilie*; and in the harbour, a ship called the *Captaine of Moriall*, or the *Grand Captaine of the South*, *Admirall to the Ilands of Salomon*, loaden for the most part with the same kinde of liquors; onely there was besides a certaine quantity of fine gold of *Baldiua* and a great crosse of gold beset with emeraulds, on which was nailed a god of the same mettall. Wee spent some time in refreshing our selues, and easing this ship of so heauy a burthen, and on the 8 day of the same moneth (hauing in the meane time sufficiently stored ourselues with necessaries, as wine, bread, bacon, etc., for a long season), we set saile, returning backe towards the line, carrying againe our Indian pilote with vs, whom our Generall bountifully rewarded, and enriched with many good things, which pleased him exceedingly, and caused him by the way to be landed in the place where he desired.

¶ Our necessities being thus to our content releued, our next care was the regaining (if possible) of the company of our ships, so long seuered from vs: neither would anything haue satisfied our Generall or vs so well, as the happy meeting, or good newes of them: this way therefore (all other thoughts for the present set apart) were all our studies and endeauours bent, how to fit it so as that no opportunity of meeting them might be passed ouer.

¶ To this end, considering that we could not conueniently runne in with our ship (in search of them) to euery place where was likelihood of being a harbour, and that our boate was too little, and vnable to carry men enough to encounter the malice or treachery of the Spaniards (if we should by any chance meete with any of them) who are vsed to show no mercy where they may ouermaster; and therefore, meaning not to hazard our selues to their cruell courtesie, we determined, as we coasted now towards the line, to search diligently for some conuenient place where we might, in peace and safety, stay the trimming of our ship, and the erecting of a pinnace, in which wee might with better security then in our boate,

and without endangering of our ship, by running into each creeke, leaue no place vntried, if happily we might so finde againe our friends and countrimen.

¶ For this cause, *December 19*, we entred a bay, not farre to the Southward of the towne of *Cyppo*, now inhabited by the Spaniards, in 29 deg. 30 min., where, hauing landed certaine of our men, to the number of 14, to search what conueniency the place was likely to afford for our abiding there; we were immediatly descried by the Spaniards of the towne of *Cyppo* aforesayd, who speedily made out 300 men at least, whereof 100 were Spaniards, euery one well mounted vpon his horse: the rest were Indians, running as dogs at their heeles, all naked, and in most miserable bondage.

¶ They could not come any way so closely, but God did open our eyes to see them, before their was any extremity of danger, whereby our men being warned, had reasonable time to shift themselues as they could: first from the maine to a rocke within the sea, and from thence into their boate, which being ready to receiue them, conueyed them with expedition out of the reach of the Spaniards fury without the hurt of any man.

¶ Onely one *Richard Miniuy*, being ouer bold and carelesse of his owne safety, would not be intreated by his friends, nor feared by the multitude of his enemies, to take the present benefit of his owne deliuey; but chose either to make 300 men, by outbrauing of them, to become afraide, or else himselfe to die in the place; the latter of which he did, whose dead body being drawne by the Indians from the rocke to the shoare, was there manfully by the Spaniards beheaded, the right hand cut off, the heart pluckt out; all which they carried away in our sight, and for the rest of his carcase they caused the Indians to shoote it full of arrowes, made but the same day, of greene wood, and so left it to be deuoured of the beastes and foules, but that we went ashoare againe and buried it; wherein as there appeareth a most extreame and barbarous cruelty, so doth it declare to the world in what miserable feare the Spaniards holdeth the gouernment of those parts; liuing in continuall dread of forreigne inuasion by strangers, or secret cutting of their throats by those whom they kept vnder them in so shamefull slauery, I meane the innocent and harmlesse Indians. And therefore they make sure to murder what strangers soeuer they can come by, and suffer the Indians by no meanes to haue any weapon longer then they be in present seruice: as appeared by their arrowes cut from the tree the same day, as also by the credible report of others who knew the matter to be true. Yea they suppose they shew the wretches great

fauour, when they do not for their pleasures whip them with cords, and day by day drop their naked bodies with burning bacon, which is one of the least cruelties amongst many which they vniuersally vse against that nation and people.

¶ This being not the place we looked for, nor the entertainment such as we desired, we speedily got hence againe, and, *December* 20, the next day, fell with a more conuenient harbour, in a bay somewhat to the Northward of the forenamed *Cyppo*, lying in 27 deg. 55 min. South the Line.

¶ In this place we spent some time in trimming of our ship, and building of our pinnace, as we desired; but still the grieffe for the absence of our friends remained with vs, for the finding of whom our Generall, hauing now fitted all things to his minde, intended (leauing his ship the meane while at anchor in the bay) with his pinnace and some chosen men, himselfe to returne backe to the Southwards againe, to see if happily he might either himselfe meete with them, or find them in some harbour or creeke, or heare of them by any others whom he might meete with. With this resolution he set on, but after one daies sayling, the winde being contrary to his purpose, he was forced, whether he would or no, to returne againe.

¶ Within this bay, during our abode there, we had such abundance of fish, not much vnlike our gurnard in England, as no place had euer afforded vs the like (*Cape Blanck* onely vpon the coast of Barbary excepted) since our first setting forth of *Plymouth*, untill this time, the plenty whereof in this place was such, that our gentlemen sporting themselues day by day with 4 or 5 hookes or lines, in 2 or 3 houres, would take sometimes 400, sometimes more at one time.

¶ All our businesses being thus dispatched, *January* 19, we set sayle from hence; and the next place that we fell withall, *January* 22, was an Iland *Mormorena*. At this Iland we found 4 Indians with their canowes, which tooke vpon them to bring our men to a place of fresh water on the fore-sayd cape; in hope whereof, our General made them great cheere (as his manner was towards all strangers), and set his course by their direction, but when we came vnto the place, and had trauelled vp a long way into the land, wee found fresh water indeed, but scarce so much as they had drunke wine in their passage thither.

¶ As we sayled along, continually searching for fresh water, we came to a place called *Tarapaca*, and landing there we lighted on a Spaniard who lay asleepe, and had lying by him 13 barres of siluer, waighing in all about 4000 Spanish ducatts: we would not (could wee haue chosen) haue

awaked him of his napp: but seeing we, against our wills, did him that iniury, we freed him of his charge, which otherwise perhaps would haue kept him waking, and so left him to take out (if it pleased him) the other part of his sleepe in more security.

¶ Our search for water still continuing, as we landed againe not farre from thence, we met a Spaniard with an Indian boy, driuing 8 lambes or Peruvian sheepe: each sheepe bare two leathren bagges, and in each bagge was 50 pound waight of refined siluer, in the whole 800 waight: we could not indure to see a gentleman Spaniard turnd carrier so, and therefore without intreaty we offered our seruice and became drouers, onely his directions were not so perfect that we could keepe the way which hee intended; for almost as soone as hee was parted from us, we with our new kinde of carriges, were come vnto our boates.

¶ Farther beyond this cape fore-mentioned lie certaine Indian towns, frō whence, as we passed by, came many of the people in certaine bawses made of seales skins; of which two being ioyned together of a iust length, and side by side, resemble in fashion or forme a boate: they haue in either of them a small gutt, or some such thing blowne full of winde, by reason whereof it floateth, and is rowed very swiftly, carrying in it no small burthen. In these, vpon sight of our ship, they brought store of fish of diuerse sortes, to traffique with vs for any trifles wee would giue them, as kniues, margarites, glasses, and such like, whereof men of 60 and 70 yeares old were as glad as if they had receiued some exceeding rich commodity, being a most simple and plaine dealing people. Their resort vnto vs was such as, considering the shortnesse of the time, was wonderfull to us to behold.

¶ Not farre from this, viz., in 22 deg. 30 min., lay *Mormorena*, another great towne of the same people, ouer whom 2 Spaniards held the gouernment; with these our Generall thought meet to deale, or at least to try their courtesy, whether they would, in way of traffique, giue vs such things as we needed or no, and therefore, *Ian.* the 26, we cast anchor here. We found them (more for feare than for loue) somewhat tractable, and receiued from them by exchange many good things, very necessarie for our vses.

¶ Amongst other things which we had of them, the sheepe of the countrey (viz., such as we mentioned before, bearing the leatherne bags) were most memorable. Their height and length was equall to a pretty cow, and their strength fully answerable, if not by much exceeding their size or stature. Vpon one of their backes did sit at one time three well grown

abominable licentiousnesse of the flesh, euen in these parts. For in this city of Lima, not two monethes before our comming thither, there were certaine persons, to the number of twelue, apprehended, examined, and condemned for the profession of the Gospell, and reproouing the doctrines of men, with the filthy manners vsed in that city: of which twelue, sixe were bound to one stake and burnt, the rest remained yet in prison, to drinke of the same cup within few dayes. Lastly, here we had intelligence of a certaine rich ship, which was loaden with gold and siluer for Panama, that had set forth of this hauen the second of *February*.

¶ The very next day therefore in the morning (viz. the 16 of the said moneth) wee set sayle, as long as the wind would serue our turne, and towed our ship as soone as the wind failed; continuing our course toward Panama, making stay no where, but hastening all wee might, to get sight if it were possible of that gallant ship the *Cacafuego*, the great glory of the South Sea, which was gone from Lima 14 dayes before vs.

¶ We fell with the port of *Paita* in 4 deg. 40 min., *Feb.* 20, with the port *Saint Hellen* and the riuer and port of *Guiaquill*, *Feb.* 24. We past the line the 28, and the first of *March* wee fell with the cape *Francisco*, where, about mid-day, we descried a sayle a head of vs, with whom, after once we had spoken with her, we lay still in the same place about sixe dayes to recouer our breath againe, which we had almost spent with hasty following, and to recall to mind what aduentures had passed vs since our late comming from Lima; but especially to do *Iohn de Anton* a kindnesse, in freeing him of the care of those things with which his ship was loaden.

¶ This ship we found to bee the same of which we had heard, not onely in the Calao of Lima, but also by diuers occasions afterward, which now we are at leasure to relate, viz., by a ship which we tooke betweene Lima and *Paita*: by another, which we took loaden with wine in the port of *Paita*: by a third, loaden with tackling and implements for ships (besides eightie pound waight in gold) from *Guiaquill*. And lastly, by *Gabriel Alvarez*, (with whom we talked somewhat neerer the line). We found her to be indeed the *Cacafuego*, though before we left her, she were new named by a boy of her owne the *Cacaplata*. We found in her some fruite, conserues, sugars, meale, and other victuals, and (that which was the especiallest cause of her heavy and slow sayling) a certaine quantitie of iewels and precious stones, 13 chests of ryals of plate, 80 pound waight in gold, 26 tunne of vncoyned siluer, two very faire gilt siluer drinking boules, and the like trifles, valued in all at about 360,000 pezoës. We gaue the master a little linnen and the like for these commodities, and at the end

of sixe dayes we bad farewell and parted. Hee hastening somewhat lighter then before to Panama, we plying off to sea, that we might with more leasure consider what course henceforward were fittest to be taken.

¶ And considering that now we were come to the Northward of the line (cape *Francisco* standing in the entrance of the bay of Panama, in 1 deg. of North latitude), and that there was no likelihood or hope that our ships should be before vs that way by any meanes: seeing that in running so many degrees from the Southernmost Ilands hitherto, we could not haue any signe or notice of their passage that way, notwithstanding that we had made so diligent search and carefull enquirie after them, in euery harbour or creeke almost as we had done; and considering also that the time of the yeare now drew on wherein we must attempt, or of necessitie wholly giue ouer that action, which chiefly our Generall had determined, namely, the discouery of what passage there was to be found about the Northerne parts of America, from the South Sea, into our owne Ocean (which being once discouered and made knowne to be nauigable, we should not onely do our countrie a good and notable seruice, but we also ourselues should haue a nearer cut and passage home; where otherwise, we were to make a very long and tedious uoyage of it, which would hardly agree with our good liking, we hauing been so long from home already, and so much of our strength seperated from vs), which could not at all be done if the opportunity of time were now neglected: we therefore all of vs willingly harkened and consented to our Generalls aduice, which was, first to seeke out some conuenient place wherein to trimme our ship, and store our selues with wood and water and other prouisions as we could get, and thenceforward to hasten on our intended iourney for the discouery of the said passage, through which we might with joy returne to our longed homes.

¶ From this cape, before we set onward, *March* the 7, shaping our course towards the Iland of *Caines*, with which we fell *March* 16, setting our selues for certaine dayes in a fresh riuer, betweene the maine and it, for the finishing of our needfull businesses, as it is aforesaid. While we abode in this place, we felt a very terrible earthquake, the force whereof was such that our ship and pinnace, riding very neere an English mile from the shoare, were shaken and did quiuer as if it had beene layed on drie land: we found here many good commodities which we wanted, as fish, fresh water, wood, etc., besides alargartoes, munckeyes, and the like; and in our iourney hither we met with one ship more (the last wee met with in all those coastes), loaden with linnen, China silke and China-dishes, amongst

an euen requitall, which now we might haue tooke. This Lima stands in 12 deg. 30 min. South latitude.

¶ Here, albeit no good newes of our ships could bee had, yet got we the newes of some things that seemed to comfort, if not to counteruaile our trauells thither, as, namely, that in the ship of one *Mighell Angell* there, there were 1500 barres of plate, besides some other things (as silkes, linnen, and in one a chest full of royals of plate), which might stand us in some stead in the other ships, aboard whom we made somewhat bold to bid our selues welcome. Here also we heard the report of some things that had befallen in and neere Europe since our departure thence; in particular of the death of some great personages, as the king of Portugall, and both the kings of Morocco and Fesse, dead all three in one day at one battell; the death of the king of France and the Pope of Rome, whose abominations, as they are in part cut off from some Christian kingdomes, where his shame is manifest, so do his vassals and accursed instruments labour by all meanes possible to repaire that losse, by spreading the same the further in these parts, where his diuellish illusions and damnable deceiuings are not knowne. And as his doctrine takes place any where, so do the manners that necessarily accompanie the same insinuate themselves together with the doctrine. For as its true that in all the parts of America, where the Spaniards haue any gouernment, the poisonous infection of Popery hath spread it selfe; so, on the other side it is as true, that there is no Citie, as Lima, Panama, Mexico, etc., no towne or village, yea no house almost in all these Prouinces, wherein (amongst the other like Spanish vertues) not onely whoredome, but the filthinesse of Sodome, not to bee named among Christians, is not common without reproofe: the Popes pardons being more rife in these parts then they be in any part of Europe for these filthinesses, whereout he sucketh no small aduantage. Notwithstanding the Indians, who are nothing neerer the true knowledge of God then they were afore, abhorre this most filthie and loathsome manner of liuing; shewing themselves in respect of the Spaniards, as the Scythians did in respect of the Grecians; who in their barbarous ignorance, yet in life and behauiour did so farre excell the wise and learned Greekes, as they were short of them in the gifts of learning and knowledge.

¶ But as the Pope and antichristian bishops labour by their wicked factors with tooth and naile to deface the glory of God, and to shut vp in darknesse the light of the Gospell; so God doth not suffer his name and religion to be altogether without witnesse, to the reprobuing both of his false and damnable doctrine, as also crying out against his vnmeasurable and

which we found also a faulcon of gold, handsomely wrought, with a great emerald set in the brest of it.

¶ From hence we parted the 24 day of the moneth forenamed, with full purpose to runne the neerest course, as the winde would suffer vs, without touch of land a long time; and therefore passed by port Papagaia; the port of the Vale, of the most riche and excellent balmes of Iericho; Quantapico, and diuerse others; as also certaine gulphes hereabouts, which without intermission send forth such continuall and violent windes, that the Spaniards, though their ships be good, dare not venture themselves too neere the danger of them.

¶ Notwithstanding hauing notice that we should be troubled with often calmes and contrary windes, if we continued neere the coast, and did not runne of to sea to fetch the winde, and that if we did so we could not then fall with land againe when we would; our Generall thought it needfull that we should runne in with some place or other before our departure from the coast, to see if happily wee could, by traffique, augment our prouision of victuals and other necessities; that being at sea we might not be driuen to any great want or necessitie, albeit wee had reasonable store of good things aboard vs already.

¶ The next harbor therefore which we chanced with on *April* 15, in 15 deg., 40 min., was *Guatulco*, so named of the Spaniards who inhabited it, with whom we had some entercourse, to the supply of many things which we desired, and chiefly bread, etc. And now hauing reasonably, as wee thought, prouided ourselves, we departed from the coast of America for the present; but not forgetting, before we gate a-shipboard, to take with vs a certaine pot (of about a bushell in bignesse) full of ryalls of plate, which we found in the towne, together with a chaine of gold, and some other iewells, which we intreated a gentleman Spaniard to leaue behinde him, as he was flying out of towne.

¶ From *Guatulco* we departed the day following, viz., *Aprill* 16, setting our course directly into the sea, whereon we sayled 500 leagues in longitude, to get a winde: and betweene that and *June* 3, 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42 deg. of North latitude, where in the night following we found such alteration of heate, into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did grievously complaine thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not onely the markes, but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of vs all; for besides that the pinching and biting aire was nothing altered,

the very roapes of our ship were stiffe, and the raine which fell was an vnnatural congealed and frozen substance, so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen Zone then any way so neere vnto the sun, or these hotter climates.

¶ Neither did this happen for the time onely, or by some sudden accident, but rather seemes indeed to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heate of the sun preuailes not; for it came to that extremity in sayling but 2 deg. farther to the Northward in our course, that though sea-men lack not good stomaches, yet it seemed a question to many amongst vs, whether their hands should feed their mouthes, or rather keepe themselves within their couerts from the pinching cold that did benumme them. Neither could we impute it to the tendernesse of our bodies, though we came lately from the extremite of heate, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present cold: insomuch as the dead and sencelesse creatures were as well affected with it as ourselves: our meate, as soone as it was remooued from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen vp, and our ropes and tackling in few dayes were growne to that stiffnesse, that what 3 men afore were able with them to performe, now 6 men, with their best strength and vttermost endeauour, were hardly able to accomplish: whereby a sudden and great discouragement seased vpon the mindes of our men, and they were possessed with a great mislike and doubting of any good to be done that way; yet would not our General be discouraged, but as wel by comfortable speeches, of the diuine prouidence, and of God's louing care ouer his children, out of the Scriptures, as also by other good and profitable perswasions, adding thereto his own cheerfull example, he so stirred them vp to put on a good courage, and to quite themselves like men, to indure some short extremity to haue the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtaine the greater glory, that euery man was thoroughly armed with willingnesse and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

¶ The land in that part of America, bearing farther out into the West then we before imagined, we were neerer on it then wee were aware; and yet the neerer still wee came vnto it, the more extremitie of cold did sease vpon vs. The 5 day of *Iune*, wee were forced by contrary windes to runne in with the shoare, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best roade we could for the present meete with, where wee were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flawes that beate vpon vs, which if they ceased and were still at any

time, immediately upon their intermission there followed most uile, thicke, and stinking fogges, against which the sea preuailed nothing, till the gusts of wind againe remoued them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

¶ In this place was no abiding for vs; and to go further North, the extremity of the cold (which had now vtterly discouraged our men) would not permit vs; and the winds directly bent against vs, hauing once gotten vs vnder sayle againe, commanded vs to the Southward whether we would or no.

¶ From the height of 48 deg., in which now we were, to 38, we found the land, by coasting alongst it, to bee but low and reasonable plaine; euery hill (whereof we saw many, but none verie high), though it were in *June*, and the sunne in his neere approach vnto them, being couered with snow.

¶ In 38 deg. 30 min. we fell with a conuenient and fit harborough, and *June* 17 came to anchor therein, where we continued till the 23 day of *July* following. During all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of summer, and so neere the sunne, yet were wee continually visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before; insomuch that if violent exercises of our bodies, and busie employment about our necessarie labours, had not sometimes compeld us to the contrary, we could very well haue been contented to haue kept about us still our winter clothes; yea (had our necessities suffered vs) to haue kept our beds; neither could we at any time, in whole fourteene dayes together, find the aire so cleare as to be able to take the height of sunne or starre.

¶ And here hauing so fit occasion (notwithstanding it may seeme to be besides the purpose of writing the history of this our voyage), we will a little more diligently inquire into the causes of the continuance of the extreame cold in these parts, as also into the probabilities or vnlikelihoods of a passage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly beene touched) the tendernesse of our bodies, comming so lately out of the heate, whereby the poores were opened, that made vs so sensible of the colds we here felt: in this respect, as in many others, we found our God a prouident Father and carefull Physitian for vs. We lacked no outward helpes nor inward comforts to restore and fortifie nature, had it beene decayed or weakened in vs; neither was there wanting to vs the great experience of our Generall, who had often himselfe proued the force of the burning Zone, whose aduice alwayes preuailed much to the preseruing of a moderate temper in our constitutions; so that euen after our departure

from the heate wee alwayes found our bodies, not as sponges, but strong and hardned, more able to beare out cold, though we came out of excesse of heate, then a number of chamber champions could haue beene, who lye on their feather beds till they go to sea, or rather, whose teeth in a temperate aire do beate in their heads at a cup of cold sack and sugar by the fire.

¶ And that it was not our tendernes, but the very extremitie of the cold itselfe, that caused this sensibleness in vs, may the rather appeare, in that the naturall inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for a long season familiar intercourse, as is to be related), who had neuer beene acquainted with such heate, to whom the countrey, ayre, and climate was proper, and in whom custome of cold was as it were a second nature; yet vsed to come shiuering to vs in their warme furies, crowding close together, body to body, to receiue heate one of another, and sheltring themselues vnder a lee bancke, if it were possible, and as often as they could labouring to shroude themselues vnder our garments also to keepe them warme. Besides, how vnhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth it selfe! shewing trees without leaues, and the ground without greennes in those moneths of *June* and *July*. The poore birds and foules not daring (as we had great experience to obserue it), not daring so much as once to arise from their nests after the first egge layed, till it, with all the rest, be hatched and brought to some strength of nature, able to helpe itselfe. Onely this recompence hath nature afforded them, that the heate of their owne bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with greater expedition, and in shorter time then is to be found in many places.

¶ As for the causes of this extremity, they seeme not to be so deeply hidden but that they may, at least in part, be guessed at. The chieftest of which we conceiue to be the large spreading of the Asian and American continent, which (somewhat Northward of these parts), if they be not fully ioyned, yet seeme they to come very neere one to the other. From whose high and snow-couered mountaines, the North and North-west winds (the constant visitants of those coasts) send abroad their frozen nimphes, to the infecting the whole aire with this insufferable sharpnesse: not permitting the Sunne, no, not in the pride of his heate, to dissolve that congealed matter and snow, which they haue breathed out so nigh the Sunne, and so many degrees distant from themselues. And that the North and North-west winds are here constant in *June* and *July*, as the North wind alone is in *August* and *September*, we not onely found it by our owne experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof, by the continued

observations of the Spaniards. Hence comes the generall squalidnesse and barrennesse of the countrie; hence comes it, that in the midst of their summer, the snow hardly departeth euen from their very doores, but is neuer taken away from their hills at all; hence come those thicke mists and most stinking fogges, which increase so much the more, by how much higher the pole is raised: wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course. For the Sunne struing to performe his naturall office, in eleuating the vapors out of these inferior bodies, draweth necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea; but the nipping cold (from the former causes) meeting and opposing the sunnes indeuour, forces him to giue ouer his worke imperfect; and instead of higher eleuation, to leaue in the lowest region, wandring vpon the face of the earth and waters as it were a second sea, through which its owne beames cannot possibly pierce, vnlesse sometimes when the sudden violence of the winds doth helpe to scatter and breake through it; which thing happeneth very seldome, and when it happeneth is of no continuance. Some of our mariners in this voyage had formerly beene at Wardhouse, in 72 deg. of North latitude, who yet affirmed that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of the summer, when they departed thence, as they did here in those hottest moneths of *June* and *July*.

¶ And also from these reasons we coniecture, that either there is no passage at all through these Northerne coasts (which is most likely), or if there be, that yet it is vnnauigable. Adde hereunto, that though we searched the coast diligently, euen vnto the 48 deg., yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the East, but rather running on continually North-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia; and euen in that height, when we had a franke wind to haue carried vs through, had there beene a passage, yet we had a smooth and calme sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not haue beene had there beene a frete; of which we rather infallibly concluded, then coniectured, that there was none. But to returne.

¶ The next day, after our comming to anchor in the aforesaid harbour, the people of the countrey shewed themselues, sending off a man with great expedition to vs in a canow. Who being yet but a little from the shoare, and a great way from our ship, spake to vs continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himselfe, he began more solemnely a long and tedious oration, after his manner: vsing in the deliuerie thereof many gestures and signes, mouing his hands, turning his head and body many wayes; and after his oration ended, with

great shew of reuerence and submission returned backe to shoare againe. He shortly came againe the second time in like manner, and so the third time, when he brought with him (as a present from the rest) a bunch of feathers, much like the feathers of a blacke crow, very neatly and artificially gathered vpon a string, and drawne together into a round bundle; being verie cleane and finely cut, and bearing in length an equall proportion one with another; a speciall cognizance (as wee afterwards obserued) which they that guard their kings person weare on their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herbe which they called *Tabáh*. Both which being tyed to a short rodde, he cast into our boate. Our Generall intended to haue recompensed him immediately with many good things he would haue bestowed on him; but entring into the boate to deliuer the same, he could not be drawne to receiue them by any meanes, saue one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he tooke vp (refusing vtterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were vpon a board put off vnto him) and so presently made his returne. After which time our boate could row no way, but wondring at vs as at gods, they would follow the same with admiration.

¶ The 3 day following, uiz., the 21, our ship hauing receiued a leake at sea, was brought to anchor neerer the shoare, that, her goods being landed, she might be repaired; but for that we were to preuent any danger that might chance against our safety, our Generall first of all landed his men, with all necessary prouision, to build tents and make a fort for the defence of our selues and goods: and that wee might vnder the shelter of it with more safety (what euer should befall) end our businesse; which when the people of the countrey perceiued vs doing, as men set on fire to war in defence of their countrie, in great hast and companies, with such weapons as they had, they came downe vnto vs, and yet with no hostile meaning or intent to hurt vs: standing, when they drew neere, as men rauished in their mindes, with the sight of such things as they neuer had seene or heard of before that time: their errand being rather with submission and feare to worship vs as Gods, then to haue any warre with vs as with mortall men. Which thing, as it did partly shew itselfe at that instant, so did it more and more manifest itself afterwards, during the whole time of our abode amongst them. At this time, being willed by signes to lay from them their bowes and arrowes, they did as they were directed, and so did all the rest, as they came more and more by companies vnto them, growing in a little while to a great number, both of men and women.

¶ To the intent, therefore, that this peace which they themselves so willingly sought might, without any cause of the breach thereof on our part given, be continued, and that wee might with more safety and expedition end our businesses in quiet, our Generall, with all his company, vsed all meanes possible gently to intreate them, bestowing vpon each of them liberally good and necessary things to couer their nakednesse; withall signifying vnto them we were no Gods, but men, and had neede of such things to couer our owne shame; teaching them to vse them to the same ends, for which cause also wee did eate and drinke in their presence, giuing them to vnderstand that without that wee could not liue, and therefore were but men as well as they.

¶ Notwithstanding nothing could perswade them, nor remoue that opinion which they had conceiued of vs, that wee should be Gods.

¶ In recompence of those things which they had receiued of vs, as shirts, linnen cloth, etc., they bestowed vpon our Generall, and diuerse of our company, diuerse things, as feathers, cawles of networke, the quiuers of their arrowes, made of fawne skins, and the very skins of beasts that their women wore vpon their bodies. Hauing thus had their fill of this times visiting and beholding of vs, they departed with ioy to their houses, which houses are digged round within the earth, and haue from the vppermost brimmes of the circle clefts of wood set vp, and ioyned close together at the top, like our spires on the steeple of a Church; which being couered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warme; the doore in the most part of them performes the office also of a chimney to let out the smoake: its made in bignesse and fashion like to an ordinary scuttle in a ship, and standing slopewise: their beds are the hard ground, onely with rushes strewed vpon it, and lying round about the house, haue their fire in the midst, which by reason that the house is but low vaulted, round, and close, giueth a maruelous reflexion to their bodies to heate the same.

¶ Their men for the most part goe naked; the women take a kinde of bulrushes, and kemming it after the manner of hemp, make themselves thereof a loose garment, which being knitte about their middles, hanges downe about their hippes, and so affordes to them a couering of that which nature teaches should be hidden; about their shoulders they weare also the skin of a deere, with the haire vpon it. They are very obedient to their husbands, and exceedingly ready in all seruices; yet of themselves offering to do nothing, without the consents or being called of the men.

¶ As soone as they were returned to their houses, they began amongst

themselves a kind of most lamentable weeping and crying out; which they continued also a great while together, in such sort that in the place where they left vs (being neere about 3 quarters of an English mile distant from them) we very plainely, with wonder and admiration, did heare the same, the women especially extending their voices in a most miserable and dolefull manner of shreeking.

¶ Notwithstanding this humble manner of presenting themselves, and awfull demeanour vsed towards vs, we thought it no wisdom too farre to trust them (our experience of former Infidels dealing with vs before, made vs carefull to prouide against an alteration of their affections or breach of peace if it should happen), and therefore with all expedition we set vp our tents, and intrenched ourselves with walls of stone; that so being fortified within ourselves, we might be able to keepe off the enemy (if they should so proue) from comming amongst us without our good wills: this being quickly finished, we went the more cheerefully and securely afterward about our other businesse.

¶ Against the end of two daies (during which time they had not againe bene with vs), there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women, and children (inuitd by the report of them which first saw vs, who, as it seems, had in that time of purpose dispersed themselves into the country, to make knowne the newes), who came now the second time vnto vs, bringing with them, as before had bene done, feathers and bagges of *Tobàh* for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, vpon this perswasion that we were gods.

¶ When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottom whereof wee had built our fort, they made a stand; where one (appointed as their chiefe speaker) wearied both vs his hearers, and himselfe too, with a long and tedious oration; deliuered with strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to the vttermost strength of nature, and his wordes falling so thicke one in the necke of another, that he could hardly fetch his breath againe: as soone as he had concluded, all the rest, with a reuerend bowing of their bodies (in a dreaming manner, and long producing of the same) cryed *Oh*: thereby giuing their consents that all was very true which he had spoken, and that they had vttered their minde by his mouth vnto vs; which done, the men laying downe their bowes vpon the hill, and leauing their women and children behinde them, came downe with their presents; in such sort as if they had appeared before a God indeed, thinking themselves happy that they might haue accesse vnto our Generall, but much more happy when they sawe that he would receiue at their hands

those things which they so willingly had presented: and no doubt they thought themselves nearest vnto God when they sate or stood next to him. In the meane time the women, as if they had beene desperate, vsed vnnatural violence against themselves, crying and shrieking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nailes from their cheekes in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming downe along their brests, besides despoiling the vpper parts of their bodies of those single couerings they formerly had, and holding their hands aboue their heads that they might not rescue their brests from harme, they would with furie cast themselves vpon the ground, neuer respecting whether it were cleane or soft, but dashed themselves in this manner on hard stones, knobby hillocks, stocks of wood, and pricking bushes, or whateuer else lay in their way, itterating the same course againe and againe; yea women great with child, some nine or ten times each, and others holding out till 15 or 16 times (till their strengths failed them) exercised this cruelty against themselves: a thing more grievous for vs to see or suffer, could we haue holpe it, then trouble to them (as it seemed) to do it. This bloudie sacrifice (against our wils) beeing thus performed, our Generall, with his companie, in the presence of those strangers, fell to prayers; and by signes in lifting vp our eyes and hands to heauen, signified vnto them that that God whom we did serue, and whom they ought to worship, was aboue: beseeching God, if it were his good pleasure, to open by some meanes their blinded eyes, that they might in due time be called to the knowledge of him, the true and euer-living God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, the saluation of the Gentiles. In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalmes, and reading of certaine Chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentiuely: and obseruing the end at euery pause, with one voice still cried, Oh, greatly reioycing in our exercises. Yea they tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalmes, that whensoever they resorted to vs, their first request was commonly this, *Gnadh*, by which they intreated that we would sing.

¶ Our Generall hauing now bestowed vpon them diuers things, at their departure they restored them all againe, none carrying with him anything of whatsoever hee had receiued, thinking themselves sufficiently enriched and happie that they had found so free accesse to see vs.

¶ Against the end of three daies more (the newes hauing the while spread itselfe farther, and as it seemed a great way vp into the countrie), were assembled the greatest number of people which wee could reasonably imagine to dwell within any conuenient distance round about. Amongst the rest the king himselfe, a man of goodly stature and comely personage,

attended with his guard of about 100 tall and warlike men, this day, viz., *June* 26, came downe to see vs.

¶ Before his comming, were sent two ambassadors or messengers to our Generall, to signifie that their *Hióh*, that is, their king, was comming and at hand. They in the deliuey of their message, the one spake with a soft and low voice, prompting his fellow; the other pronounced the same, word by word, after him with a voice more audible, continuing their proclamation (for such it was) about halfe an houre. Which being ended, they by signes made request to our Generall, to send something by their hands to their *Hióh* or king, as a token that his comming might be in peace. Our Generall willingly satisfied their desire; and they, glad men, made speedy returne to their *Hióh*. Neither was it long before their king (making as princely a shew as possibly he could) with all his traine came forward.

¶ In their comming forwards they cryed continually after a singing manner, with a lustie courage. And as they drew neerer and neerer towards vs, so did they more and more striue to behaue themselves with a certaine comelinesse and grauity in all their actions.

¶ In the forefront came a man of a large body and goodly aspect, bearing the Septer or royall mace, made of a certaine kind of blacke wood, (and in length about a yard and a halfe) before the king. Whereupon hanged two crownes, a bigger and a lesse, with three chaines of a maruellous length, and often doubled, besides a bagge of the herbe *Tabáh*. The crownes were made of knitworke, wrought vpon most curiously with feathers of diuers colours, very artificially placed, and of a formall fashion. The chaines seemed of a bony substance, euery linke or part thereof being very little, thinne, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the middest. The number of linkes going to make one chaine, is in a manner infinite; but of such estimation it is amongst them, that few be the persons that are admitted to weare the same; and euen they to whom its lawfull to use them, yet are stinted what number they shall vse, as some ten, some twelue, some twentie, and as they exceed in number of chaines, so thereby are they knowne to be the more honorable personages.

¶ Next vnto him that bare this Scepter, was the king himselfe with his guard about him; his attire vpon his head was a cawle of knitworke, wrought vpon somewhat like the crownes, but differing much both in fashion and perfectnesse of worke; vpon his shoulders he had on a coate of the skins of conies, reaching to his wast; his guard also had each coats of the same shape, but of other skins; some hauing cawles likewise stucke

with feathers, or couered ouer with a certaine downe, which groweth vp in the countrey vpon an herbe much like our lectuce, which exceeds any other downe in the world for finenesse, and beeing layed vpon their cawles, by no winds can be remoued. Of such estimation is this herbe amongst them, that the downe thereof is not lawfull to be worne, but of such persons as are about the king (to whom also it is permitted to weare a plume of feathers on their heads, in signe of honour), and the seeds are not vsed but onely in sacrifice to their gods. After these, in their order, did follow the naked sort of common people, whose haire being long, was gathered into a bunch behind, in which stucke plumes of feathers; but in the forepart onely single feathers like hornes, euery one pleasing himselfe in his owne deuice.

¶ This one thing was obserued to bee generall amongst them all, that euery one had his face painted, some with white, some blacke, and some with other colours, euery man also bringing in his hand one thing or other for a gift or present. Their traine or last part of their company consisted of women and children, each woman bearing against her breast a round basket or two, hauing within them diuers things, as bagges of *Tobáh*, a roote which they call *Petáh*, whereof they make a kind of meale, and either bake it into bread, or eate it raw; broyled fishes, like a pilchard; the seede and downe aforenamed, with such like.

¶ Their baskets were made in fashion like a deep boale, and though the matter were rushes, or such other kind of stuffe, yet was it so cunningly handled, that the most part of them would hold water: about the brimmes they were hanged with peeces of the shels of pearles, and in some places with two or three linkes at a place, of the chaines forenamed: thereby signifying that they were vessels wholly dedicated to the onely vse of the gods they worshipped; and besides this, they were wrought vpon with the matted downe of red feathers, distinguished into diuers workes and formes.

¶ In the meane time, our Generall hauing assembled his men together (as forecasting the danger and worst that might fall out) prepared himselfe to stand vpon sure ground, that wee might at all times be ready in our owne defence, if any thing should chance otherwise than was looked for or expected.

¶ Wherefore euery man being in a warlike readinesse, he marched within his fenced place, making against their approach a most warlike shew (as he did also at all other times of their resort), whereby if they had beene desperate enemies, they could not haue chosen but haue conceiued terrour

and fear, with discouragement to attempt anything against vs, in beholding of the same.

¶ When they were come somewhat neere vnto vs, trooping together, they gaue vs a common or generall salutation, obseruing in the meane time a generall silence. Whereupon, he who bare the Scepter before the king, being prompted by another whom the king assigned to that office, pronounced with an audible and manly voice what the other spake to him in secret, continuing, whether it were his oration or proclamation, at the least halfe an houre. At the close whereof there was a common *Amen*, in signe of approbation, giuen by euery person: and the king himselfe, with the whole number of men and women (the little children onely remaining behind) came further downe the hill, and as they came set themselues againe in their former order.

¶ And being now come to the foot of the hill and neere our fort, the Scepter bearer, with a composed countenance and stately carriage began a song, and answerable thereunto obserued a kind of measures in a dance: whom the king with his guard and euery other sort of person following, did in like manner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women, who danced but kept silence. As they danced they still came on: and our Generall perceiuing their plaine and simple meaning, gaue order that they might freely enter without interruption within our bulwarke. Where, after they had entred, they yet continued their song and dance a reasonable time, their women also following them with their wassaile boales in their hands, their bodies bruised, their faces torne, their dugges, breasts, and other parts bespotted with bloud, trickling downe from the wounds, which with their nailes they had made before their comming.

¶ After that they had satisfied, or rather tired themselues in this manner, they made signes to our Generall to haue him sit down; unto whom both the king and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather, indeed, if wee had vnderstood them, supplications, that hee would take the Province and kingdome into his hand, and become their king and patron: making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselues and their posterities: which that they might make vs indeed beleue that it was their true meaning and intent, the king himselfe, with all the rest, with one consent and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, set the crowne vpon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offering vnto him many other things, honoured him by the name of *Hyóh*. Adding thereunto (as it might seeme) a song and dance of triumph; because they were not onely

visited of the gods (for so they still iudged vs to be), but the great and chiefe God was now become their God, their king and patron, and themselves were become the onely happie and blessed people in the world.

¶ These things being so freely offered, our Generall thought not meet to reiect or refuse the same, both for that he would not giue them any cause of mistrust or disliking of him (that being the onely place, wherein at this present, we were of necessitie inforced to seeke reliefe of many things), and chiefly for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to passe, or what honour and profit it might bring to our countrie in time to come.

¶ Wherefore, in the name and to the vse of her most excellent maiesty, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignity of the sayd countrie into his hand; wishing nothing more than that it had layen so fitly for her maiesty to enioy, as it was now her proper owne, and that the riches and treasures thereof (wherewith in the vpland countries it abounds) might with as great conueniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdome here at home, as it is in plenty to be attained there; and especially that so tractable and louing a people as they shewed themselves to be, might haue meanes to haue manifested their most willing obedience the more vnto her, and by her meanes, as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*, might by the preaching of the Gospell, be brought to the right knowledge and obedience of the true and euerliuing God.

¶ The ceremonies of this resigning and receiuing of the kingdome being thus performed, the common sort, both of men and women, leauing the king and his guard about him, with our Generall, dispersed themselves among our people, taking a diligent view or suruey of euery man; and finding such as pleased their fancies (which commonly were the youngest of vs), they presently enclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them, crying out with lamentable shreekes and moanes, weeping and scratching and tearing their very flesh off their faces with their nailes; neither were it the women alone which did this, but euen old men, roaring and crying out, were as violent as the women were.

¶ We groaned in spirit to see the power of Sathan so farre preuaile in seducing these so harmelesse soules, and laboured by all meanes, both by shewing our great dislike, and when that serued not, by violent withholding of their hands from that madnesse, directing them (by our eyes and hands lift vp towards heauen) to the liuing God whom they ought to serue; but so mad were they vpon their Idolatry, that forcible withholding them would not preuaile (for as soone as they could get liberty to their

hands againe, they would be as violent as they were before) till such time, as they whom they worshipped were conueyed from them into the tents, whom yet as men besides themselves, they would with fury and outrage seeke to haue againe.

¶ After that time had a little qualified their madnes, they then began to shew and make knowne vnto vs their griefes and diseases which they carried about them; some of them hauing old aches, some shruncke sinewes, some old soares and canchred vlcers, some wounds more lately receiued, and the like; in most lamentable manner crauing helpe and cure thereof from vs; making signes, that if we did but blowe vpon their griefes, or but touched the diseased places, they would be whole.

¶ Their griefes we could not but take pittie on them, and to our power desire to helpe them: but that (if it pleased God to open their eyes) they might vnderstand we were but men and no gods, we vsed ordinary meanes, as lotions, emplaisters, and vnguents, most fitly (as farre as our skills could guesse) agreeing to the natures of their griefes, beseeching God, if it made for his glory, to giue cure to their diseases by these meanes. The like we did from time to time as they resorted to vs.

¶ Few were the dayes, wherein they were absent from vs, during the whole time of our abode in that place; and ordinarily euery third day they brought their sacrifices, till such time as they certainly vnderstood our meaning, that we tooke no pleasure, but were displeased with them; whereupon their zeale abated, and their sacrificing, for a season, to our good liking ceased; notwithstanding they continued still to make their resort vnto vs in great abundance, and in such sort, that they oft-times forgate to prouide meate for their owne sustenance; so that our Generall (of whom they made account as of a father) was faine to performe the office of a father to them, relieuing them with such victualls as we had prouided for our selues, as Muscles, Seales, and such like, wherein they tooke exceeding much content; and seeing that their sacrifices were displeasing to vs, yet (hating ingratitude) they sought to recompence vs with such things as they had, which they willingly inforced vpon vs, though it were neuer so necessarie or needfull for themselves to keepe.

¶ They are a people of a tractable, free, and louing nature, without guile or treachery; their bowes and arrowes (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they vse very skillfully, but yet not to do any great harme with them, being by reason of their weakenesse more fit for children then for men, sending the arrowes neither farre off nor with any great force: and yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that that which 2 or 3

such prouision as might competently serue our turne for a while. We departed againe the day next following, viz., *July 25*. And our Generall now considering that the extremity of the cold not only continued, but increased, the Sunne being gone farther from vs, and that the wind blowing still (as it did at first) from the Northwest, cut off all hope of finding a passage through these Northerne parts, thought it necessarie to loose no time; and therefore with generall consent of all, bent his course directly to runne with the Ilands of the Moluccas. And so hauing nothing in our view but aire and sea, without sight of any land for the space of full 68 dayes together, wee continued our course through the maine Ocean, till *September 30* following, on which day we fell in kenne of certaine Ilands, lying about eight degrees to the Northward of the line.

¶ From these Ilands, presently vpon the discouery of vs, came a great number of canowes, hauing in each of them in some foure, in some sixe, in some fourteene or fiteene men, bringing with them Coquos, fish, potatoes, and certaine fruites to small purpose. Their canowes were made after the fashion that the canowes of all the rest of the Ilands of Moluccas and cunning, being made so smooth, both within and without, that they bore a glosse, as if it were a harnesse most finely burnished. A prow and sterne they had of one fashion, yeelding inward in manner of a semi-circle, of a great height, and hanged full of certaine white and glistening timber, about a yard and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the capacite of their boate. At the ende whereof was fastned crossewise a great cane, the vse whereof was to keepe their canowes from ouerthrowing, and that they might be equally borne vp on each side.

¶ The people themselues haue the neather parts of their eares cut round or circlewise, hanging downe very low vpon their cheekes, wherein they hang things of a reasonable weight: the nailes on the fingers of some of them, were at least an inch long, and their teeth as blacke as pitch, the colour whereof they vse to renew by often eating of an herbe, with a kind of powder, which in a cane they carrie about them to the same purpose. The first sort and company of those canowes beeing come to our ship (which then, by reason of a scant wind, made little way), very subtilly and against their natures, began in peace to traffique with vs, giuing us one thing for another very orderly, intending (as we perceiued) hereby to worke a greater mischiefe to vs: intreating vs by signes most earnestly to draw nearer towards the shore, that they might (if possible) make the

easier prey both of the ship and vs. But these passing away, and others continually resorting, wee were quickly able to guess at them what they were: for if they receiued anything once into their hands, they would neither giue recompence nor restitution of it, but thought whateuer they could finger to bee their owne, expecting alwayes with browes of brasse to receiue more, but would part with nothing. Yea, being reiected for their bad dealing, as those with whom we would haue no more to do, vsing vs so euilly, they could not be satisfied till they had giuen that attempt to reuenge themselues, because we would not giue them whatsoever they would haue for nothing: and hauing stones good store in their canowes, let flie a maine of them against vs. It was farre from our Generals meaning to requite their malice by like iniurie. Yet that they might knowe that he had power to do them harme (if he had listed) he caused a great peece to be shot off, not to hurt them, but to affright them. Which wrought the desired effect amongst them, for at the noise thereof they euery one leaped out of his canow into the water, and diuing vnder the keele of their boates, staid them from going any way till our ship was gone a good way from them. Then they all lightly recouered into their canowes, and got them with speed toward the shoare.

¶ Notwithstanding, other new companies (but all of the same mind) continually made resort vnto vs. And seeing that there was no good to be got by violence, they put on a shew of seeming honestie; and offering in shew to deale with vs by way of exchange, vnder that pretence they cunningly fell a filching of what they could, and one of them puld a dagger and kniues from one of our mens girdles, and being required to restore it againe, he rather used what meanes he could to catch at more. Neither could we at all be to ridde of this vngracious company, till we made some of them feel some smart as well as terror: and so we left that place, by all passengers to bee knowne hereafter by the name of the *Island of Theeues*.

¶ Till the third of *October* wee could not get cleare of these consorts, but from thence we continued our course within sight of land till the 16 of the same moneth, when we fell with foure Ilands standing in 7 deg. 5 min. to the Northward of the line. We coasted them till the 21 day, and then anchored and watered vpon the biggest of them, called Mindanao. The 22 of *October*, as we past betweene two Ilands, about sixe or eight leagues South of Mindanao, there came from them two canows to haue talked with vs, and we would willingly haue talked with them, but there arose so much wind that put vs from them to the Southwards. *October 25* we passed by the Iland named *Talao*, in 3 deg. 40 min. We saw to the North-

ward of it three or foure other Ilands, *Teda, Selan, Saran* (three Ilands so named to vs by an Indian), the middle whereof stands in 3 deg. We past the last saue one of these, and the first day of the following moneth in like manner we past the *Ile Suaro*, in 1 deg. 30 min., and the third of November wee came in sight of the Ilands of the *Moluccaes*, as we desired.

¶ These are foure high piked Ilands; their names, *Tirendate, Tidore, Matchan, Batchan*, all of them very fruitfull and yeelding abundance of cloues, whereof wee furnished our selues of as much as we desired at a very cheape rate. At the East of them lyes a very great Iland called *Gillola*.

¶ We directed our course to haue gone to *Tidore*, but in coasting along a little Iland belonging to the king of *Terenate*, November 4, his deputy or Viceroy with all expedition came off to our ship in a canow, and without any feare or doubting of our good meaning came presently aboard. Who after some conference with our Generall, intreated him by any meanes to runne with *Terenate*, not with *Tidore*, assuring him that his king would be wondrous glad of his comming, and be ready to do for him what he could, and what our Generall in reason should require. For which purpose he himselfe would that night bee with his king to carry him the newes; with whom if he once dealt, he should find, that as he was a king, so his word should stand: whereas if he dealt with the Portingals (who had the command of *Tidore*) he should find in them nothing but deceit and treachery. And besides that if he went to *Tidore* before he came to *Terenate*, then would his king haue nothing to doe with vs, for he held the Portingall as an enemy. On these perswasions our Generall resolved to runne with *Terenate*, where the next day, very early in the morning, we came to anchor: and presently our General sent a messenger to the king with a veluet cloake, for a present and token that his comming should be in peace; and that he required no other thing at his hands, but that (his victuals being spent in so long a voiage) he might haue supply from him by way of traffique and exchange of marchandise (whereof he had store of diuers sorts) of such things as he wanted. Which he thought he might be the bolder to require at his hands, both for that the thing was lawfull, and that he offered him no preiudice or wrong therein, as also because he was intreated to repaire to that place by his Viceroy at Mutir, who assured him of necessarie prouision in such manner as now he required the same.

¶ Before this the Viceroy, according to his promise, had beene with the king, signifying vnto him what a mighty Prince and kingdome we belonged vnto, what good things the king might receiue from vs, not onely

now, but for hereafter by way of traffique: yea what honour and benefit it might be to him, to be in league and friendship with so noble and famous a Prince as we serued: and farther, what a discouragement it would be to the Portugals his enemies to heare and see it. In hearing whereof the king was so presently moued to the well liking of the matter, that before our messenger could come halfe the way, he had sent the Viceroy, with our messenger could come halfe the way, he had sent the Viceroy, with speciall diuers others of his Nobles and Councillors to our Generall, with speciall message that he should not onely haue what things he needed, or would require with peace and friendship, but that he would willingly entertaine amitie with so famous and renowned a Princes as was ours; and that if it seemed good in her eyes to accept of it, he would sequester the commodities and traffique of his whole Iland from others, especially from his enemies the Portugals (from whom he had nothing but by the sword), and reserue it to the intercourse of our Nation, if we would embrace it. In token whereof he had now sent to our Generall his signet, and would within short time after come in his owne person, with his brethren and Nobles, with boates or canowes into our ship, and be a meanes of bringing her into a safer harbour.

¶ While they were deliuering their message to vs, our messenger was come vnto the court, who being met by the way by certaine noble personages, was with great solemnitie conueied into the king's presence, at whose hands he was most friendly and graciously entertained; and hauing deliuered his errand, together with his present vnto the king, the king seemed to him to iudge himselfe blame-worthy, that he had not sooner hasted in person to present himselfe to our Generall, who came so farre and from so great a Prince; and presently, with all expedition, he made ready himselfe with the chieftest of all his States and Councillors, to make repaire vnto vs.

¶ The manner of his comming, as it was princely, so truly it seemed to vs very strange and maruellous: seruing at the present not so much to set out his owne royall and kingly state (which was great), as to do honour to her highnesse to whom we belonged; wherein how willingly he employed himselfe, the sequell will make manifest.

¶ First, therefore, before his comming, did he send off 3 great and large Canowes, in each whereof were certaine of the greatest personages that were about him, attired all of them in white Lawne, or cloth of Calecut, hauing ouer their heads, from one end of the Canow to the other, a couering of thinne and fine mats, borne vp by a frame made of reedes, vnder which euery man sate in order according to his dignitie; the hoary heads

of our men could hardly beare, one of them would take vpon his backe, and without grudging carrie it easily away, vp hill and downe hill an English mile together: they are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuance, the vse whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldome goe, but for the most part runne. One thing we obserued in them with admiration, that if at any time they chanced to see a fish so neere the shoare that they might reach the place without swimming, they would neuer, or very seldome, misse to take it.

¶ After that our necessary businesses were well dispatched, our Generall, with his gentlemen and many of his company, made a iourney vp into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be the better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country. Their houses were all such as we haue formerly described, and being many of them in one place, made seuerall villages here and there. The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare, a goodly country, and fruitfull soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the vse of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deere which there we sawe by thousands, as we supposed, in a heard; besides a multitude of a strange kinde of Conies, by farre exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small; his tayle, like the tayle of a Rat, exceeding long; and his feet like the pawes of a Want or moale; vnder his chinne, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when he hath filled his belly abroad; that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himselfe when he lists not to trauaile from his burrough; the people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinner, for their kings holidiaies coate was made of them.

¶ This country our Generall named *Albion*, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white bancks and cliffes, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might haue some affinity, euen in name also, with our own country, which was sometime so called.

¶ Before we went from thence, our Generall caused to be set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her maiesties and successors right and title to that kingdome; namely, a plate of brasse, fast nailed to a great and firme post; whereon is engrauen her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arriuall there, and of the free giuing vp of the prouince and kingdome, both by the king and people, into her maiesties hands: together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a piece of sixpence currant English monie, shewing itselfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate; vnderneath was likewise engrauen the name of our Generall, etc.

¶ The Spaniards neuer had any dealing, or so much as set a foote in this country, the vtmost of their discoueries reaching onely to many degrees Southward of this place.

¶ And now, as the time of our departure was perceiued by them to draw nigh, so did the sorrowes and miseries of this people seeme to themselues to increase vpon them, and the more certaine they were of our going away, the more doubtfull they shewed themselues what they might doe; so that we might easily iudge that that ioy (being exceeding great) wherewith they receiued vs at our first arriuall, was cleane drowned in their excessiue sorrow for our departing. For they did not onely loose on a sudden all mirth, ioy, glad countenance, pleasant speeches, agility of body, familiar reioycing one with another, and all pleasure what euer flesh and blood might bee delighted in, but with sighes and sorrowings, with heauy hearts and griued minds, they powred out wofull complaints and moanes, with and bitter teares and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselues. And as men refusing all comfort, they onely accounted themselues as cast-awayes, and those whom the gods were about to forsake: so that nothing we could say or do, was able to ease them of their so heauy a burthen, or to deliuer them from so desperate a strait, as our leauing of them did seeme to them that it would cast them into.

¶ Howbeit, seeing they could not still enioy our presence, they (supposing vs to be gods indeed) thought it their duties to intreate vs that, being absent, we would yet be mindfull of them, and making signes of their desires that in time to come wee would see them againe, they stole vpon vs a sacrifice, and set it on fire erre we were aware, burning therein a chaine and a bunch of feathers. We laboured by all meanes possible to withhold or withdraw them, but could not preuaile, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of Psalmes, whereby they were allured immediatly to forget their folly, and leaue their sacrifice vnconsumed, suffering the fire to go out; and imitating vs in all our actions, they fell a lifting of their eyes and hands to heauen, as they saw vs do.

¶ The 23 of *July* they tooke a sorrowfull farewell of vs, but being loath to leaue vs, they presently ranne to the top of the hils to keepe vs in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices at our departure.

¶ Not farre without this harborough did lye certaine Ilands (we called them the Ilands of Saint *James*), hauing on them plentifull and great store of Seales and birds, with one of which wee fell *July* 24, whereon we found

of many of them, set forth the greater reuerence due to their persons, and manifestly shewed that the king vsed the aduice of a graue and prudent Counsell in his affaires. Besides these were diuerse others, young and comely men, a great number attired in white, as were the other, but with manifest differences: hauing their places also vnder the same couering, but in inferior order, as their calling required.

¶ The rest of the men were souldiers, who stood in comely order round about on both sides; on the outside of whom, againe did sit the rowers in certaine galleries, which being 3 on each side all alongst the Canow, did lie off from the side thereof, some 3 or 4 yards, one being orderly builded lower than the other: in euery of which galleries was an equall number of banckes, whereon did sit the rowers, about the number of foure scoure in one Canow. In the forepart of each Canow, sate two men, the one holding a Tabret, the other a piece of brasse, whereon they both at once stroke; and obseruing a due time and reasonable space betweene each stroake, by the sound thereof directed the rowers to keepe their stroake with their oares: as, on the contrary, the rowers ending their stroake with a song, gaue warning to the others to strike againe; and so continued they their way with maruelous swiftnesse. Neither were their Canowes naked or vnfurnished of warlike munition, they had each of thē at least one small cast piece, of about a yard in length, mounted vpon a stock, which was set vpright; besides euery man except the rowers, had his sword, dagger, and target, and some of them some other weapons, as lances, calliurs, bowes, arrowes, and many darts.

¶ These Canowes comming neere our ship in order, rowed round about vs one after another; and the men as they passe by vs, did vs a kinde of homage with great solemnity, the greatest personages beginning first, with reuerend countenance and behaiour, to bow their bodies euen to the ground; which done, they put our owne messenger aboard vs againe, and signified to vs that their king (who himselfe was comming) had sent them before him to conduct our ship into a better roade, desiring a halser to be giuen them forth, that they might employ their seruice as their king commanded, in towing our ship therewith to the place assigned.

¶ The king himselfe was not farre behinde, but he also with 6 graue and ancient fathers in his Canow approaching, did at once, together with them, yeeld vs a reuerend kinde of obeysance, in farre more humble manner then was to be expected; he was of a tall stature, very corpulent and well set together, of a very princely and gracious countenance: his respect amongst his owne was such, that neither his Viceroy of Mutir aforenamed,

nor any other of his counsellors, durst speake vnto him but vpon their knees, not rising againe till they were licenced.

¶ Whose comming, as it was to our Generall no small cause of good liking, so was he receiued in the best manner we could, answerable vnto his state; our ordinance thundred, which wee mixed with great store of small shot, among which sounding our trumpets and other instruments of musick, both of still and loud noise; wherewith he was so much delighted, that requesting our musick to come unto the boate, hee ioyned his Canow to the same, and was towed at least a whole houre together, with the boate at the sterne of our ship. Besides this, our Generall sent him such presents, as he thought might both requite his courtesy already receiued, and worke a farther confirmation of that good liking and friendship already begunne.

¶ The king being thus in musicall paradise, and enioying that wherewith he was so highly pleased, his brother, named *Moro*, with no lesse brauery then any of the rest, accompanied also with a great number of gallant followers, made the like repaire, and gaue vs like respect; and his homage done he fell asterne of vs, till we came to anchor: neither did our Generall leaue his curtesie vnrewarded, but bountifully pleased him also before we parted.

¶ The king, as soone as we were come to anchor, craued pardon to be gone, and so tooke leaue, promising vs that the next day he would come aboard, and in the meane time would prepare and send such victuals as were requisite and necessary for our prouision.

¶ Accordingly the same night, and the morrow following, we receiued what was there to be had in the way of traffique, to wit, rice in pretty quantity, hennes, sugar canes, imperfect and liquid sugar, a fruit which they call *Figo* (*Magellane* calls it a figge of a span long, but is no other then that which the Spaniards and Portingalls haue named *Plantanes*), *Cocoas*, and a kind of meale which they call *Sago*, made of the toppes of certaine trees, tasting in the mouth like soure curds, but meltes away like sugar; whereof they make a kinde of cake, which will keepe good at least 10 yeares; of this last we made the greatest quantity of our prouision: for a few cloues wee did also traffique, whereof, for a small matter, wee might haue had greater store then we could well tell where to bestow: but our Generalls care was, that the ship should not be too much pestered or annoyed therewith.

¶ At the time appointed, our Generall (hauing set all things in order to receiue him) looked for the kings returne, who failing both in time and promise, sent his brother to make his excuse, and to intreat our Generall

to come on shoare, his brother being the while to remaine aboard, as a pawne for his safe restoring: our Generall could willingly haue consented, if the king himselfe had not first broke his word: the consideration whereof bred an vtter disliking in the whole company, who by no meanes would giue consent he should hazard himselfe, especially for that the kings brother had vttered certaine words, in secret conference with our Generall aboard his cabbin, which bred no small suspicion of ill intent. Our Generall being thus resolved not to goe ashoare at that time, reserued the Viceroy for a pledge, and so sent certaine of his gentlemen to the Court, both to accompany the kings brother, and also with speciall message to the king himselfe.

¶ They being come somewhat neere vnto the castle, were receiued by another brother of the kings, and certaine others of the greatest states, and conducted with great honour towards the castle, where being brought into a large and faire house, they saw gathered together a great multitude of people, by supposition at least 1000, the chiefe whereof were placed round about the house, according as it seemed to their degrees and calling; the rest remained without.

¶ The house was in forme foure square, couered all ouer with cloth of diuerse colours, not much vnlike our vsuall pentadoes borne vpon a frame of reedes, the sides being open from the groundsell to the couering, and furnished with seates round about: it seemes it was there councill-house, and not commonly employed to any other vse.

¶ At the side of this house, next vnto the castle, was seated the chaire of state, hauing directly ouer it, and extending very largely euery way, a very faire and rich canopy, as the ground, also, for some 10 or 12 pases compasse, was couered with cloth of Arras.

¶ Whilest our gentlemen attended in this place the comming of the king, which was about the space of halfe an houre, they had the better opportunity to obserue these things; as also that before the kings comming there were already set threescore noble, graue, and ancient personages, all of them reported to be of the kings priuy Councell; at the neather end of the house were placed a great company of yong men, of comely personage and attire. With out the house, on the right side, stood foure ancient homely hoare-headed men, cloathed all in red downe to the ground, but attired on their heads not much vnlike the Turkes; these they called Romans, or strangers, who lay as lidgiers there to keepe continuall traffique with this people: there were also two Turkes, one Italian, as lidgiers: and last of all one Spaniard, who being freed by the king out of the hands of

the Portugals, in the recouering of the Iland, serued him now instead of a souldier.

¶ The king at last comming from the castle, with 8 or 10 more graue Senators following him, had a very rich canopy (adorned in the middest with embossings of gold) borne ouer him, and was garded with 12 lances, the points turned downward: our men (accompanied with *Moro* the kings brother) arose to meet him, and he very graciously did welcome and entertaine them. He was for person, such as we haue before described him, of lowe voice, temperate in speech, of kingly demeanour, and a Moore by nation. His attire was after the fashion of the rest of his countrey, but farre more sumptuous, as his condition and state required: from the wast to the ground was all cloth of gold, and that very rich; his legges bare, but on his feet a paire of shooes of corduant, died red; in the attire of his head, were finely wreathed in diuerse rings of plated gold, of an inch or an inch and a halfe in breadth, which made a faire and princely shew, somewhat resembling a crowne in forme; about his necke hee had a chaine of perfect gold, the linkes very great and one fold double; on his left hand was a Diamond, an Emerald, a Ruby, and a Turkey, 4 very faire and perfect Jewells; on his right hand, in one ring, a big and perfect Turkey; and in another ring many Diamonds of a smaller size, very artificially set and couched together.

¶ As thus he sate in his chaire of state, at his right side there stood a page with a very costly fanne (richly embrodered and beset with Saphires) breathing and gathering the aire to refresh the king, the place being very hot, both by reason of the sunne, and the assembly of so great a multitude. After a while, our gentlemen hauing deliuered their message, and receiued answer, were licenced to depart, and were safely conducted backe againe, by one of the chiefe of the kings Councell, who had charge from the king himselfe to performe the same.

¶ Our gentlemen obseruing the castle as well as they could, could not conceiue it to be a place of any great force; two onely canons there they saw, and those at that present vntrouersable because vnmounted. These, with all other furniture of like sort which they haue, they haue gotten them from the Portingals, by whom the castle itselfe was also builded, whiles they inhabited that place and Iland. Who seeking to settle a tyrannous gouernment (as in other places so) ouer this people, and not contenting themselues with a better estate then they deserued (except they might, as they thought, make sure worke by leauing none of the royall bloud aliue, who should make challenge to the kingdome), cruelly murdered

scene and spoken with vs; the relation of it might perhaps serue him to recouer fauour in the countrey: but if he could preuaile with our Generall himselfe to go thither, he doubted not but it would be a meanes of his great advancement, and increase of honour with his king. Notwithstanding our Generall could not on such perswasions be induced, and so the stranger parted sorrie that he could not preuaile in his request, yet exceeding glad of the intelligence he had learned.

¶ By the ninth of *Nouember*, hauing gotten what prouision the place could afford vs, wee then set sayle: and considering that our ship for want of trimming was now growne foule, that our caske and vessels for water were much decayed, and that diuers other things stood in need of reparation; our next care was, how wee might fall with such a place where with safetie we might a while stay for the redressing of these inconueniences. The calmenesse of the winds, which are almost continuall before the comming of the brize (which was not yet expected), perswaded vs it was the fittest time that we could take.

¶ With this resolution wee sayled along till *Nouember* 14, at what time we arriued at a little Iland (to the Southward of *Celèbes*) standing in 1 deg. 40 min. towards the pole antarticke: which being without inhabitants, gaue vs the better hope of quiet abode. We anchored, and finding the place conuenient for our purposes (there wanting nothing here which we stood in need of, but onely water, which wee were faine to fetch from another Iland somewhat farther to the South), made our abode here for 26 whole dayes together.

¶ The first thing we did, we pitched our tents and intrenched ourselues as strongly as we could vpon the shoare, lest at any time perhaps we might haue beene disturbed by the inhabitants of the greater Iland which lay not farre to the Westward of vs; after we had prouided thus for our security, wee landed our goods, and had a Smith's forge set vp, both for the making of some necessarie shipworke, and for the repairing of some iron-hooped caskes, without which they could not long haue serued our vse: and for that our Smiths coales were all spent long before this time, there was order giuen and followed for the burning of charcoale, by which that want might be supplied.

¶ We trimd our ship, and performed our other businesses to our content. The place affording vs, not onely all necessaries (which we had not of our owne before) thereunto, but also wonderfull refreshing to our wearied bodies, by the comfortable reliefe and excellent prouision that here we found, whereby of sickely, weake, and decayed (as many of vs seemed to

be before our comming hither), we in short space grew all of vs to be strong, lusty, and healthfull persons. Besides this, we had rare experience of God's wonderfull wisdom in many rare and admirable creatures which here we saw.

¶ The whole Iland is a through growne wood, the trees for the most part are of large and high stature, uery straight and cleane without bowes, saue onely in the very top. The leaues whereof are not much vnlike our broomes in England. Among these trees, night by night, did shew themselves an infinite swarme of fierie-seeming-wormes flying in the aire, whose bodies (no bigger than an ordinarie flie) did make a shew, and giue such light as if euery twigge on euery tree had beene a lighted candle, or as if that place had beene the starry spheare. To these wee may adde the relation of another, almost as strange a creature, which here we saw, and that was an innumerable multitude of huge Bats or reare mice, equalling or rather exceeding a good Henne in bignesse. They flie with maruellous swiftnesse, but their flight is very short; and when they light, they hang onely by the bowes with their backes downward.

¶ Neither may wee without ingratitude (by reason of the speciall vse we made of them) omit to speake of the huge multitude of a certaine kinde of Crayfish, of such a size, that one was sufficient to satisfie foure hungry men at a dinner, being a very good and restorative meate; the especiall meane (as we conceiued it) of our increase of health.

¶ They are, as farre as we could perceiue, vtter strangers to the sea, liuing alwayes on the land, where they worke themselves earths as do the conies, or rather they dig great and huge caues vnder the rootes of the most huge and monstrous trees, where they lodge themselves by companies together. Of the same sort and kind, we found in other places about the Iland *Celèbes*, some that, for want of other refuge, when we came to take them, did clime vp into trees to hide themselves, whither we were enforced to clime after them, if we would haue them, which wee would not sticke to do rather then to be without them: this Iland we called *Crab-iland*.

¶ All necessary causes of our staying longer in this place being at last finished, our Generall prepared to be in a redinesse to take the first advantage of the comming of the brize or winde which we expected; and hauing the day before furnished our selues with fresh water from the other Iland, and taken in prouision of wood and the like, *December* 12 we put to sea, directing our course toward the West; the 16 day wee had sight of the Iland *Celèbes* or *Silèbis*, but hauing a bad winde, and being intangled among many Ilandes, incumbred also with many other difficulties, and

the king himselfe (father to him who now reigns), and intended the like to all his sonnes. Which cruelty, instead of establishing, brought such a shaking on their vsurped estate, that they were faine, without couenenting to carrie away goods, munition, or any thing else, to quitte the place and the whole Iland to saue their liues.

¶ For the present king with his brethren, in reuenge of their fathers murther, so bestirred themselues, that the Portingall was wholly driuen from that Iland, and glad that he yet keepe footing in *Tidore*. These foure yeares this king hath beene increasing, and was (as was affirmed) at that present, Lord of an hundred Ilands thereabout, and was euen now preparing his forces to hazard a chance with the Portingals for *Tidore* it selfe.

¶ The people are Moores, whose religion consists much in certaine superstitious obseruations of new moones, and certaine seasons, with a rigid and strickt kind of fasting. We had experience hereof in the Viceroy and his retinue, who lay aboard vs all the time for the most part during our abode in this place: who during their prescribed time, would neither eate nor drinke, not so much as a cup of cold water in the day (so zealous are they in their selfe-deuised worship), but yet in the night would eate three times, and that very largely. This *Terenate* stands in 27 min. North latitude.

¶ While we rode at anchor in the harbour at *Terenate*, besides the natives there came aboard vs another, a goodly gentleman, very well accompanied, with his interpreter, to view our ship and to conferre with our Generall: he was appparelled much after our manner, most neate and courtlike, his carriage the most respectiue and full of discreet behauiour that euer we had seene. Hee told us that he was himselfe but a stranger in those Ilands, being a naturall of the Prouince of *Paghia* in *China*; his name *Pausaos*, of the familie of *Hombu*: of which familie there had 11 reigned in continuall succession these two hundred yeares, and king *Bonog*, by the death of his elder brother (who dyed by a fall from his horse), the rightfull heire of all *China*, is the twelfth of this race: he is 22 yeares of age; his mother yet liuing: he hath a wife, and by her one sonne; he is well beloued, and highly honoured of all his subiects, and liues in great peace from any feare of forreigne inuasion; but it was not this mans fortune to enioy his part of this happinesse both of his king and countrey, as hee most desired.

¶ For being accused of a capitall crime, whereof (though free), yet he could not euidently make his innocence appeare, and knowing the peremptory iustice of *China* to be irreuocable, if he should expect the sentence of the Iudges; he before hand made suite to his king, that it would please him to commit his triall to Gods prouidence and iudgment, and

to that end to permit him to trauell on this condition, that if he brought not home some worthy intelligence, such as his Maiestie had neuer had before, and were most fit to be knowne, and most honorable for *China*, he should for euer liue an exile, or else dye for daring to set foot againe in his owne country; for he was assured that the God of heauen had care of innocency.

¶ The king granted his suite, and now he had beene three yeare abroad, and at this present came from *Tidore* (where he had remained two moneths) to see the English Generall, of whom he heard such strange things, and from him (if it pleased God to afford it) to learne some such intelligence as might make way for his returne into his country: and therefore he earnestly intreated our Generall to make relation to him of the occasion, way, and manner of his comming so far from England thither, with the manifold occurrences that had happened to him by the way.

¶ Our Generall gaue ample satisfaction to each part of his request; the stranger hearkened with great attention and delight to his discourse, and as he naturally excelled in memory (besides his helpe of art to better the same), so he firmly printed it in his mind, and with great reuerence thanked God, who had so vnexpectedly brought him to the notice of such admirable things. Then fell he to intreate our Generall with many most earnest and vehement perswasions that he would be content to see his countrey before his departure any farther Westward; that it should be a most pleasant, most honourable, and most profitable thing for him; that he should gaine hereby the notice, and carrie home the description of one of the most ancient, mightiest, and richest kingdomes in the world. Hereupon he tooke occasion to relate the number and greatnesse of the Provinces, with the rare commodities and good things they yeelded: the number, statelinesse, and riches of their Cities, with what abundance of men, victuals, munition, and all manner of necessities and delightful things they were stored with; in particular touching ordnance and great gunnes (the late inuention of a scab-shind Frier amongst vs in Europe): he related that in *Suntien* (by some called *Quinzai*), which is the chieftest Citie of all *China*, they had brasse ordnance of all sorts (much easier to be trauersed then ours were, and so perfectly made that they would hit a shilling) aboue 2000 yeares agoe. With many other worthie things which our Generals owne experience (if it would please him to make triall) would (better then his relation) assure him of. The brize would shortly serue very fitly to carrie him thither, and he himselfe would accompanie him all the way. He accounted himselfe a happie man that he had but

some dangers, and at last meeting with a deep bay, out of which we could not in three daies turne out againe, wee could not by any means recouer the North of *Silébis*, or continue on our course farther West, but were inforced to alter the same toward the South; finding that course also to be both difficult and very dangerous by reason of many shoales, which lay farre off, here and there among the Ilands; insomuch that in all our passages from England hitherto, we had neuer more care to keepe our selues afloat, and from sticking on them: thus were we forced to beate vp and downe with extraordinary care and circumspection till *January 9*, at which time we supposed that we had at last attained a free passage, the lands turning euidently in our sight about to Westward, and the wind being enlarged, followed vs as we desired with a reasonable gale.

¶ When loe, on a sudden, when we least suspected, no shew or suspicion of danger appearing to vs, and we were now sailing onward with full sailes, in the beginning of the first watch of the said day at night, euen in a moment, our ship was laid vp fast vpon a desperate shoale, with no other likelihood in appearance, but that wee with her must there presently perish; there being no probability how any thing could be saued, or any person scape aliue.

¶ The vnexpectednesse of so extreame a danger, presently roused vs vp to looke about vs, but the more we looked the lesse hope we had of getting cleere of it againe, so that nothing now presenting itselfe to our mindes, but the ghastly appearance of instant death, affording no respite or time of pausing, called vpon vs to deny ourselues, and to commend our selues into the mercifull hands of our most gracious God: to this purpose wee presently fell prostrate, and with ioyned prayers sent vp vnto the throne of grace, humbly besought Almighty God to extend his mercy vnto vs in his sonne *Christ Iesus*, and so preparing as it were our neckes vnto the blocke, we euery minute expected the finall stroake to be giuen vnto vs.

¶ Notwithstanding that we expected nothing but imminent death, yet (that we might not seeme to tempt God, by leauing any second meanes vnattempted which he afforded) presently, as soone as prayers were ended, our Generall (exhorting vs to haue the especiallest care of the better part, to wit, the soule, and adding many comfortable speeches, of the ioyes of that other life, which wee now alone looked for) encouraged vs all to bestire our selues, shewing vs the way thereto by his owne example; and first of all the pump being well plyed, and the ship freed of water, we found our leakes to be nothing increased, which though it gaue vs no hope of deliuerance, yet it gaue vs some hope of respite, insomuch as it

assured vs that the bulke was sound, which truly we acknowledged to be an immediate prouidence of God alone, insomuch, as no strength of wood and iron could haue possibly borne so hard and violent a shooke as our ship did, dashing herselfe vnder full saile against the rockes, except the extraordinary hand of God had supported the same.

¶ Our next assay was for good ground and anchorhold to seaward of vs (whereon to hale), by which meanes, if by any, our Generall put vs in comfort, that there was yet left some hope to cleere ourselues: in his owne person he therefore vndertooke the charge of sounding, and but euen a boates length from the ship, he found that the bottom could not by any length of line be reached vnto; so that the beginnings of hope, which wee were willing to haue conceiued before, were by this meanes quite dasht againe; yea our misery seemed to be increased, for whereas at first wee could looke for nothing but a present end, that expectation was now turned into the awaiting for a lingring death, of the two the farre more fearfull to be chosen: one thing fell out happily for vs, that the most of our men did not conceiue this thing; which had they done, they would in all likelihood haue beene so much discouraged, that their sorrow would the more disable them to haue sought the remedy: our Generall, with those few others that would iudge of the euent wisely, dissembling the same and giuing, in the meane time, cheerful speeches and good encouragements vnto the rest.

¶ For whiles it seemed to be a cleere case, that our ship was so fast moored that shee could not stir, it necessarily followed that either we were there to remaine on the place with her, or else, leauing her, to commit our selues in a most poore and helplesse state, to seeke some other place of stay and refuge, the better of which two choices did carry with it the appearance of worse than 1000 deaths.

¶ As touching our ship, this was the comfort that shee could giue vs, that shee herselfe lying there confined already vpon the hard and pinching rocks, did tell vs plaine, that shee continually expected her speedy dispatch, as soone as the sea and windes should come, to be the seuer executioners of that heauy iudgement, by the appointment of the eternall iudge already giuen vpon her, who had committed her there to Adamantine bonds in a most narrow prison, against there comming for that purpose: so that if we would stay with her, we must peril with her; or if any, by any yet vnperceivable meanes, should chance to be deliuered, his escape must needs be a perpetuall misery, it being farre better to haue perished together, then with the losse and absence of his friends to liue

in a strange land: whether a solitary life (the better choice) among wild beastes, as a bird on the mountaines without all comfort, or among the barbarous people of the heathen, in intollerable bondage both of body and minde.

¶ And put the case that her day of destruction should be deferred longer then either reason could perswade vs, or in any likelihood could seeme possible (it being not in the power of earthly things, to indure what shee had suffred already), yet could our abode there profit vs nothing, but increase our wretchednesse and enlarge our sorrows; for as her store and victualls were not much, (sufficient to sustaine vs onely some few daies, without hope of hauing any increase, no not so much as of a cup of cold water), so must it ineuitably come to passe, that we (as children in the mother's wombe) should be driuen euen to eate the flesh from of our owne armes, shee being no longer able to sustaine vs; and how horrible a thing this would haue proued, is easy by any one to be perceiued.

¶ And whither (had we departed from her) should we haue receiued any comfort; nay the very impossibility of going appeared to be no lesse then those other before mentioned: our boate was by no meanes able at once to carry aboue 20 persons with any safety, and we were 58 in all; the neerest land was six leagues from vs, and the winde from the shoare directly bent against vs; or should we haue thought of setting some ashore, and after that to haue fetched the rest, there being no place thereabout without inhabitants, the first that had landed must first haue fallen into the hand of the enemy, and so the rest in order, and though perhaps we might escape the sword, yet would our life haue beene worse than death, not alone in respect of our wofull captiuitie and bodily miseries, but most of all in respect of our Christian liberty, being to be depriued of all publique meanes of seruing the true God, and continually grieved with the horrible impieties and diuellish idolatries of the heathen.

¶ Our miserie beeing thus manifest, the very consideration whereof must needs haue shaken flesh and bloud, if faith in God's promises had not mightily sustained vs, we past the night with earnest longings that the day would once appeare, the meane time we spent in often prayers and other godly exercises, thereby comforting ourselues, and refreshing our hearts, struing to bring ourselues to an humble submission vnder the hand of God, and to a referring our selues wholly to his good will and pleasure.

¶ The day therefore at length appearing, and it being almost full sea about that time, after we had giuen thanks to God for his forbearing of vs hitherto, and had with tears called vpon him to blesse our labours;

we againe renewed our trauell to see if we could now possibly find any anchor hold, which we had formerly sought in vaine. But this second attempt proued as fruitlesse as the former, and left vs nothing to trust to but prayers and tears, seeing it appeared impossible that euer the forecast, counsell, pollicie, or power of man could euer effect the deliury of our ship, except the Lord onely miraculously should do the same.

¶ It was therefore presently motioned, and by generall voice determined, to commend our case to God alone, leauing our selues wholly in his hand to spill or saue us, as seeme best to his gracious wisdom. And that our faith might bee the better strengthened, and the comfortable apprehension of God's mercie in Christ be more clearly felt, we had a Sermon, and the Sacrament of the bodie and bloud of our Sauour celebrated.

¶ After this sweet repast was thus receiued, and other holy exercises adioyned were ended, lest we should seeme guilty in any respect for not vsing all lawfull meanes we could inuent, we fell to one other practise yet vnassayed, to wit, to vnloading of our ship by casting some of her goods into the sea: which thing, as it was attempted most willingly, so it was dispatched in very short time: So that euen those things which we before this time, nor any other in our case could be without, did now seeme as things onely worthy to be despised, yea we were herein so forward, that neither our munition for defence, nor the uery meale for sustentation of our liues could find fauour with vs, but euerie thing as it first came to hand went ouerboard; assuring ourselues of this, that if it pleased God once to deliuer vs out of that most desperate strait wherein we were, he would fight for vs against our enemies, neither would he suffer vs to perish for want of bread. But when all was done, it was not any of our endeouours, but Gods onely hand that wrought our deliuerie; 'twas he alone that brought vs euen vnder the very stroake of death; 'twas he alone that said vnto vs, Returne againe ye sonnes of men; 'twas he alone that set vs at liberty againe, that made vs safe and free, after that we had remained in the former miserable condition the full space of twentie houres: to his glorious name be the euerlasting praise.

¶ The manner of our deliury (for the relation of it will especially be expected) was onely this. The place whereon we sate so fast was a firme rocke in a cleft, whereof it was we sticke on the larbord side. At low water there was not aboue sixe foote depth in all on the starbord, within little distance as you haue heard no bottome to be found; the brize during the whole time that we thus were stayed, blew somewhat stiffe directly against our broadside, and so perforce kept the ship vpright. It pleased

God in the beginning of the tyde, while the water was yet almost at lowest, to slacke the stiffnesse of the wind; and now our ship, who required thirteene foot water to make her fleet, and had not at that time on the one side aboue seuen at most, wanting her prop on the other side, which had too long alreadie kept her vp, fell a heeling towards the deepe water, and by that meanes freed her keele and made vs glad men.

¶ This shoale is at least three or foure leagues in length; it lies in 2 deg., lacking three or four minutes, South latitude. The day of this deliverance was the tenth of *January*.

¶ Of all the dangers that in our whole voyage we met with, this was the greatest; but it was not the last, as may appeare by what ensueth. Neither could we indeed for a long season free our selues from the continuall care and feare of them; nor could we euer come to any conuenient anchoring, but were continually for the most part tost amongst the many Ilands and shoales (which lye in infinite number round about on the South part of *Celèbes*) till the eight day of the following moneth.

¶ *Jan.* 12, being not able to beare our sayles, by reason of the tempest, and fearing of the dangers, we let fall our anchors vpon a shoale in 3 deg. 30 min. *Jan.* 14, we were gotten a little farther South, where, at an Iland in 4 deg. 6 min., we againe cast anchor, and spent a day in watering and wooding. After this wee met with foule weather, Westerly winds, and dangerous shoales for many dayes together; insomuch that we were vtterly weary of this coast of *Sillebis*, and thought best to beare with *Timor*. The Southernmost cape of *Sillebis* stands in 5 deg. that side the line.

¶ But of this coast of *Sillebis* we could not so easily cleare ourselues. The 20 of *January* we were forced to runne with a small Iland not farre from thence; where hauing sent our boate a good distance from vs to search out a place where we might anchor, wee were suddenly enuironed with no small extremities, for there arose a most violent, yea, an intollerable flaw and storme out of the Southwest against vs, making vs (who were on a lee shoare amongst most dangerous and hidden shoales) to feare extreame, not onely the losse of our boate and men, but the present losse of ourselues, our ship, and goods, or the casting of those men, whom God should spare, into the hands of Infidels. Which misery could not by any power or industry of ours haue beene auoided, if the mercifull goodnesse of God had not (by staying the outrageous extremities wherewith we were set vpon) wrought our present deliury, by whose vnspeakable mercy our men and boates also were vnexpectedly, yet safely, restored vnto vs.

¶ Wee gate off from this place as well as we could, and continued on our course till the 26 day [*Jan.* 26], when the winde tooke vs, very strong against vs, West and West South-west, so as that wee could beare no more saile till the end of that moneth was full expired.

¶ *February* 1, we saw very high land, and as it seemed well inhabited: we would faine haue borne with it to have got some succour, but the weather was so ill that we could finde no harbour, and we were very fearefull of aduenturing ourselues too farre amongst the many dangers which were neere the shoare. The third day also we saw a little Iland, but being unable to beare any saile, but onely to ly at hull, we were by the storme carried away and could not fetch it. *February* 6, we saw fife Ilands, one of them towards the East, and foure towards the West of vs, one bigger than another, at the biggest of which we cast anchor, and the next day watred and wooded.

¶ After we had gone on hence, on *February* 8 we descried two canowes, who hauing descried vs as it seemes before, came willingly vnto vs, and talked with vs, alluring and conducting vs to their towne not farre off, named *Baratiua*; it stands in 7 deg. 13 min. South the line.

¶ The people are Gentiles, of handsome body and comely stature, of civill demeanour, very iust in dealing, and courteous to strangers, of all which we had euident prooffe, they shewing themselues most glad of our coming, and cheerfully ready to relieve our wants with whatsoever their country could afford. The men all goe naked saue their heads and secret parts, euery one hauing one thing or other hanging at his eares. Their women are couered from the middle to the foote, wearing vpon their naked arms bracelets, and that in no small number, some hauing nine at least vpon each arme, made for the most part of horne or brasse, whereof the lightest (by our estimation) would weigh 2 ounces.

¶ With this people linnen cloth (whereof they make roles for their heads, and girdles to weare about their loynes) is the best marchandise and of greatest estimation. They are also much delighted with *Margaretas* (which in their language they call *Saletas*) and such other like trifles.

¶ Their Iland is both rich and fruitfull; rich in gold, silver, copper, tinne, sulphur, etc. Neither are they onely expert to try those mettalls, but very skillfull also in working of them artificially into diuerse formes and shapes as pleaseth them best. Their fruites are diuerse likewise and plentiful, as nutmegges, ginger, long pepper, limons, cucumbers, cocoes, figoes, sagu, with diuerse other sorts, whereof we had one in reasonable quantity, in bignes, forme, and huske, much like a bay-berry, hard in substance,

which they had, before him. For the present we were entertained as we desired, and at last dismissed with a promise of more victuals to be shortly sent vs.

¶ In this Iland there is one chiefe, but many vndergouernors, or petty kings, whom they call *Raias*, who live in great familiaritie and friendship one with another. The 14 day we receiued victuals from two of them, and the day after that, to wit the 15, three of these kings in their owne persons came aboard to see our Generall, and to view our ship and warlike munition. They were well pleased with what they saw, and with the entertainment which we gave them. And after these had beene with vs, and on their returne had, as it seemes, related what they found, *Raia Donan*, the chiefe king of the whole land, bringing victuals with him for our reliefe, he also the next day after came aboard vs. Few were the dayes that one or more of these kings did misse to visit vs, insomuch that we grew acquainted with the names of many of them, as of *Raia Pataidra*, *Raia Cabocapalla*, *Raia Manghango*, *Raia Boccabarra*, *Raia Timbanton*: whom our Generall alwayes entertained with the best cheere that wee could make, and shewed them all the commodities of our ship, with our ordnance and other armes and weapons, and the seuerall furnitures belonging to each, and the vses for which they serued. His musicke also, and all things else whereby he might do them pleasure, wherein they tooke exceeding great delight with admiration.

¶ One day amongst the rest, viz., *March 21*, *Raia Donan* coming aboard vs, in requitall of our musick which was made to him, presented our Generall with his country musick, which though it were of a very strange kind, yet the sound was pleasant and delightfull: the same day he caused an oxe also to be brought to the waters side and deliuered to vs, for which he was to his content rewarded by our Generall with diuerse sorts of very costly silks, which he held in great esteeme.

¶ Thogh our often giuing entertainment in this manner did hinder vs much in the speedy dispatching of our businesses, and made vs spend the more dayes about them, yet there we found all such conuenient helpes, that to our contents we at last ended them: the matter of greatest importance which we did (besides victualling) was the new trimming and washing of our ship, which by reason of our long voyage was so ouergrowne with a kind of shell-fish sticking fast vnto her, that it hindered her exceedingly, and was a great trouble to her sayling.

¶ The people (as are their kings) are a louing, a very true and a iust dealing people. We traffiqued with them for hens, goats, cocoes, plantons,

SELECTED CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS
ANALOGOUS TO
THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED
BY
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

and other kinds of victuals, which they offered vs in such plenty, that we might haue laden our ship if we had needed.

¶ We tooke our leaves and departed from them the 26 of *March*, and set our course West South West, directly towards the cape of good hope, or *Bon Esperance*, and continued without touch of ought, but aire and water, till the 21 of *May*, when we espied land (to wit, a part of the maine of *Africa*), in some places very high, vnder the latitude of 31 deg. and halfe.

¶ Wee coasted along till *June* 15, on which day, hauing very faire weather, and the wind at Southeast, wee past the Cape itselfe so neere in sight, that we had been able with our pieces to haue shot to land.

¶ *July* 15, we fell with the land againe about *Rio de Sesto*, where we saw many negroes in their boates a fishing, whereof 2 came very neere vs, but we cared not to stay, nor had any talke or dealing with them.

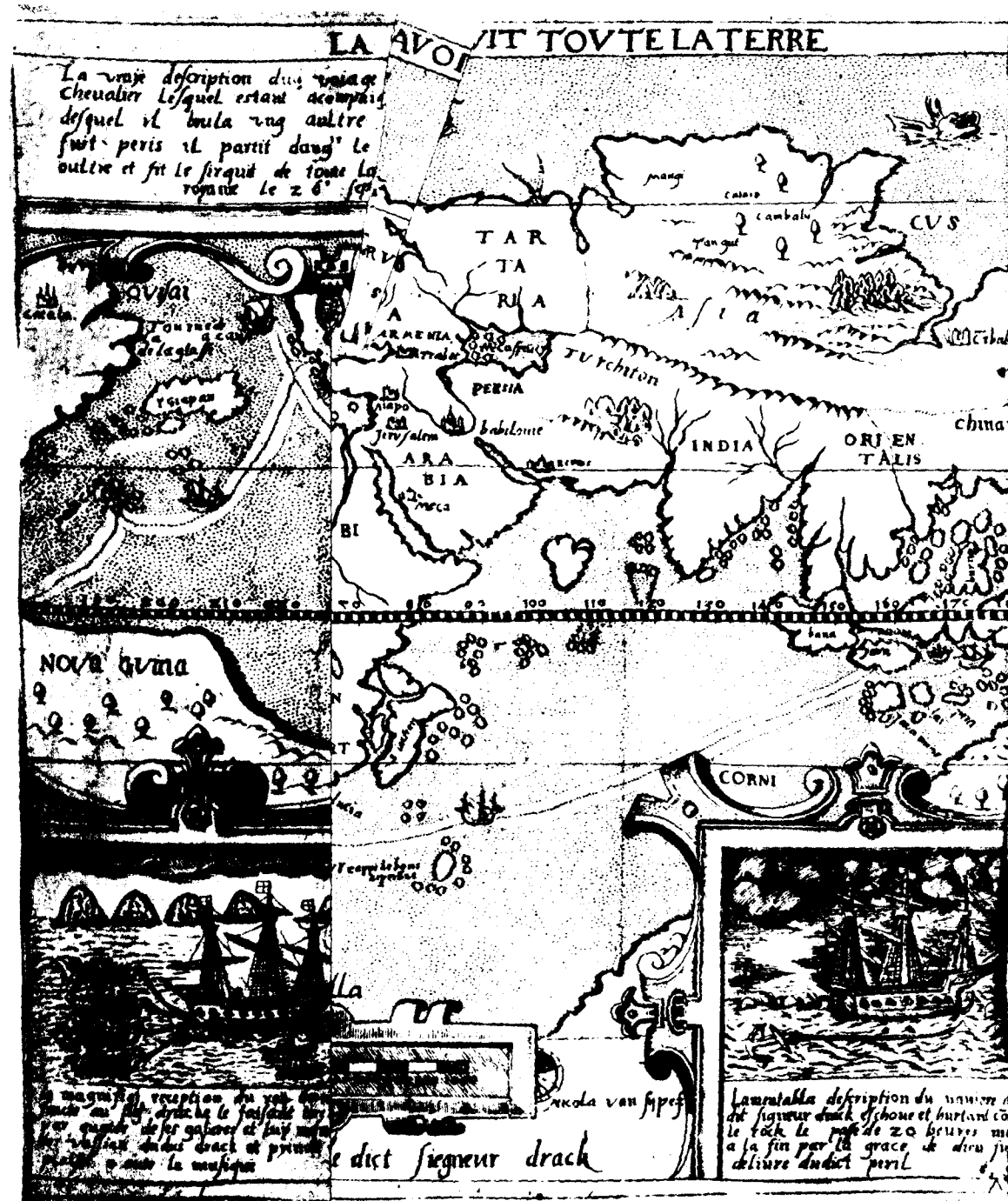
¶ The 22 of the same moneth, we came to *Sierra Leona*, and spent two dayes for watering in the mouth of *Tagoine*, and then put to sea againe; here also we had oisters, and plenty of lemmons, which gave vs good refreshing.

¶ We found ourselues vnder the Tropic of *Cancer*, *August* 15, hauing the winde at Northeast, and we 50 leagues off from the neerest land.

¶ The 22 day we were in the height of the Canaries. And the 26 of *Sept.* (which was Monday in the iust and ordinary reckoning of those that had stayed at home in one place or countrie, but in our computation was the Lords day or Sondag) we safely with ioyfull minds and thankfull hearts to God, arrived at *Plimoth*, the place of our first setting forth, after we had spent 2 yeares 10 moneths and some few odde daies beside, in seeing the wonders of the Lord in the deep, in discovering so many admirable things, in going through with so many strange aduentures, in escaping out of so many dangers, and ouercomming so many difficulties in this our encom- passing of this neather globe, and passing round about the world, which we haue related.

Soli rerum maximarum Effectori,
Soli totius mundi Gubernatori,
Soli suorum Conservatori,
Soli Deo sit semper Gloria.

FINIS



A XVII CENTURY MAP OF DRAKE'S VOYAGE OF CIRCUMNAVIGATION
NICOLA VAN SYPE, WITH FRENCH DESCRIPTIVE TEXTS AND VIGNETTES.
BENEATH PORTRAIT READS:—"MAP SEEN AND CORRECTED BY THE SAID SIR DRAKE."
(from original in the possession of the Hispanic Society of America.)

SELECTED ANALOGOUS DOCUMENTS

¶ There are far too many original documents relating to Drake's voyage of circumnavigation to admit of their being printed in this volume. A few of the more important have been selected to illustrate the text of "*The World Encompassed*." Others will be found in Vaux's "*World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*" and in Mrs Nuttall's "*New Light on Drake*."

I.

FRANCIS FLETCHER'S NOTES

[*The World Encompassed*, written by Sir Francis Drake, Bt., nephew of Sir Francis Drake, Knt., the navigator, and published in 1628, was based chiefly on the *Notes* of his Preacher or Chaplain, Francis Fletcher, who was a gentleman-volunteer, that is, an adventurer or subscriber to the Company originating the voyage. Drake and his Chaplain quarrelled violently when the *Golden Hind* struck on the Mulapatia Reef off Peling Island in the Malay Archipelago on 9 January, 1580, and the *Notes* are largely hostile to Drake. A copy of them was made by John Conyers, Pharmacopolist, Citizen and Apothecary of London, and this ms. is in the British Museum, Sloane ms., No. 61.

Extracts from it have been printed in Vaux's edition of *The World Encompassed* as footnotes, but, as Mr Penzer has already shown in his Preface, so badly did Vaux do his work of transcribing, that it is given here in its entirety. The possibility of any errors or mistaken readings is now reduced to a minimum, and attention is drawn to any doubtful words.

On the flyleaf of the ms. is: "Ex libris Joh. Conyers, Pharmacopolist." This is followed by a very crude map of England, described as "an exact copy of the originall to a haire...." The ms. also contains several other maps and illustrations the exact positions of which are here indicated and the more important reproduced.]

*the subtilty of
Barbarians*

hope to accomplish their Purpose the next day in the meane tyme they left neither meanes nor oportunity to bring to pass what they intended. Wherefore in the night they haueing assigned the fittest place to serue their turne which was a Narrow creek between 2 bankes they placed there amongst the Reeds one both sydes secretly diuers solgers well appoynted to the slawter the houre being now com of their dissembled traffick there appeared in sight by estimacon som 30 camells Laden as seemd to vs wth comodities. which being arriued at the Place they made signes to vs to send our boat to fetch them to shipp board Wherein as the Generall was most willing so our men were most speedy thinking themselues the happyest men w^{ch} could enter first into action, but often tymes that proverb is veriefied More hast worse speed for our men ariueing in the Place & casting no perills one of their company frye by Name who somtymes being in the Country in Merchant voiaiges had attained to som vse of the Tongue (& therfore the bolder) did sodainly but vnadvisedly leap out of the boat one shoare, who no sooner was landed but the barbarians layed hand vpon him inforceing him wth a dagger sett to his breast either to go wth them or Presently to dye. Who being sett vpon a horse was wth all Expedition caried away to the King as wee conceiued the Rest of o^r men in the boat being as it was in the Middest of their barbarous enemies wth much adoe most hardly Escaped being Vnprouided either to defend themselues or to Anoy the Enemies w^{ch} is a thing euer to be misliked in trauellers. I meane to be secure when they deale wth such as open and knowen Enemies to Christ whom they profess: wee haueing ended our occasions in this place & haueing taisted of the fruits boath of the sea about this Island which yeilded aboundance of good & most wholsom fishes, as in like caise the Island itselfe being full of long winged barbary hawkes we departed without anny notice what was becom of our Man. Now we coasting along to the southward for Cape blanck or White Cape hadd euery sale at Command in the way as if Neptune had ben present without anny Resistance or Resistance, [sic] or Refusall or Resisting; when we ariued at the same Cape we found it so fare & stately & the onely ornament of that Land but in the Meane tyme in the way saleing from Magador to this place vpp in the country did appeare a high & Mighty Spire like couerd at topp wth aboundance of snow as white as salmon

*The Comodi-
ties of the
Iland Magador*

*A mountaine
Laden wth snow
in a hott Coun-
try of Barbary
neuer dissolued
by anny heat of
the sonn be-
cause it reacheth
into the frozen
Region*

w^{ch} not with standing the countrye be exceeding hott: yet it seemeth never to be dissolued, because it Reacheth so high into the colde or frozen Region that the Reflection of the sonn can neuer com to it from the face of the earth whereby as it is Reported the inhabitants of Morrocho haue singular benefitt, for from thence the Poople continually fetch snow & bring it to the Citty & other Places to sell in the Marketts w^{ch} the use for many things: but cheifly to Mix wth wines & other drinckes w^{ch} otherwise wold (for the Extreame heat of the Country) be vnnaturall & contagious to their bodyes. Neither may this seeme a thing strange to be vsed in barbary seeing it is ordinary in Civill & Many other places of Spaine & that w^{ch} is more Russia w^{ch} is one of the cold countryes of the Worlde in their Winter: yet in their Sommer w^{ch} is Exceeding hott they are inforced to temper there drinke wth Ice & Snow w^{ch} they keep & preserue of Purpose to that vse lest it might breed in their bodyes a generall contagion through their whole Land these things I write of my owne knowledg in my former trauailes not by report or by conjecture. but to my purpose againe we being com to anker in the bay of Cape blanck before menconed

the 17 January

*About
Cape Blanck
no water*

There is not to be found in all those parts of the world a more

SLOANE MS. NO. 61.

THE FIRST PART OF THE SECOND VOIAGE ABOUT THE WORLD
ATTEMPTED CONTINUED AND HAPPILY ACCOMPLISHED WITHIN
THE TYME OF 3 YEARES BY M^r FFRANCIS DRAKE, AT HER HIGHNESS
COMMAUND & HIS COMPANY WRITTEN & FAITHFULLY LAYED
DOWNE BY FFRANCIS FFLETCHER MINISTER OF CHRIST, & PREACHER
OF THE GOSPELL ADVENTURER & TRAUER IN THE SAME VOYAGE.

Nov: 15 1577

our main mast
lost to the ad-
mirall Bark lost
from Plimoth 2
tyme 13 of
December

Ciuitas Leonum

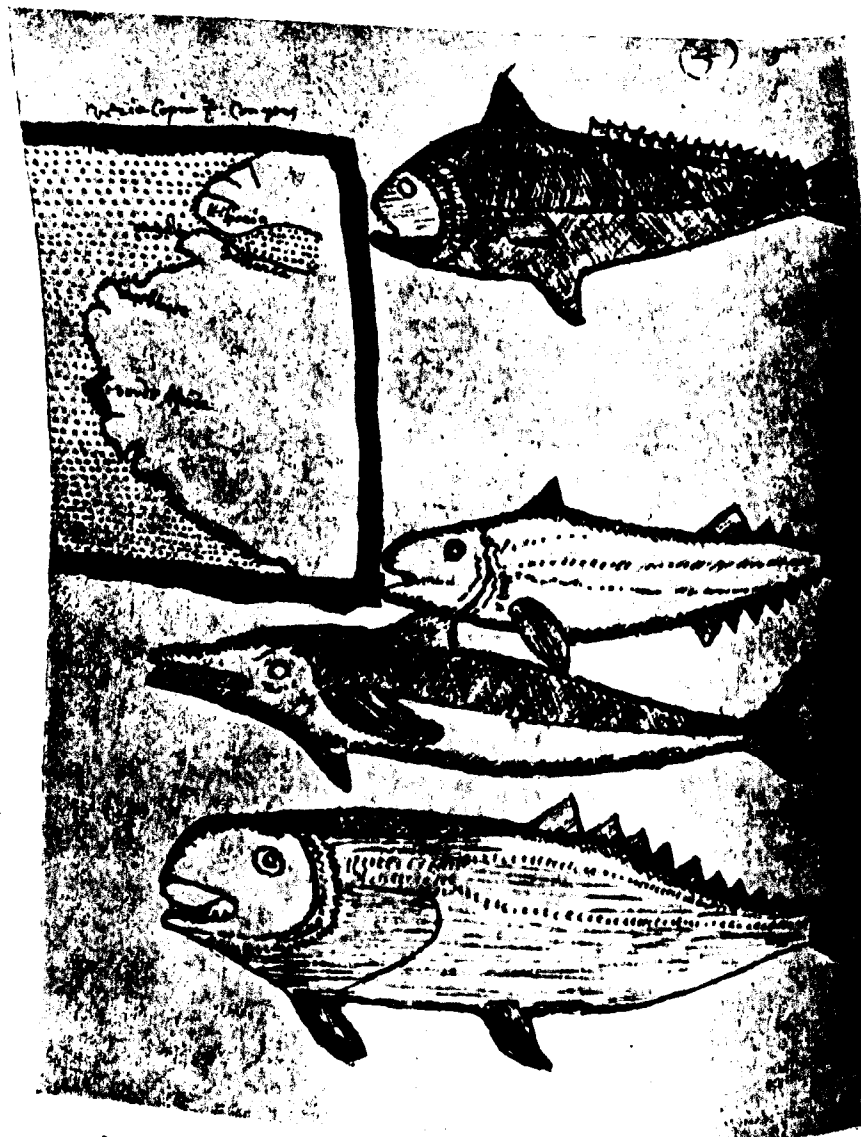
All things necessary being provided for so honorable a voyage, wee loosed from the haven of Plimouth in the County of Deuon wth 5 shippes, 150 men, & some boyes, the 15 day of Nouember, anno 1577 Whence setting our course for the frette of Jubolter, vnder pretence to trauele to Alexandria, we were inforced by contrary winds into ffamouth vpon our owne Coast at Cornewall, where meeteing wth an intollerable storme, we seemed to be driuen into a desperate state, & at that tyme not to proceed anny further in o^r intended trauailes; Notwithstanding it pleased God at the last, in mercy to deliuer vs, wth the loss of the maine mast of our admirall, & the brusting of one of our small barkes onely! for the repaireing wherof wee returned againe into Plimmouth, wherin wee came. Where haueing sett all things in order & made a new supply of such things as wee wanted, we departed thence the 13 day of December, and holding our way wth a prosperous wind, & good success in all things (one boy onely lost, out of the barke Canter in the bay of Portugale excepted) wee fell by the good providence of God wth Cape Cantine the 25th day of the same Moneth, whence we continueing along the Land of Barbaria, wee sayled neere to the Citty of Lyons w^{ch} somtyme is sayd to haue been a citty of great fame, being frequented wth marchants out of many Nations and Kingdoms. but the inhabitants being proud, & exceeding in all other wickednesses. The Lord sent an Army of Lyons upon them, whoe spareing neither man woman nor child. but consumeing all from the face of the Earth. Took the Citty in possession to themselves & their posterity to this day, wherof its named Ciuitas Leonum, euer since; from whence being night the Lyons wth great feirceness, came foarth Rageing alongst the shoare wth fearfull Roreings, & Cryes, making many offers to enter the Seas, to make a pray of our boate. Roweing alongst. but as their nature is not

to abide the light of the sonn or of fyre: so it seemeth they cannot indure to com in the water. Wee thus keeping our way the next morneing, came in sight of Saphia; the cheife Port on that side of that Land, from whence being discouerd by the inhabitants afare ofe they sent out 2 shippes against vs in all hast if happily we had bene those whom they hoped for & whose comeing they desyred: but suspecting wee were not the same, sodainly they returned into Harborow againe: and wee quietly kept our way, till we chanced wth a little Island some miles from the Maine Land, named Magador; to the Southward of Saphia, where findeing a good Road for our fleet, & a fitt place for the setting vp of a Pynniss, for our necessary vses, upon that Coast. wee came to anker. Now the Reason why the Saphinites did send forth their shippes to meet vs, was for that there was present warrs in hand betweene the 2 kinges the one of Moroccho w^{ch} was the nephew, and the other w^{ch} was of the blackmoores which was the vnckle & being Ready in the feild wth theyr armyes the onely stay they entered not into battle (who should Reigne) was for that the King of Portugall was daily expected to come wth his power to ayde the King of Moroccho against the vsurper his vnckle and wee being supposed to bee the fore-runners of the King of Portugalls fleet they intended to satisfie themselves therein by sending one towards vs to discouer vs if it had been possible but what they then could not effect by that meanes at that tyme they attempted to bring to pass imediatly by another Practise. for noe sooner were wee com to anchor, but certaine men (as it seemed of good worth) were sent wth Expedition to come to our shippes if happily they might com to know what we were & to put themselves out of doubt whether wee were freinds or Enemyes to the King of Moroccho. Notwithstanding their comeing was in vaine. for they were nothing the nerer to know the thing they came for. where in when they see they failed they yet vsed another Pollicye hopeing at the last to satisfie themselves. In subtilty therfore they as marchants offerd to traffick wth vs such Comodityes as their country yeilded as shuger figgs dates & such like, for such merchandise as wee hadd & they pretended to want wherein a Mutuall consent being giuen they appoynted the next day that certaine camells should be brought to the shoare laden wth such things for our vse & so after a kind entertainm^t wth a banquet & som small gifts bestowed vpon them they departed in

Saphia

Magador in 30
degrees one this
syde the Equi-
noctiall

Wares of
Barbary



Map of the Barbary Coast and drawings of fishes described in the text.

him at the same who gaue vs to vnderstand that in that Island should haue store of dried Goates, for our Provision, where bey landed we first visited the church of St James being neere our landing Place. in the wch we lodgeing all night perceaued th

neither the church nor St. James himself was in anny great good state. or anny accompt was made of them but were without all honour in outward appearance for the church was a fold for Goates & the Picture or Roist for hens so that the best sacrifices offerd in the one & the other was the dung of one and the excrements of the other & serued us for fether bedds the Reason of this Ruin being we conceiued to be not the want of Idolatrous affeccons in the Portugalls wch Pocessed the Iland, but the Generation of dronydes, I meane Pyrotts, who baaring a speciall grudg & hatred against the Portugalls in hope of Purchase tayke the oportunity of this place to laye in waite for such shippes and goods as came eyther out of Portugall outward, or from brasilia whomward bound making their stay for Provision at the Iland of St. Jaco another of the Ilands of cape Verde & whilst this poople make their abroad there they wer wonted to Ransack the lower parts of the Iland & spoile the church St. James of his ornaments, & the poople of what they had. by meanes wherof the inhabitants were inforced for their more safety & quiet to fly into the more baren, remote, and mountainy partes to purchase their peace & to leaue the lower & more fruitfull part a verry desart & waste ground without inhabitants a little cottage or 2 excepted. The next morne after our arivall we marched through the lower part of the Land in hope of som dryed Goates but all in vaine, finding neither poople nor stoarhouse & though there were infinite stoare of liue goates yet they were so wilde we could do no great good. We found in the Iland though but little yet most sweet water bearing the tast of milke: wch I conceiued to be quallified from the rootes of the muskadine vines from whence it did spring wch bore the fairest & most pleasant grapes that I hadd seen in all my former trauaile in any kingdom. We mett also wth 2 sorts of most Rare fruits to grow in our parts of the world, The one named Cocos wch is the same wee call nux indica, and the other Plantanos the Portraiture hereafter you shall see in their Places trees & fruit as they grow as neare as I could describe them, & this is also to be noted that all the trees in this Iland as well these as others now being the dead of winter in England were flourishing green wth blossoms & green fruit & ripe fruit vpon them at once & at one tyme: that as the ripe fruit is allwayes Ready to be gatherd so the green fruit cometh forward the blossoms turne to

homely bedds
in holy popes
church

A Plague for
Portugalls

a rare but
true report

St James a cheife & principall Iland of the green cape both in respect of Riches, & greatnes: as also for the oportunity of the place to serue the turne of the Portugalls out bound to brasilia, & returneing homewards againe, for here they make a stay wth their shippes both tymes to renew their prouisions being also inhabited by the Portugalls themselues who came to the possession therof in tymes past by crueltye & blood as in their owne stoaryes of conquest is manifest.

*the same month
the 31 inhabited
by the Portugalls
& gotten &
kept wth blood
they be Pope
Religious*

In saleing amongst this Iland wee perceiued the inhabitants were to to [sic] superstitious accordeing to the popes antechristian traditions; for vpon euery cape, & small head land they sett vp a cross: one most wherof is ingrauen an euill faced Picture of christ. One of the crosses myself & others did breake downe but wth great dislike as well to som of our owne company being so much addicted to that opinion as to the Portugalls themselues We coming to the Southerly cape of this Iland wee discouered neare to the seasyde the Towne of St. James wth a Castell & block-house as it should seeme well mounted wth ordinance. for 2 shippes of Portugall being lately com forth of harborow bound for Brasilia in a marchant voiage, we sent our Pinnis to comānd them to repaire to our fleet: & our Pinnis recouering the one w^{ch} was farther ofe at the sea then the other the Castell applyed or pinnis wth great shott to defend the shipp w^{ch} was next them till shee might gett into Harborow: and reme the other w^{ch} was in our power but wee brought it away without anny harme don to our Pinnis or men being a shipp of Port Portugall [sic] laden wth singuler wines sakes & Canaryes wth wollens and Linen Clothes, silkes & veluetts, & many other good comodityes w^{ch} stood vs in that stead that shee was the life of our voyage the neck wherof otherwise had been broken for the shortnes of our provisions. Into this shipp the Generall sent one Tho: Dubty Gentilman to be captayne, whoe not long after his enterying into this charge was charged & accused by John Brewer Edward Bright & som others of their freinds. to haue purloyned to his propper vse to deceaue the voyage som things of gret valew; & therefore was not to be putt in trust anny longer least hee might robb the Voyage & depriue the company of their hope & her Majesty & other adventurers of their benefitt to inrich himselfe & make himselfe greater to the ouerthrow of all others. In Regard whereof the Generall speedily

*St James to
comand castell*

*a Portugall
Prise*

*a Dangerous
Accusation*

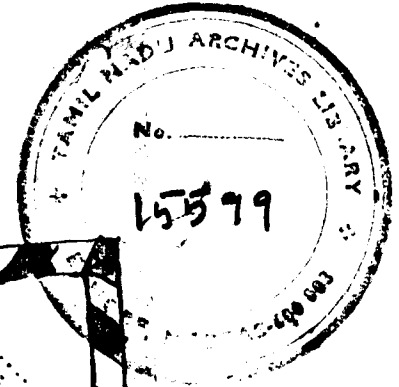
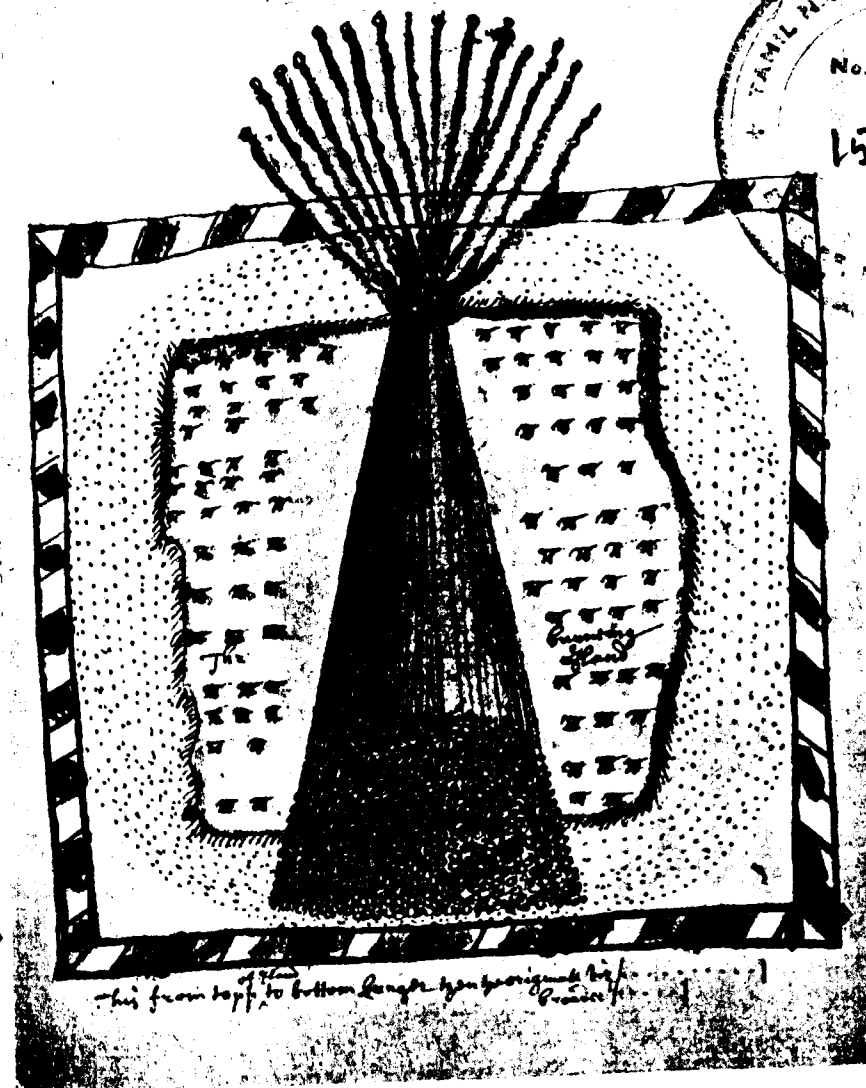
in the greatest Power & light of the sonn Thirdly the flame being disparsted there followeth in the Tale of it such infinite Numbers of Pumix stones scatterd abroad in the Ayre & that farr off that falling downe they couer the water & are there to be taken vpp as Sponges swimming vpon the face of the seas.

Last of all is cast out aboundance of heavye black & hard substance congealed as smiths cynders w^{ch} no sooner tooch the ayre but they fall down the syde of the spire wth a great Noyses to the Lower part where resting they encrease continually the outside of the Hill.

This spectacle at the first sight seemed to vs rare and fearefull teaching vs the great & incomprehensible power of God whose judgments are insearchable All these whereof wee haue harde keep their courses orderly one in the Neck of another euery quarter of an houre for euer without change or intermission All this notwithstanding the Iland is sweet pleasaunt flourishing green & more fruitfull then Maro by how much it is nearer the sonn then it & is inhabited allso by the Portugalls.

[Illustration. See p. 101]

The last & southernmost Iland of Cape Verde is named Brana because it exceedeth all the Rest in greeness & flourishing for although all the Rest of these Ilands be fresh & rare to strangers & haue brought vpp children when they goe abroad in trauaile: yet this is so much more to be marvailed at then the others by how much more it Excelleth them the cause wherof I haue said to be the nearenes of the sonn for euery creature growing or liueing vpon the earth becometh so much more Excell^t in their kindr [kinds or kinde?] by how much more they haue the heat & continuance of the same w^{ch} may easily be conceiued by yearely experience in our owne country where all things seeme to decay & seeme to be dead the sonn being absent: but all things reuiue flourish & bring forth according to their natures by the presence of the sonn & as the sonns presence in our partes of the world is the cause of increase & fruitfullnes for the tyme that it remainith in power wth vs so is it true that where the heat & power euer worketh as between the Tropicks it maketh a perpetuall greenes flourishing fruitfullnes and increase as it doth wth vs for the tyme howsoeuer arrogant companions will haue nothing to bee true but lyes which they themselues cannot gather out of a frozen mountaine



The Pico do Cano, the volcano on Fogo, which rises to about 10,000 feet.

or from Isacles hanging at their noses in winter. This Iland being without inhabitants (one onely Harmet being excepted. who had vowed in that place all the dayes of his life to lead a solitary life & vpon his beads to serue our Lady & Saynt James) is full of

U801
N26

flyeing from them & haue joyned them wth the rest in great multitudes wth sett purpose in tyme to roote out the Portugalls from the face of the earth in that place w^{ch} surely shall be that they haue deserued & daily doe for vnder the heauens is their not a poople that exceed them, & the Spanyards in murdering & insatiable shedding the bloode of all sortes of persons whether infidells or Christians men women & children where they can ouercom by sword or pollicye as daily experience of their abideing euery where teacheth as herafter we shall heare more at large.

Now the Portugalls of the shipp being discharged & sett freely at liberty as hath been sayed wee reserued to our owne seruice onely one of theyre company one Syluester their Pilott a man well trauailed both in Brasilia & most part of India one this syde of the Land. who when he hard that our trauail was into Mare del Zur that is the Sowth Sea hee of himselfe was most willing to goe with vs

*Portugalls in the
shipp dischargd*

all things now brought in order it was determined that we shood find out som place where conveniently wee might stoare our selues wth frest water for God had made S^t James to yeeld vs reine sufficient for a Long Tyme.

[Illustration]

Wee proceeding in our purpose to make provision for fresh water. Passed neere to the Iland of Fuego next to the Southward of St James w^{ch} is so named of the Portugalls because it Burneth continually in a most strange manner farr exceeding Ætna in my opinion, haueing seen them both. so that it may well be sayed to be one of the Rare wonders of the world for in the North part thereof ariseth a great hill the topp by Estimaçon reaching into the ayre about som 6 English miles or more & as in forme like a steeples spire being hollow within out of the concauity whereof the root being buried in the depth of the Sea ariseth as out of a chimney first a most gross & thick smoake which filleing the Ayre at noone dayes when the sonn is in his greatest strength & power it might seem within the compass of it w^{ch} is great to be Eclipsed that not one point Remained & that no palpable darkenes in the Night is to be compared to it. the smoake being gon such abundance of flames imediatly flash out with that force & violence that it seemeth to peirce the heauens & the light therof is so great that in extreamest darkenes of the night it seemeth as noone day

*fishes flying in
the ayer as birds
the Description
of the flying fish*

them. whoe in all his workes is to be honored among men for whom he made them This good & Excell^t creature of God I meane the flying fish is of the length & bigness of a Reasonable pilchard haueing 2 finns reaching from the Pitch of the shoulder to the tipp of the Tayle in length & in bredth & forme like to the wing of a swallow & being full of small Barrs instead of quills are knitt togeather wth most thinn, fine, & cleere filme wherwith she flyeth as anny fetherd fowle in the ayre Among the fishes of the sea my Opinion is that non are to be compared to this kind in freedom from corruption & slimy nature. & so in wholsomnes and purity of substance. the cause whereof I gather to be their continuall exercise in water & ayer. for in the seas they are for the most part pursued by the sholes of the Dolphins, & bonettayes as the cheif meat whereof they liue. so that if they haue not another help by nature then to swimm in the water they were like to be consumed in a short tyme out of their kind haueing such mighty & deuoureing Enemyes by means wherof they are inforced to practise there flying in the ayre to free themselues from so present danger w^{ch} otherwise they could not scape. whose flight is wonderfull both for swiftnes & heighth for its equall to a Pidgeon in both as allso in distance or length. for its. at least a quarter of a mile at a tyme. onely this excepted that the filmes of their wings being so thinn & the sonn hott & the ayer subtile they drye speedily & so will easily splitt in sunder or breake for want of moysture w^{ch} if they doe they end their flyght & fall downe a prey to their Enemyes into the sea In regard wherof nature hath taught them in their flying aloft to com downe headlongs to the water, & glance their bodyes vpon the vpper surface therof to wett their winges & so continue their flight as before, wherby the [sic] go scott free from their sea persecutors for the tyme till they fall into the like danger againe w^{ch} is often not with standing the tyme of yeare flying in the ayre is joyned allso wth no small peryll. & danger of life & that diuers wayes as first the splitting their wings as hath been sayed 2 when they com into the ayer it seemeth they see nothing or elce their flight being so swift that they cannot stay themselues or turne to the Right or left hand out of the way but right soouth so that whatsoeuer is in their way at their rising out of the sea, in their flyeing or at their fall. they strike their bodyes vpon it & perish by meanes wherof we injoy many of them in our

*the flying fishes
are euer in
danger in
the sea*

shippes for many tymes they would flye against the topps masts & sales of our shippes & against the bodyes of our men to doe vs service whereby the dolphin and Bonetta had a just recompence of their cruelty against them for as they be to them the principall meat whereon they feed: so are they at such tymes their cheifest bane. Whereof we had continuall Experience, ffor we bateing our Hookes wth flyeing fishes & casteing them into the sea out of the sterne of our shippes by lines the Dolphins & Bonettayes would presently cease them wth greedines & swallow them downe & being fastened offer themselues to our Cooke to put them out of their Torment. but the greatest spoyle wherevnto this flyeing fishes were subject to in the ayer, was that a Multitude of a strange Bird did euer attend vpon the shooles of the dolphin and Bonetta in the ayer knoweing that when they light vpon the sholes of the flying fishes they would put them vpp as a couey of Partridges and they presently as hawkes fell vpon them wth wth [sic] all violence to make Hauoke & slew a 1000 before they held one fast for their owne vse! wherwith they pleased their freinds the Dolphins, & Bonettayes in the sea w^{ch} receiued them wth greedynes lookeing for more. When the foules ceased vpon anny to serue their owne turne they soared vp so high as well they might be seene, where casting their wings abroad, they descend by degrees little & little till they haue picked the bones of their purchase & so looke for fresh gaine. The fowles are in bignes Eagles fellows wherof we had strang reports from our Portugall Pilott. who professed to haue experience of their nature & quallityes that is that is [sic] that they cannot abyde to touch the water wth their feet & therfore being neuer so hunger bitt they would not take out of the seas anny slaine bodyes of the fishes they killed themselues. againe when they slept they mounted vp into the ayer & casting their wings abroad descended without wakeing fast on sleep till they came neere to the water w^{ch} nature abhorring they presently awoke & flyeing vp againe to fetch out the rest of their sleep as before. Last of all they engender in the ayer & neuer com at land but onely in the tyme of layeing their Eggs w^{ch} is as it were but a moment for wth all speed the female dropps her Eggs in the sands & couering them presently departeth neuer repareing anny more to them but leaueth them to the heat of the sonn. & the Nature of the sands in the Prouidence of God to bring them forth liueing

strange report

*The Numbers
& practise of
the frye of
flying fish*

creatures like to them in their kind without shewing anny spark of naturall affection towards them. the increase of the flying fish is such that their frye do couer the face of the seas where they haue spawned, which being of the biggnes of gnatts do somtimes scudd vpon the superficies of the water & somtymes instead of flyeing do skipp from place to place like grashoppers! practizing that being young w^{ch} they must vse when they be olde the sight wherof might delight the greatest personages in the world in these & such other pleasures did we pass away 54 dayes from the land of Africa to the coast of Brasilea saleing all that tyme for the most part in Torreda Zona w^{ch} seemed to the great Philosophers so imposible to be endured by men & other liueing creatures of God, & for the better contentation of the Readers I haue set downe the Portraitures of such things as are mencioned in this story as in the next Table doth appeare.

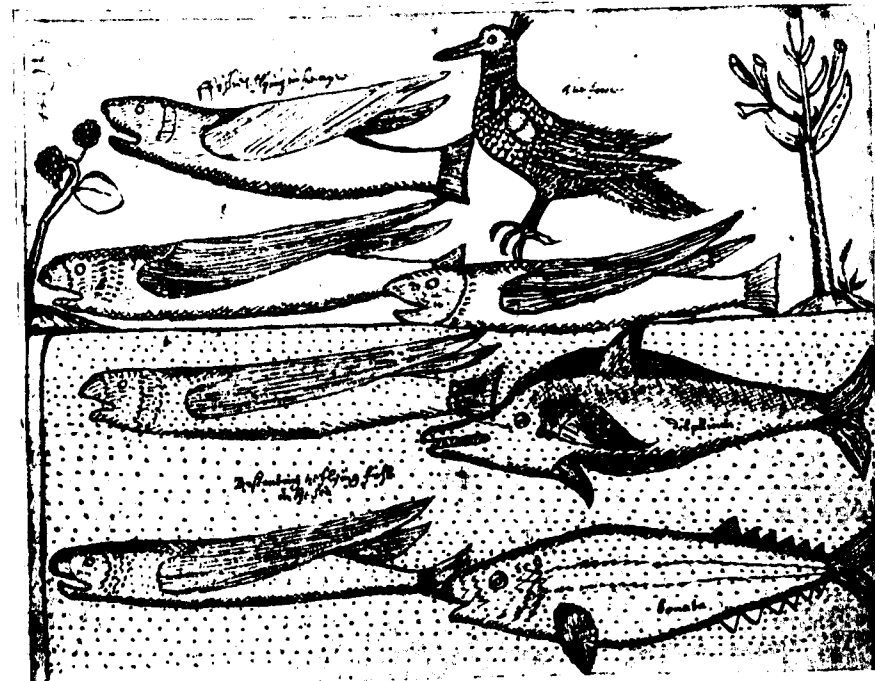
Now yet these 2 things I thought necessary to be added w^{ch} fell out in this Journey, that somtymes the water w^{ch} fell out of the ayer when we came neare to the Equator was so quallified of the heat of the sonn. that it falleing vpon the cloathes of our men w^{ch} laye in heapes or folded vpp. if they were not within short tyme washed & hanged abroad they were so burned that they would moulder in peices as a peice of loouse earth.

*Wee had the
sight of both
the Poles in
saleing of 2
degrees*

And the 2 when wee were within one degree of the Equinoctiall line or thereabouts wee lost the sight of the north pole & not afore: & also being so much to the southward of the line wee had in sight the South pole. between the guardey [?] wherof wee found great difference: at what tyme the sonn was our Zenith, our bodyes hadd or gaue no shaddow at all but right downe to our feet. Wherevnto allso lett me putt the thirde a thinge worthy the noting that in our passing from our country being winter lice increased infinitely in the cloathes of our men & were a great plague to many: but no sooner were wee com within the burneing Zone but they all dyed & consumed away of themselues, so that till wee came beyond the southerly tropick to Brasilia there was not one to be found among vs.

So that in fine the transcriber may add that by the forgoeing last mencioned story of the Philosophers obseruacon before mencioned prooues true the lice all dyed in Torreda Zona

Probatum est



The flying-fish, birds, etc. referred to in the text.

OF BRASILLIA

After so longe but a sweet & pleasant trauaile before remembred by the prouidence of God we chanced & fell in the sight of Brasilia where at the first the land seemed to make vs a faire offer of opertunity to do that w^{ch} we had long desyred & now was most necessary for vs that is to trimt our shippes being verry fowle for the land seemed to be verry Pleasant a fare bay & a sandy ground fitt for our Purpose & to incourage the rather som of the poople being in sight did shew themselues verry joyfull to see vs in draweing to stand inward towards their land but the case was quickly altered sweet meates would haue sower sawce & long delights was likely to haue sower gaule & Bitternes. for we had not longer held our way inward but the sight of land was taken from vs & that sodainly wth such a hastynes as if it had been a most deadly fogg wth the palpabel darkenes of Egipt that neuer a shipp could see another in the neck wherof did follow such extreame stormes as

*April 5 day in
33 degrees to
the South ward
of the Line*

*sodaine altera-
con*

*The Portugalls
Pilott his report
of this strange
accident*

*Tyranny exileth
men from their
own native
Countrys*

heauen & earth had gon together & rootes of the Rocks & the bottom of the sea should haue been discouered & that w^{ch} was a signe of a desperat state to vtter distruction wee were vpon a Leeshore & the shoalds increased vpon vs. so that if the Portugall Pilot had not ben apointed of God to do vs Good we had perished without remembrance for he being well acquainted wth the bloody gouernment of this gouernm^t the Portugalls was not ignorant of the state of this part of the countrie & knowing the present danger he presently tryed to returne as we could or els no way but Iminent death wherein though we made all possible speed yet one of our shippes touched wth the shoalds: but by gods providence came cleere away & being cast about to the seas euen against the streames our fleet was so seperated that in many monthes after we came not together againe Now the Pilot being in the Admirall the question was whether he could giue anny Reason of so sodain an alteracō & extreame an accid^t to fall out against vs in this Place whose Answer was that such was the tyrrany of the Portugalls towards the naturall inhabitants that rather then they wold endure their intollerable & bloody crueltie they would willingly Exile themselves & banish themselves from their naturall soile & inheritances to dwell in these remote & vnfruitfull partes of the Land. where being settled the vnmercifull & murdering Portugalls could not be contented wth the fatt of their Land but they must pursue the Poore & harmeles poople to Roote them out their wiues & children from the face of the earth. whervpon this poople w^{ch} before did liue by instinct of Nature were now driuen to yelde themselves into the hands of Diuells

And tooke them for their Patrons, & Protectors against their bodily enemies the Portugalls haueing them allwayes their familiars who when they see anny shippes vpon their coasts the shoare being sandy, they cast the Sand vp into the ayre whereof ariseth sodainly such a hazynes as a most gross & thick fogg that there followeth a Palpable darkenes that the Land cannot be seen no nor the heauens besides this they hurle the sands into heapes. w^{ch} as they increase so the shoalds increase in the way of the shippes in the seas to Ground them. & withall such horrible fearefull & intollerable winds, Raines, & stormes that there is no certainty of life one moment of tyme wherof we had present Experience, & had perished if God had not in his Mercy & power prevented the

same, by this meanes did they continually ouerthrow the Portugalls when they cam wth their armies of Men, & their Armathos that is their huge shippes of Warrs against them. whereof many had ben cast away & non that euer cam in the dance did euer Escape. & they supposing vs to be Portugalls & therefore their deadly enemies being not acquainted wth anny other Poople to frequent their Land but they, did practise against vs as against them. Wee haueing a little abatem^t by Gods providence of this Extremity found that wee were 4 shippes neare in company & 2 wanting wherefore wee sayled for the Riuer of Plate the Place appoynted for our meeting in hope that there our fleet would come together againe In the way of this Journey short of the Riuer we chanced wth a Cape or headland where staying to Refresh ourselves wth fresh waters one of our shippes w^{ch} we wanted came happily to vs for the which we named the Place cape Joye. Neare vnto the which we had a great Rock or a little Iland, or Rather indeed an Isthmos. whereon did lodg & breed continually that sort of beast w^{ch} the Spanyard nameth the sea wolfe! but indeed is Vitulus Marinus the Sea Calfe. Whereof being many wee killed som *A sea calfe* stoare & found them not onely good meate & specially the young ones, but profitable in Respect of their fatnes yeilding abundance of Oyle as allso in Respect of their skinns: w^{ch} being thick & spongy may seem to make verry good buff & serue for many other vses if they were in the hands of skillfull men the onely way to kill them speedily is to strike them vpon the Nose wth a Cudgell for no other place can hurt them & they be of great strength & caste stones & grauel mightily wth their hinder feet at them w^{ch} pershein [?] them in their flyeing wth great violence they hurle themselves into the sea & often tymes take their young ones one their back wth them. they feed altogether in the daytyme in the sea. & Lodg at Land as hath been sayed. their oyle is so subtile that peirceth through anny substance it is put on: & is a present help for outward inflamacions in anny members whereof diuers of our men had good Experience by my directions to their great comfortes

VITULUS MARINUS

This Rock or Iland broader then originall vizt/...../ & so much deeper at least

[Illustration]

vpon the Maine land aboue this Rock wee chanced wth a plant verrey Rare & strange to all herballs w^{ch} I haue scene in anny Language haueing but one leafe & the stemm rising in the Midest wth the fruit one either syde of the stem & Round about the Edges of the leafe as the ffigure sheweth. the Leafe is a Grass & thick substance at the least a hands breadth or rather halfe a foote & in heighth more or less then halfe a yard of the one side green & full of white specks as the Belly of a Toad & the other perfect green but freezed ouer with a kind of whitish small downe or Cotten full of pricks of a Poisenned nature w^{ch} being but Touched com ofe & being touched wth anny cloath convayes themselues into it so close that they cannot be gott out againe if they come to touch their body they convay their Poyson into the Poores of the skinn & worke there a Most Vile Effect raiseing Redd & fiery pimples wth extreame itching & burneing to the Tormenting of the body in som Extreimity till they haue consumed their full poyson where-with diuers of our men were mightily afflicted for the fruit being pleasant they gatherd aboundance of it to bring one shipp board & putteing them in their boasomes within their shirtes or in their pocketts & som in their Hattes they had sower sawce wth their sweet meat the fruit being wholsom the Juice of the leafe is poyson wherwth it is thought they poyson their Arrows
see the figure in
the next leafe
here described.

[Illustration]

in 36 degrees to
the Southward
of the Line

After som small stay in the place before remembred wee sett sale for the Riuer of Plate: w^{ch} in my opinions is one of the ffromousest riuers in the world. Wherevnto haueing runn som little way wee found it verrey deep & fresh water. Wherof haueing filled som vessells wee were ready to depart in hope to meet wth our shipp yet wanting being our portugall prize we tooke at Cape Verde vpon the Coast of Africa whereof Tho: Drake was Captaine, for whom great care was taken but our men being on shoare wee stayed something the longer for them who being returned gaue vs to vnd^rstand that the country was full of Partridges & of Most Large bodyes bigger much then in England as in like case they found the print of their feet in the soft ground the bredth whereof was the length of one of our mens feet of Largest sise w^{ch} could be no

Partridges
A Giants foote

other then the foote of a Giant. so that wee conjectured that the Giants did posess som part of Brasilia one the North Syde of the Riuer of Plate wee departeing the same day out of that Riuer made a conjecture of the Mouth of it from Northerly to southerly cape to bee about 10 Leagues no sooner had wee recouered the south cape but wee were againe sodainly ouertaken wth such an intollerable storme that it might seeme y^t the familiars of Brasilia had followed vs in so much that one of our shipps was seperated from our fleet, & the rest kept company verrey hardely wee thus coasting along perceaued that the Maine land from the Riuer of Plate to the streight of Magilan is wholly inhabited of the Giants being at the least in length 20 degrees at 17 leagues to a degree w^{ch} cometh to 10900 [or 10800] 80 English miles for wee touched wth no land where alongst that Land where wee mett wth them in great Numbers as in the 47 degree to the southward of the line the fleet makeing a stay to looke for the coming of the shipps w^{ch} were not yet com after a most deadly tempest hadd in that place & herewth the Generall wth som of his company went one shoare where the Giant men & women wth their children repaired to them showing themselues not onely harmeless, but allso most ready to do vs anny good & Pleasure yea they shewed vs more kindenes then many Christians would haue donn nay more then I haue for my owne part found among many of my Brethren of the Ministry in the church of God at whom in my owne country for no sooner were we landed but they pittyed our case being so weatherbeaten & had ben in so great danger wherefore they were most dilligent to do anny good to vs & with all Expedition brought to vs som such victualls as their country yeilded in most kind & familiar sort thincking themselues most happy as could first do vs anny pleasure The cheif victualls wee receiued from them was the flesh of Ostrigges whereof their Land is full & is the greatest provision their country yeildeth for their diet & feeding whereof no part of the body is to be eaten but onely the Leggs w^{ch} are bigger then the greatest leggs of Mutton in the province of peru & the meat therof is Equal to anny redd deare the Rest of the body is but scin & bones without anny substance of flesh to be picked no scarce for a sparrow

They cannot flye their feathers are so weake but runn most swiftly boath because their Leggs are Long & they beat their

17 of Aprill the
bredth of the
enterance the
Mouth of the
Riuer of Plate

The Giants
land Reacheth
from the Riuer
of Plate to the
supposed
streight of
Magilanus

The Kindenes
of the giants to
strangers

the Land full of
Ostriges

Ostrigges can-
not flye but
Runn most
swiftly

the order observed in the Companies of ostriges

how the Giants take Ostriges

stubb wings in the ayer in their running to giue them a lighter Motion. Neither can the inhabitants take them by anny Meanes as we could perceiue by shott by courseing of doggs nor other wayes but onely by Pollicye, w^{ch} because it is a Rare conceipt & strange practise to bring so hard a thing so easily to Pass I haue thought it not amiss here to incert the Manner thereof the order of the Ostriges is in great companyes to grase together & go in order one after another as ducks doe to the water & a Lowe one as cheiftaine ouer all the rest of euery Companye who haueing authority to Comaund goeth before the Ranck in the first place traueilling still in their feeding Now if anny amongst them shews themselves disordered the leader correcteth them with a chideing voice w^{ch} if he obey not at the first then the captayne or guide obserueing w^{ch} way the disordered Ostrige declineth he frameth himself to go the contrary as if he declineth to go to the Right hand he goeth to the left hand & so the contrary to draw the straggler into his place againe & that with continuall chideing & Majesty vntell hee bring him into order wth the Rest to follow directly as others do w^{ch} Manner of discipline amongst them being obserued by the Giants thereof they take advantage to make a comon slaughter of them at their pleasures whose policie or practise is this they first assigne a place for the slaughter in som streight or narrow passage between 2 hills or banckes eyther Naturall or Made by arte or in som thickett of wood where secretly men women & doggs lye close out of sight prepared wth bowes & Arrowes stones Cudgells & Netts These things thus orderd one of the company being naked as all the Rest are putts vpon his head & vpper partes of his body the case of an Ostridge & goeing stooping wise seemeth to graze in his going as other ostriges doe Mending his pace to ouertake the company of them to whom when he cometh he placeth himself in the Taile of all & cometh hindmost & then beginneth his practise to Effect his purpose for when hee seeth they go not the way he would haue them he beginneth to go out of Order if he would haue them go to the Right hand then he declineth out of his place to the left hand & to the contrary whereby the Leader as correcting his Error turneth so long contrary to him to the one or other hand till he com into the course that he would haue him to hold to their owne destruction & then he keepeth his place. & order as others

do so long as they be the direct way to the place no sooner are they com within the Jurisdiction of the place the Netts being sett but casteing ofe his Ostreg case they stricken wth feare Runn forwards & desperatly fall into the Netts & all the People wth doggs & their instrum^{ts} fall vpon them not suffering anny one to Escape from the slaughter of these being dryed vpon the Rock in the sonne in somer they make their winter provision for Victualls

It might seeme that here I should speake at Large of the Nature Manners Religion Countrye & Soile of the Giants but haueing more occasion to speake hereof in the next story I referr it to that as a fitter place

Our shipp w^{ch} was lost neare to the southerly cape of the Riuer of Plate being com to vs in this place & feareing this coaste to often to offer vs more extremityes of winde & wether & som of our men being sick That both we might wth fewer shippes keep better companye & that anny diseased men might haue more ease to recouer themselves it was determined to cast ofe one of our shippes in this place w^{ch} being defaced we did accordingly & left her for a monument of our being here & so departed to seeke a fitter place for the Trimbing of our shippes & makeing provision for victualls at our departeing this poople was so farr in likeing wth vs that we had much adoe wth them both men & women to depart from them & they not to goe wth vs wherein som of them laboured mightily & willingly would forsake their country & kinred the Picture of the Ostridge ffolloweth in the Table

one of our shippes defaced

This scheame below & that of England at the begining of the booke being both I suppose made by one scale may serue for a Paterne to the bignes I suppose of other Ilands here described by the trāscriber but not with that Exactnes as this here & that of England at the begining is by which the rest may be adjusted w^{ch} is onely a Caution & the originall being Exactly to a haire with this & that of England therefore this is twice inserted the other of these in the Place being larger then the originall must be considered accordingly.

[Illustration]

Nōt farr distant from the place before remembred to the southward our boat being sent aforehand to discouer a fitt Bay for our purpose to refresh our selues trimbe our shippes & make our provision as the Place would aford vs in the Providence of God

*A strang story
of Birds*

where into we being entered we found within a faire & large Iland where into som of our men being sent to see what good things it would yeild for our maintainance dureing the tyme of our abode to do our buisines they found it a stoare house of victualls for a King's army. for such was the infinite stoare of Eggs. & birdes that there was no footeing vpon the ground but to tread vpon the one or the other. or both at euery stepp. yea the birds was so thick & would not remooe that they were enforced wth Cudgells & Swords to kill them to make way to goe & the night draweing on the fowles increased more & more so that there was no place for them to rest in Nay euery third bird could not find anny roome in so much that they sought to settle themselues vpon our heads shoulders armes & all parts of our body they could in most strange manner without anny feare. yea they were so speedy to place themselues vpon vs that one of vs was glad to help another & when no beating wth Poles. cudgells swords. & daggers would keep them ofe from our bodyes wee were driuen wth our hands to pull them away one from another till wth pulling & killing wee fainted. & could not preuaile but were more & more ouercharged with featherd Enemies. whose cryes were Terrible & there poder & shott poisoned vs vnto euen death if the sooner wee had not retired & giuen them the feild for the tyme. wee therefore takeing wth vs sufficient victuall for the tyme present tooke fitter opportunity of tyme the next day. & at all other tymes to take revenge vpon so barbarous aduersaryes & to weaken their power. The Reason of this boldenes & want of fare I gather to bee because they never knew what a man ment before. for no poople euer frequenting those partes but onely the Giants the inhabitants they were neuer beaten or disquieted to breed in them anny dislike for the Giants themselues neuer vse boates or com vpon the water, nor so much as Touch water with their feet if they can by anny meanes auoid it. Now then seeing God in mercy had thus provided for vs both for the present & for the Tyme to come. we concluded, & resolu'd bonum hic Esse wherefore wee prepared ourselves wth all Expediō to go dilligently about our necessary afaires & buisneses & being landed vpon the maine for that purpose the inhabitants shewed themselues in diuers companyes vpon seuerall hills not farr from vs wth leapeing, danceing, & great noyes. & cryes wth voices like the bulls of Basan. expecting that wee should

*How the giants
appeard to vs in
this Place*

answer them wth the lyke & doe as they did to satisfie them as neere as wee could by imitateing their Gestures that wee were freinds & not Enemyes w^{ch} notwithstanding wee did accordingly yet would they haue non of our company tell such tyme they waranted by Oracle from their God Settaboth that is the Diuell whom they name their great God wherefore the company w^{ch} were next vnto vs haueing wth them vpon the hill their preist or prophet: did presently frame themselues together to do such worship & offer such sacrifices as were apointed to them to obtaine an Answer from him by their prophet what they should doe. Who standing in a long ranck one by one like beggars for a doale the prophet did walke vp & downe befor them from end to end of the Ranke wth many strange gestures. & speakeing to them, apointed them to the Sonne wth his hand. who haueing made an end of his Speech they all at once boweing themselues towards the sonn. vawted vpwards from the ground & seemed to reioice. w^{ch} done the prophet leaueing them standing in their order departed for the tyme from them into som secret place vnder the side of the hill where Settaboh appeared vnto him to giue him his Oracle to bring vnto them that they might know what they should doe that is whether they should be acquainted wth vs or noe now when the prophet came to them againe he seemed to be changed in shape for euen as Settaboh appeared to him he in shew & outward appearance came to them haueing in his head before, standing vpriht littel hornes 12 long & broad black feathers. whoe thus comeing to them & walkeing vp & downe as before they honoured him wth boweing their bodies towards him who Makeing to them another speech apointed them to the Sonn wth his hand as before to the which they did againe offer the like worship as at the first the like whereof they do daily at the Riseing & Setting of the Sonn vpon euery hill in their Assemblies. Their sacrifices thus ended they drew themselues to the edge of the hill next vnto vs euery man prepared wth Bow & Arrows in their hands standing still & Gazeing towards vs w^{ch} when som of our men perceiued vnadvisedly & meanely prepared marched towards them intending to goe vp the hill to them but when they had giuen that attempt The Giants wth one consent cried out wth mighty voices Corah. Corah away away forbiding them to com anny further & euery man began to make himself ready to Battle as

*They will doe
nothing till they
haue the Oracle
of Settaboth*

*they worship
sonn. & moone*

*As settaboth ap-
peareth to the
prophet so the
[sic] Returneing
to the Poople
againe make the
show in his
owne Person*

*A vnadvised
attempt*

*A wise preven-
tion of mischeife*

feareing (it might seeme) that our men had com to provoke them which when the Generall saw & perceiued the Iminent danger our men were in. he caused a retreat to be sownded by the Trumpett & hastened wth more company better appointed if need required to make a Rescue without the which there had been no hope if our men had gon forwards that anny person had Escaped aliue wherevpon our men retireing & the Generall being com to them it was determind to trye them another way whether they ment to haue anny acquaintance wth vs or noe they Therefore keeping theire place & quietly standing together without anny shew of dislike against vs & indiferent The Generall sent two of our men vnarmed a good distance from vs. and indiferent for them to come to the Place without suspition of harme: who carieing wth them som small trifles as franch braslett of small Beades of Glass & such like they sett them vpright vpon a rodd in the ground in their sight & leauing them returned to vs againe.

*the way to winn
the Giants to
our acquaintance
& Company*

Wherein they perceiuing our kindenes & therby perswadeing themselues there was no evill intention in vs against them: they after a while consulting together among themselues addressed 2 of their notorioust & most fitt men for that purpose of their company to com to the place & fetch the things w^{ch} our men had left for them. Who being prepared wth bowes & Arrows to fight sett forwards wth shew of defiance the one to the other to trye the accombate together & turneing the one from the other run in haste vpon the Edge of the hill a good distant contrary wayes who comeing to the end of their Race apointed, desend vpon the syde of the hill a good space one som 6 paces lower then the other, & returneing againe wth a swift pace wth their bowes charged wth arrowes when they drew neere together made offer to shoote ofe, each, at other, as if they had ben deadly Enemies: but passing on in their way runn the like distance of ground againe & as before, at their returne descended another degree of the hill, still holdeing such intercourses till they came to the bottom & place where the things were w^{ch} they came for there makeing an end of their contraverce wth great rejoyceing, that they had sped so well for the great attempt they had giuen wth such perill. & danger of their liues to haue so great rewards. Notwithstanding they did not take them without recompence for instead thereof they Layed downe som of their Arrowes made of Reedes allmost as long as their

*the manner of
their Warrs*

Bowes som of their arrow heads made of cleere flint stones cutt wth great art in forme of our broad arrow heads wth Picked shoulders & toothed one both sides to the verry point som allso of their heads was made of hard wood others of bone being in length 4 inches or thereabouts of euery sort they left som togeather wth som Ostrige feathers & so departed to their company who being gon our men were sent to the Place to fetch such things as they had left. No sooner were they com to their freinds & shewed what comodities they had gott but they were rauished wth desire to haue the like wherefore he thought himself the happyest man that first could com to the Markett so that they cam headlong downe the hill euery one striveing by speedy running to prevent another notwithstanding when they came neare to vs they stayed themselues not dareing at first to venter themselues in our hands. but by little & littel came nearer to our company. & at the last entered into traffick wth vs for such pedler wares as we shewed to them but in a Long tyme they would not receaue anny thing out of our hands Except we cast it downe upon the Ground for the w^{ch} purpose they vsed this word Toyte that is cast it downe & when they tooke it if they either disliked the thing. or the price they they [sic] would say Corah. but if they liked the bargaine then with a smileing countenance they said Chiloh. Wee thus vseing them wth great kindenes they became more & more familiar wth vs in so much that they would not absent themselues from our company anny day yea som of them in short tyme would not onely receiue things at our hands without Toite: but would in like case if they liked anny thing they saw: boldely take it themselues without offer made vnto them. In so much one of them standing by the Generall & seeing vpon his head a scarlet sea capp & seeming to be delighted in the Collour, he boldely tooke it from his head & put vpon his owne who feareing lest the Generall should dislyke with him for it presently tooke an Arrow & setting out his legg did deeply wound the Calfe of the same with it & receiuing the blood in his hand offerd it to the Generall seemeing thereby to signifie to him that he loued him so dearely that he would giue his blood for him: & that therefore he should not be angry for so small a matter as a capp Att the same tyme another of the Giants standeing with our men takeing their morneings draughts shewed himself so familiar with vs that he

*A Peacefyng sa-
crifice with his
owne blood*

*A Giant over
thrown wth
smell of wine*

allso would do as they did who takeing the glass in his hand (being strong canary wine) it came not to his lipps when it tooke him by the nose & so sodainly enterd into his head that he was so drunke or at the least so ouercom wth the spirit of the wine that he fell flatt vpon his buttocks not able stand [sic] anny longer so that his company began to startle as if we had slaine the man but yet he holding the glass fast in his hand without shedding of the wine thought to trye againe when he came to himselfe if hee could haue anny better luck sitting, then standeing. he smelled so long & tasted so often that at the last he drew it to the bottom from w^{ch} tyme hee tooke such a likeing to wine that haueing Learned the word he euery morneing would com downe the Mountaines wth a mighty crye Wine, Wine, Wine, till he came to our tent & would in that tyme haue deuoured more wine at a tyme then 20 men could haue done Neuer ceasing till he had his draught euery morneing.

*The goodnes of
their Land*

*they goe naked
men & women*

Their Country & soile is verry pleasaunt & apt to bring forth fruits if it were husbanded & vsed as other countryes be & theyr ayer in this part most temperate the poople go Naked both men & women onely the men haue a Girdell of a whole fawne skinn haire & all about their Loynes w^{ch} in the morneing if the ayer be annything sharpe they sometymes loose it out & cast it about their shoulders for the tyme. Neither haue they anny great need to clothe their bodyes for the Colde for though they be naked they haue a speciall defence to keep out the ayer that it peirce not to offend nature for no sooner are their children brought into the world but the Mother bringeth them betweene 2 or more fyers made of Purpose: in the midst whereof between them haueing layed a padd of Rushes she layeth the childe & basteyth the body wth the Oyle of Ostrigges mixed with som chawkye or Oare of sulphur or som other such matter w^{ch} being rubbd one in the heat of the fier entereth in the Pores of the skinn & stoppeth them & vseing this daily it groweth to a verry habitt, & yet hindereth nothing the Growth & increase of the partes & members for though for though [sic] the ingred^{ts} mixed wth the Oyle must needs be a bindeing matter or substance. yet it is so quallified wth the Oyle that it neuer groweth to that hardenes that it hindereth Nature at all to worke its Effect. now when they com to the state of young men they do not onely vse the same still to serue their

*defence against
colde*

necessitye: but allso they paint their bodyes wth diuers collours & formes as seemeth best to please their humours & to make shew of Brauery & he that can most skillfully or artificially sett out himself in his Collours & workemanshipp the same is counted to be the greatest cauelero among them som sett out themselues wth Redd som black moones. & starrs som wth one forme of one thing. som with another. & all of them wth great Circles of Redd about their Eyes som are painted with their conceipts vpon the buttocks som vpon the brests & belly. others vpon the back the men haue holes boared through the middle gristle of the nose & through the neather lipp with a Pegg of wood or bone finely burnished of 3 or 4 inches long put in either of them standing like a Cross to make them seeme terrible to the Enemye the men allso haue their haire growing at length as nature will yeeild & is neuer cutt all the dayes of their liues w^{ch} being loosed out at large covereth all their bodyes to the buttocks & Lower much sometymes but for the most part they bind it vp with a haire lace of Ostrige feathers & make it a stoar house for all things thier bowes Excepted they carry about them so that it is a quiver for their arrowes a sheath for their knives a Case for their toothpickes & a box for their fiersticks & what not wheresoeuer they take their victuall there they feede & making a fier cast it by bitts of 6 pounds weight into the flame till it be a little scorched & takeing it out tare it in peeices like Lyons wth their teeth both men & women whose brestes, bellyes, & all to the feet are so be blubbered & baisted wth water & blood falling from their mouthes out of the crude & Raw flesh that it is loathsom to beholde Their stomachs being Gorged at full the first water they com to they lye them downe & drinke like stoane horses the Makeing of their fyer is strange. for they haue 2 peeices of wood. the one as hard as holly. the other soft as firr. the one flatt the other Round they lay the flatt peeice vpon their knees & sett the hard peeice vpon the other and drill it between their hands the motion wherof doth sodainly engender such a heat that it breaketh out immediatly into a flame. Wheras wth som dry Rushes. or other matter they Receaue fyer at their pleasure their men being delighted much with danceing make instrum^{ts} of Musick w^{ch} being made of Barkes of trees & sewed together wth thredds of guttes of Ostriges like lute strings. & little stones put in them & painted ouer are like our childrens rattles in England these they hang by

*Pride in Paint-
ing their bodye*

*shew of terrour
to the Enemy*

*the use of their
long haire*

*beastly eating of
Meate*

*the manner of
kindling their
fier*

*the Giants in-
strum^{ts} of
Musick*

stringes at their Girdles when they are desposed to sport themselues w^{ch} as they mooue their bodyes bobb vpon their buttocks from the one to the other! w^{ch} no sooner begin to make a noise but they beginn to dance & the more they sturr their stumps the greater Noyse or sound they giue. & the more their spirits are rauished wth Mellodye in so much that they dance like maddmen and cannot stay themselues vnto death if som freind pluck not a way the bables. w^{ch} being taken away they stand as not knowing what is becom of themselues for a long tyme. in the great stormes whereof we haue spoken before myselfe haueing som loss of good things spoiled in my trunck of provision of Phisick for the Voyage. among other things glass vialls bottles went to wreck among the w^{ch} some being couerd wth wicker rodde the broken glass remained within the cases. whereof one being in my hand & makeing noyes. one of the Giants supposeing it to be an instrum^t of Musick must of necessity haue it w^{ch} when he had receiued he & his Companions were so ouercom wth the sweetnes of the Musick that he shakeing the glass & danceing they all followed & danced after his pipe ouer mountains & vallies hills & dales. daye & night till all the stringes were consumed. for the glass being continually laboured did becom small powder & wasted by little & little quite away & the musick ended the next day they came againe but all a morte that their sweet instrum^t had lost its sound & made great meanes to haue another. they did admire at our still musick. but the sound of the Trumpett noyes of the drum & Especially the blow of a Gunn was terrible to them. theire Munition is onely bow & arowes. the string of their bowes is slack & neyer bent wherewth they giue a deadly blowe & send an arrow with wonderfull force. Now as we haue spoken of the men giants so is it not amiss wee speake somewhat of their women first therefore as the men in heights & greatenes are so Extraordinary that they hold no comparison wth anny of the sones of men this day in the world: so the women are Answerable to them in stature & proportion euery waye & as the men neuer cutt their haire so the women are euer shorne or rather shauen wth a razor of a flint stone whereof they make all their Edged Tooles & a cutt one of them with another. The women go naked without anny artificiall couereing to the secretts of nature. they carry their children at their back in a fawnes skin the feet whereof are knitt about their necks vnder

*the glass bottles
in the wicker
taken for in-
strum^t of
musick*

*the giant women
Equall & pro-
portionable to
the men*

*The giant wo-
men are de-
scribed*

their chin where hanging behind them they role their breasts ouer their shoulders whereat they lay duggeing as at a great water bagg & hanging downe in their naturall places they reach to their Nauells & their bellyes being like woole sacks hang to their knees & that is their hideing of nature their buttocks like two bellyes of young heifers lye bobbing in their hamms enforceing them at euery stepp to make a french curtesye their leggs are all calves downe to the ankells whose feet are like shouells & their hands like shoulders of Mutton their Eares most Large & Eyes in compass to a great hand bawle or Bal or the inmost circle of a Reasonable sawcer their browes like the forehead of an Elke, & vnder their chinns a bagg reaching to their breasts as if were stuffed wth bombast so that a Camell should haue much adoe to carry one of them anny long way

The description of Peopel of [sic] do but little help to set forth the Majesty of this generation of the sonns & daughters of the Earth

Quis humidum guttur miratur alpihus
quis meroe crasso majorem infante mamillam

Wee could not perceiue that this poople hadd anny sett gouernment that they liue as they list: except they dwelling together by tribes in their seuerall provinces, they vse the Elder Men to giue counsell but will admitt no comand ouer them

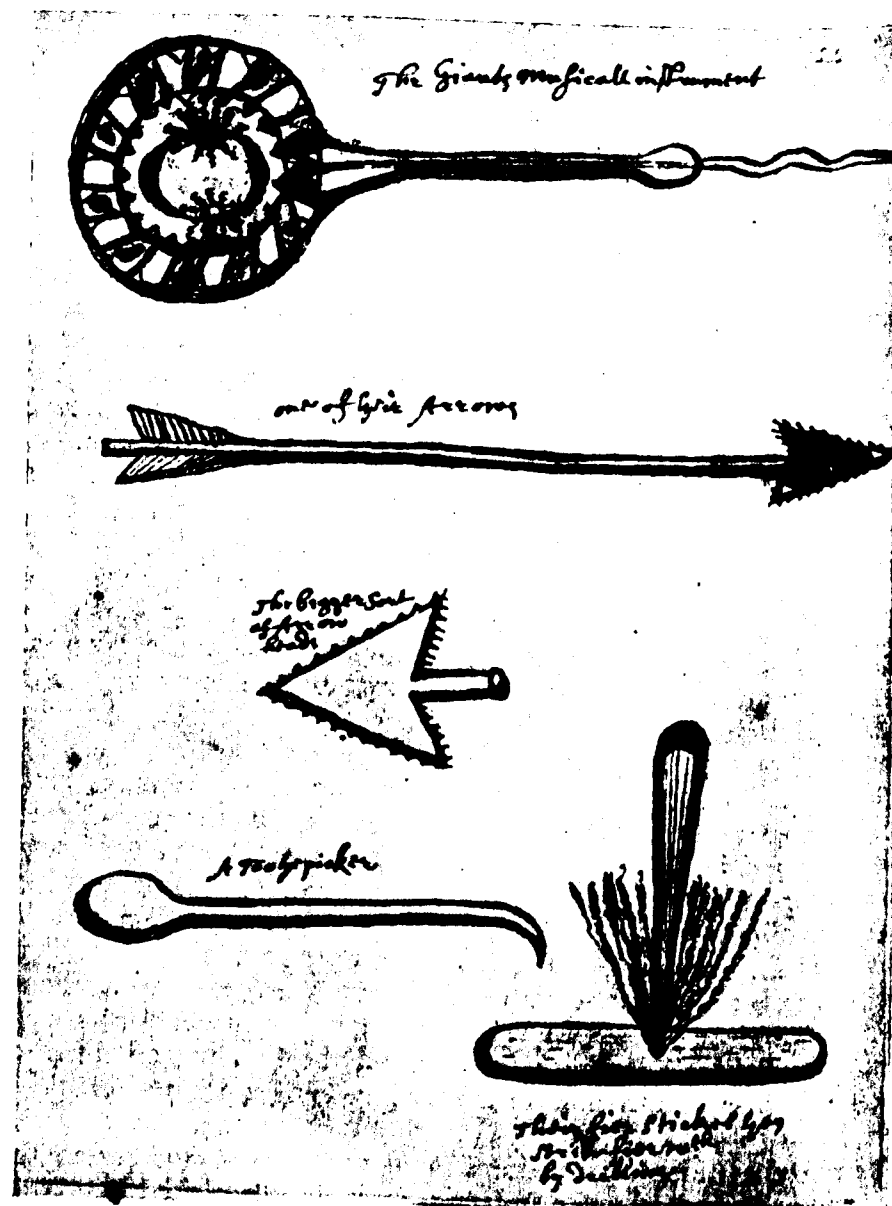
*they haue noe
superiority in
gouern^t or
Authority*

Wee thus happely in this place haueing finished all our occasions & buisineses. as allso haueing provided good store of of [sic] victualls we were ready being the sonnes of God to leaue the Daughters of men. but at our departure we left allso in this place another of our shippes w^{ch} being defaced we cast off as wee did the other & for the same reasons & so sett ofe to the sea as well in hope to meet with the shipp wee lost vpon the Coast of Brasilia as allso to proceed in our Voyage

In the Table Following you shall find the ffiggures of diuers of such thinges as are named in this storie

[Illustration. See p. 122]

ffrom the place before mençioned we coasteing along to the Southward touched wth no place a fresh riuer accepted som what southerly to port Julian till wee fell wth the northerly cape of the supposed Streights of Magilanus. Where not findeing our portugall prize so long from vs & loast Loth to depart that Coast or sea



Weapons and fire-stick described in the text.

till we might haue anny hope of findeing hir againe wee Determined not to enter into the streight but to returne to the heyghts of Port Julian againe to the Norward: and if we met not with hir in that Journey then to leaue hir to the Lorde as men without hope for hir. but no sooner were we com against that Port but wee had hir happily in sight to our great rejoycing & their comforts. for from the 17 of Aprill vntill that day being the 20 of June they had touched wth no land nor had anny releife but hardely did liue being greuously weather & sea beaten in a weake & olde shipp for whose comfort we runn into the said porte where at our entry wee found it dangerously to be barred whereon one of our shippes touched but went freely away as it pleased God & being safely come in wee came to Ankore neere to a little Iland within the port Joyning almost to the Mainland when we had sett things somewhat in order for the tyme & som what had refreshed our men the Generall wth chosen men went one shoare to see what the place might afforde vs for our maintainance if we should make anny stay who no sooner were landed but two young Giants repaired to them shewing themselues at the first as familiar as anny wee had mett wth before. In so much they refused nothing w^{ch} was offerd to them at the first sight. but the thing wherin they most pleased themselues was to see one winterye (a gentelman) to shoot an arrow out of our bowes further at one shott then they could at twise. They thus familiarly & pleasantly spending their tyme sodainly their came two other Giants (olde & Grim weathr beaten villans to theire companye To whom our men offereing the like kindenes as they had to the others they found them nothing so tractable as they did the rest yet being without all susspition of anny treachery to come by them which had been necessary to haue doubted. Wherefore Wintery drawing vpp his bowe to send an Arrow at length in their sights as before for they sent away the 2 younger Giants wth dislike that they had been in our companye in letting goe or looseing the Arrow the string broke w^{ch} belonged to the bowe w^{ch} the Giants seeing & supposing there was no other engine of warr in the world but bowe & Arrows (because they were acquainted wth no other & seing our man to goe about to put to another string tooke present advantage & chargeing his bowe clapt an arrow in to the body of him & through his Lunges w^{ch} when one Oliuer our master gunner perceived he haueing a

June 20 day

great difference
between our
bowes & the
giantsInfidells speedy
in taking ad-
vantage to do
mischeif
2 of our men
slains by the
Giant

fowling peice in his hand w^{ch} was all the peeices w^{ch} was carried wth them bent it at the giant but the touch being dankish would not take fyer for it was a misling raine & tampering wth the touch, the Giant againe shott at him & struck him in the breast & through the hart & out at back through a Ribb a quarter of yeard at least & presently dyed & proceeding set fresh vpon the Rest whereof not one had Escaped if God had not putt an helping hand to them for the best defence our men had was but swordes & Targetts or a black Bill which were nothing to anoy the Enemye but yet the Lord put in the Generalls hart though nothing they had could do good to take reynge vpon the Enemye that the Targetts might be their safely wherefore sodainly he caused those w^{ch} had Targetts should stand in the fore front & the rest w^{ch} had non to com behinde to this end was this don that the Targetts might receaue as many arrows into them as they coulde & if anny went by those w^{ch} stood behind should take them vpp & breake them & so driue the Enemy out of his arrows w^{ch} happily came to pass in short tyme that they had but one arrow left & no man touched wth anny of the Rest w^{ch} the Generall perceiuinge he then tooke the fowling peeice in hand & primeing it a new made a shott at him w^{ch} first began the quarrell & strikeing him in the Panch wth hole shott & sent his gutts abroad w^{ch} done they had leisure to depart wherein they were the more speedy because Wintery w^{ch} was first shott was yet Liueing whom they brought away if happily theyr might haue been anny hope of Recouery but he dyed within few houres wth all speed therfore our boat being well manned we sent for the other dead man when our men came to him the Enemies had thrust into one of his Eyes one of our Arrows as deep as they could had taken away his capp one of his stockens & one of his shooes & so left him who being brought to the Iland the next day after a Sermon to put vs in Remembrance of our death & vncertainty of the tyme by their Examples we buried them wth such Honnor as in such case marshall men vsed to have when they are dead being both layed in one graue as they both were partakers of one manner of Death & ended their liues together by one & the selfe same kind of accident.

*A good Policy
in a hard state*

*One Giant
slaine by the
Generall*

*Giants cruel to
the dead body*

*Another mis-
chiefe more
greivous fol-
lowed*

This bloody Tragedie being ended another more greivous ensueth I call it more greivous because it was among ourselues begunn contrived & ended for Now Thomas Doubty our country

man is called in question not by Giants but by Christians euen ourselues the Originall of dislike against him you may Read in the storye of the Ilands of Cape Verde vpon the coast of Affrick at the takeing the Portugall prise & by whom he was accused & for what but now more dangerous matters & of greater weight is Layed to his charge & that by the same persons namely for words spoken by him to them being in England in the Generalls Garden in Plimouth Long before our departure thence which had been their partes & dutyes to haue discourd them at that tyme & not to haue concealed them for a tyme & place not so fitting but how trew it was wherewith they charged him vpon their Oathes I know not but he vtterly denyed it vpon his Saluation at the houre of communicateing the Sacram^t of the body & blood of Christ & at the houre & Moment of his death affirmeing that he was inocent of such things whereof he was accused Judged & sufferd death for. Oft whom I must needs testifie the truth for the good things of God I found in him in the tyme we were Conversant & Especially in the tyme of his afflictions & trouble till he yeilded vp the spirit to God I doubt not to immortallity: he feared God he loued his word & was allwayes desireous to Eddify others & confirme himself in the faith of Christ for his qualities in a man of his tyme they were rare & his gifts verrey Excellent for his age a sweet Orator a pregnant Philosopher a good gift for the Greeke tongue & a Reasonable tast of Hebrew a Sufficient Secretary to a Noble Personage of great Place, & in Ireland an aproued Soldier & not behind many in the Study of the Law for his tyme! & that w^{ch} is a sufficient argum^t to proue a good Christian, & of all other things a most manifest witnes of a Child of God to men. that he was delighted in the study hearing & practise of the word of god. daily Exercising himselfe therein by reading meditateing to himselfe conferring wth others instructing of the ignorant as if he had ben a minister of Christ wherein he profitted so much that long before his death he seemed to be mortefyed & to be rauished wth the desire of Gods kingdom, yea to be dissolued & to be with christ in whose death so many vertues were cutt ofe as dropps of blood were shedd. who being dead was buried neere the sepulcher of those w^{ch} went before him vpon whose graues I sett vp a stone. whereon I engraued their names. the day of their burialls the month & the yeare for a monument to them which shall fall wth

*it seemed to bee
of some sett
purpose*

*the Inocency of
Tho Doubty pro-
tested vpon his
death*

*a true Comen-
dacion of the
doubty*

*A monum^t sett
vpon the slaine
& murdered
bodies*

*The Portugall
prise defaced &
cast one shoare
for a monumt
one port St
Julian*

*Victuals were
short*

Giants Cocles

*Magilanus
Gallow tree
found*

*drinkeing Canns
made of that
wood*

*the Reason why
these Giants did
differ so farr
from the others*

that place in tyme to come Those thinges wth dropps of blood from the hartes of som thus Ended wee went about our other buisinesses & necessary affaires & amongst the Rest to dispatch oure Portugall prise so Long Absent. & so lately com to vs. for wee found that she was not seruicable in regard wherof as for many other reasons wee defaced her & runn hir one drye Land as we had don 2 more vpon that coast, in this place our stay being longer then we purposed w^{ch} chanced by the accid^{ts} before remembred our diet began to wax short & small Mussells were good meat yea the sea weeds were dainty dishes! by reason whereof we were driuen to search corners verry narrowly for som refreshing. but the best wee could finde was shells instead of Meat we found the Nests but the birds were gon. that is the shells of Cochells vpon the bankes of the shoare wher the Giants had banqueted but could neuer chance wth the Cochells themselues in the sea The shells was so Extraordinary that it will be incredible to the most part. for a paire of shells did weigh 4 pounds & what the meat of such 2 shells might be may Easily be conjectured I make account it weighed 1 pound at least. so that it was a reasonable bitt for a Giant. The figure of the Cockel you shall find in the end of this stoary of port St Julian other things in this place we found worthy of remembrance saue onely that wheras Magilanus performeing the first Voyage about the world falling wth this port as wee did did [sic] first name it port St Julian & makeing som aboad there had a Mutiny against him by som of his company for the which he Executed diuers of them vpon a Gibbet close by the sea vpon the maine land ouer against the Iland port of which Gibbet (being of firrwood) wee found there sound & whole of w^{ch} Gibbet being 50 years at the least before our tyme of our coming thither of w^{ch} wood our Cooper made Tankards or Canns for such of the Company as would drinke in them Wherof for my owne part I had no great likeing seeing there was no such necessity.

I will end this stoary wth Answer to that w^{ch} was then proposed to me & often since w^{ch} is what might be the reason. that the Giants of this place should degenerate so farr from all others whom we had found so kinde, loueing, & harmeless in other partes of the country & that the rest shold do vs good & these should deale so bloodily with vs. for Answer (in my owne Opinion) the reason wherof was not difference of Nature nor climate as som would haue

it but an accident chanceing to them more then to others. Which if it had fallen out to the Rest as it did to them, it might be as Easily to haue wrought the same in them as in these. for when Magilanus was there he injuriously tooke from this poople 2 of their men. & that with violence, to the shedding of blood & murther of both sydes. w^{ch} wrought in them such a dislyke that they purposed & vowed revenge if euer tyme & opertunity serued which being deliuerd from the fathers to the children. & from one generation to another stood for a law to those which should be borne & nothing was wanting at anny tyme since to put it in Execution but strangers for they could make no difference of Nations being as it is likely neuer acquainted with anny before Magilanus nor neuer after till our comeing & therefore we being the first they tooke opertunity to performe their vow being determined neuer to giue credit to strangers out of this then did surely rise (as I thinke) this mischief against vs at this tyme be these Giants when we had so peaceably conversed wth all others wee mett with in all their land. at our departure wee named the Iland the Iland of blood in respect of vs & Magilanus

[Illustration]

Now the tyme of our departure draweing neere it was desired of my hand that wee might haue a generall comunion & some necessary Doctrine tending to loue & Christian duty which had been often taught if it had taken Effect among ourselues w^{ch} as the Lord enabled me I performed wth Exhortation to repentance euery man as he felt the guilt of his owne conscience least our hope of joy wee assurd ourselues in mare australi being named mare Pacificum, should be turned into sorrow & when we looked for pease wee might find warrs. for euen there allso could God meet vs Jump as well as in other places to punish our sins w^{ch} how it fell out the Reader may perceiue if he marke the circumstances of the story when we com to it/

This Gracious Exercise ended with prayer to God for her Most Excellent Majesty. her Honorable councell and the Church & the comon weale of England. wth singing of Psalmes. & giueinge thanks for Gods great & singular graces bestowed vpon vs from tyme to tyme: Wee departed from the Bloody Iland & Port Julian setting our course for the supposed streight wth three shipp onely. That is the Pellicane being admirall. The Elizabeth the

*Prayers made
for her Majesty*

*August 17
number of our
shipp*

vice admirall & the barke marigold wherin Edward Bright a shipp carpenter was newly placed Captaine. Wee thus ariueing at the northerly cape or headland of the aforesaid streight, wee struck sale & made som stay for a tyme tell we had performd among ourselues that dewty & seruice to God who had safely brought vs thither which we had so long desired & honor to her Highnes fitting for Subjects of so gracious & seuensfold blessed princes praying for the continuance of her dayes to be as the dayes of Heauen as long as the Sonn & Moone indureth those things thus accomplished wee joyfully entered the Streight wth hope of Good success. at our first Entrance we conjectured that from the cape whence wee departed to the oposite land one the other side against it being a grat Iland & high & seemeth to make the mouth of a streight that it was about 10 Leagues or there about by Estimacō but afterwards we found the passage in som place 4 in other places 3 & 2 leagues broad & where it was narrowest it was as a large league. In passing alongst wee plainly discouered that the same terra australis left & sett downe to bee terra incognita before we cam there to bee no continent (& therefore no streight) but broken Ilands. & large Passages amongst them Within small tyme continueing our way we chanced wth 3 Ilands a little. distant one from another at 2 wherof wee ariued & gaue the names to all of them the first wee named Elizabeth, the 2 bartholomew the day being called by this name, & the last George his Iland according to custom of our Country: In these Ilands we found great releife & Plenty of good victualls for Infinite were the Numbers of the foule, w^{ch} the Welch men name Pengwin. & Maglanus tearmed them Geese, This fowle cannot flye, hauing but stubb wings without feathers, cquerd ouer wth a certaine downe as it were young Goslings of 2 monthes old, as are allso all their body besides in their head eyes & feet they be like a Duck but allmost as a goose. They breed and lodge at land & in the day tyme goe downe to the sea to feed being so fatt that they can but goe & their skinns cannot be taken from their bodyes without tearing of the flesh because of their Exceeding fatnes they digg earth in the ground as Conyes doe, wherein they Lay their eggs & Lodge themselues: & breed their young ones. It is not Possible to find a bird, of their bignes, to haue greater strength then they; for our men putting in cudgells into their Earths to force them out they wold take hold

the bredth of a
streight sup-
posed

Terra Australis
discouerd to be
no Continent

3 Ilands wth
their names
August 24 day

of them wth their Bills & would not lett goe their hold fast & yet tryeing all their strength could not in long tyme draw them out, of their holes being large & wide within som of them haue vpon their heads standing vpriht a little Tuft of fethers like a Peacock & haue Redd Circles about their Eyes w^{ch} becom them well: The fatt w^{ch} came from their bodyes is most peirceing & of the nature & quallity of the oyle of the sea Calues. or seales whereof wee haue spoken; wee departeing from these Ilands had somewhat a hard passage & with difficulty many tymes did proceed in our way & that for diuers causes. first The Mountains being verry high & som reaching into the frozen Region did euery one send out their seuerall windes: somtymes behind vs to send vs in our way. somtymes one the starrborde side to driue vs to the Larborde & so the contrary. somtymes right against vs to driue vs further back in an houre then wee could recouer againe in many but of all others this was the worst that sometyme two or 3 of these winds would com togeather & meet as it was in one body whose forces being becom one. did so violently fall into the sea whirleing or as the Spanyard sayth wth a Tornado that they would peirse into the verry bowells of the sea & make it swell vpwards one euery syde. the hollownes they made in the water & the winds breakeing out againe did take the swelling bankes so raised into the ayer & being dispersed abroad it rann downe againe a mighty raine besides this the sea is so deep in all this passage that vpon life & death there is no coming to Anker. Neither may I omitt the Grisly sight of the cold & frozen mountains, reaching their heads yea the greatest part of their bodyes into the cold & frozen region, where the power of the reflection of the Sonn never toucheth to dissolue the Ise & Snow: so that the Ise, & Snow hang about the Spire of the Mountaine circulerwise as it were regions by degrees one aboue another & one Exceeding another in breadth in a wonderfull order as may apeare by the figure in the next Table: from those hills distilled so sharpe a breath that it seemed to enter into the bowells of nature, to the great discomfort of the liues of our men. The trees of the Ilands neere adjoyneing to the rootes of these mountains feel the force of the freezing steames w^{ch} desend from them. for the Snow w^{ch} falleth vpon them & the Raine w^{ch} cometh downe do both freez as they light vpon the trees & wth their continuall increase their is such a huge weight

Causes of hard
Passage

frozen Moun-
tains

*a Rare thing of
herbes*

that the maine aremes & bowes are couched downe so close together that no art or labour of man can make Closer & Sweeter Arbores then they be: vnd^r the which the ground being defended from Colde is ingendered such temperate heat that the hearbes may seem all ways to be green & flourish as if it were in our sommer. Amongst other the simples we had in this place many being to me verry strange & vnknowne because I neither had seen them in other countreyes in my trauailes nor found them menconed in anny aproued herballs were naturally growing without industry of man Thime, Marjerom Alexanders Scurvy grass as seamen call it (scirby grass) & diuers others well known to vs all whereof were more Excell^t in their natures then wee find them in these partes in our Gardens And for other strange plants they were so gummy & full of flattnes that toucheing them the flatt & Gum would stick to our hands. being so pleasant that it yeilded a most comfortable Smell to our senses. whereby we receiued great help both in our diet, & phisick. to the great releife of the liues of our men The Ilands & plaine grounds further ofe were very farr sweet, & fruitfull, frequented by a comely & harmeless Poeple [sic] but naked men & women & children. whom wee could not perceiue to haue either sett places or dwelling, or anny ordinary meanes of liueing as Tillage breeding of cattell or anny other profession but wanderers from place to place & from Iland to Iland stayeing in a place so long as it would naturally yeeld them provision to liue without labour saue onely to kill, gather, & eate, for the which purpose they builded little Cottages of Poles, & bowes like arbours in our gardens in England wherein they themselues for the tyme Lodg & keep their household stuff. The valew whereof would not Pay the chancelers curt for proof a Testam^t of vvjd in our country for proof whereof I took an inventory of all the perticulers of one as it seemed of the cheifest Lords house among them as followeth

Their Riches

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 one water pale | } These are the substances & Riches of
this poople all w ^{ch} they leaue behind
them in the Place when they remooue
till they returne againe at what tyme
there is a new increase of Creatures
for the supply of their nourishment
for a bedd to lay vpon without anny
Cloathes |
| 2 two drinking cupps | |
| 3 2 boxes of stuff to paint | |
| 4 2 wooden spitts & one
pare of Racks | |
| 5 2 hatchetts one knife | |
| 6 one fare floore of earth | |

Their water pales drincking cupps & Boxes are made of Barkes of trees & sewed together wth threads of the guttes of som beastes like lute strings

Their Hatchetts & kniues are made of mussel shells being great & a foot in length the brickle part whereof being broken ofe. they Grind them by great Labour to a fine Edge & verry sharpe, & as it seemeth verry durable, they sett their Hatchetts in helues made of Writhen Rodds as Smiths do their wedges wherewith they cutt their barrs of Iron wth these & their knives they cutt their Poles & bowes whereof they frame their houses & barke their trees whereof they make their Pales, cupps, & Boxes & Boates with all other workes don with Edge tooles Touching their boates they being made of large Barke insted of other Timber. they are most artificiall & are of most fine proportion wth a starne & foreship standeing vp semicircler wise & welbecometh the vessell wth these boates they trauel from Place to place among the Ilands carying euery man his family in all our trauells in anny nation we found not the like Boates at anny tyme for forme & fine proportion. in the sight & vse whereof princes might seeme to be delighted the forme whereof I haue sett forth as neere as I could take it the Poople men & women are gentile. & familiar to strangers: & paint their bodyes with formes & diuers Collours. The men makeing Redd Circles about their Eyes & Redd strokes vpon their foreheads for the most part & the women weare chaines of white shells vpon their armes & som about their Necks whereof they seeme to be verry proud. They are well spedd for Bellies. Brests & Buttocks. but nothing in Comparison wth the Giant women

*Hatchetts kniues
& all Edged
tooles made of
mussel shells*

*the description
of their boates*

Now God in mercy at the last brought vs through this labrinth wee so long had intangled vs wth so many Extremityes & Iminent dangers to that w^{ch} we so long desired that is to the Southerly cape of America entering into the South Sea. Wherein as we Exceedingly rejoyced: so were wee resolved there to stay a while to do as wee had don to our good God & in deuty to her majesty in other places & to haue sett vp a monum^t for her Highnes vpon the cape for a wittnes of our Passing that way & arival at that place w^{ch} monument I had engrauen in mettle for the same purpose the like of that w^{ch} you may see in the End of this Booke but it seemed not good to god wee should accomplish that tyme in this place as by the sequel will appeare if first I shall lay downe

*the 6th of Sept:
1578*

the descriptions of such things as are spoken of in this stoary of the Imagined streight of Magilan, together wth the Land off Land [sic] of so much of Brasilia the Riuer of Siluer the land of Giants the sowtherly land & this part of America to this South most cape entering into Mare del Zur that is into the South Sea
[Four Illustrations]

Wee being come by Gods Prouidence now to the Southermost cape of the Maine land the west India where as I sayd wee went to sett vp a monum^t for her Majesty w^{ch} in my opinion had been fitting being in Just proportion of degrees from the Æquinoctiall to the Southward as England is to the Northward of the same that is 52 degrees Either of them from the Line the Lord prevented vs for Sodainly did arise such a wind that there was no stay to be made at all. by reason whereof wee were inforced to keep on our way & setting our course to steere coast along towards the Equinoctiall againe wee following the directions of the comon Mapps of the Spanyards were vtterly deceaued for of a Malitious Purpose they had set forth the Mapp false that they might deceaue strangers if anny gaue the attempt to trauaile that way that they might perish by Running ofe to the Sea rather then Touch with anny part of the land of America. for where the land for where the land [sic] trendeth & lyeth to the north east or rather to the eastward they in their Mapps at the least 12 degrees haue layed it out to the Norwest by reason wherof wee lost the wind w^{ch} would haue caried vs right in our way & held the right course to the vnfortunate Ilands wherewith Magilanus so vnhappily fell in the first Voyage about the world w^{ch} way wee had helden if the wind had serued but being boath right against vs & so violent that it was intollerable wee were Enforced back againe wth the Lee shoare of the Southerly Ilands from whence wee departed wth a fearefull Looke for Destruction that night before day. the day being come the light & sight of Sonn. & Land was taken from vs so that there followed as it were a Palpable darkenes by the Space of 56 dayes without the sight of sonn moon or starrs the moone onely accepted w^{ch} wee see in Eclipse the space of a quarter of an houre or thereabouts about w^{ch} tyme the storme being so outrageous. & furious the Barke Marigold wherein Edward Bright one of the accusers of Thomas Dubty was Captayne with 28 Soules were swallowed vp wth horrible & vnmercifull waues or rather

A monum^t intended to be sett up but could not

the deceit of the Spanyards in laying out the Land fallshly

a fearfull state

the 15 of September

Mountains of the sea w^{ch} chanced in the 2^d watch of the night wherein myselfe & John Brewer our Trumpeter being in watch did heare their fearefull cryes when the hand of God came vpon them wee thus depriued of our handmaid continued without hope at the Pleasure of God in the uiolent force of the winds intollerable workeing of the wrathfull seas and the grisely beholding (sometymes) of the cragged Rockes & fearfull heigth, & monstrous mountaines being to vs a Lee shoare where into wee were continually driuen by the winds & caried by the Mountaine like Billows of the Seas to looke euery moment to haue the lyke end as our other shipp had in which state wee continueing if at anny tyme wee had a little opertunity to seeke som harborow for refuge to com to Anker & rest till God in mercy might might [sic] giue vs more safe saleing at the seas such was the mallice of the mountains that they seemd to agree togeather in one Consent & joyne their forces together to worke our ouerthrow & to consume vs so that euery mountaine sent down vpon vs their Seuerall intollerable winds wth that horror that they made the bottom of the Seas to bee drye land where wee ankered, sending vs headlong vpon the topps of the mountinge & swelling waues of the Seas. ouer the Rocks the Sight wherof at our going in was as fearefull as death it Self at the last in this miserable state wee were driuen as through the Eye of a nedell into a great & large bay by a most narrow passage of Rocks somewhat to the northward of the Southerly Cape of America Where first wee touched at the entring into the South sea. Where comeing to Anker with in Small tyme (being night) we had like entertainm^t from the hills as wee had before from the mountains wth greater & more dangerous violence our cables brake our Ankers came home our shipps were Seperated & our Spirits fainted as wth the last gasp vnto death & the the [sic] Lord sett both our shipps from perishing and Spared our liues yet wee in the Admirall were fully Perswaded the vice admirall was perished & the vice admirall had the same opinion of vs as since it hath been confessed neither did wee see one the other anny more till we mett together in England for the vice admirall was inforced in that most dangerous tyme into the same Passage the Imagined streight of Magilane w^{ch} wee Saled from the one sea to the other wee thus now left alone. the storme not onely continewing but increasing vpon vs more & more our shipp I meane the

Marke Gods Judgm^t against a false wittnes

the heauens the land the sea & windes all were sett against vs

Our 2 shipps remaining Seperated

Admirall if shee had retained her old name shee had when shee came out of England being called the Pellicane which was changed into the Golden Hinde by the generall for the Honour of the Honourable Sr Christopher Hatton his master she might haue been said to bee a Pellicane in the wildernes without comfort notwithstanding when it seemed good to God after so long tryall of so long a tyme as 56 dayes of so vnspeakeable setting of the Heauens earth seas, & winds, against vs to the inforcing of vs to confess that God had mett Jumpe with vs in Mari Pacifico, with so mighty a hand as was told vs I doubt not by the Spirit of God in at Port Julian as hath been sayde it Pleased him againe for his name sake to heare the prayers of them w^{ch} vnfeignedly called vpon his most holly & reuerend name. & for their sakes to deliuer the Rest in the onely Mediation of Christ Jesus. Wherefore hee caused the Sonn by day & the moon & starrs by night to shine vpon vs. he changed the sterne lookes of the grisly mountains, to yeild a fauorable countinuaunce the heauens to Laugh the seas to obey & the winds to cease yea euery place wee looked vpon to yeeld vs kind entertainm^t to refresh our weather beaten bodyes & liues discomforted in so greauous miserys & forlorne state. which thing fell out most happily in his providence att the vttmost Iland of terra incognita. to the Southward of America whereat wee arriueing made both the seas to be one & the self same sea & that there was no farther land beyond the heights of that Iland being to the Southward of the Aequinoctiall 55 & certaine minutes, to diuide them: but that the way lay open for shipping in that heighth without lett, or stay being the mane sea.

Now the Lord haueing giuen vs this breathing tyme wee tooke the benefitt of it, & sett ourselues in order to goe to shoare in this Iland to refresh ourselues (as many as would) & to see what good things the place would yeild vs for the sustaining of our Poore & feeble bodyes for our diet had beene most Pinching to nature in this tyme) to help our present state w^{ch} was but weake in many of vs but before our going to Land, wee had a strange & sodaine Accident for John Brewer our Trumpeter standing vpon the Poope soundeing his Trumpett, being now as great a Calme, as it had ben a storme without anny wind to mooue or shake, a silken thredd most strangely a rope was so tossed & violently hurld against his body that it cast his body ouer into the Sea wth that

at the Souther
Most Cape of
America entring
into the South
sea

Gods great
Mercy to vs

The West occid^t
& the South
sea but one

this Judgm^t is
worth noting

strength that tenn men with all their Powers could not haue don more to a block of his weight. for by Estimation his body lighteing in the water was 8 tymes his length distant from the direct point below to the place whence hee fell where labouring mightily for life (the Boat being not redy) many ropes were cast round about him. & vpon him some, but he could not cotch hold of anny one at all to helpe himselfe. tell he called one by name to cast one to him w^{ch} no sooner was done but he receiued it & was saued at the last pinch or as it were at the End of all hope. wee landing in this Iland found it as the Rest of the Southerly Ilands wherof wee haue heard, the like poople boates herbes & trees but more flourishing because their summer was nearer now by 2 monthes then it was at our being with them

In this Iland were growing wonderfull plenty of the small berry with vs named Currants, or as the comon sort call them small raisins. My selfe being landed did with my Boy trauill to the Souther most point of the Iland to the Sea one that Syde. Where I found that Iland to be more Southerly three partes of a degree then anny of the Rest of the Ilands. Where haueing Sett vp an End a Stone of som biggnes & wth such Tooles as I hadd of Purpose euer about mee when I went one shoare. had engrauen her Majestyes name. her Kingdom. the year of Christ & the day of the moneth. I returned againe in som Reasonable tyme to our Company.

Wee departeing hence & takeing our farewell from the Southern most part of the world knowne or as wee think to be knowne there. Wee alterd the name of those Southerly Ilands from terra incognita (for so it was before our comeing thither & so should haue remained still with our good wills) to terra nunc bene cognita/ That is broken Ilands, which in coasting it againe one that syde in returneing to the Northward wee prooued to be true, & were thoroughly confirmed in the same. But before I proceed anny farther in our after trauailes I thinck it not impertinent heere to incert a few wordes to resolute that great Errour which hath been & is maintained of many touching the Streight of Magilanus. Videlicet that it is a frete, or streight indeed whose reasons being ouer throwne. their purpose faileth the Cheife wherof is that the Southerly Land is a Continent, but 2 continents made a streit. therfore it is and must bee a straight. I answer it was euer vn-

whom the wick-
ed hate often
tymes are apoynt-
ed for their
help

A Monum^t sett
up in the Souther
most Iland at
the high water
marke by ff. F

The name of
Southerland
turned from
terra incognita
to terra bene
cognita

it is manifest by
infallible Rea-
sons that ye
imagined streight
of Magilane is
no streight at all

certaine from the first discouery of that Passage by the Spanyards & could not be determined by Magilane himselfe that that Land was a continent but left it vnder the name of Terra incognita: & what others afore or since haue written or said afore of it are but guesses and imaginations seeing hee himselfe could determine nothing & that from his tyme There was no other tryall made of it vntell now wee haue by manifest Experience put it out of doubt to be no continent or maine Land but broken Ilands disseuered by many Passages & compassed about wth the sea one euery side. & therefore no streight. Their second Reason is as light as this, Namely their runneth such a current betweene the land of America and this terra Australis (caused say they) by the continent. that it carieth shipps headlongs through to the South Sea but admitteth no returne back againe. which could not bee if their was anny other vent or Passage for the sea to keepe its naturall course. To this the Answer is ready that it were the strangest thing in the world that the land reaching to the southward from the maine of America but 3 degrees at vtmost should bee a cause of so violent a current to fall into that Passage to worke such an Effect though the land were a *mane land* maine land [sic] and one body reaching so farre a thing in auditum: much less (seeing as hath been sayd) it is distincted Ilands with the sea between & among them, from one end to the other from the north to the south & from the East to the west conteining many as large Passages as that wherof they affirme these things. besides this if they Imagine some fourth & remote cause to be that a currant hath or setteth his course this way and falleing wth the Maine land of America, haueing no other vent is and must be inforced in this way. That is also friuolous seing both the seas in 55 degrees. & vnder are both one. & therefore this reason is without reason, to proue a streight by that which is not, neither hath anny ground to be likely. To be short som ground themselues vpon the Spanyards report, & credit that certainly there is such a currant that way as sendeth most swiftly into the South Seas but suffereth no returne that this is false is evidently prooued by Experience as well from Magilan himselfe, as from ourselues, for at what tyme he passed that way being come into the south sea. one of his shipps stoale away & returned into their country the same way they came. the like thing chanced to ourselues. for as you may read before our vice admirall

*Decades in the
story of 1 voyage*

was enforced into the supposed streight againe wth the violence of the storme & so passed the whole way wee had com without anny such hinderance yea they had more sweet, & quiet returne back againe then wee had a comeing forward. Add vnto these the accid^{ts} w^{ch} fell to vs in our saleing towards the South sea in this Passage.

That often tymes wee were driuen back by the winds coming from the mountaines more in an houre. then wee could raise vp againe in manye. both which had not chanced if their had been so violent a currant as they dreame of but to make an end of this matter the reason why the Spanyards haue abused the word wth such an vntruth, and lye is that thereby they would prevent all other nations to giue the attempt to trauaile that way being (as they feigned) so impossible a thing to haue anny returne but must be forced to compass the whole world to their country againe & thus much for the cleareing of the doubt whither those things holden & falsely maintained touching this southernmost land & the passag between it & the maine land of America to make it knowne to the world that their is neither Continent current nor streight as Idely it hath been surmised, & foolishly defended. Toucheing Mr Candish a Gentleman worthy of immortall fame for his Rare Enterprises in Trauailes, I say littel: onely this I obserue that he was able to say no more either to prooue that that [sic] terra australis is a continent or that the passag a streite: then Magilanus himselfe as by the line of his course in the mapp may appeare leadeing imediatly from the Passage by the South cape of america towards the line without anny touch of anny point further to the Southward to make anny prooue or tryall. neither could he make anny mention of anny current. And now to our purpose againe ffrom which for a reasonable cause I haue thus farr degressed at our departure from this Iland before remembred this one thing wee obserued the night was but 2 houres Long & yet the sonn was not in their tropick by eight degrees wherof we gatherd that when the sonn should be in the Tropick they should haue no night at all neither would the sonne be out of their sight at anny tyme for certaine dayes. by reason of its easterly & westerly course as it falleth out in Russia & other the Northerly Countryes, when the sonn is in our Tropick as our Country men trauaillers in those partes can witnes & myself in my former trauailes haue seen

*the Reason why
the Spanyard
haue abused the
world wth a
report of a
streight & a
violent currant
through the
same*

*Mr Candish
prooues nothing
for a streight*

*necessary ob-
servacō the
night 2 houres*

Expedition we could the boate was manned againe & sent to see if happily anny helpe might be hadd for our men whom the Enemy had taken but all in vaine & impossible for when our men came in view of them the multitud was great by Estimation 2000 persons well appoynted wth bowes darts speares sheilds Pikes & other weapons most of them headed wth Pure siluer w^{ch} in the light of the sonn made a wonderfull shew & glittering among these & many others of the comon poople were our 2 men in their execution. & Torments the manner wherof as they perceiued or conceiued at the least was in this sort the men being fast bound were layed vpon the ground among them & the poople cast themselues into a ring round about them hand in hand wth a dance still turneing or going about wth a song in the meane tyme tormentors workeing with knives vpon their bodyes cutt the flesh away by gubblits & cast it vp into the ayer the which falleing downe the Poople caught in their danceing & like doggs deuoured it: in most monstrous & vnaturall manner euen most horrible to Nature & thus continued till they had Picked their bones life yet remaining in them our men seeing no good to be donn after a volly or 2 of shott bestowed vpon them but could do them no harme because at euery offer of a shott they would all fall flat to the ground they returnd againe as men allamort wth so horrible a Spectacle of our Naturall Poople wee might haue taken a Revenge vpon them at pleasure with great shott out of our shipp but the Generall would not for speciall causes consent to it wee vnd^rstood that this Poople were naturall Indians & did inhabit at maineland but by the bloody cruelty of the Spanyards (as were the brasilians by the Portugalls as in the stoary of brasilia you may reade were driuen to flye from their naturall country to this Iland to purchase to themselues peace. & saftey where haueing Established themselues a kingdom w^{ch} they maintaine wth continuall shedding of the blood & eateing of the flesh of the Spanyards when or howsoeuer they can come by them as the poople of Brasilia deale wth the Portugalls when they ouercom them & because they were neuer acquainted wth anny other nation but the Spanyards in these partes of the world they perswadeing themselues that wee were the same & the rather because one of our men rashly spake in the Spanish tongue they determined to bestow vpon vs a Spanyards reward w^{ch} they Effected indeed to our great greife & hazardeing of our state.

*the munition of
Mucho*

*the death of our
2 men among
the Poople
Indians they be
Caniballs*

Wherein whether God mett vs Jumpe in the South Sea or noe wee ourselues might Easily Judg this Iland is most Rich in Gold & silver and it aboundeth in many good things neccessary for the maintainance of Gods good poople flourishing wth trees & fruit continually wanting nothing but a poople feareing God to inioye it to glorify his Name for such Excell^t blessings bestowed vpon it I may compare it fittly to her Majestyes Iland named weight vpon the Coast of England which in respect of its situation is called Vectis. a doore barr to the Land one that Syde of our country for so this Iland layeth in like sort right against a most golden province of the world named Valdinia w^{ch} being possessed by one Prince would make the one & the other invincible but of this Valdinia you shall heare more in the second part of this nauigation about the world w^{ch} I will attempt to finish wth all convenient speed I may & thus I end this first part of this trauaile wth description or mapp of the Iland of Mucho & the forme & the monuments w^{ch} I made to haue ben sett vp vpon the Southermost Cape of America att the entering into the Sowth Sea but could not as hath been said

*A rich Iland in
Gold & Silver
& meny good
things*

[Illustration]

now as the transcriber may here make iniquiry why som (in these dayes viz^t 1677) may account the stoary of these Giants fabulous so it may be answerd that som may pretend onely to haue ben so farr as these parts & haue not, others haueing asserted the contrary in Globes & Mapps therfore are loth to haue it contradicted, Now it may be considerd these giants are here said to feed vpon Gigantick foule viz^t ostridges & it seemes they haue Large Coccles & Mussells & Larger then Ordinary hearbes of the same kind wth vs such as Marjerem Thyme Scurvy grass &c & why not large grown men & women that these Giants haue bowes & Arrows to kill ostridges &c & its likely & for defence of themselues from the rest of the Indians & that so long as they remaind in that country vndisturbed their bodyes becam gigantick from their Ease & the nature of the Place, & from the virtue comunicated by the vse of the Oyle of ostridges vpon their children, as aforesaid: & now vpon the Spanyards driueing the Indians vpp into these indisturbed partes may haue ben a meanes to Extirpat this Gigantick genera^on: & Possibly their Ostridge diet may euer since by degrees haue ceased. & by a more disturbed vnquiet

one both sydes not one whereof made anny shew at their comeing in but lay close till they hadd their oportunity they looked for some were apointed to stand at the Landing place to receaue our men & Colourably to shew them a place to goe for water for w^{ch} purpose 2 of our men carying vessells wth them went one shoare one whereof tooke the boat rope wth him to draw the boat nearer to land w^{ch} don left it laying one the ground w^{ch} no sooner was out of his hand but an Indian tooke it vpp holdeing the boat fast to the shoare by it w^{ch} donn others layed violent hands vpon our men w^{ch} were Landed & caried them away. the Souldiers hidd in the Reeds well armed wth bowes arrows & darts made of canes & appoynted to the slaughter sett vpon euery syde against them w^{ch} were in the boate who being as naked not either able defend themselues anoy their Enemyes or flye away (the boat being fast holden by the Enemye, were inforced to be butts to euery Arrow at the pleasure of the shooter behind & before & one euery syde being so neare that they might Plase their arrows in anny part of their bodyes as they would so that tho they receiued now & than an arrow into a targett yet that did help them but little & was vncertaine because the Arrows came so thick & euery way vpon them cubbed vp in so narrow a plase as the Boat. not one able to stirr by another to help themselues so that not anny one person Escaped without som greauious wounds & most had many so that their bodyes were Loaden wth arrowes from 2 to 3. 4. 5. 8. 10. & one had 21 in the seuerall partes of their bodyes som in head & face as the Generall, some in the throat brests, armes, back, belly, & where not: Neither had anny one of them Escaped wth life if one of the simplest of the company had not with his sword cutt the boat Rope & by that meanes sett them at liberty to help themselues by shifting away, at whose departure arrowes were sent to them so thick as gnatts in the sonn and sydes of the Boat within & without stuck full of them as allmost one could stand by another so that man might by the sight of the boat afarr ofe judge what was the state of their bodyes w^{ch} were in it who comeing one shippboard the horror of the bloudy state wounded the harts of all men to beholde them notwithstanding prayers being made for their comfort it was endeauored to ease their Extremity to saue them whom the Lord had apointed to liue. so that it pleased God not anny but one dyed of that accident now in the meane tyme wth what

*things of small
accompt are
sometymes great
help*

Postures in these countryes, may haue occasioned the dwarfeing of that gigantick Race so that vpon the whole it may well follow that there may truely haue been giants in these partes formerly though non are now there to be found

II.

JOHN COOKE'S NARRATIVE

[*The World Encompassed* was partly based on accounts other than that of Francis Fletcher, and of these undoubtedly was one purporting to be the narrative of John Cooke, a mariner in the *Elizabeth*, contributed by Captain John Winter to Drake's expedition. This document is entitled: "For fraunses Drake, Knight, sone to Sir [Edmund] Drake, vickar of Vpchurche, in Kent. Anno dñi 1577." It is in the British Museum, Harleian ms. No. 540, fol. 93. It has been printed by Vaux, and is again printed here owing to its position with reference to *The World Encompassed*. The ms. is easy to read, and but few corrections have been necessary.

Though it is signed by John Cooke, it has been at any rate re-drafted by a hand versed in literary controversy in the interest of Drake's opponents. Winter deserted Drake after passing the Straits of Magellan and reached England more than a year before him.]

HARL. MS. 540, FOL. 93.

Shippes The xv. of Novembar in the yere above writen Francys Drake, John Winter, and Thomas Doughty, as eqwall companyons and frindly gentlemen w^t a fleett of fyve ships and to the nombar of 164 men gentlemen and saylers departed Plimouth, gyvyng oute his pretendyd voyage for Alexandria, and had for that place made wages with his men, but the wynd falyng contrary, he was forcibly the next morninge put in to Falmouth haven in Cornewell, where suche and so terryble a tempest toke vs as no man then lyvyng had ever sene the lyke, and was indede so vehement that

all owr ships had bene lyke to have gone to wracke, but yet this storme ceased not without the torninge to owr great detryment and hyndrance of our pretended voyadge; for first owr admyrall which was the *Pellycane*, for her farder savegard had hir mast cutt *Pellicane* ovar borde, the *Marygolde* was not onely dryven a shore and *Marigold* merveylouslye by meanes thereof brused, but had also hir mast cut over borde, for the repayrenge of whiche domages we were forced to repayre agayne to Plymouthe, where Mastar Drake began to fall on great dislyke, and found occasyon of qwarell with one James Stydye, who had taken very greate paynes as well in seinge the ships provisyon of vyctuales to be well and swete saved, as also every thinge to be dwely and indyferently placed accordingly as suche his voyage mowght require; and without havynge regarde to thes his paynes, or to the sufficiency of the man in respecte of his servise everywaye, he dismissed and altogether acquitted hym of the voyage.

Thus the xiiij. of December we agayne departyd Plymouth, and makynge owr course sowthwards we fell the xxv. day of Decembar with Cape Cantyne on the coaste of Barbarye, the whiche coastinge alonge the xxvij. day of Decembar we found an Iland called Moghador lyenge one myle distaunt from the mayne; betwene the mayne and this sayde Iland we found to be a very good and safe harborowe and voyde of any feare. On this Iland owr generall (so we now termed hym) erected a pinnes, where of he browght owt of England withe hym fowre alrede framed.

While thes things were thus a handelynge it chaunsed that there cam to the watar syde some of the inhabitaunts of the contry shewing out theyre flags of truyse, whiche sene of owr generall, he sent his shipe boate ashore to know what they would: they willynge to come a borde, owr men lefte there one man of owrs for pledge and brought ij. of them aborde, who by synes showyd owr generall that the next day they wolde bryng hym some provysyon, as shepe and capons and hens and such lyke; so at this tyme owr generall bestowyng on them some lynnyn clothes and shoes and a javelyne, the whiche they gratefully takynge departed for that tyme, and the next morrowe fayled not in lyke maner to come agayne to the watars syde; owr generall agayne sent his boate, where one of owr men leapinge ovar rayshely a shore and offeringe frendly to imbrace them, they set vyolent hands on hym

offeringe a daggar to his throte yf he made resistaunce, and so layenge hym on a horse caryed hym awaye.

Owr pinnes beyng finished we departed hence the last of Decembar, and coasting alonge the shoare, we dyd descrye (not contrary to ovr expectacion) certayn Canthers which are spanishe fishermen, to the whiche we gave chase and toke thre of them, then costinge still alonge we toke iij. Carvells. The xvij. of January we aryved at Cape blanke, where we founde a shippe rydinge at anchore within the Cape, but forsaken of all her men excepte ij. very symple marinars; this shipe we caryed farder into the harborowe with vs; here we remayned fowre dayes, in the whiche tyme, by the meanes and procurement of Mastar Thomas Dowghtye, who was alwayes carefull in that respect and toke greate paynes in that behalfe, did here trayne his men in warlyke order, for that they myght not be vnskyllfull in tyme of neade, and shewynge hym selfe not ygnoraunt, but as a good souldior wayenge the inconvenyence that want of good experyence dyd evar bringe. Here havynge taken suche necessaryes as we wantyd, and thes pore fissher men wer able to yelde vs, and havynge here lefte amongst these poore fisshers ovr lytle barke called the *benedicte* we toke with vs one of theyr boates the whiche they call Canthers, beinge a vessell of xl. tonne or there abowtes, and thes things finyshed we departed of the harborowe, the xxij. of Januarye, carienge a longe with vs one Portyngale Carevell that was bound to the Ilands of Cape de Verde for salte, whereof there was greate store made in one of those Ilands, the mastar or pylot of whiche shipe dyd advertyce ovr Generall that in one of those Ilands, as namely on the Iland of Mayowe, there was greate store of dryed Caberytas, the which a few inhabytaunts that there were resydent dyd yerelye make reddye for suche the Kynges ships as dyd there touche, beinge bound for his contrye of Brasell or els where.

With this Iland we fell the xxvij. of Januarye, but the inhabytaunts would not in any wyse trafficke with vs, as thereof forbyden by theyr Kyngs edycte and lawe of theyr contrye, yet the next daye, ovr Generall sent to vewe the Iland and the lykelyhods that myght be of provysyon of vyctuales, well towards lxx men, vnder the conducte and goverment of Mastar Wyntar and Mastar Thomas Dowghtye who alwaye shewed hym selfe not unskylfull in suche affayres. Thus marchynge towards the chefe place of

3 fisher men and
3 Carvells
taken

fol. 94

A ship taken

bark benedicte

fol. 94 b

habytacion in this Iland, (as by the portyngall we were informed), havynge traveled to the mountenance of thre myles and aryvynge there some whate before the day breke, we arested ovr selves to se daye before vs, which apperinge we founde the inhabitants to be departed or fled.

We found this place by meanes it was manured, to be more frutefull then thothar parte. Here we gave ovr selves a lytle refection as by very rype and swete grapes that the frutefulness of the erthe at this season of the yere yeldes vs, we also had here a kynd of frute called Coonis, the whiche for that it is not comonly knowne to us in England, I have thowght good to make relation of. The tree on which it groweth beareth no leaves nor bowghes, but at the very toppe the frute groweth in clustars hard at the topp of the steme of the tree as bygg every severall frute as a mans heade, but hevynge taken of the vttermoste barke, the whiche you shall fynde to be very full of strings or synowes as I may terme them, yow shall come to a hard shell which may holde of quantite of lycore a pinte comonly or some a qwarte, and some lesse; with in that shell, of the thiknes of halfe an ynche good, yow shall have a kynd of harde substance, and very white, no les good and swete then almondes; within that agayne a certayne clere lycowr, whiche beyng dronken, you shall not only finde very delycate and swete, but moaste comfortable and cordyall. Then marchynge fardar on we sawe greate store of Caberytas alyve, the which were so chased by the inhabitants, that we cowlde do no good towards ovr provysyon, but yet by the way I must tell yow that they had layde oute as it were to stope ovr mowths withall certayne olde dryed Caberytas, which for the lothesomnes of, as also for the small qwantyte, we made small accompte of.

Thus vpon ovr returne the Generall determyned to departe this Iland, the which without longar abode then the nyght folowynge he went thrughe withall and so the xxx. of Januarye we fell with one othar of those Iland called S. Jago, by the which as we passed, but farr ynowghe of theyr daynger, they shot at vs thre peces, all which fell shorte of vs, but before this Iland we found vndar sayle ij. shipps, to the one of which we gave chase, ye and in the ende borded hir with his shipe boate without any resistaunce, they yelded. This good price dyd yelde good store of drinke and especially to them that wolde thrughly take it, who at no tyme

Grapes ripe in
January

fol. 95 a

S. Jago

A prise taken

wantyd, thowghe those as were honestly mynded were fayne to watche the rayne droppe when no intreatie woulde serve to have thirste satisfied by any othar meanes. But here our Generall shewyd hym selfe not so rygorowse as every man thought he would, neyther dyd he hurte or plange the pore men of theyr bodyes (thowghe he a litle pynched them by the pulse) ne yet dyd he altogethar disfurnishe them of pryncipall necessaryes, for first retayninge with hym the portyngall pilote, he gave to the rest of the companye his *pinnis*, with a but of wyne and some victuals and theyr weringe clothes, and so let them to departe. But sure they toke no daye for payment, for that I thinke theyre hole stocke rested in owr hands.

Now Mastar Drake havynge here somewhat satisfied his eye with the viewe of these comodities, he comytted the custody and well keypyng of this price vnto Mast Thomas Dowghty as his good and especiall friend, prayenge hym in any case to se good ordar kept, and who so shuld be the breaker there of to gyve hym to vnderstand of any suche without exception of any. It thus chaused that Master Drake had a brothar (not the wysest man in Christendom) who he put into this sayde price, as also dyvers othars. This Thomas Drake, as one more gredy of praie then covetous of honestie or credite, offeryd hym selfe the first and onely man to breake the Generall hie brothars commaundement, for he, contrary to this streyght phibicyon, dyd not onely breake open a chest, but dyd dyve sodeynly into the same, that Mastar Dowghty knew not how to dyscharge hym selfe agaynst the Generall but by revelynge it vnto hym; yet first Mastar Dowghty called Thomas Drake vnto hym and shewyd hym his greate follye in this behalfe, who yeldynge vnto hys faulte prayde Mastar Dowghtye to be good vnto him and kepe it from the Generall; but to be brefe, he tolde hym he could not kepe it, but he would declare it with what favour he might. So at the Generalls next comynge aborde the price, Mastar Dowghty opened the same vnto hym, who presently fallynge into some rages, not withoute some greate othes, semed to wonder what Thomas Dowghty shuld meane to touche his brothar, and dyd as it were assure hym selfe that he had some fardar meanyng in this, and that he ment to shotte at his credite, and he would not, nor could not (by Gods lyfe as he sware) suffer it. From this tyme forthe grudges dyd seme to growe

betwene them from day to day, to no small admyration of the wysest of the company, althowghe some envyed his formar favour and friendship with the Geuerall, and some, I thinke, dowghtynge that his capacitie would reche to farr to the augmentynge his credite in his contrye. Then was Mastar Dowghtye put agayne into the Pellycane; thes grudges, althowghe they had not long rested, yet were they growen to greater extremities, suche and so greate as a man of any judgement would verily thinke that his love towards hym in England was more in brave words then harty good will or frindly love.

But well it so fell out that of Mastar Dowghtyes parte greate submyssyon must be made, not onely of hym selfe, but by frynds; in consyderation where of, Mastar leonard Vycary, a gentleman, and Mastar Dowghtyes very friend, gave greatly to parswade with hym for and in the behalfe of Mastar Dowghty, and prayenge hym to be good vnto hym, which in the end he yelded vnto, and to the outward shewe forgave and semed to forgett all that had passed whatsoever, and with this he let hym rest still in the Pellicane, thought by the company to have the authoritie of capitayne from Drake. But now I will rest to shewe how he dayly sowght matar agaynste Mastar Dowghtye, sekyng at every mans hands what they could invey agaynst hym.

Thus havynge dispacht away the sayd Portyngals we drewe towards the lyne, where we were becalmd the space of thre wekes, but yet subiecte to dyvars great stormes, terrible lyghtening and with thundar, and here we had great store of fishe, as dolphens and bonytes and othar greate and myghty fishes, we also found here flyenge fishes in great aboundance, which by the sharpe and eger chasyng of the dolphens and bonytes, and, as it were, to avoyde a greate birde that semed to watche to pray on hir above the watar, beinge so put vp by those fishes, dyd dyvers tymes fall into our shipe, where she could not ryse agayne, for want of moysture to hir wyngs, for hir wyngs once beinge dry she cane no longer flye. This fishe is as bigge as a pilchard, hir wyngs of the length of hir body.

Havynge thus in the begynninge of Februarye put of the Iland of Cape de Verde, we had not the syght agayne of any land vntill the vi. of Aprill that we fell with the coste of Brazylle. But in this meane season you shall vnderstonde what befell, Mastar Drake

agayne a shore the same place, where althowghe he had not the syght of any men, yet found he there certayne fowles newly kylled and layde in a heape as of purpose for vs, as ostreges, and some sea fowles; all whiche ovr Generall browght aborde with hym, and then wayed and cam to sea, where he mett with all the rest of the fleete, excepte the price. Ovr Generall hear dispersed his shipps, some for the sekyng agayne of the price, and some into the shoare for to fynd harborow; and it so chanced as he hym selfe was sekyng the price the xvij. of Maye, he casually had syght of the flee bote, the *Marigold* and *Cantor* gyvyng vs to vnderstand of a saffe harborowe that they had found: we bore all into the same the xvij. of May, being Whitsonday.

fol. 98 b But here may not be forgotten, how hardly Mastar Thomas Dowghtye and some othar gentlemen were delt with, all in this theyr absens, by a sorte of badd and envyous people, as saylers and such lyke, but specyally Mastar Dowghty, at whose discredit they dyd nevar leave to shotte, at that the Generall dyd always terme his very good frynds; for there the mastar put hym selfe from the mease of Mast^r Dowghty and othar gentlemen, and dyd syt hymselfe amongst saylers, nothing at all sparinge, but rathar augmentynge his owne dyet; but how symply these gentlemen dyd fare, there is some come home (that, except they will deny theyr owne words) can make relation there of. Mastar Dowghty, seinge hymselfe and one Mastar Chestar, that Drake had made captayne of the flee boate, so yll vsed, told hym: I marvayle, Mastar Chestar, that yow will take it at his hands to be thus vsed, cōsyderinge yow were here aucthorised by the Generall; and withe the same he cam to the mastar, and told hym that he dyd vse to muche partialitie, consyderinge the extremytie that for want of victuales they were lyke to fall into, and it was agaynst reason that he and his mates shulde be so plentifully fedd and othars to be at poynte to starve. The mastar begeninge hereat to storme, sware that suche rascals as he was shuld be glade to eate the tholes when he wolde have it. Mastar Dowghty answered hym agayne, that reason wolde will that he shuld be vsed as well as othar men, consyderinge his adventure. Thou an adventure here? qd. the mastar, I will not gyve a poynt for the nor thye aventure, and when thou comest home to inioue any aventure I will be hanged (as I remembar he hathe kepte promise). Then in multiplienge some fardar wordes,

and, as I hard, a blowe or twayne had past betwene them, and consequently the mastar tolde hym, thou (qd. he) wilt thou have victualles, thou shalt be glade, yf we do not mete with the Generall, the rathar to eate that falls from my tayle on the ankor slooke. Then Mastar Dowghty turnynge to Mastar Chestar sayd vnto hym, Mastar Chestar, let vs not be thus vsed at thes knaves hands, lose nothinge of that aucthoritie that the Generall hathe cōmytted vnto yow, yf yow wyll we wyll put the sworde agayne into yowr hands, and yow shall have the gouvernement. This can I well avouche to be true, for there were two or three sworne to theses articles, as some the especiall mattar that the had be out of his head for. fol. 99 q?

Well here, ere he departed this forsayde harbour, he had the flee boate close aboard the Pelicane, and there toke all his provysions of victuall and what els there was forthe of hir, and halyng hir aland set fire in hir, and so brent hir to save his ire stuffe; whiche beinge adoyng, ther came downe of the contrye certayne of the people naked, excepte aboute theyr waste a certayne skyne of some beaste with fure or heare, and all they had also somewhat wrethed abowte theyr heades, they had also theyr faces paynted of dyvars colours, and some had on theyr heades the symylitude of hornes, every man his bowe, which was of an ell of lengthe, and a cople of arrowes. Thes were very agille people, delyver, and quicke, and semed not to be ignoraunt in the feates of warre, as by their order in rangynge theyr fewe men myght appere. Thes people woulde not of longe tyme receave any thinge at ovr hands, yet at lengthe ovr Generall beinge ashore, thes people dansynge aftar theyr accustomed manor about hym, and he alone withe his bake towards them, one lepte sodeynly to hym and toke his cape with his gold bande of his heade, and rann a litle distance from hym and shared it with his fellowe, the cappe to the one, and the band to thothar. Our Generall havynge finished his busynes with ij. or, rann at them to have taken them, who yet departed not tyll they saw themselues folowed so neare, but then they fled.

All these busynesses thus ovar passed, and Mastar Dowghtye delyveryd out of this flee botte, remayned as yet in the Pelicane; but yet vpon some vnkynd speches, as in sayeng that the worst word that came out of his mowthe was to be beleved asone as his

othe, where vpon the Generall dyd not onely stryke hym, but cōmaunded hym to be bound to the mast, for the accomplyshment of the whiche the mastar of the flee bote, his old hevy frend, toke a litle panye with hym: this was doane as the ij. ships lay together. Here was Mastar Thomas Dowghty put into the Canter, althowghe greatly agaynst his will, for that he sayde he knew them to be there that sowght his lyfe, as, namely, the mastar of the flee bote, and some othar desperate and vnhonest people; but would he or no thethar he must, or els he sware he would lyfte hym out with the takle, and in that behalfe cōmaundyd the takle to be lowsed. Thus aboarde the Cantor he went, and his brothar John Dowghty with hym. This, with all, is not to be forgotten, that fell out on this Iland where the flee bote was gyven (as I was credibly informed) as we were even ready to departe and to wey ancor, and the very last company ready to come from the shore, there was one Thomas Cuttle, who sometyme had bene mastar of the Pellycane, with whome at this instant the Generall had talked, from whome the sayd Cutle departed in greate fury, and offerynge to goo over to the mayne, betwene the whiche and the Iland was but a shallowe water, he standynge well towards the myddest in the watar with his *pece* [about] *his necke* vttered thes wordes, Well, my masters, qd. he, I ame heuily borne heare, because I wyll not accuse this gentleman of that as I take God to wytnes I knowe not by hym, and therefore I take you all to wytnes what so ever become of me, I neuar knewe any thinge by hym but to be the generalls frend, and rather then I wyll byde this hard contenance at the Generalls hands I wyll yeld my selfe into Canibals hands, and so I pray you all to pray for me. With this all our company departed to theyr ships, and aftar they were all gonn, Cuttle, as he aftar confest, discharged his *pece*, to the end that the people of the contrye might repayre vnto hym, who indede cam not: Our Generall takynge it that it had bene for a bote sent his boate a shoare, and the company by intreaty brought him aboarde, and so we departed *fol. 100 a* this harbour, not forgettynge y^t we had hear watered and made new provysyon of vyctuales, as foyles, whereof we found suche plenty, on a Rockey Iland, as we slewe to the number of ij. or iij. hundred in the montenance of an houre.

Presently aftar our settinge forthe we lost our Canter, the whiche lacked iij. or iiij. dayes, but as son as our Generall had her agayne,

he also gave her over very neare or vnder the same Cape Hope whiche is before mentyoned. But our Generall alwayes thought or at least woude so give hit owte, when he sawe any fowle whether, that Thomas Dowghty was occasyon there of. Also here where he gave over this Conter he had agayne some conference with the contry people vnto whome he gave some tryfles and receyved from one of them a gayne made as neare as I cowld gesse of fyshe bones cutt in round spangles and wrought vpon womans heare, but very artyfycially. The xix. of Junn towards night we had syght (not to our all smalle comfortes) of the pryce, very neare the heyght of porte S. Julyan, whiche standethe in 49—30— to the southwards of the lyne.

But by the way and first because it so fals out, I must tell yow some whate of Mastar Dowghtyes woes, whiche dyd daylye increase thughe this tiranycall government, and althowghe the moaste parte, and especially suche as were honeste, dyd lamente his case, yet durst they not to be knowne there of but to theyr assured friends.

Vppō the gevyng vpp of the Canter, Mastar Drake hymselfe came aborde the *Elizabeth* and callynge all the company togethar *Elizabeth* tolde them that he was to send thethar a very bad cople of menn, the whiche he dyd not know how to cary alonge with hym this voyadge and goe throwghe ther withe all, as namely, qd. he, Thomas Dowghtie whoe is, qd. he, a cōiurer, sedytyous fellow *fol. 100 b* and a very badd and lewed fellow and one that I have made that reckoninge of as of my leste hand, and his brother the yonge Doughty, a wiche, a poysonar, and suche a one as the worlde cane judge of; I cane not tell from whence he came, but from the dyvell I thinke: and so warninge the company that none shulde speake to them nor vse eny conference with them, yf they dyd he would holde them as his enemys eay and enymyes to the voyadge, and he willed that greate care shulde be taken that they shulde neythar write nor read, and then he declared what welthe the worst boy in the flete shulde get by this voyadge, and how the worst boy shuld never nede to goe agayne to sea, but shuld be able to lyve in England with a ryght good gentleman, for, qd. he, you shall see that we will have gold come as plentifull as this wode vnto the ships, and when I have made my voyadge I wyll stay one foure dayes for you my mastars to take the spoyle, qd. he. With dyvars

nevar leavyng to seke and force vpon Mastar Dowghtie, found in the end this oportunitye to dysgrade hym, whithar of purpose or his owne voluntarie: it chanced John Bruer, the trumpet, to goo aborde the Pelycane, where, for that he had bene longe absent, the company offered hym a Cobbey, amonge the whiche Mastar Dowghty puttyng in his hand, said fellowe John, you shall have in my hand, althowghe it be but lyght amongst the rest, and so laynge his hond on his buttoke, which perceyved of John trumpet, he began to swere wounds and blud to y^e company to let hym lose, for they are not all (qd he) the Generales frinds that be here, and with that turned hym to Mastar Dowghty and sayde vnto hym (as hym selfe presently aftar tolde me in the price), Gods wounds, Dowghty, what doste thou meane to vse this familiaritie with me, consyderynge thou art not the Generals frinde? who answered hym: What, fellow John, what moves you to this and to vse these words to me, that am as good and sure a frind to my
 fol. 97 good Generall as any in this flete, and I defye hym that shall saye the contrarye? but is the mattar thus, why yet, fellow John, I pray the lett me lyve vntill I come into England? Thus John Bruer, comynge agayne presently aborde the price, had not talkt any longe tyme with the Generall, but the boate went aborde and rested not, but presently browght Mastar Dowghty to the prises syde, Mastar Drake beinge in the mydst of service, who herynge the boate at the shipe syde, stode vp, and Mastar Dowghty offering to take holde of the shipe to have entered, qd. the Generall: Staye there, Thomas Dowghty, for I must send you to an othar place; and with that cōmaunded the marynars to rowe hym aborde the fleeboate, sayenge vnto hym it was a place more fit for hym then that from whence he came. But Mastar Dowghty, althowghe he craved to speke with the Generall could not be permitted, neyther would he here hym.

Thus, as I afore sayde, the vi. of Aprill we fell with the coaste of Brasyle; the vij. day, in a myghty greate storme, bothe of
 ye *Canter* or *Xpofere* lighteninge, rayne, and thundar, we lost the *Canter*, now named the *Xpofere* [i.e., Christopher]; but the xj. day aftar, by our Generals greate care and dyspersynge, his ships found hir agayne, by means especially that the mastar coasted always by the shoare and keping it in syght. Here where we found owr *Canter*, owr Generall named this Cape, Cape Joie: here every shipe toke in

some watar. Then we wayed ancker and rann somewhat fordar, and harbored owr selvs betwene a rokke and the mayne, where, by meanes of the rokk that brake the foarce of the sea, we ryde very safe. Vpon this rocke we kylde some seyls for owr provysyon, but not very many, for that this place had not the multitude as
 fol. 97 b
 aftarwards we found. Here we entered the greate ryvar of freshe watar called the ryvar of Plat, and ran into 5. 4. and 3. fadome and halfe of freshe watar, where we fild in freshe watar by the ships syde; for that owr Generall could find here no harborowe as he expected, he bare owt agayne to sea.

Here we lost owr flee boate, in the whiche was Mastar Thomas Dowghty, in all whose absens owr Generall nevar ceased to invey agaynst, terminge hym a coniurer and witcher, and, at eny tyme when we had any fowle wethar, he would say that Thomas Dowghty was the occasyoner thereof, and wolde say that it came out of Tom Dowghtys capcase, and wold avouch the same with greate othes; whiche he at no tyme scanted, they cost hym so lytle. The xij. of May owr Generall went a shoare in the Elizabethes boate, where suche a sodayne storme and tempest, with a marveyllous thicke fogge toke hym, that yf the Marygold had not rune into the shore and taken vpp the boate, it had bene very lyke, without the greate provydence of God, that they had there perished; for they had loste the syght of the ships, and were dryven to leeward by meanes of the great storme. This land owr Generall named the Cape of good hope, and dothe lye in 47—4— from the equinoctiall to the southwards, and here in this great tempest the price was forced to wey anker and beare it out to sea, for her savegarde, and were not able agayne to recover the fleete. Thus the price departed the 13. of May, and the next day the rest of the ships wayed, the *Marygold* still continuyng within the Cape with the Elizabethes boate.

Here our Generall had syght of some of the contry people, who were naked, savyng a certayne losse mantle made of skynns about them, and rowles aboute theyr heads. To thes our Generall made shewe of truce; as by holdynge vp a whit flagge, and they with theyr heds and bodyes made certayne signes and gesturs as yf they
 fol. 98
 ment friendeshipe, and thus there was a kynde of parley betwene them, but one could not vnderstond an othar, neyther would they come near owr men. The next daye aftar this owr Generall went

Elizabeth other lyke invectyves agaynst hym he departed, and shortly after he sent the sayd Thomas Dowghty and his brothar aboarde the *Elizabeth*, cōmandynge them as they would aunswere it with theyr lyves not to set penne to papar ne yet to rede but what every man myght vnderstand and se. And sune theyr intertaynement there was accordingly, for men durst not speake to hym (althowghe wyllingly perhaps they would). And as his fare was withe the symplest in the shipe, so was his lodginge agreable vnto the same. But he havynge agreed with the boatesman of the shipe for a cabyne rome which stode God knewe in an vncomfortable rome, yet must he paye iij. ti for the same in England. But what came of this to the fellowe, he was fayne for his so frindly vsyng hym to lose his office, and to continew in heavy displeasure.

fol. 101 a Thus havynge, as I afore sayd, found agayne our price, we herbourd our selves the next day, being the xx. of June, in a very good herborow, subposed to be the same that Magellane called port S. Jullian, for ovr men found heare on the mayne a gybett, which we supposed to be the place where he dyd execution. The xxij. of June ovr generall went ashore the maygne, and in his company John Thomas, Robert Winterhey, Olyver the mastar gonner, John Bruers, Thomas Flood, and Thomas Drake, and enteringe a land they were forbyden by ij. or iij. of the contry people to passe any fardar that waye, whiche they reconed not of. This Robert Wynterhey havynge in his hand a bowe and arrowes, offered to make a shot of pleasure, in whiche drawght his stryng brake, which they takinge as a profer of warre and seyng this opurtunytie they begun to bend the foarce of theyr bowes agaynst our men, whom they drove to theyr shiftes very narrowly, for they slewe there ij. of ovr men, as namely, ovr mastar gonner, and the sayde Wynterhey, they havynge onely theyr bowes and arrowes which our men made no accompte of, and ovr men had ij. peces, a bowe and arrowes, ther swords and targetts, wherefore I would not wyshe so small reconynge to be made at any tyme of the enemye howe weake so evar his force seme to be.

One this Iland in porte S. Julyan passed many matters which I thinke God would not have to be concealed, and especially for that they tended to murder, for here he spewyd oute agaynst Thomas Dowghty all his venome, here he ended all his conceyved hatred, not by curtesy or fryndly reconsylement, but by moaste

tyranicall blud spillyng, for he was never quyet while he lyved, whiche in wysdome and honest goverment as farr passed hym as he in tyranny excelled all men. The worlde nevar comytted fact lyke vnto this, for here he mordered hym that yf he had well *ol. 101 b* looked into hymself had bene a more sure and stedfast frend vnto hym than evar was Pythias to his frind Damon, as I thinke the sequell of this lefe will purport and showe.

The last day of June, the Generall hymselfe beinge set in place of judgement (and havynge the whole company browght a shore) and havynge John Thomas set close by hym, who opened a bundle of papers that were rolled vp together, where in were writen dyvers and sondry articles, the which, before they were reade, the Generall spake vnto Mastar Thomas Dowghtie, who then was present before, browght thethar more lyke a prisonar then a gentleman of honest conversation, vnto whom Drake gane to say, Thomas Dowghtye, yow have heare sowght by dyvers meanes, in as myche as yow maye, to discredite me, to the greate hinderance and ovarthrowe of this voyage, besydes other greate mattars where with I have to charge yow with all, the whiche yf yow can clere yowr selfe of, yow and I shalbe very good frends, whereto the contrary yow have deserved deathe. Mastar Dowghty aunswered, it shuld nevar be aproved that he meryted eny villany towards hym. By whome, qd. he, will yow be tryed. Why, good Generall, qd. he, let me lyve to come into my contrye, and I will there be tried by hir Maiesties lawes. Nay, Thomas Dowghtye, qd. he, I will here impanell a Jurye on yow to inquire fardar of thes mattars that I have to charge yow with all. Why, Generall, qd. he, I hope yow will see yowre comyssyon be good. I warrant yow, aunswered he, my comyssyon is good enowghe. I pray yow let vs then see it, qd. he, it is necessarye that it shuld be here shewed. Well, qd. he, yow shall not se it; but well, my mastars, this fellowe is full of prating, bynd me his armes, for I will be saffe *fol. 102 a* of my lyffe. My mastars, yow that be my good frinds, Thomas Hood, Gregory, yow there my mastars bynd hym. So they toke hym and bound his armes behynd hym; then he gave dyvers furyous words vnto Thomas Dowghty, as charginge hym to be the man that poysoned my lorde of Essex as he thought; and then, agayne, whereas Mastar Dowghtye avouched to his face that he browght hym first to the presence of my lord in Ireland. Thow,

but whithar he forgat his comyssyon or no he mucche forgat himselfe, to set without shewing his comyssyon yf he had any) but trewly I thinke it shuld have bene shewed to the vttermoste yf he had had it. But heare he shewed forthe first lettars that were wryten (as he sayde) by Mastar Hankyns to my lorde of Essex for his intertaynement, secondly he shewed lettars of thanks from my lorde of Essex vnto Master Hankens for the preferringe so good a servitur vnto hym, and how myche he had pleased hym, then red he lettars that past from my lord of Essex vnto secretary Walsyngham in his greate comendation, then shewed he lettars of Mastar Hattons vnto hym selfe, tendinge for the acceptance of his men John Thomas and Jhon Brwer, and theyr well vsage in this voyadge, and lastely he red a bill of hir maiesties aventure of a thousand crownes (but I moste marveyled that so many noble men and gentlemen did leve theyr lettars in his hands, excepte it were to shewe in this place for his credite).

So when he had all done he sayde more, My mastars, qd. he, you may se whether this fellowe hathe sowght my discredite or no, and what shuld hereby be ment but the very ovarthrowe of the voyadge, as first by takynge away of my good name, and altogethar discreditinge me, and then my lyfe, which I beinge bereved of what then will you do, you wilbe fayne one to drinke an othars blod, and so to returne agayne vnto yowr contrye, you will nevar be able to find the way thethar, and now my mastars consyder what a great voyadge we are lyke to make, the lyke was nevar made out of England, for by the same the worst in this flete shall become a gentleman, and yf this voyadge go not forward, whiche I can not se howe possible it shulde yf this man lyve, what a reproache it wilbe, not only vnto ovr contrye but especially vnto vs, the very symplest here may consider of. Therefore my mastars they that thinke this man worthy to dye let them with me hold vpp theyr hands, and they that thinke hym not worthye to dye hold downe theyr hands.

At the whiche dyvers that envyed his former felicity hilde vp theyr hands, some other agayne for feare of his severitie sticked not to lyfte theyr hands althowghe agaynst theyr hartes, but some agayne lyfted up theyr hands and very hartes vnto the Lorde to delyver vs of this tyrannous and cruell tirant, who vpon the same comynge to his former judgement seate pronounced hym the childe

of deathe, and perswadyd hym withall that he would by thes means make hym the servaunt of God. And sayd fardar yf any man could betwene that and the next morrowe devyse any waye that myght save his lyfe he would here it, and wished hym hym selfe to devyse some waye for his owne savegarde. Well, Generall, qd. he, seinge it is come to this passe that I se yow would have me made awaye, I pray yow cary me with you to the Perwe and there set me a shore. No trewly, Mastar Dowghty, I can not answere it to hir Maiestie yf I shuld so do. But how saye yow, Thomas Dowghty, yf any man will warrant me to be saffe from your hands and will vndertake to kepe yow, sure yow shall see what I will saye vnto yow. Mastar Dowghty then lokynge on Mastar Wyntar, sayd vnto hym, Mastar Wyntar will yow be so good as to vndertake this for me. Then Mastar Wintar sayd vnto Mastar Drake, that he shuld be saffe of his person, and he would warrant hym yf he dyd comytt hym to his custodye. Then Drake a litle pawsynge sayd, Loe then, my mastars, qd. he, we must thus doe, we must nayle hym close vnder the hatches and returne home agayne without makynge any voyadge, and yf youw will do so say your mindes. Then a companye of desperate banckwrouptes that could not lyve in theyr contrye without the spoyle of that as others had gotten by the swete of theyr browes, cryed, God forbyde, good Generall, whiche voyce was no les attentively herde, for there nedyd no spure to a willing horsse. Thus wyllynge Mastar Dowghtye to prepare for his deathe, and havynge geven hym one hole dayes respite to set all things in order, he ryse and departyd, alwayes promisonge that his continuall prayers to God shuld not cease that it would please God to put into his head how he might do hym good. But he had so often afore sworne that he would hange hym, that I think at this present he ment to do hym little good.

Thus Mastar Dowghty continuyng all this nyght, the next day, and the second nyght in his prayers, excepte some smale tyme that he vsed in setting his worldly busynes in some staye, and distributinge to suche as he thowght good suche things as he ther had with hym, was the ij. day of Julij comandyd to prepare hym selfe and to make hym ready to dye. Then Mastar Dowghtye, with a more cherefull countenance then evar he had in all his lyfe to the showe, as one that dyd altogethar contempne lyffe, prayed hym

qd. he, bringe me to my lorde? loe, my mastars, se howe he goethe aboute to discredite me: this fellow with my lord was nevar of eny estimation, I thinke he nevar cam about hym; for I that was dayly with my lorde nevar saw hym there above once, and that was longe aftar my enterteynement with my lorde.

Then, in fyne, was there a Jury called, whereof Mastar John Wyntar was forman. Then by John Thomas were these articles red vnto them, even once ovar for a last farewell, for feare that men shuld have caryed them awaye by memorye, all whiche apered to be words of vnkyndnes, and to procede of some choler, all whiche Dowghtye dyd not gretly deny, vntill at length cam in one Edward Bright, whose honeste of lyfe I have not to deale with, who sayde: Nay, Dowghtye, we have othar mattar for yow yet that will a litle neare towche yow, it wyll, I foythe, byte yow at the qwicke. I pray the, nedd Bright, qd. he, chardge me with nothyng but trewthe, and spare me not. Then John Thomas red fardar for his last article, to conclude the hole withall, that Thomas Dowghtye shulde say to Edward Bright in Mastar Drakes garden, that the *fol. 102 b* qwenes maiestie and counsell woulde be corrupted. So Bryght holdinge vp his fingar, sayd, How lyke yow thes gere, syrra? qd. he. Why, nedd Bryght, sayd Mastar Dowghtye, what shuld move the thus to belye me? thow knowest that such famyliaritie was nevar betwene the and me, but it may be I sayde yf we brought home gold we shuld be the bettar welcom, but yet that is more then I do remembar.

Then it fell out vpon fardar talke that Mastar Dowghty sayde that my lorde Tresorar had a plott of the voyadge. No, that hathe he not, qd. Mastar Drake. Thothar replyed that he had. How? qd. Mastar Drake. He had it from me, qd. Mastar Dowghty. Lo, my mastars, qd. he, what this fellowe hath done, God will have his trecheryes all knowne, for her Maiestie gave me speciall cōmaundement that of all men my lord Tresorar shuld not knowe it, but to se he his owne mowthe hathe betwrayed hym. So this was a speciall article agaynst hym to cut his throte, and greatly he semed to reioyce at this advauntage. Then Mastar Dowghty offered hym yf he would permit hym to lyve and to answere thes obiections in England, he would set his hand to what so was there written, or to any thinge els that he would sett downe. Well once let thes men, qd. he, find whethar yow be giltye in this

or no, and then we will fardar talke of the mattar, and then he delyvered (aftar they had all taten [sic] theyr othes geven by John Thomas) the bylls of inditement, as I may terme them, vnto Mastar John Wintar, who was forman of this Inquest.

Then Mastar Leonard Vicarye, a very and assured frend vnto Mastar Thomas Dowghtie, sayde vnto hym, Generall, this is not lawe, nor agreable to iustice that you offer. I have not, qd. he, to do with yow crafty lawyars, neythar care I for the lawe, but I know what I wyll do. Why, qd. Mastar Vicarie, who was one of *fol. 103 a* his Jurye, I knowe not how we may answere his lyffe. Well, Mastar Vicarye, qd. he, yow shall not have to do with his lyffe, let me alone with that, yow are but to see whethar he be giltye in thes articles that here is obiected agaynst hym or no. Why very well, sayd Mastar Vicarye, then there is, I trust, no mattar of death. No, no, Mastar Vicarye, qd. he.

So with this the Jury went together, fyndyng all to be trwe, without any dowbte or stoppe made, but only to that article that Edward Bright had obiected agaynst hym; for it was doubted of some whethar Bright were sufficient with his onely worde to cast away the lyfe of a man, and trulye it dyd argwe small honestie in a man to conceale suche a matar yf it had bene spoken in England, and to vttar it in that place where wyll was lawe and reason put in exile; for an honest subiecte would not have conceld suche mattar, which made some dowbt of vnhonest dealyng. But to be brefe, answere was made that Bright was a very honest man, and so the verdict beinge gyven in, it was told to the Generall that there was dowbte made of Bryghts honestie. Why, qd. Mastar Drake, I dare to swere that what ned Bright hathe sayde is very true. (Yet within fortnight aftar the same Bright was in such dislykyng with hym as he semed to doutt his lyffe; for the sayd Bright he displaste hym of the Pelicane, and put him into the Marigolde, sayenge that hym selfe would be saffe, and he would put them fare enowght from hym.)

Thus havynge receyved in the verdict, he rose of the place and departed towardes the watar syde, where callynge all the company with hym, except Mastar Thomas Dowghty and his brothar, he there opened a certayne bondle of lettars and bylls and lookynge *fol. 103 b* on them sayd, Gods will I have lefte in my cabyne that I shuld especially have had (as yf he had there forgotten his comyssyon,

that ere he dyed he might receyve the sacrament, which was not only grauntyd hym, but Drake hym selfe offered to accompany hym to the Lords table, for the whiche Mastar Dowghtye gave hym herty thanks, nevar wens* termynge hym then my good capitayne.

Mastar Drake with all offered hym to make choyse of his owne deathe, as yf he would, and for that he sayde he was a gentleman he shuld but losse his heade; the whiche kynde of deathe was mooste agreable to his minde, in as muche as he must nedes dye. And trwly I hard say that Mastar Drake offered hym, yf he would that he shuld be shotten to deathe with a pece, and that he hym selfe woulde do that exployte and so he shuld dye of the hands of a gentleman. But in fyne they together receyved the Lords supere, the which I do even assure my selfe, that he dyd take with as vncorruptyd a mynd as evar dyd any innocent of the worlde, for he sure shewed hym selfe to have all his affiance and onely trust in God, he shewed hym selfe so valiant in this extremities as the worlde myght wonder at, he semed to have conquered deathe it selfe, and it was not sene that of all this daye before his deathe that evar he altered one jot his countenaunce, but kept it as stayde and fyrme as yf he had had some message to delyvar to some noble man.

They havynge thus receyved the sacrament there was a banckett made suche as the place might yelde, and there they dyned together, in whiche tyme the place of execution beinge made readye, after dynnar, as one not willing any longer to delaye the tyme, [he] tolde the Generall that he was readye assone as it pleased hym, but prayed hym that he myght speake aloane with hym a fewe words, with the whiche they ij. talked a parte the space of halfe a quartar of an howre, and then with bylls and staves he was browght to the place of execution where he shewyd hymselfe no les valyant then all the tyme afore, for first here knelynge on his knees, he first prayed for the qwenes maiestie of England his soveraigne lady and mastres, he then prayed to God for the happy successe of this voyadge, and prayed to God to turne it to the profite of his contrye, he remembred also there dyvars his good frinds, and especially ser William Wyntar, prayenge Mastar John Wintar to cōmend hym to that good knyght, all whiche he ded

* Qy. wons, for once.

with so cherefull a countenaunce as yf he had gon to some great prepared banqwet, the whiche I sure thinke that he was fully resolved that God had provyded for hym.

So at the laste, turnynge to the Generall, he sayde, Nowe, truly, I may say, as dyd ser Thomas More, that he that cuts of my heade shall have litle honestie, my necke is so shorte. So turnynge hym and lokynge aboute on the hole company, he desyred them all to forgyve hym, and especially some that he dyd perceyve to have displeasure borne them for his sake, whereof Thomas Cuttle was one, Hughe Smythe was another, and dyvars others; wher vpon Smithe prayed hym to say before the Generall then, whither evar they had any conference togethar that myght sound to his preiudice or detriment? he toke it at his deathe that neythar he nor anye man els evar practized any trecherye towards the Generall with hym, neythar dyd he hym selfe evar thinke any villanous thought agaynst hym. Then he prayed hym to be good vnto the same Hughe Smith and to forgyve hym for his sake. So the Generall sayd, Well, Smithe, for Mastar Dowghtyes sake, and at his request, I forgyve the, but by the lyffe of God, qd. he, I was determyned to have neyled thye ears to the pyllary and to have cut them of; but become a honest man hereafter. So then Mastar Dowghtye imbrasyng the Generall, namynge hym his good Capitayne, bad hym farewell, and so byddyng the hole company farewell, he layde his heade to the bloke, the whiche beinge stricken of, Drake moaste despightfully made the head to be taken vp and shewed to the hole company, hymselfe sayenge, Loo, this is the end of traytors.

So he beinge beryed and thes things finished, the whole company being togethar, Mastar Drake protested before God that what so evar he was shuld offend but the viij. parte that Dowghty had done he shuld dye for it. He also protested and sware by the lyfe of God and the blessyd sacrament that he that day had receyved, that what so evar he were within the flete that dyd gyve a blowe shuld lose his hande without exception of any, and yet the next day it thus fortunated that Mastar Dowghtyes yongar brothar walkynge both solitary and mornefull as well for remembraunce of his brothars late deathe, as also weyenge the imynent perell hangynge ovar his owne head, as this consequence may purporte, there comes vnto hym Edward Bright, a chefe supposed instrument of

his brothars deathe, sayenge vnto hym, Gods wounds, thow vyllane, what knowest thou by my wyfe, and withall strake at hym with his rular, as of purpos to pyke a qwarell to hasten his end also. Why, Ned Bright, qd. he, thou seyst what case I ame in, I praye the let me alone, and with all bare of the blowe with his arme, where with the ruler brake, but Bright semyng very furious thrust hym in the face with the pece that remayned in his hand, the splynters where of entered an ynch into his face, presently vppon the whiche he went vnto the Generall to complayne of Bryght. Why, John Dowghtye qd. he, (without havynge any regard of his othe the day before made,) Ned Bright will lye open to your revenge in England, for I dare say thy brothar dyd belye her when he sayde that she had an yle name in Cambridge. Then
fol. 106 b myght every man well perceyve the litle ment honestie, and then myght a blynd man have sene the ruyne of the voyadge even at hand, for how can God, or how wyll he prosper that goverment where no justice is, but eythar extreme tirany, or favorable partialitie.

All thes things thus ovarpassed, he wyllled and streightly cōmandyd the hole company to be ready to receyve the next Sondag followynge, sayenge that he would have all olde qwarells what so evar betwene any man to be forgiven, and that what so evar he were that from that tyme forth shuld abrayde any man with any thinge paste he would lay suche and so hevy punyshment on hym as shuld be a teryble example to the hole flete (which I thinke might have bene kepte yf hym selfe had not first broken it), and also every man cōmaunded to confesse hym vnto Mastar Fletcher, who, yf he gave as frendly and holsome consell vnto every othar man as he dyd vnto me, no dowbte but he was to be allowed a good prelate, for I cam vnto hym for that I had some grudge to some one man in the flete, but would for feare of ther tiranyes in that place cover it, sayde vnto hym, Mastar Fletcher, I shuld be very lothe to receyve on Sondag, for that my conscience will not permit me. Whi, qd. Mastar Fletcher? For that, qd. I, I have some suche grudge in conscience that I can not. What, is it agaynst any in the flett? I answered hym, No. Why then, qd. he, I warrant yow yow may receyve with a good conscience. But trwly vntyll this tyme I had thought that the same God had rulyd there that we do honor in England. Yet let Mastar Flecher

preache what he will, I am throughly perswaded that yf we had not affied in the same good God that we worshipec here, we had
fol. 107 a nevar agayne sene ovr contry.

But how we were heare at this present oppressed with cold by the vehemency of wyntar and ovr spare diete agreable vnto the same, the sycknes that at this tyme dyd begynne to growe on ovr men and so continuyd, may be a witnes. Yet amonge the rest I found this good favour at the General's hands, that I was kept ashore but a fortnyght or lytle more in my dublet and my hosse without my gowne or eny thinge els to kepe me warme, but to lye every nyght on the colde grownde, and beinge in that tyme at the ships syde once for to have fetchet it, and could neythar be suffered to come in to fetch it nor any man suffered to delyvar it me, I know not wherefore excepte it were for that I harde Mastar Dowghty speke more good of hym then evar he wyll here aftar deserve agaynst any man, but trwely I thanke hym muche for it, for he hardened me well agaynst suche tyme of service. Thus, with Gods helpe, I pertely deceyved hym at that tyme, for he could not with colde kyll me, and for puttinge hym to fardar payne in that behalfe I hope here aftar well ynowghe to watche hym.

But now the xj. of August, he agayne cōmaundyed the company to be a shore, for that he had some mattar of importance to say vnto them. This day the company were accordingly set a shore, who wayted his comynge, who presently vpon his cōmyng a shore entered into a tent, one syde of the whiche was layde open, the companye the bettar to se and heare whate myght be sayde; and he callynge Mastar Wyntar on one syde of hym and John Thomas on thothar side, his man layde in before hym a greate paper boke, and withall Mastar Fletcher offered hym selfe to make a sermon. Nay, softe, Mastar Fletcher (qd. he) I must preache this daye my selfe, althowghe I have small skyll in preachinge. Well, be all the company here, ye or not. Answer was made that they war all there. Then cōmanded he every ships company severally to stand together, whiche was also done. Then sayde he, My mastars, I ame a very badd orrator, for my brynginge vp hath not bene in
fol. 107 b learnynge, but what so I shall here speke, let anye man take good notice of what I shall say, and let hym write it downe, for I will speke nothings but I wyll answeare it in England, yea and before

I must tell yow I do honor them as my very good frinds, but to say that they were the settars forthe of this voyadge, or that it was by theyr meanes, I tell yow it was nothings so, but indeede thus it was: my lorde of Essex wrote in my cōmendations vnto secretorye Walsyngham more then I was worthy, but belyke I had deserved somewhat at his hands, and he thowght me in his lettars to be
 fol. 109 a a fite man to sarve agaynst the Spanyards, for my practice and experience that I had in that trade, where vpon indede secretary Walsyngham dyd come to conferr with hym, and declared vnto hym that for that her Maiestie had receyved dyvers iniuries of the Kynge of Spayne, for the whiche she desyred to have some revenge; and with all he shewed me a plott (qd. he) willinge me to set my hand, and to noate downe where I thowght he myght moaste be anoyed; but I tolde hym some parte of my mynde, but refused to set my hand to any thinge, affirminge that hir Maiestie was mortall, and that yf it shuld please God to take hir Maiestie awaie, it myght be that some prince myght rayne that myght be in league with the Kynge of Spayne, and then wyll myne owne hand be a witnes agaynst my selfe. Then was I very shortly aftar and in an eveninge sent for vnto hir Maiestie by secretary Wall-syngham, but cam not to hir Maiestie that nyght, for that it was late; but the next daye comynge to hir presens, thes or the lyke words (as he sayd) Drake, So it is that I would gladly be revenged on the Kynge of Spayne, for dyvers iniuries that I have receyved, and sayd fardar that he was thonly man that myght do this exployte, and withall craved his advice therein. Who told hir Maiestie of the smale good that was to be done in Spayne, but thonly waye was to anoy hym by his Indydes.

Then with many more words he shewed forthe a byll of hir Maiesties adventure of a 1000 crownes whiche he sayde at some-
 fol. 109 b tyme before that hir Maiestie dyd gyve hym towards his chargs, he showed also a byll of Mastar Hattons adventure, and dyvers lettars of credit that had past in his behalfe, but he nevar let them come out of his owne hands. He sayde also that hir Maiestie dyd swere by hir crowne that yf any with in her realme dyd gyve the Kynge of Spayne hereof to vndarstond (as she suspected but too) they shuld lose theyr heades therefore. And now, my mastars, qd. he, let vs consydre what we have done, we have now set together by the eares thre myghty princes, as first her Maiestie,

the Kyngs of Spayne and Portyngale, and yf this voyadge shulde not have good successe, we shuld not only be a skornynge or a reprochefull scoffinge stoke vnto our enemyes, but also a greate blott to owr hole contry for evar, and what trivmpthe would it be to Spayne and Portyngale, and agayne the lyke would nevar be attempted.

And so restorynge every man agayne to his former office he ended, thus showynge the company thot he would satisfye every man or els he would sell all that evar he had vnto his sherte, for, qd. he, I have good reason to promyse and ame best able to performe it, for I have some what of myne owne in England, and bysyds that I have as muche adventure in this voyadge as thre of the best what so evar, and yf it so be that I nevar come home, yet wyll her Maiestie paye every man his wages, whom indede yow and we all come to serve, and for to saye yow come to serve me I will not gyve yow thanks, for it is onely hir Maiestie that you serve and this voyadge is onely her setting forthe. So wisshinge
 fol. 110 a all men to be frinds he willed them to departe about theyr busynes.

The xvij. of August owr generall departyd this harbour, but a
 Elizabeth daye or ij. before his departur he came a boarde the *Elizabeth* and swore very vehemently, I know not vpon what occasyon, that he would hange to the nombar of xxx. in the flete that had deserved, and ther agayne charge Worrall that his case was worse than Dowghties, and that by Gods wonds he had deserved to be hanged; and Mastar Wyntar, qd. he, wher is your man Vlysses? by Gods lyfe yf he were my man I would cut of his ears, yea by Gods wounds I wold hange hym: but wherefore truly I do not knowe.

The xxj. of Awgust we entered the streyghts called Magellianes streytes, the xxiiij. of the same we arryved at an Iland where we had greate store of fowles which could not flye, of the bygnes of
 Fowles wc. could nott flye gese: we kylde in lesse then one day above thre thowsand of thes fowles and victualed owr selves thrwly with them as we thowght. These streyghts were full of watar and wodde all the waye and very hy lande of both syds, in some places but a leauge in bredthe, in some places 2, in some 3, and some 4.

The vj. September we entered the sowthe sea, where in all our beyng we never found but contrary winds and extreme tempestes
 fol. 110 b and boysterous wether. The last of September we lost the Mary- golde, and the viij. of October we lost the Generall and put owr

hir maiestie, and I have it here alre dy set downe: but whethar it were in his boke, as he made mention of, I knowe not, but this was the effecte of and very neare the words.

Thus it is, my mastars, that we are very far from ovr contry and frinds, we are compassed in on every syde with ovr enemyes, wherefore we are not to make small reconyng of a man, for we can not have a man yf we would gyve for hym ten thousand pounds. Wherefore we muste have these mutines and discords that are growne amongst vs redrest, for by the lyfe of God it dothe even take my wytes from me to thinke on it; here is suche controversye betwene the saylars and the gentlemen, and suche stomakynge betwene the gentlemen and saylars, that it dothe even make me madd to here it. But, my mastars, I must have it lefte, for I must have the gentleman to hayle and draw with the mariner, and the maryner with the gentleman. What, let us show ovr selvs all to be of a company, and let vs not gyve occasyon to the enemye to reioyce at ovr decaye and ovarthrowe. I would know hym that would refuse to set his hand to a roape, but I know there is not any suche heare; and as gentlemen are verye necesarye for governements sake in the voyadge, so have I shipte them for that, and to some farthar intent, and yet thwgh I knowe saylars to be the most envyous people of the worlde, and so vnruly without government, yet may not I be without them. Also yf there be any here willinge to returne home let me vnderstand of them, and heare is the *Marigolde*, a shipe that I can very well spare, I will furnishe her to suche as will returne with the moaste credite I can gyve them, eythar to my lettars or any way els; but let them take hede that they goo homeward, for yf I fynd them in my way I will surely synke them, therefore you shall have tyme to consyder here of vntill to morow, for by my trothe I must nedes be playne with yow. I have taken that in hand that I knowe not in the worlde how to goo thwgh with all, it passethe my capacite, it hath even bereaved me of my wytt to thinke on it.

Well, yet the voice was that none would returne, they wolde all take suche parte as he dyd. Well, then, my mastars, qd. he, cam yow all forth with yowr good wylls or no. They aunswered, that they cam all withe theyr wills. At whose hands, my mastars, loke yow to receyve yowr wages. At yowrs, answered the companyes. Then, qd. he, how say yow, will yow take wages or stand to my

curtesye? At yowr curtesye, qd. the companyes, for we knowe not, qd. some, what wages to aske. Then he comaunded the steward of the *elezabeth* presentle there to lay downe the key of the rome, whiche he dyd. Then turnynge hym vnto Mastar Wyntar, he sayd, Mastar Wyntar, I do here discharge yow of yowr captayne-shipe of the *E.*; and yow, John Thomas, of the *Marygolde*; and yow, Thomas Hood, of yowr mastarshipe in the *Pellicane*; and yow, William Markham, of the *E.*; and Nicholas Antonye, of the *Marigold*; and, to be brefe, I do here dyscharge every officere of all offices what so evar. Then Mastar Wyntar and John Thomas asked hym what shuld move hym so to displace them. He asked whithar they could make any reason why he shuld not do so. So willynge them to content them selves, he willed sylence in thos mattars, sayenge, ye se here the great disorders that we are here entered into, and althowghe some have already receyved condinge punishment as by deathe, who, I take God to wytnes, as yow all knowe, was to me as my othar hand; yet yow se ovar and besydes the rest, his owne mouthe dyd bewraye his trecherous dealinge, and se how trustinge in the syngularytie of his owne wytt, ovar reacht hym selfe at vnwares; but se what God woulde have done, for hir Maiestie comandyd that of all men my lorde Tresorar shuld have no knowledge of this voyadge, and to se that his owne mouthe hath declared that he hath gywen hym a plott there of. But truly, my mastars, and as I am a gentleman, there shall no more dye, I wyll lay my hand on no more, althowghe there be heare that have deserved as muche as he; and so charynge one Worrall that was there present, that his case was worse then Dowghtyes, who in Mastar Dowghtys extremitis was one of Drakes confellows, who humblynge hym selfe to Drake nowe vpon his knees, prayed hym to be good vnto hym. Well, well, Worrall, qd. he, yow and I shall talke well enowghe of this matter here aftar.

Then he charged one John Audley with some ill dealyngs towards hym, but opened no mattar, but sayde he would talke with hym alone aftar dynnar. Here is some agayne, my mastars, not knowynge how els to discredit me, say and affirme that I was set forthe on this voyadge by Mastar Hatton, some by Ser Wylliam Wintar, and some by Mastar Hawkes; but this is a company of ydle heads that have nothing els to talke of. But, my mastars,

selves to herbour in the streytes, where we rested, harbourd vntill the j. of Novembar, and then for owr retorne I thinke owr Captayne, Mastar Wyntar, wyll aunswer, who toke the peryll on hym.

JOHN COOKE.

*For fraunses Drake, Knyght, sone to Sir Drake,
vickar of Vpchurch, in Kent.*

III.

THOMAS DOUGHTY'S ORATION

[When Thomas Doughty was sent to command the company of soldiers on board the *Pelican* (afterwards the *Golden Hind*) by Drake after his quarrel with him on board the *Mary* off Brava in the Cape Verde Islands, he made a speech which has a strong bearing on the events leading to his execution. The oration is in a ms. in the British Museum, Harleian ms. No. 6221, f. 7, and has been printed by Corbett in vol. 1, pp. 223-224, of his *Drake and the Tudor Navy*. It is again printed here. It is entitled: "The Sense of Thomas Doughty his Oration upon the *Pelican*, when he came from the prize [the *Mary*] to the *Pelican* to remain, the company being called by the bortouzin together."]

"My masters, the cause why I call you together is for that I have somewhat to say unto you from the General. The matter is this, that whereas there hath been great travails, fallings out, and quarrels among you and that every one of you have been uncertain whom to obey, because there were many who took upon them to be masters, one commanding to such, another one forbidden, another commanded, therefore hath the General by his wisdom and discretion, set down order that all things might be the better done with peace and quietness. And for that he hath a special care of this place, being his admiral and chief ship and indeed his treasury for the whole fleet, as he the said General had appointed

sufficient men to rule and govern the other ships, that order might be kept, so because our said General could not be in two places at once and must needs look to the prize which must do us all good, he hath sent me as his friend whom he trusteth to take charge in his place, giving unto me special commandment to signify unto you that all matters by-past are forgiven and forgotten; upon this condition, that we have no more of your evil dealing hereafter. And for the safer accomplishing hereof I am to tell you, that you are to obey one master in the absence of your General, who is to direct you in your business, as touching navigation, which is Mr. Cuttill, whom you know in this case to be a sufficient man. And for other matters, as the General hath his authority from her highness the Queen's majesty and her Council such as hath not been committed almost to any subject afore this time:—to punish at his discretion with death or other ways offenders; so he hath committed the same authority to me in his absence to execute upon those which are malefactors. Wherein I will not disappoint his expectation and credit which he hath and doth look for at my hands, for the respect of every person: but whosoever offendeth (by God's body) shall feel the smart. Be honest men: by God's body and by the faith of an honest gentleman I love you and mean to do you good. And I hope that a great company conceive of me that I will be rather your friend than your enemy, wherefore I wish as an honest gentleman that you will so use yourselves that I may not have cause to lay that upon you which I have power to do, and therefore desire you will give me cause to think well of you. I make an end."

IV.

NUÑO DA SILVA'S RELATION

[When Drake captured the *Santa Maria* off Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands and renamed her the *Mary*, he induced the Pilot, Nuño da Silva, to enter his service. Nuño da Silva, called also

Sylvester, accompanied him during the whole of his voyage round the American coasts, and was discharged at Aguatulco. From him many valuable statements and documents have been procured. One of them, a Relation made by him for the Viceroy of New Spain (Mexico) was published by Vaux, from Hakluyt's *Voyages*. It is reprinted here.]

THE RELATION OF A VOYAGE MADE BY A PILOT, CALLED NUNO DA SILUA, FOR THE VICE-ROY OF NEW SPAIN, 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: WHERE-IN IS SET DOWNE THE COURSE AND ACTIONS PASSED IN THE VOYAGE OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, THAT TOOKE THE AFORESAYD NUNO DA SILUA AT S. JAGO, ONE OF THE ISLANDS OF CABO VERDE, AND CARRIED HIM ALONG WITH HIM THROUGH THE STREIGHTS OF MAGELLAN, TO THE HAUEN OF GUATULCO, IN NEWE SPAIN, WHERE HE LET HIM GOE AGAINE.

1579 Nuno da Silua, borne in Porto, a citizen and inhabitant of Guaia, saith, that hee departed out of his house in the beginning of Nouember, 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 hauen of the Island of *Sant Jago*, one of the Islandes of *Cabo Verde* aforesayde, beeing the nineteenth of Januarie in the yeere of our Lord 1578. And lying there, there came sixe ships, which seemed to be Englishmen, whereof the admirall boorded his ship, and by force with his men tooke him out of his ship, bringing him in the boate aboard the admirals shippe, leauing some of his best men aboard his ship; and although the fortresse of the Island shot foure or fve times at them, yet they hurt not the Englishmen: who hauing done, set saile from thence to the Island of *Braua*, taking with them the ship of the sayd *Nuno da Silua*: being there, they filled certaine uessels with fresh water: from thence, holding their course inward to sea, hauing first with a boat set the men of *Nuno da Siluas* ship on land, onely keeping *Nuno da Silua* in his ship, as also his ship with the wines that were therein. And *Nuno da Silua* saith, the cause why they kept him on boord was, because they knew him to be 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 *Braua*, 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 riuier of siluer, lying under fve and thirtie degrees, little more or lesse: where they went on land, and prouided themselues of fresh water.

From thence they helde on their course till they came under nine and thirtie degrees, where they ankered: and being there, they left two of their sixe shippes behinde them, and sailed but foure in companie (that of *Nuno da Silua* being one) till they came to the Bay called *Baya de las Islas*, that is, the Bay of the Islands, Bay de las Islas 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 elbowes downeward naked, all the rest of their bodies beeing clothed, with bowes and arrowes in their handes, being subtill, 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 left on land, foure of the Indians came unto their boate, to whome the Englishmen gaue bread and wine: and when the Indians had well eaten and drinke, 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 countrey; 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 saued themselues in the boate, wherewith they presently put off from the shore. Here they stayed till the seuenteenth of August, upon 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 fve and twentie fathome deepe), and were about foure or fve

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 description
of the Streight
of Magellan*

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 East Northeast 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 East Northeast 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 couered 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, hauing 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 hauing plaine and euen land: and there they sawe not any great riuers but some small riuers that issued out of the riffes 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 draue them West south west, which course they held for the space of ten or twelue dayes with few sailes up: and because the wind began to be very great, they tooke in all their sailes, and lay driuing till the last of September.

The 24. day of the same moneth hauing 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 seuen dayes, and at the ende of the sayde seuen 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 Northwest: whereupon they sailed West Southwest.

The next day they lost 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 Silua* was left in the Bay where they wintered before they entred into the Streights: and with this foule weather they ranne till they were under seuen and fiftie degrees, where they entred into a hauen 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 inhabited Island, where being arriued, 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 North Northeast and North, to another Island lying fife or sixe degrees from the firme land, on the North side of the Streight, where they ankered about a quarter of a league from the land, in twelue 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 twelue 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

*This was the
Elizabeth, M.
John Winters
ship*

*They were
driven unto 57
degrees of
Southerly lati-
tude*

*The Isle of
Mocha in 38
deg. 30 min.*

late, they returned againe unto their ship, without doing any other thing for that day.

The next day the said Captaine with the aforesaid twelue men, being 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 took them: which they in the boat perceiuing, went out to helpe them, but they were so assailed with stones and arrowes, that all or the most part of them were hurt, the captaine himselfe being wounded with an arrow on the face, and with another 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 hauen called *Sant Jago*, and put into another hauen, and there they tooke an Indian that lay fishing in a *canoe*, giuing him linnen and butchers chopping kniues, with other trifles, and not long after there came another Indian aboard their shippe called *Felippe*, and he spake Spanish: he gaue the English Captaine notice of a certaine shippe that lay in the hauen of *Sant Jago*, which they had left six leagues behind them: with that intelligence, the Indian being their guide, the next day they set saile and went to the aforesayd hauen of *S. Jago*, and entring therein, they tooke the said shippe, wherein they found a thousand seuen hundred and 70 *Botijas* or Spanish pots full of wine, and other things: which hauing done, they lept 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 hauen, 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 hauen, whereinto they entred, and ankered at sixe fathome deep

Sir Francis
Drake
wounded

The hauen of
S. Jago in
32 degrees and
a halfe

the shot of a great peece from the land, which was right ouer against a riuer, where they tooke in sixe pipes of fresh water: and to defend them that fetched the water, they set twelue 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 perceiued 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 unhabited hauen: yet they went not on land, for euery day they saw people upon the shore, and there they made out a smal pinnesse, the peeces whereof they brought ready framed out of *England*, and hauing prepared it, they launched it into the water, wherein the Captaine with fiteene men entred with the chiefe boatesman called *John the Greeke* (being Master of the ship which they had taken in the hauen of *S. Jago*), 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.

Hauing 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 haue 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, leauing 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 perceiuing, 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 board againe.

The next day following they saw a barke laden with fish that belonged to the Spaniards, with four 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 the 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 siluer (euery pezo being the value of a ryall of eight), and seuen Indian sheepe and henns, and tooke al whatsoever they found, wherewith they departed from thence, following on their course.

Arica And two days after they came to the hauen 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 seuen and thirty barres of siluer, which are peeces of ten or twelue pound eche barre, and thinking to leape on shore (with two barks that they found in the said hauen, with about seuen and thirty harquebuses and bowls) they perceived on the land certaine horsemen coming 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 whereof they had intelligence, and hauing in that maner sailed about fife and forty leagues, they found the ship that lay at anker in a hauen, who about two houres before had bene aduertised of an English pirate or sea-rouer, and

had discharged eight hundred barres of siluer out of her, and hidden it on the land, which siluer belonged to the King of *Spaine*, of the which siluer the Englishmen had receiued 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 driue, doing the like with the ship that they had taken in *Arica*, as also the other of *Saint Jago*, which likewise they let drive, following on their course with their owne ship and the pinnesse.

Being seuen or eight leagues from the hauen of *Calao de Lyma*, Calao de Lima they espied three ships, and boording one of them, they took 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 seuentene in number: and being among the ships, they asked for the ship that had laden the siluer, but when answere was made them, that the siluer 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 merchandize of *Spaine*, that ankered close by the English ship, which was, while the English Captaine sought in the other ships for the siluer. 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 coming 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 boord, who climbing up, light upon one of the great peeces, wherewith he was afraid, and presently stepped 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 iudged it to be a rouer, 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 again into their shippe, and presently set saile, following after the ship, which not long after they ouertooke: 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 sailed 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 perceiued two great ships comming towards them, which made the English thinke they came to fight with them; whereupon they let the ship of *Panama* driue, therein leauing *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 driue. From thence they sailed againe along the coast, following on their course: and hauing 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 siluer, and asked the pilote, being a Spaniard, if they met not with a ship, that they understood should be laden with siluer; 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.

Payta

Two dayes after they came to the hauen 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 perceiued the Englishmen, they presently made to land with their boate, and two of them lept 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 shippe: 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 de-

parted from that place, wherewith 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 siluer, 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 driue, following on their course.

The first of March, towards noone, they espied the ship laden with siluer, being about foure leagues to seaward from them: and because the English ship was somewhat heauie before, whereby it sailed not as they would haue 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 he shotte her mast ouerboard, and hauing 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 siluer, 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 siluer 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*.

*A pretie device
to make their
ship saile more
swifely*

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 fife 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, leauing 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 four and twentie of March. Which done, and hauing made prouision 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 hauing 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 gouernour of the *Philippinas*, as also the sea-cards wherewith they should make their voyage, and direct themselues in their course.

And so sailing untill the sixt of Aprill, about euening 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 woulde, 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 hauen of *Guatulco*, where they put in, being upon Munday the thirteenth of Aprill,

The Island of
Canno

The first sight
of Nueua
Espanna

They calke and
trimme their
ship at the
Isle of Canno
ouer against
Nicaragua

Sea-charts of the
South Sea taken

They arrive
at Guatulco.
Aprill 13.
Stilo nouo

and hauing 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 Silua* goe, putting him into another ship, that lay in the hauen of *Guatulco*.

Nuno da Silua
set on land

From thence forward the Englishmen passed on their voyage, to the Islands of *Malucos*, and from thence they passed by the *Cape de Buena Esperança*, 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 Silua* 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 giuen 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 any hurt: and what composition or agreement we haue made, at my returne into *England* I will by Gods helpe perfourme, although I am in doubt that this letter will neuer come to your hands: notwithstanding I am the man I haue promised to be: Beseeching God, the Sauour of all the world, to haue us in his keeping, to whom onely I giue all honour, praise and glory. What I haue 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 friendes, 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 aduersitie, 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 preserue you from all danger, and bring us to our desired hauen, to whom bee all honour, glory and praise for euer and euer. Amen. Your sorrowfull Captaine, whose heart is heauy for you.

FRANCIS DRAKE

V.

DRAKE IN CALIFORNIA

[Hakluyt in his *Voyages* also published a very valuable document about Drake's proceedings in California after he left the American coast under Spanish rule, relating to his taking possession of the country for Queen Elizabeth under the name of Nova Albion. This document has been printed by Vaux and is reprinted here.]

THE COURSE WHICH SIR FRANCIS DRAKE HELD FROM THE HAVEN OF GUATULCO, IN THE SOUTH SEA, ON THE EAST SIDE OF NUEVA ESPANNA, TO THE NORTHWEST OF CALIFORNIA, AS FAR AS FORTIE THREE DEGREES: AND HIS RETURNE BACK ALONG THE SAID COAST TO THIRTY EIGHT DEGREES: WHERE, FINDING A FAIRE AND GOODLY HAUEN, HE LANDED, AND STAYING THERE MANY WEEKES, AND DISCOVERING MANY EXCELLENT THINGS IN THE COUNTRY, AND GREAT SHEWE OF RICH MINERALL MATTER, AND BEING OFFERED THE DOMINION OF THE COUNTRY BY THE LORD OF THE SAME, HE TOOKE POSSESSION THEREOF IN THE BEHALFE OF HER MAIESTIE, AND NAMED IT NOUA ALBION.

We kept our course from the Isle of *Cano* (which lyeth in eight degrees of Northerly latitude, and within two leagues of the maine of *Nicaragua*, where wee calked and trimmed our ship) along the coast of *Nueva Espanna*, untill we came to the hauen and towne of *Guatulco*, which (as we were informed) had but seuentene Spaniards dwelling in it, and we found it to stand in fiftene degrees and fiftie minutes.

Assoone as we were entred this hauen we landed, and went presently to the towne and to the towne-house, where we found a judge sitting in judgement, he being associate with three other officers, upon three negroes that had conspired the burning of the towne: both which judges and prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shippeboord, and caused the chiefe judge to write his letter to the towne, to command all the townesmen to auoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, wee ransaked the towne; and in one house we found a pot, of the quantitie of a bushell, full of royals of plate, which we brought to

our ship. And here one *Thomas Moone*, one of our companie, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of gold about him, and other iewels, which we tooke and let him goe.

At this place our Generall, among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugall pilote, which he tooke at the Island of *Cape Verde*, out of a ship of *Saint Marie*, port of Portugall, and having set them a shoore, we departed thence.

Our General at this place and time, thinking himselfe both in respect of his priuate iniuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied and reuenged: and supposing that her Maiestie at his returne would rest contented with this seruice, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coastes, 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, least the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose handes, he being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Streights of the south side, with continuall stormes raining and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, wherefore he thought it not a good course to aduenture that way: he resolved therefore, to auoide these hazards, to goe forward to the Islands of the *Malucos*, and therehence to saile the course of the Portugales by the Cape of *Bona Sperança*.

Upon this resolution, he began to thinke of his best way for the *Malucos*, and finding himselfe, where hee now was, becalmed, hee saw that of necessitie hee must bee enforced to take a Spanish course, namely, to saile somewhat northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 800 leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sayled from the 16th of Aprill, after our olde stile, till the third of June.

The fift day of June, being in fortie-three degrees towardes the pole Arcticke, being speedily come out of the extreame heate, wee found the ayre so colde, that our men being pinched with the same, complayned of the extremetie thereof, and the further we went the more the colde increased upon us; whereupon we thought it

Sir Francis Drake sayled on the backe side of America to 43 degrees of Northerly latitude 38 degrees

best for that time to seeke land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land (and we drew backe againe without landing, til we came within thirtie-eight degrees towards the line. In which height, it pleased God to send us into a faire and good bay, with a good winde to enter the same).

In this bay wee ankered the seuenteenth of June, and the people of the country, having their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselues unto us, and sent a present to our Generall.

*A description of
the country of
Noua Albion*

When they came unto us, they greatly wondered at the things which we brought; but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) curteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to couer their nakednesse; whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrarie: the presentes which they sent unto our Generall were feathers, and calcs of net worke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the uttermost brimmes of the circle clifts of wood set upon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme. Their bed is the ground with rushes strawed on it, and lying about the house; they haue the fire in the midst. The men goe 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 downe about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skin of deere, with the haire upon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable 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 toppe of the hil (at the bottome whereof wee had pitched our tents), they stayed themselves, where one appointed for speaker wearied himself 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 perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time our Generall, with his companie, went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentiuē, and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were

come unto us, they restored againe unto us those things which before we had 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 himself, a man of goodly stature and 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 speech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send something by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might bee in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their king, who marched to us with a princely maiestie, the people crying continually after their maner; and as they drewe neere unto us, so did they striue to behaue themselues in their actions with comelinesse.

In the fore front was a man of 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 merueilous length: the crownes were made of knit work, wrought artificially with feathers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bony 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 twelue. Next unto him which bare the scepter was the king himselfe, with his garde about his person, clad with conie skinnēs, and other skinnēs: after them followed the naked common sort of people, eueryone hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke and other colours, and hauing in their hands one thing or other for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

*These are like
the chaines of
Esurnoy in
Canada, and
Hochelage*

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching a very warlike shewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a general 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 voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall *Amen*, as it were, giuen, 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 themselues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a dance, and that with a stately countenance, whom the king with his garde, and euery degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and dance, sauing onely the women, which daunced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and dance a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselues, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the king and diuers others made seuerall orations or rather supplication, that he would take their prouince and kingdom 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 reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne upon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offered 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 hee knewe not what honour and profite it might bee to our countrey. Wherefore in the name and to the use of her Maiestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the said countrey in his hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might so conueniently be transported to the inriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The common sort of the people, leauing the king and his garde with our Generall, scattered themselues together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery person; and such as pleased their fancie (which were the yongest), they inclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nayles, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee used signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwardes to the liuing God, whome onely they ought to worshippe. They shewed unto us their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our handes, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state

*The King
resignes his
crowne and
kingdome to
Sir Francis
Drake*

*Great riches in
Noua Albion*

of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Euery thirde day they brought their sacrifices unto us, untill they vnderstoode our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from us, but daily frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so grievous unto them, that their ioy was turned into sorrow. They intreated us, that being absent wee would remember them, and by stelth provided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his companie traueiled up into the countrey to their villages, where we found hearde of deere by a thousand in a companie, being most large and fat of body.

*Great herds
of deere*

We found the whole countrey to bee a warren of a strange kinde of conies, their bodyes in bignes as be the Barbary conies, their heads as the heades of ours, the feet of a want, and the taile of a rat, being of great length: under her chinne on either side a bagge, into the which shee gathereth her meate when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skinned, for their kings coate was made of them.

*Abundance of
strange conies*

Our Generall called this countrey *Noua Albion*, and that for two causes: the one, in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which ly towardes the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

Noua Albion

There is no part of earth here to bee taken up, wherein there is not some speciall likelihood of gold or siluer.

*Gold and silver
in the earth of
Noua Albion*

At our departure hence our Generall set up a monument of our being there; as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely, a plate nailed upon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing up of the prouince and the people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a piece of sixe pence of current English money under the plate, where under was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the country, neither did euer discover the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place.

VI.

EDWARD CLIFFE'S STORY

[Hakluyt in his *Voyages* further published an account by Edward Cliffe, a mariner in the *Elizabeth*, of Drake's expedition as far as the Straits of Magellan, and of Winter's voyage home. This, too, has been printed by Vaux and is reprinted here.]

THE VOYAGE OF M. JOHN WINTER INTO THE SOUTH SEA BY THE STREIGHT OF MAGELLAN, IN CONSORT WITH M. FRANCIS DRAKE, BEGUN IN THE YEERE 1577. BY WHICH STREIGHTE ALSO HE RETURNED SAFELY INTO ENGLAND THE SECOND OF JUNE 1579, CONTRARY TO THE FALSE REPORTS OF THE SPANIARDS, WHICH GAUE OUT, THAT THE SAID PASSAGE WAS NOT REPASSEABLE. WRITTEN BY EDWARD CLIFFE, MARINER.

In the yeere of our Lord 1577, the 19. of September, there went out of the riuer of *Thamis*, ouer the lands ende, one good and newe ship called the *Elizabeth*, of 80 tunnes in burthen: in company whereof went also a small pinnesse, being 12 tunnes in burthen, called the *Benedict*. The sayd ship with her pinnesse arriued at *Plimmouth*, in which hauen were three ships more; one called the *Pellican*, in burthen 120 tunnes, being admirall of the fleete; a barke called the *Marigold*, in burthen 30 tunnes, with a flieboat of 50 tunnes. These ships had in them 164 men, and were victualled and furnished with all kind of necessary prouision to make a voyage into the South sea. Wee set sayle the 15. of Nouember, but were put into *Falmouth* by contrary winds: and afterward were constrained to put backe againe to *Plimmouth* to repaire the great hurt which diuers of our fleete had sustained in that tempest: and at length, the 13 of December, wee set forward from thence upon our voyage.

They set
forward from
Plimmouth
the 13. of
December

Cape Cantin

Mogador an
Island on the
Coast of
Barbary

The five and twentie of December we had sight of *Cape Cantin*: this Cape lyeth in the latitude of 32 degrees and 30 minutes, upon the coast of *Barbarie*, neere to a towne called *Asaphi*. The land all along this coast is hie and great mountaines. Sayling from the sayd Cape South-southwest about eighteen leagues, wee found a little Island called *Mogador*, an English mile distant from the maine, we sent our boat to sound the depth, and at the returne

thereof we understood by our men that the hauen was without danger, hauing five fathomes of water fast by the rocks, entring in upon the poynt of the Island: wherefore wee entred in with our whole fleete the 27 of December. The Moores that were on the maine, seeing our ships ride there, came from the mountaines to beholde us, whom our Generall M. *Francis Drake* espying, shewed to them a white flagge in token of friendship, and sent his boat to shore with one of our men, which not long before had bene captiue in the countrey, and partly understoode their language, to talke with them. When the boate came to shore, the sayd man went on land to them: to whom they shewed many tokens of friendship, casting up their eyes to heauen, and after looking downe upon the ground, as though they had sworne by heauen and earth, promising peace. That done two of them came aboard to our Generall, and our man stayed on shore for a pledge.

These two Moores, after they had made good cheere, and receiued certaine gifts of our Generall, went to shore againe, and our man came aboard also. But the craftie slaues hauing deuised to betray us, came the next day along the sea side with certaine camels, as though they had brought some merchandize to traffique with us, to whom our General sent certaine of our men in the boat to learne what they had brought, giuing charge that none should goe on land. But the boate being neere the shore, one of our men, more hastie then wise, lept on shore, whom the *Moores* immediately tooke by force, and setting him on horsebacke caried him away into the mountaines, so that we saw him no more after that time. In the meane time wee set up a pinnesse in the island, whereof wee brought four loose out of *England*; which being finished the last of December, wee weighed, and came out of the North part of the island, the same way that wee came in; for the South chanel is dangerous, hauing but 8 foote at low water, and is full of rockes. This island standeth in 31 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$ of latitude, being one league in circuit, not inhabited, and hath infinite number of doves upon it.

Four loose
Pinneses brought
out of England

At sea wee met with a contrary winde, so that wee beate off and on, till the 4 of Januarie, 1578, at which time a more fauourable winde began to blowe at Northeast, and then wee set our course South Southwest, till on the 7 of Januarie, we came as high as *Cape de Guer*, which standeth in 30 degrees of latitude. Here our

Cape de Guer
in 30 degrees

Cape Bojador
in 27 degrees
4 min.

Cape de
las Barbas
Cape Blanco
in 20 degrees
30 min.

new pinnesse tooke 3 Spanish fisher-boats, called *Cantars*. From thence wee ran Southwest and Southsouth-west, carrying the sayd *Cantars* along with us, till the 10. of the sayd moneth, at which time we found ourselues in 27 degrees 4 min., being 10 leagues West Southwest from *Cape Bojador*, which lieth on the maine land of *Africa*. From thence we ran South and by West, vntill the 13 day at noone, at which time wee had sight of *Rio del Oro*, where our pinnesse took a Portugall carauel. The 15, the *Marigold* took a carauel about *Cape de las Barbas*. And thence we ran along the coast, being low sandie land, till wee arriued at *Cape Blanco*. This *Cape* sheweth itselfe like the corner of a wall upright from the water, to them which come from the Northwardes, where the North pole is eleuated 20 degrees 30 min. And the Crociers, being the guards of the South pole, he raised 9 degrees 30 min. The said Crociers be four starres, representing the forme of a crosse, and be 30 degrees in latitude from the South pole: and the lowest starre of the sayd Crociers is to be taken when it is directly under the uppermost; and being so taken, as many degrees as it wanteth of 30, so many you are to the Northwards of the *Equinoctiall*: and as many degrees as be more then 30, so many degrees you are to the Southwards of the *Equinoctiall*. And if you finde it to be iust 30, then you be directly under the line.

Within the sayd *Cape Blanco* wee tooke one ship more, all the men being fled away, saue two. Wee brought this ship, with all the rest which we had taken before, into our harbour, five leagues within the *Cape*, where we washed and trimmed our ships, and went to sea againe the 22 of January, leauing all the Spaniards there with their ships, sauing one *Cantar*, for which our Generall gaue them the *Benedict*. In which course wee ran continually to the Southwest, untill the 26 day, when wee found the North pole raysed 15 degrees 15 min., hauing the winde Northeast or East Northeast, which is common on that coast; for it doeth blow for the most part continually from the shore, and we kept the sayd course, untill wee came neere the Island *Bonauista*, within 2 leagues off the shore; so that wee haled off againe Northwest, the space of one houre, and then ran Southwest againe, till daylight the 27 of Januarie, from which time wee ran South Southwest, untill 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time we approached neere the Island of *Mayo*, being high and hilly land, sauing that the

The Isle of
Maio

North part of the island stretched out it selfe, a league into the sea, very lowe. Wee came to anker under the West part of this island the 28 day of Januarie, and stayed there untill the 30 of the same, during which time our Generall appointed M. *John Winter* and M. *Thomas Doughtie* to goe ouer to the East part of the island with 70 men to get some fresh victuals. And as wee marched through the island, about the middest thereof, we found one house hauing a garden belonging to it, in which we found ripe grapes, also ripe gourds and melons, in the most dead time of our winter. Wee found also a tree which beareth the fruite *Cocos*, which was bigger then a mans head, hauing within the utter coate, which is about 3 inches thicke, a certain nut as bigge as two fists, and hath within a white substance, cleauing fast to the shell, which is halfe an inche thick, very pleasant to taste, and within that a certaine hollownesse or voyde place, wherein is contained a pure and pleasant water in taste, and as some thinke, maruellous comfortable. As we passed through this island, the inhabitants fledde into the mountaines, so that we could have no talke with them. But we understood by the Portugals which came with us, that they were but seruants to those of *S. Jago*, to keepe their cattell and goates, which bee very plentifull in this Island: but we found them so wilde, that we could take none sauing some yong kiddes; wherefore wee returned backe againe to our shippes. The Portugals had salted their Welles neere to the sea, so that we could not water.

Ripe grapes in
Januarie

Then our Generall commanded euery mann aboard: afterward we weighed, and ranne ouer to *Sant Iago* the same night, being ten leagues distant from thence: which seemed to bee a fruitfull Island and well peopled. For wee sawe three townes on the shore: two of which shot at us as we passed along. Our General made a shot at one of them againe. And sayling along the shore, at the South part of the Iland, wee tooke a Portugal shippe laden with wine and other commodities. This Island hath fifteen degrees in latitude.

From hence wee ran South South West to the Isle of *Fogo*, so called because it casteth continually flames of fire and smoake out of the top thereof, all the whole Island being one high mountaine. Two leagues west from the Isle of *Fogo*, is another Island called *Braua*, where the sea is about 120 fathoms deepe neere to the shore, so that we could not anker for the depth of the sea, by reason

The Isle of
Fogo

Braua

whereof we were constrained to depart without water. Here the Generall discharged the Portugals, giuing unto them our Pinnesse which we built at *Mogador*: with wine, breade, and fish, and so dismissed them the first of Februarie, taking one of there companie along with him, called *Nonnez de Silua*. The 2nd of February wee set off from *Braua*, and directed our course South South East, running so untill the 9th of February, being within four degrees of the *Equinoctial*: at which time, wee had the ayre troubled with thunder and lightning, notwithstanding calme with extreme heate, and diuers times great showers of raine.

The 17th day wee were right under the line, which is the most feruent place of the burnt Zone: where in the middest of February we sustained such heat, with often thunder and lightnings, that wee did sweate for the most part continually, as though wee had bene in a stoue, or hote-house. Here we saw flying fishes in great abundance, some a foote long, some lesse. Their fynnes wherewith they flye be as long as their bodies. They be greatly pursued by the Dolphine and Bonitoes, whom as soone as the flying fishes espie, immediately they mount out of the sea in great numbers, and fly as long as their fynnes continue moyst: and when they bee dry, they fall downe into the sea againe. And here is to bee noted, that after we came within four degrees of the *Equinoctial*, untill we were so much past it, no day did passe without great store of raine.

From hence wee directed our course towards the South South West untill the 5th of Aprill: at which time, wee had a very sweet smell from the land. The same day at noone wee sounded, and found the sea to be 32 fathomes deepe, the ground being soft oaze: and shortly after we had but 28 fathomes, being 31 degrees and 30 min. beyond the *Equinoctial* towarde the South pole: and wee had sight of the land about three of the clocke in the after-noon the same day. This lande is very lowe neere the sea; and hie mountaines up within the countrie.

From hence we ran towards the South South West, until the 14 of Aprill; when wee found a little Island, lying neere the maine land of *Cape Sant Marie*, by which is the enterance into the riuer of *Plate*, being in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude. Fro this Island wee ran seven or eight leagues along the maine, where we came to an Anker under a Cape which, our General called *Cape Joy*.

Here euery ship tooke in fresh water. Then we departed, and ran about 15 leagues towards the West South West, where we found a deepe bay. In the bottome of this bay is a long rocke, not far from the maine: which rocke so breaketh the force of the sea, that shippes may ride commodiously under the same for Southerly winds. Hither came all our fleete to anker, the 19 of Aprill, and roade there untill the 20 day at night. Here wee killed some seales. And from thence we ran about 20 leagues, where we found the water very much troubled and fresh, and wee ran in so farre that wee had but three fathomes water. Here wee tooke in fresh water, and ranne ouer to the Southward, and fell with the lande which lyeth on the South part of the riuer of *Plate*, the 27 day. This land lyeth South South West and North North East, and is shold three or four leagues into the sea. Here our fly-boat lost our companie in the night.

From hence we ran toward the South West, having much foule weather and contrary windes, until the 12 of May: and then wee sounded and had 28 fathomes, with blacke sande and small stones, and had sight of the land the same morning about ten of the clock. This land is 47 degrees in latitude. Our Generall named this land, *Cape Hope*. We came to anker there, about three leagues from the shore the same night. The next morning our general went to the maine in a boate: by meanes whereof hee had bene in great danger, if the *Marigold* had not weighed, and ran in with the shore, and so took up the boate and men: for there arose such foule weather, with a thicke myst and a South East winde, that they were not able to recouer their shippes againe which rode without: which were forced to weigh and runne to sea. The *Prize* weighed the 13 at night, and ran to the Southwards: The other stayed untill the 14 in the morning and then ran to sea, not being able to ride.

In the meane time while the *Marigold* rode under the shore, our Generall with certaine of his men went on land, where they sawe two naked men, sauing that they had a certaine skinne wrapt about their shoulders and rowles upon their heades. To whom our General shewed a white cloth, in signe of friendship, who with certaine gestures of their bodies and handes, shewed the like to him againe, speaking likewise and making a noyse, which our men could not understand, but they would in no case come neere our men. Our generall went the next day to the same place againe:

Cape of Hope
in 47 degrees

Nonnez de
Silua

Flying fishes

Continuall raine
at certaine sea-
sons neere the
Equinoctial

Land in 31 de-
grees 30 min. to
the South of the
Equinoctial

Cape Sant
Marie at the
mouth of the
Riuer of Plate

Ostriches and
sea fowles

but hee had no sight of the foresaid men or any other. Howbeit hee found certaine fowles, as ostriches, and other sea fowles, which the sayd men had newly killed, and laid them on an heape together, as though they had done that for our men of purpose. There was also a certaine bagge with litle stones of diuers colours, which together with the victuals our general brought aboard, and then weighed, and came to sea the 15 of the sayd moneth: where all the rest of the fleet mette with him, saue the *Prize*, and the fly-boat.

The 16 day wee ran into a bay to the Southwardes of *Cape Hope*, where we roade al that night. The next morning our generall weighed, and ran without the *Cape* to the Northwardes, and sent the *Elizabeth* towards the South to looke for the *Prize*: leauing the *Marigold* and the *Canter* to search if in the bay they could finde any fit harbor for our ships. The same day, being the 14 of May, our General met with the fly-boat (which lost us the 27 of April) and brought her into saide bay. The 18 in the morning we had word from the ships, that they had found a safe harbour, and we weighed and ran in, the same day being Whitsunday. The *Elizabeth* weighed and put forth again to sea, the 20 day, to looke for the *Prize*, and not finding her came in the next day. In the meane time our General discharged the fly-boat, and ran her upon the maine, where we broke her up for fire-wood.

The description
of certaine
Sauages

In the meane while there came about 30 of the countrey people downe to the sea side: and when they were within 100 pases of our men, they set themselues in array very orderly, casting their companie into the forme of a ring, euery man hauing his bow and arrowes: who when they had pight a staffe on the ground, with certeine glasses, beads, and other trifles, returned backe. Then the countrey people came and tooke them and afterward approached neerer to our men, shewing themselues very pleasant, insomuch that M. *Winter* daunced with them. They were exceedingly delighted with the sound of the trumpet, and vialles. They be of a meane stature, wel limmed, and of a duskish, tawnie, or browne colour. Some of them hauing their faces spotted with diuers colours, as red, white, and blacke. Their apparel is a certaine skinne, (wherein they wrap themselues) not reaching so low as to couer their priuy members, all the rest of their bodies be naked sauing that they weare certaine roubles upon their heads,

whose ends hang ouer their shoulders. Euery one beareth his bow, being an ell in length, and arrowes made of reeds, hauing heads, framed very strangly and cunningly of a flint stone. They be much giuen to mirth and iollity, and are uery sly, and ready to steale any thing that comes within their reach: for one of them snatched our Generals cap from his head (as he stouped) being of skarlet with a golden band: yet he would suffer no man to hurt any of them. They eate rawe flesh, for we found seales bones, the raw flesh whereof they had gnawen with their teeth like dogs. In this bay we watered, and victualed with seales: for there is such plentie that we slew about 200 in the space of one houre upon a litle island.

The 3 of June we departed from thence, and being at sea we were put backe againe to *Cape Hope*, where we discharged our *Canter* and let her float in the sea. Afterward wee ran to the 50 degree of the South pole, where wee met with the winde Southerly, and so turned backe againe to the Northward. And as we ran along the shore, we met with our *Prize* the 19 of June, which we lost the 13 of May. The day following we found a harbour, into the which we entred with all our fleet the same day.

This port is 49 degrees and an halfe in latitude, and I suppose it to be the same which *Magellan* named *Port S. Julian*: for we found a gybbet on an hil, whereupon they were executed that did conspire against *Magellan*, and certaine bones also of their dead bodies. The 22 of this moneth our Generall going to shore upon the maine with 7 or 8 of his men, met with 3 of the *Patagons* hauing bowes and arrowes, who came neere to our mē making them signes to depart. Whereupon a gentleman being there present, and hauing a bowe and arrowes, made a shot to the end to shew them the force our bowes, with the which shot his string broke: whereupon the *Patagons* presumed to encounter them, directing their arrowes first at our M. *Gunner*, who had a caliuier ready bent to shot at them but it would not take fire: and as he leuelled his peece one of them shot him through the brest, and out at the backe, where-with he fell downe starke dead. Also the gentleman that shot the arrow was so wounded that hee dyed the 2 day after, and with the other was buried in a litle island lying in the said port. Our men left the slaine man on shore till night, and then fetched him in a boat. In the meane time the *Patagons* had stript him of all

The port of
Sant Julian

Two of our
men slaine by
the Patagons

blacke, mixt with white spots under their belly and about their necke. They walke so upright, that a farre off a man would take them to be like children. If a man aproch any thing neere them, they run into holes in the ground (which be not very deepe) whereof the Island is full. So that to take them we had staues with hookes fast the erids, wherewith some of our men pulled them out, and others being ready with cudgels did knocke them on the head; for they bite so cruellie with their crooked bils, that none of us was able to handle them aliue.

The land on both parts is very high, but especially toward the South sea, monstrous high hils and craggy rocks do exalt themselves, whose tops be all hoary with snowe, in the moneths of August, September, and October. Notwithstanding the lower partes of the hilles are replenished and beautified with impenetrable thicke woods of strange and unknown trees, flourishing all the yere long. Here we made prouision of fewel and fresh water, and passed by *Cape Deseado* into the South sea the 6 of September. And running along towards the North-west about seuentie leagues, the winde turned directly against us, with great extremitie of foule weather, as raine, haile, snow, and thicke fogs, which continued so more thē three weeks, that we could beare no saile; at which time we were driuen 57 degr. to the South pole.

The 15 of September the Moone was there Ecclipsed, and began to be darkened presently after the setting of the Sunne, about 6 of the clocke at night, being then *Equinoctial vernal* in that countrey. The said Eclipse happened the 16 day in the morning before one of the clocke in *England*, which is about sixe houres difference, agreeing to one quarter of the world, from the *Meridian* of *England* toward the West. The last of September being a very foule night, and the seas sore growne, we lost the *Marigold*, the Generals shippe and the *Elizabeth* running to the East-ward to get the shore, whereof we had sight, the 7 of October, falling into a very dangerous bay full of rocks: and there we lost company of M. *Drake* the same night. The next day very hardly escaping the danger of the rocks, we put into the streights againe, where we ankered in an open bay for the space of two dayes, and made great fiers on the shore, to the end if M. *Drake* should come into the streights, hee might finde us. After, we went into a sound, where we stayed for the space of three weekes, and named it *The*

High hils on
both sides of the
streight

Cape Deseado
where they en-
tered into the
South Sea

They were
driven to 57
degrees South-
ward

They loose M.
Drakes com-
pany

port of Health; for the most part of our men being very sicke with long watching, wet, cold, and euill diet, did here (God be thanked) wonderfully recouer their health in short space. Here we had very great muscles (some being twentie inches long) very pleasant meate, and many of them full of seed-pearles.

*The voyage
giuen ouer*

We came out of this harbour the first of Nouember, giuing ouer our voiage by M. *Winters* compulsion (full sore against the mariners minds) who alleged, he stood in dispaire, as well to haue winds to serue his turne for *Peru*, as also of M. *Drakes* safetie. So we came backe againe through the streights to *S. Georges* Island, where we tooke of the foules before named, and after departed.

*They returned
out of the
streight the 11
of Nouember,
having entred
into the South
Sea the 6 of
September*

And thus wee passed by *Cape Victorie* out of the streights the 11 of Nouember, directing our course to the north-east, till the last of this moneth; what time wee arriued at an island which lyeth at the mouth of the riuer of *Plate*. Upon this island there is such an infinite number of seales, as may seeme incredible to any man that hath not bene there, some of them being 16 foote long, not fearing the presence of men: for the most of our men were upon the island, for the space of 15 dayes to set up a Pinnesse, during which time the seales would come and slepe by them, and rather resist our men, then giue place, unlesse mortall blowes forced them to yeelde.

When our Pinnesse was built, we went to another island, where wee did water, and afterward departed the first of Januarie 1579, and ran towards the north till the 20 of the said moneth, and then we arriued at an island which lieth on the coast of *Brasil*, neere to a towne called *sant Vincent*, inhabited by the Portugals. The sayd towne lyeth 24 degrees southwarde, almost under the *Tropicke of Capricorne*. Here, by reason of foule weather we lost our Pinnesse, and 8 men in her, and neuer saw them since. Here also our ship was in great danger, by the meanes of a strong current, which had almost cast vs upon the shore before wee were aware, inso-much that we were constrained to anker in the open sea, and brake our cable and lost an anker, and presently let fal another capstan ranne about so violently with the rising of the shippe in the sea, that it threwe the men from the barres, and brake out the braines of one man: one other had his legge broken, and diuers others were sore hurt. At last wee gotte up our anker and set sayle,

*Sant Vincent
in Brasil, in
24 degrees*

*A dangerous
current*

and ran into a place called *Tanay*, where we roade under an island, and tooke in wood and water. *Tanay a place
in Brasil*

And while we stayed here, there came three Portugals aboard vs in a *canoe*, to know what we would haue, or of what countrey we were. To whom our Captaine made answer: that we were Englishmen, and had brought commodities for their countrey, if they would trafficke with vs: whereat they greatly marueiled. For they saide that they neuer heard of any English ship to haue bene in that countrey before; and so they went to land againe, hauing one of our men with them to speake with the Gouvernour of the towne, and we kept one of them for a pledge. Shortly after there came another *canoe* aboard us with one Portugal, and al the rest naked men of the countrey: of whom wee had two small oxen, one yong hogge, with certaine hennes: also pome-cytrons, limons, oranges, and other fruites of the countrey. For the which our Captaine gaue to them linnen cloth, combes, kniues, and other trifles. In the meane time the Gouvernour of the towne sent word that we should haue nothing, unlesse we would bring our shippe into the hauen. Whereunto our Captaine would in no case consent: for all their practise was to haue gotten us within their danger, neuertheles we came somewhat neere the towne with our ship, as though we would haue gone in; but we neuer meant it.

Here we tooke in our man; and set the Portugal pledge on land. After that we went to an iland called the isle of *Sant Sebastian*, where wee tooke fish. Here the Portugals had betrayed vs, if a Brasillian, one of their slaues, had not bene. For he stole from them, and shewed unto vs by signes, that the Portugals were comming with their *canoas* to take vs, as it fell out in deed: for the next morning they shewed themselues with twelue or sixteen *canoas*, some of them hauing fortie men in them. The same night two of our men ran away with our boat to the Portugals. And thus wee came away from thence toward our owne countrey the 17 of March, and had sight of the *Cape of Sant Augustine*, lying in 8 degrees to the Southward of the line. After that we had sight of an island lying within 3 degrees of the *Equinoctial*, called the isle of *Fernando de Loronha*. We crossed the *Equinoctial* the 13 of April, and had sight of the North starre the 19 of the sayd moneth.

*The isle of
Sant Sebastian
about the
Tropicke of
Capricorne*

*Cape Sant
Augustine*

*The isle of
Fernando de
Loronha*

*The sea of
Weedes, neere
the Tropicke
of Cancer*

The 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of May, wee sayled through the sea of *Weedes*, about one hundred leagues, being under the *Tropicke* of

English. Until then it had not been known for certain to what nation they belonged, and many surmises had been made. Thereupon he sent the General Diego de Frias Trejo with his men to defend the port of Callao and guard the King's money which was about to be embarked and consisted of more than two hundred thousand pesos in bars of silver. The General departed and reached Callao in all possible haste, but the English Corsair was already far out at sea, although he could still be seen from land, taking with him the ship of Alonso Rodriguez Baptista. As the General considered it advisable to go after the Corsair to recapture the prize he was taking, and as those who accompanied him approved of this, two vessels were designated, one being that of Miguel Angel. As soon as the men arrived from Lima they embarked in both ships. Three hundred men, more or less, thus embarked, all with a great desire to chastise the Corsair, just as though it were each man's private affair. The General embarked in Miguel Angel's ship, which thus became the *Capitana* [or flagship]. Pedro de Arana embarked as Admiral [and Camp Master] in the other [which became the *Almiranta* or second in command], and thus we sailed after the Corsairs who were already more than four leagues out of the port, towards the north-west. When the *Capitana* came under the lee of the island, the wind fell and she was detained a long while, whereas the *Almiranta*, which followed, overtook and passed ahead because as she sailed further from the island her sails caught more wind. It was afterwards known that when the English Corsair saw vessels coming out of the port he inquired of the Spaniards on his ship what vessels could they be? They answered that it seemed to them that they were some ships coming after the vessels whose moorings he had cut and that in order to take them back they were tacking about. When the Englishmen saw this they took great care, nevertheless, to watch what course we were taking.

When they saw that we were adopting the same as theirs and that we had already cleared the island and reached the open sea, the Corsair Francis realised the truth. Dissembling, he said to the sailors whom he had taken prisoners that he would now release them according to his previous promise. He ordered them to enter the merchant ship which he had seized and to return in her to the port. He sent them to the merchant ship in the pinnace and

gave order that the Englishmen who had been working that vessel were to return in the said pinnace. As these Englishmen delayed in returning, and as he saw that we were in pursuit, he jumped into his skiff and went to the vessel, wrangling with his men. These all jumped into the pinnace and went to their ship in fear that they might be overtaken by the two vessels that were pursuing them. The merchant ship, with four or five of the liberated sailors, returned towards the port. After collecting his men, the Englishman spread his top-gallant sails and took flight towards the north-west.

When the merchant vessel returned to port, our *Almiranta* went and spoke with her and then followed the Englishman for a whole day. At sunset she was almost out of sight, and had gained headway because our vessels were without ballast, and, being crank, could not bear sail and pitched with the moving about of the men, thus navigating very slowly. Moreover the English ship, being further out at sea, caught a stiffer breeze and sailed on the wind. Notwithstanding all this, although at dusk we lost sight of her, we did not give up pursuing her during a great part of the night. And those of the *Almiranta*, having sent to the merchant ship for a mariner named Juan Griego, who had come with the Englishman from Chile, ascertained from him that the English vessel was large and strong and carried seventy-five or eighty men and many pieces of artillery, beside many fire-instruments. Having learnt this Pedro de Arana and several of those on the *Almiranta* went during the night to the *Capitana* and held a consultation with the General and other gentlemen as to whether they should continue to follow the enemy or go back to the port so as to get reinforcements and be able to return better prepared to pursue the chase.

It was the General's view that they should continue to follow the enemy, but many held a contrary opinion and argued that it was advisable to return to harbour, the principal reasons they gave being the defectiveness of the vessels and the fact that they carried no food whatever and not sufficient artillery and ammunition or fire-instruments to cope with the English, who were many in number. Our men would be running a great risk on this account and also because the ships, carrying no ballast, could not possibly catch up with the enemy. Even if they did so our men would certainly be injured by the enemy's artillery, for our ships carried

Cancer. From whence wee kept our course towards the North-east, untill wee had the pole raised 47 degrees. The 22 of May we ranne East Northeast.

The 29 we sounded and had 70 fathomes with white oaze, hauing the North pole raysed 51 degrees. The 30 of May wee had sight of *S. Iues*, on the North side of *Corne-wall*, and the 2 of June, 1579, we arriued at *Ilfoord-combe* in *Deuon-shire*.

their arriual
at Ilfoord-
combe in De-
uonshire

And thus, after our manifold troubles and great dangers in hauing passed *The streights of Magellan* into the South Sea with our Generall *M. Francis Drake*, and hauing bene driuen with him downe to the Southerly latitude of 57 degrees, and afterward passing backe by the same streights againe, it pleased God to bring us safe into our owne natiue countrey, to enioy the presence of our deare friendes and kinsefolkes; to whom bee prayse, honour, and glory, for euer and euer. *Amen*.

EDWARD CLIFFE,

Mariner

VII.

SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA'S REPORT

[Among those who were sent after Drake by the Spanish Viceroy after his exploits in the Callao of Lima, was Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, the celebrated Spanish mariner. Mrs Nuttall has unearthed his Report (*Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*) and translated it in *New Light on Drake*. It is an invaluable document printed in full by Mrs Nuttall, and extracts are given here.

The title of the Report is as follows: "An account of what the corsair Drake did and of the robberies on the coasts of Chile and Peru, as well as the measures that the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo took against him, 1578."]

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORTS.

Illustrious and Most Reverend Sir,
On Friday, February thirteenth, 1578, between ten o'clock

and midnight, the ship of some English Corsairs, with a pinnace and skiff arrived at the port of Callao de Lima. Entering between the ships that lay at anchor there, the Corsairs enquired for the ship of Miguel Angel, for they had learnt that many bars of silver had been embarked on her. On boarding her they found however that she did not contain the riches they expected, for the silver had not yet been carried aboard. They then went in the pinnace and skiff from vessel to vessel. They cut the cables of seven of the nine vessels that were lying at anchor there, so that they should drift and not be able to follow them.

When they reached the ship of Alonso Rodriguez Baptista, which had just arrived from Panama with a cargo of Castilian stuffs, they boarded her, shooting many arrows at her sailors and pilot. The said Alonso Rodriguez was wounded by an arrow and it is said that one Englishman was killed. The Englishmen seized the ship with all her cargo, and carrying her with their ship, pinnace and skiff, set sail around the island of the port towards the northwest. They were able to do this in safety because the inhabitants of the coast by which they had come had not made haste in sending information to the Viceroy. While the English Corsairs were plundering the ship, the sailors who had escaped went on land giving the alarm. As soon as this was received, the inhabitants of the port, especially the royal officers and the chief governor, mustered the people so as to repel the Corsairs, and sent dispatches to the Viceroy who was in Lima, at two leagues of the port, and who received them one hour after midnight.

He reported to His Excellency what had happened in the port and His Excellency, with great dispatch, armed himself and ordered the gentlemen and his retainers to do the same. The bells were rung to give the alarm and criers were sent from door to door to explain what had occurred and to summon all inhabitants to assemble in the public square, where His Excellency took his stand.

Meanwhile he had been going to and fro, attending to everything. When the entire population had assembled in the square His Excellency mustered them and, as many had no arquebuses, he had the armoury opened and distributed many arquebuses, pikes and provisions of ammunition. While this was being done he received information that the Corsairs who had arrived were

nothing but arquebuses to use against him. Moreover, the most imperative reason for returning seemed to be that many of the gentlemen were very seasick and were not in a condition to stand, much less to fight. Yet there were many who were capable of doing both. Finally, at the end of much discussion, it was resolved to return in order to obtain reinforcements so as to sally forth again, better equipped to attack the enemy. Thus they returned. A certain Juan Griego and three other mariners who had been taken by the Corsair in Chile and other parts and had been left by the Englishman in the merchant ship [of Alonso Rodriguez Baptista], on being questioned about the Englishmen, declared as follows:

"The first they had learnt was that the ship was English and carried seventy or eighty men, the chief of whom was named Francisco Draquez, a medium sized man, robust and a great mariner and cosmographer. It was he who some years ago had robbed much silver in Chagres and Cruces. The Englishmen said that they had sailed from Plymouth, England, by order of the Queen of that country, with five ships and three launches, carrying five hundred men. Before reaching the Strait of Magellan two of these were lost in a storm. The others entered the strait and sailed through it, coming across very tall natives. After entering the South Sea the three ships and three launches navigated along the coast towards Chile and in 44 deg. they took in water. On sailing from there to the open sea they encountered a strong norther, which drove them towards the south-west without their being able to hoist a sail for twenty-four days. In this storm the two other ships and three launches disappeared, and although this occurred six months ago they have never seen them since."

On the other hand in the account sent to His Excellency from Chile, it is related that after having entered the South Sea, one of the vessels was lost and that the other only disappeared one day before the fight with the Indians at the Island of Mocha. The first version was given me by the said witnesses and by San Juan de Anton, who was seized and was with them six days. He signed it as well as the following testimony which is: "that after this storm had ceased the ships of the Corsair Francis running with the said norther, sighted certain large islands, but he did not land on them. He went as far as 66 deg. towards the south-east, which

is 14 deg. farther south than the Strait of Magellan. Afterwards when the weather permitted it, he returned and followed a north-easterly course until he reached the coast of Chile where he reached the port of Valdivia, but did not enter it. From thence he went to the island of Mocha which is inhabited by Indians, and landed to get water; but the Indians attacked him and killed his pilot and surgeon and wounded nine or ten. The chief was wounded by arrows, one of which entered his head, the other his face. There was one man who received twenty-five arrow wounds, another twenty-three.

"From there they followed the coast of Chile and cast anchor at the port of Quintero, six leagues from the port of Santiago, and there they took an Indian from whom they learnt that they had left Valparaiso, the port of Santiago, six leagues behind them. Taking this Indian as a guide they entered the harbour of Valparaiso on Friday, December fifth, 1578, at noon and cast anchor in the middle of the bay as far forward as the beach of Anton Gonzalez.

"The Corsair sent the skiff with eighteen Englishmen, arquebusiers, archers and men with shields, to seize a merchant vessel that lay at anchor in the port and was named "La Capitana" because she had served as such in the voyage of discovery to the Solomon Islands. She was about to sail for Peru and had on board five sailors and two negroes. The Englishmen entered her and took the sailors below deck and locked them up. Then some of them went to fetch their chief, the Corsair Drake, who went to "La Capitana" and placed guards in her. Some men went ashore, and broke open the warehouses, thinking that they would find gold, but instead they only found wine, flour, salt pork, lard and suet. They took one thousand and seven hundred jars of wine and whatever else they wanted and transferred all to "La Capitana," in which they found twenty-four thousand pesos of gold as was entered in the register carried by its master and pilot Hernando Lamero. On Saturday, the sixth of December, at noon, the English Corsair set sail, taking "La Capitana" and the plunder with him. He placed twenty-five men in her to guard and navigate her, and on the following Sunday, in the afternoon, they cast anchor in the port of Quintero, six leagues from Valparaiso, and sent ashore the Indian they had seized.

"The Englishmen took the sea-chart of the pilot of "La Capitana" and guided themselves by it from port to port.

"From Quintero they came to the bay of Tanquey to take in water and not finding any proceeded to the port of La Herradura where both ships cast anchor and took in a supply of water and pigs. While on shore they heard an arquebuse shot inland and inferred that Spaniards were there. The Englishmen on board stationed a sentinel in the crow's nest and at noon Drake came out of his cabin and perceived on land a horseman followed by about fifty or sixty others and by Indians. Francis signalled to his men on shore to withdraw to a rock that was near and to which they could wade. Whilst they were doing so the Spaniards reached the shore and the last Englishman who had remained behind to assemble the others was reached and killed by the Spaniards. But the Englishman was the first to discharge his arquebuse and he also drew his sword to defend himself. When the Englishmen had reached the rock Francis sent the launch in which they all entered and went to the ship which immediately set sail. The English ship nearly ran aground on a shoal near certain islands and for this reason did not enter the port of Coquimbo as had been intended. Proceeding they cast anchor off the northernmost of the Islas de Pajaros [Bird Islands] and then sailed into the Bahia Salada where they remained for forty days. During that time he built a launch and made her sails, also greased and rigged his ship and placed the artillery on deck which had hitherto been carried below deck. When he was about to careen his ship it nearly capsized and he saved her by means of the burton-tackle.

"Whilst they were stationed there Spaniards from Coquimbo went to observe them two or three times but could not attack them.

"From thence he sailed with the two ships and with the launch sailing ahead to look for the port of Copiapo which they failed to see and therefore passed by without obtaining water or anything. About eleven leagues further on they landed at a small island where they found four *Camanchaca* Indians whom they took to the ship where they gave them food and other things so that they should guide them to a place where they could procure water.

"On the following day they landed but were unable to obtain water and proceeded to the Morro de Jorje where they spent two days greasing the launch and boat. A *Camanchaca* Indian came

hither and brought them some fish for which they gave him some knives and other things. Drake himself went ashore and caught a quantity of fish two or three leagues further on. At this Morro de Jorje the Corsair sent ashore, in an Indian canoe, an Englishman who spoke several languages. While on land this Englishman began to shout, telling those in the launch that the Indians there had seen two other English ships pass by during the time when Francisco was at the Morro de Jorje. From thence they departed, carrying the Indian who had brought them fish and they landed him at Compisi, also named Paquiza, fifteen leagues from Morro Moreno, giving him many things as presents.

"Proceeding they reached the Pisagua river, and in order to find water they employed as a guide an Indian whom they had taken in a fishing boat. On entering the river they found on land a Spaniard who had fallen asleep on his way from Potosi, with three thousand pesos of silver in bars, certain native sheep and much *charqui* [sun-dried beef]. They seized him and robbing him of all he had, conveyed it to the ship. Departing thence they sailed all night and went to the port of Arica where they found two ships, one belonging to Felipe Corço, in which they took thirty-three bars of silver, and the other to Jorje Diaz in which they found no silver and to which they set fire. The inhabitants of the village were summoned by the ringing of bells and armed themselves. The English ship shot some artillery at the village. During the night trumpets were blown and musical instruments were played on board.

"In the morning they seized three fishing boats and in one of them they sent ashore three Spaniards whom they had taken in Chile and ten or twelve Indians. These three Spaniards went along the coast in the fishing boat giving warning, and thus the warning reached the port of Chule where the ship of Bernal Bueno lay at anchor containing five hundred bars of His Majesty's gold, destined for Lima. These were immediately disembarked and buried, and thus they escaped being robbed. In a short time the Englishmen in their two vessels and a launch arrived and as they found no silver they departed carrying with them Bernal Bueno's ship and "La Capitana" which they cast adrift in the open sea.

"Off Quilca they took a trading bark, with some money and clothing and transferred her crew to their ship. They reached

the island of Lima and entered by the South Channel, between the island and the point, being guided by the mariner Juan Griego of "La Capitana" who had been brought from Chile. They entered the port without being perceived nor had any warning been received by the Viceroy over land or sea such as could easily have been sent, for there had been ample time for doing so.

"The official authorities of Chile are not to blame, for they sent notice to the Viceroy that the Englishmen had sailed from the port of Callao; but the warning only reached Lima a fortnight later. The Indians and Spaniards on this coast of Peru were to blame for not taking any trouble to inform His Excellency, although they had ample time to do so."...

Thereupon His Excellency nominated as officers of the fleet Don Luis de Toledo as his Lieutenant-General; Diego de Frias Trejo as Camp Master and Admiral; Pedro Sarmiento as Sergeant-Major; Juan de Arrieta as Ensign-General; Miguel Angel as Chief Pilot of the fleet; and Gaspar Lopez and Carlos de Malvenda as Purveyors.

He had two vessels fitted out, and when they had been provided with all necessities he ordered one hundred and twenty soldiers to embark, beside the sailors. On Friday, February twenty-seventh, 1579, we embarked, and it was then that His Excellency transferred the title of Camp Master to Pedro de Arana.

All the men left with a great desire to fight the enemy but with little hope of being able to overtake him, for he already had a start of fifteen days. After going out to sea they began to parley with all the ships they met and to run along the coast, exploring ports and points with a sailing launch that we took with us for this purpose. When we arrived at Santa we learnt that the Corsair had passed by there a fortnight previously and that, beyond the port of Trujillo, he had seized the bark of a certain Cataro and had taken from her what he wished. We therefore immediately started for the port of Trujillo, having also heard that six days previously a great vessel with a sprit-sail, which was believed to be the pirate-ship, was thereabouts. It happened that in that vicinity we saw a sail, and in view of the information we possessed, we bore down upon her to reconnoitre her, but she turned out to be a merchant's bark.

Passing onwards we arrived at Payta on March tenth and learnt that the Corsair had entered and left the port a fortnight previously and after taking certain jars of wine and a native canoe from a bark belonging to the pilot Custodio, and carrying the latter with him had set sail immediately. He had not even cast anchor, for he had learnt that a pilot named San Juan de Anton had started ahead of him on the previous day from the same port, with many bars of silver.

Realising that we would incur the danger of further delays if we entered the harbour of Guayaquil to fetch the galley which, according to His Excellency's orders, was to accompany us, we forwarded His Excellency's dispatches to Guayaquil from Payta ordering the galley to make haste to follow and join us. Following the coast we proceeded and arrived off the point of Santa Elena on March 13th. The General sent men in the launch to explore the port and obtain information, but there was not a single ship in the harbour, and a letter written by the inn-keeper was found in which he stated that he was fleeing on account of the news about the Englishmen.

A letter was left behind for him recording that our fleet had been there. From thence the fleet went to the port of Manta where we cast anchor on March 17th, and found two ships lying at anchor. One of these was that of Bravo who, on his way from Guayaquil to Panama, carrying gold, had been robbed by the Englishmen off the rivers of the Quiximies, five leagues from the Cape of San Francisco. They had taken from him fifteen thousand pesos in gold, belonging to private merchants, as well as all the clothing and food they wished from certain trunks.

The Corsair made experiments in sailing with the bark, but as she sailed faster on the wind than his own ship he wrapped her sails around her anchor and cast them into the sea so that she could not sail ahead and give warning.

He released the men and the bark, permitting them to go back, and giving them a little coarse linen to make the small sail, with which Bravo came to Manta. These men related that like a shameless robber who fears not God or man, the Corsair made many arrogant speeches, saying that San Juan de Anton could not escape him....

[Then follows a long argument as to what ought to have been done by the pursuing fleet, and the Report runs on:]

And so the General determined to go to Panama, following the coast of La Gorgona and reconnoitring all points far inland....

When this fleet had sailed from Lima the Viceroy had, by way of punishment, shifted the highest military posts and appointed the officers enumerated above, but with orders that Don Luis de Toledo was to remain in Panama so as to go on to Spain and that he was then to deliver over the fleet to Diego de Frias who was to return with it, as its General, to Lima.

Accordingly Don Luis remained and Diego de Frias took command of the fleet and Pedro Sarmiento, mustering the men, embarked them all, against the will of the Judges who wished to detain the fleet, awaiting the ship of Canales which was being fitted out, although this was unnecessary, it being already known that there were no other English ships, as reported.

Thus, taking along five pieces of artillery which Diego de Frias had left there from the previous military expedition in Vallano, this fleet sailed from Perico, the port of Panama, on April thirteenth. In less than five days the *Almiranta* fell off from the *Capitana* and each one went her way.

The *Capitana* reached the Point of Santa Elena on the third of May, in great necessity of victuals. Here we received news that three English ships were coming along the coast of Arica, robbing and killing people, for which reason we made great haste to obtain by purchase provisions of water and victuals, keeping a close watch of land and sea.

As we were about to set out to search higher up along the coast for the Englishmen, we discovered, towards the south, two sails and put our ship in fighting order. The Sergeant-Major with some arquebusiers went in a boat to reconnoitre and recognised that one of the ships was our own *Almiranta* and the other the one from Panama. We sent them orders from the General not to cast anchor at the point but to pass on.

On arriving off Mancora we met a bark and from her master we learnt that the report about the Englishman was false and that all the coast was safe. Thus we went to Payta and from thence to Santa, where our *Capitana* arrived on the twelfth of June; the

Almiranta on the thirteenth and San Juan de Anton's ship on the fifteenth, with Canales as her captain. While in this port of Santa, on July seventeenth, a parcel of letters arrived from the Royal Court of Panama for the Viceroy, containing one letter for the General which read as follows:

"Since Your Honour sailed from this port we had not heard of the success of your fleet or of the English Corsairs until four days ago when, by a ship dispatched by His Excellency [the Viceroy] we learnt that three ships, of English Lutherans, had been seen off the coast of Chile and had arrived at Loa where they seized some Indians who were there.

"The Viceroy heard this from the governor of the district of Arica, without further details, but this is enough to establish as a certainty that these English ships are those which came in the company of Captain Francis and were separated from him by a storm on their coming out of the Strait of Magellan.

"When this letter reaches the hands of Your Honour we trust that you will be better informed of this and that it will have pleased Our Lord to give you good success, for this is a fine opportunity for the fleet to distinguish itself.

"On this very day, the eighth of May, news has come that Captain Francis, with his ship, reached the coast of Nicaragua on the twentieth of March and careened his ship and took in a supply of water at the island named Caño, twenty leagues from Nicoya. While he was there, at the end of the month, he robbed a small ship which was on her way to this city, releasing the men who were on board and letting them go freely to the port of Nicoya. He took from them the merchandise and victuals and the small ship herself and seized and carried off with him, by force, one of the two experts for the route of China who were being sent by the Viceroy of New Spain on the expedition that is to be undertaken from this port by order of His Majesty. He also took the map and description of that route which the Viceroy sent and the parcels of letters addressed to this Court.

"He gave the persons whom he robbed to understand that he was preparing to take the route of China. This is what the said persons heard him say. He left them his launch telling them that he would not require her any more, but in her stead he carried off the said bark which he had taken. The pilots with whom the

Corsair held communication think that there is no doubt that the latter will winter on yonder coast because the season for navigation to China is now past as winter has come on and the winds are contrary. It is for these reasons that they have taken the route to Acapulco. These same persons also certify that his ship was in great need of being careened and caulked, for she was leaking much notwithstanding the overhauling that had been given her at the island of Caño. The Corsair evinced an intention to take more time to repair his ship.

"Therefore Your Honour will have time to descend upon yonder coast in quest of him and it is thus that it has seemed to this Royal Audiencia that you should do, with the two vessels that Your Honour took from Peru and the one this Royal Court sent to sail under their convoy. The Royal Court considers that this and no other course should be adopted.

"Your Honour lost a great opportunity in not going to yonder coast after reaching that city, as, it is said, the Viceroy had given instructions for you to do so. If you had done so you could have reached the island of Caño during the period of five days, in which the Englishmen were there, off their guards, careening their ship. During that time all their artillery and other things had been taken out of the ship and were heaped in the bark which therefore they could not have used. This was on March the twenty-third and it was on the twenty-eighth that they proceeded on their course. You would also have been in time if after sailing from here you had run along that coast as this Royal Court had ordered you to do.

"Although this time and opportunity have been lost it would not be right to give up proceeding with the fleet. We have written to this effect to His Excellency the Viceroy.

"For it is very certain that the Corsair must delay there until the winter is past and the said pilots actually heard him affirm that he was going to await his companions so that they could proceed together.

"This further confirms that he will make a stay there and that this will afford time for Your Honour to go thither.

"On account of the lack of artillery and several things that we are expecting from outside of this city we have not finished furnishing the other ships which this Royal Audience is preparing

to be sent against the Corsair. They will be dispatched as soon as they are ready to depart.

● "When we know for certain where the fleet is we shall go on sending information about further happenings.

"May Our Lord guard etc. . . .

"The Royal Court of Panama, signed:

"Doctor Alonso Criado de Castilla,

"Doctor Cáceres,

"The Licentiate Gonzalo Nuñez de la Cerda."

This letter covered with confusion those who had contradicted the opinion of Pedro Sarmiento and Diego de Frias that they should have crossed from Manta to Nicaragua and the island of Caño and it made them understand and become convinced how proper it would have been to have crossed over and how harmful it was to have abstained from carrying out this plan. . . .

In answer to what is stated in the letter from the Royal Court about the pilot's opinion that the Corsair would be obliged to winter on yonder coast, [I say] that those pilots are entirely mistaken, like men who are unfamiliar with the coasts of Nicaragua, Guatemala and New Spain.

Their first mistake is about the season, which they indicate as that of midsummer, because, from March 12th to September 14th, it is summer from the Equinoctial line to the north, in which region yonder coasts lie. It is moreover the season for steady south-west winds which afford prosperous voyages to ships which take the Englishman's intended route, for they thus sail before the wind.

This conclusive fact, which would suffice to convince anyone who knew anything about navigation, is already thoroughly known by experience to those who navigate from the Philippines to New Spain.

I myself have navigated thus from Cape de Fortuñas in 34 deg. to the island del Caño, which is a distance of one thousand two hundred and seventy odd leagues. I know from experience that from November onward these south-west winds cease and the north-east and north winds begin along the coast and the currents run to the south-east, as I learnt from experience when I discovered the islands, commonly called *de Salomon*, in the year 1568.

Therefore, as it is winter on yonder coast, from September to

March and summer and the dry season lasts from March to September, it follows that there would be no reason why the Corsair should winter there, particularly as there are ports inhabited by Christians as far north as Culiacan, in twenty-four deg. north.

Moreover he would be losing time and the season for the voyage to England where he was bound for. Because once he reaches forty-three deg. or the Cape Mendocino, these winds cease and the westerly ones prevail before which the ships sail on the voyage from the Orient to the land of Labrador which is in the region of England.

A man like Francis, who knew all this, would not have wished to lose time, nor risk his life and his booty.

Therefore I have always openly declared that during the whole months of August and September this Corsair will be on his return voyage to England by the uppermost point of La Florida, which is the said route.

As to what is stated in the said letter about its not being the season to go to China and that therefore he would have to winter I would state that within the tropics the season for going west lasts all the year round. The best time is in March or June...

May God forgive him who was the cause that we turned back for the first time and afterwards did not make the crossing. In either case if we had pushed on, we would have chastised this famous Corsair, discouraged those who may attempt to imitate him, and obtained the restitution of the property of His Majesty and of his vassals.

We left Santa on the first of July and arrived at Lima on the twelfth of the same month, and there, by order of the Viceroy, the fleet was discharged.

A few days after we had arrived at Lima, there came reliable news that, on the fourth of April, the Corsair Francis, who followed the coast of Guatemala, and was in the vicinity of the volcanoes of Guatemala, robbed the ship of Don Francisco de Zarate, which was laden with stuffs and clothing from Mexico and the Philippines and was bound for Lima. Without stopping he made de Zarate turn back and go with him almost as far as the Gulf of Tehuantepec, and, while under way, he transferred to his ship all he wished to take and also a sailor who was acquainted

with that coast. There he released the old pilot whom he had seized off the island of Caño and cast off Don Francisco's ship. He then departed on his way to Acapulco where he also committed robberies. I give no account of the measures that were taken on the coasts of Guatemala and New Spain because I did not see them. Your Illustrious Lordship will hear about them from the reports of those concerned. The above is what pertains to what I saw and verified, and is the truth, and nought is omitted in what is written here.

PEDRO SARMIENTO

VIII.

DON FRANCISCO DE ZARATE'S LETTER

[Don Francisco de Zarate was a Spanish gentleman captured by Drake off Acajutla on the Nicaraguan coast, and wrote a remarkable letter as to his experiences, throwing much light on Drake's personality. Extracts are printed in *New Light on Drake*, and some of these are reprinted here.

The title of the letter is: "Letter from Don Francisco de Zarate to Don Martin Enriquez, Viceroy of New Spain [Mexico], giving an account of what happened to him with Francis Drake in the South Sea."]

EXTRACTS

I sailed out of the port of Acapulco on the twenty-third of March and navigated until Saturday, the fourth of April, on which date, half an hour before dawn, we saw, by moonlight, a ship very close to ours. Our steersman shouted that she was to get out of the way and not come alongside of us. To this they made no answer, pretending to be asleep. The steersman then shouted louder, asking them where their ship hailed from. They answered, "from Peru," and that she was "of *Miguel Angel*," which is the name of a well-known captain of that route. The spokesman on the ship was a Spaniard, whose name I will tell Your Excellency further on.

The ship of the adversary carried her bark at her prow as though she were being towed. Suddenly, in a moment, she crossed our poop, ordering us "to strike sail" and shooting seven or eight arquebuse shots at us.

We thought this as much of a joke as it afterwards turned out to be serious.

On our part there was no resistance, nor had we more than six of our men awake on the whole boat, so they entered our ship with as little risk to themselves as though they were our friends. They did no personal harm to any one, beyond seizing the swords and keys of the passengers. Having informed themselves as to who were on board ship, they ordered me to go in their boat to where their general was—a fact that I was glad of, as it appeared to me that it gave me more time in which to recommend myself to God. But in a very short time we arrived where he was, on a very good galleon, as well mounted with artillery as any I have seen in my life.

I found him promenading on deck and, on approaching him, I kissed his hands. He received me with a show of kindness, and took me to his cabin where he bade me be seated and said: "I am a friend of those who tell me the truth, but with those who do not I get out of humour. Therefore, you must tell me (for this is the best road to my favour), how much silver and gold does your ship carry?" I said to him, "None." He repeated his question. I answered, "None, only some small plates that I use and some cups—that is all that is in her." He kept silent for a while, then renewing the conversation asked me if I knew Your Excellency. I said, "Yes." "Is any relative of his or thing pertaining to him on this ship?" "No, sir." "Well, it would give me a greater joy to come across him than all the gold and silver of the Indies. You would see how the words of gentlemen should be kept." I made no reply to this. He then stood up, and bidding me go with him, led me to a cabin situated in the poop below deck, where there was a man. He said to me: "Sit down, for it is here that you will have to remain." I took this in good part, and was about to sit down, when he detained me and said: "I do not want you to try this just yet, but only want you to tell me who that man is in there." I answered that I did not know him. "Well," he said, "know that

it is a pilot named Colchero, whom the Viceroy was sending to Panama to convey Don Gonçalo to China." He then had the pilot released from the prison and we all went up on deck. This was the man who had spoken to us from the galleon when we were taken. We talked for a good while before it was time to dine. He ordered me to sit next to him and began to give me food from his own plate, telling me not to grieve, that my life and property were safe. I kissed his hands for this.

He asked me if I knew where there was water to be had about here, adding that he needed nothing else, and that as soon as he found some, he would give me leave to continue my journey. I did not dare to ask aught of him at that moment. Awaiting an opportunity, I begged him not to oblige us to pass the gulf of Tehuantepec again. He answered that he would see and that he would dispatch me shortly.

On the following day, which was Sunday, in the morning, he dressed and decked himself very finely and had his galleon decorated with all its flags and banners. He also ordered that all the men on our ship be passed to another one of his, which he had taken on this same coast, and which had served for this purpose since he reached the coast of Chile, where he had on his hands a ship laden with a large quantity of gold and many others laden with silver. He had entered the port of Callao de Lima and cut the cables of all the ships that were in port. As the wind was from the land, they all went out to sea, where he had time to sack them at his will. Before he proceeded to do the same to ours he said to me: "Let one of your pages come with me to show me your apparel." He went from his galleon at about nine in the morning in the bales and chests. Of that which belonged to me he took but little. Indeed he was quite courteous about it. Certain trifles of mine having taken his fancy, he had them brought to his ship and gave me, in exchange for them, a falchion and a small brazier of silver, and I can assure Your Excellency that he lost nothing by the bargain. On his return to his vessel he asked me to pardon him for taking the trifles, but that they were for his wife. He said that I could depart the next morning, when the breeze would rise, for which I gave him thanks.

The next morning, which was Monday, he gave back to some

another day, at the same hour, he ordered him to be taken out, and to be beheaded in the presence of all.

The term of his imprisonment was no more than was necessary to substantiate the lawsuit that was conducted against him. All this he told me, speaking much good about the dead man, but adding that he had not been able to act otherwise, because this was what the Queen's service demanded. He showed me the commissions that he had received from her and carried. I tried to ascertain whether any relatives of the dead man had remained on board. They told me that there was only one, who was one of those who ate at his table. During all this time that I was on board, which was fifty-five hours, this youth never left the ship, although all the others did so, in turn. It was not that he was left to guard me. I think that they guarded him.

I managed to ascertain whether the General was well liked, and all said that they adored him.

This is what I was able to find out during the time I spent with him.

I beseech your Excellency to consider what encouragement it will be to those of his country if he returns thither. If up to the present they have sent cadets, henceforth they themselves will come, after seeing how the plans which this Corsair had made in the dark, and all his promises, have come true. He will give them, as proof of [the success of] his venture, great sums of gold and silver.....

IX.

SAN JUAN DE ANTON'S TESTIMONY

[There have been preserved two Spanish accounts of the capture of the *Cacafuego* by Drake, both of them by her pilot, San Juan de Anton. The first is his "testimony" recorded by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, and the second is his deposition before the President and Judges of the Royal Court and Chancery in the City of

Panama on 16 March, 1579. They give a lively account of the capture. Extracts from the "testimony" are reprinted here from *New Light on Drake*.

San Juan de Anton was a Biscayan, resident many years in Southampton and spoke English. Anton or Antona seems to represent Hampton, that is Southampton, and so San Juan de Anton could translate the English form St John of Southampton.]

EXTRACTS

At noon on Sunday, the first of March, San Juan de Anton, being out at sea in his ship, between the Cape of San Francisco and the point "de la Galera," saw, close to land, a ship which was going the same way, bound for Panama. He thought she was a bark from Guayaquil and bore towards her. At about nine o'clock at night, the English ship crossed the course of San Juan's vessel and, immediately, came alongside. San Juan saluted but the Corsair did not return the salute. Believing her to be a ship from Chile which was then in rebellion, Master de Anton came to the side. By that time the English were already grappling his ship shouting: "Englishman! strike sail!" Some one said: "Strike sail, Mr Juan de Anton; if not, look out, for you will be sent to the bottom."

San Juan answered: "What England is this [which gives me orders] for striking sail? Come on board to strike [the] sails yourselves!" On hearing this they blew a whistle on the English ship and the trumpet responded. Then a volley of what seemed to be about sixty arquebuses was shot, followed by many arrows, which struck the side of the ship, and chain-balls shot from a heavy piece of ordnance carried away the mizen and sent it into the sea with its sail and lateen yard. After this the English shot another great gun, shouting again "Strike sail!" and, simultaneously, a pinnace laid aboard to port and about forty archers climbed up the channels of the shrouds and entered San Juan de Anton's ship, while, at the opposite side, the English ship laid aboard. It is thus that they forced San Juan's ship to surrender. They inquired for the pilot and captain from the selfsame San Juan de Anton, who was alone on deck. He would not answer them. Not seeing any other person on deck, they seized him and carried him to the English ship where

of the passengers who were there, their boxes, and thus occupied himself until the hour for dinner. He ordered that this be served as the wind was rising. After this had been done he said that he himself wanted to take me aboard. He ordered his sloop to be prepared and manned with two dozen archers. He had one of the artillery men called and ordered him to carry aboard half a dozen pieces of artillery. This done, he told me to embark with him, as all was in readiness. I did so, and on arriving at our vessel he boarded her first and having all our sailors called together, he gave each one a handful of reals. He also gave the same to some other men who appeared to him to be the most needy. He commanded that one of those sailors should embark with him so as to show him where water was to be obtained. All excused themselves, saying that they did not know where water was to be had, so he caused Juan Pascual to be put by force in his sloop saying that he would hang him if he replied a word. With this he took leave of me, and his last words were to beseech me, earnestly, to tell certain Englishmen who were in Lima that I had met him on April 6th and that he was well. From this it is to be inferred that he has spies in all this realm and in Peru. I can assure Your Excellency that two or three of those who came in his service have already navigated, where I have, on this route of New Spain.

He left Colchero with me, and after this set sail. I understand that he carries three thousand bars of silver, and twelve or fifteen chests of pieces of eight, and a great quantity of gold. He is going straight to his country, and I believe that no vessel that went after him could possibly overtake him. He has an intense desire to return to his own country.

This general of the Englishmen is a nephew of John Hawkins, and is the same who, about five years ago, took the port of Nombre de Dios. He is called Francisco Drac, and is a man about 35 years of age, low of stature, with a fair beard, and is one of the greatest mariners that sails the seas, both as a navigator and as a commander. His vessel is a galleon of nearly four hundred tons, and is a perfect sailer. She is manned with a hundred men, all of service, and of an age for warfare, and all are as practised therein as old soldiers from Italy could be. Each one takes particular pains to keep his arquebuse clean. He treats them with affection, and they treat him with respect. He carries with him nine or ten

cavaliers, cadets of English noblemen. These form a part of his council which he calls together for even the most trivial matter, although he takes advice from no one. But he enjoys hearing what they say and afterwards issues his orders. He has no favourite. The aforesaid gentlemen sit at his table, as well as a Portuguese pilot, whom he brought from England, who spoke not a word during all the time I was on board. He is served on silver dishes with gold borders and gilded garlands, in which are his arms. He carries all possible dainties and perfumed waters. He said that many of these had been given him by the Queen.

None of these gentlemen took a seat or covered his head before him, until he repeatedly urged him to do so. This galleon of his carries about thirty heavy pieces of artillery and a great quantity of firearms with the requisite ammunition and lead. He dines and sups to the music of viols. He carries trained carpenters and artisans, so as to be able to careen the ship at any time. Beside being new, the ship has a double lining. I understood that all the men he carries with him receive wages, because, when our ship was sacked, no man dared take anything without his orders. He shows them great favour, but punishes the least fault. He also carries painters who paint for him pictures of the coast in its exact colours. This I was most grieved to see, for each thing is so naturally depicted that no one who guides himself according to these paintings can possibly go astray. I understood from him that he had sailed from his country with five vessels, four sloops (of the long kind) and that half of the armada belonged to the Queen. I believe this to be so for the reason that I am about to relate to your Excellency.

This Corsair, like a pioneer, arrived two months before he intended to pass through [the strait] and during that time for many days there were great storms. So it was that one of the gentlemen, whom he had with him, said to him: "We have been a long while in this strait and you have placed all of us, who follow or serve you, in danger of death. It would therefore be prudent for you to give order that we return to the North Sea, where we have the certainty of capturing prizes, and that we give up seeking to make new discoveries. You see how fraught with difficulties these are." This gentleman must have sustained this opinion with more vigour than appeared proper to the General. His answer was that he had the gentleman carried below deck and put in irons. On

he saw the Corsair Francis Drake, who was removing his helmet and coat of mail. Francis Drake embraced San Juan de Anton, saying: "Have patience, for such is the usage of war," and immediately ordered him to be locked up in the cabin in the poop, with twelve men to guard him.

On the following Monday morning, at nine o'clock, the Corsair went to breakfast on San Juan's ship. He had, meanwhile, left orders with his chief sergeant to prepare his table for San Juan de Anton, as though it were for himself.

Francis Drake remained until noon on the captured vessel, examining the riches she carried, and returned to his ship in the afternoon. Departing from the point where he had taken the vessel, he sailed with a fair wind, under the mizen sail and foresails, towards the north-west on the route to Nicaragua, and for three days to the north-north-west, and to north, a quarter to north-west.

During the first three days of fair weather, he transferred, by means of the pinnace, all the silver from San Juan de Anton's vessel to his ship, keeping meanwhile, as prisoners on his Admiral's ship the Spaniards whom he had found on the plundered vessel, who were ten or eleven persons, five being sailors and the remainder passengers.

The registered silver seized amounted to 362,000 pesos in bars, reals and gold. Of this 106,000 belonged to His Majesty and the rest to private individuals. This is what was registered but, with what was on board beside this, the total amounts to more than 400,000 pesos.

He took all the victuals he wanted and two casks of water, tackle, sails, canvas and a cable.

On the following Saturday, March 7th, he sent all the prisoners back to the plundered vessel and told San Juan de Anton that he could go where he willed. San Juan de Anton sailed to the north-east towards the Cape "de Corrientes," but kept sight of Francis Drake for about two days and observed him sailing for a long time towards the north-north-west.

Before releasing San Juan's vessel, the Englishman made several gifts to those whom he had robbed. He gave thirty or forty pesos in cash to each. To some he gave pieces of stuff from Portugal, and agricultural implements, such as hoes and pruning-knives; to others, two of his own cloaks adorned with trimmings. To a soldier

named Victoria he gave some weapons. To San Juan de Anton he presented a firelock saying that it had been sent him from Germany and that he prized it highly. To the clerk he gave a steel shield and a sword saying that he did this so that the clerk might appear to be a man-at-arms. To San Juan he gave two casks of tar, six hundredweights of iron from Germany, and a barrel of powder. To a merchant named Cuevas he gave some fans with mirrors, saying that they were for his lady. And to San Juan de Anton he gave a silver-gilt bowl, in the centre of which his name, "Francisqus Draques," was inscribed.

On releasing San Juan de Anton he gave him a safe-conduct written in English, and signed "Francisqus Draques," saying that he gave this so that, in case San Juan should meet the other two English ships which had remained behind, they would do him no harm nor rob him over again. As he was Captain-General of all, they would obey his order and he made much of the benefit he was conferring on San Juan by giving him this passport, saying that the Captain of the other two ships was a very cruel man and that, if he came across them, he would not leave one man alive; but that with this safe-conduct they could go their way in safety.

After this each one went his above-mentioned way, and San Juan reached the Cape "de Corrientes" within two days. San Juan de Anton says that it appeared to him that the Englishmen on the ship were eighty-five, more or less. Twelve of these were gentlemen and cavaliers. According to hearsay he understood that one of these was the son of Juan Dracles, who was defeated at Vera Cruz, in New Spain, by the Viceroy of Mexico, Don Martin Enriquez.

Francis Drake complained of the Viceroy of Mexico, saying that he had broken his word to John Hawkins and had not observed the King of Spain's warrant of safety. Francis Drake stated that he had been present and had lost seven thousand pesos in that defeat and that three hundred Englishmen had been killed.

He added that for the reason that the King had, since that time, been his treasurer for the sum that had been taken from him ten years ago, he now wished to act as treasurer of the King's estate. Therefore the silver which he took from the King was for himself; the silver taken from private individuals was for his Queen, his Sovereign Lady.

X.

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He said he cared nothing for the Viceroy of Peru nor for all his people. He charged San Juan de Anton to beg the Viceroy of Peru from him not to kill the English prisoners, and said that if they were killed, it would cost more than two thousand heads, not those of people of Spain, but of these parts, adding that if he reached England alive, there would be no one there who would attempt to hinder him from carrying out this threat.

San Juan de Anton told him that since the Englishmen had not been killed up to that time the Viceroy would hardly kill them then. The Englishman asked San Juan what he thought was the Viceroy's intention concerning them. He answered that they would probably be sent to Chile to serve as soldiers in a garrison where many were stationed to fight against the Indians. Francis rejoiced greatly on hearing this and became pacified; for he displayed much anger whenever he spoke about them. The Englishman showed San Juan de Anton a navigation chart of more than two rods in length, saying that it had been made for him in Lisbon and had cost him 800 cruzados. He said that there were four possible routes for him to take from this South Sea for England. One was by the Cape of Good Hope and India; another by Norway; another by the Strait of Magellan. He would not name the fourth (but I [Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa] hold for certain that it is the one I have mentioned above, by Cape Mendocino with exit to Labrador and Tucos). He said that he thought of returning to England very shortly, in less than six months.

San Juan de Anton responded that he would not be able to return even in a year's time, because he was in a "cul de sac." The Englishman told him that he knew nothing about this being so and that he was satisfied with his proposed route and was going to follow it.

San Juan de Anton says that he believes, beyond a doubt, that the Englishman is going by the coast of Nicaragua and New Spain and that it would have been prudent for their fleet to have crossed thither from Manta as was proposed. For the Englishman told him that he was going to take in water at the island of Caño near Costa Rica because he had no more. Everybody at Panama is of this same opinion.....

DRAKE'S LETTER OF SAFE-CONDUCT

[Among the English prisoners at Lima, who were examined by the Inquisition, was John Butler *alias* Salona. He was a fine Spanish scholar, and was asked to translate into Castilian Spanish on oath "a letter in the English tongue." This was Drake's letter of safe-conduct given to San Juan de Anton and others.

John Butler was the pilot of John Oxenham's ill-fated ship, and was hanged with Oxenham by the Spaniards at the end of 1580. His interpretation of the safe-conduct is printed in *New Light on Drake*, and is reprinted here, as it differs in some important particulars from the version given in Hakluyt's *Voyages* and printed earlier in this volume.]

EXTRACT FROM THE DEPOSITION OF JOHN BUTLER

A letter in English being shown him [Butler] he was told to translate it upon his oath. He stated that in the two short lines it says: "Safe-conduct. On board the ship named the *Golden Hind* on the sixth of March 1579." The letter follows:

"Mr Winter. If it please God that by a favourable chance Your Honour should meet Sant Juan de Anton, I pray you to treat him well, in accordance to the word I have given him. If Your Honour should be lacking in any of the things that Sant Juan de Anton carries, pay him double their value in the merchandise that Your Honour carries. Give orders that none of your soldiers are to do him harm or wound him. What we determined about the return to our country will be carried out if God so wills, although I greatly doubt whether this letter will reach your hands, I abide as God knows, constantly praying to the Lord who holds you and me and all the world in His keeping to save or to damn. I give Him thanks always. Amen.

"This my writing is not only for Winter but also for Mr Thomas, Mr Arle [Charles] and Mr Coube [Caube] and Mr Anthony and all the other good friends whom I commend to Him who re-deemed us with His Blood. I have faith in God that He will not inflict more toils upon us but will help us in our tribulations. I beseech you for the love of Jesus Christ, that if God permits you

to suffer afflictions you do not despair of the great Mercy of God, for the great Prophet says that the Lord grants and gives new life. May God thus have mercy and show His compassion—to Him be glory, honour, power and empire [kingdom] for ever and ever, amen, amen.

"I, the mournful captain whose heart is very heavy for you,

"FRANCIS DRAKE."

XI.

THE CHARGE AGAINST DRAKE OF HANGING CAPTIVES

[Drake has been charged with personal cruelty in hanging one of his captives, Francisco Jacome, a clerk. He also "hanged" Alonzo Sanchez Colchero, a well-known pilot. The "hanging" of the former was reported by Nuño da Silva and the story got into Hakluyt's *Voyages*.

In both cases, however, the "hanging" was only pretence and though painful was not dangerous to life. What actually happened is to be found in the sworn depositions of both Francisco Jacome, taken on 28 February, 1579, before the President and Judges of the Royal Court of Panama, and Alonzo Colchero, taken on 15 April, 1579, before the Judicial Enquiry held at Realejo.]

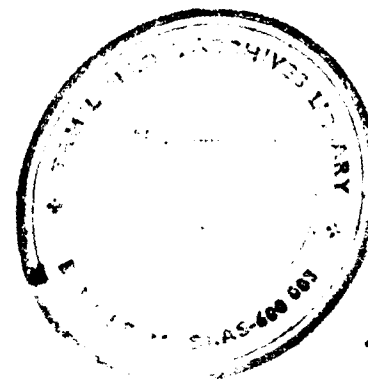
EXTRACT FROM THE DEPOSITION OF FRANCISCO JACOME

After having set him free, as well as the ship [of the pilot Benito Diaz Bravo] on which he came as clerk, the said Englishmen returned in a launch and carried him back to their said ship and wanted to hang him, demanding from him the gold which they said that he had concealed in the ship. As deponent had not hidden anything whatsoever and was unable to reveal anything to them, they hanged him by the neck with a cord as though to hang him outright, and let him drop from high into the sea, from which

they fetched him out with the launch and took him back to the ship on which he had come. It was thus he parted from them.

EXTRACT FROM THE DEPOSITION OF ALONSO COLCHERO

Then the said captain [Francisco Draque] uttered many threats and promises, and offered him bribes to pilot him into the port. When the captain saw that deponent would not do it he gave orders that he was to be hanged. Twice they placed a rope around his neck and raised him from the ground. When they saw that he was exhausted they left him alone.



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