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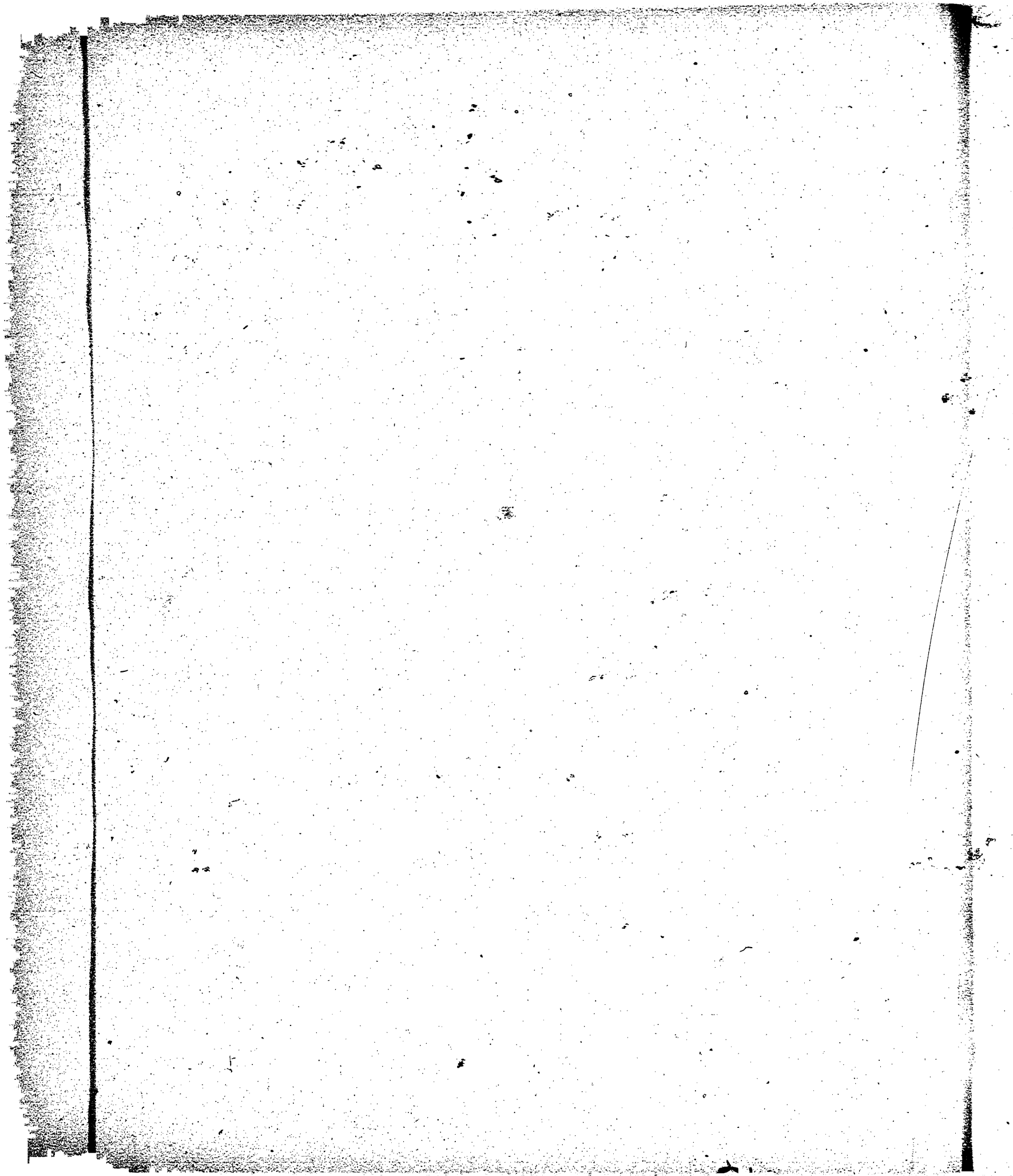
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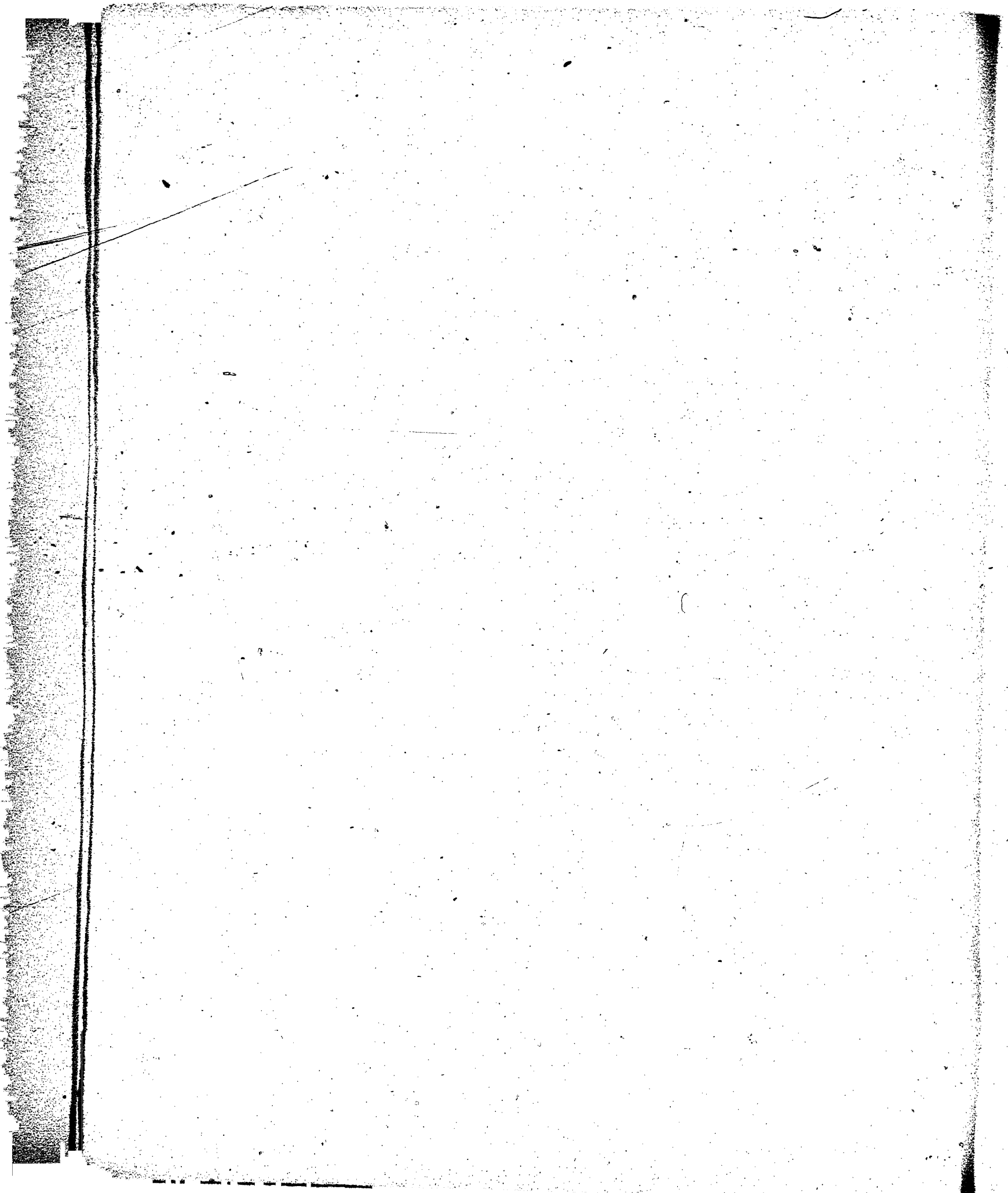
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The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques,
AND
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THE PRINCIPAL
Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques,
AND
Discoveries
OF
THE ENGLISH NATION.

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AND

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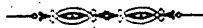
AMERICA.
PART IV.
WEST INDIES.
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Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and
Discoveries
OF THE
ENGLISH NATION IN AMERICA.



THE DISCOVERIE

OF THE LARGE, RICH, AND BEAUTIFULL EMPIRE OF GUIANA, WITH
A RELATION, OF THE GREAT AND GOLDEN CITIE OF MANOA
(WHICH THE SPANIARDS CALL EL DORADO) AND THE PRO-
VINCES OF EMERIA, AROMAIA, AMAPAIA, AND OTHER
COUNTRIES, WITH THEIR RIUERS ADIOYNING. PERFORMED
IN THE YEERE 1595 BY SIR WALTER RALEGH KNIGHT,
CAPTAINE OF HER MAIESTIES GUARD, LORDE WARDEN OF
THE STANNERIES, AND HER HIGHNESSE LIEUTENANT
GENERALL OF THE COUNTIE OF CORNE-WALL.

PART II.

In the meane time, nothing on the earth could haue bene
more welcome to vs, next vnto gold, then the great store of very
excellent bread which we found in these canoas; for now our
men cried, Let vs goe on, we care not how farre. After that
captaine Gifford had brought the two canoas to the galley, I
tooke my barge, and went to the banks side with a dozen shot,
where the canoas first ranne themselues ashore, and landed
there, sending out captaine Gifford, and captaine Thyn on one
hand, and captaine Calfield on the other, to follow those that
were fled into the woods: and as I was creeping
thorow the bushes, I sawe an Indian basket hidden,
which was the refiners basket; for I found in it his
quick-siluer, saltpeter, and diuers things for the triall
of metals, and also the dust, of such ore as he had
refined, but in those canoas which escaped there was a good
quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered
fue hundred pound to what souldier soeuer could take one of
those three Spanyards that we thought were landed. But our
labours were in vaine in that behalfe; for they put themselues

The Spanish
golde-finers
basket and
other things
taken.

into one of the small canoas: and so while the greater canoas were in taking they escaped. But seeking after the Spaniards, we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spaniards, and rowed their canoas; of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot, and caried him with me to Guiana, by whom I vnderstood where and in what countreyes the Spaniards had laboured for golde, though I made not the same knowne to all: for when the springs began to breake, and the riuers to raise themselves so suddenly, as by no meanes wee could abide the

The richest
mines
defended
with the
white spar.

digging of any mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stones, which wee call the White spar, and that if required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a worke, I thought it best not to houer thereabouts, least if the same had bene perceiued by the company, there would haue bene by this time many barks and shippes set out, and perchance other nations would also haue gotten of ours for pilots; so as both our selues might haue bene preuented, and all our care taken for good vsage of the people bene vtterly lost, by those that onely respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would haue changed their desire of our loue and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to haue brought a more quantity (which I heare hath bene often obiected) whosoever had seene or prooued the fury of that riuier after it beganne to arise, and had bene a moneth and odde dayes, as we were, from hearing ought from our shippes, leauing them meanly manned 400 miles off, would perchance haue turned somewhat sooner then we did, if all the mountaines had bene golde or rich stones. And to say the truth, all the branches and small riuers which fell into Orenoque were raised with such speed, as if we waded them ouer the shoes in the morning outward, we were couered to the shoulders homeward the very same day: and to stay to digge out gold with our nailes, had bene Opus laboris but not Ingenij: such a quantitie as would haue serued our turnes we could not haue had, but a discouery of the Mines to our infinite disadvantage wee had made, and that could haue bene the best profite of farther search or stay: for those Mines are not easily broken, nor opened in hast, and I could haue returned a good quantity of gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another marke, then present profit.

This Arwacan Pilot with the rest, feared that wee would haue

eaten them, or otherwise haue put them to some cruel death (for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana or in Guiana it selfe might come to speach with vs, perswaded all the nations, that we were men-eaters, and Canibals) but when the poore men and women had seen vs, and that wee gaue them meate, and to euery one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they beganne to conceiue the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) tooke from them both their wiues and daughters dayly, and vsed them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this maner by strength. But I protest before the Maiestie of the liuing God, that I neither know nor beleuee, that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise, euer knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yong, and excellently faouered, which came among vs without deceit, starke naked.

Nothing got vs more loue amongst them then this vsage: for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a Pina, or a Potato roote, without giuing them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wiues or daughters: which course so contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannize ouer them in all things) drewe them to adnire her Maiestie, whose commaundement I told them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation.

But I confesse it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoyle and stealing, when wee came to their houses: which because in all I coulde not preuent, I caused my Indian interpreter at euery place when wee departed, to knowe of the losse or wrong done, and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the partie punished in their sight, or else was payed for to their vttermost demand.

They also much wondered at vs, after they heard that we had slaine the Spaniards at Trinidad, for they were before resolued, that no nation of Christians durst abide their presence, and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great ouerthrow that her Maiesties armie and Fleete had giuen them of late yeeres in their owne Countreys.

After we had taken in this supply of bread, with diuers baskets of rootes which were excellent meate, I gaue one of the Canoas

to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped, and when I had dismissed all but the Captaine (who by the Spaniards was christened Martin) I sent backe in the same Canoa the olde Ciawan, and Ferdinando my first Pilot, and gaue them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victuall to cary them backe, and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliuer, and performed it, and then I went on with my newe hired Pilot Martin the Arwacan: but the next or second day after, wee came aground againe with our Galley, and were like to cast her away, with all our victuall and provision, and so lay on the sand one whole night and were farre more in despaire at this time to free her then before, because wee had no tide of flood to helpe vs, and therefore feared that all our hopes would haue ended in mishaps: but we fastened an anker vpon the lande, and with maine strength drewe her off: and so the fifteenth day wee discouered afarre off the mountaines of Guiana to our great ioy, and towards the euening had a slent of a Northerly winde that blew very strong, which brought vs in sight of the great Riuer Orenoque; out of which this riuer discended wherein wee were: wee descried afarre off three other Canoas as farre as wee could descerne them, after whom wee hastened with our barge and wherries, but two of them passed out of sight, and the thirde entered vp the great Riuer, on the right hande to the Westward, and there stayed out of sight, thinking that wee meant to take the way Eastward towards the prouince of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keepe, not daring to goe vpwards to Guiana, the people in those parts being all their enemies, and those in the Canoas thought vs to haue bene those Spaniards that were fled from Trinidad, and had escaped killing: and when wee came so farre downe as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being neere them with our barge and wherries wee made after them, and ere they coulde land, came within call, and by our interpreter tolde them what wee were, wherewith they came backe willingly aboard vs: and of such fish and Tortugas egges as they had gathered, they gaue vs, and promised in the morning to bring the Lord of that part with them, and to do vs all other seruices they could.

That night wee came to an ancker at the parting of the three goodly Riuers (the one was the Riuer of Amana by which we came from the North, and ranne athwart towards the South,

the other two were of Orenoque which crossed from the West and ranne to the Sea towards the East) and landed vpon a faire sand, where wee found thousands of Tortugas egges which are very wholesome meate, and greatly restoring, so as our men were nowe well filled and highly contented both with the fare, and neerenesse of the land of Guiana which appeared in sight.

In the morning there came downe according to promise the Lord of that border called Toparimaca, with some thirtie or fourtie followers, and brought vs diuers sorts of fruites, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom wee also feasted as wee could, at least wee dranke good Spanish wine (whereof wee had a small quantitie in bottles) which aboue all things they loue. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boates to his owne port, and caried vs from thence some mile and a halfe to his Towne, where some of our Captaines karoused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, and the iuice of diuers hearbes, and fruites digested and purged, they keepe it in great earthen pots of tenne or twelue galons very cleane and sweete, and are themselues at their meetings and feastes the greatest karousers and drunkards of the world: when wee came to his towne wee found two Casiques, whereof one was a stranger that had bene vp the Riuer in trade, and his boates, people, and wife incamped at the port where wee ankered, and the other was of that country a follower of Toparimaca: they lay each of them in a cotten Hamaca, which wee call brasill beds, and two women attending them with sixe cuppes and a little ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and so they dranke each of them three of those cups at a time one to the other, and in this sort they drinke drunke at their feastes and meetings.

That Casique that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where wee ankered, and in all my life I haue seldome seene a better faouered woman: Shee was of good stature, with black eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her haire almost as long as her selfe, tied vp againe in pretie knots, and it seemed shee stood not in that awe of her husband, as the rest, for shee spake and discoursed, and dranke among the gentlemen and Captaines, and was very pleasant, knowing her owne comelinesse, and taking great pride therein. I haue seene a Lady in England so like to her, as but for the difference of colour, I would haue sworne might haue bene the same.

The seat of this Towne of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens a mile compasse round aboute it, and two very faire and large ponds of excellent fish adioyning. This towne
 The towne of Arowocay. is called Arowocai: the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I sawe very aged people, that wee might perceiue all their sinewes and yeines without any flesh, and but euen as a

case couered onely with skinne. The Lord of this place gaue me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience and traueile, and knew the Riuer most perfectly both by day and night: and it shall bee requisite for any man that passeth it, to haue such a Pilot, for it is foure, fiue, and sixe miles ouer in many places, and twentie miles in other places, with wonderfull eddies, and strong currents, many great ylands, and diuers sholds, and many dangerous rockes, and besides vpon any increase of winde so great a bilowe, as wee were sometimes in great perill of drowning in the galley, for the small boates durst not come from the shoare, but when it was very faire.

The next day we hasted thence, and hauing an Easterly winde to helpe vs, we spared our armes from rowing: for after wee entred Orenoque, the Riuer lieth for the most part East and West, euen from the Sea vnto Quito in Peru. This Riuer is nauigable with barkes, litle lesse then a thousand miles, and from the place where we entred, it may be sailed vp in small pinnesses to many of the best parts of Nueuo reyno de Granada, and of Popayan: and from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and inuaded as from hence. All that day wee sailed vp a branch of that Riuer, hauing on the left hand a great yland which they call Assapana which may containe some fiue and twentie miles in length, and sixe miles in breadth, the great body of the Riuer running on the other side of this yland. Beyond that middle branch there is also another yland in the Riuer called Iwana, which is twice as bigge as the yle of Wight, and beyond it, and betweene it and the maine of Guiana, runneth a thirde branch of Orenoque called Arraropana: all three are goodly branches, and all nauigable for great ships. I iudge the riuer in this place to be at least thirty miles brode, reckoning the ylands which deuide the

branches in it, for afterwards I sought also both the other branches.

After wee reached to the head of the yland, called Assapana, a little to the Westward on the right hand there opened a riuer which came from the North, called Europa, and fel into the great Riuer, and beyond it on the same side, wee anckered for that night, by another yland sixe miles long, and two miles broade, which they call Ocaywita: From hence in the morning wee landed two Guianians, which wee found in the Towne of Toparimaca, that came with vs, who went to giue notice of our comming to the Lord of that countrey called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chiefe Lord of Aromaia, who succeeded Morequito, whom (as you haue heard before) Berreo put to death: but his towne being farre within the land, he came not vnto vs that day, so as we ankered againe that night neere the bankes of another yland, of bignesse much like the other, which they call Putapayma, ouer against which yland, on the maine lande, was a very high mountaine called Oecope: we coueted to ancker rather by these ylands in the Riuer, then by the maine, because of the Tortugas egges, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground serued better for vs to cast our nets for fish, the maine bankes being for the most part stonie and high, and the rocks of a blue metalline colour, like vnto the best steele-ore, which I assuredly take it to be: of the same blew stone are also diuers great mountaines, which border this riuer in many places.

The next morning towards nine of the clocke, wee weighed ancker, and the brize increasing, we sailed alwayes West vp the riuer, and after a while opening the land on the right side, the countrey appeared to bee champaine, and the bankes shewed very perfect red. I therefore sent two of the little barges with Captaine Gifford, and with him Captaine Thyn, Captaine Calfield, my cosen Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert, Captaine Eynus, Master Edward Porter, and my cosen Butthead Gorges, with some fewe souldiers, to march ouer the bankes of that red land, and to discouer what maner of countrey it was on the other side, who at their return founde it all a plaine leuell, as farre as they went or could discerne, from the highest tree they could get vpon: And my old Pilot, a man of great trauell, brother to the Casique Toparimica tolde mee, that those were called the plaines of the Sayma, and that the same leuell reached to Cumana, and Caracas

in the West Indies, which are a hundreth and twentie leagues to the North, and that there inhabited foure principall nations. The first were the Sayma, the next Assawai, the thirde and greatest the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandez de Serpa before mentioned was ouerthrowen, as hee passed with three hundred horse from Cumana towards Orenoque, in his enterprize of

Guiana: the fourth are called Aroras, and are as blacke as Negros, but haue smooth haire, and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and haue the most strong poyson on their arrowes, and most dangerous of all nations, of which poyson I will speake somewhat being a digression not vnecessary.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, then to finde out the true remedies of these poysoned arrowes: for besides the mortallitie of the wound they make, the partic shotte indureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most vgly and lamentable death, sometimes dying starke mad, sometimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies: which are presently discoloured as blacke as pitch, and so vnsauory, as no man can endure to cure, or to attend them. And it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was neuer Spaniard either by gift or torment that could attaine to the true knowledge of the cure, although they haue martyred and put to inuented torture I know not how many of them. But euery one of these Indians knew it not, no not one among thousands, but their soothsayers and priestes, who doe conceale it, and onely teach it but from the father to the sonne.

Those medicines which are vulgar, and serue for the ordinarie poyson, are made of the iuice of a roote called Tupara: the same also quencheth marueilously the heate of burning feauers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veines, that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the Guianians then any other: for Anthonio de Berreo tolde mee that hee could neuer attainè to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught mee the best way of healing as well thereof, as of ail other poysons. Some of the Spaniards haue bene

cured in ordinary wounds, of the common poysoned arrowes with the iuice of the garlike: but this is a generall rule for all men that shall hereafter trauel the Indies where poysoned arrowes are vsed, that they must abstaine from drinke, for if they take any licour into their body,

as they shall bee marueilously prouoked thereunto by drought I say, if they drinke before the wound bee dressed, or soone vpon it, there is no way with them but present death.

And so I will returne againe to our iourney which for this thirde day we finished, and cast ancker againe neere the continent or the left hand betweene two mountaines, the one called Aroami, and the other Aio: I made no stay here but till midnight, for I feared houely least any raine should fall, and then it had bene impossible to haue gone any further vp, notwithstanding that there is euery day a very strong brize, and Easterly winde. I deferred the search of the countrey on Guiana-side, till my returne downe the riuier.

The next day we sailed by a great yland in the middle of the riuier called Manoripano, and as wee walked a while on the yland, while the Galley got a head of vs, there came for vs from the maine a small Canoa with seuen or eight Guianians, to inuite vs to ancker at their port, but I deferred till my returne; It was that Casique to whom those Nepoios went, which came with vs from the towne of Toparimaca: and so the fift day we reached as high vp as the prouince of Arōmaia the countrey of Morequito whom Berreo executed, and ankered to the West of an yland called Murrecotima, tenne miles long and fiue broad: and that night the Casique Aramiary, (to whose towne we made our long and hungry voyage out of the riuier of Amana) passed by vs.

The next day wee arriued at the port of Morequito, and ankered there, sending away one of our Pilots to seeke the king of Aromaia, vncke to Morequito slaine by Berreo as aforesaid. The next day following before noone hee came to vs on foote from his house, which was fourteene English miles (himselfe being a hundreth and tenne yeeres olde) and returned on foote the same day, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bring vs downe victuall, which they did in great plentie, as venison, porke, hennes, chickens, foule, fish, with diuers sorts of excellent fruites and rootes, and great abundance of Pinas, the princes of fruites, that grow vnder the Sunne, especially those of Guiana. They brought vs also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of Paraquitos, no bigger then wrennes, and of all other sorts both small and great; one of them gaue mee a beast called by the Spaniards Armadilla, which they call Cassacam, which

seemeth to be all barred ouer with smal plates somewhat like to a Rinoceros, with a white horne growing in his hinder parts, as bigge as a great hunting horne, which they vse to winde in stead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth that a little of the powder of that horne put into the eare, cureth deafenesse.

After this olde King had rested a while in a little tent, that I caused to bee set vp, I beganne by my interpreter to discourse with him of the death of Morequito his predecessour, and afterward of the Spaniards, and ere I went any farther I made him knowe the cause of my comming thither, whose seruant I was, and that the Queenes pleasure was, I should vndertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliuer them from the tyrannie of the Spaniards, dilating at large, (as I had done before to those of Trinidad) her Maiesties greatnesse, her iustice, her charitie to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and vertues, as either I could expresse, or they conceiue: all which being with great admiration attentiuely heard, and marueilously admired, I beganne to sound the olde man as touching Guiana, and the state thereof, what sort of common wealth it was, how gouerned, of what strength and policie, howe farre it extended, and what nations were friendes or enemies adioyning, and finally of the distance and way to enter the same: hee tolde mee that himselfe and his people with all those downe the Riuer towards the Sea, as farre as Emeria, the prouince of Carapana, were of Guiana, but that they called themselues Orenoqueponi, and that all the nations betweene the riuer and those mountaines in sight called Wacarima, were of the same cast and appellation: and that on the other side of those mountaines of Wacarima there was a large plaine (which after I discovered in my returne) called the valley of Amariocapana, in all that valley the people were also of the ancient Guinians.

I asked what nations those were which inhabited on the farther side of those mountaines, beyond the valley of Amariocapana: hee answered with a great sigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the losse of his Countrey and libertie, especially for that his eldest sonne was slaine in a battell on that side of the mountaines, whom hee most entirely loued) that he remembred in his fathers life time when hee was very olde, and himselfe a yong man, that there came downe into that large valley of Guiana, a nation from so farre off as the Sunne slept, (for such were his owne wordes) with so great a multitude as

they coulde not bee numbred nor resisted, and that they wore large coates, and hattes of crimson colour, which colour hee expressed, by shewing a piece of red wood, where with my tent was supported, and that they were called Orejones, and Epuremei, those that had slaine and rooted out so many of the ancient people, as there were leaues in the wood vpon all the trees, and had nowe made themselues Lords of all, euen

Orejones are the gentlemen of Peru. Lop. de Gomar. Hist. gen. cap. 119.

to that mountaine foote called Curaa, sauing onely of two nations, the one called Awarawaqueri, and the other Cassipagotos, and that in the last battell fought betweene the Epuremei, and the Iwarawaqueri, his eldest sonne was chosen to carry to the aide of the Iwarawaqueri, a great troupe of the Orenoqueponi, and was there slaine with all his people and friends, and that hee had now remayning but one sonne: and farther tolde mee that those Epuremei had built a great Towne called Macureguarai at the said mountaine foote, at the beginning of the great plaines of Guiana, which haue no ende: and that their houses haue many roomes, one ouer the other, and that therein the great King of the Orejones and Epuremei kept three thousande men to defend the borders against them, and withall dayly to inuade and slay them: but that of late yeeres since the Christians offered to inuade his territories, and those frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, sauing onely the Iwarawaqueri, and those other nations vpon the head of the riuier of Caroli, called Cassipagotos, which we afterwards discovered, each one holding the Spaniard for a commonemie.

After hee had answered thus farre, he desired leaue to depart, saying that hee had farre to goe, that hee was olde, and weake, and was euery day called for by death, which was also his owne phrase: I desired him to rest with vs that night, but I could not intreate him, but hee tolde mee that at my returne from the country'aboue, hee would againe come to vs, and in the meane time prouide for vs the best he could, of all that his country yeilded: the same night hee returned to Orocotona his owne towne, so as hee went that day eight and twentie miles, the weather being very hot, the country being situate betweene foure and fise degrees of the Equinoctial.

Orocotona betweene 4. and 5. degrees of Northerly latitude.

This Topiawari is helde for the prowdest, and wisest of all the Orenoqueponi, and so hee behaued

himselfe towards mee in all his answers at my returne, as I marueiled to finde a man of that grauitie and iudgement, and of so good discourse, that had no helpe of learning nor breede.

The next morning we also left the port, and sailed Westward vp to the Riuer, to view the famous Riuer called Caroli, as well because it was marueilous of it selfe, as also for that I vnderstoode it ledde to the strongest nations of all the frontiers, that were enemies to the Epuremei, which are subiects to Inga, Emporour of Guiana, and Manoa, and that night we ankered at another yland called Caiama, of some fiue or sixe miles in

The yle of Caiama. length, and the next day arriued at the mouth of Caroli. When we were short of it as lowe or further downe as the port of Morequito wee heard They arriue at the mouth of the riuer Caroli. the great rore and fall of the Riuer, but when wee came to enter with our barge and whirries thinking

to haue gone vp some fourtie miles to the nations of the Cassipagotos, wee were not able with a barge of eight oares to row one stones cast in an houre, and yet the Riuer is as broad as the Thames at Wolwich, and wee tried both sides, and the middle, and euery part of the Riuer, so as we incamped vpon the bankes adioyning, and sent off our Orenequepone (which came with vs from Morequito) to giue knowledge to the nations vpon the Riuer of our being there, and that wee desired to see the Lordes of Canuria, which dwelt within the prouince vpon that Riuer, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards, (for it was on this Riuer side that Morequito slewe the Frier, and those nine Spaniards which came from Manoa, the Citie of Inga, and tooke from them fourtie thousand pezos of golde) so as the next day there came downe a Lord or Casique called Wanuretona with many people with him, and brought all store of prouisions to entertaine vs, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my comming knowen to Topiwari, so did I acquaint this Casique therewith, and howe I was sent by her Maiestie for the purpose aforesaide, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of Guiana, and I founde that those also of Caroli were not onely enemies to the Spaniards, but most of all to the Epuremei, which abound in golde, and by this Wanuretona, I had knowledge that on the head of this Riuer were three mighty nations, which were seated on a great lake, from whence this Riuer descended, and were

called Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagots, and that all those either against the Spaniards, or the Epuremei would ioyne with vs, and that if wee entred the land ouer the mountaines of Curaa, we should satisfie our selues with gold and all other good things: he told vs farther of a nation called Iwarawaqueri before spoken off, that held dayly warre with the Epuremei that inhabited Macureguarai the first ciuill towne of Guiana, of the subjects of Inga the Emperour.

Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos three mighty nations seated on a lake at the head of the riuer Caroli.

Vpon this riuer one Captaine George, that I tooke with Berreo tolde mee there was a great siluer Mine, and that it was neere the banckes of the saide riuer. But by this time as well Orenoque, Caroli, as all the rest of the riuers were risen foure or fve foote in height, so as it was not possible by the strength of any men, or with any boat whatsoever to rowe into the Riuer against the streame. I therefore sent Captaine Thyn, Captaine Grenuile, my nephew Iohn Gylbert, my cosen Butshead Gorges, Captaine Clarke, and some thirtie shotte more to coast the Riuer by land, and to goe to a towne some twentie miles ouer the valley called Amnatapoi, and they found guides there, to goe farther towards the mountaine foote to another great towne called Capurepana, belonging to a Amnatapoi, a towne. Casique called Haharacoa (that was a nephew to olde Topiawari King of Arromaia our chiefest friend) because this towne and a prouince of Capurepada adioyned to Macureguarai, which was a frontier towne of the Empire: and the meane while my selfe with Captaine Calfield, Edward Hancockke, and some halfe a dosen shotte marched ouer land to viewe the strange ouerfals of the riuer of Caroli which rored so farre off, and also to see the plaines adioyning, and the rest of the prouince of Canuri: I sent also Captaine Whiddon, William Connocke, and some eight shotte with them, to see if they could finde any Mineral stone amongst the riuer side. When we were come to the tops of the first The strange ouerfals of Caroli. hilles of the plaines adioyning to the riuer, we behelde that wonderful breach of waters, which ranne downe

Caroli: and might from that mountaine see the riuer howe it ranne in three parts, aboue twentie miles off, and there appeared some tenne or twelue ouerfals in sight, euery one as high ouer the other as a Churchtower, which fell with that fury,

that the rebound of water made it seeme, as if it had bene all couered ouer with a great shower of raine: and in some places wee tooke it at the first for a smoke that had risen ouer some great towne. For mine owne part I was well perswaded from thence to haue returned, being a very ill footeman, but the rest were all so desirous to goe neere the saide strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till wee

A most
beautifull
country.

came into the next valley where we might better discern the same. I neuer saw a more beautifull country, nor more liuely prospects, hills so raised here and there ouer the valleys, the riuer winding into diuers branches, the plaines adioyning without bush or stubble, all faire greene grasse, the ground of hard sand easie to march on, either for horse or foote, the deere crossing in euery path, the birdes towards the euening singing on euery tree with a thousand seuerall tunes, cranes and herons of white crimson, and carnation pearching in the riuers side, the aire fresh with a gentle Easterly winde, euery stone that we stouped to take vp, promised either golde or siluer by his complexion. Your Lordship shall see of many sorts, and I hope some of them cannot bee bettered vnder the Sunne, and yet we had no means but our daggars and fingers to teare them out here and there, the rockes being most hard of

Abundance
of mineral
Sparre.

that minerall Sparre aforesaid, which is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the veines lye a fathome or two deepe in the rockes. But we wanted all things requisite saue onely our desires and good will to haue performed more if it had pleased God. To beshort, when both our companies returned, each of them brought also seuerall sorts of stones that appeared very faire, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but coloured, and had not any golde fixed in them, yet such as had no iudgement or experience kept al that glistered, and would not be perswaded but it was rich because of the lustre, and brought of those, and of Marquesite with all, from Trinidad, and haue deliuered of those stones to be tried in many places, and haue thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same: yet some of these stones I shewed afterward to a Spaniard of the Caracas, who tolde mee that it was El Madre del oro, that is the mother of golde, and that the Mine was further in the ground.

But it shall be found a weake policie in me, either to betray my selfe, or my countrey with imaginations, neither am I so farr

in loue with that lodging, watching, care, peril, diseases, ill sauours, bad fare, and many other mischiefes that accompany these voyages, as to woo my selfe againe into any of them, were I not assured that the Sunne couereth not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captaine Whiddon, and our Chirurgion Nicholas Millechap brought mee a kinde of stones like Saphires, what they may proue I know not. I shewed them to some of the Orenoqueponi, and they promised to bring mee to a mountaine, that had of them very large pieces growing Diamond wise: whether it be Christall of the mountaine, Bristol-Diamond, or Saphire I doe not yet know, but I hope the best, sure I am that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height or very neere.

On the left hand of this riuier Caroli are seated those nations which are called Iwarawakeri before remembered, which are enemies to the Epuremei: and on the head of it adioyning to the great lake Cassipa, are situate those other nations which also resist Inga, and the Epuremei, called Cassepagotos, Eparegotos, and Arrawagotos. I farther vnderstood that this lake of Cassipa is so large, as it is aboute one dayes journey Cassipa a great lake. for one of their Canoas to crosse, which may bee some fourtie miles, and that thereinto fall diuers riuers, and that great store of graines of gold are found in the Summer time when the lake falleth by the banckes, in those branches.

There is also another goodly riuier beyond Caroli which is called Arui, which also runneth thorow the lake Cassipa, and falleth into Orenoque farther West, making all that land betweene Caroli and Arui an yland, which is likewise a most beautifull countrey. Next vnto Arui there are two riuers Atoica and Caora, and on that branch which is called Caora, are a nation of people, whose heads appeare not aboute their shouldiers; which though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine owne part I am resoluéd it is true, because euery childe in the prouinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirme the same: they are called Ewaipanoma: they are reported to haue their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouthes Ewaipanoma a strange headless nation. in the middle of their breasts, and that a long traine of haire groweth backward betweene their shoulders. The sonne of Topiawari, which I brought with me into England told me that they are the most mighty men of all the land, and vse bowes, afrowes, and clubbes thrice as big as any of Guiana, or

of the Orenoqueponi, and that one of the Iwarawakeri tooke a prisoner of them the yeere before our arriuall there, and brought him into the borders of Aromaia his fathers countrey. And farther when I seemed to doubt of it, hee told me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common as any other in all the prouinces, and had of late yeeres slaine many hundreds of his fathers people, and of other nations their neighbours, but it was not my chance to heare of them till I was come away, and if I had but spoken one worde of it while I was there, I might haue brought one of them with mee to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by Mandeuile, whose reports were holden for fables many yeeres, and yet since the East Indies were discouered. we find his relations true of such things as heretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no, the matter is not great, neither can there bee any profit in the imagination; for mine owne part I saw them not, but I am resolu'd that so many people did not, all combine, or forthinke to make the report.

When I came to Cumana in the West Indies afterwards by chance I spake with a Spaniard dwelling not farre from thence, a man of great trauell, and after hee knew that I had bene in Guiana, and so farre directly West of Caroli, the first question hee asked me was, whether I had seene any of the Ewaipanoma, which are those without heads: who being esteemed a most honest man of his word, and in all things else, tolde mee that hee had seene many of them: I may not name him, because it may be for his disaduantage, but hee is well knowen to Monsieur Mucherons sonne of London, and to Peter Mucheron merchant of the Flemish shippe that was there in trade, who also heard what he auowed to be true of those people.

The fourth riuer to the West of Caroli is Casnero which falleth into Orenoque on this side of Amapaia, and that riuer is greater then Danubius, or any in Europe: it riseth on the South of Guiana from the mountaines which diuide Guiana from Amazones, and I thinke it to bee nauigable many hundreth miles: but wee had no time, meanes, nor season of the yeere, to search those riuers for the causes aforesayd, the

Winter being come vpon vs, although the Winter and Summer as touching colde and heate differ not, neither doe the trees euer sensibly lose their leaues, but haue alwayes fruit either ripe or greene, and most of them

both blossome, leaues, ripe fruite, and greene at one time: but their Winter onely consisteth of terrible raines, and ouerflowing of the riuers, with many great stormes and gustes, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill, ere we returned.

On the North side, the first riuier that falleth into Orenoque is Cari, beyond it on the same side is the riuier of Limo, betweene these two is a great nation of Canibals, and their chiefe towne beareth the name of the riuier, and is called Acamacari: at this towne is a continuall market of women for three or foure hatchets a piece, they are bought by the Arwacas, and by them sold into the West Indies. To the West of Limo is the riuier Pao, beyond it Caturi, beyond that Voari and Capuri which falleth out of the great riuier of Meta, by which Berreo descended from Nueuo reyno de Granada. To the Westward of Capuri is the prouince of Amapaia, where Berreo wintered, and had so many of his people poysoned with the tawny water of the marshes of the Anebas. Aboue Amapaia toward Nueuo reyno fall in Meta, Paio, and Cassanar. To the West of those towards this prouinces of the Ashaguas and Catetios are the riuers of Beta, Dawney, and Vbarro, and toward the frontier of Peru are the prouinces of Thomebamba, and Caxamalca. Adioyning to Quito in the North side of Peru are the riuers of Guiacar and Goauar: and on the other side of the sayd mountaynes the riuier of Papanene which descendeth into Marannon or Amazones passing thorough the prouince Mutylones where Don Pedro de Osua who was slaine by the traytour Agiri before rehearsed, built his brigandines, when he sought Guiana by the way of Amazones.

Betweene Dawney and Beta lyeth a famous Island in Orenoque now called Baraquan (for aboue Meta ^{The Isle of Baraquan.} it is not knowen by the name of Orenoque) which is called Athule, beyond which, ships of burden cannot passe by reason of a most forcible ouerfall, and current of waters: but in the eddy al smaller vessels may be drawen euen to Peru it selfe: But to speake of more of these riuers without the description were but tedious, and therefore I will leaue the rest to the description. This riuier of Orenoque is nauig- ^{Orenoque a} able for ships little lesse then 1000 miles, and for ^{mighty riuier} lesser vessels neere 2000. By it (as aforesayd) Peru, ^{by which} Nueuo reyno, and Popaian, may be inuaded: it also ^{Peru, Nueuo reyno, and Popaian} leadeth to the great empire of Inga, and to the prouinces of Amapaia, and Anebas which abound in ^{may be inuaded.}

gold: his branches of Cosnero, Manta, Caora descended from the middle land and valley, which lieth betwene the easter prouince of Peru and Guiana; and it falles into the sea betwene Marannon and Trinidad in two degrees and a halfe: all which your Honours shall better perceiue in the general description of Guiana, Pèru, Nueuo reyno, the kingdome of Popayan, and Roidas, with the prouince of Venegueta, to the bay of Vraba, behind Cartagena Westward; and to Amazonas Southward. While we lay at ankor on the coast of Canuri, and had taken knowledge of all the nations vpon the head and branches of this riuer, and had found out so many seuerall people, which were enemies to the Epuremei, and the new conquerours: I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of Orenoque began dayly to threaten vs with dangers in our returne: for no halfe day passed, but the riuer beganne to rage and ouerflowe very fearfully, and the raines came downe in terrible showers, and gustes in great abundance: and withall, our men began to crie out for want of shift, for no man had place to bestowe any other apparell then that which he ware on his backe, and that was throughly washt on his body for the most part tenne times in one day: and we had now bene wel neere a moneth, every day passing to the Westward farther and farther from our shippes. Wee therefore turned towards the East, and spent the rest of the time in discouering the riuer towards the sea, which we had not viewed, and which was not materiall.

The next day following we left the mouth of Caroli, and arriued againe at the port of Morequito where we were before: for passing downe the streame we went without labour, and against the winde, little lesse then a hundreth miles a day. Assoone as I came to ankor, I sent away one for olde Topiwari, with whom I much desired to haue further conference, and also to deale with him for some one of his countrey, to bring with vs into England, as well to learne the language, as to conferre withall by the way, the time being nowe spent of any longer stay there. Within three houres after my messenger came to him, he arriued also, and with him such a rabble of all sorts of people, and euery one loden with somewhat, as if it had beene a great market or faire in England: and our hungry companies clustered thicke and threefold among their baskets, euery one

laying hand on what he liked. After he had rested a while in my tent, I shut out all but our selues, and my interpreter, and told him that I knew that both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his country and nations: that the one had conquered Guiana already, and the other sought to regain the same from them both: and therefore I desired him to instruct me what he could, both of the passage into the golden parts of Guiana, and to the ciuill townes and apparelled people of Inga. Hee gaue mee an answer to this effect: first that, hee could not perceiue that I meant to goe onward towards the citie of Manoa, for neither the time of the yeere serued, neither could hee perceiue any sufficient numbers for such an enterprize: and if I did, I was sure with all my company to bee buried there, for the Emperour was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too fewe: besides hee gaue mee this good counsell and aduised mee to holde it in minde (as for himselfe hee knewe, hee could not liue till my returne) that I should not offer by any meanes hereafter to inuade the strong parts of Guiana without the helpe of all those nations which were also their enemies: for that it was impossible without those, either to bee conducted, to be victualled, or to haue ought caried with vs, our people not being able to indure the march in so great heate, and trauell, vnlesse the borderers gaue them helpe, to carie with them both their meate and furniture: For hee remembered that in the plaines of Macureguarai three hundreth Spaniards were ouerthrowen, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friendes: but meeting their enemies as they passed the frontier, were enuironed on all sides, and the people setting the long drie grasse on fire, smothered them, so as they had no breath to fight, nor could discern their enemies for the great smoke. He tolde me farther that 4 daies iourney from his towne was Macureguarai, and that those were the next and nearest of the subiects of Inga, and of the Epuremei, and the first towne of apparelled and rich people, and that all those plates of gold which were scattered among the borderers and caried to other nations farre and neere, came from the sayd Macureguarai and were there made, but that those of the land within were farre finer, and were fashioned after the images of men, beasts, birds, and fishes. I asked him

The last conference of Sir Walter Raleigh with Topiawari, whose sonne he brought into England.

Counsell to be followed in other conquests.

Macureguarai ye first towne of Guiana, and of rich and apparelled people.

whether hee thought that those companies that I had there with me, were sufficient to take that towne or no? He told me that he thought they were. I then asked him, whether he would assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to ioyne with vs? He answered that he would go himselfe with all the borderers, if the riuers did remaine foordable, vpon this condition that I would leaue with him til my return againe fifty souldiers, which hee vndertooke to victuall: I answered that I had not aboute fiftie good men in all there, the rest were labourers and rowers, and that I had no prouision to leaue with them of powder, shot, apparell, or ought else, and that without those things necessary for their defence, they should bee in danger of the Spaniards in my absence, who I knew would vse the same measure towards mine, that I offered them at Trinidad: And although vpon the motion Captaine Calfield, Captaine Greeneuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert and diuers others were desirous to stay, yet I was resolu'd that they must needes haue perished, for Berreo expected daylie a supply out of Spaine, and looked also hourelly for his sonne to come downe from Nueuo reyno de Granada, with many horse and foote, and had also in Valencia in the Caracas, two hundreth horse ready to march, and I could not haue spared aboute fortie, and had not any store at all of powder, leade, or match to haue left with them, nor any other prouision, either spade, pickeaxe, or ought else to haue fortified withall.

When I had giuon him reason that I could not at this time leaue him such a companie, he then desired mee to forbear him and his countrey for that time, for he assured mee that I should bee no sooner three dayes from the coast, but those Epuremei would inuade him, and destroy all the remaine of his people and friendes, if hee should any way either guide vs or assist vs against them.

He further alleaged, that the Spaniards sought his death, and as they had already murthered his Nephew Morequito lord of that prouince, so they had him seuateene dayes in a chaine before hee was king of the countrey, and ledde him like a dog from place to place, vntill he had payde an hundreth plates of golde, and diuers chaines of Spleen-stones for his ransome: and nowe since he became owner of that prouince, that they had many times layd waite to take him, and that they would bee nowe more venement, when they should vnderstand of his con-

ference with the English, and because, sayd hee, they would the better displant me, if they cannot lay handes on mee, they haue gotten a Nephew of mine called Eparacano, whom they haue Christened Don Iuan, and his sonne Don Pedro, whom they haue also apparelled and armed, by whom they seeke to make a partie against me in mine owne countrey: hee also had taken to wife one Louiana of a strong familie, which are borderers and neighbours, and my selfe now being olde and in the handes of death am not able to trauell nor to shifte, as when I was of younger yeeres: hee therefore prayed vs to deferre it till the next yeere, when he would vndertake to draw in all the borderers to serue vs, and then also it would bee more seasonable to trauell, for at this time of the yeere, wee should not bee able to passe any riuier, the waters were and would bee so growen ere our returne.

He farther told me, that I could not desire so much to inuade Macureguarai, and the rest of Guiana, but that the borderers would be more vehement then I, for he yeelded for a chiefe cause that in the warres with the Epuremei, they were spoyled of their women, and that their wiues and daughters were taken from them, so as for their owne parts they desired nothing of the golde or treasure, for their labours, but onely to recouer women from the Epuremei: for hee farther complayned very sadly (as it had beene a matter of great consequence) that whereas they were wont to haue tenne or twelue wiues, they were now inforced to content themselues with three or foure, and that the lords of the Epuremei had fifty or a hundreth: And in truth they war more for women then either for gold or dominion: For the lords of countreys desire many children of their owne bodies, to increase their races and kindreds, for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Diuers of his followers afterwards desired mee to make haste againe, that they might sacke the Epuremei, and I asked them of what? They answered, of their women for vs, and their gold for you: for the hope of those women they more desire the war, then either for gold, or for the recouery of their ancient territories. For what betweene the subiects of Inga, and the Spaniards, those frontiers are growen thinne of people, and also great numbers are fled to other nations farther off for feare of the Spaniards.

After I receiued this answere of the old man, we fell into consideration, whether it had bene of better aduice to haue

entred Macureguaria, and to haue begun a warre vpon Inga at this time, yea or no, if the time of the yeere, and all things else had sorted. For mine owne part (as we were not able to march it for the riuers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the comming of the Winter, or to tarie any longer from our ships (I thought it were euill counsell to haue attempted it at that time, although the desire of gold will answere many obiections: but it would haue bin in mine opinion an vtter ouerthrow to the enterprize, if the same should be hereafter by her Maiesty attempted: for then (whereas now they haue heard we were enemies to the Spaniards and were sent by her Maiesty to relieue them) they would as good cheap haue ioyned with the Spaniards at our returne, as to haue yeilded vnto vs, when they had proued that we came both for one errant, and that both sought but to sacke and spoile them, but as yet our desire of gold, or our purpose of inuasion is not knowen to them of the empire: and it is likely that if her Maestie vndertake the enterprize, they will rather submit themselues to her obedience then to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselues and the borderers haue already tasted: and therefore till I had knowen her Maesties pleasure, I would rather haue lost the sacke of one or two townes (although they might haue beene very profitable) then to haue defaced or indangered the future hope of so many millions, and the great good, and rich trade which England may be possessed of thereby. I am assured nowe that they will all die euen to the last man against the Spaniards in hope of our succour and returne: whereas otherwise if I had either layd handes on the borderers, or ransomed the lords, as Berreo did, or inuaded the subiects of Inga, I know all had beene lost for hereafter.

After that I had resolued Topiawari lord of Aromaia, that I could not at this time leaue with him the companies he desired, and that I was contented to forbear the enterprize against the Epuremei till the next yeare, he freely gaue me his onely sonne to take with me into England, and hoped, that though hee himselfe had but a short time to liue, yet that by our meanes his sonne should be established after his death: and I left with him one Francis Sparrow, a seruant of Captaine Gifford, (who was desirous to tarie, and could describe a countrey with his pen) and a boy of mine called Hugh Goodwin, to learne the language.

I after asked the maner how the Epuremei wrought those plates of golde, and how they could melt it out of the stone; hee tolde mee that the most of the golde which they made in plates and images, was not seuered from the stone, but that on the lake of Manoa, and in a multitude of other riuers they gathered it in graines of perfect gold and in peeces as bigge as small stones, and that they put it to a part of copper, otherwise they could not worke it, and that they vsed a great earthen pot with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastened canes to the holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metall ran and they cast it into moulds of stone and clay, and so make those plates and images. I haue sent your Honors of two sortes such as I could by chance recouer, more to shewe the maner of them, then for the value: For I did not in any sort make my desire of gold known, because I had neither time, nor power to haue a greater quantity. I gaue among them manie more peeces of gold, then I receiued, of the new money of 20 shillings with her Maiesties picture to weare, with promise that they would become her seruants thencefoorth.

I haue also sent your Honours of the ore, whereof I know some is as rich as the earth yeeldeth any, of ^{Most rich} gold ore. which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to bee hoped for. But besides that we were not able to tarrie and search the hils, so we had neither pioners, barres, ledges, nor wedges of yron to breake the ground, without which there is no working in mines: but wee saw all the hilles with stones of the colour of gold and siluer, and we tried them to be no Marquesite, and therefore such as the Spaniards call El madre del oro, or, The mother of gold, which is an vndoubted assurance of the generall abundance: and my selfe saw the outside of many mines of the Spärre, which I know to be the same that all couet in this world, and of those, more then I will speake of.

Having learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and receiued a faithfull promise of the principallest of those prouinces to become seruants to her Maiestie, and to resist the Spaniards, if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of Cassipa, and those Iwara-waqueri, I then parted from olde Topiawari, and receiued his sonne for a pledge betweene vs, and left with him two of ours as aforesayd. To Francis Sparrowe I gaue instructions to trauell

to Macureguarai, with such merchandizes as I left with them, thereby to learne the place, and if it were possible, to goe on to the great citie of Manoa: which being done, we weyed anchor, and coasted the riuer on Guiana side, because wee came vpon the North side, by the launes of the Saima and Wikiri.

There came with vs from Aromaia a Cassique called Putijma, that commanded the prouince of Warapana, (which Putijma slewe the nine Spaniards vpon Caroli before spoken of) who desired vs to rest in the Porte of his country, promising to bring vs vnto a mountaine adioyning to his towne that had stones of the colour of golde, which hee-perfourmed. And after wee had rested there one night, I went my selfe in the morning with most of the Gentlemen of my company, ouer land towards the said mountaine, marching by a riuers side called Mana, leauing on the right hand a towne called Tuteritona, standing in the Prouince of Tarracoa, of the which Wariaaremagoto is principall. Beyond it lieth another towne towards the South, in the valley of Amariocapana, which beareth the name of the sayd valley, whose plaines stretch themselues some sixtie miles in length, East and West, as faire ground, and as beautifull fields, as any man hath euer seene, with diuers copsies scattered here and there by the riuers side, and all as full of deere as any forrest or parke in England, and in euerie lake and riuer the like abundance of fish and foule, of which Irraparragota is lord.

From the riuer of Mana, we crost another riuer in the said beautifull valley called Oiana, and rested our selues by a cleere lake, which lay in the middle of the said Oiana, and one of our guides kindling vs fire with two stickes, wee stayed a while to drie our shirts, which with the heate hong very wette and heauie on our sholders. Afterwards wee sought the ford to passe ouer towards the mountaine called Iconuri, where Putijma foretold vs of the mine. In this lake we saw one of the great fishes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call Manati, being most excellent and holsome meate. But after I perceiued, that to passe the said riuer would require halfe a dayes march more, I was not able my selfe to indure it, and therefore I sent Captaine Keymis with sixe shot to goe on, and gaue him order not to returne to the port of Putijma, which is called Chiparepare, but to take leisure, and to march downe the sayd valley, as farre as a riuer called Cumaca, where I promised to meete him againe, Putijma him-

selfe promising also to bee his guide: and as they marched, they left the townes of Emparepana and Capurepana, on the right hand, and marched from Putijmas house downe the sayd valley of Amariocapana, and wee returning the same day to the riuers side, saw by the way many rockes, like vnto gold ore, and on the left hand, a round mountaine which consisted of minerall stone.

From hence we rowed downe the streame, coasting the prouince of Parino: As for the branches of riuers which I ouerpasse in this discourse, those shall be better expressed in the description with the mountaines of Aio, Ara, and the rest, which are situate in the prouinces of Parino and Carricurina. When we were come as farre down as the land called Ariacoa, (where Orenoque deuideth it selfe into three great branches, each of them being most goodly riuers) I sent away captaine Henrie Thin, and captaine Greeneuile with the galley, the nearest way, and tooke with mee captaine Gifford, captaine Calfield, Edward Porter, and captaine Eynos with mine owne barge, and the two wherries, and went downe that branch of Orenoque, which is called Cararoopana, which leadeth towards Emeria the prouince of Carapana, and towards the East sea, as well to finde out captaine Keymis, whome I had sent ouer land, as also acquaint my selfe with Carapana, who is one of the greatest of all the lords of the Orenoqueponi: and when I came to the riuer of Cumaca (to which Putijma promised to conduct captaine Keymis) I left captaine Eynos and master Porter in the sayd riuer to expect his comming, and the rest of vs rowed downe the streame towards Emeria.

In this branch called Cararoopana were also many goodly Islands, some of sixe miles long, some of ten, and some of twenty. When it grew towards sunne-set, we entred a branch of a riuer that fell into Orenoque called Winicapora: where I was enformed of the mountaine of Christall, to which in trueth for the length of the way, and the euill season of the yeere, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer vpon the iourney: wee saw it asfarre off and it appeared like a white Church-tower of an exceeding height. There falleth ouer it a mighty riuer which toucheth no part of the side of the mountaine, but rusheth ouer the toppe of it, and falleth to the ground with so terrible a noyse and clamor, as if a thousand great bels were knockt one against

A mighty
cataract or
ouerfall of
water.

another. I thinke there is not in the world so strange an ouerfall, nor so wonderfull to behold: Berreo told mee that there were Diamonds and other precious stones on it, and that they shined very farre off: but what it hath I know not, neither durst he or any of his men ascend to the top of the sayd mountaine, those people adioyning being his enemies (as they were) and the way to it so impassable.

Vpon this riuer of Winicapora wee rested a while, and from thence marched into the countrey to a town called after the name of the riuer, whereof the captaine was one Timitwara, who also offered to conduct mee to the top of the sayd mountaine called Wacarima: But when wee came in first to the house of the sayd Timitwara, being vpon one of their sayd feast dayes, we found them all as drunke as beggers, and the pots walking from one to another without rest: we that were weary, and hote with marching, were glad of the plenty though a small quantitie satisfied vs, their drinke being very strong and headie, and so rested our selues a while; after wee had fedde, we drew our selues backe to our boats, vpon the riuer and there came to vs all the lordes of the countrey, with all such kinde of victuall as the place yeilded, and with their delicate wine of Pinas, and with abundance of hens, and other prouisions, and of those stones which we call Spleenestones.

Wee vnderstood by the chiefetaines of Winicapora, that their lord Carapana was departed from Emeria which was now in sight, and that he was fled to Cairamo, adioyning to the mountains of Guiana, ouer the valley called Amariocapana, being perswaded by those tenne Spaniards which lay at his house, that we would destroy him, and his countrey.

But after these Cassiques of Winicapora and Saporatona his followers perceiued our purpose, and saw that we came as enemies to the Spaniards onely, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations, no though we found them to be of the Spaniards owne seruants, they assured vs that Carapana would be as ready to serue vs, as any of the lords of the prouinces, which we had passed; and that he durst doe no other till this day but entertaine the Spaniards, his countrey lying so directly in their way, and next of all other to any entrance that should be made in Guiana on that side.

And they farther assured vs, that it was not for feare of our comming that he was remooued, but to be acquitted of the

Spaniards or any other that should come hereafter. For the prouince of Cairoma is situate at the mountaine foote, which deuideth the plaines of Guiana from the countreys of the Orenoqueponi: by meanes whereof if any should come in our absence into his townes, hee would slip ouer the mountaines into the plaines of Guiana among the Epuremei, where the Spaniards durst not follow him without great force.

But in mine opinion, or rather I assure my selfe, that Carapana (being a notable wise and subtil fellow, a man of one hundred yeeres of age, and therefore of great experience) is remooued, to looke on, and if he finde that we returne strong he will be ours, if not, hee will excuse his departure to the Spaniards, and say it was for feare of our comming.

Wee therefore thought it bootlesse to rowe so farre downe the streame, or to seeke any farther of this olde fox: and therefore from the riuier of Waricapana (which lieth at the entrance of Emeria) we returned againe, and left to the Eastward those foure riuers which fall from the mountaines of Emeria into Orenoque, which are Waracajari, Coirama, Akaniri, and Iparoma: below those foure are also these branches and mouthes of Orenoque, which fall into the East sea, whereof the first is Araturi, the next Amacura, the third Barima, the fourth Wana, the fift Morooca, the sixt Paroma, the last Wijmi: beyond them there fall out of the land betweene Orenoque and Amazones 14 riuers which I forbear to name, inhabited by the Arwacas and Canibals.

It is now time to returne towards the North, and wee found it a wearisome way backe from the borders of Emeria, to recouer vp againe to the head of the riuier Carerupana, by which we descended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the port of Toparimaca, by which we entred first.

All the night it was stormie and darke, and full of thunder and great showers, so as wee were driuen to keepe close by the bankes in our small boats, being all heartily afraid both of the billow and terrible curent of the riuier. By the next morning we recovered the mouth of the riuier of Cumaca, where we left captaine Eynos and Edward Porter to attend the comming of captaine Keymis ouer land: but when wee entred the same, they had heard no news of his arriual, which bred in vs a great doubt what might become of him: I rowed vp a league or two farther into the riuier, shooting off pieces all the way, that hee

might know of our being there. And the next morning wee heard them answere vs also with a piece: wee tooke them aboard vs, and tooke our leave of Putijma their guide, who of all others most lamented our departure, and offered to send his sonne with vs into England, if we could haue stayed till he had sent backe to his towne: but our hearts were colde to behold the great rage and increase of Orenoque, and therefore departed, and turned toward the West, til we had recouered the parting of the three branches aforesayd, that we might put downe the streame after the galley.

The next day we landed on the Island of Assapano (which deuideth the riuer from that branch by which we sent downe to Emeria) and there feasted our selues with that beast which is called Armadilla presented vnto vs before at Winicapora, and the day following we recouered the galley at ankor at the port of Toparimaca, and the same euening departed with very foule weather and terrible thunder, and showers, for the Winter was come on very farr: the best was, we went no lesse then 100 miles a day, downe the riuer: but by the way we entred, it was impossible to returne, for that the riuer of Amana, being in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, cannot be sayled backe by any meanes, both the brize and current of the sea were so forcible: and therefore wee followed a branch of Orenoque called Capuri, which entred into the sea Eastward of our ships, to the end we might beare with them before the wind, and it was not without neede, for we had by that way as much to crosse of the maine sea after we came to the riuers mouth, as betweene Grauelyn, and Douer, in such boats as your Hon. hath heard.

To speake of what past homeward were tedious, either to describe or name any of the riuers, Islands, or villages of the Tuitivas which dwell on trees: we will leaue all those to the generall mappe: and to be short, when we were arriued at the sea side, then grew our greatest doubt, and the bitterest of all our journey forepassed, for I protest before God, that we were in a most desperate estate: for the same night which we ankored in the riuer of Capuri, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mightie storme, and the riuers mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ranne before night close vnder the land with our small boates, and brought the Galley as neere as we could, but she had as much a doe to liue as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her: for mine owne part I confesse, I

was very doubt full which way to take, either to goe ouer in the Pestred Galley, there being but sixe foote water ouer the sandes, for two leagues together, and that also in the channell, and she drew fiae: or to aduventure in so great a billow, and in so doubtfull weather, to cross the seas in my barge. The longer we taried the worse it was, and therefore I tooke Captaine Gifford, Captaine Calfield, and my cosen Greeneuile into my barge; and after it cleared vp, about midnight we put our selues to Gods keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leauing the Galley at anker, who durst not aduventure but by day-light: And so being all very sober, and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to shewe courage, it pleased God that the next day about nine of the clocke, wee descried the Ilande of Trinidad, and steering for the nearest part of it, wee kept the shore till wee came to Curiapan, where wee founde our shippes at ankor, then which there was neuer to vs a more ioyfull sight.

Now that it hath pleased God to send vs safe to our shippes, it is time to leaue Guiana to the Sunne, whom they worshippe, and steare away towards the North: I will therefore in a fewe wordes finish the discouery thereof. Of the seuerall nations which we found vpon this discouery I will ^{A rehearsall and descrip-} once againe make repetition, and howe they are ^{tion of all the nations and riuers} affected. At our first enterance into Amana, which ^{found in this} is one of the outlets of Orenoque, we left on the right ^{discouerie.} hand of vs in the bottome of the bay, lying directly against Trinidad, a nation of inhumaine Canibals, which inhabite the riuers of Guanipa and Berbeese; in the same bay there is also a third riuier which is called Areo, which riseth on Paria side towards Cumana, and that riuier is inhabited with the Wikiri, whose chiefe towne vpon the sayd riuier is Sayma; In this bay there are no more riuers, but these three before rehearsed, and the foure branches of Amana, all which in the Winter thrust so great abundance of water into the sea, as the same is taken vp fresh, two or three leagues from the land. In the passages towards Guiana (that is, in all those landes which the eight branches of Orenoque fashion into Ilands) there are but one sort of people called Tiuitiuas, but of two castes as they tearme them, the one called Ciawani, the other Waraweeti, and those warre one with another.

On the hithermost part of Orenoque, as at Toparimaca, and Winicapora, those are of a nation called Nepoios, and are of the

followers of Carapana, Lord of Emeria. Betweene Winicapora and the port of Morequito which standeth in Aromaia, and all those in the valley of Amariocapana are called Orenoqueponi, and did obey Morequito, and are now followers of Topiawari. Vpon the riuer of Caroli, are the Canuri, which are gouerned by a woman (who is inheritrix of that Prouince) who came farre off to see our Nation, and asked me diuerse questions of her Maiestie, being much delighted with the discourse of her Maiesties greatnesse, and wondering at such reports as we truly made of her Highnesse many vertues: And vpon the head of Caroli, and on the lake of Cassipa, are the three strong Nations of the Cassipagotos. Right South into the land are the Capurepani, and Emparepani, and beyond those adioyning to Macureguarai (the first citie of Inga) are the Iwarawakeri: all these are professed enemies to the Spaniards, and to the rich Epuremei also. To the West of Caroli are diuerse nations of Canibals, and of those Ewaipanoma without heads. Directly West are the Amapaias and Anebas, which are also marueilous rich in gold. The rest towards Peru we wil omit. On the North of Orenoque, betweene it and the West Indies are the Wikiri, Saymi, and the rest before spoken of, all mortall enemies to the Spaniardes. On the South side of the maine mouth of Orenoque, are the Arwacas; and beyond them the Canibals and to the South of them the Amazonas.

To make mention of the seuerall beasts, birds, fishes, fruits, flowers, gummes, sweet woods, and of their seuerall religions and customes, would for the first require as many volumes as those of Gesnerus, and for the rest another bundle of Decades. The religion of the Epuremei is the same which the Ingas, Emperours of Peru vsed, which may be read in Cieça, and other Spanish stories, how they beleue the immortalitie of the soule, worship the Sunne, and burie with them aliue their best beloued wiues and treasure, as they likewise doe in Pegu in the East Indies, and other places. The Orenoqueponi bury not their wiues with them, but their iewels, hoping to inioy them againe. The Arwacas dry the bones of their Lords, and their wiues and friends drinke them in powder. In the graues of the Peruuians the Spaniards found their greatest abundance of treasure: the like also is to be found among these people in euery Prouince. They haue all many wiues, and the Lords five- fould to the common sort: their wiues neuer eate with their

husbands, nor among the men, but serue their husbands at meales, and afterwarde feede by themselues. Those that are past their younger yeeres, make all their bread and drinke, and worke their cotten beds, and doe all else of seruice and labour, for the men doe nothing but hunt, fish, play, and drinke, when they are out of the warres.

I will enter no further into discourse of their maners, lawes and customes: and because I haue not my selfe seene the cities of Inga, I cannot auow on my credit what I haue heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour Inga hath built and erected as magnificent pallaces in Guiana, as his ancestors did in Peru, which were for their riches and rarenesse most maruellous and exceeding all in Europe, and I thinke of the world, China excepted, which also the Spaniards (which I had) assured me to be true, as also the Nations of the borderers, who being but Saluages to those of the in-land, doe cause much treasure to be buried with them: for I was enformed of one of the Cassiques of the valley of Amariocapana which had buried with him a little before our arriual, a chaire of golde most curiously wrought, which was made either in Macureguaray adioyning, or in Manao: but if we should haue griued them in their religion at the first, before they had bene taught better, and haue digged vp their graues, we had lost them all: and therefore I helde my first resolution, that her Maiestie should either accept or refuse the enterprise, ere any thing should be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if Peru had so many heapes of golde, whereof those Ingas were Princes, and that they delighted so much therein; no doubt but this which now liueth and reigneth in Manao, hath the same honour, and I am assured hath more abundance of golde, within his territorie, then all Peru and the West Indies.

For the rest, which my selfe haue seene, I will promise these things that follow, which I know to be true. Those that are desirous to discouer and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this riuier, which bringeth forth so many armes and branches leading to seuerall countries and prouinces, aboue 2000 miles East and West, and 800 miles South and North, and of these, the most eyther rich in golde, or in other marchandizes. The common souldier shall here fight for golde, and pay himselfe in steede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote broad, whereas he

Exceeding
commenda-
tion of the
riuier of
Orenoque.

breaketh his bones in other warres for prouant and penury Those commanders and chieftaines that shoot at honour and abundance, shall finde there more rich and beautifull cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, then either Cortez found in Mexico, or Piçarro in Peru: and the shining glory of this conquest will eclipse all those so farre extended beames of the Spanish nation. There is no country which yeeldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants, either for those common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, or the rest, then Guiana doth. It hath so many plaines, cleere riuers, abundance of Phesants, Partridges, Quailles, Railes, Granes, Herons, and all other fowle: Deere of all sorts, Porkes, Hares, Lions, Tygers, Leopards, and diuers other sortes of beastes, either for chase, or food. It hath a kind of beast called Cama, or Anta, as bigge as an English beefe, and in great plentie.

To speake of the seuerall sorts of euery kind, I feare would be troublesome to the Reader, and therefore I will omit them, and conclude that both for health, good ayre, pleasure, and riches I am resolu'd it cannot bee equalled by any region either in the East or West. Moreouer the country is so healthfull, ^{The holosome- nesse of the} as of an hundred persons and more (which lay with- ^{country.} out shift most sluttishly, and were euery day almost melted with heate in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet againe with great showers, and did eate of all sorts of corrupt fruits, and made meales of fresh fish without seasoning, of Tortugas, of Lagartos or Crocodiles, and of all sorts good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides, lodged in the open aire euery night) we lost not any one, nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge, nor found any Calentura, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hot regions, and so neere the Equinoctiall line.

Where there is store of gold, it is in effect needlesse to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the South part of the riuier, great quantities of Brasil-wood, and diuerse berries that die a most perfect crimson and carnation: And for painting, all France, Italy, or the East Indies yeelde none such: For the more the skin is washed, the fairer the colour appeareth, and with which, euen those browne and tawnie women spot themselues, and colour their cheekes. All places yeeld abundance of cotton, of silke, of balsamum, and of those kindes most excellent, and

neuer knowen in Europe, of all sortes of gummes of Indian pepper: and what else the countries may afford within the land we knowe not, neither had we time to abide the triall, and search. The soile besides is so excellent and so full of riuers, as it will carrie sugar, ginger, and all those other commodities, which the West Indies haue.

The nauigation is short, for it may be sayled with an ordinarie winde in sixe weekes, and in the like time backe againe, and by the way neither lee shore, enemies coast, rockes, nor sandes, all which in the voyages to the West Indies, and all other places we are subiect vnto, as the chanell of Bahama, comming from the West Indies, cannot well be passed in the Winter, and when it is at the best, it is a perillous and a fearefull place. The rest of the Indies for calmes, and diseases very troublesome, and the sea about the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and stormes.

This very yeere there were seuteene sayle of Spanish ships lost in the chanell of Bahama, and the great Philip like to haue sunke at the Bermudas was put backe to Saint Iuan de Puerto rico. And so it falleth out in that Nauigation euery yeere for the most part, which in this voyage are not to be feared: for the time of yeere to leaue England is best in Iuly, and the Summer in Guiana is in October, Nouember, December, Ianuarie, Februarie, and March, and then the ships may depart thence in Aprill, and so returne againe into England in Iune, so as they shall neuer be subiect to Winter-weather, either comming, going, or staying there: which for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and encouragements that can be thought on, hauing (as I haue done) tasted in this voyage by the West Indies so many calmes, so much heat, such outrageous gustes, foule weather, and contrarie windes.

To conclude, Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her mayden-head, neuer sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not bene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graues haue not bene opened for golde, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their Images puld downe out of their temples. It hath neuer bene entered by any armie of strength, and neuer conquered or possessed by any christian Prince. It is besides so defensible, that if two forts be builded in one of the Prouinces which I haue seene, the flood setteth in

The short,
easie, and
commodious
nauigation to
Guiana.

1595.

so neere the banke, where the channell also lyeth, that no ship can passe vp but within a Pikes length of the artillerie, first of the one, and afterwards of the other: Which two Forts will be a sufficient garde both to the Empire of Inga, and to an hundred other seuerall kingdomes, lying within the said riuier, euen to the citie of Quito in Peru.

There is therefore great difference betweene the easiness of the conquest of Guiana, and the defence of it being conquered, and the West or East Indies: Guiana hath but one entrance by the sea (if it hath that) for any vessels of burden: so as whosoever shall first possesse it, it shall be found vnaccessible for any enemy, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or Canoas, or else in flat bottomed boates, and if he doe offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thicke two hundred miles together vpon the riuers of such entrance, as a mouse cannot sit in a boat vnhit from the banke. By lande it is more impossible to approach, for it hath the strongest situation of any region vnder the sunne, and is so enuironed with impassable mountaines on euery side, as it is impossible to victuall any company in the passage: which hath bene well prooued by the Spanish nation, who since the conquest of Peru haue neuer left fūe yeeres free from attempting this Empire, or discovering some way into it, and yet of three and twentie seuerall Gentlemen, Knights, and Noble men, there was neuer any that knewe which way to leade an army by land, or to conduct shippes by sea, any thing neere the saide countrie. Orellana, of whom the riuier of Amazonas taketh name, was the first, and Don Antonio de Berreo (whom we displanted) the last: and I doubt much, whether he himselfe or any of his yet know the best way into the sayde Empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength be formerly set downe, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumsters or gallies built, and furnished vpon the riuier within: The West Indies haue many portes, watering places, and landings, and nearer then three hundred miles to Guiana, no man can harbour a shippe, except he know one onely place, which is not learned in haste, and which I will vndertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whosoever hearkened most after it.

Besides by keeping one good Fort, or building one towne of strength, the whole Empire is guarded, and whatsoever companies shall be afterwarde planted within the land, although in twentie seuerall Prouinces, those shall be able all to reunite

themselues vpon any occasion eyther by the way of one riuier, or be able to march by land without either wood, bogge, or mountaine: whereas in the West Indies there are fewe townes or Prouinces that can succour or relieue one the other, eyther by land or sea: By land the countries are either desert, mountaynous, or strong enemies: by sea, if any man inuade to the Eastward, those to the West cannot in many moneths turne against the brize and Eastern wind, besides the Spaniards are therein so dispersed, as they are no where strong, but in Nueua Espanna onely: the sharpe mountaines, the thornes, and poysoned prickles, the sandie and deepe wayes in the valleys, the smothering heate and aire, and want of water in other places are their onely and best defence, which (because those nations that inuade them are not victualled or prouided to stay, neither haue any place to friend adioyning) doe serue them in steede of good armes and great multitudes.

The West Indies were first offered her Maiesties grandfather by Columbus a stranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceipt, and besides it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands and regions neuer written of before. This Empire is made knowne to her Maiestie by her owne vassall, and by him that oweth to her more duetie then an ordinary subiect, so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefites which I haue receiued to abuse her Highnesse, either with fables or imaginations. The countrie is alreadie discovered, many nations wonne to her Maiesties loue and obedience, and those Spaniardes which haue latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged and disgraced, which among these nations were thought invincible. Her Maiestie may in this enterprize employ all those souldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captaines and chieftaines that want employment, and the charge will be onely the first setting out in victualling and arming them: for after the first or second yeere I doubt not but to see in London a Contractation house of more receipt for Guiana, then there is now in Siuill for the West Indies.

And I am resolu'd that if there were but a small army a foote in Guiana, marching towards Manoa the chiefe citie of Inga, he would yeeld to her Maiestie by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yeerely, as should both defend all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home, and that he would

besides pay a garrison of three or foure thousand souldiers very royally to defend him against other nations: for he cannot but knowe, how his predecessors, yea how his owne great vnclcs Guascar and Atabalipa sonnes to Guainacapa Emperour of Peru, were (while they contended for the Empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late yeres and euer since the said conquest, the Spaniards haue sought the passages and entrey of his countey: and of their cruelties vsed to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladnesse, if not, he hath neither shot nor yron weapon in all his Empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I farther remember that Berreo confessed to me and others (which I protest before the Maiestie of God to be true) that there was found among prophesies in Peru (at such time as the Empire was reduced to the Spanish obedience) in their chiefest temples, amongst diuers others which foreshewed the losse of the said Empire, that from Inglatierra those Ingas should be againe in time to come restored; and deliuered from the seruitude, of the said Conquerors. And I hope, as we with these few hands haue displanted the first garrison, and driuen them out of the said countrey, so her Maiestie will giue order for the rest, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquere and keepe it as Emprasse of the same. For whatsoever Prince shall possesse it, shall be greatest, and if the King of Spaine enioy it, he will become vnresistable. Her Maiestie hereby shall confirme and strengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the South border of Guiana reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the Amazones, those women shall hereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbours, but also to inuade and conquer so great Empires and so farre remooued.

To speake more at this time, I feare would be but troublesome: I trust in God, this being true, will suffice, and that he which is King of all Kings, and Lord of Lords, will put it into her heart which is Ladie of Ladies to possesse it, if not, I will iudge those men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leane will vndertake it of themselues.

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An abstract taken out of certaine Spaniards letters concerning Guiana and the countries lying vpon the great riuer Orenoque: with certaine reports also touching the same.

An advertisement to the Reader.

THose letters out of which the abstracts following are taken, were surpris'd at sea as they were passing for Spaine in the yeere 1594. by Captaine George Popham: who the next yeere, and the same that Sir Walter Raleigh discovered Guiana, as he was in a voyage for the West Indies, learned also the reports annexed. All which, at his returne, being two moneths after Sir Walter, as also so long after the writing of the former discourse, hearing also of his discoverie: he made knowen and deliuered to some of her Maiesties most honourable priuie Councell and others. The which seeing they confirme in some part the substance, I meane, the riches of that countrey: it hath bene thought fit that they should be thereunto adioyned. Wherein the Reader is to be aduertised, that although the Spaniards seeme to glorie much of their formall possession taken before Morequito the Lord of Aromaya, and others thereabouts, which throughly vnderstood them not at that time, whatsoever the Spaniards otherwise pretend: yet, according to the former discourse, and as also it is related by Cayworaco, the sonne of Topiawary now chiefe Lord of the said Aromaya, who was brought into England by Sir Walter Raleigh, and was present at the same possession and discoverie of the Spaniards mentioned in these letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their countrey, the Indians then hauing farther consideration of the matter, and more then coniecture of their intent, hauing knowen and heard of their former cruelties vpon their borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere: At their next comming, there being ten of them sent and employed for a farther discouery, they were prouided to receiue and entertaine them in an other maner of sort then they had done before; that is to say, they slew them and buried them in the countrey so much sought. They gaue them by that meanes a full and complete possession, the which before they had but begunne. And so they are minded to doe, to as many Spaniards as come after. Other possession they haue had none since. Neither doe the Indians meane, as they protest, to giue them any other. One other thing to be remembred is that in these letters the Spaniards

seeme to call Guiana and other countries neere it, bordering vpon the riuer of Orenoque, by the name of Nueua Dorado, because of the great plentie of golde there in most places to be found. Alluding also to the name of El Dorado which was giuen by Martinez to the great citie of Manoa, as is in the former treatise specified. This is all I thought good to aduertise. As for some other matters, I leaue them to the consideration and iudgement of the indifferent Reader.

W. R.

Letters taken at sea by Captaine George Popham. 1594.

Alonso his letter from the Gran Canaria to his brother being commander of S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

There haue bene certaine letters receiued here of late, of a land newly discovered called Nueuo Dorado, from the sonnes of certaine inhabitants of this citie, who were in the discovery: they write of wonderfull riches to be found in the said Dorado, and that golde there is in great abundance: the course to fall with it is fiftie leagues to the windward of Margarita.

Alonsos letter from thence to certaine Marchantes of Sant Lucar concerning El Dorado.

Sirs, we haue no newes worth the writing, sauing of a discovery lately made by the Spaniards in a new land called Nueuo Dorado, which is two dayes sayling to the windward of Margarita: there is golde in such abundance, as the like hath not bene heard of. Wee haue it for certaine in letters written from thence by some that were in the discovery, vnto their parents here in this citie. I purpose (God willing) to bestow tenne or twelue dayes in search of the said Dorado, as I passe in my voyage towards Carthagen, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities. I haue sent you therewith part of the information of the said discovery, that was sent to his Maiestie.

Part of the Copie that was sent to his Maiestie, of the discovery of Nueuo Dorado.

IN the riuer of Pato otherwise called Orenoque, in the principall part thereof called Warismero, the 23 of April 1593

Domingo de Vera master of the campe, and Generall for Antonio de Berreo Gouvernour and Captaine generall for our lord the king, betwixt the riuers of Pato and Papamene alias Orenoque, and Marrannon, and of the Iland of Trinidad, in presence of me Rodrigo de Carança Register for the sea, commanded all the souldiers to be drawen together and put in order of battaile, the Captaines and souldiers, and Master of the campe standing in the middest of them, said vnto them: Sirs, Souldiers, and Captaines, you vnderstand long since that our General Antonio de Berreo, with the trauell of eleuen yeeres, and expence of more then an hundred thousand pezos of golde, discouered the royall Prouinces of Guiana and Dorado: of the which he tooke possession to gouerne the same, but through want of his peoples health, and necessarie munition, he issued out at the Iland Margarita, and from thence peopled Trinidad. But now they haue sent me to learne out and discouer the wayes most easily to enter, and to people the said Prouinces, and where the campes and armies may best enter the same. By reason whereof I intend so to doe in the name of his Maiestie, and the saide gouvernour Antonio de Berreo, and in token thereof I require you Francis Carillo, that you aide mee to aduance this crosse that lieth here on the ground, which they set on end towards the East, and the said Master of the campe, the captaines and souldiers kneeled downe, and did due reuerence vnto the saide crosse, and thereupon the master of the campe tooke a bowle of water and dranke it off, and tooke more and threw abroad on the ground: he also drewe out his sworde and cut the grasse off the ground, and the boughes off the trees saying, I take this possession in the name of the king Don Philip our master, and of his Gouvernour Antonio de Berreo: and because some make question of this possession, to them I answere, that in these our actions was present the Cassique or principall Don Antonio, otherwise called Morequito, whose land this was, who yeelded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gaue his obedience to our lord the king, and in his name to the said Gouvernour Antonio de Berreo. And the said master of the campe kneeled downe being in his libertie, and all the Captaines and souldiers said, that the possession was well taken, and that they would defend it with their liues, vpon whosoeuer would say the contrary. And the said master of the campe hauing his sword drawen in his hand saide vnto me: Register, that art here present, giue me an instrument or testimoniall to confirme me in

this possession, which I haue taken of this land, for the Gouvernour Antonio de Bereco, and if it be needefull I will take it a newe. And I require you all that are present to witness the same, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the possession of all these landes wheresoeuer I shall enter. Signed thus.

Domingo de Vera,  
and vnderneath,  
Before me Rodrigo de Carança,  
Register of the armie.

AND in prosecution of the said possession, and the discoverie of the way and Prouinces, the 27 of April of the said yeere, the master of the campe entred by little and little with all the campe and men of warre, more then two leagues into the in-land, and came to a towne of a principall, and conferring with him did let him vnderstand by meanes of Antonio Bisante the Interpreter, that his Maiestie and Antonio de Berreo had sent him to take the said possession. And the said frier Francis Carillo by the Interpreter, deliuered him certain things of our holy Catholique faith, to all which he answered, that they vnderstood him well and would become Christians, and that with a very good will they should aduance the crosse, in what part or place of the towne it pleased them, for he was for the Gouvernour Antonio de Berreo, who was his master. Thereupon the said master of the campe tooke a great crosse, and set it on ende toward the East, and requested the whole campe to witness it, and Domingo de Vera firmed it thus.

It is well and firmly done.  
And vnderneath.  
Before me Rodrigo Carança,  
Register of the armie.

THE first of May they prosecuted the said possession and discoverie to the towne on Carapana. From thence the said Master of the Campe, passed to the towne of Toroco whose principall is called Topiawary being five leagues farther within the land then the first Nation, and well inhabited. And to this principall by meane of the Interpreter they gaue to vnderstand that his Maiestie and the said Corrigidor commanded them to

take the possession of that lande, and that they should ycelde their obedience to his Maiestic, and to his Corrigidor, and to the master of the campe in his name, and that in token thereof he would place a crosse in the middle of his townc. Whereunto the said Cassique answered they should aduance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our lord the king, and of the said Gouernour Antonio de Berreo whose vassall he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a Prouince aboute fife leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people, the principall of this people came and met vs in peaceable maner: and he is called Reuato, he brought vs to a very large house where he entertained vs well, and gaue vs much Golde, and the interpreter asking him from whence that golde was, he answered, From a Prouince not passing a dayes journey off, where there are so many Indians as would shadowe the sunne, and so much Golde as all yonder plaine will not containe it. In which Countrey (when they enter into the Borracheras or their drunken feasts) they take of the said Golde in dust and anoynt themselues all ouer therewith to make the brauer shew; and to the end the Golde may couer them, they anoynt their bodies with stamped herbes of a glewy substance: and they haue warre with those Indians. They promised vs that if we would goe vnto them, they would ayde vs; but they were such infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill vs. And being asked how they gat y<sup>e</sup> same Gold, they told vs they went to a certaine Downe or playne, and pulled or digged vp the grasse by the roote: which done, they tooke of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they caried to wash at the riuier, and that which came in powder they kept for their Borracceras or drunken feasts: and that which was in peeces they wrought into Eagles.

The eight of May wee went from thence, and marched about fife leagues: at the foote of a Hill wee found a principall called Arataco with three thousand Indians, men and women all in peace and with much victuall, as Hennes and Venison in great abundance, and many sortes of wine. Hee intreated vs to goe to his house, and to rest that night in his Towne, being of fife hundred houses. The interpreter asked whence hee had those Hennes: he sayde they were brought from a mountaine not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea so many as grasse on the ground, and that these men had the points of their shoulders higher then the Crownes of their heads,

and had so many Hennes as was wonderfull ; and if wee would haue any, wee should send them Iewes harpes, for they would giue for euery one two Hennes. Wee tooke an Indian, and gaue him five hundred Harpes ; the Hennes were so many that hee brought vs, as were not to be numbered. Wee sayde wee would goe thither ; they tolde vs they were now in their Borracheras or drunken feasts, and would kill vs. Wee asked the Indian that brought the Hennes, if it were true ; hee sayde it was most true. Wee asked him how they made their Borracheras or drunken feasts ; he sayde, they had many Eagles of golde hanging on their breasts, and Pearles in their eares, and that they daunced being all couered with Golde. The Indian sayde vnto vs, if wee would see them, wee should giue him some Hatchets, and he would bring vs of those Eagles. The Master of the Campe gaue him one Hatchet (hee would giue him no more because they should not vnderstand we went to seeke golde) he brought vs an Eagle that weighed 27. pounds of good Golde. The Master of the Campe took it, and shewed it to the souldiers, and then threw it from him, making shewe not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian and sayd vnto him, Giue mee a Pickeaxe, and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders meane to doe. The Interpreter tolde the Master of the Campe, who commanded one to be giuen him : hee then told vs, those Indians were comming to kil vs for our marchandize. Hereupon the Master of the Campe caused his company to bee set in order, and beganne to march. The eleuenth day of May wee went about seuen leagues from thence to a prouince, where wee found a great company of Indians appavelled : they tolde vs that if wee came to fight, they would fill up those Plaines with Indians to fight with vs ; but if we came in peace, we should enter and bee well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians : and there they told vs of all the riches that was. I doe not heere set it downe, because there is no place for it, but it shall appeare by the information that goeth to his Maiestie : for if it should heere bee set downe, foure leaues of paper would not containe it.

The Letter of George Burién Britton from the sayde Canaries vnto his cousin, a Frenchman dwelling in S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

Sir, and my very good cousin, there came of late certaine

Letters from a new discovered countrey not farre from Trinidad, which they write, hath Golde in great abundance : the newes seemeth to bee very certaine, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this Citie. Part of the information of the Discouery that went to his Maiestie, goeth inclosed in Alonsos letters ; it is a thing worth the seeing.

The report of Domingo Martinez of Iamaica concerning El Dorado.

HE sayth that in 1593. being at Carthagena, there was a generall report of a late discouery called Nueuo Dorado, and that a litle before his comming thither, there came a Frigat from the said Dorado, bringing in it the portraiture of a Giant all of Gold, of weight 47. kintals, which the Indians there held for their Idoll. But now admitting of Christianitie and obedience to the King of Spaine, they sent their sayd Idol vnto him in token they were become Christians, and held him for their King. The company comming in the said Frigat, reported Golde to be there in most abundance, Diamonds of inestimable value, with great store of pearle.

The report of a French man called Bountillier of Sherbrouke,\* concerning Trinidad and Dorado.

HE sayth that beeing at Trinidad in 1591. he had of an Indian there a piece of Golde of a quarter of a pound in exchange of a knife ; the sayde Indian tolde him hee had it at the head of that riuer which commeth to Paracoa in Trinidad : and that within the Riuer of Orenoque, it was in great abundance. Also in 1593. beeing taken by the Spanyardes, and brought prisoner into the Iland of Madera (the place for his prison) there came in this meane time a Barke of fortie Tunnes from a new Discouery, with two millions of Golde ; the company whereof reported Golde in that place to bee in great abundance, and called it El Nueuo Dorado. This Frenchman passed from Spaine in the Barke, and hauing a cabben nere a gentlemn, one of the Discouerers that came from that place in the sayde Barke, had diuers times conference with him, and amongst other things, of the great abund

\* Probably *Cherbourg*.

ance of Golde in the sayd Dorado, being as they sayd within the riuer of Orenoque.

Reportes of certaine Merchants of Rio de Hacha, concerning El Nueuo Dorado.

THEy sayd (aduancing the kings great treasure in the Indies) that Nueua Reyno yeelded very many Golde mines, and wonderfull rich ; but lately was discouered a certaine Prouince so rich in Golde, as the report thereof may seeme incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called El Nueuo Dorado : Antonio de Berreo made the said discouerie.

The report of a Spanyard, Captaine with Berreo in the discouerie of El Nueuo Dorado.

THat the information sent to the king was in euery poynt truely sayde, that the riuer Orenoque hath seuen mouths, or outlets into the sea, called Las Siete bocas de dragon, that the sayd riuer runneth farre into the land, in many places very broad, and that Anth. de Berreo lay at Trinidad, making head to goe to conquire and people the sayd Dorado.

A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana, performed and written in the yeere 1596. by Laurence Keymis Gent.

To the approved, Right Valorous, and worthy Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord warden of the Stanneries, Captaine of her Maiesties Guard, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornwall.

I Haue here briefly set downe the effect of this your second Discouerie without any enlargement of made wordes : for in this argument, single speech best beseemeth a simple trueth. Where the affinitie of the matter with your person, leadeth mee to write of your self, vnto your selfe, the small libertie which I haue therein vsed, shall, I doubt not, without offence or sinister construction, be giuen to the cause in hand : which, whether it suffer not detriment, by attributing lesse then of right belongeth ; the iudgement bee theirs, that vprightly and indifferently shall weigh the consequents of their euill purpose, who in seeking to detract from the Author of these Discoueries, doe so much as in them



lieth, wound, deface, and tread vnder foot the thing it selfe. But this is no nouelty, nor proper only to these our dayes. For long since it hath bin said, *Laudes eo vsque sunt Pericles. tolerabiles, donec ea dicuntur, quæ auditores se quoque facere posse existimant: si maiora proserantur, inuidet, non credunt.* The feruent zeale and loyalty of your minde in labour with this birth of so honorable expectation, as it hath deserved a recompence farre different, so needeth it not my poore suffrage to endeaure the toyle, care and danger that you haue willingly vndergone for the good and aduancement of our weale publike. The praise-worthinesse thereof doeth approue it selfe, and is better read in your liuing doings, then in my dead vnregarded papers. All that I can wish, is that my life were a sufficient pledge, to iustifie, how more easie, and more materiall, the course for Guiana would be then others, which requiring greater charge, yeelde not so large benefit, and are subject to more doubtfull euent. If vnto their wisdomes who sit in place and authority, it shall appear otherwise, and that in following of other attempts there is lesse difficultie, certainer profit, and needfuller offence vnto the enemy: the cost and trauaile which you haue bestowed, shall not, I hope, be altogether lost, if vnto your Honour I can proue how, and where the amend is to be had, maugre the force and preuention of all Spaniards.

Your Lordships to be commanded in all seruice,

LAVRENCE KEYMIS.

To the Fauourers of the Voyage for Guiana.

IN things earnestly desired, though neuer so likely, we are still suspicious: thinking it more credite to our common wisdomes, to discredite most noble and profitable indeuours with distrust, then touch to our valours and safeties, to lie wilfully idle. So that howsoeuer an action well and iudicially attempted, bee esteemed halfe performed; yet is this my iealous conceite concerning Guiana, that nothing is begun, before all be ended. In this regarde (gentle Reader) I haue presumed to burthen thine eares with the weake plea of a good cause, and in stead of opening it throughly to thy prudent consideration, to note only

mine owne vnsatisfied affection: hoping that because I doe name Guiana vnto thee, thou wilt vouchsafe hoc nomine, to uaile and couer all other my defects in the desert of a good meaning. In publishing this Treatise, my labor principally tendeth to this end; to remoue all fig-leaues from our vnbeliefe, that either it may haue cause to shake off the colourable pretences of ignorance: or if we will not be perswaded; that our selfe-will may rest inexcusable. They that shall apply, and construe this my doing, to serue the Spaniard his turne so wel as our owne; in so much as it may seeme to instruct, warnie, and arme him: for their satisfaction herein, they must not be ignorant, that his eyes, in seeing our shipping there, doe as effectually informe him, that many of our hearts are toward that place, as if it should be credibly aduertised by some corrupt hireling, that we thinke, write, and discourse of nothing els. Neither can I imagine, that to conceale our knowledge herein (which to conceale may perhaps proue, and be hereafter taken for worse the paricide) would be of better purpose, then to hood winke our selues, as who would say, No man shall see vs. Besides if the action were wholly to bee effected at her Maiesties charge; then might it at her Highnesse pleasure be shadowed with some other drift, and neuer be discouered, vntill it were acted. But since it craueth the approbation and purses of many Adventurers, who cannot, be so prodigall both of their possessions and liues, as voluntarily to run themselues out of breath, in pursuing they know not what; great reason it is, that where assistance is to be asked, due causes be yeelded to perswade and induce them vnto it. The Spaniard is not so simple, vnsetled, and vncertaine in his determinations, as to build them on our breath, or to make our papers his Bulwarks; nor so slow as to expect a precedent of our forwardnes. His proceedings are sufficiently strengthened with the trauales, reports, and substantial proofes of his own men, that haue about 60. yeeres beaten round about this bush. And to say a trueth, the expedition that he hath vsed in sending so many ships in February last to people this country, and disappoint vs; as it doth consequently shew, that he findeth his chiefest force and sinewes to consist in golde: so doeth he thereby plainly to our faces exprobrate our remisnesse and long deliberations, that in 12. moneths space haue done, or sought to doe nothing worthy the ancient fame and reputation of our English nation, interested in so weighty businesse. His late

provision of a new supply of whole families to the number of 600. persons, bound for Guiana, but that it pleased God, that by meanes of that right honourable seruice most resolutely performed in the sea-fight, and sacking of Cadiz, the ships wherein they should haue bin conueyed, were conuerted into ashes: what might it signifie? Certes, as it doth evidently proue, that El Dorado hath vndoubted credit and account in their iudgements: so pointeth it at vs, whilst we only to entertain idle time, sit listening for Guiana newes, and instantly forget it, as if we were nought els, but a pleasing dreame of a golden fancy. If we with our selues shall expostulate, how this commeth to passe, that the aduantage wholly resting on our side, in respect that Berreo was this last yere beaten out, the countrey thoroughly discovered, and the Inhabitants made desirous of her sacred Maiesties happy gouernment; they notwithstanding by entring before vs, haue now gotten y<sup>e</sup> start of vs: what may we thinke? Shal wee iudge that their natiue countrey is lesse deare, or more wearisome vnto them, then ours is vnto vs? Their Peruleri, who going bare and empty out of Spaine, do againe within 3. or 4. yeres returne from Peru, rich and in good estate, doe apparently disproue all such conceits of them. Shall wee say that they haue more spare men to be employed in such actions? It is no secret to know the contrary. Are they subject to penury? In all parts of Christendom, where money is not scant, all other things are plentifull. Or is their land not able to sustain their numbers of people? They buy many slaues to follow their husbandry, and themselues disdainig base idleness and beggery, do all honour military profession, highly esteeming it in their mercenaries and strangers. Is it then want of ability, in those that are willing, lacke of encouragement, or default of speedy order and direction for those that doe voluntarily offer themselues, their substance, and best indeuour to further this cause: that maketh vs to be thus coated of the Spaniard? The first is no question. The later needeth no answere. The profit then by their example to be gathered, is, not to lose opportunitie by delay, or to seeme feareful and dismayed, where there is no cause of doubt. For as yet their post-haste doeth no way preiudice our aduised leisure in setting forward, since their preparations of Negroes to worke in the mynes, their horses, cattell, and other necessaries may (by the fauour of God) at our first comming, both store vs w<sup>th</sup> quantities of gold

In June  
1596.

oare, and ease vs of much trouble, paines, and trauaile. If we should suppose our selues now to liue in the dayes of King Henry the seuenth of famous memory, and the strange report of a West Indies, or new world abounding with great treasure should entice vs to beleuee it: perhaps it might be imputed for some blame to the grauity of wise men, lightly to bee carried with the perswasion and hope of a new found Vtopia, by such a one as Columbus was, being an alien, and many wayes, subject to sus-  
pition. But since the penance of that incredulity lieth euen now heavy on our shoulders; the example forethreatning, I know not what repentance: and that we haue the personal triall of so honourable and sufficient a Reporter, our own Countriman: let it be farre from vs to condemne our selues in that, which so worthily we reprove in our predecessors; and to let our idle knowledge content it selfe with naked contemplation, like a barren wombe in a Monastery. We cannot denie that the chiefe commendation of vertue doth consist in action: we truely say, that *Otium is animæ viuæ sepultura*: we beleuee, that perfect wisdom in this mobility of all humaine affaires, refuseth not with any price to purchase safetie: and we iustly do acknowledge that the Castilians from bare legged mountainers haue attained to their greatnesse by labour and industrie. To sleepe then, because it costeth nothing; to imbrace the present time, because it flattereth vs with deceitfull contentment; and to kisse security, saying, What euill happeneth vnto vs? is the plaine high way to a fearefull downfall: from which the Lord in his mercy deliuer vs, and giue vs an vnderstanding heart, in time to see, and to seeke that, which belongeth vnto our peace.

De Guiana carmen Epicum.

WHAT worke of honour and eternall name,  
For all the world t'enuie and vs t'atchieue,  
Filles me with furie, and giues armed hands  
To my hearts peace, that els would gladly turne  
My limmes and euery sense into my thoughts  
Rapt with the thirsted action of my mind?  
O Clio, Honors Muse, sing in my voyce,  
Tell the attempt, and prophetic th'exploit  
Of his Eliza-consecrated sworde,  
That in this peacefull charme of Englands sleepe,

Opens most tenderly her aged throte,  
Offering to powre fresh youth through all her vaines,  
That flesh of brasse and ribs of steele retaines.  
Riches, and Conquest, and Renowme I sing,  
Riches with honour, Conquest, without blood,  
Enough to seat the Monarchie of earth,  
Like to Ioues Eagle on Elizas hand.  
Guiana, whose rich fecte are mines of golde,  
Whose forehead knockes against the rooffe of Starres,  
Stands on her tip-toes at faire England looking,  
Kissing her hand, bowing her mightie breast,  
And euery signe of all submission making,  
To be her sister, and the daughter both  
Of our most sacred Maide: whose barrennesse  
Is the true fruite of vertue, that may get,  
Beare and bring forth anew in all perfection,  
What heretofore sauage corruption held  
In barbarous Chaos; and in this affaire  
Become her father, mother, and her heire.

Then most admired Soueraigne, let your breath  
Goe fourth vpon the waters, and create  
A golden world in this our yron age,  
And be the prosperous forewind to a Fleete,  
That seconding your last, may goe before it  
In all successe of profite and renowme:  
Doubt not but your election was diuine,  
(Aswell by Fate as your high iudgement ordred)  
To raise him with choise Bounties, that could adde  
Height to his height; and like a liberall vine,  
Not onely beare his vertuous fruite aloft,  
Free from the Presse of squint-eyd Enuies fecte,  
But decke his gracious Proppe with golden bunches,  
And shroude it with broad leaues of Rule oregrowne  
From all blacke tempests of inuasion.

Those Conquests that like generall earthquakes shooke  
The solid world, and made it fall before them,  
Built all their braue attempts on weaker grounds,  
And lesse perswasive likelihoods then this;  
Nor was there euer princely Fount so long

Pow'd forth a sea of Rule with so free course,  
 And such ascending Maiestie as you :  
 Then be not like a rough and violent wind,  
 That in the morning rends the Forrests downe,  
 Shoues vp the seas to heauen, makes earth to tremble,  
 And toombes his wastfull brauery in the Euen :  
 But as a riuer from a mountaine running,  
 The further he extends, the greater growes,  
 And by his thriftie race strengthens his streame,  
 Euen to ioyne battell with th'imperious sea  
 Disdayning his repulse, and in despight  
 Of his proud furie, mixeth with his maine,  
 Taking on him his titles and commandes :  
 So let thy soueraigne Empire be encreast,  
 And with Iberian Neptune part the stake,  
 Whose Trident he the triple world would make.

You then that would be wise in Wisdomes spight,  
 Directing with discredite of direction,  
 And hunt for honour, hunting him to death.  
 With whom before you will inherite gold,  
 You will loose golde, for which you loose your soules ;  
 You that chuse nought for right, but certaintie,  
 And feare that valour will get onely blowes,  
 Placing your faith in Incredulitie.  
 Sit till you see a wonder, Vertue rich :  
 Till Honour hauing golde, rob golde of honour,  
 Till as men hate desert that getteth nought,  
 They loath all getting that deserues not ought ;  
 And vse you gold-made men as dregges of men ;  
 And till your poysoned soules, like Spiders lurking  
 In sluttish chinckes, in mystes of Cobwebs hide  
 Your foggie bodies, and your dunghill pride

O Incredulitie, the wit of Fooles,  
 That sloenly will spit on all things faire,  
 The Cowards castle, and the Sluggards cradle  
 How easie t'is to be an Infidel ?

But you Patrician Spirites that refine  
 Your flesh to fire, and issue like a flame

On braue inducours, knowing that in them  
The tract of heauen in morne-like glory opens,  
That know you cannot be the Kings of earth,  
(Claiming the rights of your creation)  
And let the Mynes of earth be Kings of you ;  
That are so farre from doubting likely drifts,  
That in things hardest y'are most confident :  
You that know death liues, where power liues vnusde,  
Ioying to shine in waues that burie you,  
And so make way for life euen through your graues ;  
That will not be content like horse to hold  
A thread-bare beaten way to home affaires :  
But where the sea in enuie of your reigne,  
Closeth her wombe, as fast as t'is disclosede,  
That she like Auarice might swallow all,  
And let none find right passage through her rage :  
There your wise soules as swift as Eurus lead  
Your Bodies through, to profit and renowne,  
And skorne to let your bodies choke your soules,  
In the rude breath and prisoned life of beastes :  
You that herein renounce the course of earth,  
And lift your eyes for guidance to the starres,  
That liue not for yourselues, but to possesse  
Your honour'd countrey of a generall store ;  
In pitie of the spoyle rude selfe-loue makes,  
Of them whose liues and yours one ayre doth feede,  
One soile doeth nourish, and one strength combine ;  
You that are blest with sence of all things noble,  
In this attempt your compleat woorthes redouble.

~~But how is Nature at her heart corrupted,  
(I meane euen in her most ennobled birth)~~  
How in excesse of Sence is Sence bereft her !  
That her most lightening-like effects of lust  
Wound through her flesh, her soule, her flesh vnwounded ;  
And she must neede incitements to her good,  
Euen from that part she hurtes ! O how most like  
Art thou (heroike Autor of this Act)  
To this wrong'd soule of Nature, that sustainst  
Paine, charge, and perill for thy countreys good,  
And she must like a bodie numb'd with surfeits,

Feeles not thy gentle applications  
 For the health, vse, and honour of her powers !  
 Yet shall my verse through all her ease-lockt cares  
 Trumpet the Noblesse of thy high intent :  
 And if it cannot into act proceed,  
 The fault and bitter penance of the fault  
 Make red some others eyes with penitence,  
 For thine are cleare ; and what more nimble spirits,  
 Apter to byte at such vnhooked baytes,  
 Gaine by our losse ; that must we needs confesse  
 Thy princely valure would haue purchast vs.  
 Which shall be fame eternall to thy name,  
 Though thy contentment in thy graue desires,  
 Of our aduancement, faile deseru'd effect.  
 O how I feare thy glory which I loue,  
 Least it should dearely grow by our decrease.  
 Natures that sticke in golden-graueld springs,  
 In mucke-pits cannot scape their swallowings.

But we shall fourth I know ; Golde is our Fate,  
 Which all our actes doth fashion and create.

Then in the Thespiads bright Propheticke Fount,  
 Me thinks I see our Liege rise from her throne,  
 Her cares and thoughts in steepe amaze erected,  
 At the most rare endeuour of her power.  
 And now she blesseth with her woonted Graces  
 Th' industrious Knight, the soule of this exploit,  
 Dismissing him to conuoy of his starres.  
 And now for loue and honour of his woorth,  
 Our wise-borne Nobles bring him Bridegroome-like,  
 That is espoused for vertue to his loue  
 With feasts and musicke, rauishing the aire,  
 To his Argolian Fleet, where round about  
 His bating Colours English valure swarmes  
 In haste, as if Guianian Orenoque  
 With his Fell waters fell vpon our shore.  
 And now a wind as forward as their spirits,  
 Sets their glad feet on smooth Guianas breast,  
 Where (as if ech man were an Orpheus)  
 A world of Sauages fall tame before them,



Storing their theft-free treasures with golde,  
 And there doth plentie crowne their wealthie fields,  
 There Learning eates no more his thriftlesse bookes,  
 Nor Valure Estridge-like\* his yron armes.  
 There Beautie is no strumpet for her wants,  
 Nor Galique humours putrifie her blood :  
 But all our Youth take Hymens lights in hand,  
 And fill eche roofe with honor'd progenie.  
 There makes Societie Adamantine chaines,  
 And ioyns their hearts with wealth, whom wealth disioin'd.  
 There healthfull Recreations strow their meades,  
 And make their mansions daunce with neighbourhoode,  
 That here were down'd in churlish Auarice.  
 And there do Pallaces and temples rise  
 Out of the earth, and kisse th' enamored skies,  
 Where new Britannia humblic kneeles to heauen,  
 The world to her, and, both at her blest feet,  
 In whom the circles of all Empire meete.

G. C.

Ad Thomam Hariotum Matheseos, et vniuersæ Philosophiæ  
 peritissimum, de Guiana Carmen. Dat. Anno. 1595.

MONTibus est Regio, quasi muris, obsita, multis :  
 Circumsepit aquis quos Raleana suis.  
 Intus habet largos Guaiana recessus :  
 Hostili gestans libera colla iugo.  
 Hispanus cliuis illis sudauit, et alsit  
 Septem annos, nouies : nec tamen inualuit.  
 Numen, et omen inest numeris. Fatale sit illi :  
 Et nobis virtus sit recidiua, precor.  
 Gualterø patefacta via est duce et auspice Ralegh  
 Mense vno : ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem ?  
 Nocte diéq ; datis velis, remisque laborans,  
 Exegit summæ dexteritatis opus.  
 Scilicet expensis magnis non ille pepercit,  
 Communi natus consuluisse bono.  
 Prouidus excubuit simili discrimine Ioseph :  
 Sic fratres, fratrem deseruere suum :

\* Ostrich-like.

Fama coloratam designet sibona; vestem :  
 Vestis Scissa malis sic fuit illa modis.  
 Mira leges. Auresque animumque tuum arrige. Tellus  
 Hæc aurum, et gemmas graminis instar, habet.  
 Ver ibi perpetuum est : ibi prodiga terra quotannis  
 Luxuriat, sola fertilitate nocens.  
 Anglia nostra licet diues sit, et vndique sælix :  
 Anglia, si confers, indigna frugis erit.  
 Expertes capitum, volucres-piscesque ferâsq ;  
 Prætereo : haud prosunt, quæ nouitate, placent.  
 Est ibi, vel nusquam, quod quærimus. Ergo petamus :  
 Det Deus, hanc Canaan possideamus. Amen.  
 Tui Amantiss. L. K.

The second voyage to Guiana.

MVnday the 26. of January, in the yeere of our Lord 1596. we departed from Portland road, in the Darling of London, hauing in company the Discouerer, a small pinnesse, whom we lost at sea, in foule weather, the Thursday next following. Friday the 13. of February, wee fell with the Canarie Islands, where we expected our pinnesse, according to our appoyntment, seuen or eight dayes. Here we tooke two boats, the one a passenger, we bulged, the other wee towed at our shippe sterne, steering Southsouthwest for the Islands of Cape Verde. Therehence we set saile the 28. of Februarie, keeping a Westsouthwest course. In this passage wee found very smooth seas, faire weather, and steddie winds, blowing ordinarily betweene the East and Northeast poynts. Neere 30. leagues from these Islands, wee came into a growne sea, the swollen waters making a strange noise and hurtling together, as if it might be two strong currents encountring ech other. The 12 of March wee sounded, and had sandie ground in 47. fathome. At midnight in twelue fathom wee came to an anker, the ground sandie oaze. Sunday the 14. towards night, about some sixe leagues from the shore, wee descried a low land in the bottome of a bay. From the 9. of March vntill this time, we kept for the most part a Southsouthwest course. The water in this place is smooth, but muddie, and the colour red or tawny. From the Westernmost of the Cape Verde-Islands vnto this Bay I doe estimate the distance to be neere 550. leagues. It seemed to most of our

sea-men, to be the very banke of a shoald vpon a lee-shore: the rather because without it, in the cleane greene sea wee had but 7. fathome depth: but after by prooffe finding that there is no sudden alteration in any part of the coast, and that the sea is smoothest neere the land, we alwayes at night sought to anker in three or four fathome. And doubtlesse as the hand of God is woonderfull in all his workes: so herein his mercifull prouidence is most admirable, that vpon a <sup>A notable observation.</sup> lee-shore subiect vnto a perpetuall Easterly gale, neither much wind can endanger shipping, by reason that the foule heauie water is not capable of vehement motion; and the soft light oaze, if they touch, cannot bruise them: nor is there any ieopardie in beeing wind-bound, or imbyed:\* for the most forcible windes make the greatest flood-tides, whereby the freshets when they take their ordinarie course of ebbe, doe grow strong and swift, setting directly off to sea against the wind. Wee by turning went cleere of all Bayes: howbeit in this case, as also in the riuers, the vse of a droue sayle seemeth a good and readie helpe. The first place wherein wee ankered, was in the mouth of Arrowari, a faire great riuier. It standeth in one degree and fourtie minutes: for we fell so farre to the Southwardes by your lordships direction. The barre without hath at the least three fathome, at the shoaldest place, when it is lowe ebbe. The depth within is eight and tenne fathome. The water alwayes brackish. We found not any inhabitants in this place neere the sea coast. I omit here to recite the names of the nations that are borderers, their townes, Captaines and commodities that their countreyes doe yeelde, as also the soundings, tydes, and how the coast lyeth etc. thinking it fittest to reduce these disioyned and scattering remembrances to one place. As wee passed we alwayes kept the shore within viewe and stopped the floods, still ankering at night in three or foure fathome. When we came to the North headland of this Bay (which wee named Cape Cecyl) we sawe two high mountaines like two islands, but they ioyne with the mayne. In this tract lying Northnorthwest neere 60. leagues, there fall into the sea these seuerall great riuers, Arrowari, Iwaripoco, Maipari, Coanawini, Caipurogh. Wee ankered in two fathome not farre from these hilles, and filled all our caske with fresh water by the shippe side, for in the sea

\* Embayed.

thirtie miles from the mouth of any riuer it is fresh and good. This second Bay extendeth it selfe about thirtie leagues to the Westward, and containeth within it these riuers Arcooa, Wiapoco, Wanari, Caparwacka, Cawo, Caian, Wia, Macuria, Cawroor, Curassawini. Here leauing the ship at anker, I tooke into the boate John Prouost, my Indian Interpreter, John Linsey, and eight or nine others, intending to search some of these riuers, and to seeke speech with the Indians. In Wiapoco, at the foote of the Eastermost mountaine, where the riuer falleth into the sea, wee found twentie or thirtie houses, but not inhabited. Wee stayed there but one night. Wanari we ouerpassed, because the entrance is rockie and not deepe. In Caperwacka we sailed some fourtie miles, but could see no Indian. At one of their portes vnder the side of a hill, wee tooke in so much Brasill wood as our boate could carrie. Amongst other trees we cut downe one for an example, which I doe verily beleue to be the same sort of sinamon, which is found in the streights of Magellan. From Caperwacka wee passed to Cawo, and there met with a Canoa, wherein were two Indians. It was long time before wee could procure them to come neere vs, for they doubted least wee were Spanish. When my interpreter had perswaded them the contrarie, and that wee came from England, they without farther speech or delay, brought vs to Wareo their Captaine, who entertained vs most friendly, and then at large declared vnto vs, that hee was lately chased by the Spaniards from Moruga, one of the neighbour riuers to Raleana, or Orenoque: and that hauing burnt his owne houses, and destroyed his frutes and gardens, hee had left his countrey and townes to bee possessed by the Arwacas, who are a vagabound nation of Indians, which finding no certaine place of abode of their owne, doe for the most part serue and follow the Spanyards. Hee shewed mee that he was of the nation of the Ioas, who are a mightie people, and of a late time were Lords of all the sea coast so farre as Trinidad, which they likewise possessed. Howbeit, that with a generall consent, when the Spaniards first began to borrow some of their wiues, they all agreed to change their habitation, and doe now liue vnited for the most part towards the riuer of Amazonas. But the especial cause of his present remooue was, because two or three yeeres past, twentie Spaniards came to his towne, and sought to take his best wife from him: but before they carried her away, hee at time and place of aduantage killed halfe of

them: the rest fledde, most of them sore hurt. Now in this case hee thought it best to dwell farre ynough from them. Your Indian pilot Ferdinando, who conducted you by Amana, and now abideth neere the head of Dessekebe, is one of this mans subjects: By whom (as it may seeme) hee hath taken good notice of our princesse and countrey. For hee descended more particularly to inquire what forces were come with vs, assuring me of the Spaniards beeing in Trinidad, and that the Indians our friendes betwixt hope and feare, haue earnestly expected our returne from England these foure or fiue moneths. When I had answered him, that at our departure we left no Spaniards alieue to annoy them; that we now came only to discover, and trade with them; and that if her Maiestie should haue sent a power of men, where no enemie was to resist, the Indians might perhaps imagine, that wee came rather to inuade, then to defend them: He replied, that this course very wel sorted with the report which they had heard of our Princesse iustice, rare graces, and vertues: the fame of whose power in beeing able to vanquish the Spaniards, and singular goodnesse in vndertaking to succour and defend the afflicted Indians, was now so generall, that the nations farre and neere were all agreed to ioyne with vs, and by all meanes possible to assist vs in expelling and rooting out the Spaniards from all parts of the land: and that we were deceiued, if wee thought this countrey not large ynough to receiue vs, without molestation or intrusion vpon the Indians, who wanted not choise of dwelling places, if they forsooke one to liue in another: but stooode in neede of our presence at all times to ayde them, and maintaine their libertie, which to them is deerer then land or liuing. He then farther desired, that he with his people might haue our fauour against the Arwaccas, who not being content to enioy their groundes and houses, had taken from them many of their wiues and children, the best of whose fortune was, if they liued, to liue in perpetuall slauerie vnder the Spaniards. Wee put him in good hope and comfort thereof. And hee to deserue some part of this friendship, commended vnto vs an elderly man to be our Pilote in bringing vs to Raleana. When we were ready to depart, he demanded whether we wanted any Vrapo, which is the wood, that is vsually carried from these parts to Trinidad in Canoas, and is there sold to the French for trade:

Ferdinando  
the Indian  
pilote of sir  
Walter  
Raleigh.

he offered, if we would bring our ship neere his port, to put in her lading thereof. But because most of our caske was not yron bound, and in making stowage way to remoue it, would haue bene the losse of our Sider and other drinke; I therefore referred the taking of any quantity to fitter opportunitie; thinking it sufficient at this time, to haue only my boats lading thereof: which afterwards in extremitie of foule weather, before we could get aboard our ship, wee were inforced in a darke night to heaue all ouerboard: thinking our selues happy, to haue recouered thither at seuen dayes ende, with safetie of life onely. All which time we could no where set foote on shore, but rested day and night wet and weatherbeaten in our courtlesse boate, which was sometimes ready to sinke vnder vs. For wee had in this place without comparison more raine, wind, and gustes, then elsewhere at any time. To be briefe, my men became weaké and sicke, and if wee had stayed any longer time out, I doubt whether the greatest part of vs had euer come aboard againe. I afterwards vnderstood by my Indian pilot, that this weather is for most part of the yēere vsuall, neere the Island Oncaiarie, which lyeth North from the riuer Capurwacka some sixe leagues into the sea: and that they hold opinion how

<sup>Vnseasonable</sup> this Island is kept by some euill spirit: for they  
<sup>weatherabout</sup> verily beleuee, that to sleepe in the day time neere  
<sup>the Isle of</sup> it (except it be after much drinke) is present death.  
<sup>Oncaiarie.</sup>

The only season wherein little raine doth fal there, is (as I gathered by their speech, they diuiding all times by their Moones) at our Winter Solstice. The mother-wind of this coast is for the most part to the Northward of the East, except when the Sunne is on this side of the Equinoctiall, for then it often veares Southerly, but most in the night. This our guid is of the Iaos, who doe al marke themselues, thereby to bee known from other nations after this maner. With the tooth of a small beast like a Rat, they race some their faces, some their bodies, after diuers formes, as if it were with the scratch of a pin, the print of which rasure can neuer bee done away againe during life. When he had sometime conuersed with our Indians, that went from England with vs, hee became willing to see our countrey. His sufficience, trustinesse, and knowledge is such, that if the pretended voyage for Guiana doe take place, you shall (I doubt not) find him many wayes able to steed your Lordship in your designes and purposes. For besides his precise knowledge of all

the coast, and of the Indian townes and dwellings, he speaketh all their languages, was bred in Guiana, is a sworne brother to Putima, who slewe the Spaniards in their returne from Manao, can direct vs to many golde mines, and in nothing will vndertake more, then hee assuredly will performe.

To the Westward this Bay hath many good roads vnder small Islands, whereof the greatest named Gowateri, is inhabited by the Shebaios: and besides the plenty of foule, fish, fruits, wilde porks and deere, which are there to be had, where Caiane\* falles into the sea, (for it standeth in the mouthes of Wia and Caiane) it yeeldes safe and good harbour in foure and fiue fathome for ships of great burthen. On all that coast we found not any like it: wee therefore honoured this place by the name of Port Howard. The road vnder Triangle Islands, <sup>Port Howard otherwise called Gowateri.</sup> which are the Westermost from the rest and stand in fiue degrees, which haue also store of fish, foule, deere and Iwanas, is good, but not comparable with this other, where in all windes and weather, shippes, though they be many, may all ride securely. The hills and high lands are limits to this bay on ech side: for to the Eastward beyond it appeare none at all, and to the Westward of mount Hobbeigh very few. Where the mountaines faile, there Brasill wood is no farther to bee sought for: but in all parts cotton, pepper, silke, and Balsamum trees doe grow in abundance. The rootes of the herbe Wiapassa are here most plentifull: I finde them in taste nothing different from good ginger, and in operation very medicinable against the flixe and headach. These riuers, as also others neerer Raleana, doe all fall out of the plaines of this empire ouer rocks, as the riuier Caroli doeth into Raleana: and in most places within the vtmost hedge of woods, the land within is plaine, voyd of trees, and beareth short grasse like Arromaiaries country.

Next adjoining vnto these, are the riuers Cunanamma, Vracco, Mawara, Mawarparo, Amonna, Marawini, Oncowi, Wiawiami, Aramatappo, Camaiwini, Shurinama, Shurama, Cupanamma, Inana, Guritini, Winitwara, Berbice, Wapari, Maicaiwini, Mahawaica, Wappari, Lemdrare, Dessekebe, Caopui, Pawrooma, Moruga, Waini, Barima, Amacur, Aratoori, Raleana.† From Cape Cecyl to Raleana, the coast trendeth two hundred leagues

\* This is the Cayenne River, and the Island referred to below would then be Wakenaam.

† The Orenoque.

next hand Westnorthwest. In this varietie of goodly riuers, Amogna among the rest powreth himselfe into the sea in a large and deepe chanell: his swiftnesse suffereth no barre, nor refuseth any shipping of what burthen soeuer they be: within his mouth for good and hopefull respectes is port Burley placed. The inhabitants that dwell Eastward, doe neuer passe lower then Berbice to trade. Aboue Curitini in the woods they gather great quantities of hony. Farther to the Eastward then Dessekebe, no Spaniard euer trauelled. In which respect, and that no sea card that I haue seene at any time, doth in any sort neere a trueth, describe this coast: I thought the libertie of imposing English names to certaine places of note, of right to belong vnto our labours; the rather because occasion thereby offereth it selte gratefully to acknowledge the honour due vnto them that haue bene, and I hope will still continue faouurers of this enterprize. The Indians to shew the worthinesse of Dessekebe (for it is very large and full of Islands in the mouth) doe call it the brother of Orenoque. It lyeth Southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it vnto the head, they passe in twentie dayes journey: then taking their prouision they carrie it on their shoulders one dayes journey: afterwards they returne for their Canoas, and beare them likewise to the side of a lake, which the Iaos call Roponowini, the Charibes, Parime: which is of such bignesse, that they know no difference betweene it and the maine sea.

The great lake whereon Manoa or El Dorado standeth.

There be infinite numbers of Canoas in this lake, and (as I suppose) it is no other then that, whereon Manoa standeth: In this riuer, which we now call Deuoritia, the Spaniards doe intend to build them a towne. In Moruga it was, that they hunted Wareo and his people, about halfe a yere since. Arromaiarie, wh

In September. wan so great credit by ouerthrowing the Tiuituas of Amana, and making free the passage of that riuer (but now againe liueth in disgrace, by reason that the Charibes of Guanipa haue killed most of his followers, and burnt his townes) was present with them, and tooke away many of the women of that

This Spaniard place. Arracurri, another Indian of the nation of vnderstandeth the Arwaccas inhabiting in Barima, was likewise present, and conducted the Spaniards to all the Indian dwellings. They were not of Anthonie de Berreo his companie, that followed this chase, but were the Spaniards of Margarita, and the Caraccas,

the Guianian language, and is reputed a very sufficient man.



with whom Santiago forsaking his gouverneur Berreo, ioyned himselfe. For which fact he now lyeth in fetters at Trinidad, every day expecting sentence of death. The occasion hereof grew as followeth.

When Berreo, hauing lost his men, was left with Fasshardo at Cumana all alone, as forlorne, and neuer likely to compasse his intended conquest of Guiana: the gouernours of the Caraccas, and Margarita consulting together, sent with all speede into Spaine, to aduertise their king, that Berreo was viterly vnable to follow this enterprise, that he had giuen it ouer, and did now soorne in his old dayes at Fasshardo his house, minding nothing else but his solace, and recreation. They farther declared, of how great importance this matter was: and that an English gentleman of such reckoning, as they named your lordship to be, hauing bene in Guiana, and vnderstanding so much of the state thereof, and the nations thereunto adioyning, as Topiwarie, being both olde and wise, could informe you of, who also in confirmation of friendship, had giuen you his onely sonne, to whome the inheritance of the countrey did belong after him: there was no other likelihood, but that you, who aduentured so farre, and in such sort as you did, onely to see, and knowe a certainty, would leaue nothing vnattempted to possesse so rich a countrey, and without all doubt would returne presently. That meane time, you had left this aged Sire aliue, to bee a blocke in their way, to whom after his decease, this enterprise by patent did belong, and to bee a weake aduersarie against your selfe, whom at all times you knew easily how to distresse: and that therefore it might bee behouefull for his maiestie to reuoke Berreo his grant, and to vse their seruice, who were readie and willing without any delay to vndertake the charge. These newes being at large amplified and deliuered to the king: Domingo de Vera, Berreo his Camp-master, who was sent into Spaine, siue moneths before your arriuall at Trinidad, with a sufficient quantitie of go'd gotten out of Guiana, to leuie and furnish 500. men, hauing gotten knowledge of this practise, so solicited this cause in Berreo his behalfe, that present order was giuen for the victualling and manning of tenne ships to be sent to Berreo: and farther, this gold bore such waignt, that the king commanded other 18 of his ships to stop at Trinidad, and not to follow their other directions, before they saw that place secured from enemies.

Berreio supposing that these gouernours in sending with such speede into Spaine, meant him no good; to approue his care and constancie, and that he neuer would yeelde vnder the burthen of his aduerse fortune; giuing no time or breath to his aduersaries nor himselfe; returned foorthwith to Carapana his port, onely with fiftene men, being the scattered remnant of those whom you lately dispossessed of Trinidad. These gouernours followed him, and assuring themselues of present imployment from their king, preoccupating the time of their directions to bee returned from Spaine, entered Guiana with their men, with full determination to murder Berreo, and to dispatch all his company. They indeed killed two or three, but Berreo fledde towards Caroli, where hee stayed hoping for succour from his sonne Antonie de Ximenes, to come downe the riuier from Nueuo Reyno de Granada. The Margaritanes with their accomplices busied themselues, some in searching the countrey, others in purueying of victuals out of the riuers that doe lie Eastward, of which number these were, that entred into Moruga with twentie Canoas. Santiago passed vp into Topiawaries countrey, and there tooke Francis Sparrowe sir George Gifford his man prisoner, who with plentie of gold ransomed his life, and is now abiding in Cumana. This done, they all returned to Trinidad, and beganne to builde their towne there, when vnhappyly to their small comfort the eight and twentie sayles arriued, and tooke Santiago prisoner. The other Actors in this Enterlude vanished, and in Canoas recouered Margarita and Cumana againe. Eighteene of the said ships leauing all things in good order, departed from Trinidad to follow their other directions: ten doe yet remaine fortifying at Conquerabia, and expecting our comming.

Francis  
Sparrow  
taken  
prisoner.

This particular relation I had from an Indian, seruant to Berreo, that could speake Spanish, whom I tooke in the riuier. He is of the nation of the Iaos, and from a child bred vp with Berreo. I gaue him trade to buy him a Canoa to returne into his countrey, and so left him glad, that hee had met with vs.

Now the Indians of Moruga being chased from their dwellings, doe seeke by all meanes possible to accord all the nations in one, so to inuade the Arwaccas who were guides to the Spaniards, in showing their townes, and betraying them. For they are fully perswaded, that by driuing these Arwaccas, who serue the Spaniards (for a great part of this nation doth also hate, or not

know them) out of their territories, and Trinidad, the Spaniards for want of bread, will bee enforced to seeke habitation farther off, or at the least in time consume and be wasted.

The 6. day of Aprill we came to an anker within the mouth of the riuer Raleana, hauing spent twentie and three dayes in discouerie vpon this coast. The channell of this riuer hath sixe or seuen fathome depth, nine or ten miles off at sea, the barre lyeth farther out, and at low water hath not full two fathome. It highes not aboue fise foote, except at a spring tyde. Wee ankered in ten fathome the first night: the next morning twelue Canoas came vnto vs, furnished and prouided of victuals after their maner for the warres. Their Captaines names were Anwara, and Aparwa. These Cassiques, when the Spaniards made the last inrode in those parts, were in the inland amongst the Iwarawakeri their neighbours, by which occasion hauing lost some of their wiues (for notwithstanding their profession of Christianitie, some of these Spaniards keepe ten or twelue women, thinking themselues wel and surely blessed, howsoeuer they liue, if their towne and houses be religiously crossed) they kept together 30. Canoas, hoping at our comming which they had now long expected to recouer this losse vpon them and the Arwaccas, who in their absence had done this wrong. They shewed me of this their purpose, and required to be ioyned in league of friendship with vs against our enemies. When of them I had learned so much of the present estate of the cuntry, as they did know: they demanded whether we had brought no more forces with vs, but onely one ship? I answered them as before I did the others, that wee now came only to trade, not knowing vntil this present that any Spaniards were in Guiana; that vpon our returne our whole fleete will hasten to set forwardes, and that in the meane time, wee would now visite our friendes, and helpe them so farre as wee could in any thing that wee should finde needefull presently to bee done. After long discourse (for their chiefe man stayed with mee all night) when hee had caused mee to spit in my right hand, with many other ceremonies which they vse in confirming friendshippe, hee went to the shoare, and one of his Canoas hee sent to bring forwardes the other twentie: one other hee caused to goe vp the riuer before vs, to bring intelligence. Then calling together the chiefe of his companie, they made small fyers, and sitting in

They anker  
within Rale-  
ana or  
Orenoque.

Spanish  
Paganisme.

their Hamacas, or Indian beddes, each one sorted himselfe with his companion, recounting amongst themselues the worthiest deedes, and deaths of their Ancestours, execrating their enemies most despitefully, and magnifying their friendes with all titles of prayes and honour, that may bee deuised. Thus they sitte talking, and taking Tobacco some two houres, and vntill their pipes bee all spent (for by them they measure the time of this their solemne conference) no man must interrupt, or disturbe them in any sort: for this is their religion, and prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a precise fast one whole day, in honour of the great Princess of the North, their Patronesse and defender. Their Canoas being made ready, they accompanied vs, and in their way shewed vs, where the shoaldes of the riuer doe lye. By this Captaine I learned that Muchikeri is the name of the Countrey where Macuregueraï the first towne of the Empire of Guiana, that lyeth towardes Raleana, is seated in a fayre and exceeding large plaine, below the high mountaines, that beare Northwesterly from it, that it is but three dayes iourney distant from Carapana his Porte, and that Manoa is but sixe dayes farther. That they themselues doe passe in three dayes into the Countrey of the Iwarewakeri by the Riuer Amacur, which though it bee not the directest, yet it is the readiest way to Macureguarai, for that which leadeth to Carapana his dwelling, is in some places difficult, and mountainous. That a nation of clothed people, called Cassanari, doe dwell not farre from the place, where the Riuer doeth first take the name of Orenoque, and that farre within, they border vpon a Sea of salt water, named Parime. That a great Riuer, called Macurwini, passeth through their Countrey into Orenoque. That Manao standeth twentie dayes iourney from the mouth Wiapoco: sixteene dayes from Barima, thirteene dayes from Amacur, and tenne dayes from Aratoori. That the best way vnto it, is not by Macuregueraï. That of all others the Charibes that dwell high vp in Orenoque, knowe most the inlande, and of those nations, and they speake no other language, then such as Iohn your Interpreter doeth well vnderstand. Hee certified mee of the headlesse men, and that their mouthes in their breastes are exceeding wide. The name of their nation in the Charibes language is Chiparemai, and the Guianians call them Ewiapanomos. What I haue heard of a sorte of people more monstrous,

I omit to mention, because it is no matter of difficultie to get one of them, and the report otherwise will appeare fabulous. Lastly hee tolde mee of an Inland Riuer, named Cawrooma, adioyning to Aratoori, and that the Quepyn mountaines, where Carapana dwelleth, are hardly accessible. That the Amapagotos haue images of gold of incredible bignesse, and great store of vnmanned horses of the Caracas breed? and they dwell fve dayes iourney vp the Riuer about Caroli. Wee with our fleete of Canoas were now not farre from Carapanas Port, when our intelligencer returned and informed vs that tenne Spaniardes were lately gone with much trade to Barima, where these Indians dwelt, to buy Gassau bread; and that within one day two other Canoas of Spaniards were appointed to come by the Riuer Amana, to Carapana his Port.

They haue eminent heads like dogs, and liue all the day time in the sea; they speake the Charibes language.

Vpon this occasion they tooke counsell, and in the ende desired to returne to their houses, least the Spaniardes finding them from home, and imagining that they did purposely absent themselues, shoulde take away their wiues and spoyle their dwellings. They farther resolued if it were possible to cut them off: which afterwarde they did perfourme. For when they were dispersed in their houses seeking Cassau, suddenly at one time, in all places they were assaulted, and not one of them escaped. Carapana, whose hand was in laying this plot, sent vs this newes, as wee returned downe the Riuer. The two other Canoas that came from Trinidad by Amana, notwithstanding that wee kept a league before the shippe with our boates, sawe the shippe before wee had sight of them, and presently with all speede went to Berreo to aduertize him of our comming. Hee forthwith dispatched two or three messengers to Trinidad. One of his Canoas mette with our spie, whome the Indians of Barima had left to goe with vs: they rifled him of his victuals, gaue him kniues, and dismissed him.

In eight dayes sayling still before a winde, wee arriued at Topiawaries Porte, in all which time no Indian that wee knew came abourd vs. For the time of our returne promised at your Lordshippes departure from thence being expired; they in dispaire seuered themselues amongst the other nations. Here the Spaniardes haue seated their Rancheria of some twentie or thirtie houses. The high rockie Island, that lyeth in the midst of the Riuer, against the mouth of Caroli, is their Forte

or refuge, when they misdoubt safetie in their towne, or hauing notice of any practise against them : but now leauing both towne and Island, they ioyned themselues together, and returning to the mouth of Riuer Caroli, placed there a secret ambush, to defend the passage to those mines, from whence your Oare and white stones were taken the last yeere : Wee all not without grieffe to see ourselues thus defeated, and our hungry hopes made voyde, were witnesses of this their remooue. As we road at ancor within musket shot of their Towne, an Indian came vnto vs with lean cheeks, thinne haire, and a squint eye, to informe vs that they were very strong, that Berreo his sonne was with him, that they had but two small Pinnisses at Trinidad, which they dayly looked for to come vp the Riuer, and lastly to viewe our shippe well, and our prouisions, but especially to learne whether Gualtero, Topiawarie his sonne were with vs.

This informers very countenance gaue him to bee suspected, and therefore partlie by threatning, partlie by promise of rewarde wee wonne him to confesse the trueth. Which hee did, assuring vs that Berreo had not full fiftie fise men with him, whereof twentie came lately from Triuidad, twentie from Nueuo Reyno, and the rest hee brought with him about five moneths since, when hee fledde from Carapana his Porte, and was driuen with his small companie to keepe the aforesaide Island neere Caroli. And that though nowe his number is thus increased yet dareth hee not aduenture at any time to leaue the fast woodes, and to goe but halfe a league from his holde into the plaines. That some fewe of the Arwaccas are abiding with him. That hee dayly looketh for his sonne from Nueuo Reyno, for his Campe-master from Trinidad, and for horses from the Caraccas. That Topiawarie is dead : the Indians of that coast all fledde, and dispersed, excepting the sonne of one Curmatoi, and another woman of account, whome the Spaniardes holde prisoners, for consenting to the death of their nine men, and the holy Fryer in Morekito his time. This Curmatoi is fledde towardes Guanipa, and is a man of speciall note amongst the Indians. That

Topiawarie  
his sonne.

Iwiakanarie Gualtero his neere kinsman, hath helde the Countrey to his vse, by his fathers appointment, euer since your being in the Riuer. That there are tenne ships, and many Spaniardes at Trinidad. That the Indians our friendes did feare, least you with your company were all slaine, and your shippes sunke at Cumanã (for so the Spaniardes noysed

it amongst them,) that some of Gualtero his friends with Putijma, were in the mountaines not farre from the hill Aio. And that Berreo had sent for sixe peeces of ordinance, which he meant to plant, where they might best command the Riuer.

When wee had stayed here two dayes, considering that where no hope was left of doing good, to abide there in harmes way doing nothing, would be bootlesse : I resolved to seeke Putijma in the mountaines : and turning downe the Riuer with the force of the streame some twentie miles in sixe houres : the next morning with ten shot I went ashoare, intending if the Indians should thinke themselues too weake, with our helpe to displant the Spaniards : to set some of them on worke, for hatchets and kniues to returne vs golde graines, and white stones from such places, as they should be directed vnto. When wee came to the place of their vsuall abode ; wee sawe that they lately had bene there, but could speake with none of them. It may be that feare (which is easie of beliefe) perswaded them that we were Spaniards. Gilbert my Pilot here offered to bring vs either to the myne of white stones neere Winicapora, or else to a gold myne, which Putijma had shewed him, being but one dayes journey ouerland, from the place where we now stayed at an ancor. I sawe farre off the mountaine adioyning to this gold myne, and hauing measured their pathes neere the same place this last yeere, could not iudge it to bee fiftene miles from vs. I doe well remember howe comming that way with Putijma the yeere before, he pointed to this same mountaine, making signes to haue me goe with him thither. I vnderstood his signes and marked the place, but mistooke his meaning, imagining that he would haue shewed mee the ouerfall of the Riuer Curwara from the mountaines. My Indian shewed me in what sort without digging they gather the gold in the sand of a small riuer, named Macawini, that springeth and falleth from the rockes where this myne is. And farther tolde me, that hee was with Putijma, at what time Morekito was to be executed by the Spaniards, and that then the chiefe of Morekito his friends were in consultation, to shewe this myne vnto them if so they might redeeme their Captaines life, but vpon better aduise, supposing them in this case to bee implacable, and that this might prooue a meanes to loose not onely their king, but their Countrey also : they haue to this day concealed it from them, being of all others the richest

and most plentiful. The aged sort to keepe this from common knowledge, haue deuised a fable of a dangerous Dragon that haunteth this place and deuoureth all that come neere it. But our Indian, if when we returne, we doe bring store of strong wine (which they loue beyond measure) with it will vndertake so to charme this Dragon, that he shall doe vs no harme.

I, that for this ende came from home, and in this iourney had taken much more paines to lesse purpose, would very gladly from this mountaine haue taken so good a prooffe to witnes my being in the Countrey: but withall considering that not one Indian of our knowne friends came unto vs: that Don Iuan the cousin of Gualtero, who liueth here a reuolt from the Spaniard, was now in election to bee chiefe commander of all the Indian forces in these partes, cannot in pollicie, for Gualtero his sake, whose inheritance hee sought to vsurpe, bee a fast friend vnto vs: that the Spaniardes abiding in Winicapora (for there were tenne) might well before wee could doe any thing, and returne, cause some others of Berreo his men to ioyne with them, in the way to intercept vs: and forethinking withall, that there being no meanes but our selues, to make knowne our discouerie, if wee returned not; in our misfortune the hope of following this voyage would bee buried: but besides all this, and the respect of such spyals, as the Spaniardes kept to obserue our dooings, foreknowing that if the enemie should by our lingring, stop our passage, which in one or two places of aduantage, fewe of them might easilie doe: it would bee a question howe with our shippe to get out of the Riuer, except first wee could remooue them: I thought it best (all other possibilities set apart) to seeke in time to bee free from the hazard of the aforesaid euill passages.

Whilest wee were searching at the shoare for the Indians, my Barge tooke a Canoa, with three men in her: the one a seruant to Berreo, (as before is mentioned) the other two marchants of Cassai. They had a letter sent from the Gouvernour to bee conueied to Trinidad, which I receiued. There was also a great hatchet, and twentie kniues, wherewith this Indian seruant should buy a Canoa, and hire Indians to cary her vp the Riuer towards

Nueuo Reyno. This Canoa forsooth with foure other were to be sent to bring downe Berreo his sonne with all his forces, which nowe haue bene, I thinke, full three years in preparing. If fiue such boats be

The small  
forces of  
Ximenes.



sufficient to conuoy him, his men and al: their prouision: it may seeme, hee commeth with no great strength.

This seruant as hee was a man of especiall trust, and neere Berreo: so appeared hee to haue some insight in his proceedings. He shewed mee that the Indians, who with these kniues should be hired, were to passe vp so high, as where some of the Cassanari doe dwell in small villages. That Berreo his purpose was, when they came thither to leaue them there, and make them officers ouer the other Indians: and in their places some of the Cassanari should returne, who likewise should be made Iustices and Constables ouer them of Guiana: that from Trinidad he meant to remoue most of the olde inhabitants, that would be tractable; and interpose them amongst the Cassanarians of Guiana, and the Guianians of the Cassanari. That the Arwaccas should wholly possesse Trinidad, and the riuer side of Raleana. That they already were prouided of threescore Negros, to worke the mynes in these places. And that by this meanes Berreo hoped to keepe these seuerall nations in mutual enmitie each against other, all to serue his turne, and neuer to become strong, or likeiy to ioyne themselues against him. He farther shewed me, that Topiawary, soone after our departure from the riuer, fledde into the mountaines, carying Hugh Godwyn with him, and leauing a Substitute in his Countrey, as aforesaide: and that the next newes they heard of him was, that hee was dead, and the English boy eaten by a Tyger. That the Spaniardes beleeeue neither the one nor the other. That about the ende of Iune, when the Riuer shall be impassable, the tenne shippes shall depart from Trinidad. And that Berreo euer since his comming to Guiana, hath spent his time altogether in purueying of victuals, whereof there is such scarsitie, by reason that the Indians forsaking their houses, haue not this halfe yeere planted any of their grounds, so that the Spaniards are inforced to seeke their bread farre off, and content themselues to liue with litle.

In sayling vp the Riuer, wee passed by Toparimacko his Port, which in one place is very shoalde, the chanell lying close aboard the shore. Wee returned therefore another way by the maine riuer on the South side: this branch wee found large, deepe, and without danger. When wee were come neere Carapana his Port, hee sent fiewe or six seuerall Canoas, promising

This transplanting of Indians is worthy of consideration.

this day and the next, that hee would come and speake with vs. Thus wee lingred sixe or seuen dayes, but hee came not. In the ende hee sent one of his aged followers, to certifie vs, that hee was sicke, olde, and weake: that the wayes neere his dwelling are not easie: and that therefore he desired vs to holde him excused for not comming. This olde man dilated vnto vs, that Carapana in hope of our returne, hath euer since your Lordshippes being in that Countrey, kept the mountaines, where the Spaniardes can hardly any way inforce him; that they haue taken from him and his people many of their wiues, because they refused to furnish them weekely with a certaine proportion of bread and victuals: that Don Iuan otherwise called Eparacano hath the commandement of all his subiects, excepting onely a choise garde of men sufficient to keepe the place hee nowe dwelleth in. That it repenteth him of his ambition, euer to haue sought by the Spaniardes meanes, to haue enlarged his Countreys and people. For true it is, that from the beginning hee was a Lorde of no other then ordinary power amongst them, vntill hee had entered into friendshippe with Berreo: for then the Indians on all sides left some their habitations, and manie their commanders to become his subiectes, that they might haue the priuiledge to trade with the Spaniardes for hatchets and kniues, which are iewels of great price amongst them: that hee nowe sawe no other choise, but that the Indians must, if they will doe well, without farther dissembling of their necessitie, either entertaine vs their friendes, or else giue place to the Spaniardes their enemies. For the plentie of golde that is in this countrey, beeing nowe knowen and discouered, there is no possibilitie for them to keepe it: on the one side they coulde feele no greater miserie, nor feare more extremitie, then they were sure to finde, if the Spaniardes preuayled, who perforce doe take all things from them, vsing them as their slaues, to runne, to rowe, to bee their guides, to cary their burthens, and that which is worst of all, to bee content, for safetie of their liues, to leaue their women, if a Spaniard chance but to set his eye on any of them to fancie her: on the otherside they could hope for, nor desire no better state and vsage, then her Maiesties gracious government, and Princely vertues doe promise, and assure vnto them. For sayde hee, the other yeere, when wee fledde into the mountaines, and measured your doings by the Spaniards in like case, we made no other account, but that your

Commander being able, as hee was, would doubtlesse haue persecuted vs to the vttermost, as the onely maintainers and supporters of your enemies, and would at the least, if hee could not reach vs, take our Townes, and make vs ransome our wiues and children: wee found it farre otherwise, and that none of your well gouerned companie durst offer any of vs wrong or violence, no not by stealth, when unknowne they might haue done it. We then beleeuing it to bee true, that your grand Captaine reported of his Princesse, tooke this for a good proofof her royall commandement and wisdom, that had framed her subiectes to such obedience, and of your happinesse, that inioyed the benefite thereof: that Carapana weighing Carapana a great Lord bordering vpon Guiana craueth her Maiesties protection. the good and friendly course of our proceedings, doeth humbly craue of her Maiestie for himselfe and his people, that with the rest of the Indians, which wholly depende on her Princely regarde towardes them, hee also may inioy her fauourable protection: that hee doeth this, not as a man left vnto himselfe and forsaken by the Spaniardes, but as one that knoweth their iniustice, hateth their cruelties, and taketh it for his best choise, vtterly to disclaime their friendshippe. It may bee pertinent (as surely it is a thing worth the noting) to consider howe this president of your moderation and good order, which to vs seemeth a matter but of small and ordinarie respect, hath both alienated their heartes altogether from the Spaniard, and stirred vp in them true loue and admiration thereof. For as gouernement is the onely bond of common societie: so to men lawlesse, that each one to another are, *Omnes hoc iure molesti, quo fortes*: To men, I say, that liue in dayly tumultes, feares, doubttes, suspitions, barbarous cruelties, neuer sleeping secure, but alwayes either drunke, or practising one anothers death: to such men as these bee, who wanting discipline, iustice and good order to confirme them in a quiet and peaceable course of liuing, knowing not where to finde it: the sence and sweetnesse thereof is as the dewe of Hermen: it is as the Harmonie of a well tuned Instrument: to bee briefe, it carieth in it selfe not onely a due and worthy commendation; but is auaylable without stroke striking to gaine a kingdome For the Indians in all partes within and neere Guiana, doe offer their seruice, and promise to prouide victuall, and what else their countrey yeeldeth, desiring onely that some force of men may remaine with them, to deliuer them from oppression and

tyrannie. And nowe by generall consent (though hatchets and kniues bee the onely things of request and vsefull vnto them) they haue agreed by no meanes to trade with the Spaniard for any thing.

Farther this old man shewed mee, whence most of their golde commeth, which is formed in so many fashions: whence their Spleene-stones, and others of al sorts are to be had in plentie: where golde is to bee gathered in the sandes of their riuers: from what partes the Spaniards, both by trade, and otherwise, haue returned much gold. This he vttered with Carapana his consent (I doubt not) hoping thereby to induce vs to returne againe. For contrarie to their lawe of secrecie, which in this case they doe all generally obserue, sharply punishing the breakers thereof, as enemies vnto their natiue Countrey: I found this man no whit scrupulous, but very free and liberall of speech in all things.

And because we might knowe, that wee should not want handes or helpe, in this or any other our enterprises, if perhaps wee should finde cause to passe vp to the head of this Riuer: hee declared that the Spaniards haue no Indians to trust vnto but some of the Arwaccas, which since they were not many, could bee but of small force; That the Charibes of Guanipa, the Ciawannas amongst the Tiuitiuas, the Shebaios, Iaos, Amai-pagotos, Cassipagotos, Parpagotos, Samipagotos, Serowos, Etai-guinams, Cassamari, with the rest of the nations farre and neere, were all ready, on what side soeuer the Spaniards shall stirre, to fight against them: that the Ptriagotos, through whose countrey they must first passe, are alone sufficient to encounter them, such is the strength of their countrey, and the valure of the men. The Indians holde opinion, that they are notable sorcerers, and inuulnerable. In the mountaines where they dwell, white stones are found of such hardnesse, that by no arte or meanes they can bee pierced; they imagine that these Pariagotos become inuulnerable, by eating these stones. The fable omitted, happily they may prooue good Diamonds.

Then he shewed howe the Iwarewakeri haue nourished grasse in all places, where passage is, these three yeeres, and that it is at this present so high, as some of the trees: which they meane to burne, so soone as the Spaniard shall bee within danger thereof. Lastly, hee shewed mee that Wariarimagoto the Emperours chiefe Captaine for those partes, hath gathered together

many thousandes of the Epuremei, to keepe the borders of the Empire; and that hee lay now on the South side of the mountaines, some one dayes journey or little more from the Spaniard. To be short, hee certified mee, that they all were resolved not to seeke vpon them (for indeede they feare their shot) but to defend their owne, and to expect our comming. In the meane time they take opportunities, when they finde any of them straggling or deuided from their strength, by litle and litle to lessen their number.

The place where wee were at ancor was but one dayes journey from Carapana: I therefore made motion to this Captaine to stay with two or three of his company aboard the shippe, and to cause his men to bring mee with my Interpreter to Carapana his dwelling: hee answered mee that it were not good so to doe, least perhaps some Spie might informe the Spaniardes thereof, whereby danger would growe to Carapana. For they haue many times vsed many meanes to reconcile him vnto them: but hee from time to time hath dalyed with them, neither professing himselfe their enemye, nor in ought shewing them any friendship. Nowe (sayde hee) if the Spaniardes shall by any meanes come to knowledge, that you haue conferred together, they will take this occasion to persecute him with all extremitie, as their open enemye, whom they now neglect, or at the least feare not, as being an harmelesse old man. And for this cause only hath Carapana forborne to come vnto you.

By this I perceiued, that to stay longer for him (though gladly I could haue bene content to spend one seuenights more to speake with him) would be purposelesse. Wherefore hauing assured so many of the Indians as at any time came vnto vs, of our speedie returne, promising them plentie of kniues, beades, and hatchets, if they would reserue their Cassai, and prouide store of their pieces of golde for vs: I desired this Captaine to bee a meanes that our friends of Trinidad might vnderstand of our being in the Riuer and that we meant to relieue them so soone, as conueniently might bee. Hee promised in Carapana his behalfe, that this should not bee forgotten. One of the Captaines of the Cyawannas, who doe now dwell in the Riuer Arawawo, neere Trinidad, undertooke also without fayle to ascertaine them thereof. I was the more carefull herein, because so many ships being heere, I doubted lest they would take order

Wariarimago one of the Emperour of Guiana his chiefe Captaines vp in armes against the Spaniardes.

that no Indian should speake with vs. For so indeede it fell out.

This Captaine of the Cyawannas came likewise to iojne with vs, and had prouided fifteene Canoes for that purpose. Their dwelling was lately in Macureo, where the Spaniardes one night stealing on them, killed twentie of their men, and burnt their houses, because they refused to trade with them for certaine images of golde made with many heades which they had gotten out of Guiana. I sent a present of Yron to Carapana, and then set sayle.

In turning downe the riuer wee spent eight dayes. In many places where the channell lyeth wee found twentie fathome depth: where it is sholdest, wee had two fathome and a halfe, and that but in one or two places. Of the worthinesse of this Riuer, because I cannot say ynough, I will speake nothing. Wee haue presumed to call it by the name of Raleana, because your selfe was the first of our nation that euer entred the saime, and I thinke it nothing inferior to Amazones, which is best knowne by the name of Orellana, the first discouerer thereof. By turning onely, without helpe of oares to passe so long away

The chanel of Raleana, or Orenoque very large and good. They meeete with their Pinnesse.

in so short a time, against the winde, may sufficiently prooue, that the channell is very large, good, and likely to second our hopes in all that wee can desire. Without the mouth of this Riuer, our Pinnesse, the Discouerer, whome wee lost neere the coast of England, came vnto vs. Shee fell with this land

somewhat to the Southwarde of Cape Cecyl, and had spent three weekes and odde dayes in ranging alongst the coast, when shee mette with vs. William Downe the master informed mee that they entred, and searched these foure riuers. In Wiapoco they sayled so farre, vntill the rocks stopped their passage. In Caiane they went vp one dayes iourney. In Cunanama they found many inhabitantes. Curitini was the last Riuer they had beene in. Whence, hauing no other meanes to finde Raleana, they were inforced to borrow a Pilot against his will: whom afterwarde I would haue returned with reward to his contentment; but he would not.

Our English that to steale the first blessing of an vntraded place, will perhaps secretly hasten thither, may bee beholding to mee for this caueat, if they take notice thereof. A good caueat. They may be assured, that this people, as they no

way sought our harme, but vsed our men with all kindnesse: so are they impatient of such a wrong, as to haue any of their people perforce taken from them, and will doubtlesse seek reuenge. The example of the like practise vpon the coast of Guinie, in the yeere 1566, and againe at Dominica, where Alderman Wats his shippe hardly escaped being faken, may serue for our warning in like case to looke for no good, before they bee satisfied for this iniury.

When wee had taken aboorde vs such victuals as were in the Pinnesse: wee set fire in her, (for her Rudder could serue her to no longer vse) and stopping the floodes, plyed to windwarde with the ebbe neere the shoare, vntill wee were sixteene leagues to the Eastwarde of the Riuers mouth, and then standing off to Sea, wee fell in twentie foure houres sayling with Punta de Galera the Northeastermost part of Trinidad. But <sup>The Isle of</sup> Tabago.

This Island is plentifull of all things, and a very good soyle. It is not nowe inhabited, because the Charibes of Dominica are euill neighbours vnto it. They of Trinidad haue a meaning and purpose to flie thither, when no longer they can keepe Trinidad. Their onely doubt is, that when they are seated there, the Spaniard will seeke to possesse it also. The Gouvernour of Margarita went lately in a Pinnesse to viewe this Island. Gilbert my Pilot who sometime liued there, noteth it for the best and fruitfulest ground that hee knoweth.

Thence wee returned to Punta de Galera and anchored in tenne fathome vnder the North side of the Island some fiue or sixe miles from the sayde point. The flood-tyde striketh alongst the coast to the Eastward very strongly. Wee discharged a peece of ordinance, and afterwards went to the shore in our boat: but no Indian came vnto vs. I would haue sent Iohn of Trinidad to procure some of them to speake with vs: but he was altogether vnwilling, alleaging that their dwellings were farre within the mountaines, and that he knew no part of that side of the Island. From this place we set sayle for Santa Lucia, but fell with Granata, which wee found not inhabited. Saint Vincent we hardly recouered, by turning vnder the lee of the island. The Tabaco of this place is good: but the Indians being <sup>Most danger-</sup> Canibals, promising vs store, and delaying vs from <sup>ous</sup> Canibals. day to day, sought oneiy opportunitie to betray, take, and eate vs, as lately they had deuoured the whole companie of

a French shippe. This their treacherie being by one of their slaues reuealed, from thenceforth they did all forbear to come vnto vs. To sit downe on their lowe stooles, when they by offering such ease, will seeme to shew curtesie, abodeth death to strangers, that shall trust them. At Matalino or Martinino we found not any inhabitants. Lastly, wee came to Dominica, where we could get no good Tabaco. But hauing intelligence of a Spanish shippe, that was taking in of fresh water, at the Northwest side of the Island, wee wayed ancor to seeke him. Hee discrying vs, stole away by night. The Indians of this place haue determined to remooue, and ioyne with them of Guanipa, against the Spaniardes, who lately dispeopled one of their Islands, and at our being there one of their Canoas returned from Guanipa, and certified vs, that the tenne Spanish shippes at Trinidad doe ride, some of them at Conquerabia, the rest at the small Ilands neere the disemboging place. Herehence we steered North and by East, taking the directest course to shorten our way homewards.

Thus haue I emptied your purse, spending my time and trauell in following your lordships directions for the full discouerie of this coast, and the riuers thereof. Concerning the not making of a voyage for your priuate profite, I pretend nothing. Sorie I am, that where I sought no excuse, by the Spaniardes being there I found my defect remediesse. And for mine owne part, I doe protest, that if the consideration of the publique good that may ensue, had not ouerpoysed all other hopes and desires: I would rather haue aduentured by such small and weake meanes as I had, to doe well with danger, then to returne onely with safetie. Nowe although in a cause not doubtfull, my allegation is no way needefull: yet because the weightinesse thereof, and the expectation of others, seemeth of due and right to claime something to bee sayde by mee, whome your especiall trust and fauour hath credited and graced with this employment: Pardon it (I beseech your honour) if, where my lampe had oyle, it borrow light also; and my spcach, which is altogether vnsauorie, season it selfe with some of the leauen of your owne discourse touching this discouerie. The particular relation of some certaine things I haue reserued, as properly belonging to your selfe, who onely, as knowing most, can make best vse thereof. So much in general is here touched, as (I hope) may serue to refresh the memorie of this worthe enterprise in those whome it may concerne, and



testifie your care and expence in following the same: that in a second age, when in time trueth shall haue credite, and men wondering at the riches, and strength of this place (which nature it selfe hath maruelously fortified, as her chiefe treasure-house) shall mourne and sigh to holde idle cycles, whilest others reape and gather in this haruest, it bee not sayde, that Sir Walter Raleigh was of all men liuing in his dayes, most industrious in seeking, most fortunate in attaining to the fulnesse of an inestimable publique good: if, knowing that for enuie and priuate respectes, his labours were lessened, his informations mistrusted, his proffers not regarded, and the due honour of his deserts imparted to others; If (I say) seeing, knowing and bearing all this, hee with patience had persisted in so good a way in doing his Princesse, and countrey seruice; and had but perfected his first discoverie by sending a shippe or two for that purpose: for then surely all lets and doubts being remooued, and so large a kingdome, so exceeding rich, so plentiful of all things, as this by his discourse appeared to bee, being offered: no deuises and vaine surmises could haue taken place, no illusions could haue preuailed: it had bene blindnesse and deafenesse in those, that being neere her Maiestie doe spend their dayes in seruing the common weale, not to see, and knowe in so weightie a matter: it had bene malicious obstinacie, impotencie of minde, and more then treason to the common wealth, the matter standing onely vpon acceptance, to seeke either to foreslowe so fit an occasion, or forsake so generall a blessing. This (if) is nowe cut off through a singular and incomparable temper, in ouercomming euill with good.

This your seconde discoverie hath not onely founde a free and open entrance into Raleana, which the Naturals call Orenoque: but moreouer yeeldeth choyse of fourtie seuerall great riuers (the lesser I do not reckon) being for the most part with small vessels nauigable for our marchants and others, that do now finde little profit in setting forth for reprisall, to exercise trade in. To such as shall be willing to aduenture in search of them, I could propose some hope of gold mines, and certaine assurance of peeces of made golde, of Spleene-stones, Kidney-stones, and others of better estimate. But because our beleefe seemeth to bee mated in these greater matters, and a certaintie of smaller profits is the readiest inducement to quicken our weake hopes; I not going so farre as mine owne eyes might

warrant mee, doe onely promise in the aforesayd riuers Brasilwood, honey, cotton, Balsamum, and drugs to helpe to defray charges: and further, because without a beginning there can bee no continuance of these benefites vnto our country to any that shall be the first vndertakers hereof, I am gladly content to giue such light and knowledge, as by conference with the Indians I haue attained vnto.

My selfe, and the remaine of my fewe yeeres, I haue bequeathed wholly to Raleigh, and all my thoughts liue onely in that action. The prosecuting whereof is in it selfe iust, profitable, and necessarie. Iust, because it is intended for the defence of harmlesse people, who feareing thralldome and oppression, desire to protect themselues and their country vnder her Maiesties tuition: Profitable, as may bee gathered not onely by many Spanish letters intercepted, but also by the proofes mentioned in the discourse of the first discouerie, and since that, by the Indians owne voluntarie relations; and lastly, by the prouision that the Spaniards doe make to acquite vs thereof. Necessary it is, as being the onely helpe to put a bitte in the mouth of the vnbrideled Spaniard; the onely way to enter into his treasure of Nueuo Reyno, and Peru: the onely meanes to animate the wronged Indians, with our assistance to seeke reuenge for the extreme murders and cruelties, which they haue endured, and to ruinate his naked cities in all those parts of the Inland; whose foundations haue bene layd in the blood of their parents and ancesters.

The forces that the Spaniard hath already sent to Trinidad, to fortifie there, and keepe the passage of this riuer, are an euident argument that the king feareth and doubteth the sequelle of this discouerie. For can it bee a small matter? Or hath hee so waste employment for his men and shipping, that vpon no ground, hee would send eight and twentie shippes, to keepe vs onely from Tabacco: For what els that good is can Trinidad yeelde vs: No doubtlesse, if the returne of Berreo his Campe-master with tenne of these shippes bee compared with precedent aduertisements concerning him: it will appeare more then probable, that the Guiana-golde waged these men and shipping: and that they are nowe more carefull to obtaine this place, then to keepe others, which they haue already gotten, which note, except in matters of extraordinarie account, is not incident to their policie and proceedings. Againe, it cannot bee thought

that either it was senselesse madnesse in the gouernours of Margarita, and the Caracas, to bring their states and liues in question, by seeking, contrarie to their kings order, to enter Guiana, and kill Berreo with his followers: or else the abundance of pearle in Margarita, and the golde mines in the Caracas, seeming matters of small account: Guiana onely was in their iudgement, rich, plentifull, and able of it selfe to redeeme their trespasse and offence, howe great soeuer it should bee.

The sundry attemptes and ouerthrowes of the Spaniardes being men of power, and honourable place, in labouring threescore and three yeeres and vpwardes, to inlarge the kingdome of Spaine with this mightie and great empire, doe plainly shewe, that they long time sought a path, where in one moneth a high way was found: that the losse of their liues witnesseth their desires, and the worthinesse of the thing, where to vs the easinesse of obtaining discrediteth the greatnes of the attempt: and that if now at the last they doe preuaile, they must holde by tyrannie that which they get by the sword; where then our returne nothing by the Indians is more wished for, nothing expected more earnestly.

Those obiections, which haue bene made by many seeming wise, and the impediments likely to arise, as they haue supposed, are best answered by the vnreproued witnessse of those mens actions. Some haue termed these discoveries fables, and fantasies, as if there had bene no such land or territorie: others allowing both of the place, and that such a kingdome or countrey is discovered, make conclusion, that if it had bene so rich as wee haue supposed, that no doubt the king of Spaine would by this time haue possessed it. But if they consider that the Spanish nation hath already conquered the two empires of Mexico and Peru, with so many other kingdoms and prouinces: wee may very well answere, that his power is not infinite, and that hee hath done well for the time. And yet it is manifest, that this very empire hath bene by all those seuerall Spaniardes (the catalogue of whose names is by it selfe hereunto annexed) at sundry times vndertaken, and neuer percurmed. Howbeit, the world hath reason to admire their constancie, and their great labours, and wee may well blush at our owne idle, despairefull, and loytering dispositions, that can finde abilitie in another barren, and sterued nation, to possesse so much of the worlde, and can doe nothing but frame arguments against our selues, as

vnfit and powerlesse to possesse one prouince already discovered, and of which our nation hath assurance of the people's loue, and that all the Chieftains and principals haue vowed their obedience to her Maiestie; the nauigation being withall so short, dangerlesse, and free from infectious sicknesse. If doubt of perils might moderate the mindes of our men once moued with steadfast hope, that golde shall bee the reward of their travels: it may easily bee perceiued, that all those lets and hinderances that can any way bee alleaged, or wrested so much, as but to touch vs, doe deeply and neerely concerne the Spanish king, and in a maner violently withhold him from that, which hee notwithstanding carrieth with successe, whilst wee out of season do affect the bare stile, to be named men stayed and circumspect in our proceedings. It is reported, that Calanus the Indian threw downe before Alexander the great, a drie seare peece of leather, and then put his foot on one of the endes of it: the leather being trode downe at that side, rose on all parts else. By this the wise man did shewe vnto him a figure and similitude of his kingdome, which being exceeding large, must of necessitie in all other parts, excepting the place of the kings residence, be alwayes full of stirs, tumults and insurrections. The end afterwards confirmed, that this empire consisting of sundry nations, could not keepe it selfe from dissolution. No potentate liuing hath, or can haue so faithfull and incorrupt counsellors, as bee the examples and histories of forepassed times and ages. Wee may therefore bee bolde to thinke that the Governours of the Spanish affaires should minde it, that their kings lustfull desire, and ambitious thoughts to establish ouer all Europe one lawe, one Lord, one religion, are built and erected on a dangerous vngrounded resolution: Considering that many of the neighbour kingdomes being of equall force in men, or greater then hee can make, are settled in a long continued estate, are entire within themselues, and hate to heare the voyce of a stranger. It is not vnlikely that they in this case should lay before their king the fatall destinies of many worthies, that haue beene constrained for wante of sufficient numbers of their naturall subiects, after many yeeres spent in the warres, to retire to their owne countreys, and haue beene glad peaceably to holde their owne Signiories at home, resigning all that vnto others, which they haue gotten abroad by hard aduerture, and much effusion of blood. The King of Spaine cannot but discern, that his spacious empires and

kingdomes being so many, and so farre diuided one from another, are like the members of a monstrous bodie, tyed together with cables only. For take away the traffique of vnecessary commodities transported out of Spaine: those huge countreys of the Indies hauing no common linke of affinitie, lawe, language, or religion, and being of themselues able to maintaine themselues without forreine commerce, are not so simple, as not to knowe their owne strength, and to finde, that they doe rather possesse Spaniardes, then that they are possessed by them. Hee cannot bee ignorant that Spaine it selfe is on all sides enuironed with many puissant enemies, mightie and great princes, who knowing it to bee rich without men, confident without reason, proud and aduenturous without meanes sufficient: may happily confederate to chastise him, as an insolent intruder, and disturber of all quietnesse; and going no further then Spaine it selfe may euen there shake the foundation of his long contriued deuises, and in one acte redeeme the time, controll his aspiring humor, and breake the bandes in sunder, that import seruitude, and subuersion to all the dominions of Christendome. Againe his counsell may well informe him, that to dispeople and disable himselfe at home, in hope to obtaine Guiana, being a countrey strong of it selfe, and defended with infinite multitudes of Indian enemies, being rich, and by the inhabitants offered vnto the English: his contempt towards vs would seeme so intollerable and despihtfull, as might bee sufficient to prouoke vs, though otherwise wee had no such inclination: if hee vnprouided of able helpes to effect it, should rest himselfe on a carelesse presumption, that wee cannot, wee dare not, wee will not stirre in a matter that promiseth vs so great benefite, and may so highly offend him. Hee may bee perswaded, that to leaue no other succour or saletie to his nakednesse, but the olde stale practise of spreading rumours, and giuing out false intelligences of preparations to inuade England, thereby to keepe vs at home; or els of hyring and suborning some Machauellian vnder hande by secret conueyance, to stop the course of our proceedings; or lastly, of procuring some wilde outlaw to disquiet our tranquillitie; is but a poore, weake, and vncertaine stay to vpholde his estate by. And yet setting such like driftes aside: what can bee imagined likely to hinder vs from preuailing in Guiana, rather then him, whose disadvantage is to bee encombred with the selfe same, and manifolde more

impediments, then can any way bee supposed, with good cause to impeach, or diuorce vs from so profitable an attempt? All this notwithstanding, if the Spanish king not being able to dissemble his desire, or beare the losse of this one kingdome; putting himselfe out of his strength at home, and exposing his people to the hazard of all casualties abroad, bee resolued, whatsoever shall happen, not to relinquish Guiana, but to keepe this one yron more in the fire, on no other assurance, but a peremptorie disdain of preuention: If hee appeare so eagerly bent for Guiana, as if it were enacted for a lawe amongst themselues, Viis et modis to thrust for it, and not to heare, conceiue, or beleue any thing, that may dissuade or deterre from the conquest thereof: it then appertaineth vnto vs, not to inforce those obiections against ourselues, which hee with lesse reason reiecteth as friuolous: since by howe much the more earnest hee is in following this purpose, by so much the lesse cause haue wee to bee diuerted from it. To such as shall bee willing further to wade in this argument; for breuities sake, I doe propose onely this bare assertion: that England and Guiana conioyned, are stronger, and more easily defended, then if England alone should repose her selfe on her owne force, and powerfullnesse. The reasons that might bee inferred to proue this neede no ratioll discourse: they are all intimated in the onely example of Spaine it selfe; which without the Indies is but a purse without money, or a painted sheath without a dagger. In summe: it seemeth vnto me, that whereas the difficultie of performing this enterprise hath bene produced for a discouragement: it were a dull conceite of strange weakenes in our selues, to distrust our own power so much, or at least, our owne hearts and courages; as valewing the Spanish nation to be omnipotent; or yeelding that the poore Portugall hath that mastering spirit and conquering industrie, aboue vs: as to bee able to seate himselfe amongst the many mightie princes of the East Indies, to frontire China, to holde in subiection The Phillippians, Zeilan, Calecut, Goa, Ormus, Mozambique, and the rest; the nauigation being so tedious and full of perill: to suffer our selues to bee put backe for worthlesse cyphers, out of place, without account. All which Regions being nowe also by the late conquest of Portugall, entituled to the Spanish king: to whom the Colonies of those parts doe yet generally refuse to swear fealtie and allegiance: and the care depending on him, not onely in gouerning them in the East, so farre off; but also of

ordering and strengthening of those disunited, scattered, and ill guarded empires and prouinces in the West: It might very well bee alleaged to the sayde Spanish king, that it were more wisdomes for him to assure and fortifie some part of those already gotten, then to begin the conquest, of Guiana, so farre separate from the rest of his Indies: in which hee hath had so many misfortunes, and against whom the naturall people are so impetuouly bent, and opposed: were it not, that it exceedeth all the rest in abundance of gold, and other riches. The case then so standing, is it not meere wretchednesse in vs, to spend our time, breake our sleepe, and waste our braines, in contriuing a cauilling false title to defraude a neighbour of halfe an acre of lande: whereas here whole shires of fruitfull rich grounds, lying now waste for want of people, do prostitute themselues vnto vs, like a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and floure of desired yeeres.

If wee doe but consider, howe vnappily Berreo his affairs, with his assistants haue of late yeeres, in our owne knowledge succeeded: who can say, if the hand of the Almighty be not against them, and that hee hath a worke in this place, in stead of Papistrie, to make the sincere light of his Gospell to shine on this people? The effecting whereof shall bee a royall crowne of euerlasting remembrance to all other blessings, that from the beginning the Lorde hath plentifully powred on our dread Soueraigne, in an eminent and supreme degree of all perfection. If the Castilians, pretending a religious care of planting Christianitie in those partes, haue in their doings preached nought els but auarice, rapine, blood, death, and destruction to those naked, and sheeplike creatures of God; erecting statues and trophees of victorie vnto themselues, in the slaughters of millions of innocents: doeth not the crie of the poore succourlesse ascend vnto the heauens? Hath God forgotten to bee gracious to the workmanship of his owne hands? Or shall not his iudgements in a day of visitation by the ministerie of his chosen seruant, come on these bloodthirstie butchers, like Her Maiestie raine into a fleece of wooll? *Aliquando manifesta; aliquando occulta; semper iusta sunt Dei iudicia.*

To leaue this digression, It is fit onely for a prince to begin and ende this worke: the maintenance and ordering thereof requireth soueraigne power, authoritie, and commaundement. The riuier of Raleana giueth open and free passage, any prouision

that the Spaniards can make to the country notwithstanding, (for once yeerely the landes neere the riuer be all drowned) to conuey men, horse, munition, and victuall for any power of men that shall be sent thither.

I doe speake it on my soules health, as the best testimonie, that I can in any cause yeelde to auerre a trueth, that hauing nowe the second time beene in this countrey, and with the helpes of time and leisure well aduised my selfe vpon all circumstances to bee thought on: I can discerne no sufficient impediment to the contrary, but that with a competent number of men, her Maiestie may to her and her successours enioy this rich and great empire: and hauing once planted there, may for euer, (By the fauour of God) holde and keepe it, *Contra Iudæos et Gentes*. Subiects, I doubt not, may through her Maiesties gracious sufferance, ioyning their strength together, inuade, spoyle, and ouerunne it, returning with golde and great riches. But what good of perpetuities can follow thereof? Or who can hope that they will take any other course then such, as tendeth to a priuate and present benefite: considering that an Empire once obtained, is of congruities, howe, and wheresoeuer the charge shall growe, to bee annexed vnto the crowne? The riches of this place are not fit for any priuate estate: no question they will rather prooue sufficient to crosse and counteruaile the Spaniard his proceedings in all partes of Christendome, where his money maketh way to his ambition.

If the necessitie of following this enterprise doth nothing vrge vs, because in some case better a mischief, then an inconuenience: let the conuenience thereof somewhat moue vs, in respect both of so many Gentlemen, souldiers, and younger brothers, who, if for want of employment they doe not die like cloyed cattell in ranke easefulness; are enforced for maintenance sake, sometimes to take shamefull and vnlawfull courses: and in respect of so many handycraftsmen hauing able bodies, that doe liue in cleanness of teeth and pouertie. To sacrifice the children of Belial vnto the common weale, is not to defile the lande with blood, because the lawe of God doeth not prohibite it, and the execution of iustice requireth it to bee so: but yet if the waterboughes, that sucke and feede on the iuice, and nourishment that the fruitfull branches should liue by, are to bee cut downe from the tree, and not regarded: luckie and prosperous bee that right hande, that shall



plant and possesse a soyle, where they may fructifie, increase and growe to good: thise honourable and blessed bee the memorie of so charitable a deede, from one generation to another.

To conclude, your lordship hath payd for the discoverie and search, both in your owne person and since by mee. You haue framed it, and moulded it readie for her Maiestie, to set on her seale. If either enuie or ignorance, or other deuise frustrate the rest, the good which shall growe to our enemies, and the losse which will come to her Maiestie and this kingdome, will after a fewe yeeres shewe it selfe. Wee haue more people, more shippes, and better meanes, and yet doe nothing. The Spanish king hath had so sweete a taste of the riches thereof, as notwithstanding that hee is lorde of so many empires and kingdomes already, notwithstanding his enterprises of France and Flanders, notwithstanding that hee attended this yeere a home inuasion: yet hee sent twentie eight saile to Trinidad, whereof tenne were for that place and Guiana, and had some other shippes ready at Cadiz, if the same had not beene by my Lordes her Maiesties Generals and your lordship set on fire.

In one worde; The time serueth, the like occasion seldome happeneth in many ages, the former repeated considerations doe all ioyntly together importune vs, nowe, or neuer to make our selues rich, our posteritie happy, our Prince euery way stronger then our enemies, and to establish our cuntry in a state flourishing and peaceable. O let not then such an indignitie rest on vs, as to depraue so notable an enterprise with false rumours, and vaine suppositions, to sleepe in so serious a matter, and renoucing the honour, strength, wealth, and soueraigntie of so famous a conquest, to leaue all vnto the Spaniard.

A Table of the names of the Rivers, Nations, Townes, and Casiques or Captaines that in this second voyage were discovered.

| Rivers.                 | Nations.                         | Townes.  | Captains. |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|----------|-----------|
| 1 Arowari great.        | Arwaos, Parawees, Charibes.      |          |           |
| 2 Iwaripoco very great. | Mapurwanas, laos.                |          |           |
| 3 Maipari great.        | Arrihari.                        |          |           |
| 4 Caipurogh great.      | Arrihari.                        |          |           |
| 5 Arcooa great.         | Marowanas, Charibes.             |          |           |
| 6 Wispoco great.        | Coonoracki, Wacacois, Wariseaco. |          |           |
| 7 Wanari.               | Charibes.                        |          |           |
| 8 Capurwacka great.     | Charibes.                        |          |           |
| 9 Cawo great.           | laos.                            | Icomana. | Wareo.    |

1 These are enemies to the laos, their money is of white and greene stones. They speake the Tuitious language: so likewise doe the nation of the Arrihari, who haue greater store of those moneyes then any others.

2 Here it was as it seemeth, that Vincent Pinzon the Spaniard had his Emeraldis. In one of these two rivers certain Frenchmen that suffered shipwrack some 2. or 3. yeres since, doe liue.

3. 4. 5. These with the other two seeme to bee branches of the great river of Amazonas. When wee first fell with land, wee were, by ye Indians report, but 1. dayes iourney from the greatest river, that is on that coast.

6 The first mountaines yt appeare within lande, doe lie on the East side of this river. From the mouth thereof, the inhabitants doe passe with their canoes in 20. dayes to the salt lake, where Manao standeth. The water hath many Cata-

| Rivers.                                   | Nations.                          | Towns.                   | Captains.                  |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 10 Wia great.                             | Maworia,<br>Charib.<br>Wisco, Ch. | Parammona,<br>great.     | Mishwip.                   |
| 11 Caiane g.<br>Gowateri a<br>great land. | Wisco, Ch.<br>Shebaioa.           | Canawi, g.<br>Orinikero. | Parawettoo.                |
| 12 Macuria.                               | Piraos, Ch.                       |                          |                            |
| 13 Camroora.                              | Arwaccos<br>Charib.               |                          |                            |
| 14 Manmanuri.                             | Ipaios, Ch.                       |                          |                            |
| 15 Curcey.                                | Shebaioa.                         |                          |                            |
| 16 Curasiwini.                            | Shebaioa.                         | Muswara,<br>great.       | Ocapanio.                  |
| 17 Cunanama.                              | Laos.<br>Arwaccas.                | Waritappi,<br>great.     | Carinamari,<br>Curipotooe. |
| 18 Vracco.<br>Moruga.                     | Arwaccas,<br>Arwaccas.            |                          | Marwaba.<br>Eramacoa.      |
| 19 Mawari.                                | Wincinas.<br>Arwaccas.            | Iwanama.                 | Aranacoa.                  |
| 20 Mawarijai.                             | Arwaccas.                         | Awajicana.               | Mahabo-<br>nero.           |

racts like Caroli, but that they are of greater distance one from another: where it falls into the sea, hills do inclose it on both sides.

10 The freshet shoots out into the sea, with great force: the sea doth here sometimes campe high, and brake, as it were full of rocks: but in pride it is nothing els but the pride and force of the tides. In this bay, and round about, so far as the mountains do extend there is great store of Brasil wood, some of it bearing faire darker colour then other some. Here are also many sortes of other good woods.

14 These speake the language of the Indians of Dominica. They are but few, but very cruel to their enemies. For they bind, and eat the sinne peccemais. This torment is not comparable to the deadly paine that cometh of hurts, or woundes, made by these arrowes that are inveniomed w<sup>th</sup> the iuice of ye herbe Wapototo. These Indians because they eat them whome they kill, use no poison. The sea coast is nowhere populous, for they haue much wasted themselves, in mutuall warres

| Riuers.                                     | Nations.                                     | Townes.                                                                              | Captains.                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 21 Amonna<br>very great.<br>Gapplepo.<br>g. | Charibes.                                    | Iaremappo.<br>very great.                                                            |                                     | But now in all parts<br>so farre as Ore-<br>noque, they liue in<br>league and peace.<br>21. Neere the<br>head of this riuer,<br>Capeleppo falleth<br>out of the plaines,<br>and runneth into<br>the Sea with Cur-<br>tini. Some of the<br>Guianians liue in<br>this riuer. |
| 22 Marawini.<br>g.                          | Paracuttos.                                  |                                                                                      |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 23 Owcowi.                                  |                                              |                                                                                      |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 24 Wiawiami.                                |                                              |                                                                                      |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 25 Aramatappo.                              |                                              |                                                                                      |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 26 Wiapo.                                   |                                              |                                                                                      |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 27 Macuruma.                                |                                              |                                                                                      |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 28 Carapi.                                  |                                              |                                                                                      |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 29 Yraca.                                   |                                              |                                                                                      |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 30 Chaimawi-<br>mini great.                 | Carepini.<br>Charib.                         |                                                                                      | Caponaiarie.                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 31 Ecrowto.                                 | Vpotommas.                                   |                                                                                      |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 32 Pawro.                                   | Arwaccas.                                    | Maripoma.                                                                            |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 33 Shurinama.<br>g.                         | Carepini.<br>Chari.                          |                                                                                      |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 34 Shurama g.                               | Carepini.                                    | Cupari.                                                                              |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 35 Northumbria<br>or Cupanama<br>very g.    | Char.<br>Arwaccas.                           |                                                                                      |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 36 Wioma.                                   |                                              |                                                                                      |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 37 Cushwini.                                | Neekeari.                                    | Tawrooromene.                                                                        | Neperwari.                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 38 Inana. g.                                | Carepini.                                    | Owaripoori.                                                                          |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 39 Curitini. g.                             | Arwaccas.                                    | Mawronama.                                                                           |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 40 Winitwari g.                             | Parawianni.                                  | Maiapoore.<br>Cariwacka.                                                             |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 41 Berbice. g.                              | Arwaccas.                                    | Aneta.<br>Manaco-<br>beccc.<br>Eppera.<br>Parawian-<br>nos.<br>Lupulee.<br>Madewini. | Warawaroco.<br><br>Benmur-<br>wagh. |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 42 Wapari.                                  | Shebaios.<br>Arwaccas.                       |                                                                                      | Caporaco.<br>great Cap.             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 43 Maicawini.                               | Panapi.<br>Arwaccas.                         | Itewee.                                                                              |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 44 Mahawaica.                               | Arwaccas.                                    | Maburessa g.                                                                         |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 45 Lemerare g.                              | Wacawaios.                                   | Maburessa g.                                                                         |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 46 * Deuoritia<br>or Dese-<br>kebe very g.  | Arwaccas.<br>Iaos.<br>Shebaios.<br>Arwaccas. |                                                                                      |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |

39. This riuer, as  
also most of the rest,  
is not nauigable  
about sixe dayes  
iourney by reason of  
rockes. It is tenne  
dayes iourney to the  
head, where the  
Guianians do dwel:  
hony, yarne or cot-  
ton, silke, Balsa-  
mum, and Brasil  
beds are here to bee  
had in plentie, and  
so all the coast  
alongst Eastward.  
Some images of  
golde, spleenstones,  
and others may bee  
gotten on this coast,  
but they doe some-  
what extraordi-  
narily esteeme of

\* Marginal note.—So called after the name of the right honourable the Earle of Essex.

| Rivers.         | Nations.                                     | Townes.        | Captains.   |
|-----------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| Matorooni.      | Charibes.                                    |                |             |
| Coowini.        | Maripai.                                     |                |             |
| Chipanama.      | Wocowaios.                                   |                |             |
| Arawanna.       | Parawianni.                                  |                |             |
| Itorebec.       | Iwarewakeri.                                 | Caiaremappo.   |             |
| 47 Pawrooma.    |                                              | Waroopana.     |             |
| g.              | Iaos.                                        | Maripa.        | Macapowa.   |
| Aripacoro.      |                                              | Chipariparo.   |             |
| Ecawini.        | Panipi.                                      | Towtwi.        | Shuracoima. |
| Manurawini.     |                                              | Sarinbugh.     |             |
|                 |                                              | Wariwagh.      |             |
| 48 Moruga. g.   | Iaos.                                        | Cooparoore.    | Manare-     |
| Piara.          | Arwaccas.                                    | g.             | cowa.       |
| Chaimera-       |                                              | Awipari.       | Iarwarema.  |
| goro.           |                                              | Topoo.         |             |
| 49 Waini. g.    | Charibes.                                    | Tocoopoima. g. | Parana.     |
| 50 Barima. g.   | Charibes.                                    | Pekwa g.       | Anawra.     |
| Caitooma.       | Arwaccas.                                    | Arwakima.      | Aparwa.     |
| Arooca.         |                                              |                | Arracurri.  |
| 51 Amacur. g.   |                                              |                |             |
| 52 Aratoori. g. |                                              |                |             |
| Cawrooma. g.    |                                              |                |             |
| Raicana, or     |                                              |                |             |
| Orenoque.       |                                              |                |             |
| Maipar          | } Ilands in<br>the mouth<br>of Rale-<br>ana. |                |             |
| Ita caponea     |                                              |                |             |
| Owarecapa-      |                                              |                |             |
| ter.            |                                              |                |             |
| Waruca-         |                                              |                |             |
| nasso.          |                                              |                |             |

them, because euery where they are current money. They get their Moones, and other pieces of gold by exchange, taking for each one of their greater Canoas, one piece or image of golde, with three heades, and after that rate for their lesser Canoas, they receiue pieces of golde of lesse value. One hatchet is the ordinarie price for a Canoa. They haue euery where diuers sorts of drugs, gummes, and rootes, which I doubt not by farther trial, will be found medicinable.

NAMES OF POY-  
SONED HEARBS.

Ourari.  
Carassi.  
Apareepo.  
Parapara.

HEARBS GOOD  
AGAINST POYSON.

Turara.  
Cutarapama.  
Wapo.  
Macatto.

The 29. day of Iune we arrived in Portland road, hauing spent five moneths in going, staying, and returning.

Here follow the names of those worthie Spaniards that haue sought to discouer and conquer Guiana: Extracted out of the writings of Iuan de Castellanos clerigo, who compiled the booke intituled, Primera parte de las Elegias de varones illustres de Indias.

The enterprise of Guiana was vndertaken by Diego de Ordas of the kingdome of Leon, in the yeere 1531. Hee

was one of the captaines of Cortes in the conquest of Mexico.

The river of Amana by which Sir Walter Raleigh first entred called by Diego de Ordas Viapari: and by Barth. de Casas Iuia Pari.

This Ordas made his entrance by the river of Amana, by which wee entred, and spent fiftie dayes before hee came to the river of Orenoque, which we past in fiteene. Hee named the river by which hee entred, Viapari; which name it still retaineth in the Spanish descriptions. It lyeth South from Trinidad some fiue leagues. He transported out of Spaine a thousand souldiers. He dyed afterwards at sea in returning for Spaine.

2. Iuan Cortesso arriued at the river of Amazonas or Orellana with three hundred men: Hee marched vp into the country. But neither hee nor any of his companie did returne againe.

3 Gaspar de Sylua, with his two brothers, departed from Teneriff, accompanied with two hundred men to assist Diego de Ordas. They sought El Dorado by the river of Amazonas: but staying there a short time, they fell downe to Trinidad, where they all three were buried.

4 Iuan Gonsales set saile from Trinidad to discover Guiana. Hee reposed himselfe more on the faith of his guides, then on his small number of men. Hee by triall founde the confines of Guiana, so farre as hee entred, to bee populous, plentifull of victuall, and rich in golde. Vpon such proofes as he brought with him, to make good his report, many others aduentured to follow his steps.

5, 6. Philip de Vren, and after him Pedro de Limpias, who both successively commanded the Almaines, were leaders in this action. Limpias was slaine by an Indian Casique named Porima.

7 Ieronimo de Ortal vndertooke it by the way of Maracapan. After great trauell and his substance all spent, he dyed on the sudden at S. Domingo.

8. 9. Ximenes, brother of Don Ximenes de Quesida the Adelantado, and Pedro de Orsua were both at sundry times in the same conquest.

10 Father Iala, a Frier, taking with him onely one companion, and some Indian guides passed into the prouinces of Guiana. Hee returned with good intelligence, and brought with him Eagles, idols, and other iewels of golde, An. 1560. Hee assayed the second time to pass in like manner, but was slaine by the Indians.

11 Hernandez de Serpa also vnderooke it. The Indians of Cumanawgoto killed him, and defeated his armie.

12 Afterwardes, Diego de Vargas, and his sonne Don Iuan followed this enterprise, and at their first setting out, were slaine by the Indians.

13 Caceres vnderooke this discouery from Nueuo Reyno de Granada. Hee came no neerer to it then Matachines, which borders vpon the sayd kingdome of Granada. Hee rested there and peopled that place.

14 It was also attempted by Alonço de Herera, at two seuerall times. Hee endured great miserie, but neuer entred one league into the countrey. He sought it by Viapari or Amana, and was at last slaine by a nation of Indians called Xaguas.

15 It was also vndertaken by Antonio Sedenno, with whom Herrera and Augustine Delgado ioyned in the conquest of Trinidad, against Bawcunar a famous king of that place. He passed by Maracapana in the yeere 1536 to discouer El Dorado with 500 chosen men. In this journey hee got much gold, and tooke many Indian prisoners, whom he manacled in yrons; and many of them dyed as they were led in the way. The Tigers being fleshed on those dead carkeisses, assaulted the Spaniards, who with much trouble hardly defended themselues from them. Sedenno was buried within the precinct of the empire neere the head of the riuer Tinados. Most of his people perished likewise.

16 Augustine Delgado searched the countrey to the Southward of Cumanawgoto with 53. footemen, and three horsemen. The warres that were then betweene the Indians of the vale, and those of the mountaines, serued well for his purpose. By which occasion he found meanes to passe so farre, vntill he came to an Indian Casique, named Garamental, who entertained him with all kindnesse, and gaue him for a present some rich iewels of golde, sixe seemely pages, teene young slaues, and three nymphes very beautifull, which bare the names of three prouinces from whence they were sent to Garamental chiefe commander of all that countrey. Their names were Guanba, Gotoguane, and Maiarare. These prouinces are of an excellent temperature, very healthfull, and haue an admirable influence in producing faire women. The Spaniards afterwardes to requite the manifold curtesies that they receiued in that countrey, tooke and carried away, besides all the golde that they could get, all the Indians

that they could lay holde on: they conueyed them in yrons to Cubagua, and sould them for slaues. Delgado afterwatds was shot in the eye by an Indian: of which hurt he died.

17 Diego de Losada succeeded in his brothers place. Hee had many more men; who in the ende wasted themselues in mutinies: those that liued returned to Cubagua.

18 Reynoso vnderooke this iourney: but hauing endured exceeding troubles, in the discomfort of his minde, he gae it ouer, and was buried in Hispaniola.

19 Pedro de Orsua, in the yeere 1560. sought it with 400. Spaniards by the riuer of Orellana. Hee imbarqued his men in the country of the Motijones. As they passed downe the riuer, they found Synamon trees. His men murdered him, and afterward the sayde rebels beheaded lady Anes his wife, who forsooke not her lord in all his trauels vnto death.

20 Frier Francis Montesino was in the prouince of Maracapana with 100. souldiers bound for Guiana, when Lopez Aguirri the tyrant made insurrection in all those parts of the Indies. What became of this intended iourney is not expressed.

In this discoverie of Guiana, you may reade both of Orellana, who discovered the riuer of Amazonas An. 1542. and of Berreo, with others that haue trode this maze, and lost themselues in seeking to finde this country.

#### An aduertisement to the Reader.

IN the Breuiarie, the names onely are comprised of such, as being led with the generall fame of Guiana, haue endeouored to discover and possesse it. The whole histories are long and cannot suddenly be translated or englished at large, as we in these Elegies finde them. It may perhaps seeme strange and incredible, that so many caualleros should all faile in this one attempt, since in many parts of the Indies, far smaller numbers in shorter time haue performed as great matters, and subdued mighty kingdomes: I haue therefore thought it good here to alleage those reasons, which by circumstance may bee gathered to haue bene chiefe impediments to the Spaniard in this intended search and conquest.

The first may bee the remotenesse or distance of their places of Rendeuous, from El Dorado: which appeare to be foure,



Nueuo reyno, the mouth of Amazonas or Orellana, Cubagua, or the coast of the Caracas, and Trinidad.

1 From Moibamba, where Orellana hath his head-spring, to his mouth, the Spaniards account it 2000. leagues. Raleana riseth neere the said mountaines in Moibamba, and tributeth his waters to the sea, not farre from the other : Guiana is enuironed with these 2 freshwaterseas, where their distance is greatest from their risings, and is besides guarded with impassable mountaines which inclose and defend it on all parts, excepting Topiawaries countrey. It is no maruel then, if the vigor, heart, and life of those Spaniards, who sought it from Nueuo Reyno, were allayed and spent, before they came neere to it, in those long, desolate and vncomfortable wayes.

2 From Cubagua to seeke it by sea in vessels of any burthen, is a worke of far greater labour, then to saile directly from Spaine. And to passe ouer land is a matter of great difficultie, by reason that the Indian nations inhabiting betweene the coast of The Caracas and Guiana, being wearied and harried with the daily incursions of the Spaniards, haue now turned their abused patience into furie, refusing to suffer any forces of men to be led through their countreys. For the Spaniards trauelling in those parts, when they found not gold answerable to their expectation, overlaid them with cruelties, tyrannie, and thraldome : forbearing neither men, women, friends, nor foes. Which maner of dealing, though in some part it satisfied their desire of present profit ; yet hath it otherwise done them much harme, in hardening and driuing those nations to desperate resolutions.

3 From the mouth of Orellana to seeke entrance with any number of men, and to bore a hole through the mountaines is all one. Neither finde wee, that any seeking it that way, haue at any time boasted of their gaines or pleasurable iourneys.

4 From Trinidad, as the course is shortest, so doeth it promise best likelihood of successe. Howbeit, impossible it is with any vessell of ordinarie burthen by that way to recouer the riuier of Raleana.

The second, The Spaniards haue bene so farre from helping and furthering one another, or admitting partners or coadiutors in the Guiana-cause, that amongst so many attemptes, from the beginning to the last, I cannot find any one, when they were otherwise likeliest to preuaile, free from discords, mutinies, and cruell murders amongst themselues.

Thirdly, The Spaniards in this place haue mist that aduantage, which elsewhere hath seeded themselues in all their conquestes: namely, the dissensions and mutuall warres of the Indians. Which of what force it is, may be gathered by the example of Arauco in Chili. For the Indians of that one prouince conteining in circuit not aboue 20 leagues, haue maintained warres aboue these 30. yeeres against all the Spaniards, and in despight of them haue kept their owne countrey, oftentimes discomfiting their enemies in many set battels, burning and destroying some of their strongest townes. The chiefe reason whereof I take to bee, because no Indian nation was enemie vnto them. And howsoever the Spaniards vaunt of their redoubted exploits in the Indies: yet doe their owne writings in effect testifie, that without the ayde of the Indians diuided among themselues, Mexico, Peru, and the rest, had neuer bene Spanish.

Lastly, I can impute it to no cause so rightly, as immediatly to the diuine prouidence: for by him princes raigne. And in my beleefe (except we will look to be warned by miracle from heauen) wee need no further assurances, then we already haue to perswade our selues, that it hath pleased God of his infinite goodnesse, in his will and purpose to appoint and reserue this empire for vs.

The thirde voyage set forth by Sir Walter Raleigh to Guiana, with a pinnesse called The Watte, in the yeere 1596. Written by M. Thomas Masham a gentleman of the companie.

Vpon Thursday the 14. of October 1596, we set saile from Limehouse vpon the riuier of Thames, and through much contrarietie of winds and other accidents, we made it the 27. of December, before we could get out of Waimouth. The 25. of Ianuarie in the morning we came to the North side of the Island of Grand Canaria, where we hoped to haue gotten a boate to serue vs vpon the coast of Guiana, but the winde was so great that we could not lanch our shalope: so we past along by the roade and the towne, and at length saw a boate lying on shoare, which being too bigge for vs, wee ripped vp, and wooded our selues with her. That day wee descryed a saile, which at length wee found to be a flieboate of Dartmouth, of 200. tunnes, bound to the Island of Mayo for salte. Wee fell in consort with her,

and that night stode for the Southermost part of the Island there to water, where wee stayed all the next day, and watered at the Southsouthwest part thereof. That night wee weyed and stode away together Southsoutheast, and South and by East, purposing by their perswasion to goe for the riuer Doro. The 28. of Ianuarie wee made the furthermost part of Barbarie; and this morning we met with M. Benjamin Wood with his fleete of 3 sailes bound for the straights of Wood bound Magellan and China, to wit, The Beare, The Whelpe, and The Benjamin: who told vs that there was no good to be done in the riuer Doro. Whereupon we stood along with them for Cape Blanco, vnto which we came vpon Sunday night next following. And vpon Munday morning the first of Februarie, we saw two ships in a sandie bay: so we stirred in with them, which were Frenchmen bound for the West Indies, and put all into the bay, where wee refreshed our selues with fish, in which there was infinite store, and stayed there till Thursday the 5. at which time wee stood vp with the Cape againe, where rode the Frenchman and his Pinnesse, who put toorth right afore vs, and another Frenchman and his carauel well manned: So all we 5. English came to an anker by them, where after kinde greeting with many shots out of euery ship both English and French, all our captaines were inuited to a feast aboard the French admirall: where after great cheere and kinde entertainment, it was concluded on all handes to take the Isle of Fogo, if God would giue vs leaue.

The same day we all weyed and stode along for the Isle of Sal, vnto which we came the 8. of Februarie, and ankered altogether at a bay in the West part thereof: in which Island wee had good store of goates and fresh fish. There is no man dwelling vpon the Island that we could see. Wee could finde no fresh water vpon it, but one standing puddle of bad water: it hath foure great mountaines, vpon the 4. corners of it. Here the Frenchmen (as it seemeth being ouercome with drinke, hauing bene aboard our Generall at a feast) being on shoare, one of the gentlemen of their companie was slaine, and their chiefe captaine sorely wounded: by reason whereof, and of the setting together of a pinnesse which they were about, the French admirall and the carauel stayed behind. So wee in the Watte, and the other 6. ships weyed the 10. of Februarie, and stood away for the isle of Maio. This night the other two French shippes that came from

Sal with vs (as it seemeth of purpose, because their consort were not with them) *Jost vs.* The next morning wee sawe Maio. So wee and the flieboate of Dartmouth compassed the Northernmost part of the Island, and master Benjamin Wood in the China-fleete, the Southernmost, and came all to an anker together <sup>36 sailes of</sup> at the Southwest part thereof: where rode sixe sayles Flemmings at of Flemmings lading salte; who had brought their Maio for salt. <sup>houses and cartes,</sup> and wheele-barrowes, and plankes for their barrowes to runne vpon. Here is abundance of salte in this Island made by Gods hande without mans labour. These tolde vs that there were thirtie sayles more, which fell to leeward of Fogo, who, as I heard since, beat it vp with much adoe, and came thither also for salte. This trade may bee very beneficiall to England, considering the dearnessse of salte. Of goates on this Island there is such store, as is incredible, but to those that haue seene them: and it is a wonder howe they liue one by the other, the ground being stonie and barren. It is thought that there are dwelling in it some twentie Mountainiers, which got one of the Flemmings men stragling, and God knoweth what they did with him: for they sawe him no more. This Island is somewhat lowe and round, hauing no great mountaines vpon it.

Here ended our determination concerning the inuading of Fogo. And here wee left the flieboat of Dartmouth lading salte, and the China-fleete to refresh themselues with goates, who as I haue heard since had at the village (from whence the Mourtainiers were fledde into the furthest partes of the Island and rocks) great store of dryed goates which they carried along with them: which were like to bee a great helpe vnto them in their long voyage. So vpon Saturday the 12 of Februarie at night wee set sayle and stood for the coast of Wiana, which wee were bound for.

Vpon Sunday the twentieth of Februarie wee came into the maine current that setteth from the Cape of Buena Esperança, along the coast of Brasil, and so toward the West Indies, for the most part setting away Northwest.

The Tuesday night following, whereas before our course was Westsouthwest, wee stode away West and by South: by reason whereof, and of the current that set vs to the Northward, wee were the next day by noone twentie minutes further to the Northward then the day before. So that then we lay away Southwest, because wee were loath to fall to the Northward of our place

intended: which if wee should bee put to leeward of, there was small hope left to recouer it.

By Thursday wee were within one degree  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the Equinoctiall line: therefore this day wee halled away West and by South, and West among. This night wee sounded, but had no ground at 90 fathoms.

The next day in the morning the colour of the water began to change, and to bee more white, so wee made another sound and had ground at thirtie fathoms, but saw no lande, and in the afternoone wee halled away Westnorthwest, Northwest, and Northnorthwest. In the night wee sounded diuers times, and had twelue, ten, and nine fathoms water.

All Saturday we had a thick red water, and had seuen and eight fathoms both day and night, and vpon Sunday morning by day being the seuen and twentieth of Februarie, wee made the lande which appeared lowe, and trended neerest as wee fell with it, South and by East, North and by West about two degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$  toward the North. Right on head of vs was a Cape or head land so that had wee bene shot a little further into the bay, the winde being more Northerly, wee should hardly haue doubled it off. For with much adoe making many boords, and stooping euery tyde, it was the Tuesday following before we cleered our selues of the bay, and recouered the Cape. Nowe the land trended Northwest and by North, and Southeast and by South. And still wee were faine to anker euery tyde sometimes in foure fathoms, and sometimes in three, as farre as wee could see land. So about night we sawe Cape Cecill: and after some two houres came to an anker. <sup>Cape Cecil in 3 degrees and a halfe.</sup> Betweene these two Capes the lande lyeth lowe and euen.

Vpon Wednesday morning, hauing the winde large at Eastnortheast, wee layd it away vpon a board into the bay of Wiapoucou and came to an anker in the riuers mouth in two fathoms: ouer the barre there is little water, as 6 and 7 foote and lesse in many places. And this riuier of Wiapoucou standeth almost in 4 degrees to the Northward of the line.

The next morning wee weyed, and standing in with our pinnesse by night, wee got some eight leagues vp the riuier. This day sometimes wee had but 5 foote water and drew 7 foot, but being soft oaze we went cleere: and a little before wee came to anker wee were on ground vpon a rocke, but with some trouble and labour wee got off and had no hurt.

Vpon Friday the 4 of March, towards night wee came to the falles. The next day M. Leonard Berrie our captaine, the Master, my selfe and some 5 more, went through the woods, and spent all the day in searching the head of the falles, but could not finde it: for though wee passed by many, yet were there more still one aboute the other. So that finding no Indians in this riuer to buy victuals of, neither any kind of thing that might intice vs to come to so short allowançe, as wee must haue done, if wee had spent any long time here, finding it ouer hard to passe the falles, wee fell downe the riuer againe, and by Friday the 11 of March wee cleered our selues of the riuer and bay. This riuer from the mouth to the falles is some 16. leagues, in many places a mile ouer, but for the most part halfe a mile. There are many Islands in it: as are also in most of the riuers vpon the coast. This night wee ankered against Cawo in two fathoms; whereinto wee thought to haue put with our pinnesse: but found the water so shoald, and the sea so growen, that neither with our shippe nor shallope wee durst goe in.

*The 7 Islands.* On Saturday by noone wee came to anker vnder one of the 7. Islands: vpon which going on shoare wee found neither man nor beast, but great store of yellow plumbes which are good to eate.

Vpon Sunday after dinner our Master William Dowle and 6 more went off with our boat to a towne called *Aramatto a great towne.* Aramatto; where they found many inhabitants, and brought victuals and some Tobacco with them, and one Indian named Caprima, who lying aboard all night, the next day being Munday the 14 of March went with our *The Caribes of Wias tractable people.* Captaine into Wias, and there traded with the Caribes for such things as they had. And afterward they of Aramatto came off with their canoas to vs, and wee went on shoare to them: and from thence our Captaine sent a canoa with seuen men, which had euery one of them a knife to goe backe to the riuer of Cawo, and to tell Ritimo captaine of that place, that because wee coulde not come to him,

*Chiana a riuer and bay.* wec would stay at Chiana for him, whither wee intreated him to come to vs. So vpon Thursday the 17 wee stode in for Chiana, and came to an anker without in the bay in 3 fathoms that night: and had the Caribes comming continually to vs with their canoas, which brought vs great store of victuals and some Tabacco, shewing themselues

very kinde and louing, and came all from their townes, and dwelt on shoare by vs vntill Ritimo came: at whose comming they returned all vp to their townes againe, which was vpon the Sunday following. All this day we feasted him and his traine, and the next day we traffiqued with them for such things as they brought, which was principally tabacco.

After that they had made knowne their mindes of the desire that they had to haue the English come and kill the Spaniards, and to dwell in Orenoque and in the countrey, they departed with their 3 canoas the next day. And wee with the helpe of the Caribes of Chiana, hauing by their meanes from the shoare watered, because the riuers mouth was salte, departed out of the bay the Thursday following, and passing by Macerea, Couroura, and Manamanora, by reason of shoalds, rockes, and great windes, beeing a lee shoare; and for want of a good shalope, wee came to an anker the next day being good Friday in five fathoms neere The Triangle Islands called The Careres. And vpon Saturday standing to the Westward, wee stopped against the towne of Maware, which is a little to the Westward of the towne Comanamo: from whence and from the other townes in that bay, which are some 6 or 7, wee had canoas come off to vs as before with such things as they had themselues in vse, with parrots, monkeys, and cotton-wooll, and flaxe. From whence wee departed vpon Munday following the 28 of March 1597.

And passing by the riuers of Euracco and Amano, which openeth but a small riuier, and is shoald off, <sup>Marawinne a</sup> <sub>a riuier.</sub> wee came to Marawinne the next day: And finding a chanell of three, foure, and fiue fathoms, wee stood into the riuier: and the same day came to an anker some 2 leagues in against the mouth of Cooshepwine, which riuier goeth into Amana. Into which, (vnderstanding that there were Arwaccawes dwelling) this night we sent our boat and came to a towne called Marrac one league in. And finding the people something pleasant, hauing drunke much that day, being as it seemed a festiuall day with them, yet were they very fearefull and ready to run away at the first sight of vs, hauing seldome scene any Christian before. But assoone as Henry our Indian interpreter had tolde them what wee were, and our intent, they came to vs and vsed vs kindely, and brought vs victuals and other things. And the next day their captaine Mawewiron came out into Marawinne, with diuers canoas, and traded with vs, and wee went in

agaïne to them on shore, who made very much of vs, and carried vs from house to house, and made vs éate and drinke in euery house which wee came in. And the next day following being the last of March, hauing the captaine of Marrack with vs, wee weyed and stode into the riuier, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone came to an anker some eight leagues within the riuier, a litle short of a towne called Quiparia, the people whereof are Caribes: who, when they sawe vs come toward their towne with our boate, began all to runne into the woods, vntill the captaine of Marrac which was with vs in the boate, leaped oter-board and swamme on shoare vnto them, and told them that wee were Englishmen, and came in friendship to trade with them.

Vpon whose report they came before night sixe or seuen canoas aboard vs, yet very fearfull, because there was neuer either shippe or Christian seene in that riuier before. The first of Aprill, wee weighed againe, and stood in to the next towne called Macirria: where comming to anker, there came a canoa from Amana to vs, with great store of victuals, which canoa wee bought: and because wee mette with some sholds, we were loath to goe any farther with our Pinnesse: so there wee mored her, and the next day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, eleuen of vs (Master Monax hauing the gouernment of the action, by the Captaines appointment) with Mawerirou, Henry, and William of Cawo, in the canoa which we bought, went into the riuier farther to search it so farre as wee could, and that night gatte some fife leagues from our shippe. And betweene two villages, Awodwaier and Mapeributto, we tooke vp our lodging in the woods. The third of Aprill, betimes in the morning, we tooke our course still vnto the riuier, and in the afternoone came to one house where wee found many Indians, where wee hired another canoa and foure Indians, into the which I went, and one more of our men, and this night gat twelue leagues farther, and as before, lodged among the wilde beastes.

On Munday the fourth of Aprill, wee came to the falles of this riuier about two in the afternoone: and hauing shotte vp some of the rockes, wee went on shore vpon an island, and there conferred of our farther proceeding. And inquiring of the Indians that wee hired for our Pilots of the last house, whether the falles were passable or not: their first answer was, that they had nothing to eate: but wee being loath to loose so much



labour, and the sight of that vpper rich countrey, which wee desired, told them that they should haue victuals of vs (though God knoweth wee had none for our selues) who seeing vs so importunate, sayde farther, that the rockes would kill the canaos: which they sayde because indeed they had no victuals: which by some was taken for sufficient to proceede no farther, and so wee left off, and onely stayed some two houres vpon the island, and with the swiftnesse of the current, fell that night downe 10 leagues againe. Though I for mine owne part offered in that small canoa that I was in, being so leake, that my selfe did nothing but laue out the water, to lead them the way, and if they sawe any danger to mee, they might chuse whether they would come into it or not themselues.

A rich  
countrey.

For seeing the countrey aboue was rich as wee were informed, that their bowes were handled with golde, (being men of an extraordinarie stature for talnes) wee should haue taken the more paines, and haue fared the harder, vntill wee had gotten vp in the countrey which wee sawe with our eyes: for though wee had not victuals in any sort to cary vs vp, yet the woods doe yeld frutes and the palmito trees afforde meate, whereby wee might haue made shift to liue, vntill wee had come to the inhabitants, by whome we might both bee refreshed with victuals, and also haue reaped that, which might haue done vs good as long as wee had liued.

But to returne to the rest of our voyage: the day after wee went from the falles wee came to our shippe, which was the fifth of Aprill 1597. On Wednesday wee fell with our Pinnesse to Quiparia againe: where we brought her on ground right before the town, and trimmed her with the pitch of the countrey: and vntill wee had done, kept a corps du guard, night and day on shore, which was vpon Saturday following the ninth of Aprill. All the while we were there we had an house of the Caribes, and were kindly vsed of them, and had victuals, and euery thing we needed of them.

Pitch to  
trim shippes.

And so taking our leaue on Tuesday being the twelfth of Aprill, wee came to the mouth of Cusse-winne, where the Arwaccas of Marrac and of the riuer had provided and brought to vs such infinite store of potatoes, and Guiney-wheate, that the stewarde sayd wee had no stowage for them; and so they were turned backe, and wee by that meanes came to shorter allowance home ward bound, then (if there had bene any good care) wee needed to haue done.

The riuer of  
Cusse-  
winne.

On Fryday the fiftenth of Aprill, wee put fourth of Marawinne, which is some foure leagues ouer, and within one league and an halfe for the most part broad; full of islands, and diuers small riuers running into it: and it is betweene forty and fifty leagues, from the mouth to the falles, and lyeth for the most part South Southwest vp, alterihg some 3 poynts, being almost streight. And standing along to the Westward, this night we tryed with our mayne coarse and bonnet. On Saturday night we came to an anker, in three fathomes against Sewramo. On Sunday morning we thought to haue gone into Cuppanamo: but sending off our boat and finding vncertaine sounding, sometime 3

Coritine  
riuier.

Coritine and came into it vpon the Munday being the 18 of Aprill: and the next night wee came to anker against Warrawalle in 10 fathoms. On Wednesday the Indians of the towne hauing hunted a Doe, shee tooke soyle and came neer our ship, and putting off with our boat we tooke her, being like vnto our deere in England, not altogether so fat, but very good flesh and great bodied. In this riuier we met a Barke called the Iohn of London captaine Leigh being in her. And being both fallen downe within some fiue leagues of the mouth of the riuier, vpon intelligence that one Marracon, (whom wee brought along with vs) gaue vs, namely that the riuier Desekebe, in which he dwelt (and wherein there were some three hundred Spaniards, which for the most part now are destroyed and dead)

doeth lead so farre into the country, that it commeth within a dayes iourney of the lake called Perima, whereupon Manoa is supposed to stand; and that this riuier of Coritine doeth meete with Desekebe vp in the land: by meanes whereof wee make account to goe vp into the country, and to haue discovered a passage vnto that rich citie. So hauing concluded both shippes, we stood vp into the riuier againe, and comming to Warawalle the 24 of Aprill there our shippes roade vntill we went vp to Mawranamo to speake with Marracon, to know the trueth of these things: whom when we had found, he verified al that before he had spoken: Master Monax being the man that of Leonard of Cawe tooke all the intelligence: who being brought vp with Antonie Berreo could speake some Spanish and Marracons language also. And besides wee our selues by signes, and drawing the two riuers on the ground, and the meeting of them aloft, did perceiue as much. Now comming

dōwne with our boates the sixe and twentieth of Aprill we went vp with our ships to Mawranamo, where we morred them, and taking some twentie out of both, vpon Thursday the eight and twentieth in the afternoone with two shallops and two Canoas, in one of which Henry the Indian was and some twentie Indians more, wee went vp the river; and by night getting some three leagues farther wee lodged in the woods, and the next morning wee with our boate and the two Canoas went into a small riuer called Tapuere, to a towne called Macharibi, thinking to haue had Casauí and other victuals, which they were altogether vnprouided of, by reason that they make no more ready then serueth themselves from hand to mouth, liuing in this towne for the most part by fish. By meanes of going into this riuer, though wee rowed very hard it was noone before we ouertooke the bigger shallop wherein both the Captaines were. This night we came to a towne called Vaperon, where wee stayed all Saturday and the night following, for Casauí: whereof they baked good store for vs being but a fewe left in the towne. For not a moneth before wee came thither, the Waccawaes that dwell about the falles came downe to the towne, and slewe some tenne of them, and many of the rest fled away, so that wee found most of the houses emptie. Vpon Sunday morning being May day, wee went from this place, and by night gotte some twelue leagues beyond and being past all townes wee lodged as before in the woods, and the next day came to the falles of the riuer: vp some of which falles we shotte with our boates, and going vpon a rocke there came some nine canoas up the riuer to vs, and would haue gone vp with vs to kill the Waccawayans, because they had killed some of them, as before is said. Whereupon the Captaines and Master Monax tooke aduise: and because nowe they had learned, as they sayde, that fiue dayes iourney farther there was a fall not passable, and that by this meanes they should make the Waccawayans their enemies, which would turne to our great hurt, when Sir Walter Raleigh should come thither, hauing occasion to vse this riuer, where wee were informed was good store of golde, they resolved to returne, though I yeelded diuers reasons to the contrary. So vpon Tuesday night, we came backe to Vaperon, where we lodged.

And vpon Wednesday the fourth of May, wee came to our shippes: where it was reported that the Spaniardes were gonne

out of Desekebe, which was not so: but as it seemed in policie by them giuen out to make our men that wee left in our shippes more careless, that they might the easier haue surprised them in our absence. The next night we had newes brought vs to Mawranamo, where we yet roade, that there were tenne canoas of Spaniards in the mouth of Coritine; and fearing lest they had intended to come to vs in the night, we fitted all our gunnes and muskets, and kept good watch to preuent them of their purpose; who, as it was afterwards tolde vs, went along the coast to buy bread and other victuals for them in Orenoque, Marowgo, and Desekebe. Vpon Fryday the sixth of May we weighed and made downe the riuer, and vpon Sunday the eight we gat cleare of it.

This riuer is much like vnto Marawynne in bredth, and about fiftie leagues from the mouth to the first falles full of Islandes as the other: in which three riuers, Mano, Tapuere, and Tabuebbi, otherwise Tapuellibi: with six Townes, Warrawalle, Mawranamo, Maapuere, Maccharibi, Yohoron, and Vapéron. And so clering our selues of this coast, wee tooke our course to the Islands of the West Indies.

Now I thinke it not amisse to speak something of this country. And first touching the climate: though it stand within the Tropick, and something neere to the Equinoctiall, so that the Sunne is twice a yeere ouer their heads and neuer far from them, yet is it temperate ynough in those partes. For besides that wee lost not a man vpon the coast, one that was sicke before hee came there, was nothing sicker for being there, but came home safe, thanks be to God. And for mine owne part, I was neuer better in body in all my life, and in like sort fared it with the rest of the company; for indeed it is not so extreame hote as many imagine. The people in all the lower parts of the countrey goe naked, both men and women, being of seuerall languages, very tractable, and ingenious, and very louing and kinde to Englishmen generally; as by experience we found, and vpon our owne knowledge doe report. In the vpper countreys they goe apparelled; being, as it seemeth, of a more ciuill disposition, hauing great store of golde, as we are certainly informed by the lower Indians, of whom we had some golde, which they brought and bought in the high country of Wiana, being able to buy no more, because they wanted the things which now wee haue left among them. They

keepe no order of marriage: but haue as many wiues as they can buy, or win by force of their enemies, which principally is the cause of all their warres. For bread there is infinite store of casani, which is as good bread as a man need to eate, and better then we can cary any thither. We spent not a bit of our owne all the while we were vpon the coast. It is made of a root so called; which they take and scrape, and crush all the iuyce out, being poison; and when it is drie it is as fine floure as our white meale maketh: which drie as it is, without any moisture, they strew vpon a round stone, hauing a still fire vnder it, and so it congealeth to a cake; and when it commeth new off, it eateth like to our new white bread. Besides there is great store of Guiny-Wheat (whereof they make passing good <sup>Passing good</sup> drinke) which after it is once sowed, if you cut off drinke made <sup>of maiz.</sup> the eare, on the same stalke groweth another.

For victuals, wee either did not, or at least needed not to haue spent any of our owne: for there is great store of as good fish in the riuers, as any is in the world. Great store of fowle, of diuers sorts. Tortoise-flesh plentifull, and Tortoise egges innumerable. Deere, swine, conies, hares, cockes and hennes, with potatoes more then wee could spend. Besides, all kinde of fruits, at all times of the yeere: and the rarest fruits of the world, the pine, the plantan, with infinite other variable and pleasant, growing to their handes, <sup>The commo-</sup> without planting or dressing. For commodities, <sup>dities of</sup> though wee had but small time to search, because <sup>Wiana.</sup> wee spent so much time in searching the riuers: yet wee haue brought examples of some, which the countrey yeeldeth in great plenty: as a kinde of long hempe like vnto steele hempe, fine cotton wooll, which the trees yeeld great store of; and where-with the women make a fine threed, which will make excellent good fustians or stockings. Great store of pitch, diuers sorts of sweet gummes, and West Indian pepper, balsamum, parrots and monkies. Besides diuers other commodities, which in good time may be found out to the benefit of our countrey, and profit of the aduenturers, who as yet hauing ventured much, haue gained litle.

Now leauing the riuer of Coritine, passing by Saint Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Matalina, we came to Dominica vpon the Friday following, being the thirteenth of May, hauing lost the barke that came out with vs the Wednesday before. Vpon

They lost cap-  
taine Leigh  
in y<sup>e</sup> John  
London.

Sunday morning, the fifteenth of May, we came to Guadalupe, where wee watered at the souther part of the Island, and hauing done by night, we set saile, and stood away to the Northward, but were becalmed all night, and vntill tenne of the clocke on Munday night: at which time hauing a faire gale at East, and after at Southeast, wee passed along in the sight of Monserate, Antigua, and Barbuda. Vpon the ninth of Iune, being Thursday, we made the Islands of Flores and Coruo: and the eight and twentieth of Iune we made the Lisart, and that night came all safe to Plymmouth, blessed be God.

Betweene the Isle of Barbuda in the West Indies and England we had three mighty stormes, many calmes, and some contrary windes. And vpon the foureteenth of Iune 1597, there being diuers whales playing about our pinnesse, one of them crossed our stemme, and going vnder, rubbed her backe against our keele: but by none of all these we sustained any losse. Thanks be to him that gouerneth all things.

Written by Master  
Thomas Masham.

#### CERTAIN E BRIEF E TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING THE MIGHTIE RIVER OF AMAZONES OR ORELLANA, AND OF THE MOST WONDERFULL DOWNEFALL OR CATARACT OF WATERS AT THE HEAD THEREOF, NAMED BY TH SPANIARDS EL PONGO: TOGETHER WITH SOME MENTION OF THE RICH AND STATELY EMPIRE OF DORADO, CALLED BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH AND THE NATURAL INHABITANTS GUIANA, AND OF THE GOLDEN COUNTRY OF PAYTITY NEERE ADJOINING, WITH OTHER MEMORABLE MATTERS: TAKEN OUT OF IOSEPHUS DE ACOSTA\* HIS NATURALL AND MORALL HISTORIE OF THE WEST INDIES.

The first Testimonie out of Iosephus de Acosta, lib. 2. cap. 6.

BVt when we intreat of Riuers, that which some men call the riuer of Amazonas, others Marannon, others the riuer of Orellana,

\* Born circa 1540. Died in 1600. He was Provincial of the Jesuits of Peru. His principal works are: *History of the Indies* (here quoted), Seville 1590, 4to. ;—and *De Christo revelato*, Rome 1590. 4to.

doeth iustly put to silence all the rest, whereunto our Spaniards haue gone and sayled. And I stand in doubt, whether I may call it a riuer or a sea. This riuer runneth from the mountaines of Piru, from which it gathereth infinite store of waters, of raine, and riuers, which runneth along, gathering it selfe together, and passing through the great fieldes and plaines of Paytiti, of Dorado, and of the Amazones, and falleth at length into the Ocean sea, and entreth into it almost ouer against the Isles of Margarita and Trinidad. But it groweth so broad, especially towards the mouth, that it maketh in the midst many and great Isles: and that which seemeth incredible, sayling in the middle chanel of the riuer, men can see nothing but the skie and the riuer, although men say that there are hilles neere the bankes thereof, which can not be kenned, through the greatnesse of the Riuer. Wee vnderstood by very good meanes the wonderfull bredth and largenesse of this Riuer, which iustly may bee called the Emperour of Riuers, to wit by a brother of our companie, which being a boy was there, and sayled it wholly through, being personally present in all the successes of that strange enterance, which Pedro de Orsua made, and in the mutinies and perillous conspiracies of that wicked Diego de Aguirre, out of all which troubles and dangers the Lord deliuered him, to make him one of our societie.

The second Testimonie out of Iosephus de Acosta, lib. 3. cap. 20.

AMong all the riuers not onely of the West Indies but also of the whole world, the chief is the Riuer of Marañon or of the Amazones, whereof I haue spoken in the second booke. The Spaniards haue diuers times sayled along this riuer, with determination to discouer countries, which according to report, are of great riches, especially that which they call Dorado, and Paytiti. The Adelantado or admirall Iuan de Salians made a very notable entrance, although to small profite. It hath a salt or fall of water which they call El Pongo, which is one of the most dangerous places in the world: for being restrained betweene two exceeding hie diuided mountaines, it maketh a fall of terrible depth, where the water with the great descent maketh such whirlpooles that it seemeth impossible but that it should sink it self there into the ground. For all this the boldnes of men hath attempted to passe the said El Pongo for the greedines to come to that so famous

renowned Dorado. They suffered themselves to be caryed from aloft, being throwne downe headlong with the furie of the riuer, and sitting fast in their Canoas or boats in which they sayled, although they were ouer-turned in the fal, and they and their Canoas suncke downe to the bottome, yet they rose vp againe about the water, and at length with their hands and force gat out of the whirlpooles. The whole army in a maner escaped, sauing a very fewe which were drowned: and which I most maruel at, they handled the matter so well, that they lost not their victuals and powder which they caryed with them. In their returne (for after great trauels and dangers they returned that way againe) they clymed vp ouer one of those afore-saide exceeding high mountaines, creeping vp vpon their hands and feete.

Captaine Pedro de Orsua made another enterance by the selfe same riuer, and after hee was slaine by a mutinie of his people, other captaines followed the discouerie, by the arme that falleth into the North Sea. One of our companie told me (who while he was a secular man was in al that expedition) that they entred vp the Riuer almost an hundred leagues with the tydes, and that when the fresh water and the salt meeteth, which is either almost vnder or very neere the Equinoctial line, the riuer is 70 leagues broad, a thing incredible, and which exceedeth the breadth of the Mediterran sea. Howbeit other in their descriptions make it not past 25 or 30 leagues broad at the mouth.

The Third Testimonie out of Iosephus de Acosta, lib. 3. cap. 25.

IN that part of America, whereof the coasts be thoroughly known, the greater part of the Inland is not knowen, which is that which falleth betweene Piru and Brasil, and there are diuers opinions of some, which say, that it is all sunken land full of lakes and bogges, and of others, which affirme that there are great and flourishing kingdomes there, and there they place the Countrey of Paytity, and Dorado, and great Emperours, and say, that there are wonderfull things there. I heard of one of our companie my selfe, a man of credite, that hee had seene great townes, and high wayes as broad and as much beaten, as the wayes betweene Salamanca and Validolid: and this was when the great entrance or discouerie was made by the great riuer of the Amazones or Marannon by Pedro de Orsua, and afterwarde by others that



succeeded him: and they supposing that Dorado which they sought, was farther vp in the countrey, did not inhabite there, and afterward returned without discovering Dorado (which they neuer found) and without that great prouince which they left.

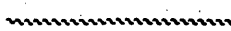
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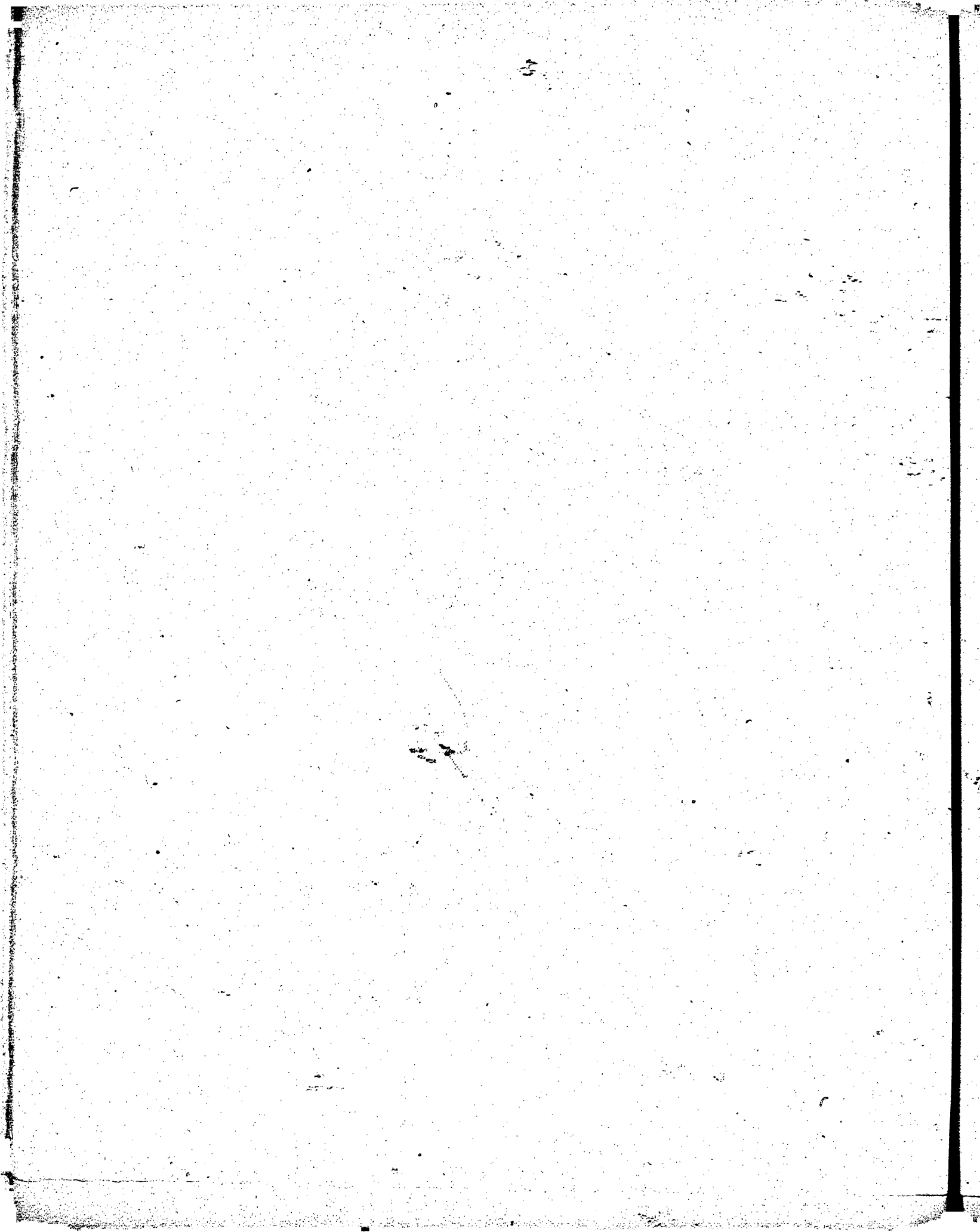
A short description of the riuer of Marannon or Amazones, and the Countries thereabout, as also of the sea of Fresh-water, taken out of an ancient discourse of all the Portes, Creekes, and Hauens of the West Indies, Written by Martin Fernandez de Enciça, and dedicated to Charles the Emperour, Anno 1518.

MArannon lyeth in seuen degrees and a halfe Northward of the Equinoctial, it is a great riuer, and hath more then fiteene leagues in bredth eight leagues within the land. It hath many islands, and in this riuer within the land fortie leagues there is neere to the sayde riuer a mountaine, whereupon growe trees of Incense, the trees be of a good height, and the boughs thereof be like to Plumtrees, and the Incense doeth hang at them, as the yce doeth at the tiles of a house in the winter season when it doeth freeze. In this riuer were taken foure Indians in a smal boat, called in the Indian language a Canoa, that came downe by the riuer, and there were taken from them two stones of Emeralds, the one of them being as great as a mans hand. They sayd that so many dayes iourney going vpward by the riuer, they found a rocke of that stone. Likewise there were taken from them two loaves made of floure, which were like to cakes of Sope, and it seemed that they were kneaded with the licour of Balsamum. All this coast from the Cape of S. Austine vnto Marannon is a cleare coast and deep, but neere to the riuer are certaine sholds towards the East part. And by the West part the riuer is deepe,

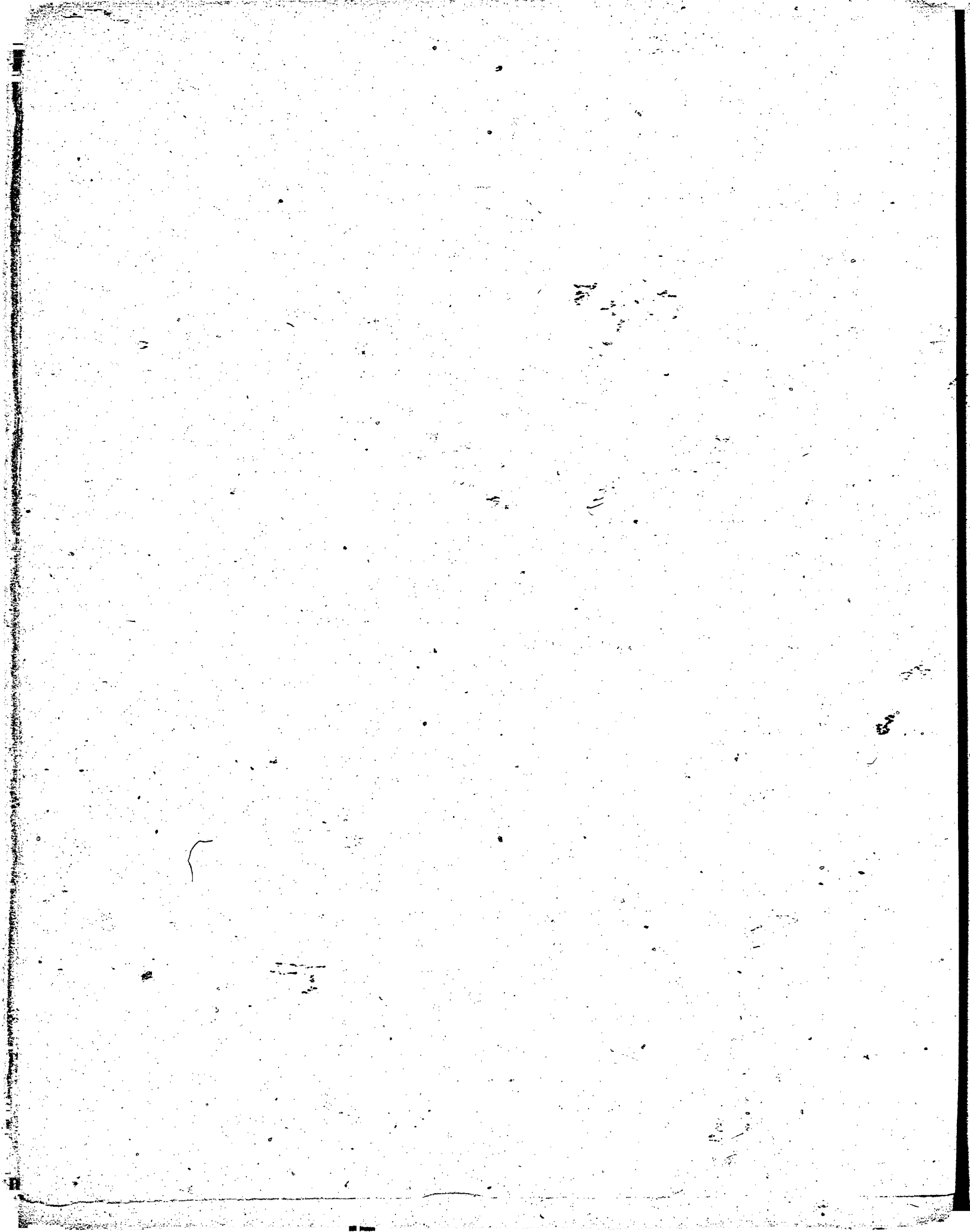
and it hath a good entrie. From this riuer Marannon, vnto the riuer which is called The sea of fresh water, are 25 leagues: this riuer hath 40 leagues of bredth at the mouth, and carrieth such abundance of water that it entreth more then 20 leagues into the Sea, and mingleth not it selfe with the salt water: this bredth goeth 25 leagues within the land, and after it is diuided into partes, the one going toward the Southeast, and the other towards the Southwest. That which goeth towards the Southeast is very deepe and of much water, and hath a channel half a league of bredth, that a Carack may goe vp through it: and the tydes be so swift, that the ships haue need of good cables. The riuer of this port is very good, and there haue bene some that haue entred 50 leagues within it, and haue scene no mountaines. The Indians of this country haue their lips made full of small holes in 4 parts, and through those holes be put small rings, and likewise at their eares: and if any man ask of them where they had their gold, they answer, that going vp by the riuer so many dayes journey, they found certaine mountaines that had much of it, and from those mountaines they brought it when they would haue it, but they made no great account of it, for they neither buy nor sell, and amongst them is nothing but change. In this country they eate bread of rootes, and Maiz, and they eate certaine rootes which they call Aies and Baratas, but the Baratas bee better then the other rootes, and being rawe they haue a smell of Chestnuts: they are to be eaten roasted. These Indians doe make wine of the fruit of Date-trees, which fruit is yellow in colour, and is as great as a little Doves egge, and being in season is good to be eaten, and of it procedeth good wine, and is preserued for a long time. These kinde of people do make their houses with vpper roomes, and they sleepe in them, as also all their habitation is in the vpper roomes, and that which is belowe, they leaue open: and also they vse certaine mantels of cotten wooll, and these they tie at the endes with ropes, and the one ende of the rope they make fast to one part of the house, and the other ende to the other part of the house: and in these they lye, which bee their beddes, and these kinde of beds bee vsed in all India, and there is not in any part of India any chambers that the people do vse to lodge in aloft from the ground, nor they make any hie roomes, but only in this part of India: and in al other places they make their houses without any loftes or chambers, and they couer their houses with the leaues of date-trees, and of

grasse. And from this fresh water sea vnto Paria, the coast lyeth West Northwest, and is so ful of sholds that the ships cannot come neer to the land. There are from this riuer to Paria 250 leagues. In this fresh water sea, the tydes do ebbe and flow as much as they do in Britayne, and it standeth in 6 degrees and a halfe. Paria standeth on the other side of the Equinoctial towards the North, in seuen degrees: In Paria the sea floweth but little, and from Paria towards the West, the sea doth not flow. From the entry of the gulfe of Paria vnto the Cape that lyeth towards the West, are 35 leagues, and from the coast turneth towards the Northeast other 35 leagues, and from thence the coast turneth toward the West. Before this gulfe standeth the Island of Trinidad, and towards the West doeth appeare the gulfe of Paria like to halfe a round circle, after the fashion of a Diameter, and at the end of this circle is the entry in of Paria, and at this entry there is betweene the land and the Island 8 leagues, and on the other side there is but litle space betweene the lland and the land, but it is deepe, and hath a good entry: this lland of Trinidad hath in length 25 leagues, and as many in bredth, and standeth in eight degrees, and is inhabited of many people, and as yet not vnder subiection. Here the Indians do vse to shoote with bowes, and arrowes which are of a fathome in length, made of reeds, which grow in that Countrey, and at the ende of them is artificially ioyned a piece of wood very strong, vnto the which piece of wood at the end of it, they put a bone of a fish, in place of an arrow head: these kinde of bones bee harder then Diamonds, and euery one of them be three or foure fingers long, and they are taken out of a fish that hath three of these bones, one vpon the backe, another vnder euery wing: but that which groweth vpon the backe is the strongest and the greatest. In this Island the people saith that there groweth golde: and in this Island and in Paria growe reedes so great, that they make staues of them and cary of them into Spaine. Likewise there bee Popinayes very great and gentle, and some of them haue their foreheads yellow, and this sort do quickly learne to speak, and speak much. There be likewise in the gulf of Paria pearles, although not many, but very good and great.





The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques,  
AND  
Discoveries to the West Indies.



## THE PRINCIPAL VOYAGES

OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO THE ISLES OF TRINIDAD, MARGARITA, DOMINICA, DESEADA, MONSERRATE, GUADALUPE, MARTININO, AND ALL THE REST OF THE ANTILLES; AS LIKEWISE TO S. IUAN DE PUERTO RICO, TO HISPANIOLA, IAMAICA AND CUBA: AND ALSO TO TIERRA FIRMA, AND ALL ALONG THE COAST AND ISLANDS THEREOF, EUEN FROM CUMANA AND THE CARACAS TO THE NECKLAND OF DARIENE, AND OUER IT TO THE GULFE OF S. MICHAEL AND THE ISLE OF PERLES IN THE SOUTH SEA: AND FURTHER TO CABEÇA CATIUA, NOMBRE DE DIOS, AND VENTA DE CRUZES, TO PUERTO BELO, RIO DE CHAGRE, AND THE ISLE OF ESCUDO, ALONG THE MAINE OF BERAGUA, TO THE CAPE AND GULFE OF THE HONDURAS, TO TRUXILLO, PUERTO DE CAVALLOS, AND ALL OTHER THE PRINCIPALL TOWNES, ISLANDS AND HARBOURS OF ACCOMPT WITHIN THE SAID GULFE, AND VP RIO DOLCE FALLING INTO THIS GULFE, ABOUE 30. LEAGUES: AS ALSO TO THE ISLE OF COCUMEL, AND TO CAPE COTOCHÉ, THE TOWNE OF CAMPECHE, AND OTHER PLACES VPON THE LAND OF IUCATAN; AND LOWER DOWNE TO S. IUAN DE VLLUA, VERA CRUZ, RIO DE PANUCO, RIO DE PALMAS, ETC. WITHIN THE BAY OF MEXICO: AND FROM THENCE TO THE ISLES OF THE TORTUGAS, THE PORT OF HAUANA, THE CAPE OF FLORIDA, AND THE GULFE OF BAHAMA HOMEWARDS.

WITH THE TAKING, SACKING, RANSOMING, OR BURNING OF MOST OF THE PRINCIPALL CITIES AND TOWNES VPON THE COASTS OF TIERRA FIRMA, NUEUA ESPANNA, AND ALL THE FORESAID ISLANDS; SINCE THE MOST TRAITEROUS BURNING OF HER MAIESTIES SHIP THE IESUS OF LUBEC AND MURDERING OF HER SUBIECTS. IN THE PORT OF S. IUAN DE VLLUA, AND THE LAST GENERALL ARREST OF HER HIGHNESSE PEOPLE, WITH THEIR SHIPS AND GOODS THROUGHOUT ALL THE DOMINIONS OF THE KING OF SPAINE IN THE MONETH OF IUNE 1585. BESIDES THE MANIFOLD AND TYRANNICALL OPPRESSIONS OF THE INQUISITION INFLICTED ON OUR NATION VPON MOST LIGHT AND FRIUOLOUS OCCASIONS.

THE PRINCIPAL VOYAGES OF  
THE ENGLISH NATION TO THE ISLES OF TRINIDAD, MARGARITA, ETC.

The voyage of Sir Thomas Pert, and Sebastian Cabot, about the eight yeere of King Henry the eight, which was the yere 1516. to Brasil, Santo Domingo, and S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

THat learned and painefull writer Richard Eden in a certaine Epistle of his to the duke of Northumberland, before a worke which he translated out of Munster in the yeere 1553, called A treatise of new India, maketh mention of a voyage of discouerie vndertaken out of England by sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabota, about the 8. yere of King Henry the eight of famous memorie, imputing the ouerthrow thereof vnto the cowardise and want of stomack of the said Sir Thomas Pert, in maner following. If manly courage, saith he, (like vnto that which hath bene seene and proued in your Grace, as well in forreine realmes, as also in this countrey) had not bene wanting in other in these our dayes, at such time as our soueraigne lord of famous memorie king Henry the 8. about the same yeere of his raigne, furnished and sent out certaine shippes vnder the gouernance of Sebastian Cabot yet liuing and one Sir Thomas Pert, whose faint heart was

the cause that the voyage took none effect; if, I say, This sir Thomas Pert was Vice-admirall of England, and dwelt in Poplar at Blackwall. such manly courage, whereof wee haue spoken, had not at that time beene wanting, it might happily haue come to passe, that that rich treasure called Perularia, (which is nowe in Spaine in the citie of Siuill, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the newfoundland of Peru) might long since haue beene in the tower of London, to the kings great honour and wealth of this realme. Hereunto that also is to bee referred which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne wrote to the sayde king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527. by doctor Leigh his ambassadour sent into Spaine to the Emperour Charles the fift whose wordes bee these. Now rest to be discouered the North parts, the which it seemeth vnto me, is onely your highnes charge and dutie, because the situation of this your realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also, for that already you haue taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leaue so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may



so easily and with so little cost, labour and danger be followed and obtained. Though hitherto your grace haue made thereof a-proofe, and found not the commoditie thereby as you trusted, at this time it shalbe none impediment: for there may be now provided remedies for things then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets remooued, that then were cause your graces desire tooke no full effect: which is, the courses to be changed, and to follow the aforesayd new courses. And concerning the mariners, ships, and prouision, an order may be deuised and taken meete and conuenient, much better then hitherto: by reason whereof, and by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. And whereas in the aforesayd wordes M. Robert Thorne sayth, that he would haue the old courses to bee changed, and the newe courses (to the North) to bee followed: It may plainely be gathered, that the former voyage, whereof twise or thrise he maketh mention, wherein it is like that sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot were set fourth by the king, was made towarde Brasill and the South parts. Moreouer it seemeth that Gonsaluo de Ouiedo,\* a famous Spanish writer alludeth vnto the sayde voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and natural historie of the West Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foresaid voyage was begun. The authors wordes are these, as I finde them translated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptista Ramusius. Nel 1517. Vn Corsaro Inglese, sotto colore di venire à discoprire, se ne venne con vna gran naue alla volta del Brasil nella costiera di Terra ferma, e indi attrauerso à questa isola Spagnuola, e giunse presso la bocca del porto di questa città di S. Domenico, e mandò in terra il suo battello pieno di gente, e chiese licentia di potere qui entrare, dicendo che venia con mercantie a negoziare. Ma in quello instante il castellano, Francesco di Tapia fece tirare alla naue vn tiro d'artiglieria da questo castello, perche ella se ne veniuu diritta al porto. Quando gli Inglesi viddero questo si ritirarono fuori, e quelli del battello tosto si raccolsero in naue. E nel vero il Castellan fece errore: perche se ben fosse naue entrata nel porto, non sarebbono le genti potuto smontare à terra senza volontà e

\* Born at Madrid in 1478. He happened to be in *Barcelona* on the return of Columbus in 1493, and was intimate with the explorer. His History was published at Salamanca in 1535, folio.

della città e del castello. La naue adunque veggendo  
 San Iuan de puerto Rico. come vi era riceuuta, tirò la volta dell' isola di San  
 Giouanni, ed entrata nel porto di San Germano  
 parlarono gli Inglesi con quelli della terra, e dimandarono vetto-  
 uaglie e fornimenti per la naue, e si lamentarono di quelli di  
 questa città, dicendo che essi non veniuano per fare dispiacere,  
 ma per contrattare, e negoziare con suoi danari e mercantie.  
 Hora quiui hebbero alcune vettouaglie, ed in compensa essi  
 diedero e pagarono in certi stagni laurati ed altre cose. E poi  
 si partirono alla volta d'Europa, doue si crede, che non gungessero,  
 perche non se ne seppe piu nuoua mai. This extract importeth thus much in English, to wit: That in the yeere 1517.  
 an English Rouer vnder the colour of traelling to discouer, came with a great shippe vnto the parts of Brasill on the coast of the firme land, and from thence he crossed ouer vnto this Iland of Hispanolia, and arriued neere vnto the mouth of the hauen of this cite of S. Domingo, and sent his shipboate full of men on shoare, and demaunded leaue to enter into this hauen, saying that hee came with marchandise to traffique. But at that very instant the gouernour of the castle Francis de Tapia caused a tire of ordinance to be shot from the castle at the ship, for she bare in directly with the hauen. When the Englishmen sawe this, they withdrew themselues out, and those that were in the shipboate, got themselues with all speede on shipboard. And in trueth the warden of the castle committed an ouersight: for if the shippe had entred into the hauen, the men thereof could not haue come on lande without leaue both of the cite and of the castle. Therefore the people of the ship seeing how they were receiued, sayled toward the Iland of S. Iohn, and entring into the port of S. Germaine, the English men parled with those of the towne, requiring victuals and things needefull to furnish their ship, and complained of the inhabitants of the city of S. Domingo, saying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandise. In this place they had certaine victuals, and for recompence they gaue and paid them with certain vessell of wrought tinne and other things. And afterward they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arriued not: for wee neuer heard any more newes of them. Thus farre proceedeth Gonsaluo de Ouiedo, who though it please him to call the captain of this great English ship a rouer, yet it appeareth by the Englishmens owne words, that

they came to discover, and by their traffique for pewter vessell and other wares at the towne of S. Germaine in the Iland of S. Iohn de puerto rico, it cannot bee denied but that they were furnished with wares for honest traffique and exchange. But whosoever is conversant in reading the Portugall and Spanish writers of the East and West Indies, shall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rousers, and theeues, which visite any heathen coast that they haue once sayled by or looked on. Howbeit their passionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to bee preiudiciall to other mens chargeable and painefull enterprises and honourable trauels in discoverie.

A briefe note concerning a voyage of one Thomas Tison an English man, made before the yeere 1526. to the West Indies, and of his abode there in maner of a secret factor for some English marchants, which vnder hand had trade thither in those dayes: taken out of an olde ligier-booke of M. Nicolas Thorne the elder, a worshipfull marchant of Bristol.

IT appeareth out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custodie of mee Richard Hakluyt, written 1526. by master Nicolas Thorne the elder, a principall marchant of Bristol, vnto his friend and factour Thomas Midnall, and his seruant William Ballard at that time remaining at S. Lucar in Andaluzia: that before the sayd yeere one Thomas Tison an Englishman had found the way to the West Indies, and was there resident: vnto whom the aforesayd M. Nicolas Thorne sent armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd. This Thomas Tison (so farre as I can coniecture) may seeme to haue bene some secret factour for M. Thorne and other English marchants in those remote partes; whereby it is probable that some of our marchants had a kinde of trade to the West Indies euen in those ancient times and before also: neither doe I see any reason why the Spaniards should debarre vs from it at this present.

The first voyage of the right worshipfull and valiant knight sir Iohn Hawkins, sometimes treasurer of her Maiesties nauie Roial, made to the West Indies 1562.

MAster Iohn Hawkins hauing made diuers voyages to the Iles

of the Canaries, and there by his good and vpright dealing being growen in loue and fauour with the people, informed himselfe amongst them by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West India, whereof hee had receiued some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the aduertisements and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulars assured, that Negros were very good merchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of Negros might easily bee had vpon the coast of Guinea, resolued with himselfe to make triall thereof, and communicated that deuise with his worshipfull friendes of London: namely with Sir Lionell Ducket, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Gunson his father in law, sir William Winter, M. Bromfield, and others. All which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberrall contributors and aduenturers in the action. For which purpose there were three good ships immediatly prouided: The one called the Salomon of the burthen of 120. tunne, wherein M. Hawkins himselfe went as Generall: The second the Swallow of 100. tunnes, wherein went for Captaine M. Thomas Hampton: and the third the Ionas a barke of 40. tunnes, wherein the Master supplied the Captaines roome: in which small fleete M. Hawkins tooke with him not aboute 100. men, for feare of sicknesse and other inconueniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subiect.

With this companie he put off and departed from the coast of England in the moneth of October 1562. and in his course Sierra Leona touched first at Teneriffe, where hee receiued friendly <sup>called</sup> intertainement. From thence he passed to Sierra Tagarin. Leona, vpon the coast of Guinea, which place by the people of the country is called Tagarin, where he stayed some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sworde, and partly by other meanes, to the number of 300. Negros at the least, besides other merchandises which that country yeeldeth. With this praye hee sayled ouer the Ocean sea vnto the Iland of Hispaniola, and arriued first at the port of Isabella: and there hee had reasonable vtterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his Negros, trusting the Spaniards no further, then that by his owne strength he was able still to master them. From the port of Isabella he went to Puerto de Plata, where he made like sales, standing alwaies vpon his guard: from thence also hee sayled to Monte Christi another port on the North side of Hispaniola, and the last place of his touching, where he had

peaceable traffique, and made vent of the whole number of his Negros: for which he receiued in those 3. places by way of exchange such quantitie of merchandise, that hee did not onely lade his owne 3. shippes with hides, ginger, sugars, and some quantitie of pearles, but he freighted also two other hulkes with hides and other like commodities, which hee sent into Spaine. And thus leauing the Iland, he returned and disemboqued, passing out by the Ilands of the Caycos, without further entring into the bay of Mexico, in this his first voyage to the West India. And so with prosperous successe and much gaine to himselfe and the aforesayde aduenturers, he came home, and arriued in the moneth of September 1563.

The voyage made by M. Iohn Hawkins Esquire, and afterward knight, Captaine of the Iesus of Lubek, one of her Maiesties shippes, and Generall of the Salomon, and other two barkes going in his companie, to the coast of Guinea, and the Indies of Noua Hispania, begun in An. Dom. 1564.

MAster Iohn Hawkins with the Iesus of Lubek, a shippe of 700. and the Salomon a shippe of 140. the Tiger a barke of 50. and the Swallow of 30. tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundreth threescore and tenne, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voyage, departed out of Plymmouth the 18. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foresail, a marueilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the shippe, who by the pullie of the sheat was slaine out of hand, being a sorowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out ten leagues to the sea, he met the same day with the Minion a ship of the Queenes Maiestie, whereof was Captaine Dauid Carlet, and also her consort the Iohn Baptist of London, being bounde to Guinea also, The Minion, the Iohn Baptist, and the Merlin, bound for Guinea. who hailed one the other after the custome of the sea with certaine pieces of ordinance for ioy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to seeke her other consort the Merlin of London, which was a sterne out of sight, leauing in M. Hawkin companie the Iohn Baptist her other consort.

Thus sayling forwards on their way with a prosperous winde

untill the 21. of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the winde being at Northeast about nine a clocke in the night, and continued so 23. houres together, in which storme M. Hawkins lost the companie of the Iohn Baptist aforesayd, and of his pinnesse called the Swallow, his other 3. shippes being sore beaten with a storme. The 23. day the Swallow to his no small reioycing, came to him againe in the night, 10. leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister, he hauing put roomer, not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary winde at Southwest. The 25. the wind continuing contrary, hee put into a place in Galicia, called Ferroll, where hee remained fise dayes, and appointed all the Masters of his shippes an order for the keeping of good companie in this manner: The small shippes to bee alwayes a head and

Good orders for a flecte in a long voyage. aweather of the Iesus, and to speake twice a day with the Iesus at least: if in the day the Ensigne bee ouer the poepe of the Iesus, or in the night two lights, then shall all the shippes speake with her: If there bee three lights aboard the Iesus, then doeth she cast about. If the weather bee extreme, that the small shippes cannot keepe companie with the Iesus, then all to keepe companie with the Salomon, and fourthwith to repaire to the Iland of Teneriffe, to the Northward of the road of Sirroes; If any happen to any misfortune then to shew two lights, and to shoote off a piece of ordinance. If any lose companie, and come in sight againe, to make three yawes, and strike the Myson three times: Serue God daily, lotie one another, preserue your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie.

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

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

The fourth of Nouember they had sight of the Iland of Madera, and the sixt day of Teneriffe, which they thought to haue beene the Canarie, in that they supposed themselues to haue beene to the Eastward of Teneriffe, and were not: but the Minion being three or foure leagues a head of vs, kept on her course to Teneriffe, hauing better sight thereof then the other had, and by that meanes they parted companie. For M. Hawkins and his companie went more to the West, vpon which course hauing sayled a while, hee espied another Iland, which hee thought to bee Teneriffe, and being not able by meanes of the fogge vpon the hils, to discerne the same, nor yet to fetch it by night, went roomer vntill the morning, being the seuenth of Nouember, which as yet hee could not discerne, but sayled along the coast the space of two houres, to perceiue some certaine marke of Teneriffe, and found no likelyhood thereof at all, <sup>The Ile of</sup> as it was in deede, the Ile of <sup>Palmes.</sup> Palmes: and so sayling forwards, espied another <sup>Gomera and</sup> Iland called Gomera, and also Teneriffe, with the <sup>Teneriffe.</sup> which hee made, and sayling all night, came in the morning the next day to the port of Adecia, where he found his pinnesse which had departed from him the sixt of the moneth, being in the weather of him, and espying the pike of Teneriffe all a high, bare thither. At his arriuall somewhat before hee came to anker, hee hoysed out his shippes pinnesse rowing a shoare, intending to haue sent one with a letter to Peter de Ponte, one of the gouernours of the Iland, who dwelt a league from the shoare: but as hee pretended to haue landed, suddenly there appeared vpon the two points of the roade, men leuelling of bases and harguebuzes to them, with diuers others to the number of fourescore, with halberds, pikes, swordes and targets, which happened so contrary to his expectation, that it did greatly amaze him, and the more, because hee was nowe in their danger, not knowing well howe to auoyde it without some mischief. Wherefore hee determined to call to them for the better appeasing of the matter, declaring his name, and professing himselfe to bee an especiall friend to Peter de Ponte, and that he had sundry things for him which he greatly desired. And in the meane time, while hee was

thus talking with them, whereby he made them to holde their hands, hee willed the mariners to rowe away, so that at last he gat out of their danger: and then asking for Peter de Ponte, one of his sonnes being Sennor Nicolas de Ponte, came forth, whom hee perceiuing, desired to put his men aside, and he himselfe would leape a shoare, and commune with him, which they did: so that after communication had betweene them of sundry things, and of the feare they both had, master Hawkins desired to haue certaine necessaries prouided for him. In the meane space, while these things were prouiding, hee trimmed the maine mast of the *Jesus* which in the storme aforesayd was sprung: here he soiourned 7. dayes, refreshing himselfe and his men. In the  
 Santa Cruz. which time Peter de Ponte dwelling at S. Cruz, a citie 20. leagues off, came to him, and gaue him as gentle intertainment as if he had bene his owne brother. To

A briefe description of the commodities of the Canarie Ilands. speake somewhat of these Ilands, being called in olde time *Insulæ fortunatæ*, by the meanes of the flourishing thereof, the fruitfulness of them doeth surely exceede farre all ether that I haue heard of: for they make wine better then any in Spaine, they haue grapes of such bignesse, that they may bee compared to damsons, and in taste inferiour to none: for sugar, sockets, raisins of the Sunne, and many other fruits, abundance: for rosine and raw silke, there is great store, they want neither come, pullets, cattell, nor yet wilde foule: they haue many Camels also, which being young, are eaten of the people for victuals, and being olde, they are vsed for caryage of necessaries: whose propertie, is as hee is taught to kneele at the taking of his loade, and vnloading againe: his nature is to ingender backward contrary to other beastes: of vnderstanding very good, but of shape very deformed, with a little bellie, long misshapen legges, and feete very broad of flesh, without a hoofe, all whole, sauing the great toe, a backe bearing vp like a molehill, a large and thin necke, with a little head, with a bunch of hard flesh, which nature hath giuen him in his breast to leane vpon. This beast liueth hardly, and is contented with strawe and stubble, but of force strong, being well able to carrie 500. weight. In one of these Ilands called *Fierro*, there is by the reports of the inhabitants, a certaine tree that raineth continually, by the dropping whereof the inhabitants and cattell are satisfied with water, for other water haue they none in all the Iland. And it raineth in such abund-



ance, that it were incredible vnto a man to beleue such a vertue to bee in a tree, but it is knowne to be a diuine matter, and a thing ordeined by God, at whose power therein wee ought not to maruell, seeing he did by his prouidence as we read in the Scriptures, when the children of Israel were going into the land of promise, feede them with Manna from heauen, for the space of 40. yeeres. Of the trees aforesaid wee saw in Guinie many, being of great height, dropping continually, but not so abundantly as the other because the leaues are narrower, and are like the leaues of a pearre tree. Trees dropping water in Guinie. About these Ilands are certaine flitting Ilands, which haue bene oftentimes seene, and when men approched neere them, they vanished: as the like hath bene of these Ilands nowe knowne by the report of the inhabitants, which were not found of long time one after the other: and therefore it should seeme hee is not yet borne to whom God hath appoynted the finding of them. In this Iland of Tenetiffe there is a hill called The Pike, because it is piked, which is in height by The pike of Tenetiffe. their reports twentie leagues, hauing both winter and summer abundance of snowe in the top of it: This pike may bee seene in a cleere day fiftie leagues off, but it sheweth as though it were a blacke cloude a great heighth in the element. I haue heard of none to be compared with this in heighth, but in the Indias I haue seene many, and in my iudgement not inferiour to the Pike, and so the Spaniards write.

The 15. of Nouember at night we departed from Tenetiffe, and the 20. of the same wee had sight of ten Carauals, that were fishing at sea; with whome we would haue spoken, but they fearing vs, fled into a place of Barbarie, Cape de las Barbas. called Cape de las Barbas.

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

The 25 we came to Cape Blanco, which is vpon the coast of Africa, and a place where the Portugals do ride, that fish there in the moneth of Nouember especially, and is a very good place of fishing, for Pargoes, Mullet, and Dogge fish. In this place the Portugals haue no holde for their defence, but haue rescue of the Barbarians, whom they entertaine as their souldiers, for the time of their being there, and for their fishing vpon that coast of Africa, doe pay a certaine tribute to the king of the Moores. The people of that part of Africa are tawnie, hauing long haire without any apparell, sauing before their priue members. Their weapons in warres are bowes and arrowes.

The 26 we departed from S. Auis Baye, within Cape Blanco, where we refreshed our selues with fish, and other necessaries: and the 29 wee came to Cape Verde, which lieth in 14 degrees, and a halfe. These people are all blacke, and are called Negros, without any apparell, sauing before their priuities: of stature goodly men, and well liking by reason of their food, which passeth all other Guyneans for kine, goats, pullin, rise, fruits, and fish. Here wee tooke fishes with heades like conies, and teeth nothing varying, of a iolly thickenesse, but not past a foote long, and is not to be eaten without flaying or cutting off his head. To speake somewhat of the sundry sortes of these Guyneans: the people of Capé Verde are called Leophares, and counted the goodliest men of all other, sauing the Congoes, which do inhabite on this side the cape de Buena Esperança. These Leophares haue warres against the Ieloffes, which are borderers by them: their weapons are bowes and arrowes, targets, and short daggés, darts also, but varying from other Negros: for whereas the other vse a long dart to fight with in their hands, they cary fiue or sixe small ones a peece, which they cast with. These men also are more ciuill then any other, because of their dayly trafficke with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle and louing: for while we were there, we tooke in a Frenchman, who was one of the 19 that going to Brasile, in a Barke of Diepe, of 60 tunnes, and being a sea boord of Cape Verde, 200 leagues, the planks of their Barke with a sea brake out vpon them so suddenly, that much a doe they had to saue themselues in their boats: but by Gods prouidence, the wind being Westerly, which is rarely seene there, they got

to the shore, to the Isle Braua, and in great penurie gotte to Cape Verde, where they remained six weekes, and had meate and drinke of the same people. The said Frenchman hauing forsaken his fellowes, which were three leagues off from the shore, and wandring with the Negros too and fro, fortun'd to come to the waters side: and communing with certaine of his countrey men, which were in our ship, by their perswasions came away with vs: but his entertainment amongst them was such, that he desired it not: but through the importunate request of his Countrey men, consented at the last. Here we stayed but one night, and part of the day: for the 7 of December wee came away, in that pretending to haue taken Negros there perforce, the Mynions men gaue them there to vnderstand of our comming, and our pretence, wherefore they did auoyde the snares we had layd for them.

The 8 of December, wee ankered by a small Island called Alcatrarsa, wherein at our going a shore, we found nothing but sea-birds, as we call them Ganets, but by the Portugals, called Alcatrarses, who for that cause gaue the said Island the same name. Herein halfe of our boates were laden with yong and olde fowle, who not being vsed to the sight of men, flew so about vs, that we stroke them down with poles. In this place the two shippes riding, the two Barkes, with their boates, went into an Island of the Sapias, called La Formio, to see if they could take any of them, and there landed to the number of 80 in armour, and espying certaine made to them, but they fled in such order into the woods, that it bcoted them not to follow: so going on their way forward till they came to a riuer which they could not passe ouer, they espied on the otherside two men, who with their bowes and arrowes shot terribly at them. Whereupon wee discharged certaine harquebuzers to them againe, but the ignorant people wayed it not, because they knewe not the danger thereof: but vsed a marueilous crying in their fight with leaping and turning their tayles, that it was most strange to see, and gaue vs great pleasure to beholde them. At the last, one being hurt with a harquebuz vpon the thigh, looked vpon his wound and wist not howe it came, because hee could not see the pellet. Here Master Hawkins perceiuing no good to be done amongst them, because we could not finde their townes, and also not knowing how to goe into Rio grande, for want of a Pilote, which was the very occasion of our comming

thither: and finding so many sholes, feared with our great ships to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols.

The 10 of December, we had a Northeast winde, with raine and storme, which weather continuing two dayes together, was the occasion that the Salomon, and Tygre loste our companie: for whereas the Iesus, and pinnesse ankered at one of the Islands called Sambula, the twelfth day, the Salomon and Tygre came not thither till the 14. In this Iland wee stayed certaine daies, going every day on shore to take the Inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their townes, who before were Sapiés, and were conquered by the Samboses, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona. These Samboses had inhabited there three yeres before our comming thither, and in so short space hane so planted the ground, that they had great plentie of Mil, Rise, Rootes, Pom-pions, Pullin, goates, of small frye dried, every house full of the Countrey fruite planted by Gods providence, as Palmito trees, fruites like dates, and sundry other in no place in all that Countrey so abundantly, whereby they lived more deliciously then other. These inhabitants haue diuerse of the Sapiés, which they tooke in the warres as their slaues, whome onely they kept to till the ground, in that they neither haue the knowledge thereof, nor yet will worke themselves, of whome wee tooke many in that place, but of the Samboses none at all, for they fled into the maine. All the Samboses haue white teeth as we haue, farre vnlike to the Sapiés which doe inhabite about Rio grande, for

The Sam- their teeth are all filed, which they doe for a brauerie, boses man- to set out themselues, and doe iagge their flesh, both eaters. legges, armes, and bodies, as workemanlike, as a Ierkin maker with vs pinketh a ierkin. These Sapiés be more ciuill then the Samboses: for whereas the Samboses liue most by the spoile of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them also. The Sapiés doe not eate mans flesh, vnlesse in the warre they be driuen by necessitie thereunto, which they haue not vsed, but by the example of the Samboses, but liue onely with fruites, and cattell, whereof they haue great store. This plentie is the occasion that the Sapiés desire not warre, except they be thervnto prouoked by the inuasions of the Samboses, whereas the Samboses for want of foode are inforced thereunto, and therefore are not wont onely to take them that they kill, but also keepe those that they take,

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

Their townes are pretily diuided with a maine streete at the entring in, that goeth thorough their Towne, and another ouerthwart street, which maketh their townes crosse wayes: their houses are built in a ranke very orderly in the face of the street, and they are made round, like a douecote, with stakes set full of Palmito leaues, in stead of a wall: they are not much more then a fathome large, and two of height, and thatched with Palmito leaues very close, other some with reede, and ouer the roofe thereof, for the better garnishing of the same, there is a round bundle of reede, pretily contriued like a louer: in the inner part they make a loft of stickes, whereupon they lay all their prouisions of victuals: a place they reserue at their enterance for the kitchin, and the place they lie in is deuided with certaine mattes artificially made with the rine of Palmito trees: their bedstades are of small staues layd along, and raysed a foote from the ground, vpon which is layde a matte, and another vpon them when they list: for other couering they haue none. In the middle of the town there is a house larger and higher then the other, but in forme alike,

The Sapies  
burie their  
dead with  
golde.

The Canoas  
of Affrica.

The forme of  
their townes.

The consulta- adioyning vnto the which there is a place made of  
tion house or foure good stacions of woode, and a round rooffe  
towne-howse. ouer it, the grounde also raised round with claye a  
foote high, vpon the which floore were strawed many fine mats:  
this is the Consultation-house, the like whereof is in all Townes,  
as the Portugals affirme: in which place, when they sitte in  
Counsell the King or Captaine sitteth in the midst, and the  
Elders vpon the floore by him: (for they giue reuerence to their  
Elders) and the common sorte sitte round about them. There  
they sitte to examine matters of theft, which if a man be taken  
with, to steale but a Portugal cloth from another, hee is sold to  
the Portugals for a slaue. They consult also, and take order  
what time they shall goe to warres: and as it is certainly reported  
by the Portugals, they take order in gathering of the fruites in the  
season of the yeere, and also of Palmito wine, which  
Palmito is a  
wilde date. is gathered by a hole cut in the top of a tree, and a  
gourde set for the receiuing thereof, which falleth in  
by droppes, and yeeldeth fresh wine againe within a moneth, and  
this diuided part and portion-like to euery man, by the iudgement  
of the Captaine and Elders, euery man holdeth himselfe contented:  
and this surely I iudge to be a very good order: for otherwise,  
whereas scarsitie of Palmito is, euery man would haue the same,  
which might breed great strife: but of such things, as euery man  
doeth plant for himselfe, the sower thereof reapeth it to his owne  
vse, so that nothing is common, but that which is vnset by mans  
hands. In their houses there is more common passage of  
Lizardes like Euats, and other greater, of blacke and blew colour,  
of neere a foote long, besides their tailes, then there is with vs of  
Mise in great houses. The Sapies and Samboses also vse in  
their warres bowes, and arrowes made of reedes, with heads of  
yron poysoned with the iuyce of a Cucumber, whereof  
A venemous  
Cucumber. I had many in my handes. In their battels they haue  
target-men, with broad wicker targets, and darts with  
heades at both endes of yron, the one in forme of a two edged  
sworde, a foote and an halfe long, and at the other ende, the yron,  
long of the same length made to counterpease it, that in  
casting it might flie leuel, rather then for any other  
purpose as I can iudge. And when they espie the  
emie, the Captaine to cheere his men, cryeth Hungry, and  
they answeyre Heyre, and with that euery man placeth himselfe  
in order, for about euery target man three bowemen will

cover themselues, and shoote as they see aduantage: and when they giue the onset, they make such terrible cryes, that they may bee heard two miles off. For their beliefe, I can heare of none that they haue, but in such as they themselues imagine to see in their dreames, and so worshippe the pictures, whereof wee sawe some like vnto deuils. Idoles like deuils.

In this Island aforesayde wee soiourned vnto the one and twentieth of December, where hauing taken certaine Negros, and asmuch of their fruites, rise, and mill, as we could well cary away (whereof there was such store, that wee might haue laden one of our Barkes therewith) wee departed, and at our departure diuers of our men being desirous to goe on shore, to fetch Pompions, which hauing prooued, they found to bee very good, certaine of the Tygres men went also, amongst the which there was a Carpenter, a young man, who with his fellowes hauing fet many, and caryed them downe to their boates, as they were ready to depart, desired his fellow to tary while he might goe vp to fetch a few which he had layed by for him selfe, who being more licorous than circumspect, went vp without weapon, The extreme negligence of one of the companie. and as he went vp alone, possibly being marked of the Negros that were vpon the trees, espying him what hee did, perceauing him to be alone, and without weapon, dogged him, and finding him occupyed in binding his Pompions together, came behind him, ouerthrowing him and straight cutte his throate, as hee afterwarde was found by his fellowes, who came to the place for him, and there found him naked.

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

The 27. the Captaine was aduertised by the Portugals of a towne of the Negros called Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not onely great quantitie of golde, but also that there were not aboue fortie men, and an hundred women and children in the Towne, so that if hee would giue the aduenture vpon the same, hee might gette an hundreth slaues; with the which tydings hee being gladde, because the Portugals shoulde not thinke him to bee of so base a courage, but that hee

durst give them that, and greater attempts: and being thereunto also the more prouoked with the prosperous successe hee had in other Islands adiacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate twentie together, determined to stay before the Towne three or foure houres, to see what hee could doe: and thereupon prepared his men in armour and weapon together, to the number of fortie men well appointed, hauing Portugals not to be trusted. Want of circumspection in our men. to their guides certaine Portugals, in a boat, who brought some of them to their death: wee landing boat after boat, and diuers of our men scattering themselues, contrary to the Captaines will, by one or two in a company, for the hope that they had to finde golde in their houses, ransacking the same, in the meane time the Negros came vpon them, and hurte many being thus scattered, whereas if five or sixe had bene together, they had bene able, as their companions did, to give the ouerthrow to 40 of them, and being drinen downe to take their boates, were followed so hardly by a route of Negros, who by that tooke courage to pursue them to their boates, that not onely some of them, but others standing on shore, not looking for any such matter by meanes that the Negros did flee at the first, and our companie remained in the towne, were suddenly so set vpon that some with great hurt recouered their boates: othersome not able to recouer the same, tooke the water, and perished by meanes of the oaze. While this was doing, the Captaine who with a dosen men, went through the towne, returned, finding 200 Negros at the waters side, shooting at them in the boates, and cutting them in pieces which were drowned in the water, at whose comming, they ranne all away: so he entred his boates, and before he could put off from the shore, they returned againe, and shot very fiercely and hurt diuers of them. Thus wee returned backe somewhat discomforted, although the Captaine in a singular wise maner caried himselfe, with countenance very cheerefull outwardly, as though hee did litle weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the rest, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it; done to this ende, that the Portugals being with him, should not presume to resist against him, nor take occasion to put him to further displeasure or hinderance for the death of our men: hauing gotton by our going ten Negros, and lost seuen of our best men, whereof M. Field Captaine of the Salomon, was one, and we had 27 of our men hurt. In the



same houre while this was doing, there happened at the same instant, a marueilous miracle to them in the shippes, who rood ten leagues to sea-ward, by many sharkes or Tiburons, who came about the ships: among which, one was taken by the Iesus, and foure by the Salomon, and one very sore hurt escaped: and so it fell out of our men, whereof one of the Iesus men, and foure of the Salomons were killed, and the fift hauing twentie wounds was rescued, and scaped with much adoe.

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

The first of Ianuary the two barkes, and both the boates forsooke the ships, and went into a riuier called the Casserroes, and the 6 hauing dispatched their businesse, the two barkes returned, and came to Taggarin, where the two ships were at anker. Not two dayes after the comming of the two ships thither, they put their water caske a shore and filled it with water, to season the same, thinking to haue filled it with fresh water afterward: and while their men were some on shore, and some at their boates, the Negros set vpon them in the boates, and hurt diuers of them, and came to the caskes, and cut of the hoopes of twelue buts, which lost vs 4 or 5 <sup>A new assault by the Negros.</sup> dayes time, besides great want we had of the same:

soiourning at Taggarin, the Swallow went vp the riuier about her trafficke, where they saw great townes of the Negros, and Canoas, that had threescore men in a piece: <sup>Very great Canoas.</sup> there they vnderstood by the Portugals, of a great battell betweene them of Sierra Leona side, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona, had prepared three hundred Canoas to inuade the other. The time was appointed not past sixe dayes after our departure from thence, which we would haue seene, to the intent we might haue taken some of them, had it not bene for the death and sicknesse of our men, which came by the contagiousnes of the place, <sup>The contagion of the country of Sierra Leona.</sup> which made vs to make hast away.

The 18 of Ianuarie at night, wee departed from Taggarin, being bound for the West Indies, before which departure certaine of the Salomons men went on shore to fill water in the night, and as they came on shore with their boat being ready to leape on land, one of them espied a Negro in a white coate, standing vpon a rocke, being ready to haue receiued them when they came on shore, hauing in sight of his fellowes also eight or nine, some in

one place leaping out, and some in another, but they hid themselves streight againe: whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and sought to haue taken them at more aduantage, as God would, departed to their ships, not thinking there had bene such a mischief pretended toward them, as then was in deede. Which the next day we vnderstood of a Portugal that came downe to vs, who had trafficked with the Negros, by whom hee vnderstood, that the king of Sierra Leona had made all the power hee could, to take some of vs, partly for the desire he had to see what kinde of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had newes before our comming, and as I iudge also, vpon other occasions prouoked by the Tangomangos, but sure we were that the armie was come downe, by meanes that in the euening wee saw such a monstrous fire, made by the watring place, that before was not seene, which fire is the only marke for the Tangomangos to know where their armie is alwayes. If these men had come downe in the euening, they had done vs great displeasure, for that wee were on shore filling water: but God, who worketh all things for the best, would not haue it so, and by him we escaped without danger, his name be prayed for it.

The 29 of this same moneth we departed with all our shippes from Sierra Leona, towardes the West Indies, and for the space of eighteene dayes, we were becalmed, hauing nowe and then contrary windes, and some Ternados amongst the same calme, which happened to vs very ill, beeing but reasonably watered, for so great a companie of Negros, and our selues, which pinched vs all, and that which was worst, put vs in such feare that many neuer thought to haue reached to the Indies, without great death of Negros, and of themselves: but the Almighty God, who neuer suffereth his elect to perish, sent vs the sixteenth of Februarie, the ordinary Brise, which is the Northwest winde, which neuer left vs, till wee came to an Island of the Canyals, called Dominica, where wee arriued the ninth of March, vpon a Saturday: and because it was the most desolate place in all the Island, we could see no Canyals, but some of their houses where they dwelled, and as it should seeme forsooke the place for want of fresh water, for wee could finde none there but raine water, and such as fell from the hilles, and remained as a puddle in the dale, whereof wee filled for our Negros. The Canyals of that Island, and also others adiacent are the most desperate

warriers that are in the Indies, by the Spaniardes report, who are neuer able to conquer them, and they are molested by them not a little, when they are driuen to water there in any of those Islands: of very late, not two moneths past, in the said Island, a Carauel being driuen to water, was in the night sette vpon by the inhabitants, who cutte their cable in the halser, whereby they were driuen a shore, and so taken by them and eaten. The greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine one Bontemps, in March also, came to one of those Islands, called Granada, and being driuen to water, could not doe the same for the Canyballs, who fought with him very desperatly two dayes. For our part also, if we had not lighted vpon the desertest place in all that Island, wee could not haue missed, but should haue bene greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards reports, who make them deuils in respect of me.

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

Canyballs  
exceeding  
cruell and to  
be auoyded.

The Testigos  
Island.  
Margarita  
Island.

Indians, having euery one of them their bowes, and arrowes, procuring them away, who before were conuersant with vs.

Here perceiuing no trafficke to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, we were driuen to depart the twentieth day, and the 2 and twentieth we came to a place in the maine called Cumana, whither the Captaine going in his Pinnisse, spake with certaine Spaniards, of whom he demanded trafficke, but they made him answere, they were but souldiers newly come thither, and were not able to by one Negro: whereupon hee asked for a watering place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Santa Fe, where we found marueilous goodly watering, and commodious for the taking in thereof: for that the fresh water came into the Sea, and so our shippes had aboard the shore twentie fathome water. Neere about this place inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day after we came thither, came down to vs, presenting mill and cakes of breade, which they had made of a kinde of corn called Maiz, in bignesse of a pease, the eare whereof is much like to a teasell, but a spanne in length, hauing thereon a number of granes. Also they brought down to vs Hennes, Potatoes and Pines, which we bought for beades, pewter whistles, glasses, kniues, and other trifles.

These Potatoes be the most delicate rootes that may be eaten, and doe farre exceed our passeneys or carets. Their pines be of the bignes of two fists, the outside whereof is of the making of a pine-apple, but it is soft like the rinde of a Cucumber, and the inside eateth like an apple, but it is more delicious than any sweet apple sugred. These Indians being of colour tawnie like an Oliue, hauing euery one of them both men and women, haire all blacke, and no other colour, the women wearing the same hanging downe to their shoulders, and the men rounded, and without beards, neither men nor women suffering any haire to growe in any part of their body, but dayly pull it off as it groweth. They goe all naked, the men couering no part of their body but their yard, vpon the which they weare a gourd or piece of cane, made fast with a thrid about their loynes, leauing the other parts of their members vncovered, whereof they take no shame. The women also are vncovered, sauing with a cloth which they weare a hand-breadth, wherewith they couer their priuities both before and behind. These people be very small feeders, for traouelling they

The description of the Indians of Terra firma.

cary but two small bottels of gourdes, wherein they put in one the iuice of Sorrell whereof they haue great store, and in the other flowre of their Maiz, which being moist, they eate, taking sometime of the other. These men cary euery man his bowe and arrowes, whereof some arrowes are poisoned for warres, which they keepe in a Cane together, which Cane is of the bignesse of a mans arme, other some, with broad heades of iron wherewith they stricke fish in the water: the experience whereof we saw not once nor twise, but dayly for the time we taried there, for they are so good archers that the Spaniards for feare thereof arme themselues and their horses with quilted canuas of two ynches thicke, and leaue no place of their body open to their enemies, sauing their eyes which they may not hide, and yet oftentimes are they hit in that so small a scant-<sup>The making</sup> ling: their poyson is of such a force, that a man <sup>of their</sup> being stricken therewith dyeth within foure and <sup>poyson.</sup> twentie howers, as the Spaniards do affirme, and in my iudgement it is like there can be no stronger poyson as they make it, vsing thereunto apples which are very faire and red of colour, but are a strong poyson, with the which together with venemous Bats, Vipers, Adders and other serpents, they make a medley, and therewith anoint the same.

The Indian women delight not when they are yong in bearing of children, because it maketh them haue hanging <sup>The maners</sup> breastes which they account to bee great deforming <sup>of the yong</sup> of them, and vpon that occasion while they bee <sup>women.</sup> yong, they destroy their seede, saying, that it is fittest for olde women. Moreouer, when they are deliuered of a childe, they goe straight to washe themselues, without making any further ceremonie for it, not lying in bed as our women doe. The beds which they haue are made of Gossopine cotton, and wrought artificially of diuers colours, which they cary about with them when they trauell, and making the same fast to two trees, lie therein they and their women. The people be surely gentle and tractable, and such as desire to liue peaceably, or els had it bene vnpossible for the Spaniards to haue conquered them as they did, and the more to liue now peaceably, they being so many in number, and the Spaniards so few.

From hence we departed the eight and twentie, and the next day we passed betweene the maine land and the <sup>The Isle of</sup> Island of Tortuga, a very lowe Island, in the yeere <sup>Tortuga.</sup>

of our Lorde God one thousande five hundred sixty five aforesaide, and sayled along the coast vntill the first of April, at which time the Captaine sayled along in the Iesus pinnesse to discern the coast, and saw many Caribes on shore, and some also in their Canoes, which made tokens vnto him of friendship, and shewed him golde, meaning thereby that they would trafficke for wares. Whereupon he stayed to see the maners of them, and so for two or three trifles they gave such things as they had about them, and departed: but the Caribes were very importunate to haue them come on shore, which if it had not bene for want of wares to trafficke with them, he would not haue denyed them, because the Indians which we saw before were very gentle people, and such as do no man hurt. But as God would haue it, hee wanted that thing, which if hee had had, would haue bene his confusion: for these were no such kinde of people as wee tooke them to bee, but more deuillish a thousand partes and are eaters and deuourers of any man they can catch, as it was afterwards declared vnto vs at Bamboroata, by a Carauel comming out of Spaine with certaine souldiers, and a Captaine generall sent by the king for those Eastward parts of the Indians, who sayling along in his pinnesse, as our Captaine did to descry the coast, was by the Caribes called a shoare with sundry tokens made to him of friendshipp, and golde shewed as though they desired trafficke, with the which the Spaniard being moued, suspecting no deceite at all, went ashore amongst them: who was no sooner a shore, but with foure or five more was taken, the rest of his company being invaded by them saved themselues by flight, but they that were taken, paid their ran-

The crueltie  
of the  
Caribes. some with their liues, and were presently eaten. And this is their practise to toll with their golde the ignorant to their snares: they are bloodsuckers both of Spaniards, Indians, and all that fight in their laps, not sparing their owne countrey men if they can conveniently come by them. Their pollicie in fight with the Spaniards is marvellous: for they chuse for their refuge the mountaines and woodes where the Spaniards with their horses cannot follow them, and if they fortune to be met in the plaine where one horseman may over-runne 100. of them, they haue a deuise of late practised by them to pitch stakes of wood in the ground, and also small iron pikes to mischiefe their horses, wherein they shew themselves politique warriers. They haue more abundance of golde then all the

Spaniards haue, and liue vpon the mountaines where the Mines are in such number, that the Spaniards haue much adoe to get any of them from them, and yet sometimes by assembling a great number of them, which happeneth once in two yeeres, they get a piece from them, which afterwards they keepe sure ynough.

Thus hauing escaped the danger of them, wee kept our course along the coast, and came the third of April to a Towne called Burboroata, where his ships came to an ancker, and hee himselfe went a shore to speake with the Spaniards, to whom hee declared himselfe to be an Englishman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of marchandize, and therefore required licence for the same. Vnto whom they made answeare, that they were forbidden by the king to trafique with any forren nation, vpon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therefore they desired him not to molest them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their handes, because they were subiects, and might not goe beyond the law. But hee replied that his necessitie was such, as hee might not so do: for being in one of the Queens Armadas of England, and hauing many souldiers in them, hee had neede both of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also, without the which hee coulde not depart, and with much other talke perswaded them not to feare any dishonest part of his behalfe towards them, for neither would hee commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, nor yet for his honest reputation and estimation, vnlesse hee were too rigorously dealt withall, which he hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it should as well redound to their profite as his owne, and also hee thought they might doe it without danger, because their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our parts wee had free trafique in Spaine and Flanders, which are in his dominions, and therefore he knew no reason why he should not haue the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniards made answeare, that it lay not in them to giue any licence, for that they had a gouernour to whom the gouernment of those parts was committed, but if they would stay tenne dayes, they would send to their gouernour who was threescore leagues off, and would returne answeare within the space appointed, of his minde.

In the meane time they were contented hee should bring his ships into harbour, and there they would deliuer him any victuals

he would require. Whereupon the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiuing all things according to promise, the Captaine aduised himselfe, that to remaine there tenne dayes idle, spending victuals and mens wages, and perhaps in the ende receiue no good answere from the gouernour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make request to haue licence for the sale of certaine leane and sicke Negros which hee had in his shippe like to die vpon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, hauing little or no refreshing for them, whereas other men hauing them, they would bee recouered well ynough. And this request hee was forced to make, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals and for necessaries which he should take: which request being put in writing and presented, the officers and towne-dwellers assembled together, and finding his request so reasonable, granted him licence for thirtie Negros, which afterwards they caused the officers to view, to the intent they should graunt to nothing but that were very reasonable, for feare of answering thereunto afterwards. This being past, our Captaine according to their licence, thought to haue made sale, but the day past and none came to buy, who before made shewe that they had great neede of them, and therefore wist not what to surmise of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Gouernour his answere because they would keepe themselves blamelesse, or for any other pollicie hee knew not, and for that purpose sent them worde, marueiling what the matter was that none came to buy them. They answered, because they had granted licence onely to the poore to buy those Negros of small price, and their money was not so ready as other mens of more wealth. More then that, as soone as euer they sawe the shippes, they conueyed away their money by their wiues that went into the mountaines for feare, and were not yet returned, and yet asked two dayes to seeke their wiues and fetch their money. Notwithstanding, the next day diuers of them came to cheapen, but could not agree of price, because they thought the price too high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buy, and would not confesse if hee had licence, that he might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did send for the principals of the Towne, and made a shewe hee would depart, declaring himselfe to be very sorry that he had so much troubled them, and also that he had sent for the gouernour to come



downe, seeing nowe his pretence was to depart, whereat they marueiled much, and asked him what cause moued him thereunto, seeing by their working he was in possibilitie to haue his licence.

To the which he replied, that it was not onely a licence that he sought, but profit, which he perceiued was not there to bee had, and therefore would seeke further, and withall shewed him his writings what he payed for his Negros, declaring also the great charge he was at in his shipping and mens wages, and therefore to counteruaile his charges, hee must sell his Negros for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to sell better there then in any other place. And if it fell out that he had no licence, that he should not loose his labour in tarying, for they would buy without licence. Whereupon, the Captaine being put in comfort, promised them to stay, so that hee might make sale of his leane Negros, which they granted vnto. And the next day did sell some of them, who hauing bought and payed for them, thinking to haue had a discharge of the Customer, for the custome of the Negros, being the kings duetie, they gaue it away to the poore for Gods sake, and did refuse to giue the discharge in writing, and the poore not trusting their wordes, for feare, least hereafter it might bee demaunded of them, did refraine from buying any more, so that nothing else was done vntill the Gouvernours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither in a shippe of the Queenes Maiesties of England, being bound to Guinie, and thither driuen by winde and weather, so that being come thither, hee had neede of sundry necessaries for the reparation of the said Nauie, and also great need of money for the paiment of his Souldiours, vnto whom hee had promised paiment, and therefore although he would, yet would not they depart without it, and for that purpose he requested licence for the sale of certaine of his Negros, declaring that although they were forbidden to trafique with strangers, yet for that there was a great amitie between their princes, and that the thing pertained to our Queens highnesse, he thought hee might doe their prince great seruice, and that it would bee well taken at his hands, to doe it in this cause. The which allegations with diuers others put in request, were presented vnto the Gouvernour, who sitting in counsell for that matter, granted vnto his request for licence.

But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings Custome, being vpon euery slaue 30. duckets, which would not be granted vnto.

Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the Kings Custome of that they offered, so that either he must be a great looser by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the same kings Custome which was too vnreasonable, for to a higher price hee coulde not bring the buyers:

An hundreth Therefore the sixteenth of April hee prepared one Englishmen hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, har- in armour. quebuzes and pikes, with the which hee marched to the townewards, and being perceiued by the Gouvernour, he straight with all expedition sent messengers to knowe his request, desiring him to march no further forward vntill he had answere againe, which incontinent he should haue. So our Captaine declaring how vnreasonable a thing the Kings Custome was, requested to haue the same abated, and to pay seven and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie Custome for wares through his dominions there, and vnto this if they would not graunt, hee would displease them. And this word being caried to the Gouvernour, answere was returned that all things should bee to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the souldiers and Mariners finding so little credite in their promises, demanded gages for the performance of the premisses, or els they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to send gages, wee departed, beginning our traffique, and ending the same without disturbance.

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

The nine and twentie wee being at ancker without the road, a French ship called the Greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted vs after the maner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of Ordinance,

and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom hauing communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and inforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was happened vnto the Minion: besides the Captain Daue Carlet and a Marchant, with a dozen Mariners betrayed by the Negros at their first arriual thither, and remaying prisoners with the Portugals; and besides other misaduentures of the losse of their men, happened through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorrowfull for vs to vnderstand.

Thus hauing ended our trafique here the 4. of May, we departed, leauing the Frenchman behinde vs, the night before the which the Caribes, whereof I haue made mention before, being to the number of 200. came in their Canoas to Burboroata, intending by night to haue burned the towne, and taken the Spaniards, who being more vigilant because of our being there, then their custome was, perceiuing them comming, raised the towne, who in a moment being a horsebacke, by meanes their custome is for all doubts to keepe their horses ready sadled, in the night set vpon them, and tooke one, but the rest making shift for themselues, escaped away. But this one, because he was their guide, and was the occasion that diuers times they had made inuasion upon them, had for his traueile a stake thrust through his fundament, and so out at his necke.

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

Exceeding  
plentie of  
cattle in  
Curazao.

The increase of cattell in this yland is marueilous, which from a doozen of each sort brought thither by the gouernour, in 25.

yeres he had a hundreth thousand at the least, and of other cattel was able to kil without spoile of the increase 1500. yeerely, which hee killeth for the skinned, and of the flesh saueth onely the tongues, the rest hee leaueth to the foule to deuour. And this I am able to affirme, not only vpon the Gouvernours owne report, who was the first that brought the increase thither, which so remaineth vnto this day, but also by that I saw my selfe in one field, where an hundred oxen lay one by another all whole, sauing the skinned and tongue taken away. And it is not so marueilous a thing why they doe thus cast away the flesh in all the ylands of the West Indies, seeing the land is great, and more then they are able to inhabite, the people fewe, hauing delicate frutes and meates ynough besides to feede vpon, which they rather desire, and the increase which passeth mans reason to beleue, when they come to a great number: for in S. Domingo an yland called by the finders thereof Hispaniola, is so great quantitie of cattel, and such increase therof, that notwithstanding

Great num- bers of wilde dogs. the daily killing of them for their hides, it is not possible to assuage the number of them, but they are deuoured by wilde dogs, whose number is such by suffering them first to range the woods and mountaines, that they eate and destroy 60000. a yeere, and yet small lacke found of them. And no marueile, for the said yland is almost as bigge as all England, and being the first place that was founde of all the Indies, and of long time inhabited before the rest, it ought therefore of reason to be most populous: and to this houre the Viceroy and counsell royall abideth there as in the chiefest place of all the Indies, to prescribe orders to the rest for the kings behalfe, yet haue they but one Citie and 13. villages in all the same yland, wherby the spoile of them in respect of the increase is nothing.

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

The 16. we passed by an yland called Aruba, and the 17. at night anckered sixe houres at the West ende of Cabo de la vela, and in the morning being the 18. weighed againe, keeping our course, in the which time the Captaine sayling by the shore in the pinnesse, came to the Rancheria, a place where the Spaniards vse to fish for pearles, and there spoke with a Spaniard, who tolde him how far off he was from Rio de la Hacha, which because he would not ouershoot, he anckered that night againe, and the 19. came thither; where hauing talke with the kings treasurer of the Indies resident there, he declared his quiet trafique in Burboroata, and shewed a certificate of the same, made by the gouernour thereof, and therefore he desired to haue the like there also: but the treasurer made answere that they were forbidden by the Viceroy and council of S. Domingo, who hauing intelligence of our being on the coast, did sende expresse commission to resist vs, with all the force they could, insomuch that they durst not traffique with vs in no case, alleaging that if they did, they should loose all that they did trafique for, besides their bodies at the magistrates commaundement. Our Captaine replied, that he was in an Armada of the Queenes Maiesties of England, and sent about other her affaires, but driuen besides his pretended voyage, was inforced by contrary windes to come into those parts, where he hoped to finde such friendship as hee should doe in Spaine, to the contrary whereof hee knewe no reason, in that there was amitie betwixt their princes. But seeing they would contrary to all reason go about to withstand his trafique, he would it should not be said by him, that hauing the force he hath, to be driuen from his trafique perforce, but he would rather put it in aduenture to try whither he or they should haue the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to giue him licence to trade, or else to stand to their owne harmes: So vpon this it was determined hee should haue licence to trade, but they would giue him such a price as was the one halfe lesse then he had sold for before, and thus they sent word they would do, and none otherwise, and if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were not determined to deale otherwise with him. Whereupon, the captaine waying their vnconscionable request, <sup>M. Hawkins</sup> wrote to them a letter, that they dealt too rigorously <sup>his letter to</sup> with him, to go about to cut his throte in the price of <sup>the Treasurer</sup> his commodities, which were so reasonably rated, as <sup>of Rio de la</sup> <sup>Hacha.</sup>

they could not by a great deale haue the like at any other mans handes. But seeing they had sent him this to his supper, hee would in the morning bring them as good a breakfast. And therefore in the morning being the 21. of May, hee shot off a whole Culuering to summon the towne, and preparing one hundred men in armour, went ashore, hauing in his great boate two Faulcons of brasse, and in the other boates double bases in their noses, which being perceiued by the Townesmen, they incontinent in battell aray with their drumme and ensigne displayed, marched from the Towne to the sands, of footemen to the number of an hundred and fiftie, making great bragges with their cries, and weauing vs a shore, whereby they made a semblance to haue fought with vs in deed. But our Captaine perceiuing them so bragge, commanded the two Faulcons to be discharged at them, which put them in no small feare to see, (as they afterward declared) such great pieces in a boate. At euery shot they fell flat to the ground, and as wee approached neere vnto them, they broke their aray, and dispersed themselues so much for feare of the Ordinance, that at last they went all away with their ensigne. The horsemen also being about thirtie, made as braue a shew as might be, coursing vp and downe with their horses, their braue white leather Targets in the one hand, and their iauelings in the other, as though they would haue receiued vs at our landing. But when wee landed, they gaue ground, and consulted what they should doe, for little they thought wee would haue landed so boldly: and therefore as the Captaine was putting his men in aray, and marched forward to haue encountred with them, they sent a messenger on horsebacke with a flagge of truce to the Captaine, who declared that the Treasurer marueiled what he meant to doe to come a shore in that order, in consideration that they had granted to euery reasonable request that he did demand: but the Captaine not well contented with this messenger, marched forwards. The messenger prayed him to stay his men, and saide, if hee would come apart from his men, the Treasurer would come and speake with him, whereunto hee did agree to commune together, the Captaine onely with his armour without weapon, and the Treasurer on horsebacke with his iaueling, was afraide to come neere him for feare of his armour, which he said was worse than his weapon, and so keeping aloofe communing together, granted in fine to all his requests.

Which being declared by the Captaine to the company, they desired to haue pledges for the performance of all things doubting that otherwise when they had made themselues stronger they would haue bene at defiance with vs: and seeing that now they might haue what they would request, they iudged it to be more wisdome to be in assurance then to be forced to make any more labours about it. So vpon this, gages were sent, and we made our trafique quietly with them. In the mean time while we stayed here, wee watered a good breadth off from the shore, where by the strength of the fresh water running into the Sea, the salt water was made fresh. In this Riuer we saw many Crocodils of sundry bignesses, but some as bigge as a boate, with 4. feete, a long broad mouth, and a long taile, whose skinne is so hard, that a sword wil not pierce it. His nature is to liue out of the water as a frogge doth, but he is a great deuourer, and spareth neither fish, which is his common food, nor beastes, nor men, if he take them, as the prooffe thereof was knowen by a Negro, who as hee was filling water in the Riuer was by one of them caried cleane away, and neuer seene after. His nature is euer when hee would haue his prey, to cry and sobbe like a Christian body, to prouoke them to come to him, and then hee snatcheth at them, and thereupon came this prouerbe that is applied vnto women when they weepe, *Lachrymæ Crocodili*, the meaning whereof is, that as the Crocodile when hee crieth, goeth then about most to deceiue, so doeth a woman most commonly when she weepeth. Of these the Master of the Iesus watched one, and by the banks side stroke him with a pike of a bill in the side, and after three or foure times turning in sight, hee sunke downe, and was not afterward seene. In the time of our being in the Riuers Guinie, wee sawe many of a monstrous bignesse, amongst the which the captaine being in one of the Barkes comming downe the same, shot a Faulcon at one, which very narrowly hee missed, and with a feare hee plunged into the water, making a streame like the way of a boate.

Now while we were here, whether it were of a feare that the Spaniards doubted wee would haue done them some harme before we departed, or for any treason that they intended towards vs, I am not able to say; but then came thither a Captaine from some of the other townes, with a dozen souldiers vpon a time when our Captaine and the treasurer cleared al things betweene them, and were in a communication of debt of the gouernors of

Burboroata, which was to be payd by the said treasurer, who would not answer the same by any meanes. Whereupon certaine words of displeasure passed betwixt the Captaine and him, and parting the one from the other, the treasurer possibly doubting that our Captaine would perforce haue sought the same, did immediately command his men to armes, both horsemen and footemen: but because the Captaine was in the Riuer on the backe side of the Towne with his other boates, and all his men vnarmed and without weapons, it was to be iudged he ment him little good, hauing that aduantage of him, that comming vpon the sudden, hee might haue mischieued many of his men: but the Captaine hauing vnderstanding thereof, not trusting to their gentleness, if they might haue the aduantage, departed aboard his ships, and at night returned againe, and demanded amongst other talke, what they ment by assembling their men in that order, and they answered, that their Captaine being come to towne did muster his men according to his accustomed maner. But it is to be iudged to bee a cloake, in that comming for that purpose hee might haue done it sooner, but the trueth is, they were not of force vntill then, whereby to enterprise any matter against vs, by meanes of pikes and harquebuzes, whereof they haue want, and were now furnished by our Captaine, and also 3. Faulcons, which hauing got in other places, they haue secretly conueyed thither, which made them the bolder, and also

for that they saw now a conuenient place to do such a feat, and time also seruing thereunto, by the meanes that our men were not onely vnarmed and vnprouided as at no time before the like, but also were occupied in hewing of wood, and least thinking of any harme: these were occasions to prouoke them thereunto. And I suppose they went about to bring it to effect, in that I with another gentleman being in the towne, thinking of no harme towards vs, and seeing men assembling in armour to the treasurers house, whereof I marueiled, and reuoking to minde the former talke betweene the Captaine and him, and the vnreadinesse of our men, of whom aduantage might haue bene taken, departed out of the Towne immediately to giue knowledge thereof, but before we came to our men by a flight-shot, two horsemen riding a gallop were come neere vs, being sent, as wee did gesse, to stay vs least wee should cary newes to our Captaine, but seeing vs so neere our men they

The author of  
this storie.



stayed their horses, comming together, and suffring vs to passe, belike because wee were so neere, that if they had gone about the same, they had bene espied by some of our men which then immediatly would haue departed, whereby they should haue bene frustrate of their pretence: and so the two horsemen ridde about the bushes to espie what we did, and seeing vs gone, to the intent they might shadow their comming downe in post, whereof suspicion might bee had, fained a simple excuse in asking whether he could sell any wine, but that seemed so simple to the Captaine, that standing in doubt of their courtesie, he returned in the morning with his three boats, appointed with Bases in their noses, and his men with weapons accordingly, where as before he caried none: and thus dissembling all iniuries conceiued of both parts, the Captaine went ashore, leauing pledges in the boates for himselfe, and cleared all things betweene the treasurer and him, saining for the gouernours debt, which the one by no meanes would answere, and the other, because it was not his due debt, woulde not molest him for it, but was content to remit it vntill another time, and therefore departed, causing the two Barkes which rode neere the shore to weigh and go vnder saile, which was done because that our Captaine demanding a testimoniall of his good behaiour there, could not haue the same vntill hee were vnder saile ready to depart: and therefore at night he went for the same againe, and receiued it at the treasurers hand, of whom very courteously he tooke his leaue and departed, shooting off the bases of his boat for his farewell, and the townesmen also shot off foure Faulcons and 30. harquebuzes, and this was the first time that he knew of the conueyance of their Faulcons.

The 31. of May wee departed, keeping our course to Hispaniola, and the fourth of Iune wee had sight of an yland, which wee made to be Iamaica, maruelling that by the vehement course of the Seas we should be driuen so farre to leeward: for setting our course to the West end of Hispaniola we fel with the middle of Iamaica, notwithstanding that to al mens sight it shewed a headland, but they were all deceiued by the clouds that lay vpon the land two dayes together, in such sort that we thought it to be the head land of the sayd yland. And a Spaniard being in the ship, who was a Marchant, and inhabitant in Iamaica, hauing occasion to goe to Guinie, and being by treason taken of the Negros, and afterwards bought by the Tangomangos, was by our Captaine brought from thence, and

had his passage to go into his country, who perceiuing the land, made as though he knew euery place thereof, and pointed to certaine places which he named to be such a place, and such a mans ground, and that behinde such a point was the harborow, but in the ende he pointed so from one point to another, that we were a leeboord of all places, and found our selues at the West end of Iamaica before we were aware of it, and being once to leeward, there was no getting vp againe, so that by trusting of the Spaniards knowledge, our Captaine sought not to speake with any of the inhabitants, which if he had not made himselfe sure of, he would haue done as his custome was in other places: but this man was a plague not onely to our Captaine, who made him loose by overshooting the place 2000. pounds by hides, which hee might haue gotten, but also to himselfe, who being three yeeres out of his Coutry, and in great misery in Guinie, both among the Negros and Tangomangos, and in hope to come to his wife and friends, as he made sure accompt, in that at his going into the pinnesse, when he went to shore he put on his new clothes, and for ioy flung away his old, could not afterwards finde any habitation, neither there or in all Cuba, which we sailed all along, but it fell out euer by one occasion or other, that wee were put beside the same, so that he was faine to be brought into England, and it happened to him as it did to a duke of Samaria, when the Israelites were besieged, and were in great misery with hunger, and being tolde by the Prophet Elizeus, that a bushell of flower should be sold for a sickle, would not belieue him, but thought it impossible: and for that cause Elizeus prophesied hee should see the same done, but hee should not eate thereof: so this man being absent three yeeres, and not euer thinking to haue seene his own country, did see the same, went vpon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remaine with his friends according to his desire.

Thus hauing sailed along the coast two dayes, we departed the seuenth of Iune, being made to beleue by the Spaniard that it was not Iamaica, but rather Hispaniola, of which opinion the Captaine also was, because that which hee made Iamaica seemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby tooke it rather to be

The deceit. Hispaniola, by the lying of the coast, and also for fall force of that being ignorant of the force of the current, he the current. could not beleue he was so farre driuen to leeward, and therefore setting his course to Iamaica, and after certaine

dayes not finding the same, perceiued then certainly that the yland which he was at before was Iamaica, and that the cloudes did deceiue him, whereof he maruelled not a little: and this mistaking of the place came to as ill a passe as the ouershooting of Iamaica: for by this did he also ouerpasse a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz, where, as he was informed, was great store of hides to be had: and thus being disappointed of two of his portes, where he thought to haue raised great profite by his trafique and also to haue found great refreshing of victuals and water for his men, hee was now disappointed greatly, and such want he had of fresh water, that he was forced to seeke the shore to obtaine the same, which he had sight of after certaine dayes ouerpassed with stormes and contrary windes, but yet not of the maine of Cūba, but of certaine ylands in number two hundred, whereof the most part were desolate of inhabitants: by the which ylands the Captaine passing in his pinnesse, could finde no fresh water vntill hee came to an yland bigger then all the rest, called the yle of Pinas, where wee anckered with our ships the 16. of Iune; and found water, which although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by the meanes it is standing, and but the water of raine, and also being neere the Sea was brackish, yet did wee not refuse it, but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, then wee should haue bene another time with fine Conduit water. Thus being reasonably watered we were desirous to depart, because the place was not very conuenient for such ships of charge as they were, because there were many shoales to leeward, which also lay open to the sea for any wind that should blow: and therefore the captaine made the more haste away, which was not vnneedfull: for little sooner were their anckers weyed, and foresaile set, but there arose such a storme, that they had not much to spare for doubling out of the shoales: for one of the barks not being fully ready as the rest, was faine for haste to cut the cable in the hawse, and loose both ancker and cable to saue herselfe.

Two hundred ylands for the most part not inhabited.

Thus the 17. of Iune, we departed and on the 20. wee fell with the West end of Cuba, called Cape S. Anthony S. Antony, where for the space of three dayes we doubled along, till wee came beyond the shoales, which are 20. leagues beyond S. Anthony. And the ordinary Brise taking vs, which is the Northeastwinde, put vs the 24. from the shoare, <sup>The Cape of</sup> <sup>in Cuba.</sup>

and therefore we went to the Northwest to fetch wind, and also to the coast of Florida to have the helpe of the current, which was iudged to have set to the Eastward: so the 29. wee found our selues in 27. degrees, and in the soundings of Florida, where we kept our selues the space of foure dayes, sailing along the coast as neere as we could, in tenne or twelue fadome water, hauing all the while no sight of land.

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

her with them; and if they had beene ten boats more, they might haue done the like. These Islands beare the name of Tortoises, because of the number of them, which there do breed, whose nature is to liue both in the water and vpon land also, but breed onely vpon the shore, in making a great pit wherein they lay egges, to the number of three or foure hundred, and covering them with sand, they are hatched by the heat of the Sunne; and by this meanes commeth the great increase. Of these we tooke very great ones, which haue both backe and belly all of bone, of the thicknes of an inch: the fish whereof we proued, eating much like veale; and finding a number of eggs in them, tasted also of them, but they did eat very sweetly. Heere wee ankered sixe houres, and then a fair gale of winde springing, we weyed anker, and made saile toward Cuba,

A hill called the Table. whither we came the sixt day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill so called because of the forme thereof: here we lay off and on all night to keepe that we had gotten to wind-ward, intending to haue watered in the morning, if we could haue done it, or els if the winde had come larger, to haue plied to wind-ward

The port of Hauana. to Hauana, which is an harborow wherunto all the fleet of the Spaniards come, and doe there tary to haue one the company of another. This hill we thinking to haue beene the Table, made account (as it was indeed) that Hauana was but eight leagues to wind-ward, but by the perswasion of a French man, who made the captaine beleene he knew the table very well, and had beene at Hauana, sayd that it was not the Table, and that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the sea side, and that there was no plaine ground to the Eastward, nor hilles to the Westward, but all was contrary,

and that behinde the hilles to the Westward was Hauana. To which persuasion credit being giuen by some, and they not of the woorst, the captaine was perswaded to goe to leeward, and so sailed along the seuenth and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table; and then perceiuing his folly to giue care to such praters, was not a little sory, both because he did consider what time he should spend yer he could get so far to wind-ward againe, which would haue bene, with the weathering which we had, ten or twelue dayes worke, and what it would haue bene longer he knew not, and (that which was woorst) he had not about a dayes water, and therefore knew not what shift to make: but in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not liue with it, he determined to seeke water, and to goe further to leeward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los puercos, which he was in doubt of, both whether it were inhabited, and whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoalds he might haue accesse with his ships, that he might conueniently take in the same. And while we were in these troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesayd, almighty God our guide (who would not suffer vs to run into any further danger, which we had bene like to haue incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous (by reports) that no ship escapeth which commeth thither, as the Spanyards haue very wel proued the same) sent vs the eight day at night a faire Westerly winde, whereupon the captaine and company consulted, determining not to refuse Gods gift, but euery man was contented to pinch his owne bellie, whatsoeuer had happened; and taking the sayd winde, the ninth day of Iuly got to the Table, and sailing the same night, vnawares ouershot Hauana; at which place wee thought to haue watered: but the next day, not knowing that wee had ouershot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it, and the eleuenth day in the morning, by certaiue knowen marks, we vnderstood that we had ouershot it 20 leagues: in which coast ranging, we found no conuenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but to disemboque, and to water vpon the coast of Florida: for, to go further to the Eastward, we could not for the shoalds, which are very dangerous; and because the current shooteth to the North-east, we doubted by the force thereof to be set vpon them, and therefore durst not approach them: so making but reasonable way the day aforesayd, and all the night, the twelfth day in the

morning we fell with the Islands vpon the cape of Florida, which we could scant double by the meanes that fearing the shoalds to the Eastwards, and doubting the current comming out of the West, which was not of that force we made account of; for we felt little or none till we fell with the cape, and then felt such a current, that bearing all sailes against the same, yet were driuen backe againe a great pace: the experience whereof we had by the Iesus pinnesse, and the Salomons boat, which were sent the same day in the afternoone, whiles the ships were becalmed, to see if they could finde any water vpon the Islands aforesaid; who spent a great part of the day in rowing thither, being further off then they deemed it to be, and in the meane time a faire gale of winde springing at sea, the ships departed, making a signe to them to come away, who although they saw them depart, because they were so neere the shore, would not lose all the labour they had taken, but determined to keepe their way, and see if there were any water to be had, making no account but to finde the shippes well enough: but they spent so much time in filling the water which they had found, that the night was come before they could make an end. And hauing lost the sight of the ships, they rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way they should seeke them againe; as indeed there was a more doubt then they knew of: for when they departed, the shippes were in no current; and sailing but a mile further, they found one so strong, that bearing all sailes, it could not preuaile against the same, but were driuen backe: whereupon the captaine sent the Salomon, with the other two barks, to beare neere the shore all night, because the current was lesse there a great deale, and to beare light, with shooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boats might better know how to come to them.

The Iesus also bare a light in her toppe gallant, and shot off a piece also now and then, but the night passed, and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the ships and barks ceased not to looke still for them, yet they thought it was all in vaine, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night past; and therefore determined to tary no longer, seeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Iesus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the current) was caried almost out of sight; but as God would haue it, now time being come, and they hauing

tacked about in the pinnesses top, had sight of them, and tooke them vp: they in the boats, being to the number of one and twenty, hauing sight of the ships, and seeing them tacking about; whereas before at the first sight of them they did greatly reioyce, were now in a greater perplexitie then euer they were: for by this they thought themselues vtterly forsaken, whereas before they were in some hope to haue found them. Truly God wrought maruellously for them, for they themselues hauing no victuals but water, and being sore oppressed with hunger, were not of opinion to bestow any further time in seeking the shippes then that present noone time: so that if they had not at that instant espied them, they had gone to the shore to haue made prouision for victuals, and with such things as they could haue gotten, either to haue gone for that part of Florida where the French men were planted (which would haue bene very hard for them to haue done, because they wanted victuals to bring them thither, being an hundred and twenty leagues off) or els to haue remained amongst the Floridians; at whose hands they were put in comfort by a French man, who was with them, that had remained in Florida at the first finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receiue victuals snfficient, and gentle entertainment, if need were, for a yeere or two, vntill which time God might haue prouided for them. But how contrary this would haue fallen out to their expectations, it is hard to iudge, seeing those people of the capé of Florida are of more sauage and fierce nature, and more valiant than any of the rest; which the Spaniards well proued, who being fise hundred men, who intended there to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forsake the same: and of their cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a frier, who taking vpon him to persuade the people to subiection, was by them taken, and his skin cruelly pulled ouer his eares, and his flesh eaten.

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

The foureteenth day the shippe and barks came to the Iesus, bringing them newes of the recouery of the men, which was not a little to the reioycing of the captaine, and the whole company: and so then altogether they kept on their way along the coast of Florida, and the fifteenth day came to an anker, and so from

six and twenty degrees to thirty degrees and a halfe,  
 where the French men abode, ranging all the coast  
 along, seeking for fresh water, ankering euery night,  
 because we would ouershoot no place of fresh water,  
 and in the day time the captaine in the ships pinnesse sailed  
 along the shore, went into euery creeke, speaking with diuers of  
 the Floridians, because hee would vnderstand where the French  
 men inhabited; and not finding them in eight and twentie  
 degrees, as it was declared vnto him, marvelled thereat, and  
 neuer left sailing along the coast till he found them, who inhabited  
 in a riuer, by them called the riuer of May, and standing in  
 thirty degrees and better. In ranging this coast along, the  
 captaine found it to be all an Island, and therefore  
 to be cut into it is all lowe land, and very scant of fresh water, but  
 the countrey was marvellously sweet, with both  
 marish and medow ground, and goodly woods among.  
 There they found sorell to grow as abundantly as  
 grasse, and where their houses were, great store of maiz and  
 mill, and grapes of great bignesse, but of taste much like our  
 English grapes. Also Deere great plentie, which came vpon  
 the sands before them. Their houses are not many  
 together, for in one house an hundred of them do  
 lodge; they being made much like a great barme, and in strength  
 not inferior to ours, for they haue stanchions and rafters of whole  
 trees, and are couered with palmito-leaues, hauing no place  
 diuided, but one small roome for their king and queene. In  
 the middest of this house is a hearth, wherè they make great fires  
 all night, and they sleepe vpon certeine pieces of wood hewin in  
 for the bowing of their backs, and another place made high for  
 their heads, which they put one by another all along the walles  
 on both sides. In their houses they remaine onely in the nights,  
 and in the day they desire the fields, where they dresse their  
 meat, and make prouision for victuals, which they prouide onely  
 for a meale from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be  
 marvelled at, for the making of their fire, and not onely they but  
 also the Negros doe the same, which is made onely  
 by two stickes, rubbing them one against another;  
 and this they may doe in any place they come, where  
 they finde sticks sufficient for the purpose. In their  
 apparell the men onely vse deere skinner, wherewith some onely  
 couer their priuy members, other some vse the same as garments

The manner  
 of kindling of  
 fire in  
 Florida.



to cover them before and behind; which skinned are painted, some yellow and red, some blacke and russet, and euery man according to his owne fancy. They do not omit to paint their bodies also with curious knots, or antike worke, as euery man in his owne fancy deuise, which painting, to make it continue the better, they vse with a thorne to pricke their flesh, and dent in the same, whereby the painting may haue better hold. In their warres they vse a sleighter colour of painting their faces, whereby to make themselues shew the more fierce; which after their warres ended, they wash away againe. In their warres they vse bowes and arrowes, whereof their bowes are made of a kind of Yew, but blacker then ours, and for the most part passing the strength of the Negros or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours: their arrowes are also of a great length, but yet of reeds like other Indians, but varying in two points, both in length and also for nocks and feathers, which the other lacke, whereby they shoot very stedy: the heads of the same are vipers teeth, bones of fishes, flint stones, piked points of knives, which they hauing gotten of the French men, broke the same, and put the points of them in their arrowes heads: some of them haue their heads of siluer, othersome that haue want of these, put in a kinde of hard wood, notched, which pierceth as farre as any of the rest. In their fight, being in the woods, they vse a maruellous pollicie for their owne safegard, which is by clasping a tree in their armes, and yet shooting notwithstanding: this policy they used with the French men in their fight, whereby it appeareth that they are people of some policy: and although they are called by the Spanyards *Gente triste*, that is to say, Bad people, meaning thereby, that they are not men of capacity: yet haue the French men found them so witty in their answeres, that by the captaines owne report, a counseller with vs could not giue a more profound reason.

The women also for their apparell vse painted skinned, but most of them gowned of mosse, somewhat longer then our mosse, which they sowe together artificially, and make the same surplisse wise, wearing their haire down to their shoulders, like the Indians. In this riuer of May aforesayd, the captaine entring with his pinnesse, found a French ship of fourescore tun, and two pinneses of fiftene tun a piece, <sup>The French fort.</sup> by her, and speaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues vp, which they had built, in

which their captaine Monsieur Laudonniere was, with certaine souldiers therein. To whom our captaine sending to vnderstand of a watering place, where he might conueniently take it in, and to haue licence for the same, he straight, because there was no conuenient place but vp the riuier fise leagues, where the water was fresh, did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barks, which going in with other boats provided for the same purpose, ankered before the fort, into the which our captaine went; where hee was by the Generall, with other captaines and souldiers, very gently entertained, who declared vnto him the time of their being there, which was fourteene moneths, with the extremity they were driuen to for want of victuals, hauing brought very little with them; in which place they being two hundred men at their first comming, had in short space eaten all the maiz they could buy of the inhabitants about them, and therefore were driuen certaine of them to serue a king of the Floridians against other his enemies, for mill and other

victuals: which hauing gotten could not serue them, being so many, so long a time: but want came vpon them in such sort, that they were faine to gather acorns, which being stamped small, and often washed, to take away the bitteresse of them, they did vse for bread, eating with all sundry times, roots, whereof they found many good and wholesome, and such as serue rather for medecines then for meates alone. But this hardnesse not contenting some of them, who would not take the paines so much as to fish in the riuier before their doores, but would haue all things put in their mouthes, they did rebell against the captaine, taking away first his armour, and afterward imprisoning him: and so to the number of fourescore of them, departed with a barke and a pinnesse, spoiling their store of victuall, and taking away a great part thereof with them, and so went to the Islands of Hispaniola and Iamaica a rouing, where they spoiled and pilled the Spaniards; and hauing taken two carauels laden with wine and casau, which is a bread made of roots, and much other victuals and treasure, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of such haughty stomacks, that they thought their force to be such that no man durst meddle with them, and so kept harborow in Iamaica, going dayly ashore at their pleasure. But God which would not suffer such euill doers vnpunished, did indurate their hearts in such sort, that they lingered the time so long, that a ship and galliasse being made

out of Santa Domingo came thither into the harborow, and tooke twenty of them, whereof the most part were hanged, and the rest caried into Spaine, and some (to the number of five and twenty) escaped in the pinnesse, and came to Florida; where at their landing they were put in prison, and incontinent foure of the chiefest being condemned, at the request of the souldiers, did passe the harquebuzers, and then were hanged vpon a gibbet. This lacke of threescore men was a great discourage and weakening to the rest, for they were the best souldiers that they had: for they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their dayly craning of maiz, hauing no wares left to content them withall, and therefore were inforced to rob them, and to take away their victual perforce, which was the occasion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith) did take certeine of their company in the woods, and slew them; whereby there grew warres betwixt them and the Frenchmen: and therefore they being but a few in number durst not venture abroad, but at such time as they were inforced thereunto for want of food to do the same: and going twenty harquebuzers in a company, were set vpon by eightheene kings, hauing seuen or eight hundred men, which with one of their bowes slew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, and droue them all downe to their boats; whose pollicy in fight was to be maruelled at: for hauing shot at diuers of their bodies which were armed, and perceiuing that their arrowes did not preuaile against the same, they shot at their faces and legs, which were the places that the Frenchmen were hurt in. Thus the Frenchmen returned, being in ill case by the hurt of their men, hauing not aboue forty souldiers left vnhurt, whereby they might ill make any more inuasions vpon the Floridians, and keepe their fort withall: which they must haue beene driuen vnto, had not God sent vs thither for their succour; for they had not aboue ten dayes victuall left before we came. In which perplexity our captaine seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrels of meale, and foure pipes of beanes, with diuers other victuals and necessities which he might conueniently spare: and to helpe them the better homewardest, whither they were bound before our comming, at their request we spared them one of our barks of fifty tun. Notwithstanding the great want that the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yeeld victuals sufficient, if they would

have taken paines to get the same; but they being souldiers, desired to live by the sweat of other mens browes: for while they had peace with the Floridians, they had for sufficient, by weares which they made to catch the same: but when they grew to warres, the Floridians tooke away the same againe, and then would not the Frenchmen take the paines to make any more. The ground yeeldeth naturally grapes

in great store, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there, they made 20 hogsheads of wine. Also Twentie hogsheads of wine made in Flori. da, like to the wine of Orleans. it yeeldeth roots passing good, Deere-marnellous store, with diuers other beasts, and fowle, seruiciable to the vse of man. These be things wherewith a man

may live, hauing corne or maiz wherewith to make bread: for maiz maketh good sauory bread, and cakes as fine as flowre. Also it maketh good meale, beaten and sodden with water, and eateth like pap wherewith we feed children. It maketh also good beuerage, sodden in water, and nourishable; which the Frenchmen did vse to drinke of in the morning, and

it assuageth their thirst, so that they had no need Labourers necessary to inhabit new countreys. to drinke all the day after. And this maiz was the greatest lacke they had, because they had no labourers to sowe the same, and therefore to them that should inhabit the land it were requisite to haue labourers to till and sowe the ground: for they hauing victuals of their owne, whereby they neither rob nor spoile the inhabitants, may live not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of peace then of warres, but also shall haue abundance of victuals proferred them for nothing: for it is with them as it is with one of vs, when we see another man euer taking away from vs, although we haue enough besides, yet then we thinke all too little for our selues: for surely we haue heard the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians, that a very little contenteth them: for the Indians with the head of maiz rosted, will trauell a whole day, and when they are at the Spanyards finding, they giue them nothing but sodden herbs and maiz: and in this order I saw threescore of them feed, who were laden with wares, and came fifty leagues off. The Floridians when the trauell,

have a kinde of herbe dried, who with a cane and an Tobacco and its vertue thereof. earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, doe sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and there-

with they liue foure or five dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen vsed for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water and fleame to void from their stomachs. The commodities of this land are more then are yet known to any man: for besides the land it selfe, whereof there is more then any Christian king is able to inhabit, it flourisheth with meadow, pasture ground, with woods of Cedar and Cypres, and other sorts, as better can not be in the world. They haue for apothecary herbs, trees, roots and gummes great store, as Storax liquida, Turpentine, Gumme, Myrrhe, and Frankinsence, with many others, whereof I know not the names. Colours both red, blacke, yellow, and russet, very perfect, wherewith they so paint their bodies, and Deere skinnes which they weare about them, that with water it neither fadeth away, nor altereth colour. Golde and siluer they want not: for at the Frenchmens first comming thither they had the same offered them for little or nothing, for they receiued for a hatchet two pound weight of golde, because they knew not the estimation thereof: but the souldiers being greedy of the same, did take it from them, giuing them nothing for it: the which they perceiuing, that both the Frenchmen did greatly esteeme it, and also did rigourously deale with them, by taking the same away from them, at last would not be known they had any more, neither durst they weare the same for feare of being taken away: so that sauing at their first comming, they could get none of them: and how they came by this golde and siluer the French men know not as yet, but by gesse, who hauing trauelled to the Southwest of the cape, hauing found the same dangerous, by means of sundry banks, as we also haue found the same: and there finding masts which were wracks of Spaniards comming from Mexico, iudged that they had gotten treasure by them. For it is most true that diuers wracks haue bene made of Spaniards, hauing much treasure: for the Frenchmen hauing trauelled to the capeward an hundred and fiftie miles, did finde two Spaniards with the Floridians, which they brought afterward to their fort, whereof one was in a carauel comming from the Indies, which was cast away foureteene yeeres ago, and the other twelue yeeres; of whose fellowes some escaped, othersome were slain by the inhabitants. It seemeth they had estimation of their golde and siluer, for it is wrought flat

The variety  
of commo-  
dities in  
Florida.

Two Span-  
yards liued  
long among  
the Floridians.

Pieces of Gold grauen among y<sup>e</sup> Floridans. and grauen, which they weare about their neckes; othersome made round like a pancake, with a hole in the midst, to boulder vp their breasts withall, because they thinke it a deformity to haue great breasts. As for mines either of gold or siluer, the Frenchmen can heare of none they haue vpon the Island, but of copper, esteemed an Island. whereof as yet also they haue not made the prooffe, because they were but few men: but it is not vnlike, but that in the maine where are high hills, may be golde and siluer, as well as in Mexico, because it is all one maine. The Frenchmen obtained pearles of them of great bignes, but they were blacke, by meanes of roasting of them, for they do not fish for them as the Spaniards doe, but for their meat: for the Spaniards vse to keepe dayly afishing some two or three hundred Indians, some of them that be of choise a thousand: and their order is to go in canoas, or rather great pinnesses, with thirty men in a piece, whereof the one halfe, or most part be diuers, the rest doe open the same for the pearles: for it is not suffered that they should vse dragging, for that would bring them out of estimation, and marre the beds of them. The oysters which haue the smallest sort of pearles are found in seuen or eight fadome water, but the greatest in eleuen or twelue fadome.

The Floridians haue pieces of vnicornes hornes which they weare about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obtained many pieces. Of those vnicornes they y<sup>e</sup> inhabitants haue many: for that they doe affirme it to be a Vnicornes hornes, which call Sou-namma. beast with one horne, which comming to the riuier to drinke, putteth the same into the water before he drinketh. Of this vnicornes horne there are of our company, that hauing gotten the same of the Frenchmen brought home thereof to shew. It is therefore to be presupposed that there are more commodities as well as that, which for want of time, and people sufficient to inhabit the same, can not yet come to light: but I trust God will reueale the same before it be long, to the great profit of them that shal take it in hand. Of beasts in this country besides deere, foxes, hares, polcats, conies, ownces, and leopards, I am not able certainly to say: but it is thought that there are lions and tygres as well as vnicornes; lions especially; if it be true that is sayd, of the enmity betweene

them and the vnicornes;\* for there is no beast but hath his enemy, as the cony the polcat, a sheepe the wolfe, the elephant the rinoceros; and so of other beasts the like: insomuch, that whereas the one is, the other can not be missing. And seeing I haue made mention of the beasts of this countrey, it shall not be from my purpose to speake also of the venimous beasts, as crocodiles, whereof there is great abundance, adders of great bignesse, whereof our men killed some of a yard and halfe long. Also I heard a miracle of one of these adders, vpon the which a faulcon seizing, the <sup>Falcons in Florida.</sup> sayd adder did claspe her tail about her; which the French captaine seeing, came to the rescue of the falcon, and tooke her slaying the adder; and this faulcon being wilde, he did reclaim her, and kept her for the space of two moneths, at which time for very want of meat he was faine to cast her off. On these adders the Frenchmen did feed, to no little admiration of vs, and affirmed the same to be a delicate meat. And the captaine of the Frenchmen saw also a serpent with three heads and foure feet, of the bignesse of a great spaniell, which for want of a harquebuz he durst not attempt to slay. Of fish also they haue in the riuer, pike, roch, salmon, trout, and diuers other small fishes, and of great fish, some of the length of a man and longer, being of bignesse accordingly, hauing a snout much like a sword of a yard long. There be also of sea fishes, which we saw coming along the coast flying, which <sup>Flying fishes.</sup> are of the bignesse of a smelt, the biggest sort whereof haue foure wings, but the other haue but two: of these wee saw comming out of Guinea a hundred in a company, which being chased by the gilt heads, otherwise called the bonitos, do to auoid them the better, take their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to fly farre, because of the drying of their wings, which serue them not to flie but when they are moist, and therefore when they can flie no further, they fall into the water, and hauing wet their wings, take a new flight againe. These bonitos be of bignesse like a carpe, and in colour like a makerell, but it is the swiftest fish in swimming that is, and followeth her prey very fiercely, not only in the water, but also out of the water: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doeth this bonito leape after them, and taketh them sometimes aboue

\*This legend accounts for the supporters in our National Arms.

the water. There were some of those bonitos, which being galled by a fishgig, did follow our shippe comming out of Guinea 500 leagoes. There is a sea-fowle also that chaseth this flying fish as well as the bonito: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doth this fowle pursue to take her, which to beholde is a greater pleasure then hawking, for both the flights are as pleasant, and also more often then an hundred times: for the fowle can flie no way, but one or other lighteth in her pawes, the number of them are so abundant. There is an innumerable yong fric of these flying fishes, which commonly keepe about the ship, and are not so big as butter-flies, and yet by flying do auoid the vsatiableness of the bonito. Of the bigger sort of these fishes wee tooke many, which both night and day flew into the sailes of our ship, and there was not one of them which was not woorth a bonito: for being put vpon a hooke drabling in the water, the bonito would leape thereat, and so was taken. Also, we tooke many with a white cloth made fast to a hooke, which being tied so short in the water, that it might leape out and in, the greedie bonito thinking it to be a flying fish leapeth thereat, and so is deceived. We tooke also dolphins which are of very goodly colour and proportion to behold, and no less delicate in taste. Fowles also there be many, both vpon land and vpon sea: but concerning them on the land I am not able to name them, because my abode was there so short. But for the fowle of the fresh riuers, these two I noted to be the chiefe, whereof the Flemengo is one, hauing all red feathers, and long red legs like a herne, a necke according to the bill, red, whereof the vpper neb hangeth an inch ouer the nether; and an egypt, which is all white as the swanne, with legs like to an bearn-shaw, and of bignesse accordingly, but it hath in her taile feathers of so fine a plume, that it passeth the estridge his feather. Of the sea-fowle aboue all other not common in England, I noted the pellican, which is fained to be the louingst bird that is; which rather then her yong should want, wil spare her heart bloud out of her belly: but for all this louingnesse she is very deformed to beholde; for she is of colour russet: notwithstanding in Guinea I haue seene of them as white as a swan, hauing legs like the same, and a body like a bearnie, with a long necke, and a thick long beak, from the nether iaw whereof downe to the breast passeth a skinne of such a bignesse, as is able to receiue a fish as big as ones thigh, and this her big throat and long bill doeth make her seem so ougly.



Here I haue declared the estate of Florida, and the commodities therein to this day knowen, which although it may seeme vnto some, by the meanes that the plenty of golde and siluer, is not so abundant as in other places, that the coast bestowed vpon the same will not be able to quit the charges: yet am I of the opinion, that by that which I haue seene in <sup>Meanes to</sup> other Islands of the Indians, where such increase of <sup>reape a suffi-</sup> cattell hath bene, that of twelue head of beasts in <sup>cient profit</sup> five and twenty yeeres, did in the hides of them raise <sup>in Florida</sup> a thousand pound profit yerely, that the increase of cattell only <sup>and Virginia.</sup> would raise profit sufficient for the same: for wee may consider, if so small a portion did raise so much gaires in such short time, what would a greater do in many yeres? and surely I may this affirme, that the ground of the Indians for the breed of cattell, is not in any point to be compared to this of Florida, which all the yeere long is so greene, as any time in the Summer with vs: which surely is not to be maruelled at, seeing the countrey standeth in so watery a climate: for once a day without faile they haue a shower of raine; which by meanes of the countrey it selfe, which is drie, and more feruent hot then ours, doeth make all things to flourish therein. And because there is not the thing we all seeke for, being rather desirous of present gaires, I doe therefore affirme the attempt thereof to be more requisit for a prince, who is of power able to go thorow with the same, rather then for any subiect.

From thence wee departed the 28 of Iuly, vpon our voyage homewards, hauing there all things as might be most conuenient for our purpose: and tooke leaue of the Frenchmen that there still remained, who with diligence determined to make as great speede after,\* as they could. Thus by means of contrary windes oftentimes, wee prolonged our voyage in such manner that victuals scanted with vs, so that we were diuers times (or rather the most part) in despaire of euer comming home, had not God in his goodnesse better prouided for vs, then our deserting. In which state of great miserie, wee were prouoked to call vpon him by feruent prayer, which moued him to heare vs, so that we had a prosperous winde, which did set vs so farre shot, as to be vpon the banke of Newfound land, on Saint Bartholomews eue, and we sounded thereupon, finding ground at an hundred and thirty

\* For Laudonniere's own account of Florida, see Vol. XIII., p. 402 of this Edition.

fadoms, being that day somewhat becalmed, and tooke a great number of fresh codde-fish, which greatly relieved vs: and being very glad thereof, the next day we departed, and had lingring little gales for the space of foure or five dayes, at the ende of which we sawe a couple of French shippes, and had of them so much fish as would serue vs plentifully for all the rest of the way, the Captaine paying for the same both golde and siluer, to the just value thereof, vnto the chiefe owners of the saide shippes, but they not looking for any thing at all, were glad in themselves to meete with such good intertainement at sea, as they had at our handes. After which departure from them, with a good large winde, the twentieth of September we came to Padstow in Cornewall, God be thanked, in safetie, with the losse of twentie persons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the said voyage, as also to the whole realme, in bringing home both golde, siluer, pearles and other iewels great store. His name therefore be praised for euermore. Amen.

Their arrival  
in Padstow  
in the  
moneth of  
September,  
1565.

The names of certaine Gentlemen that were in this voyage.

{ M. Iohn Hawkins.  
M. Iohn Chester, sir William Chesters sonne.  
M. Anthony Parkhurst.  
M. Fitzwilliam.  
M. Thomas Woorley.  
M. Edward Lacie, with diuers others.

{ The Register and true accounts of all herein expressed hath bene approved by me Iohn Sparke the younger, who went vpon the same voyage, and wrote the same.

The third troublesome voyage made with the Iesus of Lubec, the Minion, and foure other ships, to the parts of Guinez, and the West Indies, in the yeeres 1567 and 1568 by M. Iohn Hawkins.

The ships departed from Plimmoth, the second day of October, Anno 1567 and had reasonable weather vntill the seuenth day, at which time fortie leagues North from Cape

Finister, there arose an extreme storme, which continued foure dayes, in such sort, that the fleete was dispersed, and all our great boats lost, and the Iesus our chiefe shippe, in such case, as not thought able to serue the voyage: whereupon in the same storme we set our course homeward, determining to giue ouer the voyage: but the eleuenth day of the same moneth, the winde changed with faire weather, whereby we were animated to followe our enterprise, and so did, directing our course with the Islands of the Canaries, where according to an order before prescribed, all our shippes before dispersed, met at one of those Ilands, called Gomera, where we tooke water, and departed from thence the fourth day of Nouember, towards the coast of Guinea, and arriued at Cape Verde, the eighteenth of Nouember: where we landed 150 men, hoping to obtain some Negros, where we got but fewe, and those with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their enuenedomed arrowes: and although in the beginning they seemed to be but small hurts, yet there hardly escaped any that had blood drawn of them, but died in strange sort, with their mouthes shut some tenne dayes before they died, and after their wounds were whole; where I my selfe had one of the greatest woundes, yet thanks be to God, escaped. From thence we passed the time vpon the coast of Guinea, searching with all diligence the riuers from Rio grande, vnto Sierra Leona, till the twelfth of Iannarie, in which time we had not gotten together a hundreth and fiftie Negros: yet notwithstanding the sicknesse of our men, and the late time of the yeere commanded vs away: and thus hauing nothing wherewith to seeke the coast of the West Indias, I was with the rest of our company in consultation to goe to the coast of the Mine, hoping there to haue obtained some golde for our wares, and thereby to haue defraied our charge. But euen in that present instant, there came to vs a Negro, sent from a king oppressed by other Kings his neighbours, desiring our aide, with promise that as many Negros as by these warres might be obtained, as well of his part as of ours, should be at our pleasure: whereupon we concluded to giue <sup>A towne of</sup> aide, and sent 120 of our men, which the 15 of 8000 negros <sup>taken</sup> Iannarie, assaulted a towne of the Negros of our Allies aduersaries, which had in it 8000 Inhabitants, being very strongly impaled and fenced after their manner, but it was so well defended that our men preuailed not, but lost sixe

men and fortie hurt: so that our men sent forthwith to me for more helpe: whereupon considering that the good successe of this enterprise might highly further the commoditie of our voyage, I went my selfe, and with the helpe of the king of our side, assaulted the towne, both by land and sea, and very hardly with fire (their houses being covered with dry Palme leaues) obtained the towne, and put the inhabitants to flight, where we tooke 250 persons, men, women, and children, and by our friend the king of our side, there were taken 600 prisoners, whereof we hoped to haue had our choise: but the Negro (in which No trueth in  
Negros. nation is seldome or neuer found truth) meant nothing lesse: for that night he remooued his campe and prisoners, so that we were faine to content vs with those fewe which we had gotten ourselues.

Now had we obtained between foure and fiue hundred Negros, wherewith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seeke the coast of the West Indies, and there, for our Negros, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to counteruaile our charges with some gaines, whereunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watering, tooke fuell, and departed the coast of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the sea with a passage more hard, then before had bene accustomed till the 27 day of March, which day we had sight of an Iland, Dominica. called Dominica, vpon the coast of the West Indies, in fourteene degrees: from thence we coasted from place to place, making our traffike with the Spaniards as we might, somewhat hardly, because the king had straightly commanded all his Gouvernours in those parts, by no meanes, to suffer any trade to be made with vs: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade, and courteous entertainment, from the Ile of Margarita vnto Cartagena, without any thing greatly worth the noting, sauing at Capo de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearles) the treasurer who had the charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or suffer vs to take water, he had fortified his towne with diuers bulwarkes in all places where it might be entered, and furnished himselfe with an hundred Hargabuziers, so that he thought by famine to haue inforced vs to haue put a land our Negros: of which purpose he had not greatly failed, vnlesse we had by force entred the towne: which (after we could by no meanes obtaine his fauour) we were inforced to doe, and so with two hundred men brake

in vpon their bulwarkes, and entred the towne with <sup>Rio de la</sup> the losse onely of two men of our partes, and no <sup>Hachataken.</sup> hurt done to the Spaniards because after their volley of shot discharged, they all fled.

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

At Cartagena the last towne we thought to haue <sup>Cartagena.</sup> seene on the coast, we could by no meanes obtaine to deale with any Spaniard, the gouernor was so straight, and because our trade was so neere finished we thought not good either to aduenture any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24 of Iuly, hoping to haue escaped the time of their stormes which then soone after began to reigne, the which they called Furicanos, but <sup>Furicanos.</sup> passing by the West end of Cuba, towards the coast of Florida, there happened to vs the 12 day of August an extreme storme which continued by the space of foure dayes, which so beat the Iesus, that we cut downe all her higher buildings, her rudder also was sore shaken, and withall was in so extreme a leake, that we were rather vpon the point to leaue her then to keepe her any longer, yet hoping to bring all to good passe, we sought the coast of Florida, where we found no place nor Hauen for our ships, because of the shalownesse of the coast: thus being in greater despaire, and taken with a newe <sup>Storme.</sup> storme which continued other 3 dayes, we were inforced to take for our succour the Port which serueth the citie of Mexico called Saint Iohn de Vltua, which standeth in 19 degrees: in seeking of which Port we tooke in our way 3 ships which carried passengers to the number of an hundred, which passengers we hoped should be a meane to vs the better to obtaine victuals for our money, and a quiet place for the repairing of our fleete. Shortly after this the 16 of September we entered the Port of Saint Iohn de Vltua and in <sup>The</sup> our entrie the Spaniardes thinking vs to be the fleete <sup>Spaniards</sup> of Spaine, the chiefe officers of the Countrey came <sup>deceiued.</sup> aboard vs, which being deceiued of their expectation were greatly dismayed: but immediatly when they sawe our demand was

nothing but victuals, were recomforted. I found also in the same Port twelue ships which had in them by the report two hundred thousand pound in gold and siluer, all which (being in my possession, with the kings Iland as also the passengers before in my way thitherward stayed) I set at libertie, without the taking from them the waight of a groat: onely because I would not be delayed of my dispatch, I stayed two men of estimation and sent post immediatly to Mexico, which was two hundred miles from vs, to the Presidentes and Councell there, shewing them of our arriual there by the force of weather, and the necessitie of the

repaire of our shippes and victuals, which wanted. Our requests. required as friends to king Philip to be furnished of for our money: and that the Presidentes and Council there should with all conuenient speede take order, that at the arriual of the Spanish fleete, which was dayly looked for, there might no cause of quarrell rise betweene vs and them, but for the better maintenance of amitie, their commandement might be had in that behalfe. This message being sent away the sixteenth day of September at night, being the very day of our arriual, in

the next morning which was the seuenteenth day of The fleete of Spaine. the same moneth, we sawe open of the Hauen thirteene great shippes, and vnderstanding them to bee the fleete of Spaine, I sent immediatly to aduertise the Generall of the fleete of my being there, doing him to vnderstand, that before I would suffer them to enter the Port, there should some order of conditions passe betweene vs for our safe being

there, and maintenance of peace. Now it is to be The maner of the port S. Iohn de Villaa. vnderstood that this Port is made by a little Iland of stones not three foote aboue the water in the highest place, and but a bow-shoot of length any way, this

Iland standeth from the maine land two bow shootes or more, also it is to be vnderstood that there is not in all this coast any other place for shippes to arriue in safety, because the North winde hath there such violence, that vnlesse the shippes be very safely

mored with their ankers fastened vpon this Iland, North windes perilous. there is no remedie for these North windes but death: also the place of the Hauen was so little, that of necessitie the shippes must ride one aboard the other, so that we could not giue place to them, nor they to vs: and here I beganne to bewaile that which after followed, for now, said I, I am in two dangers, and forced to receive the one of them. That

was, either I must haue kept out the fleete from entering the Port, the which with Gods helpe I was very well able to doe, or else suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they neuer faile to execute, where they may haue opportunitie, to compasse it by any meanes : if I had kept them out, then had there bene present shipwracke of all the fleete which amounted in value to sixe Millions, which was in <sup>1800 thousand</sup> <sub>pond.</sub> value of our money 1800000. li. which I considered I was not able to answere, fearing the Queenes Maiesties indignation in so waightie a matter. Thus with my selfe reuoluing the doubts, I thought rather better to abide the Iutt of the vncertainty, then the certaintie. The vncertaine doubt I account was their treason which by good policie I hoped might be preuented, and therefore as chusing the least mischiefe I proceeded to conditions. Now was our first messenger come and returned from the fleete with report of the arriual of a Viceroy, so that hee had authoritie, both in all this Prouince of Mexico (otherwise called Nueua Espanna) and in the sea, who sent vs word that we should send our conditions, which of his part should (for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the Princes) be both fauourably granted, and faithfully performed with <sup>Faire wordes</sup> <sub>beguiled.</sub> many faire wordes how passing the coast of the Indies he had vnderstood of our honest behaiour towards the inhabitants where we had to doe, aswell elsewhere as in the same Port, the which I let passe: thus following our demand, we required victuals for our money, and licence to sell <sup>Our requests.</sup> as much ware as might furnish our wants, and that there might be of either part twelue gentlemen as hostages for the maintenance of peace: and that the Iland for our better safetie might be in our owne possession, during our abode <sup>The peace</sup> <sub>concluded.</sub> there, and such ordinance as was planted in the same Iland which were eleven peeces of brasse: and that no Spaniard might land in the Iland with any kind of weapon: these conditions at the first he somewhat misliked, chiefly the guard of the Iland to be in our owne keeping, which if they had had, we had soone knowen our fare: for with the first North winde they had cut our cables and our ships had gone ashore: but in the ende he concluded to our request, bringing the twelue hostages to ten, which with all speede of either part were receiued, with a writing from the Viceroy signed with his hande and sealed with his seale of all the conditions concluded, and forthwith a trumpet

blown with commandement that none of either part should be meane to violate the peace vpon paine of death: and further it was concluded that the two Generals of the fleetes should meete, and giue faith ech to other for the performance of the premisses which was so done. Thus at the end of 3 dayes all was concluded and the fleete entered the port, saluting one another as the maner of the sea doth require. Thus as I said before, Thursday we entred the port, Friday we saw the fleete, and on Munday at night they entered the Port: then we laboured 2 daies placing the English ships by themselves, and the Spanish ships by themselves, the captaines of each part and inferiour men of their parts promising great amity of al sides: which euen as with all fidelitie it was ment on our part, so the Spaniards ment nothing lesse on their parts, but from the maine land had furnished themselues with a supply of men to the number of 1000, and ment the next Thursday being the 23 of September at dinner time, to set vpon vs on all sides. The same Thursday in the morning the treason being at hand, some appearance shewed, as shifting of weapon from ship to ship, planting and bending of ordinance from the ships to the Iland where our men warded, passing too and fro of companies of men more then required for their necessary busines, and many other ill likelihoods, which

A Viceroy caused vs to haue a vehement suspition, and therefore false of his withall sent to the Viceroy to enquire what was ment by it, which sent immediatly straight commandement

to vnplant all things suspicious, and also sent word that he in the faith of a Viceroy would be our defence from all villanies. Yet we being not satisfied with this answere, because we suspected a great number of men to be hid in a great ship of 900 tunnes, which was moored next vnto the Minion, sent againe to the Viceroy the master of the Iesus which had the Spanish tongue, and required to be satisfied if any such thing were or not. The Viceroy now seeing that the treason must

The treason beke forth. be discouered, soorthwith stayed our master, blew the Trumpet, and of all sides set vpon vs: our men which

warded a shore being stricken with sudden feare, gaue place, fled, and sought to recouer succour of the ships; the Spaniardes being before prouided for the purpose landed in all places in multitudes from their ships which they might easily doe without boates, and slewe all our men ashore without mercie, a fewe of them escaped aboard the Iesus. The great ship which had by



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

The Minion  
escaped  
hardly.

The Iesus  
escaped  
hardly.

Sharpe wars.

3. ships of  
the  
Spaniards  
consumed.

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

A hard case.

The most part of the men that were left aliue in the Iesus,  
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made shift and followed the Minion in a small boat, the rest

Small hope  
to be had of which the little boate was not able to receive, were  
inforced to abide the mercie of the Spaniards (which  
tyrants I doubt was very little) so with the Minion only and

the ~~Minion~~ (a small barke of 50 tunne) we escaped, which barke  
the same night forsooke vs in our great miserie: we were now  
remoued with the Minion from the Spanish ships two bow-  
shootes, and there rode all that night: the next morning we  
recovered an Iland a mile from the Spaniards, where there

A storme. tooke vs a North winde, and being left onely with two  
ankers and two cables (for in this conflict we lost  
three cables and two ankers) we thought alwayes vpon death  
which euer was present, but God preserued vs to a longer time.

The weather waxed reasonable, and the Saturday we set saile,  
and hauing a great number of men and little victuals

Small hopes  
of life. our hope of life waxed lesse and lesse: some desired  
to yeeld to the Spaniards, some rather desired to

obtaine a place where they might giue themselues to the Indes,  
and some had rather abide with a little pittance the  
Hard choice. mercie of God at Sea: so thus with many sorrowful

hearts we wandred in an vnknown Sea by the space of 14 dayes,  
till hunger inforced vs to seek the land, for hides were

Miseries. thought very good meat, rats, cats, mice and dogs,  
none escaped that might be gotten, parrats and monkeyes that

were had in great price, were thought there very profitable if they  
serued the turne one dinner: thus in the end the 8 day of  
October we came to the land in the botome of the same bay of  
Mexico in 23 degrees and a halfe, where we hoped to haue found  
inhabitants of the Spaniards, reliefe of victuals, and place for the  
repaire of our ship, which was so sore beaten with shot from our  
enemies and brused with shooting off our owne ordinance, that  
our wearie and weake armes were scarce able to defende and  
keepe out water. But all things happened to the contrary, for  
we found neither people, victuall, nor haue of reliefe, but a  
place where hauing faire weather with some perill we might land  
a boat: our people being forced with hunger desired to be set  
on land, whereunto I consented.

And such as were willing to land I put them apart, and such  
as were desirous to goe homewardest, I put apart, so that they  
were indifferently parted a hundred of one side and a hundred of  
the other side: these hundred men we set a land with all dili-

gence in this little place beforesaid, which being landed, we determined there to take in fresh water, and so with our little remaine of victuals to take the sea.\*

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

But yet God againe had mercie on vs, and sent faire weather, we had aboard our water, and departed the sixteenth day of October, after which day we had faire and prosperous weather till the sixteenth day of Nouember, which day God be prayed we were cleere from the coast of the Indies, and out of the chanell and gulfe of Bahama, which is betweene the Cape of Florida, and the Landes of Lucayo. After this growing neere to the colde country, our men being oppressed with famine, died continually, and they that were left, grew into such weakenesse that we were scantly able to manage our shippe, and the winde being always ill for vs to recouer England, we determined to goe with Galicia in Spaine, with intent there to relieue our companie and other extreame wantes. And being arriued the last day of December in a placè neere vnto Vigo, called Ponte Vedra, our men with excesse of fresh meate grew into miserable diseases, and died a great part of them. This matter was borne out as long as it might be, but in the end although there were none of our men suffered to goe a land, yet by accesse of the Spaniards, our feeblenesse was knowne to them. Whereupon they ceased not to seeke by all meanes to betray vs, but with all speede possible we departed to Vigo, where we had some helpe of certaine English ships and twelue fresh men, wherewith we repaired our wants as we might, and departing the 20 day of Ianuary 1568 arriued in Mounts bay in Cornewall the 25 of the same moneth, praised be God therefore.

If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorrowfull voyage should be perfectly and throughly written, there should

\* Two accounts, the one by Miles Philips, the other by Job Hortop, two of the men set ashore by John Hawkins, will be found in Vol. XIV. of this Edition, pages 187 and 226. This narrative, with those of Philips and Hortop, has been extensively used by Charles Kingsley throughout his "Westward Ho!"

neede a painefull man with his pen, and as great a time as he had  
that wrote the liues and deathes of the Martyrs.

JOHN HAWKINS.

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A  
DISCOVERY  
OF  
THE BARMVDAS,  
OTHERWISE CALLED THE  
ILE OF DIVELS:

BY  
SIR THOMAS GATES, SIR GEORGE SOMMERS,

AND

CAPTAYNE NEWPORT,  
WITH-DIERS OTHERS.

SET FORTH FOR THE LOUE OF MY COUNTRY,

AND ALSO

FOR THE GOOD OF THE PLANTATION IN VIRGINIA.

SIL. IOURDAN.

London :

PRINTED BY IOHN WINDET, AND ARE TO BE SOLD BY ROGER  
BARNES IN S. DUNSTANES CHURCH-YARD IN FLEETE-  
STREETE, VNDER THE DIALL.

1610.

TO THE  
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL  
Master John Fitz-James. Esquire,  
ONE OF HIS MAJESTIES CHIEFE IUSTICES OF PEACE  
WITHIN THE  
COUNTIE OF DORSET.

---

Sir, amongst all the sinnes, that humane nature doth stand  
possesst with, ingratitude doth challenge a propertie in man,  
although it bee a thing repugnant to reason, and disagreeing with  
all mutuall societie. To free myself from this vitium nature, I  
am bold in these fewe lines to dedicate my loue to you: for it  
were too tedious to vse many wordes, where good wil is the hond  
of loue. This smal gift I would intreate you to accept, if not for  
the quantitie, yet for the qualitie. From London the thirteenth  
of October, 1610.

Your Worships to command

SIL. IOURDAN.

A  
DISCOVERY  
OF THE  
**Barmudas,**

OTHERWISE CALLED

**THE ILE OF DIVELS.**

I Being in ship called the scauventure, with Sir Thomas Gates, our Gouvernour, Sir George Sommers, and Captaine Newport, three most worthy honoured Gentlemen, (whose valour and fortitude the world must needs take notice off, and that in most honourable designes) bound for Virginia, in the height of thirty degrees of northerly latitude, or thereabouts: we were taken with a most sharpe and cruell storme vpon the five and twentieth day of Iuly, Anno 1609, which did not only separate vs from the residue of our fleete; (which were eight in number) but with the violent working of the Seas, our ship became so shaken, torne, and leaked, that shee receiued so much water, as couered two tire of hogsheads about the ballast; that our men stoode vp to the middles: with buckets, baricos, and kettles, to baile out the water, and continually pumped for three dayes and three nights together, without any intermission; and yet the water seemed rather to increase, then to diminish: in so much that all our men, being vtterly spent, tyred, and disabled for longer labour, were euen resolued, without any hope of their liues, to shut vp the hatches, and to haue committed themselves to the mercy of the sea, (which is said to be mercilesse) or rather to the mercy of their mighty God and redeemer, (whose mercies exceed all his works) seeing no helpe, nor hope, in the apprehension of mans reason,

that any mothers child could escape that inevitable danger, which every man had proposed and digested to himselfe, of present sinking. So that some of them having some good and comfortable waters in the ship, fetcht them, and drunke one to the other, taking their last leane one of the other, vntill their more ioyfull and happy meeting, in a more blessed world; when it pleased God out of his most gracious and mercifull providence, so to direct and guide our ship. (being left to the mercy of the sea) for her most aduantage: that Sir George Sommers (sitting vpon the poepe of the ship,) where he sate three dayes and three nights together, without meales meate, and little or no sleepe, coursing the shippe to keepe her as vpright as he could, (for otherwise shee must needs instantly haue foundred) most wisbedly happily discryed land; whereupon he most comfortably encouraged the company to follow their pumping, and by no meanes to cease bayling out of the water with their buckets, baricos, and kettles; whereby they were so ouer wearied, and their spirits so spent with long fasting, and continuance of their labour, that for the most part they were fallen asleepe in corners, and wheresoeuer they chanced first to sit or lie: but hearing news of land, wherewith they grew to bee somewhat revived, being carried with wil and desire beyond their strength, every man busied vp, and gathered his strength and feeble spirits together, to performe as much as their weake force would permit him: through which weake meanes, it pleased God to worke so strongly as the water was staide for that little time, (which as we all much feared, was the last period of our breathing) and the ship kept from present sinking, when it pleased God to send her within halfe an English mile of that land that Sir George Sommers had not long before discryed: which were the Ilands of the Bermudas. And there neither did our ship sincke, but more fortunately in so great a misfortune fell in betweene two rockes, where shee was fast lodged and locked, for further badging: whereby we gayned, not only sufficient time, with the present helpe of our boate, and skiffe, safely to set, and conuey our men ashore (which were one hundred and fifty in number) but afterwards had time and leasure to saue some good part of our goodes and provision, which the water had not spoyled, with all the tackling of the ship, and much of the yron about her, which were necessities not a little auailable, for the building and furnishing of a new ship and pinnis, which we made there, for the transporting and carrying



of vs to Virginia. But our deliery was not more strange in falling so opportunely, and happily vpon the land, as our feeding and preseruacion, was beyond our hopes, and all mens expectations most admirable. For the Ilands of the Bermudas, as euery man knoweth that hath heard or read of them, were neuer inhabited by any Christian or heathen people, but euer esteemed, and reputed, a most prodigious and enchanted place, affording nothing but gusts, stormes, and foule weather; which made euery Navigator and Mariner to auoide them, as Scylla and Charibdis; or as they would shunne the Deuill himselfe; and no man was euer heard, to make for the place, but as against their wils, they haue by stormes and dangerousnesse of the rocks, lying seauen leagues into the sea, suffered shipwracke; yet did we finde there the ayre so temperate and the Countrey so aboundantly fruitful of all fit necessaries, for the sustentation and preseruacion of mans life, that most in a manner of all our prouisions of bread, beere, and victuall, being quite spoyled, in lying long drowned in salt water, notwithstanding we were there for the space of nine monethes (few dayes ouer or vnder) not only well refreshed, comforted, and with good satiety contented, but of the aboundance thereof, prouided vs some reasonable quantity and proportion of prouision, to carry vs for Virginia, and to maintaine ourselues, and that company we found there, to the great reliefe of them, as it fell out in their so great extremities, and in respect of the shortnesse of time, vntill it pleased God, that by my Lords comming thither, their store was better supplied, and greater, and better prouisions wee might haue made, if we had had better meanes for the storing and transportation thereof. Wherefore my opinion sincerely of this Island is, that whereas it hath beene, and is still accounted, the most dangerous, infortunate, and most forlorne place of the world, it is in truth the richest, healthfullest, and pleasing land, (the quantity and bignesse thereof considered) and meerely naturall, as euer set foote vpon: the particular profits and benefits whereof, shal be more especially inserted, and hereunto annexed, which euery man to his owne private knowledge, that was there, can auouch and iustife for a truth. Vpon the eight and twentieth day of Iuly 1609. (after the extremitie of the storme was something qualified) we fell vpon the shore at the Bermudas; where after our generall Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and Captaine Newport, had by their

prouident carefulnesse landed all their men, and so much of the goods, and prouisions out of the ship, as was not vtterly spoyled, euerie man disposed and applyed himselfe, to search for, and to seeke out such releefe and sustentation, as the Country afforded: and Sir George Sommers, a man inured to extremities, (and knowing what thereunto belonged) was in this seruice, neither idle nor backward, but presently by his careful industry, went and found out sufficient, of many kind of fishes, and so plentifull thereof, that in halfe an houre, he tooke so many great fishes with hookes, as did suffice the whole company one day. And fish is there so abundant, that if a man steppe into the water, they will come round about him; so that men were faine to get out for feare of byting. These fishes are very fat and sweete, and of that proportion and bignesse, that three of them will conueniently lade two men: those we called rock fish. Besides there are such abundance of mullets that with a seane might be taken at one draught one thousand at the least, and infinite store of pilchards, with diuers kindes of great fishes, the names of them vnknowne to me: of cray fishes very great ones, and so great store as that there hath beene taken in one night with making lights, euen sufficient to feede the whole company a day. The Countrey affordeth great abundance of Hogs, as that there hath beene taken by Sir George Sommers, who was the first that hunted for them, to the number of two and thirtie at one time, which he brought to the company in a boate, built by his owne hands. There is fowle in great number vpon the Ilands, where they breed, that there hath beene taken in two or three houres, a thousand at the least; the bird being of the bignesse of a good Pidgeon, and layeth egges as bigge as Hen egges vpon the sand, where they come and lay them dayly, although men sit downe amongst them; that there hath beene taken vp in one morning, by Sir Thomas Gates men, one thousand of egges: and Sir George Sommers men, comming a little distance of time after them, haue stayed there whilst they came and layed their egges amongst them, that they brought away as many more with them; with many young birds very fat and sweet. Another Sea fowle there is that lyeth in little holes in the ground, like vnto a cony-hole, and are in great numbers, exceeding good meate, very fat and sweet (those we had in the winter) and their egges are white, and of that bignesse, that they are not to be knowne from Hen egges. The other birds egges are

speckled, and of a different colour: there are also great store and plenty of Herons, and those so familiar and tame, that wee beate them downe from the trees with stones and staves, but such were young Herons: besides many White Herons, without so much as a blacke or gray feather on them; with other small birds so tame and gentle, that a man walking in the woods with a stick, and whistling to them, they wil come and gaze on you, so neare that you may strike and kill many of them with your stick; and with singing and hollowing you may doe the like. There are also great store of Tortoses, (which some call Turtles) and those so great, that I haue seene a bushel of egges in one of their bellies, which are sweeter then any Henne egge: and the Tortose it selfe, is all very good meate, and yeeldeth great store of oyle, which is as sweete as any butter; and one of them will suffice fifty men a meale, at the least: and of these hath beene taken great store, with two boates, at the least forty in one day. The Country yeeldeth diuers fruits, as prickled peares, great abundance, which continue greene vpon the trees all the yeare; also great plentie of Mulberries, white and red: and on the same are great store of silke-wormes, which yeeld tods of silke, both white and yellow, being some course, and some fine. And there is a tree called a Palmito tree, which hath a very sweet berry, vpon which the hogs doe most feede; but our men finding the sweetnesse of them, did willingly share with the hogs for them, they being very pleasant and wholesome, which made them carelesse almost of any bread with their meate; which occasioned vs to carry in a manner all that store of flower and meale, we did or could saue for Virginia. The head of the Palmito tree is very good meate, either raw or sodden, it yeeldeth a head which waigheth about twenty pound, and is farre better meate, then any cabbidge. There are an infinite number of Cedar trees, (the fairest I thinke in the world) and those bring forth a very sweet berry and wholesome to eat. The Country (for as much as I could find my self, or heare by others) affords no venimous creature or so much as a Rat or Mouse, or any other thing vnwholsome. There is great store of Pearle, and some of them very faire, round and Orientall; and you shall finde at least one hundred seede of Pearle in one Oyster; there hath beene likewise found, some good quantity of Amber Greece, and that of the best sort. There are also great plenty of Whales, which I conceaue are very easie to be killed, for they come so vsually,

and ordinarily to the shore, that we heard them oftentimes in the night a bed; and haue seene many of them neare the shore, in the day time. There was borne upon the Bermudas, at the time of our being there two children, the one a man child, there baptised, by the name of Barmudas; and a woman child, baptised by the name of Barmuda: as also there was a marriage betweene two English people vpon that Iland. This Iland, I meane the mayne Iland, with all the broken Ilandes adiacent, are made in the forme of a half Moone, but a little more rounder and diuided into many broken Ilands, and there are many good harbours in it, but wee could finde one especiall place to goe in, or rather to goe out from it, which was not altogether free from some danger, and that lyeth on the South-east side, where there is three fathoms water, at the entrance therof, but within sixe, seauen, or eight fathoms at the least, where you may safely lie land-locked, from the danger of all winds and weathers, and more to the trees. The comming into it, is so narrow and straight betweene the rocks, as that it will with small store of munition be fortified, and easily defended, with all aduantage the place affords, against the forces of the Potentest King of Europe. There are also plenty of Haukes, and very good Tobacco, as I thinke, which through forgetfulnesse, I had almost omitted: now hauing finished and rigged our ship, and pinnis, the one called the Deliuerance, the pinnis the Patience, wee prepared and made our selues ready, to ship for Virginia, hauing powdred some store of hogs flesh, for prouision thither, and the company thereof, for some reasonable time: but were compelled to make salt there for the same purpose, for all our salt was spent and spoyled, before wee recouered the shore. Wee carryed with vs also a good portion of Tortose oyle, which either for frying or baking did vs very great pleasure, it being very sweete, nourishing, and wholesome: the greatest defects we found there, was tarre and pitch for our ship, and pinnis, in steede whereof wee were forced to make lime there of a hard kinde of stone, and vse it: which for the present occasion and necessity, with some wax we found cast vp by the Sea, from some shipwracke, serued the turne to pay the seames of the pinnis Sir George Sommers built, for which hee had neither pitch nor tarre: so that God in the supplying of all our wants, beyond all measure, shewed himselfe still mercifull vnto vs, that we might accomplish our intended voyage to Virginia, for which I confidently hope, hee doth yet reserue a blessing in store, and

to the which I presume, every honest and religious heart will readily giue their amen. When all things were made ready, and commodiously fitted, the winde comming faire, wee set saile and put off from the Barmudas, the tenth day of May, in the yeare 1610. and arriued at Iames towne in Virginia, the foure and twentieth day of the same Moneth: where wee found some threescore persons liuing. And being then some three weeks or thereabouts passed, and not hearing of anye supply, it was thought fitting by a generall consent, to vse the best meanes for the preseruatiō of all those people that were liuing, being all in number two hundred persons. And so vpon the eight of Iune one thousand sixe hundred and ten, wee vnbarkeed at Iames Towne: not hauing aboue fourteene dayes victaile, and so were determined to direct our course for New-found-land, there to refresh vs, and supply our selues with victaile, to bring vs home; but it pleased God to dispose otherwise of vs, and to giue vs better meanes. For being all of vs shipped in foure pinnices, and departed from the towne, almost downe half the Riuer, wee met my Lord De La Warre comming vp with three ships, well furnished with victaile, which reuiued all the company, and gaue them great content. And after some few dayes, my Lord vnderstanding of the great plenty of hogges and fish, was at the Barmudas, and the necessity of them in Virginia, was desirous to send thither, to supply himselfe with those things, for the better comforting of his men, and the plantation of the Country. Whereupon Sir George Sommers being a man best acquainted with the place, and being willing to doe seruice vnto his Prince and Country: without any respect of his owne priuate gaine: And being of threescore yeares of age at the least, out of his worthy and valiant minde, offered himselfe to vndertake to performe with Gods help that dangerous voyage for the Barmudas, for the better releefe and comfort of the people in Virginia, and for the better plantation of it, which offer my Lord De La Warre, very willingly and thankfully accepted: and so vpon the nineteenth of Iune, Sir George Sommers imbarkeed himself at Iames towne in a small barge of thirty tonne, or thereabout, that he built at the Barmudas: wherein he laboured from morning vntill night, as duellie as any workeman doth labour for wages, and built her all with Cedar, with little or no yron worke at all: hauing in her but one boulte, which was in the Kilson: notwithstanding thanks be to God, shee brought vs in safety to Virginia,

and so I trust he will protect him, and send him well backe againe, to his hearts desire, and the great comfort of all the company there.

The Barmudas lyeth in the height of two and thirty degrees and a halfe, of Northerly latitude, Virginia bearing directly from it, West North West, two hundred and thirty leagues.

FINIS.

The first voyage attempted and set forth by the expert and valiant captain M. Francis Drake himselfe, with a ship called the Dragon, and another ship and a Pinnesse, to Nombre de Dios, and Dariene, about the yeere 1572, Written and recorded by one Lopez Vaz a Portugall borne in the cite of Eluas, in maner follow, which Portugale, with the discourse about him, was taken at the riuer of Plate by the ships set forth by the Right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in the yeere 1586.

There was a certaine English man named Francis Drake, who hauing intelligence how the towne of Nombre de Dios in Nueua Spanna, had but small store of people remaining there, came on a night, and entred the Port with foure Pinnesses, and landed about 150 men and leauing 70 men with a trumpet, in a Fort which was there, with the other 80 he entred the towne, without doing any harme, till he came to the market place, and there discharged his caliuers, and sounded a trumpet very loud, and the other which he had left in the Fort answered him after the same maner, with the discharging their caliuers, and sounding their trumpets: the people hereupon not thinking of any such matter, were put in great feare, and waking out of their sleepe fled all into the mountaines, inquiring one of another what the matter should be, remaining as men amazed, not knowing what that vprore was which happened so suddenly in the towne. But 14 or 15 of them ioyning together with their harquebuzes, went

to the market place to know what they were that were in the towne, and in a corner of the market place they did discover the Englishmen, and seeing them to be but fewe, discharged their caluiers at those Englishmen: their fortune was such that they killed the Trumpetter, and shot one of the principall men thorow the legge, who seeing himselfe hurt, retyred to the Fort, where the rest of their company was-left: they which were in the Fort sounded their Trumpet, and seeing that they in the towne did not answere them, and hearing the caluiers, thought that all they in the towne had bene slaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinnesses: the English captaine comming to the Fort, and not finding his men which he left there, he and his were in so great feare, that leauing their furniture behind them, and putting off their hose, they swamme, and waded all to their Pinnesses, and so went with their ships againe out of the Port.

Thus this English Captaine called Francis Drake, departed from Nombre de Dios, and slew onely one man in the towne which was looking out of a windowe to see what the matter was, and of his men had onely his Trumpetter-slaine.

But he being discontented with the repulse which he had receiued there, came to the sound of Dariene, and hauing conference with certaine Negros which were fled from their masters of Panama, and Nombre de Dios, the Negros did tell him, that certaine Mules came laden with gold and siluer from Panama to Nombre de Dios, who in companie with these Negros went thereupon on land, and stayed in the way where the treasure should come with an hundred shot, and so tooke two companies of mules, which came onely with their driuers mistrusting nothing, and he carried away the gold onely, for they were not able to carrie the siluer through the mountaines. And two dayes after he came to the house of Crosses, where he killed sixe or seuen marchants, but found no golde nor siluer but such marchandize: so he fired the house, where was burnt aboue 200000 Duckets in Marchandize, and so went to his ship againe: and within halfe an houre after he was a ship-board, there came downe to the sandes three hundred shot of the Spaniards in the sight of his ships, of purpose to seeke him, but he cared little for them being out of their reach, and so departed with his treasure.

The valiant exploit of M. Francis Drake betwixt Panama and Nombre de Dios.

M. Francis Drake burnt the house of Crosses.

The voyage of Iohn Oxnam of Plimmouth, to the West India, and ouer the straight of Dariene into the South Sea. Anno 1575. Written by the foresaid Lopez Vaz in the said discourse.

There was another Englishman, who hearing of the spoyle that Francis Drake had done vpon the coast of Nueva Espanna, and of his good aduerture and safe returne home, was thereby prouoked to vudertake the like enterprise, with a ship of 140 tunnes, and 70 men, and came thither, and had also conference with the foresaide Negros: and hearing that the golde and siluer which came vpon the Mules from Panama to Nombre de Dios, was now conducted with souldiers, he determined to do that which neuer any man before enterprised: and landed in that place where Francis Drake before had had his conference with the Negros. This man couered his ship after he had brought her aground with boughes of trees, and hid his great Ordinance in the ground, and so not leauing any man in his ship, he tooke two small pieces of ordinance, and his caliuers, and good store of victuals, and so went with the Negros about twelue leagues into the maine land, to a riuier that goeth to the South sea, and there he cut wood and made a Pinnesse, which was fiae and fortie foote by the keele, and hauing made this Pinnesse, he went into the South sea, carrying sixe Negros with him to be his guides, and so went to the Iland of Pearles, which is fiae and twentie leagues from Panama, which is in the way that they come from Peru to Panama, and there he was ten dayes without shewing himselfe to any man, to see if he might get any ship that came from Peru: At last, there came a small Barke by, which came from Peru from a place called Quito, which he tooke and found in her sixtie thousand pezos of golde, and much victuals. But not contenting himselfe with this prize, hee stayed long without sending away his prize or any of the men, and in the ende of sixe dayes after, hee tooke another Barke which came from Lima, in which he tooke an hundred thousand pezos of siluer in barres, with the which hee thought to haue gone, and entred the riuier, but first he went into the Islands to see if he could find any pearles: where he found a few, and so returned to his pinnesse againe, and so sailing to the riuier from whence he came, and comming neere to the mouth of the sayd riuier, hee sent away the



two prizes that hee tooke, and with his pinnesse he went vp the riuier. The Negros that dwelt in the Island of pearls, the same night that he went from them, went in Canoas to Panama, and the Gouvernour within two dayes sent foure barkes with 100 men, 25 men in euery one, and Negros to rowe with the captain Iohn de Ortega, which went to the Island of pearlès, and there had intelligence, which way the English men were gone, and following them he met by the way the ships which the English men had taken, of whom he learned, that the English men were gone vp the riuier, and he going thither, when he came to the mouth of the riuier, the captaine of Panama knew not which way to take, because there were three partitions, in the riuier, to goe vp in, and being determined to goe vp the greatest of the three riuers, he saw comming downe a lesser riuier many feathers of hennes, which the Englishmen had pulled to eate, and being Iglad thereof, hee went vp that riuier where hee saw the feathers, and after that he had bene in that riuier foure daies, he descried the Englishmens pinnesse vpon the sands, and comming to her, there were no more then sixe Englishmen, whereof they killed one, and the other fiae escaped away, and in the pinnesse he found nothing but victuals: but this captaine of Panama not herewith satisfied, determined to seeke out the Englishmen by land, and leauing twenty men in his pinnesses, hee with 80 shot went vp the country: hee had not gone halfe a league, but hee found a house made of boughs, where they found all the Englishmens goods, and the gold and siluer also, and carying it backe to their pinnesses, the Spaniards were determined to goe away, without following the English men any further.

But at the end of three dayes, the English captaine came to the riuier with all his men, and about 200 Negros, and set vpon the Spaniards with great fury: But the Spaniards hauing the aduantage of trees which they stood behind, did easily preuaile, and killed eleuen Englishmen, and fiae Negros, and tooke other seuen Englishmen aliue, but of the Spaniards, two were slaine and fiae sore hurt.

Among other things, the Spaniards enquired of the Englishmen which they tooke, why they went not away in fiteene dayes liberty which they had. They answered, that their captaine had commanded them to carie all that golde and siluer which they

had, to the place where they had left their shippe, and they had promised him to carie it, although they made three or foure journes of it; for hee promised to giue them part of it besides their wages, but the mariners would haue it by and by, and so their captaine being angry because they would not take his word, fell out with them, and they with him, in so much that one of the company would haue killed the Captaine, so that the Captaine would not haue them to carie the treasure, but sayd hee would seeke Negros to carie it, and so he went and sought for Negros, and bringing those Negros to carie it, hee met with the fiew English men that hee had left in his pinnesse which ranne from the Spaniards, and the rest also which ran from the house, and they told him what the Spaniards had done, and then making friendship with all his men, hee promised them halfe of all the treasure if they got it from the Spaniards, and the Negros promised to helpe him with their bowes and arrowes, and there upon they came to seeke the Spaniards, and now that some of his company were killed and taken, hee thought it best to returne to his ship, and to passe backe for England. The Spanish captaine hearing this, hauing buried the dead bodies, and hauing gotten all things into his barks, and taking the English men and their pinnesse with him, he returned to Panama: so the voyage of that English man did not prosper with him, as hee thought it would haue done.

Nowe when the foure barks were come to Panama, they sent aduice also to Nombre de Dios, and they of Nombre de Dios sent also from them other foure barks which (as the Spaniards say) found the English ship where she was hid, and brought her to Nombre de Dios: and that the Viceroy of Peru not thinking it good to suffer fiftie English men to remaine in the countrey, sent a seruant of his called Diego de Frees, with a hundreth and fiftie shot into the mountaines to seeke them out, who found them making of certaine Canoas to goe into the North sea, and there to take some barke or other: some of them were sicke, and were taken, and the rest fled with the <sup>The English</sup> betrayed to Negros, who in the end betrayed them to the Span-<sup>the Spaniards</sup> iards, so that they were brought to Panama. And the Iustice of Panama asked the English captain whether hee had the Queenes licence, or the licence of any other Prince or Lord for his attempt. And he answered he had none, whereupon hee and all his company were condemned to dye, and so

were all executed, sauing the Captaine, the Master, <sup>The death of</sup> the Pilot, and five boyes which were caried to Lima, <sup>John Oxnam.</sup> and there the Captaine was executed with the other two, but the boyes be yet liuing.

The King of Spaine hauing intelligence of these matters, sent 300 men of warre, against those Negros which had assisted those English men, which before were slaues vnto the Spaniards, and as before is sayd, fled from their masters vnto those mountaines, and so ioyned themselues to the English men, to the ende they might the better reuenge themselues on the Spaniards.

At the first comming of these 300 souldiers, they tobke many of the Negros, and executed great iustice vpon them: But after a season, the Negros grew wise and wary, and preuented the Spaniards, so that none of them could be taken.

The Spaniards of that countrey maruelled much at this one thing, to see that since the conquering of this land, there haue bene many Frenchmen, that haue come to those Countreys, but neuer saw English men there but onely those two of whom I haue spoken. And although there haue many Frenchmen bene on the coast, yet neuer durst they put foote vpon land, only those two Englishmen aduentured it, and did such exploits, as are before remembred.

All these things comming to the hearing of the king of Spaine, he prouided two Gallies well appointed to keepe those coastes: and the first yeere they tooke sixe or seuen French ships. And after that this was knowen, there were no more Englishmen or Frenchmen of warre that durst aduenture to approch the coast, vntill this present yeere 1586, that the aforesayd Francis Drake, with a strong fleete of 24 ships arriued there, and made spoile of Santo Domingo, Carthagen, and S. Augustine, things that are knowen to all the worlde. But it is likely that if the King of Spaine liue, he will in time prouide sufficient remedy to keepe his countreys and subiects from the inuasion of other nations.\*

The English mens comming to the Indies, caused the king of Spaine to build gallies to keepe the Seas.

\* It is interesting to compare this account with that which Kingsley puts into the mouth of Salvation Yeo in "Westward Ho!"

The voyage of Master Andrew Barker of Bristol, with two ships the one called the Ragged staffe, the other the Beare, to the coast of Terra firma, and the Bay of Honduras in the West Indies, in the yeere 1576. Wherein the reasons are premised which moued him to set forth this voyage against the Spaniards: collected out of certaine notes and examinations touching this enterprise by M. Richard Hakluyt.

First of all Andrew Barker hauing abode in one of the Canary Islands called Tenerif for a certaine time, and returning home left behind him Charles Chester (the sonne of Dominic Chester-merchant of Bristol) to learn the language. Now the sayd Andrew Barker forthwith vpon his arriual in England, in Nouember, 1574, freighted a small ship (named the Speedwell of Bristol) to goe for the Canaries with cloth and other merchandize of great value. He sent also one John Drue of Bastable as his Factor to make sale and dispose of the said goods, who when he arriued at Tenerif, landed the marchandize, and sent home the barke with some small quantity of wine, making account to sell the sayd wares to greater aduantage in prouiding wines and sugar for the lading of another ship, which Andrew Barker had appointed to send thither. Also according to this his purpose y<sup>e</sup> said Andrew in March following sent a ship called the Christopher of Dartmouth, captaine whereof was one Henry Roberts of Bristol: who when he had landed in Tenerif, and was in good hope to find the lading of his ship in a readines, contrary to his expectation, was suddenly cast into prison: the Spaniards alleadging that Andrew Barker was accused to the inquisition by Charles Chester, whereupon his goods were confiscat, his factor John Drue, was attached, and he also (the said captaine Roberts) being as they supposed Barkers partner, was in like sort to be imprisoned. In fine all the foresaid commodities appertaining to the said Andrew and his brother M. John Barker and others to the value of 1700 pound and vpwards (as it doth appeare by proofes of record in the Admiralty) were vtterly lost, being confiscat to the said inquisition. Howbeit captaine Roberts by the meanes of a frier was deliuered out of prison (which cost him all the merchandize he brought with him in his ship) and so returned with dead freight to the summe of 200 pound that

afterwards Andrew Barker discharged. In recompense of which iniurie (for that no suite preuaileth against the inquisition of Spaine) and also to recover his losse of the Spaniards themselves, at his owne charge with the help of his friends hee furnished two barkes for the West Indies, the greater of which barkes was called the Ragged staffe, himselfe being captaine, and Philip Roche Master thereof, the other named the Beare had one William Coxo of Limehouse for her Master and captaine. And thus all our company being imbarked at Plimmoth on Whitsonday in the beginning of Iune, we set forward, and in our course we met with a ship of London, and afterwards with another ship, but tooke nothing from either of them. Our first arriual was at one of the Island of Cape Verde, named Del sal, vz. the Isle of salt, where we tooke certain fishes called Tortoises, and there we remained one night and halfe the day following. And from thence wee came to the Isle of Maio, being distant from Isla del sal, 14 or 15 leagues, where we tooke in fresh water and traffiqued with certaine Portugals inhabiting in that place, of whom we had some victuals for kniues and beades: and there we remained one day and one night: but our trumpetter was trecherously slaine by those Portugals, in reuenge of which murther we set on fire two of their small villages. From this Island <sup>Two villages burnt.</sup> wee shaped our course ouer the maine Ocean toward the West Indies, and arriued happily at the Island of Trinidad, and had conference with certaine Indians inhabitants thereof, who gaue vs very friendly and courteous entertainment: and here we set vp a pinnesse which we caried forth in the Ragged staffe, and traffiqued with the foresayd Indians for victuals. And after we had spent ~~six~~ six dayes in this place we departed, and arriued next at the Isle of Margarita, where we tooke a small Spanish ship hauing in her certaine pitch and 30 tuns of Canarie wines whereof we reserued 4 or 5 tunnes to our selues, dismissing them without any further damage. Thence <sup>The Isle of Curazao.</sup> (hauing remained there a day) wee set saile to the Island of Curaçao, where we remained a day and a night, and tooke in fresh water, at what time by the inhabitants of that Island (being few of them Spaniards, and the most part Indians) 14 of our men were treacherously hurt, but none slaine. And from thence we departed for the maine land Southwards, to a certain bay, and there we abode 3 daies, but nothing of any reckoning was there atchieued. From thence we arriued at

Cape de la Vela, where grewe a contention betweene our Cap-  
taine M. Andrew Barker, and his Master Philip Roche, vpon  
comparisons made betweene them concerning the knowledge of  
Naigation, and about other quarels, which quarels afterward  
were an occasion of further mischiefe. Hence we sailed to the  
bay of Tulu (which is about 18 leagues Southwestward from  
Carthagenā) where wee tooke a Frigat and certaine treasure  
therein to the value of 500 pound, namely barres of gold,  
and lingots of siluer, and some quantity of corriento or coyne  
in rials of plate, and certaine greene stones called Emerauds,  
whereof one very great, being set in gold, was found  
tied secretly about the thigh of a frier. Here hauing  
stayed three dayes, and now being pursued by Spanish men  
of warre, wee departed with the sayd treasure, and left the  
Frigat behind vs, all which treasure at that instant was com-  
mitted to the keeping of our captaine Andrew Barker. From  
thence we passed to Nombre de Dios, and so forth to the mouth  
of the riuier of Chagre 18 leagues distant from Nombre de Dios  
towards the Northwest. There we landed 10 of our men, who  
Simerons re- trauelled vp into the woods three or foure daies to  
bels to the seeke the Simerons, (which are certaine valiant Negros  
Spaniards. fled from their cruel masters the Spaniards, and are  
become mortall enemies, ready to ioyne with the English and  
French against them) but in their search they could find none of  
them. And though our men returned all-free from peril of the  
emie, yet the most part of the sayd ten persons presently fell  
sicke, and diuers other of our company: so that within 14 dayes  
8 or 9 of our men died of a disease called there the Calentura,  
which is a hote and vehement feuer. And passing betweene  
Chagre and Veragua, we tooke a Frigat, and some quantity of  
golde we found therein. In this Frigat were 23 Spaniards  
whom wee set on shore, and two Flemings, them we brought into  
England with vs: wee had therein also foure cast pieces of  
Ordinance, 3 harquebuzes on crocke, 16 Spanish caliuers, and a  
booke of Naigation: and in this Frigat some of our company  
came homeward into England. Thus passing forward in our  
course, we came to Veragua, where captaine Barker, and Philip  
Roche his Master, fought upon the foresayd quarel, in which  
combat the captaine was hurt a little in the cheeke. Here we  
sanke our Admirall the Ragged staffe, because of her great leak-  
age, and imbarked part of our company in the Spanish Frigat,

which immediately before we had surpris'd. From hence (by the direction of certain Indians) we sayled <sup>The bay of Honduras.</sup> into the gulfe of the Honduras: there we took a barke wherein were rials of plate, to the value of 100 pound, Maiz or Indian wheat, hemes, beefe and other small things. In this barke also were certaine Spaniards, whereof one was the Scriuano or secretary of Carthagena, who (being a man of some note) was put to his ransome, which was payd in gold: the rest were dismissed freely. And after passing by diuers Islands, we arriued at an Island called S. Francisco, being in the mouth of the great bay, called the Honduras. And within two dayes next after our arriual there, William Coxe and diuers others (which for certaine causes shalbe namelesse) came aboard the ship wherein the captaine then was, and disposessed <sup>A conspiracie against the Captaine.</sup> him as well of the sayd ship, as of the treasure in the same, and forthwith put our captaine with violence on shore, where he and one Germane Weiborne fought together, and were both wounded. After this our captaine desirous to come on boord, was resisted by the persons aforesayd, who answered him that he should not come on boord till they were ready to depart. Our men had appointed ten persons of their company for the keeping of this Island of S. Francisco: but about brake of the day, on a certaine morning, sixtie Spaniards arriuing secretly in the Island, surpris'd our people on the sudden, what time there were thirtie of our men on shore: in which surpris, they slew our captaine, M. Andrew Barker with eight <sup>M. Andrew Barker and 8 others slaine by the Spaniards.</sup> others, namely, one Wilde of Bristol, and Michael our Chirurgian, Richard of Bristol, Thomas Sampool, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Nightingale, Robert Iackson, Walter Newton; and the captaines boy and one other were hurt. Now after that William Coxe, and the rest (which were aboard the barke) perceiued that the captaine, and some others were slain, he receiued them that were liuing into the ship, hauing before that time refused some of them. After this misfortune they went to an Island distant from thence a league, where Coxe deuided a chaine of gold (which was found in the captaines chest after his death) amongst the company. After this Coxe went in a pinesse (which wee tooke at the Isle of Sant Francisco) with certaine others of our men in a <sup>The towne of Truxillo sacked by the English.</sup> skyffe, to the towne of Truxillio, in the bay of Honduras, which towne they surpris'd, and had therein

wine and oyle as much as they would, and diuers other good things, but no gold nor siluer, nor any other treasure which they would confesse. But before they could returne to their company, those that were in the barkes were had in chase by men of warre, whereby they were inforced euery man to shift for himselfe: so for haste they left those that were in the skiffe (being 8 persons) in the bay of Honduras: what became of them afterward God knoweth. Hereupon we determined to saile for England, and being in the maine sea homeward bound, about 60 leagues from the Isle of S. Francisco, the Frigat wherein was the treasure for the aduenturers, and that which pertained to the captaine to the value of 2000 pound, being ouerset with sayle, with a flaw of wind was ouerthrowen, and all the goods therein perished: therein also were 14 persons drowned, and nine saued, whereof William Coxe and William Gillam were two. After this Philip Roche, Master of the Admirall called the Ragged staffe, died.

And thus at length, (by the helpe of God) we arriued in the Isle of Silly neere Cornwall where we left our Frigat which we built new vpon the shore of the Honduras, hauing in her at our landing ten botisios of oyle, and the foure cast Peeces that were in Iohn Oxnam's Frigat (which the yeere before was

taken in the streit of Dariene) three harquebuzes on crosse, certaine caliuers, and certaine treasure: Where William Cox and Andrew Browne deuided the treasure amongst their company, deliuering to some fife pound, to some sixe pound, to some seuen pound, to some more, as euery man was thought to haue deserued. The barke and the rest of the Ordinance was left in the Island, to the vse of Andrew Browne. Diuers of our company, vpon our arriual at Plimmouth were committed to prison at the suite of M. Iohn Barker of Bristol, brother vnto our Captaine M. Andrew Barker, as accessaries to our captaine's death, and betrayers of him vnto the enimie. And after straight examination of many of vs, by letters of direction from her Maiesties priuie Counsell, the chiefe malefactors were onely chastised with long imprisonment, where indeede before God they had deserued to die: whereof some, although they escaped the rigor of mans law, yet could they not auoide the heauy iudgement of God, but shortly after came to miserable ends. Which may be example to others to shew themselues faithfull and obedient in all honest causes to their captaines and gouernours.

Certaine  
Ordinance of  
Iohn Oxnam  
recovered  
from the  
Spaniards.



Parescer de Don Alvaro Baçan, marques de Santa Cruz, tocante la Armada de Francisco Draque, estando en las yslas de Vayona: Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Octubre, estilo de Espanna de 1585.

LO que parece, que podra hazer el Armada Inglese, en caso que quiere passar a las Indias, y entrar en el mar del Sur, (como lo ha hecho otra vez Francisco Draque) con las treynta y dos naues y galeones, y muchas lanchas y vergantines deremo que trae, y cinco mil hombres de guerra, que es el numero que a los de Vayona parecio que venian en el armada, es lo siguiente.

Leuera su derotta al Rio de Ienero, que es en la costa del Brasil en 23 grados de la parte del Sur de la Linea. Es puerto capaz de muchos nauios y muy seguro, adonde se tiene agua, lena, y carne: y tam bien podra tomar harina de Maiz en vn lugar dos o tres leguas del dicho puerto, que se dize San Vincente. Y por ser camino per las yslas de la Madera, Canaria, y Cabo Verde, podra sa quear estas yslas, dandole el tiempo lugar a ello.

Desde Vaiona a la ysla de Madera con los vientos Nortes, que aora correran (passados los vientos de Vallee, que aora reynan, por estar la costa de Espanna llouida) yra la Armada en seis dias; de alli a las Canarias en quatro, y de las Canarias a Cabo verde en ocho, que son per todos diez y ocho dias: y tardera mas lo que se tuuicre en saquear las yslas.

De Cabo Verde al rio de Ienero tardera quarenta dias, que vernan a ser todos dos meses: por manera, que estando el Armada todo este mes en Galicia, podra ser en el rio de Ienero en fin de Deziembre.

A la entrada de la baia del Rio de Ianero ay vna baxa, adonde con facilidad se hara vn fuerte, en que pueden estar Lugar por mas que quinientos hombres: y pon endole su artil- hazar vn leria, guardera el puerto, y el fuerte quedara assalado, fuerte. que por la vna parte del sudueste y nordeste tiene los dos canales, por donde entran los nauios en el puerto: En el qual podra Francisco Draque concertar su Armada, y dexar alli alguna gente, y partir con la que le pareciere, para entrar en el Mar del Sur, y yr en seguimiento de su viaje al Estrecho de Magallanes (que es quinientas y cinquenta leguas de aquel puerto, y esta en cinquenta y dos grados y medio de parte del Sur) y entrar por el

Lima es Estrecho a la Mar del Sur por todo el mes de Feb-  
 ciudad de rero ; y yr a la ciudad de los Reys o Lima, que esta  
 dos mil vezi- en la costa, y es de dos mil vezinos : y por no ser  
 nos, pero en la costa, y es de dos mil vezinos : y por no ser  
 facil a gente de guerra, ni puesta en milicia, y lugar abierto  
 tomar. sin fortaleza, ni artilleria, le podra tomar y saquear, y  
 yr-se apoderando de la tierra ; pues tomando los nauos, que ay  
 en aquella mar, no les podra entrar socorro de Espanna.

Y es de creer que se preuerra a tomar a Panama.

No queriendo hazar este viaje repartira su armada  
 La segunda en dos vandas, y saqueare la ysla de San Domingo,  
 viaje. Puerto Rico, y la costa de Tierra firma, hasta Carta-  
 gena y Nombre de Dios. Y desde el rio de Chagre, que es xv.  
 leguas de Nombre de Dios, podra meter la Infanteria en lanchas  
 de remo, y en las varcas de carga y descarga en a quel  
 Panama lugar abierto rio, que son mas de cinquenta, y llegar hasta la Venta  
 y facil a de Cruces, que es cinco leguas de Panama, que, por  
 saquear. ser lugar abierto, sera facil a saquear.

Y tambien corre peligro la Hauana ; que aunque tiene fortaleza,  
 es chica y flaca, y sacando artilleria en tierra, la tomaran con  
 facilidad.

Y de mas de los dannos que podran hazer, conforme a este  
 discurso, no sera el menor, cortar el hilo a la nauigacion de las  
 Indias, a tomar las flotas, si alli fueren.

Lo que Conuernia hazar para reparar estos dannos.

DEspachar carauelas con grandissima diligencia a los virreys y  
 gouernadores de las Indias, auertiendo les de la Nueva de la  
 Armada Inglese, para que esten preuenidos, y se ponganen orden.  
 Aunque, segun el numero de las Naues que han salido de Ingla-  
 tierra, tengo por sin duda, hauran passado de aquellas partes alguna  
 banda dellas, hasta Tierra nueua. Porque la Reyno a tenido  
 cuidado de embiar y tomar las naos de la Pesqueria del Baccalao :  
 Y assi es de creer sin duda lo de las Indias.

Y teniendo se consideracion a que, por lo que se intiende de  
 Inglaterra, han solido mas de ochenta nauos con los de Armada :  
 Conuernia que su Magestad mandasse iuntar otra para buscar la  
 Inglese, y combatir con ella, ordinando que los galcones que tiene  
 la corona deste Reino, y los que tiene su Magestad en el Rio de  
 Seuilla se aderescan de yr apposito, dandoles carena, para che  
 estubiesen a punto a qualquier viaje, por largo que fuesse : y que

assi mismo se embaraçe vn galeon del Duque de Florencia, que esta muy bien armado y artillado, y a partido de Alicante ara Cadiz, y cumplimiento hasta quarenta naos gruesas, que se hallarán en Viscaia y Guiposcoa : y que adereçadas, artilladas y puestas en orden, como conuiene, se auitallen por ocho meses, y que desde luego se leuanten hasta mil marineros de Catalunna y Genoa para departir en las naues, y se trayen, como se hizo para la armada de la Terçera : y que assi mismo se leuanten seys mil soldados, dando condutas para mas gente, que esta, para que aya este numero de seruicio.

Tambien conuernia, que de Viscaia venga para esta Armada 20 patazes, y veynte Azabras de Castro. Que las patazes sean de 50 hasta 60 toneladas : y las Azabras, como las que vinieran a la Iornada de la Terçera.

Que se porçea el artilleria, poluere, y cuerda, y plomo necesario, arcabuzes, mosquetas, y picas de respito para la guardia de la costa.

Conuerne hazar otra armada de dos naos cada 400 toneladas, y otras quatro de a dozientas, y quatro patazes, y mil soldados, de mas de la gente de mar.

Auiendo visto y considerado, que en dos meses han hecho tantos dannos los Ingleses con los nauios de mercantes que nauegan por estos mares, y que es de creer que haran lo mismo en las flotas que fueren y vinieren de las Indias, conuernia, que, como para la ordenança en tiempo de paz, lleua la armada las naos Capitana y Almirante, que lleuassen aora otras dos mas por lo menos en cada flota : y no por esto se ha de dexar de asegurar las con Armada.

Todas estas preuenciones, me paresce, se deuen hazer, para solo lo que toca la Armada Inglese, y otros nauios que han salido de aquel Reyno.

Pero en caso que Don Antonio Veniese con la Armada, y quisièse intentar lo d'este Reyno, seran menester las preuenciones siguientes.

QVe se aperebiesen el conde de Benaunte, Marques de Soria, conde de Altamira conde de Monte Rey, Marques de Cerraluo, y los de mas Sennores y Caualleros, a quién se dio orden que estubiesen a punto, quando se vino a este Reyno.

Que se exercbiese tam bien la gente de las Ciudades de Toro,

Zamora, Salamanca, cuidar para socorrer a la parte dentro Doro y Minno. Y las de Estremadura y Seuilla para socorrer esta Ciudad de Lisbona, y su Comarca.

Que se auitallen los castillos desta ciudad, ribera, y comarca, y prouean de poluere, cuerda, y plomo, y lo demas tocante el artilleria, como lo he pedido en las relaciones, que he embiado a su Magestad en 7 de marzo deste anno 1585. Que se prouean las galeras por quatro meses: y vengan otras tres de Espanna, a este Rio con 120 soldados por galera, para que los pueden repartir, en las ocho que estan aca. Y en caso que esto se ay, que la armada Inglesa no passe a las Indias, y se occupen en lo deste Reyno, porque haure nauios de Ingleses, que acuden a lo vno y a lo otro, sera forçoso hazer otra armada para lo de las Indias, de doze naos, quatro patajes, y mil y quinientos soldados.

Todo esto, me paresce, conuiene al soñicio de su Maiestad, se preuenga y aperciuese con mucha diligencia y cuidado, prouiendo del dinero necessario para ello, sin que se aguarde lo vno a lo otro, sino que todo se haga sin descriirlo: Remitiendo me en todo a mejor parescer. Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Octubre de 1585. Annos.

The opinion of Don Alvaro Baçan, Marques of Santa Cruz, and high Admiral of Spaine, touching the armie of sir Francis Drake lying at the Isles of Bayona in Galicia, written in Lisbon the 26 of October after the account of Spaine in the yere 1585.

THat which it seemeth vnto me, that the English army may doe if they seeke to passe vnto the West Indies, and enter into the South sea (as Francis Drake hath done once before) with their thirty ships and galeons, and many pinnesses and shalops with oares, which they haue with them, and 5000 men of warre, which they of Bayono thinke to be in the fleete, is as followeth.

The damage which may be done by passing by the riuer of Ienro into the South sea. They may take their course to the riuer of Ienero, which is on the coast of Brasil in 23 degrees to the south of the Equinoctial line. It has an hauen cap-able of many ships and very safe, where there is water, wood and flesh; and likewise Drake may haue corne of Maiz in a towne two or three leagues from the sayd hauen, which is called S. Vincente.

And because the course is by the Isles of Madera, the Canaries, and Cape verde, he may sacke those Islands, the time seruing him for that purpose.

From Bayona to the Isle of Madera, with the Northerne winds which now wil begin to blow, when the Westerne winds be past, which presently doe blowe because that it beginneth to raine on the coast of Spaine, the fleete may run in 6 daies, and from thence to the Canaries in foure, and from the Canaries to the Isles of Cape Verde in eight, which all together make eighteene dayes: and he may stay as much time more as shall serue him to sacke the Islands in.

We may saile from Cape Verde to the riuier of Ienero in 40 dayes, which in the whole amount vnto two moneths. So that the fleete remaining all this moneth of October on the coast of Galicia, it may come to the riuier of Ienero in the end of December.

At the entry of the bay of the riuier of Ienero A fort may be there is a flat low Island where a fort may very easily be made, wherein about 500 men may be left: and placing his artillery therein, he may keepe the hauen, and the fort will be able to hold out of assault, built on an Island in the mouth of the riuier of Ienero. because that on the Southwest and Northeast sides are two chanelis whereby the ships come into the hauen: wherein Francis Drake may repaire his army, and leaue there some people, and depart with so much of the rest as shal seeme good vnto him to enter into the South sea, and go on vpon his voyage to the streight of Magelan, which is 550 leagues from the foresaid hauen, and standeth in 52 degrees and a halfe toward the South, and may enter by the streight into the South sea all the moneth of February, and so may to goe to the citie of Lima, The citie of Lima easie to be taken though it haue 2000 inhabitants. otherwise called the citie de los Reys, which standeth on the sea coast hauing two thousand inhabitants in it. But in respect that they be no warlike people nor exercised in armes, and because the place is open and without fortresse and artillery, he may take, The ships in the South few may be burnt. and sacke it, and make himselfe master on the land, and afterward taking those ships which are in that sea, our people can haue no succour of ships out of Spaine, but by streight of Magelan, which is a long way about.

It is also very credible that he will be able to take Panama.

If he seeke not to take this course he may diuide The second course which indeede Drake tooke. his army into two parts, and sacke the Isle of S. Domingo, Puerto Rico, the coast of Tierra firma vnto Cartagena and Nombre de Dios.

And from the riuer of Chagre, which is fiteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, he may send his footemen in shalop with oares and in the vessels which carrie goods vp and downe the riuer, whereof there are aboue fiftie there, and passe vp to the lodging

Panama of the Crosses, called in Spanish Venta de Cruzes, being an open which is fiue leagues from Panama, which because it place is easie to be taken. is an vnwalled towne may easly be taken.

Hauana easie And Hauana also will bee in great danger, which to be taken. albeit it haue a fortresse, yet it is but little and weake, and bringing his great ordinance on shore hee may take the same with great facilitie.

And besides these domages which he may do according to this discourse, it will not be the least to cut off the nauigation of the West Indian fleet, if they chance to be there.

What course is to be taken to preuent these mischiefes.

TO dispatch Carauels with all possible diligence to the vice-royes and gouernours of the Indias, aduertising them of the newes of the English army, that they may be prouided, and make themselues ready for them. Albeit, considering

Sir Barnard Drake tooke 17. failles of the Spanish and Portugall fishers returning from Newfoundland, 1585. the number of ships which haue bene set forth out of England, I assure my selfe, that some part of them are gone out of those parts vnto Newfoundland. For the Queene hath taken carefull order to send to intercept the ships of the fishermen that goe to Bacallaos. And it is likewise to bee thought that shee hath done the like for the intercepting of the fleet of the Indies.

And considering that according to our intelligence out of England, aboue fourescore shippes, and the army of His intelli- Drake haue bene set forth from thence, it is meete gence was too true, as I found in the office of the Admiralty. that his maiestie should prepare another army to seeke the English flecte, and to fight with it, commanding that the Galeons which belong to the crowne

of Portugall, and those of his maiestie which lye in the riuer of Siuill bee prepared to send against them, and to giue them the Carena, that they may bee in a readinesse for any voyage howe long soeuer it bee: Aud likewise to arrest a Galeon of the Duke of Florence, which is very well armed and furnished with great ordinance, and passed lately from Alicante toward Cadiz, and to

Fortie great ships to be prouided. make vp the number of fortie great shippes, which are to bee had in Biscay and Guipuscoa: and that beeing rigged, armed and set in good order, they be vic-

tualled for eight moneths, and that fourthwith there bee leuied a thousand mariners of Catalunna and Genoa to bee diuided among the Fleete, and bee conducted, as they were for the Fleete of Terçera: furthermore that six thousande <sup>1583. Terzera was won by the Marques of Santa Cruz.</sup> souldiers bee leuied, giuing commaundement to presse a greater number, to the ende that these may bee able men for seruice.

Moreouer it is needfull for this armie that 20. pataches be brought from Biscay, and 20. Azabras from Castro. That the pataches bee from 50. to 60. tunnes: and that the Azabras bee like those which were in the expedition to Terçera.

That sufficient prouision be made of artillerie, powder, match, and lead, and harquebuzes, muskets, and chosen pikes for the keeping of the coast.

It is also meete to prouide another army of two ships of 400. tunnes a piece, and other foure of 200. <sup>Another army of ten sailes.</sup> tunnes, and foure pataches and a thousand souldiers, besides mariners.

Hauiug seene and considered that the Englishmen with their marchants ships onely that traerse these seas haue made such hauocke in two moneths, and that it is to <sup>The Indian fleete to be strengthened with 4. ships of warre.</sup> bee thought that they will doe the like against the fleetes which goe and come from the Indies: it is expedient, that as by order in time of peace the fleete hath an Admirall and Viceadmirall, that now it should haue two more at the least in eche Fleete: and neuerthelesse they are to bee wafted home with an armie.

In mine opinion all these prouisions ought to bee made onely in regard of the English army, and the rest of the ships which haue bene set out of that kingdome.

But in case that Don Antonio should come with an armie, and should seeke to inuade this kingdome, these prouisions following would be needefull.

THat warning be giuen to the Conde de Beneuenta, to the Marques de Soria, to the Conde of Altamira, <sup>What prouision is to be made if Don Antonio should come with an army</sup> to the Conde of Monterey, to the Marquesse of Zerraluo, and the rest of the Lordes and Knights, which are to haue order to bee in a readinesse, against hee come vnto this kingdome.

That the people also be trained of the cities of Toro, Zamora, and Salamanca, to bee ready to succour the country betweene the riuers of Doro and Minno: and the people of Estremadura and Siuilla are likewise to bee trained to be ready to succour the citie of Lisbon, and the country about the same.

Also that the castles of this citie, riuer and territorie be victualled and provided of gunpowder, match and lead, and all things else belonging to the artillerie, as I haue requested in the relations which I sent vnto his maiestie the 7. of March of this present yeere 1585.

An army of 14. gallies to and that sixe more bee brought from Spaine to this be provided. That the gallies be furnished for foure moneths: riuer of Lisbon with an hundred and twentie souldiers for ech gallie, that they may be diuided among the eight gallies which remaine here.

And in case it fall out that the armie of the English goe not for the Indies, but occupie themselues vpon this kingdome, (for there may be English ships, which may attend the one and the other) we shal be enforced to make another armie,

Another army of 12. great ships, 4 pataches, and 1500 souldiers. besides that for the Indies, of twelue ships, foure pataches, and a thousand fve hundred souldiers.

In mine opinion all this is meet for his maiesties seruice to be forseene to be made ready with great diligence, and care, and to provide money needfull for the same, without neglecting the one or the other, but that all these things be done without delay: Referring my selfe in all things to those of wiser iudgement. Written in Lisbon the 26 of October, 1585.

A summarie and true discourse of sir Francis Drakes West Indian voyage, begun in the yeere 1585: Wherein were taken the cities of Saint Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and the towne of Saint Augustine in Florida; Published by N. Thomas Cates.

THIS worthy knight for the seruice of his Prince and country hauing prepared his whole fleete, and gotten them downe to Plimmouth in Deuonshire, to the number of fve and twenty saile of ships and pinnesses, and hauing assembled of souldiers and mariners, to the number of 2300. in the whole, embarked them and himselfe at Plimmouth aforesaid, the 12. day of September 1585. being accompanied with these men and charge, which hereafter follow:



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

Anthonie Powel Sergeant Maior.

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

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

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

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

Captaine Francis Knolles, Reere admirall in the Galeon Leicester.  
Master Thomas Vennor Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonadventure vnder the Generall.

Master Edward Winter Captaine in the Aide.

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

Henry White Captaine of the sea Dragon.  
Thomas Drake Captaine of the Thomas.  
Thomas Seelie Captaine of the Minion.  
Baily Captaine of the Barke of Talbot.  
Robert Crosse Captaine of the Bark Bond.  
George Fortescue Captaine of the Barke Bonner.  
Edward Carelesse Captaine of the Hope.  
Iames Erizo Captaine of the White Lyon.  
Thomas Moone Captaine of the Francis.  
Iohn Riuers Captaine of the Vantage.  
Iohn Vaughan Captaine of the Drake.  
Iohn Varney Captaine of the George.  
Iohn Martin Captaine of the Benjamin.  
Edward Gilman Captaine of the Skout.  
Richard Hawkins Captaine of the Galiot called the Ducke.  
Bitfield Captaine of the Swallow.

After our going hence, which was the foureteenth of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1585. and taking our course towards Spaine, wee had the winde for a fewe dayes somewhat skant, and sometimes calme. And being arriued neere that part of Spaine, which is called the Moores, wee happened to espie diuers sailes, which kept their course close by the shore, the weàther being faire and calme. The General caused the Viceadmirall to goe with the pinnesses well manned to see what they were, who vpon sight of the said pinnesses approching neere vnto them, abandoned for the most part all their ships (being Frenchmen) laden all with salt, and bound homewards into France, amongst which ships (being all of small burden) there was one so wel liked, which also had no man in her, as being brought vnto y<sup>e</sup> general, he thought good to make stay of her for the seruice, meaning to pay for her, as also accordingly he performed at our returne: which barke was called the Drake. The rest of these ships. (being eight or nine) were dismissed without any thing at all taken from them. Who being afterwarde put somewhat farther off from the shore, by the contrariety of the wind, we happened to meet with some other French ships, full laden with Newland fish, being vpon their returne homeward from the said Newfoundland: whom the Generall after some speech had with them (and seeing plainly that they were Frenchmen) dismissed, without once suffering any man to go aboard of them.

The day following standing in with the shore againe, we descried another tall ship of twelue score tunnes or thereabouts, vpon whom Master Carliel the Lieutenant generall being in the Tygar, vndertooke the chase, whom also anon after the Admirall followed, and the Tygar hauing caused the said strange ship to strike her sailes, kept her there without suffering any body to go aboard vntill the Admirall was come vp: who forthwith sending for the Master, and diuers others of their principall men, and causing them to be seuerally examined, found the ship and goods to be belonging to the inhabitants of S. Sébastian in Spaine, but the mariners to bee for the most part belonging to S. Iohn de Luz, and the Passage. In this ship was great store of dry Newland fish, commonly called with vs Poore Iohn, whereof afterwards (being thus found a lawfull prize) there was distribution made into all the ships of the fleet, the same being so new and good, as it did very greatly bestead vs in the whole course

of our voyage. A day or two after the taking of this ship, we put in within the Isles of Bayon, for lacke <sup>The Isles of</sup> of faourable wind: where wee had no sooner ankered <sup>Baiona.</sup> some part of the fleete, but the Generall commanded all the pinnasses with the shipboats to be manned, and euery man to be furnished with such armes as were needful for that present seruice; which being done, the Generall put himselfe into his gallie, which was also well furnished, and rowing towards the city of Bayon, with intent, and the faour of the Almighty to surprize it, before we had aduanced one halfe league of our way, there came a messenger being an English merchant from the Gouvernour, to see what strange fleet we were, who came to our General, conferred a while with him; and after a small time spent, our Général called for Captaine Sampson, and willed him to go to the Gouvernour of the citie, to resolue him of two points. The first, to know if there were any warres betweene Spaine and England. The second, why our marchants with their goods were embarged or arrested. Thus departed captain Sampson with the said messenger to the citie, where he found the gouernor and people much amazed of such a sudden accident.

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

Captaine Sampson returned with his message in this sort. First, touching peace or warres the Gouvernour said he knew of no warres, and that it lay not in him to make any, hee being so meane a subiect as he was. And as for the stay of the merchants with their goods, it was the kings pleasure, but not with intent to endamage any man. And that the kings counter-commandement was (which had bene receiued in that place some seuennight before) that English merchants with their goods should be discharged; for the more verifying wherof, he sent such merchants as were in the towne of our nation, who traffiqued those parts: which being at large declared to our General by them, counsell was taken what might best be done. And for that the night approached, it was thought needful to land our forces, which was done in the shutting vp of the day, and hauing quartered our selues to our most aduantage, with sufficient gard vpon euery

strait, we thought to rest our selues for that night there. The Gouvernour sent vs some refreshing, as bread, wine, oyle, apples, grapes, marmalad and such like. About midnight the weather beganne to ouercast, insomuch that it was thought meeter to repaire aboard, then to make any longer abode on land, and before wee could recouer the Fleete, a great tempest arose, which caused many of our shippes to driue from their anker-hold, and some were forced to sea in great perill; as the barke Talbot, the barke Hawkins, and the Speedewell, which Speedwel was onely driuen into England, the others recouered vs againe: the extremitie of the storme lasted three dayes, which no sooner began to asswage, but M. Carleil our Lieutenant generall was sent with his owne shippé and three others: as also with the gallie and with diuers pinnesses, to see what he might doe aboute Vigo, where he tooke many boates and some carauels, diuersly laden with things of small value, but chiefly with household stuffe, running into the high countrey, and amongst the rest, he found one boat laden with the principal church-stuffe of the high Church of Vigo, where also was their great crosse of siluer, of very faire embossed worke, and double gilt all ouer, hauing cost them a gert masse of money. They complained to haue lost in all kinds of goods aboute thirty thousand duckets in this place.

The next day the Generall with his whole fleete went from vp the Isles of Bayon, to a very good harbour aboute Vigo, where M. Carleil stayed his comming, aswell for the more quiet riding of his ships, as also for the good commoditie of fresh watering, which the place there did affourd full well. In the meane time the Gouvernour of Galicia had reared such forces as hee might, his numbers by estimate were some two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and marched from Bayon to this part of the countrey, which lay in sight of our fleete, where making a stand, he sent to parley with our Generall, which was granted by our Generall, so it might bee in boats vpon the water: and for safetie of their persons, there were pledges deliuered on both sides: which done, the Gouvernour of Galicia put himselfe with two others into our Viceadmirals skiffe, the same hauing bene sent to the shore for him, and in like sort our Generall went in his owne skiffe; where it was by them agreed, we should furnish our selues with fresh water, to be taken by our owne people quietly on the land, and haue all other such necessaries, paying for the same, as the place would affourd.

When all our businesse was ended, wee departed, and tooke our way by the Islands of Canaria, which are esteemed some three hundred leagues from this part of Spaine, and falling purposely with Palma, with intention to haue taken our pleasure of that place, for the full digesting of many things into order, and the better furnishing our store with such seuerall good things as it affourdeth very abundantly, we were forced by the vile Sea-gate, which at that present fell out, and by the naughtinesse of the landing place, being but one, and that vnder the fauour of many platformes well furnished with great ordinance, to depart with the receit of many of their Canon-shot, some into our ships, and some besides, some of them being in very deede full Canon high. But the only or chiefe mischiefe was the dangerous sea-surge, which at shore all alongst plainly threatned the ouerthrow of as many pinnesses and boates, as for that time should haue attempted any landing at all.

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

Vpon Saturday in the morning, being the 13. of Nouember, we fell with Cape Blanke, which is a low land and shallow water, where we caught store of fish, and doubling the Cape, we put into the Bay, where we found certaine French ships of warre, whom wee entertained with great courtesie, and there left them. This afternoone the whole fleete assembled, which was a little scattered about their fishing, and put from thence to the Isles of Cape Verde, sailing till the 16. of the same moneth in the morning, on which day we discried the Island of S. Iago, and in the euening we ankered the fleet between the towne called the Playa or Praya, and S. Iago, where we put on shore 1000. men or more, vnder the leading of M. Christopher Carleil Lieutenant general, who directed the seruice most like a wise commander.

The place where we had first to march did afford no good order, for the ground was mountainous and full of dales, being a very stony and troublesome passage; but such was his industrious disposition, as he would neuer leaue, vntill wee had gotten vp to a faire plain, where we made stand for the assembling of the army. And when we were all gathered together vpon the plaine, some 2 miles from the town, the lieutenant general thought good not to make attempt til daylight: because there was not one that could serue for guid or giuing knowledge at all of y<sup>e</sup> place. And therefore after hauing wel rested, euen halfe an houre before day, he commanded the army to be diuided into 3 speciall parts, such as he appointed, wheras before we had marched by seuerall companies, being therunto forced by the badnesse of the way as is aforesaid.

Now by the time wee were thus ranged into a very braue order, daylight began to appeare, and being aduanced hard to the wall, we saw no enimie to resist, whereupon the Lieutenant generall appointed Captaine Sampson with thirtie shot, and Captaine Barton with other thirtie, to goe downe into the towne which stood in the valley vnder vs, and might very plainly be viewed all ouer from that plac<sup>e</sup> where the whole Army was now arriued: and presently after these Captaines was sent the great ensigne, which had nothing in it but the plaine English crosse, to be placed towards the Sea, that our Fleet might see Saint Georges cross flourish in the enemies fortresse. Order was giuen that all the ordinance throughout the towne and vpon all the platformes, which were aboue fiftie pieces all ready charged, should be shot off in honour of the Queenes Maiesties coronation day, being the seuenteenth of Nouember, after the yeerely custome of England, which was so answered againe by the ordinance out of all the ships in the fleete which now was come nere, as it was strange to heare such a thundering noise last so long together. In this meane while the Lieutenant generall held still the most part of his force on the hill top, till such time as the towne was quartered out for the lodging of the whole armie: which being done euery captaine tooke his own quarter, and in the euening was placed such a sufficient gard vpon euery part of the towne that we had no cause to feare any present enimie.

The citie of Iago taken and possessed for 14. dayes. Thus we continued in the citie the space of 14. dayes, taking such spoiles as the place yeilded, which were for the most part, wine, oyle, meale, and some such like things for victuall, as vineger, oliues, and

some such other trash, as merchandise for their Indians trades. But there was not found any treasure at all, or any thing else of worth besides.

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

In the midst of the valley commeth downe a riuert, rill, or brooke of fresh water, which hard by the sea side maketh a pond or poole, whereout our ships were watered with very great ease and pleasure. Somewhat aboue the towne on the North side betweene the two mountains, the valley waxeth somewhat larger then at the townes end, which valley is wholly conuerted into gardens and orchards well replenished with diuers sorts of fruites, herbes and trees, as lymmons, oranges, sugar-canes, cochars or cochos nuts, plantans, potato-rootes, cucumbers, small and round onions, garlike, and some other things not now remembered, amongst which the cochos nuts, and plantans are very pleasant fruites, the saide cochos hath a hard shell and a greene huske ouer it, as hath our walnut, but it farre exceedeth in greatnesse, for this cochos in his greene huske is bigger than any mans two fistes: of the hard shell many drinking cups are made here in England, and set in siluer as I haue often seene.

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

The plantan groweth in cods, somewhat like to beanes, but is bigger and longer, and much more thicke together on the stalke, and when it waxeth ripe, the meate which filleth the

rine of the cod becommeth yellow, and is exceeding sweat and pleasant.

In this time of our being there hapened to come a Portugall to the Western fort, with a flag of truce, to whom Captaine Sampson was sent with Captaine Goring, who comming to the said messenger, he first asked them what nation they were, they answered Englishmen, hee then required to knowe if warres were betweene England and Spaine, to which they answered that they knew not, but if he would goe to their Generall he could best resolue him of such particulars, and for his assurance of passage and repassage, these Captaines made offer to ingage their credits, which he refused for that he was not sent from his Gouvernor. Then they told him, if his Gouvernor did desire to take a course for the common benefit of the people and countrey, his best way were to come and present himselfe vnto our noble and mercifull Gouvernour sir Francis Drake, whereby hee might bee assured to find fauour, both for himselfe and the inhabitantes, Otherwise within three dayes wee should march ouer the land, and consume with fire all inhabited places, and put to the sword all such liuing soules as wee shoulde chance vpon: so thus much he tooke for the conclusion of his answere, and departing, hee promised to returne the next day, but we neuer heard more of him.

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

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

On Munday the sixe and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall commaunded all the pinnesses with the boates to vse all diligence to imbarke the Armie into such shippes as euery man belonged. The Lieutenant generall in like sort commanded



Captaine Goring and Lieutenant Tucker, with one hundred shot to make a stand in the market place, vntill our forces were wholly imbarked, the viceadmiral making stay with his pinnesse and certaine boats in the harbour, to bring the sayd last companie aboard the ships. Also the Generall willed forthwith the gallie with two pinneses to take into them the company of Captaine Barton, and the company of Captaine Bigs, vnder the leading of captaine Sampson, to seeke out such munitiion as was hidden in the ground, at the towne of Praya or Playa, hauing bene promised to be shewed it by a prisoner, which was taken the day before.

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

But before our departure from the towne of S. Iago, wee established orders for the better gouernment of the Army, euery man mustered to his captaine, and others were <sup>A wise</sup> course to be ministered to acknowledge her Maiestie <sup>supreme</sup> imitated in all <sup>great actions.</sup> Gouernour, as also euery man to doe his vttermost endeuour to aduance the seruice of the action, and to yeeld due obedience vnto the directions of the Generall and his officers. By this prouident counsell, and laying downe this good foundation before hand, all things went forward in a due course, to the atchieuing of our happy enterprise.

In all the time of our being here, neither the Gouernour for the king of Spaine, (which is a Portugall) neither the Bishop, whose authoritie is great, neither the inhabitants of the towne, or Island euer came at vs (which we expected they should haue done) to intreate vs to leaue them some part of their needfull provisions, or at the least, to spare the ruining of their towne at our going away. The cause of this their vnreasonable distrust (as I doe take it) was the fresh remembrance of the great wrongs they had done to old M. William Hawkins of Plimmouth, in the

The treason  
of the Portu-  
gals against  
M. William  
Hawkins.

voyage he made 4. or 5. yeeres before, when as they did both breake their promise, and murdered many of his men, whereof I iudge you haue vnderstood, and therefore it is needlesse to be repeated. But since they came not at vs, we left written in sundry places, as also in the spittle house, (which building was only appointed to be spared) the great discontentment and scorne we tooke at this their refraining to come vnto vs, as also at the rude maner of killing, and sauage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boyes found by them stragling al alone, from whom they had taken his head and heart, and had stragled the other bowels about the place, in a most brutish and beastly maner.

In reuenge whereof at our departing we consumed with fire all the houses, as well in the countrey which we saw, as in the towne of S. Iago.

From hence putting off to the West Indies, wee were not many dayes at Sea, but there beganne among our people such mortallitie, as in fewe dayes there were dead aboue two or three hundred men. And vntill some seuen or eight dayes after our comming from S. Iago, there had not died any one man of sicknesse in all the fleete: the sicknesse shewed not his infection wherewith so many were stroken, vntill we were departed thence, and then seized our people with extreme hot burning and continuall agues, whereof very fewe escaped with life, and yet those for the most part not without great alteration and decay of their wittes and strength for a long time after. In some that died were plainely shewed the small spots, which are often found vpon those that be infected with the plague: wee were not aboue eighteene dayes in passage betweene the sight of Saint Iago aforesaid, and the Island of Dominica, being the first Island of the West Indies that we fell withall, the same being inhabited with sauage people, which goe all naked, their skinne coloured with some painting of a reddish tawney, very personable and handsome strong men, who doe admit litle conuersation with the Spanyards: for as some of our people might vnderstand them, they had a Spaniard or twaine prisoners with them, neither doe I thinke that there is any safetie for any of our nation, or any other to be within the limits of their commandement, albeit they vsed vs very kindly for those few houres of time which wee spent with them, helping our folkes to fill and carry on their bare shoulders fresh water from the riuier to our ships boates, and fetching from

their houses great store of Tabacco, as also a kind of bread which they fed on, called Cassau, very white and sauourie, made of the rootes of Cassau. In recompence whereof, we bestowed liberall rewards of glasse, coloured beades, and other things, which we had found at Saint Iago, wherewith (as it seemed) they rested very greatly satisfied, and shewed some sorrowfull countenance when they perceived that we would depart.

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

In which time by the General it was aduised and resolved, with the consent of the Lieutenant generall, the Vice-admiral, and all the rest of the Captaines to proceede to the great Isle of Hispaniola, as well for that we knewe ourselues then to bee in our best strength, as also the rather allured thereunto, by the glorious fame of the citie of S. Domingo, being the ancientest and chiefe inhabited place in all the tract of Countrey thereabouts. And so proceeding in this determination, by the waye we mette a small Frigat, bound for the same place, the which the Vice-admirall tooke: and hauing duely examined the men that were in her, there was one found, by whom wee were aduertised, the Hauen to be a barred Hauen, and the shore or land thereof to bee well fortified, hauing a Castle thereupon furnished with great store of Artillerie, without the danger whereof was no conuenient landing place within ten English miles of the Citie, to which the sayd Pilot tooke vpon him to conduct vs.

All things being thus considered on, the whole forces were commanded in the Euening to embarke themselues in Pinnesses, boats, and other small barkes appoynted for this seruice. Our souldiers being thus imbarked, the Generall put himselfe into the barke Francis as Admirall, and all this night we lay on the sea, bearing small saile vntill our arriual to the landing place, which was about the breaking of the day and so we landed, being Newyeeres day, nine or ten miles to the Westwards of that braue Citie of S. Domingo: for at that time nor yet is known to vs any landing place, where the sea-surge doth not threaten to ouerset a Pinnesse or boate. Our Generall hauing seene vs all landed in safetie, returned to his Fleete, bequeathing vs to God, and the good conduct of Master Carliell

our Lieutenant Generall: at which time, being about eight of the clocke, we began to march, and about noone time, or towards one of the clocke, we approched the towne, where the Gentlemen and those of the better sort, being some hundred and fiftie braue hōrses or rather more, began to present themselues; but our small shot played vpon them, which were so sustained with good proportion of pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our troope vnprepared to receiue them (for you must vnderstand they viewed all round about) they were thus driuen to giue vs leaue to proceed towards the two gates of the towne, which were the next to the seaward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordinance for that present, and sudden alarme without the gate, and also some troopes of small shot in Ambuscado vpon the hie way side. We diuided our whole force, being some thousand or twelue hundred men into two partes, to enterprise both the gates at one instant, the Lieutenant Generall hauing openly vowed to Captaine Powell (who led the troope that entred the other gate) that with Gods good fauour he would not rest vntill our meeting in the market place.

Their ordinance had no sooner discharged vpon our neere approach, and made some execution amongst vs, though not much, but the Lieutenant generall began forthwith to aduance both his voice of encouragement, and pace of marching; the first man that was slaine with the ordinance being very neere vnto himselfe: and thereupon hasted all that hee might, to keepe them from the recharging of the ordinance. And notwithstanding their Ambuscados, we marched or rather ran so roundly in to

The cite of them, as pell mell wee entred the gates, and gaue S. Domingo them more care euery man to saue himselfe by flight, taken.

then reason to stand any longer to their broken fight. Wee forthwith repayred to the market place: but to be more truly vnderstood, a place of very faire spacious square ground, whither also came as had bene agreed Captain Powell with the other troope: which place with some part next vnto it, we strengthened with Barricados, and there as the most conuenient place assured ourselues, the Cite being farre too spacious for so small and weary a troope to vndertake to garde. Somewhat after midnight, they who had the guard of the Castle, hearing vs busie about the gates of the said Castle, abandoned the same: some being taken prisoners, and some fleeing away by the helpe of boates to the other side of the Hauen, and so into the country.

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

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

Whereupon the day following, hee that had bene Captaine of the kings Galley, brought the offender to the townes ende, offering to deliuer him into our hands; but it was thought to be a more honourable reuenge to make them there in our sight, to performe the execution themselues: which was done accordingly.

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

In this time also passed many treaties betweene their Commissioners and vs, for ransome of their Citie; but vpon disagreements we still spent the early mornings in fiering the

outmost houses: but they being built very magnificently of stone, with high loftes, gaue vs no small trauell to ruine them. And albeit for diuers dayes together we ordeined ech morning by day breake, vntill the heat began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred Mariners did nought else but labour to fire and burne the said houses within our trenches, whilst the souldiers in a like proportion stood forth for their guard: yet did wee not, or could not in this time consume so much as one third part of the towne: which towne is plainely described and set forth in a certaine Map. And so in the end, what wearied with firing, and what hastened by some other respects, wee were contented to accept of five and twentie thousand Ducats of five shillings sixe pence the peece, for the ransome of the rest of the towne.

Amongst other things which happened and were found at S. Domingo, I may not omit to let the world know one very notable <sup>Most vn-sati-</sup>marke and token of the vn-satiabile ambition of the <sup>able Spanish</sup>Spanish king and his nation, which was found in the <sup>ambition.</sup>kings house, wherein the chiefe gouernour of that Citie and Countrey is appoynted alwayes to lodge, which was this: In the comming to the Hall or other roomes of this house you must first ascend vp by a faire large paire of staires; at the head of which staires is a handsome spacious place to walke in, somewhat like vnto a gallery: wherein vpon one of the wals, right ouer against you as you enter the said place, so as your eye cannot escape the sight of it, there is described and painted in a very large Scutchion the armes of the king of Spaine, and in the lower part of the said Scutchion, there is likewise described a Globe, containing in it the whole circuit of the sea and the earth, whereupon is a horse standing on his hinder part within the globe, and the other fore-part without the globe, lifted vp as it were to leape, with a scroll painted in his mouth, wherein was written these words in Latin, Non sufficit orbis: which is as much to say, as the world sufficeth not. Whereof the meaning was required to be knowen of some of those of the better sort, that came in commision to treate vpon the ransome of the towne, who would shake their heads, and turne aside their countenance in some smyling sort, without answering any thing, as greatly ashamed thereof. For by some of our company it was tolde them, that if the Queene of England would resolutely prosecute the warres against the king of Spaine, hee should be forced to lay aside that proude and vnreasonable reaching vaine of his:

for hee should finde more then inough to doe to keepe that which hee had alreadie, as by the present example of their lost towne they might for a beginning perceiue well inough.

Now to the satisfying of some men, who maruell greatly that such a famous and goodly builded Citie so well inhabited of gallant people, very braue in their apparell (whereof our souldiers found good store for their reliefe) should afoord no greater riches then was found there: herein it is to be vnderstood that the Indian people, which were the naturals of this whole Island of Hispaniola (the same being neere hand as great as England) were many yeeres since cleane consumed by the tyrannie of the Spaniards, which was y<sup>e</sup> cause, that for lacke of people to worke in the Mines, the golde and siluer Mines of this Island are wholly giuen ouer, and thereby they are faine in this Island to vse Copper money, whereof was found very great quantitie. The chiefe trade of this place consisteth of Sugar and Ginger, which groweth in the Island, and of Hides of oxen and kine, which in this waste countrey of the Island are bredde in infinite numbers, the soyle being very fertile: and the sayd beasts are fedde vp to a very large growth, and so killed for nothing so much, as for their Hides aforesayd. Wee found heere great store of strong wine, sweete oyle, vineger, oliues, and other such like prouisions, as excellent Wheate-meale packed vp in winepipes and other caske, and other commodities likewise, as Woollen and Linnen cloth, and some Silkes: all which prouisions are brought out of Spaine, anll serued vs for great reliefe. There was but a little Plate or vessed of Siluer, in comparison of the great pride in other things of this towne, because in these hotte Countreys they vse much of those earthen dishes finely painted or varnished, which they call Porcellana, which is had out of the East India: and for their drinking, they vse glasses altogether, whereof they make excellent good and faire in the same place. But yet some plate we found, and many other good things, as their houshold garniture very gallant and rich, which had cost them deare, although vnto vs they were of small importance.

From Saint Domingo we put ouer to the maine or firme land, and going all alongst the coast, we came at the last in sight of Cartagena, standing vpon the sea side, so neere, as some of our barks in passing alongst, approached within the reach of their Culuerin shot, which they had planted vpon certaine platformes. The Harbour mouth lay some three miles toward the Westward

of the towne, whereinto wee entred about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone without any resistance of ordinance, or other impeachment planted vpon the same. In the Euening wee put our selues on land towards the harbour mouth, vnder the leading of Master Carliell our Lieutenant Generall, who after hee had digested vs to march forward about midnight, as easily as foote might fall, expresly commanded vs to keepe close by the sea-wash of the shore for our best and surest way, whereby we were like to goe through, and not to misse any more of the way, which once wee had lost within an houre after our first beginning to march, through the slender knowledge of him that tooke vpon him to be our guide, whereby the night spent on, which otherwise must haue bene done by resting. But as we came within some two miles of the towne, their horsemen which were some hundred, met vs, and taking the alarme, retired to their townward againe vpon the first volley of our shot that was giuen them; for the place where wee encountred being wooddy and bushy euen to the water side was vnmeete for their seruice.

At this instant we might heare some pieces of Artillerie discharged, with diuers small shot towards the harbour, which gaue vs to vnderstand, according to the order set downe in the Euening before by our Generall, that the Vice-admirall accompanied with Captaine Venner, Captaine White, and Captaine Crosse, with other sea Captaines, and with diuers Pinnesses and boates should giue some attempt vnto the little Fort standing on the entrie of the inner Hauen, neere adioyning to the towne, though to small purpose, for that the place was strong, and the entry very narrow was chained ouer: so as there could be nothing gotten by the attempt, more than the giuing of them an alarme on that other side of the Hauen being a mile and a halfe from the place we now were at. In which attempt the Vice-admirall had the rudder of his skiffe stroken through with a Saker shot, and a litle or no harme receiued elsewhere.

The troopes being now in their march, halfe a myle behither the Towne or lesse, the ground we were on grewe to bee streight, and not aboue fiftie paces ouer, hauing the maine Sea on the one side of it, and the harbour-water or inner sea (as you may tearme it) on the other side, which in the plot is plainly shewed. This streight was fortified cleane ouer with a stone wall and a ditch without it: the sayd wall being as orderly built with flanking in euery part, as can be set downe. There was only so



much of this streight vnwalled, as might serue for the issuing of the horsemen, or the passing of caryage in time of neede: but this vnwalled part was not without a very good Barricado of wine-buts or pipes, filled with earth, full and thicke as they might stand on ende one by another, some part of them standing euen within the maine sea.

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

They in this their full readinesse to receiue vs, spared not their shot both great and small. But our Lieutenant generall, taking the aduantage of the darke (the day light as yet not broken out) approched by the lowest ground, according to the expresse direction which himselfe had formerly giuen, the same being the sea-wash shore, where the water was somewhat fallen, so as most of all their shot was in vaine. Our Lieutenant generall commanded our shot to forbear shooting vntill we were come to the wall side, and so with pikes roundly together we approched the place, where we soone found out the Barricados of pipes or butts, to be the meetest place for our assault, which, notwithstanding it was well furnished with pikes and shot, was without staying attempted by vs; downe went the butts of earth, and pell mell came our swordes and pikes together, after our shot had first giuen their volley, euen at the enemies nose. Our pikēs were somewhat longer then theirs, and our bodies better armed; for very few of them were armed: with which advantage our swordes and pikes grew too hard for them, and they driuen to giue place. In this furious entry, the Lieutenant generall slewe with his owne hands the chiefe Ensigne bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his liues end.

We followed into the towne with them, and giuing them no leasure to breath, we wanne the Market-place, albeit they made head, and fought a while before we got it, and so wee being once seized and assured of that, they were content to suffer vs to lodge within their towne, and themselues to goe to their wiues,

whom they had caryed into other places of the countrey before our comming thither.

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

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

Captaine Winter was likewise by his turne of the Vantguard in this attempt, where also the Lieutenant generall marched himselfe: the said Captaine Winter through a great desire to serue by land, hauing now exchanged his charge by sea with Captaine Cecil for his band of footemen.

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

Captaine Morgan, who at S. Domingo was of the Vantguard, had now by turne his charge vpon the companies of the Rere-ward.

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

We stayed here sixe weekes, and the sicknesse with mortalitie before spoken of still continued among vs, though not with the

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

With the inconuenience of continuall mortalitie, we were forced to giue ouer our intended enterprise, to goe with Nombre de Dios, and so ouerland to Panama, where we should haue strooken the stroke for the treasure, and full recompence of our tedious trauailes. And thus at Cartagena we tooke our first resolution to returne homewardest: the forme of which resolution I thought good here to put downe vnder the principall Captaines hands, as followeth.

A resolution of the Land-captaines, what course they thinke most expedient to bee taken. Giuen at Cartagena xxvij. of Februarie 1585.

WHEREAS it hath pleased the Generall to demaund the opinions of his Captaines what course they thinke most expedient to be now vndertaken, the Land-captaines being assembled by themselues together, and hauing aduised hereupon, doe in three points deliuer the same.

The first, touching the keeping of the towne against the force of the enemie, either that which is present, or that which may come out of Spaine, is answered thus.

WE holde opinion, that with this troope of men which we haue presently with vs in land-seruice, being victualled and munitioned, wee may well keepe the Towne, albeit that of men

able to answer present service, we haue not about 700. The residue being some 150. men by reason of their hurts and sicknesse are altogether vnable to stand vs in any stead: wherefore hereupon the Sea-captaines are likewise to giue their resolution, how they will vndertake the safetie and seruice of the Shippes vpon the arriual of any Spanish Fleete.

The second poynt we make to be this, whether it bee meete to goe presently homeward, or els to continue further tryall of our fortune in vndertaking such like enterprises as we haue done already, and thereby to seeke after that bountifull masse of treasure for recompence of our trauailes, which was generally expected at our coming forth of England: wherein we answer.

THat it is well known how both we and the souldiers are entered into this action as voluntarie men, without any imprest or gage from her Maiestie or any body els: and forasmuch as we haue hitherto discharged the parts of honest men, so that now by the great blessing and fauour of our good God there haue bin taken three such notable townes, wherein by the estimation of all men would haue bene found some very great treasures, knowing that S. Iago was the chiefe citie of all the Islands and traffiques thereabouts, S. Domingo the chiefe citie of Hispaniola, and the head government not only of that Iland, but also of Cuba, and of all the Ilands about it, as also of such inhabitations of the firme land, as were next vnto it, and a place that is both magnificently builded, and interteineth great trades of marchandise: and now lastly the citie of Cartagena, which cannot be denied to be one of the chiefe places of most especiall importance to the Spaniard of all the cities which be on this side of the West India: we doe therefore consider, that since all these cities, with their goods and prisoners taken in them, and the ransoms of the said cities being all put together, are found farre short to satisfie that expectation which by the generality of the enterprisers was first conceiued: And being further aduised of the slendernesse of our strength, whereunto we be now reduced, as well in respect of the small number of able bodies, as also not a litle in regard of the slacke disposition of the greater part of those which remaine, very many of the better mindes and men being either consumed by death, or weakened by sicknes and hurts: And lastly, since that

as yet there is not laid downe to our knowledge any such enterprise as may seeme conuenient to be vadtaken with such few as we are presently able to make, and withall of such certaine likelihoode, as with Gods good successe which it may please him to bestow vpon vs, the same may promise to yeeld vs any sufficient contentment: We doe therefore conclude hereupon, that it is better to hold sure as we may the honour already gotten, and with the same to returne towards our gracious Soueraigne and Countrey, from whence if it shall please her Maiestie to set vs forth againe with her orderly meanes and intertainment, we are most ready and willing to goe through with any thing that the vttermost of our strength and induour shall be able to reach vnto: but therewithal wee doe aduise and protest that it is farre from our thoughts, either to refuse, or so much as to seeme to be wearie of any thing, which for the present shalbe further required or directed to be done by vs from our Generall.

The third and last poynt is concerning the ransome of this citie of Cartagena, for the which, before it was touched with any fire, there was made an offer of some xxvij. or xxviii. thousand pounds sterling.

Thus much we vtter herein as our opinions agreeing (so it be done in good sort) to accept this offer aforesayde, rather then to breake off by standing still vpon our demands of one hundred thousand poundes, which seemes a matter impossible to bee performed for the present by them, and to say trueth, wee may now with much honour and reputation better be satisfied with that summe offered by them at the first (if they will now bee contented to giue it) then wee might at that time with a great deale more, inasmuch as we haue taken our full pleasure both in the vttermost sacking and spoyling of all their householde goods and marchandize, as also in that we haue consumed and ruined a great part of their Towne with fire. And thus much further is considered herein by vs, that as there bee in the Voyage a great many poore men, who haue willingly aduentured their liues and trauailes, and diuers amongst them hauing spent their apparell and such other little prouisions as their small meanes might haue giuen them leaue to prepare, which being done vpon such good and allowable intention as this action hath alwayes caried with it, meaning, against the Spanyard our greatest and most dangerous enimie:

so surely wee cannot but haue an inward regarde so farre as may lye in vs, to helpe eyther in all good sort towards the satisfaction of this their expectation, and by procuring them some litle benefite to incourage them and to nourish this readie and willing disposition of theirs both in them and in others by their example against any other time of like occasion. But because it may bee supposed that heerein wee forgette not the priuate benefite of our selues, and are thereby the rather moued to incline our selues to this composition, wee doe therefore thinke good for the clearing of our selues of all such suspition, to declare heereby, that what part or portion soeuer it bee of this ransome or composition for Cartagena, which should come vnto vs, wee doe freely giue and bestowe the same wholly vpon the poore men, who haue remayned with vs in the Voyage, meaning as well the Saylor as the Souldier, wishing with all our hearts it were such or so much as might seeme a sufficient rewarde for their painefull indeuour. And for the firme confirmation thereof, we haue thought meete to subsigne these presents with our owne hands in the place and time aforesayd.

Captaine Christopher Carliell Lieutenant Generall.

Captaine Goring. Captaine Sampson. Captaine Powell &c.

But while wee were yet there, it happened one day, that our watch called the Centinell, vpon the Church-steeple, had discovered in the Sea a couple of small Barkes or Boates, making in with the Harbour of Cartagena, whereupon Captaine Moone and Captaine Varney, with Iohn Grant the Master of the Tyger, and some other Sea-men, embarked themselues in a couple of small Pinnesses, to take them before they should come nigh the shore, at the mouth of the Harbour, lest by some stragling Spanyards from the Lande, they might bee warned by signes from comming in: which fell out accordingly, notwithstanding all the diligence that our men could vse: for the Spanish Boates, vpon the sight of our Pinnesses comming towards them, ranne themselues ashore, and so their men presently hidde themselues in bushes hard by the Sea side, amongst some others that had called them by signes thither. Our men presently without any due regarde had, to the qualitie of the place, seeing no man of the Spaniards to shew themselues, aboarded the Spanish

Barkes or Boates, and so standing all open in them, were suddenly shotte at by a troope of Spanyardes out of the bushes: by which volley of shotte there were slaine Captain Varney, which dyed presently, and Captaine Moone, who dyed some fewe dayes after, besides some foure or fiue others that were hurt: and so our folkes returned without their purpose, not hauing any sufficient number of souldiers with them to fight on shore. For those men they caryed were all Mariners to rowe, few of them armed, because they made account with their ordinance to haue taken the Barkes well enough at sea, which they might full easily haue done, without any losse at all, if they had come in time to the harbour mouth, before the Spaniards boates had gotten so neere the shore.

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

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

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

The warning which this towne receiued of our comming towards them from S. Domingo, by the space of twentie dayes before our arriual here, was cause that they had both fortified and euery way prepared for their best defence. As also that

they had caried and conueyed away all their treasure and principall substance.

The ransome of an hundred and ten thousand Ducats thus concluded on, as is aforesaid, the same being written, and expressing for nothing more then the towne of Cartagena, vpon the payment of the sayd ransome, we left the said towne, and drew some part of our souldiers into the Priorie or Abbey, standing a quarter of an English mile belowe the towne vpon the harbour water-side, the same being walled with a wall of stone, which we told the Spaniards was yet ours, and not redeemed by their composition: whereupon they finding the defect of their contract, were contented to enter into another ransome for all places, but especially for the sayde house, as also the Blocke house or Castle, which is vpon the mouth of the inner harbour. And when wee asked as much for the one as for the other, they yeelded to giue a thousand Crownes for the Abbey, leauing vs to take our pleasure vpon the Blocke house, which they sayd they were not able to ransome, hauing stretched themselues to the vttermost of their powers: and therefore the sayd Blockehouse was by vs vndermined, and so with gunne powder blowen vp in pieces.

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

After sixe weekes abode in this place, we put to sea the last of March, where after two or three dayes a great ship which we had taken at S. Domingo, and thereupon was called The new yeeres gift, fell into a great leake, being laden with ordinance, hides, and other spoyles, and in the night she lost the company of our Fleete; which being missed the next morning by the Generall, hee cast about with the whole Fleete, fearing some great mischance to bee happened vnto her, as in very deede it so fell out: for her leake was so great, that her men were all tyred with



pumping. But at the last hauing found her and the Barke Talbot in her company, which stayed by great hap with her, they were ready to take their men out of her, for the sauing of them. And so the General being fully aduertised of their great extremitie, made saile directly backe againe to Cartagena with the whole Fleete, where hauing staid eight or ten dayes more, about the unlading of this ship, and the bestowing thereof and her men into other Ships, we departed once againe to Sea, directing our course towards the Cape S. Antony, being the Westernmost part of Cuba, where wee arriued the seuen and twentieth of April. But because fresh water could not presently be found, we weyed anchor, and departed, thinking in few dayes to recouer the Matanzas, a place to the Eastward of Hauana.

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

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

After three dayes spent in watering our Ships, wee departed now the second time from this Cape of S. Anthony the thirteenth of May, and proceeding about the Cape of Florida, wee neuer touched any where; but coasting alongst Florida, and keeping the shore still in sight, the 28. of May early in the Morning wee

descried on the shore a place built like a Beacon, which was in deede a scaffold vpon foure long mastes raised on ende, for men to discover to the seaward, being in the latitude of thirtie degrees, or very neere thereunto. Our Pinnesses manned, and comming to the shore, wee marched vp alongst the riuier side, to see what place the enemie held there: for none amongst vs had any knowledge thereof at all.

Here the Generall tooke occasion to march with the companies himselfe in person, the Lieutenant generall hauing the Vantguard; and going a mile vp or somewhat more by the riuier side, we might discerne on the other side of the riuier ouer against vs, a Fort which newly had bene built by the Spaniards: and some mile or thereabout aboute the Fort was a little Towne or Village without walles, built of wooden houses, as the Plot doeth plainly shew. Wee forthwith prepared to haue ordinance for the batterie: and one peece was a litle before the Euening planted, and the first shot being made by the Lieutenant generall himselfe at their Ensigne, strake through the Ensigne, as wee afterwards vnderstood by a French man, which came vnto vs from them. One shot more was then made, which strake the foote of the Fort wall, which was all massiue timber of great trees like Mastes. The Lieutenant generall was determined to passe the riuier this night with 4. companies, and there to lodge himselfe intrenched as neere the Fort, as that he might play with his muskets and smallest shot vpon any that should appeare, and so afterwards to bring and plant the batterie with him: but the helpe of Mariners for that sudden to make trenches could not be had, which was the cause that this determination was remitted vntill the next night.

In the night the Lieutenant generall tooke a little rowing Skiffe, and halfe a dozen well armed, as Captaine Morgan, and Captaine Sampson, with some others besides the rowers, and went to view what guard the enemie kept, as also to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as couertly as might be, yet the enemie taking y<sup>e</sup> Alarme, grew fearefull that the whole force was approching to the assault, and therefore with all speede abandoned the place after the shooting of some of their peeces. They thus gone, and hee being returned vnto vs againe, but nothing knowing of their flight from their Fort, forthwith came a French man being a Phipper (who had bene prisoner with them) in a litle boate, playing

Nicholas  
Borgoignon.

on his Phiph the tune of the Prince of Orenge his song; and being called vnto by the guard, he tolde them before he put foote out of the boate what he was himselfe, and how the Spaniards were gone from the Fort, offering either to remaine in hands there, or els to returne to the place with them that would goe.

Vpon this intelligence, the Generall, the Lieutenant generall, with some of the Captaines in one Skiffe, and the Vice-admirall with some others in his Skiffe, and two or three Pinnesses furnished of souldiers with them, put presently ouer towards the Fort, giuing order for the rest of the Pinnesses to follow. And in our approach, some of the enimie bolder then the rest, hauing stayed behinde their company, shot off two peeces of ordinance at vs: but on shore wee went, and entred the place without finding any man there.

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

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

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

At our approaching to land, there were some that began to shew themselues, and to bestow some few shot vpon vs, but presently withdrew themselues. And in their running thus away, the Sergeant Maior finding one of their horses ready sadled and

brideled, tooke the same to follow the chase; and so ouergoing all his Company, was (by one layd behind a bush) shotte through the head: and falling downe therewith, was by the same and two or three more, stabbed in three or foure places of his body with swords and daggers, before any could come neere to his rescue. His death was much lamented, being in very deede an honest wise Gentleman, and a souldier of good experience, and of as great courage as any man might be.

In this place called S. Augustin, we vnderstood the king did keepe, as is before said, one hundred and fiftie souldiers, and at another place some dozen leagues beyond to the Northwards, called S. Helena, he did there likewise keepe an hundred and fiftie more, serving there for no other purpose, then to keepe all other nations from inhabiting any part of all that coast; the gouernement whereof was committed to one Pedro Melendez Marquesse, nephew to that Melendez the Admiral, who had ouerthrowen Master Iohn Hawkins in the bay of Mexico some seuentene or eightene yeeres agoe. This Gouvernour had charge of both places, but was at this time in this place, and one of the first that left the same.

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

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

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

The ninth of Iune vpon sight of one speciall great fire (which are very ordinarie all alongst this coast, euen from the Cape of Florida hither) the Generall sent his Skiffe to the shore, where they found some of our English countrey men (that had bene sent thither the yeere before by Sir Walter Raleigh) and brought them aboard: by whose direction wee proceeded along to the place which they make their Port. But some of our ships being

of great draught vnable to enter, anchored without the harbour in a wilde roade at sea, about two miles from shore.

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

The morow after, Master Lane himselfe and some of his company comming vnto him, with the consent of his captaines he gaue them the choice of two offers, that is to say: Either he would leaue a ship, a pinnesse, and certaine boates with sufficient Masters and Mariners, together furnished with a moneths victuall to stay and make farther discouery of the countrey and coastes, and so much victuall likewise as might be sufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three persons) into England, if they thought good after such time, with any other thing they would desire, and that he might be able to spare.

Or els if they thought they had made sufficient discouerie already, and did desire to returne into England, he would giue them passage. But they, as it seemed, being desirous to stay, accepted very thankfully and with great gladnesse, that which was offred first. Whereupon the ship being appointed and receiued into charge by some of their owne company sent into her by Master Lane, before they had receiued from the rest of the Fleete the prouision appoynted them, there arose a great storme (which they sayd was extraordinary and very strange) that lasted three dayes together, and put all our Fleete in great danger, to bee driuen from their anchoring vpon the coast. For we brake many Cables, and lost many Anchors: and some of our Fleete which had lost all (of which number was the ship appointed for Master Lane and his company) was driuen to put to sea in great danger, in auoyding the coast, and could neuer see vs againe vntill we mette in England. Many also of our small Pinnesses and boates were lost in this storme.

Notwithstanding after all this, the Generall offred them (with consent of his Captaines) an other ship with some prouision, although not such a one for their turnes, as might haue bene spared them before, this being vnable to be brought into their Harbour. Or els if they would, to giue them passage into Eng-

land, although he knew we should performe it with greater difficultie then he might haue done before.

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

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

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

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

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

|                                      |   |                            |
|--------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| Captaine Powel.                      | } | Captaine Bigges.           |
| Captaine Varney.                     |   | Captaine Cecill.           |
| Captaine Moone.                      |   | Captaine Hannam.           |
| Captaine Fortescue.                  |   | Captaine Greenefield.      |
| Thomas Tucker a Lieu-<br>tenant.     |   | Master Nicholas Winter.    |
| Alexander Starkey a Lieu-<br>tenant. |   | Master Alexander Carliell. |
| Master Escot a Lieutenant.           |   | Master Robert Alexander.   |
| Master Waterhouse a Lieu-<br>tenant. |   | Master Scroope.            |
| Master George Candish.               |   | Master Iames Dier.         |
|                                      |   | Master Peter Duke.         |

With some other, whom for haste I cannot suddenly thinke on. The ordinance gotten of all sorts Brasse and Iron, were about two hundred and forty peeces, whereof the two hundred and some more were brasse, and were thus found and gotten.

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

In S. Domingo about fourscore, whereof was very much great

ordinance, as whole Canon, Demi-canon, Culuerins, and such like.

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

In the Fort of S. Augustin were foureteene peeces.

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

A relation of the ports, harbors, forts and cities in the West Indies which haue bene surueied, edified, finished, made and mended with those which haue bene builded, in a certaine suruey by the king of Spaine his direction and commandment: Written by Baptista Antonio, surueyours in those parts for the said King. Anno 1587.

#### Santa Marta.

First Santa Marta the principall Citie of the Bishopricke or Dioces of the coast of Tierra firma, or the firme land,\* Santa Marta situate in 10. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . lieth in 10. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , the city being situated vpon a sandy bay adioyning vnto the sea side, containeth in it about 30. households; all the houses being made of canes, and couered ouer with Palmito trees, and some of them be couered with tyle.

They haue traffike with none, but with the Indians of the said country, which doe bring vnto the citie for to sell earthen Pots and Pipkins, and Couerlits of Cotton wooll, and great earthen Iarres. Also they doe traffique to Cartagena. It is a country which hath but small store of cattel, because it is all mountainous, and hath small store of people. There is a very good harbour before the said towne, inuironed with mighty hills and great rocks, which reach euen vnto the sea side, the which hie land doth greatly succour the harbour, as also two Ilands which lie about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a league on the North side: so that although they be subject to Easterly winds, and that with great stormes, yet they doe no great harme to goe on land. Within this Harbour there is a place which is called La Caldera, where in times past they were wont to trimme and carene their Shippes. As touching the Harbour, there is no cause to fortifie it, nor to make any account of it, by reason there is no trade nor traffique to this place from any other places, according as I haue certified your Maiestic

\* South West of Cape Aguja.

thereof. And also because here are but few dwellers or inhabitants, and loosing euery day so many as it doeth, by reason that it is euery day robbed and spoyled by the enemy. But if your Maiestic would command that the fleete of Noua Hispania might direct their course to this Harbour being in their way, and here to water and refresh themselues, all the Pilotes doe say that the Fleete may proceede on their Voyage from this place, still going before the winde, and so goe to the Cape of Saint Anthony which lieth on the Iland of Cuba, and from thence goe their direct course to Noua Hispania; and by this meanes the Fleete should haue no occasion to passe so many dangers as they doe, by reason of the Hurricanos or stormy windes which many times doe come vpon them, when they are vpon the coast of Hispaniola: and this is the cause that there are so many ships cast away, as your Maiestic doeth well know.

And as concerning this course according as I haue certified your Maiestic, they shall come into no danger at all, nor shall make any further way about; so by this meanes both the Fleetes may come from Spaine in company, and then come to S. Marta, and the Fleete of Noua Hispania may come into this Harbour, and the Fleete which doeth goe vnto the firme land, may goe directly to Cartagena as they doe. Then your Maiestic may send to fortifie the said Harbour, and the fortification must be thus: That on the morro or mount which is in the entring in of the said harbour, there be built a litle Fort, and so to plant some small quantitie of ordinance. And hard by on the South side, there to build a litle Towre, and another Sconce, where wee may plant some more ordinance. So by this meanes not onely the Shippes may ride heere in securitie, but also it will be a defence for those which dwell heere in the Towne: and the better to effect this purpose, there is hard by the Towne great store of Lyme, Stone, Sande, and Tymber, if occasion should serue.

#### Cartagena.

Cartagena is a Citie, and the principall place of the Bishopricke; it lyeth fourtie leagues from Santa Marta: it situate in 11 standeth in scant 11. degrees. The sayd Citie is degrees scant. situated vpon a sandy banke or bay like vnto an Iland: it hath about 450. dwellers therein. There are very faire



buildings therein : as concerning their houses, they are made of stone, and there are three Monasteries, of which two of them are of Friars which are within the city, the one called Santo Domingo, and the other called Santo Augustin, and the other which is called Saint Francis, which standeth without the citie about 30. paces off. And for to goe vnto the said Frierie, you must goe vpon the Causey made of stone, and water on both sides. This citie hath great trade out of Spaine, and out of the new kingdome of Granada, and out of the Ilands there adioyning, from Peru, and from all the coast of this firme land, and of the fishing of the pearles of Rio de la Hacha, and of Margarita: it is a very sound cuntry.

This Citie hath a very good Harbour, and sufficient to receiue great store of Ships: this said harbour hath two entrances in, the one of them lyeth halfe a league from the Citie, where all the Ships doe enter into the sayd Harbour: the mouth or entring in of the sayde Harbour is 1400. yardes or paces in bredth, and very deepe water. The other entring in which is called La boca chica, or little mouth, lyeth a league beyond this place to the westwards. It is 900. yards in bredth, and in the entring in thereof there lieth a channell in the midst of it, which is 200 yards broad, and 20. or 15. fadome water, some places more, some lesse. And to enter into the Harbour you must go through this channell, and the land doth double in and out. And at the entring in of the sayde Harbour, after you haue past this Channell, you must beare vp to the shoareward neere vnto the Iland of Cares, and looke how much is ouerplus more than the two hundred yardes of the Channell, all the rest are certaine ledges of Rockes, couered with two or three foote water vpon the toppe of them, some places more, and some lesse. So the ships which must enter in at the mouth, must bring very good Pilots with them, which must be very skillfull: yet all this will not serue, but they must carry their Boate before, and sound with their Lead to know where the best place of the Channell lyeth for them to goe in, so it will be small hinderance to any shippe that shall enter, neither yet danger at all of sinking.

There are three places about the sayde Citie, where the enimie may giue an attempt by Land. The one of them is where the enimie did enter in and landed, which is a sandy Bay, and on the one side of the Bay is the Sea, and on the other side a great Lake which goeth towards the Har-

Francis  
Drake.

bour. The sandy bay or banke, on the one side is 500. yarden broad, all sandy ground without any trees. So that the enemy which giueth the assault in this place must be constrained to march all alongst this sandie Bay, the enemy lying open these 500. yarden, which reach vntill you doe come to the trench: And on the backside other 500. yarden, till you doe come vnto the Citie.

The sayde sandie bay or banke is 130. yarden broad, where the trench is builded. And in this place this Citie hath bene taken by the enemy twice. Wherefore heere wee haue driuen in a great many of wooden stakes, which goe downe into the sea 50. yarden deepe: and this wee haue done, because this is a very dangerous and filthy coast. And below in the bottome of the Valley there we haue builded a little Sconce, where we may plant 3. or 4. peecces of ordinance. And likewise wee haue made a deepe ditch, which doeth answer to both parts of the sea: so on this side the Citie is very strong and sufficient. For this was the place whereof the Citizens were most afraid.

The other entring is lower downe by the sayde sandy Bay, which is called Cienaga, or The fenne del Roreado. This is another place which is on the sayd sandy bay, which is 300. yarden broad from the one place downe to the sea. And on the other side there lyeth the Cienaga, which is a certaine plat of ground that is ouerflown with water all the yeere long. So that the enemy which shall come this way to winne the Citie, must come marching ouer land a good way vpon a sandie banke or Bay, where the Sea lyeth on the one side, and a groue or boske of wood on the other side, and through a plat of ground which is ouerflown with water, but not all couered. So in this place wee haue made a Fort or Sconce with certaine Flanckers belonging therunto. And I haue caused a deepe ditch to be digged of 60. foote in bredth, so that the Sea doeth come to that plat or place which is ouerflown. And in this order we haue stopt this passage so that the Citie standeth in maner like vnto an Iland. There is 2600. yarden distance from this place to the other trench where the enemy Francis Drake did land last.

The entring in of this Harbour is by the bridge and Causey which doeth goe from the Citie to S. Francis; the sayd Causey is 300. yarden in length, and 12. yarden in bredth; and the water is on both the sides of the saide Causey: so this is the strongest place of all the rest of the three places. Also in this place there is order taken to make a draw bridge, and vpon the top of the

said bridge to build a platforme, and plant ordinance vpon it : and on both sides of the bridge there are certaine trenches made, where our men may be close kept.

At the point of this land called ycaos, which is in the entring in of the harbour towards S. Anna, we haue made a Fort of timber fouresquare of 300. foote euery way, and trencht, where wee may plant 15. or 16. peeces of ordinance, and keepe 50. men in garison, and behinde the bourdes on the backside of the timbers, a Barricado of earth or mudde wall being foure foote in thicknesse, and behinde the mud-wall sand : so this Fort will bee of great importance for safegard of this Harbour, because all the Shippes which doe enter into this Harbour doe come close to this place where it is strongest, so that sometimes one may cast a stone into the ships when they are comming in : and when any shippe of warre or Pirate will giue any attempt to enter into this Harbour, there is order giuen that the two galleys shall go forth, and put themselues behinde the Fort with their prows <sup>The galleys of</sup> <sup>Cartagena.</sup> to the sea, and so shooting at their enemies in the forepart of the ship, and then the Fort answering likewise with their ordinance at the side of the shippe, and at their tackling, so the enemy being in the Harbour all vnrigged, they must of necessitie be constrained to lye houering within the Harbour, or els they must driue vpon the rockes called the Ismo, or els vpon those rockes which are couered with the sea at the Iland of Cares.

And put case that in this place, we can doe no good by this meanes, and that the enemy will venture to come in with their long boates and Pinnesses through this narrow mouth ; then we are to haue in a readinesse 4. Frigats to ayde and helpe the galleys, and to row with oares, and so to go to the narrow mouth, and there to stay in the channell. And forasmuch as the entring in is so dangerous, according as I haue certified your Maiestie, there can no ship come into this harbour, but we must needes sinke them ; so that these defences shall not onely bee annoyant to the enemy, but also animate and encourage the inhabitants of this citie : for they haue beene and are in such feare of the enemy, and Pirates, that if wee had not made these fortifications, strengthened the citie in this order, and put some souldiers in garison, the citizens would haue fledde, and forsaken this citie : for all the perswasions made to them by the gouernour coulde not perswade them to the contrary, but they would bee gone, if it had not beene for this fortification, and yet for all this

wee haue much to doe to make them to stay here : so nowe by reason of these souldiers which shall come hither, the people of the citie haue taken heart of grasse : so I haue tolde them that your maiestie will command that this citie and the Harbour shall be better fortified and made stronger, and all this which I haue caused to be builded, is with that money which I haue borowed of the citizens.

As touching the safegard and defence of this harbour, if your maiestie so please, here may we builde a very faire and strong castle with foure bulwarks, on the poynt of the Ycacos which doth lie on the side where the citie is builded, because, all the shippes which doe come to this harbour, must come close aboard this shore, so neere, that wee may cast a stone into them, and so ouertake any ship. So likewise if the shippes will goe on the other shore, then they doe goe in greater danger, because of those shoalds and ledges of rockes, and so are often cast away. And forasmuch as those ships which here doe arriue are brought hither by Easterly winds, and sometimes with those winds which come out from the sea, and therefore perforce must giue a good birth off otherwise they cannot enter into this harbour, therefore of necessity they must come so close to the shore : And on the other side where the Island of Cares standeth, there may wee builde another tower foure-square, and plant some foure or fiue pieces of ordinance, and this will serue for the night, if occasion be offered that any small shippe or barke should come in here, or any pinnesse in the night, to doe any harme, or to attempt to burne any Fieete which shoulde ride here at an anker within this harbour : so the fort beeing on the one side, and the tower on the other side, keeping good watch, there can no shippe nor barke come into this harbour, but they will bee espied.

In the narrow mouth at the entring in the other way towards the Island of Cares, where the channell doth runne neere the shore, as I haue alreadie certified your maiestie, there may another castle be made, and there foure or fiue pieces of ordinance planted, and some sixe or eight men to keepe watch and ward : this being done, your maiestie shall haue this citie very well fortified, by reason it is of such importance for the seruice of your maiestie and the trade of all Spaine and Peru, and all the Indies : for this is the principall fort of all this country.

Ouer against this point of the Ycacos, in the Isle of Cares, hard by the water side, there are great store of stones, free stones, and

other stones to make lyme, and wood to burne the stones withall for the lyme, and great part of the stones doe lie about the water: so the wood will cost but the cutting of it downe, and the working of it, and with little paines taking it will be brought to good perfection, for wee haue alreadie made triall thereof, for there was neuer building that went to decay after it hath bene made, nor perished by the sea: so the charge hereof will be but litle or nothing.

And for to put this in practise to build a fort, it is needefull that your maiestie should send hither and to many other places, where any fort shall be made, some store of Negros, and to this place would be sent 150 Negros brought from Guyney: and if the Negros of Hauana are not to bee employed there, nor those which are in Saint Iuan de Villua, it may please your maiestie to cause them to bee sent for to this place, for most of them be artificers, some masons, bricklayers, smithes and sawyers, and to send some masons from Spaine to teach our men these occupations. And after these fortifications are ended and all furnished, then the Negros may be solde to great profit, for a Negro that is of any occupation is sold here for 600. and 700. pezos.

Nombre de Dios.

NOMBRE de Dios is builded vpon a sandy Bay hard by the sea side, it is a citie of some thirtie houtholdes or inhabitants: their houses are builded of timber, and most of the people which are there be foreiners, they are there to day and gone to morrow: it is full of woods and some places of the land are ouerflown with water continually by reason of much raine which doth fall vpon the hills. It is a very bad harbour, neither is there any good water: and it is subject to Northerly winds and Easterly windes, which continually doe blow vpon this coast: many of the great ships which doe come to this place doe vnlade halfe their commodities betweene the two ledges of rockes, for that there is but little water in the harbour: and after that a ship hath vnladen halfe of her goods, then shee goeth to the second rocke, as it doth appeare by the platforme, but the small ships come neere vnto another rocke on the West side. If the winde chance to come to the North and Northwest, and that it ouerblowe, then such great ships as then be in the roade must of force more themselves with sixe cables a head, especially in a storme, and neuer-

thelesse sometimes they are driuen ashore and so cast away, and all because they dare not vier cable ynough, because of so many shelues and rockes which are in both those places: also the shippes doe roule very much in the harbour, by reason in foule weather the Sea will be mightily growen, which is the cause that their cables do oftentimes breake, and their ruthers are vnchanged, the cause thereof is by reason the shippes doe ride but in little water, yet goeth there a great sea.

The citie is builded and situated very well if it were a good harbour, it standeth vpon the Eastside vpon a rocke where they may builde a very good fort, according to the platforme for the safegard of this harbour: but seeing it is but a bad hauen and shallow water, therefore I doe thinke that it is not needefull for your maiestic to be at any charges in fortifying that place, but onely a trench to be made of earth or clay, so that these townesmen may defend themselues from danger of 3. or 4. ships.

The citie of Panama is eighteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the wayes are exceeding bad thitherwards; yet notwithstanding all the siluer is brought this way to Nombre de Dios, as well your maiesties treasure as other marchandize; so likewise the most part of those commodities which are caried to Peru, and the rest of the marchandize are carried to the riuer of Chagre which is some 18 leagues from this citie and it is brought vp by this riuer within fiue leagues of Panama vnto an Inne or lodge called Venta de Cruzes, and from this place afterwards they are transported to Panama vpon Mules. The high way which goeth from Nombre de Dios to Panama may be very wel mended, only to remooue this way and

Nombre de Dios in 9. deg. and one tierce. to stop it quite vp, and so to make it againe vpon the side of a mountaine. This citie lieth in nine degrees and one tierce.

that this citie should be plucked downe and newly builded againe in Puerto Bello, then you are to make a new way through the mountaines of Capira, by reason it may not be frequented and because the high wayes are very bad: with little charges they may be broken and so shut vp, and the chanell of this harbour may bee stopt with the timber of those old ships which are laid vp here euery yeere, and then afterwards may be cast a great number of stones into the same, and so by this meanes to damme vp the harbour: and here is a great want of stones to ballast the shippes: wherefore they are faïne to goe to an Island three leagues from Cartagena called Isla de los Bastimentos, and

this is a thing very needfull for this Countrey, as by experience I haue scene.

Puerto Bello.

Puerto Bello lieth five leagues from Nombre de Dios Westward : It is a very good harbour and sufficient to receiue great store of ships, and hath very good ankering, and fresh water : for neere the shore you shall find some sixe fathome water, and in the midst of the same harbour you shall find twelue fathome, very good and cleane ground or sand, without eyther banks or rockes. There are twelue small riuers or brookes of water which doe belong to this harbour, and so doe meete all together : so that the flecte may at all times prouide themselues of fresh water so much as shall serue their turnes. And likewise there is in this place great store of timber to build shippes. Also the harbour hath no danger at all in comming in, but onely when the wind is Westerly, which is seldome scene vpon this coast. The windes which doe most blowe vpon this coast are Northerly windes, and they are more dangerous and hurtfull then the Easterly windes are. Within this harbour there lieth a small creeke safe from all winds that can blow. This creek is about five hundred yards long, and so many in breadth, and in the entring in of this creekes mouth it is some 300. yades broad, and foure fathome and a halfe of water : and entring farther in, sixe fathome, all oaze and muddie ground : so that if a ship should chance to strike or come aground, shee could take no harme being soft oaze ; also it doth ebbe and flow according as I haue certified your maiestie already.

And likewise the comming in and going out of this harbour is very good : and with all kinde of weather a shippe may set saile from this place except with a Westerly wind : and all this coast is very cleane where a shippe at all times may come to anker without the harbours mouth. This harbour is inuironed round about with woods : and at the ende of this harbour there is certaine land which is ouerflowen with water : it may bee easily dried vp and walled round about, so this land will serue very well to feede cattell. For that is the chieftest thing which doth belong to any citie or towne, and of this pasture ground there is great want in Nombre de Dios, for there is no pasture at all to breede cattell, for all kinde of flesh which is spent in this place is brought from Panama : so towards the South there is a very good place,

where the citie may bee newe built on a certaine plaine ground which lieth at the foot of certaine mountaines, which bee not very high; and in this place there runne three little riuers of fresh water very sweete and good, and here is good arable ground to till and to sow Maiz and other kinds of graine. Also in this circuite there are great stones to make lyme, and these stones must needes prouue very good as I doe thinke, but we neuer had any triall thereof.

This harbour hath all things necessary to builde a citie, where your maiestic may haue your armies and fleetes of shippes to ride at anker in safetic without danger of loosing: and it is a very healthful cuntry, and where the citie shall be builded it is all stony ground: and forasmuch as the raine water which doth fall from the mountaines may doe hurt vnto the citie, there at the foote of the mountaine wee will make a great pond to receiue in all the water which doth fall from the mountaines, and so from thence to goe into the sea, as more at large your maiestic may see by my platforme.

If it would please your maiestic, it were good that the citie of Nombre de Dios might bee brought and builded in this harbour: it would not bee very chargeable vnto the citizens by reason that all their houses are made of timber, and they may benefite themselves with the same againe, and likewise with the tyles of their houses: the greatest charge will be to land timber and to cut downe the mountaine of wood.

If it please your maiestic that the sayd citie of Nombre de Dios should bee builded in this harbour the first thing which must be finished is to make vp this high way, and so to pull downe the Church which is in Nombre de Dios, and the Contraction house, and so newe build it in this harbour: and then to command all the fleetes of shippes from time to time to come and vnlade their goods in this said Puerto Bello: And that those marchants and factors of Spaine which are lygers in Panama and Nombre de Dios shall come to this harbour and builde anew their warehouses for receiuing of their goods. So by these meanes in short time it will be greatly inhabited with people: also the fleetes shall not passe so many dangers as they dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: neither will there so many people die as there dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: and the cause thereof is, that those labouring men which doe vse to vnlade those marchandize, are all the whole day wading in the water vp to the armpits to bring the packs of cloth



and other commodities aland; for there is no landing place where there can come any boates to land any goods close to the shore, so this wading and the parching of the Sunne is the cause why so many doe dye of a burning feuer. There are but 60. dwelling houses in Nombre de Dios, and but thirtie dwellers which doe continually dwell there, and the rest doe goe to Panama after the fleete is gone, and then this Towne doeth remayne desolate, euery man forsaking it because it is so full of diseases.

In the entring in of this harbour for the more securitie thereof and defence of the towne it is needfull to build vpon the toppe of the mount which lyeth to the Northward, a little fort fouresquare that will hold foure or fve pieces of ordinance, and to appoynt sixe men to watch and ward; and this beeing done wee shall haue no occasion to make any more defence, by reason the cuntry is full of rocks and filthy wayes, and all full of woods round about the harbour.

And so likewise on the other side to builde a little tower in maner of a fort, with eight piéces of ordinance and fve and twentie souldiers to keepe it. And this will bee of more importance because it must be builded on the towne side. And a little beyond this place on the Northside there lyeth a creeke, where there is a very good ankering in eight fathome water: so this fort beeing builded in this place it will defend the harbour and offend the enemy: and will defend the coast along and a poynt of the land which doth runne from the East to the West, and reacheth to the Iland of Buena Ventura. And put case that the fort which is builded on the other side doth decay, or be taken by the enemy, with this other fort wee may defend the citie very well, if the enemy should chance to come into the harbour, and bee succoured and holpen by the citizens, and twenty musketers being planted vpon a mount which lieth ouer the fort, will bee sufficient to defende vs from a good many of our enemies, that shoulde come to assault vs, because all the cuntry is full of rockes and stones, and full of mountaines. So from this wood there may a way be made to goe to the citie, and to ioyne with that way which shall goe to Panama; and this may bee done with small charges. This harbour doth lie in nine degrees and one tierce, and if occasion shoulde serue wee may stop vp the way which doth goe to Capira, and the rest of the wayes which goe from Nombre de Dios to Venta de Cruzes, according as it is certified me by the Negros called Simerons; for they told me

that this way would not bee very troublesome. Although in the Winter it is reported that here is good store of water in this place, which in the Sommer is all dried vp, and where these waters are, there we may builde a cansey, to which purpose there are great quantities of stones and timber very seruiceable: so this way may bee made with that treasure which your maiestie doeth receiue of the auerages and customes of Nombre de Dios and Panama, which doth amount vnto twelue or fourteene thousand pezos yeerely: and an order might be taken for the same, that the sayd money may serue for the building and repairing of these wayes.

#### Panama.

Panama is the principall citie of this Dioces: it lieth 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios on the South sea, and standeth in 9. degrees. There are 3. Monasteries in this said city of fryers: also there is a Colledge of Iesuits, and the royal audience or chancery is kept in this citie.

This citie is situated hard by the sea side on a sandy bay: the one side of this citie is enuironed with the sea, and on the other side it is enclosed with an arme of the sea which runneth vp into the land 1000. yards.

This citie hath three hundred and fiftie houses, all built of timber, and there are sixe hundred dwellers and eight hundred souldiers with the townesmen, and foure hundred Negros of Guyney, and some of them are freemen: and there is another towne which is called Santa Cruz la Real of Negros Simerons, and most of them are employed in

your maiesties seruice, and they are 100. in number, and this towne is a league from this citie vpon a great riuers side, which is a league from the sea right ouer against the harbour of Pericos. But there is no trust nor confidence in any of these Negros, and therefore we must take heede and beware of them, for they are our mortall enemies.

There are three sundry wayes to come to this citie, besides the sea, where the enemy may assault vs. The one is at the bridge which is builded vpon the riuer: and on the one side of this, there lieth a creeke: so on this side the citie is very strong, because it is all soft muddie ground, for in no way they cannot goe vpon it. And right ouer against it there lieth a riuer which is in

maner like vnto a ditch or moate ; and on the other side of the Riuer there lieth a great Lake or Pond which is full of water all the Winter, and part of the Sommer, so that on this side the city is very strong, for with very small store of souldiers this place might bee kept verie well.

The greatest danger for the surprising of this citie is the way that doth come from Nombre de Dios : for all this. The best way is playne ground and no woods : and 2000 yardes way to take from this citie there lieth a riuer called Lauanderas, <sup>Panama.</sup> where the women doe vse to wash their linnen : and this riuer doth goe into the creeke, according as I haue certified your maiestie : and being once past this riuer, there is a causey which goeth directly vnto them. The other way which doth go towards the citie is lower downe towards the sea at a stone bridge lying vpon the way which goeth to the harbour of Perico. These two wayes cannot be kept nor resisted, because it is all plaine ground and medowes.

Vpon the East side of this citie there are your maiesties royall houses builded vpon a rocke ioining hard to the Sea side, and they doe as well leane towards the sea as the land. The royall audience or chancerie is kept here in these houses, and likewise the prison. And in this place all your maiesties treasure is kept. There dwelleth in these houses your maiesties Treasurer, the Lord President, and 3. Iudges, and master Atturney. All these doe dwell in these houses, and the rest of your maiesties officers : which are sixe houses besides those of the Lord President, the which are all dwelling houses, and all adioining together one by another along vpon the rockes. And they are builded all of timber and bourdes, as the other houses are. So where the prison standeth and the great hall, these two places may bee very well fortified, because they serue so fitly for the purpose, by reason they are builded towards the sea, and that there lye certaine small rocks, which at a lowe water are all discouered and drie, and some of them are scene at a high water. An Island in Right ouer these houses to the Eastwardes there lyeth the harbour an Island about five hundred yardes from these houses, <sup>of Panama.</sup> and the Island is in forme of a halfe moone ; and in this order it runneth all alongst very neere the maine land : so ouer against these houses there lyeth the harbour where all the shippes doe vse to ride at an anker, after that they haue discharged and vn-laden their marchandize. For when they haue their lading

aboard, there can come in none but small Barkes, and at a lowe water the shippes are all aground and drie, and so is all the space some thirtie yarges from those houses. Right ouer against them standeth the citie.

When newes were brought to this citie of those Pirates which were come vpon this coast, the Lord President and Iudges commanded that there should a sconce bee made, and trenched round about, made all of timber for the defence of this citie against the enimie, and to keepe your maiesties treasure. So your officers caused Venta de Cruzes to be fortified, and likewise Chagre, and Quebrada, and fortified the garrison of Ballano: for all these are places where the enemy may land, and by this meanes spoyle all this country.

1. Place. There are three sundry places where this citie may without difficulty be taken and spoyled by the Pirates. The first is on the North seas in a certaine place which lyeth foureteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the place is called Aele to the Eastwards, where once before certaine men of warre haue entred into those seas.

2. Place. The other place is Nombre de Dios, although this is a bad place and naughtie wayes, and full of waters and a very dirtie way: for three partes of the yeere the countrey people doe trauell vpon those waters, and another very badde way, which is the going vp of certaine rockes and mountaines which they must climbe, called the mountaines of Capira, which are of height three quarters of a league, so in this place with very small store of souldiers wee can defend our selues from the fury of the enimie, so these dwellers doe say that in Sommer the wayes are very good without either dirt or water.

3. Place. The other entrance is vp the riuer of Chagre, which riuers mouth lyeth eighteen leagues from Nombre de Dios to the Westwards falling into the North sea, and this is the place which the citizens of Panama doe most feare, for they may come vp this riuer to Venta de Cruzes; and so from thence march to this citie, which is but fiue leagues off. So vp this riuer there goe boates and barkes which doe cary 320. Quintals waight. These are they which carry the most part of the marchandize which doe come from Spaine to be transported to Peru, and from Venta de Cruzes it is carried to Limaret which is three leagues off that place, and the dwellers doe report that it is

a very good way : and if any men of warre will attempt to come into these seas, they may very easily come vp this riuer as farre as Venta de Cruzes, and from thence march vnto this citie, and if the enemy will, they may bring their pinnesses, ready made in foure quarters, and so taken in sunder, may afterwards set them together againe : as it is reported that Francis Drake hath vsed it once before when he came that voyage ; and so he may attempt vs both by sea and land. And forasmuch as the most part of these people are marchants, they will not fight, but onely keepe their owne persons in safetic, and saue their goods ; as it hath bene sene heretofore in other places of these Indies.

So if it will please your maiesty to cause these houses to bee strongly fortified, considering it standeth in a very good place, and if any sudden alarms shoulde happen, then the citicens with their goods may get themselues to this place, and so escape the terrour of the enemy : and so this will be a good securitic for all the treasure which doth come from Peru. So all the Pirats and rebels, which haue robbed in these parts, haue gone about what they can to stoppe this passage, and so by this meanes to stoppe the trade of Spaine, and to set souldiers in this place, for to intercept and take your maiesties treasure, whereby none might be caried into Spaine. Therefore it behooueth your maiestic to fortifie these places very strongly.

These places being fortified in this maner, your maiesty shal haue al your gold and siluer brought home in safetic which commeth from Peru. And all those commodities which are laden in Spaine may come safe to this place. And if per- Rebellion  
chance any rebels should rise in these parts, which feared in the  
would rebel against your maiestic, which God forbid, West Indies.  
and if they should chance to ioyn with any of these pirats, hauing  
this place so wel fortified, and Puerto Bello in y<sup>e</sup> North parts, and  
so to send some garrison your maiestic needs not to feare : for  
here in this harbor are alwayes 10. or 12 barks of 60 or 50 tunnes  
apiece, which do belong to this harbor. So if any of these places  
shalbe intercepted, then your maiestic hath no other place fitter  
then this to land your maiesties souldiers, for then they haue but  
18. leagues to march by land, and presently they may be shipped  
to supply these places which shal stand in most need of them. In  
al the coast of Peru there is no harbour that hath any shipping  
but onely this place, and the citie of Lima, where there are some  
ships and barks. The harbour being thus open without any

defence, a man of war may very easily come to this place, as I haue certified your maiestic, thorow the streits of Magellanc, and arriue at that instant, when those barks do come from Peru with your maiesties gold and siluer, for sometimes they bring 5 or 6 millions in those barks; so the enemy may come and take al their treasure, and not leese one man, because here is not one man to resist him, therefore this place being thus fortified, the treasure may be kept in the fort. There is a trench made round about your maiesties houses which are builded of timber: the President and Iudges did cause it to be made, for that here was newes brought that there were certaine men of warre, and pirats comming for these parts. So this trench is thus maintained vntil such time as your maiesties pleasure is to the contrary, and in such wise that your souldiers may fight lying behind the trench: so there is order giuen to build a platforme vpon the plaine ground, and so to plant such ordinance in those places, as shall be thought most conuenient.

If it wil please your maiestic, here we may make a sconce or fort toward the land side, and so trench it round about and build it with stone, because here is a place and al things readie for the same purpose; and by this meanes the citie would be securely kept: as for the sea there is no danger at al, by reason that the water doth ebbe and flow twice a day, and then when it is ebbing water it wil be al ozy and muddy ground and rocks, so that in no wise at a low water the enemy can wade ouer the mud to come to this city, and it reacheth from the Island til you come to the bridge called Paita. Two leagues from this city there lieth a harbor called Perico downe to the Westward: this is a very sure harbor by reason of 3. Islands which do ioyne in maner of a halfe moone, they lie halfe a league from the maine, the Islands do enclose the harbor round about, the harbor is a very high land, and the Islands are but reasonable high, there is good store of fresh water: also there hath neuer any ship bene cast away in this harbour, for there is 7. fathome water at ful sea, and 3 or 4 fathome at lower water, and very good ground for their ankering, and when they will trimme their ships they may hale them ashore. All those ships and barks which come from Peru with gold, siluer or any other kind of commodities, do first come to an anker in this harbour, and if they haue a contrary weather they cannot come into the harbour of Panama; and for so much as the harbour hath no defence for the safegard of the ships, if a man of warre should

chance to come into the harbour, all the barks with the treasure may be very easily taken. And likewise these barks and ships which do nauigate in the South seas carrie not so much as one piece of ordinance or a rapier to defend them withall. From this place to Venta de Cruzes is not passing 5 leagues; so that if any pinnesse should happen to arriue there, no doubt but they might robbe and take al your treasure which is in those barks, by reason that from the shore they cannot be rescued nor holpen, because it is an Island and refuge for all ships and barks. If it would please your maiestie here might some fort or defence bee made in the middlemost Island, and some ordinance planted, and this might bee made with little charges, because in the said Island there are all kinde of necessaries fit for that purpose, so by this meanes your maiestie may haue both the harbour and the citie very well kept.

Nota.

And likewise there is another entring into the South sea which is called the riuer of Francisca, which lieth on this side of the Cabeça de Catiua, and this riuer doth come into another riuer which is called Caracol, and is five leagues from this citie; and once before these Simerons brought into this place certaine Frenchmen.

#### The riuer of Chagre.

The riuer of Chagre lieth in 9. degrees and one tierce. The mouth of this riuer is in the North seas 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios, and 13. leagues from Puerto Bello: there is caryed vp this riuer certaine quantitie of those merchandize which are vnladen at Nombre de Dios which come from Spaine. From the mouth of this riuer to Venta de Cruzes are eighteene leagues. From this place where the barkes vnlade their commodities, they are carried vpon mules to Panama, which is but five leagues off from this place.

These five leagues are very good ground or champion countrey.

This riuer hath great store of water in the Winter. And the barkes which belong to this riuer are commonly of 320. Quintals that is of 16. tunnes in burthen: but in the Summer there is but small store of water: so then the barkes haue much to doe to get vp this riuer; and in many places these barkes are constrained to vnlade their commodities; and are drawen by mens strength and force a good way vp the riuer, and therefore if it would please

your maiestic to command that all those goods may be first vn-laden in Puerto Bello, and there to build a litle castle in the mouth of the said riuer, and at the foote of the castle to build a storehouse to vnlade and keepe all the sayd goods, and there to build other barks of lesse burthen : then these would serue for Summer, and the great barks for the Winter.

If it would please your maiestic, there might a very good high way be made on the one side of the riuer, and so they might bee towed, for it may bee made and not with much cost because it is all plaine ground, and there is growing vpon the sayd riuer great store of timber and trees which doe lie ouerthwart the said Riuer; so that they are very cumbersome and great annoiance vnto the said boates, aswell those that go vp the said Riuer, as also that doe come downe the said Riuer.

And therefore if it might please our maiestic to command, that Puerto bello might be inhabited, and the towne made neerer the Riuers side, euerything would be a great deale better cheape, if the commodities were carried vp the Riuer : for it is a great danger to cary them vp by land, for it is daily scene that the mules do many times fall and brake their necks with their lading upon their backs, as well the treasure as other kinde of commodities, because it is such a bad way. And your maiestic might be at this charges and spend your reuenues of Nombre de Dios and Panama, which do yerely yield 12 or 14 thousand pezos, and this being once done it would be a great ayd and benefit to those, which doe trade and trafficke, and to those merchantes which doe send their goods ouer-land, and ease them much of paine and purse, because the other is a most filthy way, as any is in the world.

A briefe remembrance of a voyage made in the yeere 1589 by William Michelson Captaine, and William Mace of Ratcliffe, Master of a ship called the Dogge, to the Bay of Mexico in the West India.

The aforesaide ship called the Dogge, of the burthen of threescore and ten tunnes was furnished, and armed forth with the number of fortie men : it departed from the coast of England in the moneth of May, directly for the West India : It fell with the Bay of Mexico, and there met with diuers Spanish ships at sundry times, whereof three fel into her lapse and



were forced to yeeld vnto the mercie of the English: the last that they met within the Bay was a Spanish man of warre, whom the English chased, and after three seuerall fightes, vpon three diuers dayes, pressed him so farre that he entreated a parle, by putting out a flagge of truce: the parle was granted, and certaine of the Spaniards came aboard the English. Where after conference about those maters that had passed in the fight betwixt them, they receiued reasonable intertainement and a quiet farewell. The Spanish, as if they had ment to requite the English courtesie, inuited our men to their shippe, who perswading themselues of good meaning of the Spanish, went aboard: but honest and friendly dealing was not in their purpose, suddenly they assaulted our men, and one with a dagger stabde Rodger Kingsnod the English Pilote to the heart and slewe him, and others were serued with the like sauce, onely William Mace the Master and others, notwithstanding al the prepared trappes of the enemie, lept ouerboard into the sea, and so came safe to their own ship: and directing his course for England, arriued at Plimouth the tenth day of September, 1589, laden with wines, yron, Roans, which is a kinde of linnen cloth, and other rich commodities, looking for the arriual of the rest of his consorts, whereof one and the principall hath not long since obtained his Port. Thus much in generall termes onely I haue as yet learned, and receiued touching this voyage, extracted out of letters sent from the aforesaid William Mace, to Master Edward Wilkinson of Towre-hill in London. My principall intention by this example is to admonish our nation of circumspection in dealing with that subtile enemie, and neuer to trust the Spanish further, then that their owne strength shall be able to master them: for otherwise whosoener shall through simplicities trust their curtesie, shall by tryall taste of their assured crueltie.

Spanish  
treason.

## CERTAINE SPANISH LETTERS

INTERCEPTED BY SHIPPES OF THE WORSHIPFULL MASTER IOHN WATTES WRITTEN FROM DIUERSE PLACES OF THE ISLANDES AND OF THE MAINE LAND AS WELL OF NUEUA ESPANNA, AS OF TIERRA FIRMA AND PERU, CONTAINING MANY SECRETS TOUCHING THE AFORESAID COUNTREYS, AND THE STATE OF THE SOUTH SEA, AND THE TRADE TO THE PHILIPPINAS.

A relation of a memorable fight made the 13. of Iune 1591. against certaine Spanish ships and gallies in the West Indies, by 3. ships of the honorable sir George Carey knight, then marshall of her Maiesties houshold, and captaine of the Isle of Wight, now lord Hunsdon, lord Chamberlaine, and captaine of the honourable band of her Maiesties Pensioners.

The 13. of Iune 1591. being Sunday, at 5. of the clocke in the morning we descried 6. saile of the king of Spaine his ships. Foure of them were armadas, (viz. the Admirall and viceadmirall of 700. tuns apeece, and the other 2. of 600. apeece) and the other 2. were smal ships, each of them about 100. tuns. We met w<sup>t</sup> them off the Cape de Corrientes, which standeth on the Iland of Cuba. The sight of the foresaid ships made vs ioyfull, hoping that they should make our voyage. But assoone as they descryed vs, they made false fires one to another and gathered their fleet together, lying all close by a wind to the Southwardes. We therefore at 5. of the clock in the morning (the wind being at East) haing made our prayers to almighty God, prepared our selues for the fight: And (in hope they had bene of the Cartagena fleete) wee bare vp with our admirall and viceadmiral, to determine of the combate for the better direction thereof. Our parle being ended, our admiral, viceadmiral, and the Hopewel gaue their admiral the prow, bringing themselues to leeward of him. We in the Content bare vp with their viceadmiral, and (ranging along by his broadside aweather of him) gaue him a voley of muskets and our great ordinance: then comming vp with another small ship ahead of the former, we hailed her in such sort, that shee payd roome. Thus being in fight with the

little ship, we saw a great smoke come from our admiral, and the Hopewel and Swallow forsaking him with all the sailes they could make: whereupon bearing vp with our admiral (before we could come to him) we had both the small ships to windward of vs, purposing (if we had not bene too hotte for them) to haue layd vs aboard. Thus (the fight continuing between vs and them 3. houres) we were forced to stand to the Northwards, the Hopewel and the Swallow not comming in all this while to ayd vs, as they might easily haue done. Our admirall by this time being in fight with their viceadmiral, and another great ship of theirs, stood off to sea with his topgallant saile, and all the sailes he could make; then might the Hopewel and the Swallow haue payd roome to second him, but they failed him as they did vs, standing off close by a wind to the Eastward. All this time we were forced to the Northwards with 2. of their great ships and one of there small. They hauing a loom gale (wee being altogether becalmed) w<sup>t</sup> both there great ships came vp faire by vs, shot at vs, and on the sudden furled their spritsailes and mainsailes, thinking that wee could not escape them. Then falling to prayer, we shipped our oars that we might rowe to shore, and anker in shallow water where there great ships could not come nie vs, for other refuge we had none. Then I. of their smal ships being manned from I. of their great, and hauing a boat to rowe themselues in, shipped her oars likewise and rowed after vs, thinking w<sup>t</sup> there small shot to haue put vs from our oars, vntil y<sup>e</sup> great ships might come vp with vs: but by y<sup>e</sup> time she was within musket shot, the Lord of his mercie did send vs a faire gale of wind at the Northwest off the shore. What time (they being all to leeward of vs) wee stood to the East. The small ship was vnder our lee within Falcon shot, and another great shippe lay to the Westward, so that wee could no way possibly escape them vpon that boord: then (we thinking to auoyd them by casting about to the Westwards) the other great shippe gate vnder our lee, and the small ship on our weather quarter, purposing to make vs pay roome with the great ship, by force of her small and great shot. Then (we being lerboord tacked, and they sterboord) we made her spring her looffe, and by a fortunate shot which our gunner made, pierced her betwixt winde and wáter. Hereupon shee was forced to lay herself vpon the carena, and to stand with one of the other ships for ayde. Afterward (commending our selues to almightie God

in prayer, and giuing him thanks for the winde which he had sent vs for our deliverance) we looked forth and descryed two saile more to the offen: these we thought to haue bene the Hopewell, and the Swallow that had stooode in to ayde vs: but it prooued farre otherwise, for they were two of the kings gallies. Nowe hauing a loome gale of winde, wee shipped our oars, and rowed off the shore: and our watch was no sooner set, but we espied one gallie vnder our lee hard by vs, boging vp with vs. Then (because it was euening) one of the great ships discharged sixe great shot at vs, to the ende the gallies should knowe that wee were the shippe they looked for. Then the gallie came vp, and (hailing vs of whence our shippe was) a Portugall which wee had with vs, made them answere, that wee were of the flecte of Tierra firma, and of Siuil: with that they bid vs amaine English dogs, and came vpon our quarter star-boord: and giuing vs five cast pieces out of her prow, they sought to lay vs aboard: but we so galled them with our muskets, that wee put them from our quarter. Then they winding their gallie, came vp into our sterne, and with the way that the gallie had, did so violently thrust in the boordes of our Captaines cabbitt, that her nose came into it, minding to giue vs all their prow, and so to sinke vs. But wee being resolute, so plyed them with our small shot, that they could haue no time to discharge their great ordinance: and when they began to approach, wee heaued into them a ball of fire, and by that meanes put them off: whereupon they once againe fell a sterne of vs, and gaue vs a prow. Then hauing the second time put them off, we went to prayer, and sang the first part of the 25. Psalme, praying God for our safe deliuerance. This being done, we might see 2. gallies and a frigate all three of bending themselues together to encounter vs: hereupon we (eftsoues commending our estate into the hands of God) armed our selues, and resolued (for the honour of God, her Maiestic, and our countrey) to fight it out till the last man. Then shaking a pike of fire in defiance of theemie, and weauing them amaine, we had them come aboard: and an Englishman in the gallie made answer, that they would come aboard presently. So managing ourselues to our furniture, and euery moment expecting the assault, wee heard them parle to this effect, that they determined to keepe vs companie till the morning, and then to make an end with vs: then giuing vs another shot from one of the gallies, they fell a sterne. Thus our

fight continued with the shippes and with the gallies, from seven of the clock in the morning til eleuen at night. Howbeit God (which neuer faileth them that put their trust in him) sent vs a gale of winde about two of the clocke in the morning at East-northeast, which was for the preuenting of their crueltie, and the saving of our liues. Also (the Lord be praised for it) in all this dangerous fight, wee had not one man slaine, and but 2. hurt: but our sayles and ropes were so rent with their shot, that it was wonderfull to behold: our maine mast also was shot cleane through, whereby wee were in exceeding great danger. Thus our consortes forsooke vs, and left vs in these extremities. The next day being the 14. of Iune in the morning, wee sawe all our aduersaries to lee-ward of vs, and they espying vs, chased vs till 10. of the clocke, and then seeing they could not preuaile, gaue vs ouer. So that day about 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, we bare vp to the Southwest, in hope to finde our consortes, but we had no sight of them at that time, nor afterward. Then stode we in all that night for the Cape of S. Anthonie, hoping there to see our Admirall according to his direction. The 15. day of Iune early in the morning, we descryed the Spanish fleete againe, being within 5. leagues of Cape S. Anthonie. Then (having no sight of our consortes) wee stode for the place according to the direction of our owner sir George Carey, where we did plie for the space of 23. dayes, and neuer could see any saile but two frigats, which wee gaue chase vnto the 24. of Iune, and could not fet them vp. Thus wee giue God most humble thanks for our safe diliuerance from the cruell enemie, which hath bene more mightie by the prouidence of God, then any tongue can expresse: to whom bee all prayse, honour, and glory, both now and euer, Amen.

Appendix.

THE barke called The Content had but one Minion, one Falcon, one Saker, and 2. portbases she continued fight (from seven in the morning til sunset,) with 3. armadas of 600. and 700. tunnes apiece, and one small shippe of 100. tunnes, not being aboue musket shot from any of them. And before the sunne was set, there came vp to her two of the kings gallies. Besides, the Armadas shot their great ordinance continually at her, not so few as 500. times. And the sides, hull, and mastes of the Content were sowed thicke with musket bullets. Moreouer, all their sheats, tops and shrowdes were almost cut in sunder

with their great and small shot. There passed from the galies (each whereof came thrise vp to her, and discharged five great pieces at a time, out of euery their prowes forthright, within three yards of her poope) through her maine saile 19. great shot, through her maine top-saile foure: through her fore-saile seuen: through her fore-top-saile five: and through her maine maste one. The vpper part of the Content was hurt in five places. Onely 13. men continued this fight, the rest being in holde.

A frigate of the Spaniards (being afterward taken) confessed, that there were in the gallies about 40. Spaniards slaine, and many were hurt in that combate.

The names of those 13. persons that continued the fight.

|                          |                 |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Nicolas Lisle, Captaine. | Charles Creame. |
| M. Major, Lieutenant.    | Thomas Godfrey. |
| William King, Master.    | Giles Thornton. |
| John Barwick, Mrs. mate. | John Pelis.     |
| William Clement, gunner. | John Bourel.    |
| Thomas Houldships,       | Ralph Grey.     |
| Bote-swaine.             | William Heore.  |

The names of the rest be these following.

|               |                   |
|---------------|-------------------|
| John Pie.     | John Twopenie.    |
| John Smith.   | Edmund Giggs.     |
| John White.   | William Bateman.  |
| John Butcher. | William White.    |
| John Brooke.  | Laurence Shellie. |

A true report of a voyage vndertaken for the West Indies by M. Christopher Newport Generall of a flecte of three shippes and a pinnesse, viz. The golden Dragon Admirall, whereof was Captaine M. Newport himselfe; The Prudence Vice-admirall, vnder the conduct of Captaine Hugh Merrick; The Margaret vnder Captaine Robert Fred; and the Virgin our pinnesse vnder Captaine Henry Kidgil: Begun from London the 25. of Ianuarie 1591. Written by M. John Twitt of Harewich, Corporall in the Dragon. In which voyage they tooke and burnt vpon the coast of Hispaniola, within the bay of Honduras, and other places, 3. towne, and 19. saile of shippes and frigats.

The 12. day of Februarie An. 1591. we set saile from Douer

roade, and hauing a prosperous winde, the 27. day of the same moneth wee fell with Cape Cantin on the coast of Barbarie, and on the 28. wee arriued at Santa Cruz roade, where hauing refreshed our selues some 3. or 4. dayes, we put off to sea againe, and about the 5. of March wee passed by the Ilands of the Canaries: and hauing a fauourable wind, the 4. of April An. 1592. we fell with Dominica in the West Indies: where making stay a day or two, wee bartred with the Saluages for certaine commodities of theirs, viz. Tabacco, hennes, Potato rootes, &c.

Passing from thence to a watering place on the other side of the cliffe, wee tooke a Portugall ship of Lisbone of 300. tuns, which came from Guinie, and was bound for Cartagena, wherein were 300. Negros young and olde. Which ship we tooke along with vs to S. Iuan de Puerto rico, where we landed the marchant and one Spaniard more within a league of the towne, and landing some 20. or 30. musketers, some 20. horsemen made towards vs; but wee retired to our boates without any seruice done.

The 9. we lay houering all day before the towne, the castle making a shot or two at vs.

The reason why wee set the Portugall marchant aland there was, for that he hoped to helpe vs to some money for his Negros there, but he falsified his worde with vs, so that passing along to the Westermost ende of the sayde Iland, about some 9. or 10 leagues from the towne wee landed the Negros, and sunke their ship.

The 11. of Aprill we passed from thence to Mona some 15. leagues off, where we landed: there were on the Iland about 19. soules, the children of an olde Portugall, and his wife who affourded vs such fruits as their Iland yeilded, viz. swines flesh, Potato rootes, &c.

From thence along wee passed to Saona, a long Iland and very fruitfull, replenished with store of wilde beastes and swine, where we landed, hunted, and trained our men.

Passing from hence Westward along the South coast of Hispaniola, wee descried a frigate, which wee chased and tooke; wherein were 22. iarres of copper-money, being bound for S. Iuan de Puerto rico, to buy wine there.

The next day we tooke 2. small frigats more, but nothing of any value in them.

The 15. of Aprill at night wee sacked a towne in the sayde

Iland of Hispaniola called Ocoa, where was an Ingenio, wherein we found sugar and poultrie great store, but the people had discovered our ships over night, and were fled into the mountaines. This town standeth a league from the seaside, consisting of some fortie or fiftie houses. They brought vs much cattell, and two wayne loades of sugar, to ransom the towne. While this action was performed, Robert Freed of Harwich, captaine of the Margaret, tooke two frigats with certaine Spaniards on the other side of the bay, which came to lade sugar there at an Ingenio.

After we had here refreshed our selues, wee stood along for Cape Tiburon, where we watered: and making no stay there, about the 23. of Aprill wee left our shippes in a faire road-sted vnder an Iland not inhabited, and with our frigats which wee had taken before, wherein wee shipped all our strength which possibly wee could affourd, leaving onely so fewe aboard our shippes as could hardly if neede had bene, haue wrought them; we passed along by the sayd Iland to the Northwest part of Hispaniola, to a towne called Yaguana; where the 27. in the morning 2. houres before day we landed; but wee were discovered by meanes of a frigate that lay laden with victuals, bound for Carthagena, the men of which frigate recouering on lande before vs, gaue an alarme to the towne, who were presently vp in armes to the number of a hundred and fiftie horses. Wee marched notwithstanding along to the towne hauing a Spaniard

for our guide, where by that time the day brake, we were before the towne, where vpon a faire greene making a stand, we were encountred by the horsemen hauing no strength of foote, but certaine few loose shot which lay in a low valley at the entrie of

the towne. The horsemen charged vs very fiercely, but seeing they could not preuaile, brought in a droue before them of two hundred beastes or more: and so forcibly thinking to haue broken our array, it pleased God to cause their cattell to returne backe vpon themselves: and thus their owne deuice sorted out to their owne detriment. In this skirmish wee slewe their gouernour, a man very hardy, and of great valure.

In the end, by reason of the Spaniards brags which they gaue out, (as by the life of their wines and children, &c. that not one of vs should goe aboard againe) a greater doubt of intercepting of vs and of our boates was stroken into our captaines hearts then needed: and so for that time we retired to our boates not

This towne  
standeth  
from the  
waters side  
a league.



entering the towne, and so passed with our boates to our ships againe; where the same night our captaine determined to goe vp with our shippes, but it fell so calme, that all the next day vntill night we could not get vp, and they hauing discovered vs, baricadoed vp their way, and conueyed all that they had into the mountaines, leauing their houses onely bare and naked, notwithstanding we landed, and with great difficultie wee passed their baricados with the losse of two men at both conflicts, entred their towne and fired it, leauing not an house vnburnt, being a towne of three streetes hauing about 150. houtholds.

The same night wee passed with our boates to a small village called Aguaua, where we found excelicnt fruites of the country, which by reason of their cowardly brags wee also set on fire.

Being thus frustrated of our pretended voyage, we stooed for the bay of Honduras, and about the ninth of May we discovered in the afternoone a saile thwart of the bay of Truxillo, with whom we stooed, and hauing a Spanish flagge out, they mistrusted vs not, vntill we had almost fet them vp: and then wee went off with our boate, and tooke them within shot of the castle, and with our boates wee went and fet three or foure frigats which rode afore the towne, the castle playing vpon vs with their ordinance.

They thought some fleet had bene come from Spaine, for so they expected.

Our captaine hauing vnderstanding by the Spaniards, that there were three shippes more at Puerto de Cauillos, stood along that night for that place, but it fell out to bee so calme, that it was the fifteenth day of May or euer wee came there, the shippes hauing peradventure discovered vs, stole alongst the shoare towards Truxillo, so that being voyde of that hope, we landed; the inhabitants forsaking the towne, fled into the mountaines. Wee remained in the towne all night, and the next day till towards night: where we found 5. or 6. tuns of quick siluer, 16. tuns of old sacke, sheepe, young kids, great store of poultrie, some store of money, and good linnen, silkes, cotton cloth, and such like; we also tooke three belles out of their church, and destroyed their images. The towne is of 200 houses, and wealthy; and that yere there were foure rich ships laden from thence: but we spared it, because wee found other contentment. And hauing taken our pleasure of the towne, as aforesayd, wee returned aboard our ships, standing backe againe for Truxillo, we discovered one of the shippes which was laden

at Puerto de Cauillos: but they had espied vs before, as it should seeme; for they had conueyed away as much as possibly they could ashore, and set their ship on fire; which so soone as we had discried, we made to her with our boats, and quenched the fire, and loaded vp with hides the shippe which we tooke at our first comming; for she had but a thousand hides in her, and certeine iaraes of balsamum: which being accomplished, wee sunke the shippe with the rest of the goods, and so stood amongst againe for Truxillo. It fell out to be so calme, that we were two and twenty dayes sailing backe that we had sailed in sixe dayes, which was about forty leagues: so that when we came before Truxillo, which was about the sixth of Iune, we found another of the ships there, but close vnder the castle, her ruther vnchanged, her sailes taken from the yards, &c., notwithstanding we entered her, but they had placed such a company of musketiers vnder a rampire, which they had made with hides and such like, that it was too hote for vs to abide, and so betaking vs to our shippes againe, and standing out of the bay into the sea, wee discouered great store of shot intrenched in those places where they suspected we would haue landed. That night there fell such a storme of raine, thunder, lightening and tempestuous weather, that our ships were dispersed either from other. And hauing determined all of vs to meet at a certeine Island, where wee purposed to water and refresh our selues; by meanes of the storme and other contagious weather which followed, we were frustrated of that hope.

We had lost our prize, and certeine frigats with the men. Two of our shippes went to seeke our prize and our men: and other two of vs came homeward. And so we parted, not hearing either of other vntill we came into Edgland.

Our place of meeting should haue beene at the Tortugas neere vnto the point of Florida, but the Golden dragon and the Prudence were put to leeward of this place: neuerthelesse wee fell with certeine islands within the point of Florida, where the captaine of the Dragon M. Christopher Newport sent his pinnesse on shore with certeine shot to seeke for fresh water, where wee found none; but foud the Sauages very courteous vnto vs, who came brest high into the sea, and brought vs a line to hall in our boat on shore, and shewed vs that vp into the land Northward was fresh water, and much golde. And one Michael Bagge of Ipswich boatswaines mate of the Dragon, had giuen him by

one of the Sauages for an olde rusty hatchet, a piece of golde wound hollow, and about the bignesse and value of an English angell, which the Sauage ware hanging about his knee, with two pieces of fine siluer plate, whereof one the sayd Sauage gaue Iohn Locke masters mate of the Dragon, being foureteene groats in value, for an olde knife; the other piece he gaue to one William Wright a sailer, for an olde knife: which pieces of siluer were in forme like vnto the bosse of a bridle. These Sauages were farre more ciuill than those of Dominica: for besides their courtesie, they couered their priuities with a platted mat of greene straw, about three handfuls deepe, which came round about their waste, with the bush hanging downe behinde.

The next day in the morning very early, there came a frigate of the iland of Cuba of 30 tunnes, put in by weather, which was bound for Hauana, wherein were ~~fifty~~ hogges; to which we gaue chase all that day, passing the gulfe of Bahama, and about five of the clocke in the afternoone, after a shot or two made at her, shee yeilded vnto vs: wee hoisted out our boat, and went aboard, where we found some five Spanyards, five and fifty hogs, and about some two hundred weight of excellent tabacco rolled vp in seynes. We lightened them of their hogges and tabacco, and sent the men away with their frigate.

In this voyage we tooke and sacked foure townes, seuateene frigats, and two ships, whereof eight were taken in the bay of the Honduras; of all which we brought but two into England: the rest we sunke, burnt, and one of them we sent away with their men. And to make vp the full number of twenty, the Spaniards themselues set one on fire in the bay of the Honduras, lest we should be masters of it.

We shaped our course from Florida homeward by the isle of Flores one of the Açores, where we watered, finding sir Iohn Burgh there, who tooke vs to be Spanyards, and made vp vnto vs; with whom wee ioyned in the taking the mighty Portugall caracke called Madre de Dios, and our captaine M. Christopher Newport with diuers of vs was placed in her as captaine by the Generall sir Iohn Burgh to conduct her into England, where we arriued in Dartmouth the seuenth of September 1592.

The voyaye made to the bay of Mexico by M. William King Captaine, M. Moore, M. How, and M. Boreman Owners, with the Salomon of 200 tunnes, and the Iane Bonaventure of 40 tunnes of Sir Henry Palmer, from Ratcliffe the 26 of Ianuary 1592.

The Salomon was manned with an hundred men, all mariners, and the Iane with sixe and twenty, all likewise mariners. Wee came first to the Downes in Kent, and neuer strooke saile in passing thence, vntill we came to Cape S. Vincent on the coast of Portugall. From thence we shaped our course to Lancerota one of the Canarie islands, where we landed three score men, and fetched a carauell out of an harborow on the South side, and from a small Island we tooke a demy-canon of brasse in despight of the inhabitants, which played vpon vs with their small shot at our first landing: of whom we slew three; and gaue them the repulse. Thence we went to the Grand Canaria, where we boarded a barke lying at anker: out of which wee were driuen by great store of shot from the Island. From thence wee directed our course for the West Indies, and fell with the isle of Dominica about the tenth of April. There at a watering place we tooke a shippe of an hundred tunnes come from Guiny, laden with two hundred and seuentie Negros, which we caried with vs to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico, and there comming thorow El passage, we gaue chase to a frigate which went in to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico, and in the night we sent in our shallope with foureteene men. And out of the harborow wee tooke away an English shippe of seuentie tunnes, laden with threescore tunnes of Canary-wines, in despight of the castle and two new bulwarks, being within caluer shot. These two prizes we caried away to the Westermost part of the island, and put the Negros, except fiteene, all on land in a Spanish carauell which the Iane Bonaventure tooke: and we caried away one of the former prizes, and set fire on the other. We passed thence by the isle of Mona, where we watered, and refreshed our selues with potatos and plantans, and so came to the isle of Saona: and from thence arriued at the mouth of the riuier of Santo Domingo. And as we sailed to Cape Tiburon, three leagues to the Westward of Santo Domingo we tooke a boat of fiteene tunnes, which had certeine iarres of molasses or vnrefined sugar, with three men; which men with their boat

wee caried with vs to Cape Tiburon, which, in respect of seruice done vnto vs in furnishing vs with fresh water, we dismissed. Thus contrary to other Englishmens courses we shaped ours to the Southward of Iamaica, and our shallop with 12 men ranged the coast but found nothing. Thence we ranged the three islands of the Caimanes, and landed at Grand Caiman, being the Westermost, where we found no people, but a good riuer of fresh water; and there we turned vp threescore great tortoises; and of them we tooke our choise, to wit, fiteene of the females, which are the best and fullest of egges, whereof two serued an hundred men a day. And there with stones we might kill turtle doues, wilde geese, and other good fowles at our pleasures. Thence we came to Capé de Corrientes on Cuba to water, and from thence to Cape S. Antonio, and so went ouer for the Tortugas, without taking of any new prize: and thence cut ouer to Rio de puercos on the coast of Cuba. There we tooke a small barke of twenty tunnes, with foure men and forty liue hogs, with certeine dried porke cut like leather ierkins along, and dried hogs tongues and neats <sup>Preseruing of hogs-flesh.</sup> tongues, and 20 oxe hides. Then passing thence, with in foure dayes we tooke a ship of 80 tunnes laden with hides, indico, and salso perilla, North of an headland called Corugna: thence the current set vs to the East to the old chanel. There we tooke a frigate of 20 tunnes, hauing certeine piéces of Spanish broad cloth and other small pillage: there continuing off the Matanças 12 dayes, with the winde so Westerly that we could hardly recouer Hauana in the moneth of May. Here we tooke two boats laden with tortoises, which we sunke, sauing some of the tortoises, and setting the men on shore. Then at length we recouered vp to Hauana, where we came so neere to the forts, that for one houres fight they ouer-reached vs with their long ordinance. Then came out the two gallies, hauing 27 banks on a side, and fought with vs another houre; which for that time left vs by reason of the increasing of the winde. Then passing alongst nine leagues to the Westward we found out <sup>The excellent hauen of Cauannas.</sup> an excellent harbour, hauing three fadome water at the flood, able within to receiue a thousand saile, where we found hog-houses, which they terme coralles, and tooke away certeine hogs and pigs. As we came out of this harbour, the weather being calme, we were incouered by the gallies, which had followed vs, and fought with them three houres, oftentimes

within caliuer shot: but wee made such spoile of their men and oares, that they beganne to be weary, and gaue vs ouer, with their great losse. Here within foure dayes after, as we lay to the Northward sixe leagues, off this harbour of Cauannas, we met with master captaine Lane, Generall of master Wats his fleet, and captaine Roberts, in the Exchange, a ship of Bristol, of an hundred and forty tunnes, and master Benjamin Wood with his foure ships which were set out by my lord Thomas Howard with Captain Kenel of Limehouse captaine of the Cantar of Weymouth. All we being heere together espied a ship of some 50 tunne, which we chased with there boats; but my shallope first boarded her, and tooke her: which had in her sacke, Canary-wine, muscadell, tent in iarres, and good store of oile in iarres. The ship we vnloaded and burned: the men ran on shore. Hence wee came altogether, being about 13 sailes, before Hauana; but passing by we gaue chase to a ship of 60 tun, which entred into an harbour a league to the Northwest of Hauana, which with boats was boarded, and found to be of Puerto de Cauillos in the bay of Honduras, laden with tanned hides, salsa perilla, Indico, raw hides, and good store of balsamum: and she had foure chests of gold, which they got on land before we could come to them. We brought this ship into England. Thus spending a seuennight in lying off and on for purchase, and finding nothing come, I set saile for England, and arriued at Douer about the tenth of Nouember 1592.

A briefe note of a voyage to the East Indies, begun the 10 of April 1591, wherein were three tall ships, the Penelope of Captaine Raimond, Admirall, the Merchant royall, whereof was Captaine Samuel Foxcroft, Vice admirall, the Edward Bonaventure, whereof was Captaine, M. Iames Lancaster, Rere admirall, with a small pinnesse. Written by Henry May, who in his returne homeward by the West Indies suffered shipwracke vpon the isle of Bermuda, whereof here is annexed a large description.

THE tenth of April 1591 we departed from Plimmouth, with the ships aforesayd. In May following wee arriued at Grand Canaria one of the fortunate Islands. Also toward the end

this moneth. we tooke a Portugall shippe being bound for Brasil, within three degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, which serued greatly to our refreshing. The 29 of Iuly following we came to Aguada Saldania a good harbour neere the cape of Buona Sperança, where we stayed about a moneth with the Merchant royall, which by reason of sicknesse in our fleet was sent home for England with diuers weake men. Here we bought an oxe for a knife of three pence, a sheepe for a broken knife. or any other odde trifle, of the people which were Negros, clad in cloaks or mantles of raw hides, both men and women. The 8 of September the Penelope and the Edward Bonauentura weyed anker, and that day we doubled the cape of Buona Sperança. The 12 following we were taken with an extreame tempest or huricano. This euening we saw a great sea breake ouer our Admirall the Penelope, and their light strooke out: and after that we neuer saw them any more. In October following we in the Edward fell with the Westernmost part of the isle of S. Laurence about midnight, knowing not where we were. Also the next day we came to an anker at Quitagone a place on the maine land of Africa, which is two or three leagues to the Northward of Mozambique, where the Portugals of the isle of Mozambique fetch all their fresh water. Here we tooke a pangaia, with a Portugall boy in it; which is a vessell like a barge, with one matsaile of Coco nut leaues. The barge is sowed together with the stades of trees, and pinned with woodden pinnes. In this pangaia we had certeine corne called millio, hennes, and some fardeis of blew Calicut cloth. The Portugall boy we tooke with vs, and dismissed the rest. From this place we went for an island called Comoro, vpon the coast of Melinde, which standeth about 11 degrees to the South of the equinoctial: in which island we stayed all Nouember, finding the people blacke and very comly, but very treacherous and cruell: for the day before we departed from thence they killed thirty of our men on shore, among whom was William Mace our master, and two of his mates; the one of them being in the boat with him to fetch water, the other being on shore against our ship; they hauing first betrayed our boat. From hence we went for the isle of Zanzibar, on the coast of Melinde, whereas wee stayed and Wintered vntill the beginning of February following.

A Portugall  
ship taken.

They double  
the cape of  
Buona  
Speranza.

Quitagone  
here

Mozambique.

They Winter  
at the isle of  
Zanzibar.

The second of February 1592 wee weyed anker, and set saile directly for the East Indies; but hauing calmes and contrary windes wee were vntill the moneth of Iune before wee could recouer the coast of India neere Calicut; whereby many of our men died for want of refreshing. In this moneth of Iune we came to an anker at the isles of Pulo pinzom, whereas we stayed vntill the first day of September, our men being very sicke, and dying apace. This day we set saile, and directed our course for Malaca: and wee had not bene farre at sea, but wee tooke a shippe of the kingdome of Pegu of some fourescore tunnes with wooden ankers, and about fiftie men in her, with a pinnesse of some eightene tunnes at her stearne, both laden with pepper. But their pinnesse stole from vs in a gust in the morning. Here we might haue taken two shippes more of Pegu laden likewise with pepper and rice. In this moneth also we tooke a great Portugall ship of six or seuē hundred tun, laden chiefly with victuals, chests of hats, pintados, and Calicut clothes. Besides this we tooke another Portugall ship of some hundred tun, laden with victuals, rice, Calicos, pintados, and other commodities. These ships were bound for Malaca with victuals: for those of Goa, of S. Thomas, and of other places in the Indies doe victuall it, because that victuals there are very scarce.

In the moneth of Nouember 1592 we shaped our course for the island of Nicubar lying certeine leagues to the Northwest of the famous island of Sumatra; whereas within short time wee came to anker: and here wee had very good refreshing: for after wee arriued there, the people (whom we found in religion Mahumetans) came aboard vs in their canoas, with hennes, cocos, plantans, and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought vnto vs reals of plate, giuing vs them for Calicut cloth: which reals they found by diuing in the sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China and were cast away there. This was the furthest place that we were at to the Southeast: and heere because our company by this time was much wasted and diminished, we resciued to turne backe to the isle of Zeilan. Wherefore we weyed <sup>They returne</sup> ~~anker in the moneth of Nouember, and arriued at~~ <sup>homeward.</sup> Zeilan about the end of the same moneth. In this island groweth great store of excellent cinamom, and the best diamonds in the world. Here our captaine meant to stay to make vp our voyage: whereof hee conceiued great hope, by



certeine intelligence which wee had receiued: but the company, which were in all but 33 men and boyes, being in a mutiny, and euery day ready to go together by the eares (the captaine being sicke and like for to die) would not stay, but would needs go home.

The 8 of December 1592 we set saile homeward, but some 15 dayes before we had sight of the cape of Good hope, we were forced to share our bread, by reason we had certeine flies in our ship, which deuoured most part of our bread before we were aware; so that when we came to sharing, we had but 31 pound of bread a man to cary vs into England, with a small quantity of rice a day.

The last of March 1593 we doubled the cape of Bona Sperança.

In April next ensuing we came to anker at the island of S. Helena, whereas we found an English man a tailor, which had bene there 14 moneths before we came thither: so we sending our boat on shore with some ten men, they found this English man in the chapell; who by reason of the heat of the climat was inforced to keepe himselfe out of the Sun. Our company hearing one sing in the chapell, supposing it had bene some Portugall, thrust open the doore, and went in vnto him: but the poore man seeing so many come in vpon him on the sudden, and thinking them to be Portugals, was first in such a teare, not hauing seene any man in 14 moneths before, and afterwards knowing them to be Englishmen, and some of them of his acquaintance, in such ioy, that what betweene excessiue sudden feare and ioy, he became distracted of his wits, to our great sorrowes. Here we found of his drying some 40 goats. The party had made him for want of apparell two sutes of goates skinnes with the hairy side outwards, like vnto the Sauages of Canada. Here we stayed all this moneth. This man liued vntill we came to the West Indies, and then he died.

In the moneth of Iune we arriued at the island of Trinidad in the West Indies, hoping there to finde refreshing; but we could not get any, by reason that the Spanyards had taken it. Here we were imbayed betweene the island and the maine; and for want of victuals the company would haue forsaken the ship: whereupon the captaine was inforced to sweare euery man not to forsake the ship vntill we should see further occasion. Out of  
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this bay, called Boca de Dragone, it pleased God to deliuer vs; from whence we directed our course for the isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, but fell with the small isle of Mona, where we abode some fiteene dayes, finding in that place some small refreshing. And heere arriued a ship of Caen in Normandy, whereof was captaine one Monsieur Charles de la Barbotiere, who greatly refreshed vs with bread and other prouision, which we greatly wanted. And so we tooke our leaues the one of the other.

In Iuly hauing foule weather at Mona, we were forced to wey anker, and to set saile, directing our course for Cape Tiburon: and in doubling of the cape we had a gust from the shore, which caried away all our sailes from the yards: so that we had left but one new forecourse to helpe our selues withall: which canuas the afordsayd Frenchman did help vs withall. Also hauing doubled the foresayd cape in the distresse aforesaid, the forsayd captain de la Barbotiere with his pinnesse gaue chase vnto vs againe; who being come nere vnto vs, I went aboard him, certifying him what distresse we were in. The gentleman replied to me againe, that there was not any thing in his shippe, but what he could spare he would helpe vs withall. So to conclude, we agreed with him for canuas. Moreouer, he said, that Or Guanaba if we would go with him to an harbour called \*Gonnauy, which is to the Northward of Cape Tiburon, that then he would helpe vs with fresh victuals enough. Whereupon I returned aboard our ship, and certified our captaine of all: who made it knowen vnto the company; which no sooner heard of it, but they would all go in. So here we staid with the aforesaid Frenchman 15 dayes: but small refreshing we could get, because the Spaniards stood in some feare of the Frenchman of war, supposing our ship to be a Portugal, and that we were his prize: neuertheless hee certified them to the contrary. And in staying so long with him, and hauing little refreshing, our company began to be in a mutiny, and made report that the captaine and I went aboard the Frenchman but to make good cheere, and had not any care of them: but I protest before God, that our care was to get victuals wherby we might haue bene gone from him. But in the meane time a great part of our company had conspired to take away the Frenchmans pinnesse, and with her to boord the man of warre. While these things were in complotting, one of their consorts went aboard the Frenchman, and certified him of all the conspiracy. Wherevpon the captaine

of the French ship sent for our captaine and me to come aboard to dinner: and we stayed with him all the afternoone, being invited vnto supper: and being at supper, he himselfe would not a great while come to vs: but at length hee came. At his coming wee asked of him what newes. Who answered vs, that that either we must depart from him or els he must goe seeke some other harborow. Whereupon I tolde captaine Lancaster; who prayed me to tell him that rather then we would be any hindrance vnto him, we would be gone. But in the mean time, while we were thus talking together, the Frenchman weyed and set saile: which we perceiued, and asked him what he meant by it. He replied to the captaine and me, that he kept vs for his security, and that our men had purposed as is aforesayd. When he came thwart our shippe, it blew a pretty gale of winde: the boat being a stern of them, hauing in her two Moores and two men of Pegu, which we had giuen them, brake away. Then was the Frenchman worse then before, and did threaten vs very sore that we should pay his voyage. In the meantime the Edward seeing vs past, weyed and set saile to go for England: and they did share among them all the captaines victuals and mine, when they saw the Frenchman keepe vs as prisoners. So the next morning we went to seeke out the Frenchmans pinnesse: which being at Laguna we shot off a peece, and so she came to vs, hauing in her three more of our company, Edmund Barker our lieutenant, and one Iohn West, and Richard Lucland one of the mutinous crew. The which I told the Frenchman of: and he could not deny, but that there was such a thing pretended. Then I was put into the French pinnesse to seeke their boat: and in the mean time they would go to see if they could ouertake our shippe. And the next day we should meet againe at Cape S. Nicolas: so the next morning we met together all three of vs, but heard no newes of his boat. So he hauing Spanyards and Negros aboard of vs, requested to haue them. Our captaine desired him to send his boat aboard our shippe, and he should haue them with all his heart. So with much adoe he sent his boat and had them. Then he demanded of them, if his boat were not aboard the ship. They answered no. So that then Monsieur de la Barbotiere was satisfied: and then we were great friends againe, to all our ioyes.

The 12 of August 1593 our captaine was sent aboard our ship: but before his departure he requested the captaine of the French

ship that he would give mee passage home with him, to certifie the owners what had passed in all the voyage, as also of the vnrulinesse of the company. And this day we tooke our leaues the one of the other; the Edward for England: and we bare in for Gonnauy, where afterwards we found the Frenchmans boat.

The last of Nouember 1593 Monsieur de la Barbotiere departed from a port called Laguna in Hispaniola. The 17 of December next insuing it was his fortune to haue his ship cast away vpon the Northwest part of the isle of Bermuda about midnight; the pilots making themselves at noone to be

They wrack-  
ed vpon Ber-  
muda the 17  
of December  
1593. to the Southward of the island twelue leagues, certified the captaine that they were out of all danger. So they demanded of him their wine of heighth: the

which they had. And being, as it should seeme, after they had their wine, carelesse of their charge which they tooke in hand, being as it were drunken, through their negligence a number of good men were cast away: and I being but a stranger among 50 and odde Frenchmen and others, it pleased God to appoint me to be one of them that were saued, I hope to his seruice and glory. We made account at the first that we were cast away hard by the shore, being by the cliffs, but we found our selues seuen leagues off: but with our boat and a raft which we had made and towed at our boats sterne, we were saued some 26 of vs; among whom were no English but my selfe. Now being among so many strangers, and seeing not roome for the one halfe, I durst neither presse into the boat, nor vpon the raft, for feare lest they should haue cast me ouer board, or els haue killed me: so I stayed in the ship which was almost full of water, vntill the captaine being entered the boat, called me vnto him being at hand, for that it stood vpon life or death; and so I presently entred, leauing the better halfe of our company to the mercy of the sea. After this we rowed all the day vntill an

The descrip-  
tion of the  
isle of Ber-  
muda. hour or two before night yer we could come on land, towing the raft with the boat. When we came on shore, being all the day without drinke, euery man tooke his way to see if he could finde any: but it was long before any was found. At length one of the pilots digging among a company of weeds found fresh water to all our great comforts, being only raine water: and this was all the fresh water that we found on shore. But there are in this Island many fine bayes, wherin if a man did dig, I thinke there might

be found store of fresh water. This Island is diuided all into broken Islands; and the greatest part I was vpon, which might be some 4 or 5 miles long, and two miles and a halfe ouer; being all woods, as Cedar and other timber, but

Cedar is the chiefest. Now it pleased God before our ship did split, that we saued our carpenters tooles, or els I thinke we had bene there to this day: and hauing recouerd the aforesaid tooles, we went roundly

about the cutting downe of trees, and in the end built a small barke of some 18 tun, for the most part with tronnels and very few nails. As for tackling we made a voyage aboard the ship before she split, and cut downe her shrowds, and so we tackled our barke, and rigged her.

In stead of pitch we made lime, and mixed it with the oile of tortoises; and assonne as the carpenters had calked, I and another, with ech of vs a small sticke in our hands, did plaister the mortar into the seames, and being in April, when it was warm and faire weather, we could no sooner lay it on, but it was dry, and as hard as a stone. In this moneth of April, 1594, the

weather being very hot, we were afraid our water should faile vs; and therefore made the more haste away: and at our departure we were constrained to make two great chests, and calked them and stowed them on ech side of our maine mast, and so put in our prouision of raine-water, and 13 liue tortoises for our food, for our voyage which we intended to

Newfoundland. In the South part of this Island of Bermuda there are hogs, but they are so leane that you can not eat them, by reason the Island is so barren: but it yeeldeth great store of fowle, fish and tortoises.

And to the Eastward of the Island are very good harbours, so that a shippe of 200 tun may ride there land-locked, without any danger, with water enough.

Also in this Island is as good fishing for pearles as is any in the West Indies, but that the place is subiect to foule weather, as thundering, lightning and raine:

but in April and part of May we had very faire and hot weather. The 11 of May it pleased God to set vs cleere of the Island, to the no little ioy of vs all, after we had liued in the same almost the space of 5 moneths. And the 20 of May we fell with the land nere to Cape Briton, where we ran into a fresh water riuier, whereof there be many, and tooke in wood, water, and ballast.

The sawing of the carpenters tooles was their preservation.

A bark strangely built and furnished.

Hogs in Bermuda.

Good harbors in ye East part of Bermuda. An excellent fishing for pearles in Bermuda.

The people  
near Cape  
Breton use  
traffike of  
rich fures.

And here the people of the country came vnto vs, being clothed all in furs, with the furred side vnto their skins, and brought with them fures of sundry sorts to sell, besides great store of wild ducks: so some of our company hauing saued some small beads, bought some of their ducks. Here we stayed not aboute foure houres, and so departed. This should seeme to be a very good country. And we saw very fine champion ground, and woods. From this place we ranne for the banke of Newfoundland, whereas we met with diuers, but none would take in a man of vs, vntill it pleased God that wee met with a barke of Falmouth, which receiued vs all for a little time; and with her we tooke a French ship, wherein I left captain de la Barbotiere my deere friend, and all his company, and stayed myself aboard the English barke: and hauing passage in the same, in the moneth of August I arrived at Falmouth 1594.

A voyage of the honourable Gentleman M. Robert Duddleley, now knight, to the Isle of Trinidad, and the coast of Paria: with his returne home by the Isles of Granata, Santa Cruz, Sant Iuan de puerto rico, Mona, Zacheo, the shoalds called Abrejos, and the isle of Bermuda. In which voyage he and his company tooke and sunke nine Spanish ships, wherof one was an armada of 600 tunnès. Written at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt.

HANing ever since I could couceiue of any thing bene delighted with the discoveries of nauigation, I fostered in my selfe that disposition till I was of more yeres and better ability to vndertake such a matter. To this purpose I called to me the aduise of sufficient seamen, and principally vndertooke a voyage for the South-seas; but by reason that many before had miscaried in the same enterprise, I could not be suffered to hazard more of her Maiesties subjects vpon so vncerteine a ground as my desire: which made me by constraint (great charges already by me defrayed) to prepare another course for the West Indies, without hope there to doe any thing woorth note: and so common is it indeed to many, as it is not woorth the registering. Neuertheless, I haue yeilded to your former importunity, and sent you this my iournall to supply a vacant roome amongst your more important discourses.

Nowe being prouided for this last enterprize, rather to see some practise and experience, then any wonders or profite, I weighed ancker from Southampton road the sixth of Nouember 1594. But the winde falling scant, it was the 17. day of the same moneth before I could put into the Sea. Vpon this day my selfe in the Beare a shippe of 200. tunnes my Admirall, and Captaine Munck in the Beares whelpe vice-admirall, with two small pinnesses called the Frisking and the Earewig passed through the Needles, and within two dayes after bare in with Plimmouth. My busines at this port-towne dispatched, I set saile; whither againe by contrary winds to my great misfortune, I was inforced to returne backe. I might call it misfortune; for by this meanes vtterly (for all the voyage) lost my vice-admirall; which was the cause likewise of loosing mine owne pinnesse, which three were the principall stay of my voyage. For at this last leauing of England in a storme I lost mine owne pinnesse, as is before said. Notwithstanding all these crosses all alone I went wandering on my voyage, sailing along the coast of Spaine within view of Cape Finister, and Cape S. Vincent, the North and South capes of Spaine. In which space hauing many chases, I could meete with none but my countrey men or countreys friends. Leaving these Spanish shores I directed my course the 14. of December towards the isles of the Canaries.\* Here I lingered 12 dayes for two reasons: The one, in hope to meete my vice-admiral: The other, to get some vessel to remoue my pestered men into, who being 140. almost in a ship of 200. tunnes, there grew many sicke. The first hope was frustrated, because my vice-admiral was returned into England with two prizes. The second expectation fell out to our great comfort: for I tooke two very fine Carauels vnder the calmes of Tenerif and Palma, which both refreshed and amended my company, and made me a Fleete of 3. sailes. In the one Carauel called the Intent, I made Benjamin Wood Captaine, in the other, one Captaine Wentworth. Thus cheared as a desolate traueiler with the company of my small and newe erected Fleete, I con-

\* *Marginal Note.*—This M. Benismin Wood was in the end of the yeere 1596. sent forth with two ships, and certaiue pinnesses vpon a voyage for the South seas and for China; at the charges of this honourable gentleman Sir Robert Dudley. A description of Cape Blanco in Africa.

tinued my purpose for the West Indies, and first for Cape Blanco in Africa vpon the deserts of Libya. My last hope was to meete my lost ship, and withall to renue my victuals vpon the Canthers, which are Portugal fishermen: but the Canthers had bene so frighted by Frenchmen, as I could get none. Riding vnder this White Cape two daies, and walking on shore to view the countrey, I found it a waste, desolate, barren, and sandie place, the sand running in drifts like snow and being very stony; for so is all the countrey sand vpon stone (like Arabia deserta, and Petrea) and full of blacke venemous lizards, with some wilde beasts and people which be tawny Moores, so wilde, as they would but call to my Carauel from the shore, who road very neere it. But not desirous to make any longer aboad in this place, by reason of the most infectious serenas or dewes that fall all along these coasts of Africa,

The ysle of Trinidad descried. I caused my Master Abraham Kendall to shape his course directly for the ysle of Trinidad in the West Indies; which after 22. dayes, we descried, and the

first of February came to an anker vnder a point thereof

Punta de Curispan. called Curiapan, in a bay which was very full of pelicans, and I called it Pelicans bay. About 3. leagues to the Eastwards of this place we found a mine of Marcazites which glister like golde (but all is not gold that glistereth) for so we found the same nothing worth, though the Indians did assure vs it was Caluori, which signifieth gold with them. These Indians are a fine shaped and a gentle people, al naked and painted red, their commanders wearing crownes of feathers. These people did often resort vnto my ship, and brought vs hennes, hogs, plantans, potatoes, pinos, tobacco, and many other pretie commodities, which they exchanged with vs

Paracoa or Parico.

for hatchets, kniues, hookes, belles, and glasse buttons. From this bay I fell downe lower to a place called Paracoa, where I desired rather to ride, because it was a conuenient place to water, balast, ground, and

They in skonce themselves. graue my Carauels. Then I commanded al my men to lye on shore, after I had caused to be made for them a little skonce like an halfe moone for their defence,

being iealous of the Spaniards, of whose estate I could gather no certaintie, till from Margarita Antonie Berreo for his defence had gotten some 300. souldiers, a greater number then I was able to encounter withall, hauing then but 50. men, because my Carauels before their comming were sent away.



The Simerones of the yland traded with me still in like sort. And the Spaniards now provided for me, began to send messengers to me in kindnesse. Notwithstanding though I had no reason to assault them, because they were both poore and strong, yet for my experience and pleasure I marched 4 long marches vpon the yland, and the last from one side of the yland to the other, which was some 50. miles: going and comming through a most monstrous thicke wood (for so is most part of the yland) and lodging my selfe in Indian townes. The country is fertile, and ful of fruits, strange beasts, and foules, whereof munkeis, babions and parats were in great abundance. Being much delighted with this yland, and meaning to stay here some time about discovering the maine right against the same (the entrance into the empire of Guiana) being shewed the discovery thereof by Captaine Popham, who receiued the discovery of the said empire from ~~one~~ <sup>Captaine Harpers</sup> captaine Harper, which being a prisoner learned of the Spaniards at the Canaries in the self same maner almost, as sir Walter Raleigh very discreetly hath written. The intelligence of Harper, I conceiue, the Captaine hath yet to shew in Spanish. This discovery of Guiana I greatly desired: yet least I should aduenture all occasions vpon it onely, I sent my two Carauels from me the 17. day of February, to try their fortunes in the Indies, not appointing any other place to meet but England, furnishing them with all the prouision that I could spare, and diuiding my victuals equally with them, knowing they were able to do more good in the Indies then greater ships. The Carauels being gone, I began to enquire priuately of the Sauages concerning the maine ouer against vs, and learned that the names of the kingdomes ioyning to the Sea-coast were in order these. The kingdom of Morucca, the kingdome of Seawano, the kingdom of Waliame, the kingdom of Caribes, the kingdom of Yguiric, and right against the Northermost part of Trinidad, the maine was called The high land of Paria, the rest a very lowe land. Morucco I learned to bee full of a greene stone called Tacarao, which is good for the stone. In Seawano I heard of a Mine of gold to be in a towne called Wackerew, the Captaines name Semaracon.

A treasonable practice of the Spaniards.

They march from side of the yland to the other.

Captaine Harpers intelligence of Guiana.

His two Carauels sent to range the Indies.

Seawano called perhaps in sir Walter Raleighs discovery Ciawani.

Sir Walter Raleigh speaketh of Saima, and Wikiri in his discovery.

Of Waliame I will speake last, because therein I made most discouery. The Caribes I learned to be man-eaters or Canibals, and great enemies to the Islanders of Trinidad. The kingdome of Yguiri I heard to be full of a metall called by the Indians Arara, which is either copper (as I could learne) or very base gold. In the high land of Paria I was informed by diuers of these Indians, that there was some Perota, which with them is siluer, and great store of most excellent Cane-tabacco.

This Indians name was Balthaser, who afterward gaue our men the slip at their greatest need.

But lastly to come to Waliame, it is the first kingdome of the empire of Guiana. The great wealth which I vnderstood to be therein, and the assurance that I had by an Indian, mine interpreter, of a golden Mine in a towne of this kingdome called Orocoa, in the Riuer (as he called it) of Owrinocke was much to be esteemed. This Indian spake Spanish, and

whatsoever he knew, he reueiled it to my selfe onely by a priuate interpreter, not in words alone, but offered vpon paine of life to be guide himselfe to any place that he spake of. This discouery of the Mine I mentioned to my company, who altogether mutined against my going, because they something feared the villany of Abraham Kendal, who would by no meanes go. I then wanted my lost pinnesse, and was constrained to send 14. men in my ship-boat for this discouery, with most of the discreetest men in my ship, and gaue them their directions to follow, written vnder mine owne hand. They went from me, and entred into one of the mouthes by the broken lands, which riuer goeth vnder the name of the great Riuer Orenoque, the foreland whereof was called Capulio bearing South and by West, wanting a fourth part, from the point of Curiapan aforesaid, being 4. leags distant. They found the maine (as China is reported) full of fresh Riuers running one into another, abounding with fish, and a land al woody, seeming to haue great store of strange beasts and foules, and very populous. They entred into a small riuer called Cabota, the people named Veriotaus, a courteous people. The next

riuer they passed was called Mana in the kingdome of Tiuitiuas, where the king offered to bring a Canoa full of this golden oare, and to this purpose sent a Canoa, which returned and brought my men this answer, that Armago Captaine of the towne of Orocoa and the Mine refused them, but if they would come thither, hee himselfe would make them answer.

The riuer of Amana and the kingdome of Tiuitiuas are both mentioned by Sir Walter Raleigh.

Vpon this my boat went, and at his appointed place hee met them with some 100. men in Canoas, and told them that by force they should haue nothing but blowes, yet if they would bring him hatchets, kniues, and Iewes-harps, he bid them assure me, he had a Mine of gold, and could refine it, and would trade with me: for token whereof, he sent me 3. or 4. Croissants or halfe moones of gold weighing a noble a piece or more, and two bracelets of siluer. Also he told them of another rich nation, that sprinkled their bodies with the <sup>A people</sup> sprinkled with poulder of golde, and seemed to be guilt, and farre <sup>poulder of</sup> beyond them a great towne called El Dorado, with <sup>gold.</sup> many things. My men being satisfied, and thinking their company too fewe to stay among these Sauages, and their victuall spent, returned. This Balthazar my Indian their guide ranne from them: which distresse caused them to borrow of Armago newe guides, who brought them home another way through a Riuer called Braha by the high land of Paria, and so to my ship They accompanied Orocoa 150. miles distant, so they rowed in my boate aboue 250. miles. Their absence from mee was 16. dayes, making but one nights aboard any where. The report of this made mee attempt my company to goe with them againe. But nowe they were worse then before; for vnlesse I would haue gone my selfe alone, not one man would goe with me (no albeit I had had commission to hang or kill them) for my men came home in very pitifull case almost dead for famine; and indeed such was their misery, as they dranke not in three dayes, for so long they werē out of the fresh Riuer, before they recouered the shippe, and yet the boat was filled with as much victuall, as it could holde.

In this time of my boates absence there came to me a pinnesse of Plimmouth, of which Captaine Popham before <sup>Captaine</sup> named was chiefe, who gaue vs great comfort. And <sup>Pophams</sup> if I had not lost my pinnesses, wherein I might haue <sup>arrual.</sup> caried victuals and some men, we had discouered further the secrets of those places. Also this Captaine and I stayed some sixe or eight dayes longer for Sir Walter Raleigh (who, as wee surmized, had some purpose for this discouery) to the ende, that by our intelligence and his boates we might haue done some good: but it seemed he came he came not in sixe or eight weekes after. So Captaine Popham and I helde it not conuenient to stay any longer: therefore new watering our

They depart from the yle of Trinidad. A prize taken North of the yle of Granata. our selues at Paracoa, we set saile to see further of the Indies, leauing the yle of Trinidad the 12. day of March. The 13. I tooke a small prize of sackes 25. leagues to the Northward of an yland which I sailed by, called Granata. This prize refreshed vs well: yet meaning to sel her at the yle of Saint Iuan de Puerto rico, and shaping our course thither by the ylands of Santa Cruz and Inferno, I coasted all the South side of the said yle of S. Iohn, till I came to an ancker at Cape Roxo: where riding 14. dayes to expect S. Domingo men, which oftentimes fall with the yland of Mona, and finding none (neither would the Spaniards of S. Iuan de puerto rico buy my prize) I unladed her, tooke in the goods, and after burned her. This ended, I disemboqued

(where fewe Englishmen had done before, by reason of the great dangers betweene this yland of S. Iuan de puerto rico and Hispaniola) by a little yland called Zacheo. And after carefully doubling the shouldes of Abreojos, I caused the Master, (hearing by a Pilote, that the Spanish fleete ment now to put out of Hauana) to beare for the Meridian of the yle of Bermuda, hoping there to finde the fleete dispersed.

The fleete I found not, but foule weather enough to scatter many fleetes; which companion left mee not in greatest extremitie, till I came to the yles of Flores and Cueruo: whither I made the more haste, hoping to meete some great Fleete of her Maiestie my souereigne, as I had intelligence, and to giue them aduise of this rich Spanish fleet: but finding none, and my victuals almost spent, I directed my course for England.

Returning alone, and worse manned by halfe then I went forth, my fortune was to meete a great Armada of this fleete of some 600. tunnes well appointed, with whom I fought board and board for two dayes, being no way able in all possibilitie with fiftie men to board a man of warte of sixe hundreth tunnes. And hauing spent all my powder I was constrained to leaue her, yet in such distresse without sailes and mastes, and hull so often shot through with my great Ordinance betweene winde and water, that being three hundred leagues from land, I dare say, it was impossible for her to escape sinking. Thus leauing her by necessitie in this miserable estate, I made for England, where I arriued at S. Iues in Cornewall about the latter ende of May

1595, escaping most dangerously in a great fogge the rocks of Silly.

Thus by the prouidence of God landing safely, I was kindly entertained by all my friends, and after a short time learned more certaintie of the sinking of that great shippe, being also reputed rich by diuers intelligences out of Spaine: which we then supposed not, and were doubtfull whether she had bin of Biscay or S. Iohn de Luz in France laden with fish onely from Newfoundland.

In this voyage I and my fleete tooke, sunke, and burnt nine Spanish ships; which was losse to them, though I got nothing.

Here follow certaine wordes of the language of Trinidad which I obserued at my being there.

|                               |                                |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| GVttemock.                    | A man.                         |
| Tabairo, Dabarah, Or Dabarra. | The heare of ones head.        |
| Dessie                        | The forehead.                  |
| Dasereth, or Dacosi           | An eye.                        |
| Dalacoack                     | The mouth.                     |
| Archeh                        | The teeth.                     |
| Daria                         | The gummes.                    |
| Desire                        | The lips.                      |
| Bill                          | The tongue.                    |
| Dúdica                        | The eares.                     |
| Dacan                         | A hand.                        |
| Dacabbo                       | The palme of the hand.         |
| Dadéna                        | The wrist.                     |
| Dacurle                       | A knee.                        |
| Daddanq                       | The calfe of the legge.        |
| Dabodda                       | The toes.                      |
| Dacutti                       | The feete.                     |
| Eattie                        | The moone.                     |
| Tauraroth                     | A rope.                        |
| Arkeano                       | A paire of cizers.             |
| Weeuah                        | The heauen.                    |
| Harowa                        | A stone good for the headache. |
| Mointiman                     | Yron or steele.                |
| Howa                          | Munkeis in generall.           |

|                                             |                                              |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Carotta                                     | A thing like pappe.                          |
| Sakel                                       | It is well, or I am well.                    |
| Techir                                      | A bracelet.                                  |
| Bodad                                       | A boxe or chest.                             |
| Mentinie                                    | A tree.                                      |
| Addehegaeno                                 | A glasse.                                    |
| *Calcouri                                   | Gold.                                        |
| Perota                                      | Siluer.                                      |
| Tacorao                                     | A green stone.                               |
| Arrara                                      | Copper.                                      |
| Caulpiri                                    | A white stone.                               |
| Casparo                                     | A sword.                                     |
| Tibetebe                                    | Cockles.                                     |
| Marrahabo                                   | A bow.                                       |
| Semaro                                      | An arrow.                                    |
| Huculle                                     | A bow-string.                                |
| Halete                                      | A Potato roote.                              |
| Caerwoda                                    | A sweete root.                               |
| Maurisse                                    | Wheat.                                       |
| Queca                                       | A basket.                                    |
| Yeddola                                     | A knife.                                     |
| Sambolers                                   | A hat.                                       |
| Byou                                        | A pipe.                                      |
| Callit                                      | Bread.                                       |
| †Oronuie                                    | Water.                                       |
| Arguecona                                   | A paire of cizzers.                          |
| Heldaro                                     | A spoone.                                    |
| Hemachugh                                   | A bread which they eate.                     |
| Hicket                                      | Fire.                                        |
| Walrowa                                     | A parrot.                                    |
| Vreit                                       | Tabacco.                                     |
| Barudda                                     | A combe.                                     |
| Addoth                                      | A sticke.                                    |
| Barrennaire                                 | A button, or beads.                          |
| Curaballa and Sibath, for 2 sundry stones : | but Sibath in general<br>signifieth a stone. |
| Tolletillero                                | Bels.                                        |
| Vlasso                                      | A Tuny-fish.                                 |

\* It is before in this voyage called Calourie.

† The name of the riuier Orenoque may seeme to be deriued from this word.

|                              |                                                                                       |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Bohery                       | A flying fish.                                                                        |
| Bara                         | Water.                                                                                |
| Haddalle                     | The Sunne.                                                                            |
| Babage-Canoaseen             | The maner of the Indians hailing of a ship calling it after the name of their Canoas. |
| Non quo, Or }<br>Non quapa } | { I know not, Or<br>{ I cannot tell.                                                  |

The victorious voyage of Captaine Amias Preston now knight, and Captaine George Sommers to the West India, begun in March 1595. Wherein the yle of Puerto Santo, the yle of Coche neere Margarita, the fort and towne of Coro, the stately city of S. Iago de Leon were taken, sacked and burned, and the towne of Cumana ransomed, and Iamaica entred. Written by Robert Daue one of the company.

Captaine Amias Preston, and captaine Sommers, both valiant gentlemen and discreet commanders, lying ready with two tall ships, the Ascension and the Gift, and a small pinnesse at Plim-mouth, for the space of a moneth attending the comming of captaine Iones their consort, which in al that time, through the bad dealing of those which he put in trust, could not make his ship in readines, according to his appointment, the 12. of March 1595. set forward on their voyage for the West Indies. We with captaine Iones in the Derling, and Captaine Prowse in the Angel, followed after them the 19. of the said moneth. The last of March, captaine Preston by giuing chase to a saile, was separated from captaine Sommers, and his pinnesse, so that they vtterly lost sight of ech other: whereupon captain Preston in his ship alone, resolued to surprise the yle of Puerto santo, and shortly after came before the same. This yland standeth in the Northerly latitude of 33. degrees, and lieth to the Northward of the yle of Madera, and is inhabited by old souldiers, which the kings of Portugal were wont to reward for their former olde seruices by placing of them there. This yland is rich in corne, wine, and oile: and hath good store of sheep, asses, goats and kine: they haue also plenty of foules, fishes, and fruits. Captaine Preston comming before this yland with one ship only sought with 2. long boats to land his men and to force the same: but the people were on shore in warlike array, with baricados and trenches made, ready

to withstand them. Whereupon, considering the great danger, and disadvantage of the place, he caused his people to returne aboard againe, and the next morning 3 or 4 houres before day, he landed in a place of greater security, with 60 men onely, who lay closely in a chapel, to defend themselues from the raine til break of the day, and so marched forward vpon the backs of their enemies, which kept their baricados vpon the shore. By this time the enemy was 500 strong. But, being so suddenly surprised, after some resistance of our muskets, when they saw our pikes approach, and had tasted somewhat of their force they began to flee into certaine thickets, and shrubs, thinking from thence to gall our men: but with very litle or no losse at all, our men dislodged them of that place also. Hereupon, they all fled toward the chiefe towne of the yland: but once againe they thought to make a new stand at a certaine house by the way, from whence they were repulsed by captaine Roberts. So in the flight part of them were slaine, and an ensigne, which one

The yle of  
Puerto Santo  
taken and  
the chiefe  
towne in it  
burnt.

captaine Haruey an English man had lost not long before, was recouered: and the chiefe towne it selfe was by our men wholly woun and possessed. But before the entrance of our men they had conueighed their wiues, their children, and the rest of their goods into an exceeding high hil which standeth neere the towne, and could not be conquered, but with exceeding losse. Although they sent diuers times to redeeme their towne, which was very faire and large, yet in regard of their crueltie and treachery, which they vsed towards Captaine Haruey and his people, captaine Preston would shew them no fauour, but vtterly burnt their towne to ashes, and sent his men to wast the rest of their villages of the yland; preferring the honour and iust reuenge of his country men, before his owne priuate gaine, and commodity. And so with small pillage and great honour he retired in safetie and all his small company with him, from the conquered yland vnto his ship. But we in our ship met not with him, vntill the 12. of April following. We therefore in the Derling pursuing our

They water  
vpon the  
grand  
Canaria.

voiage, had sight of the yles of the Canaries the 6 of April, and the 8 of the same, we watered on the Southeast side of the grand Canaria. There we met with cap. Sommers, and his pinnesse, and 3 ships of Hampton, in one whereof was cap. Willis. The 9 of April we al departed for Tenerif to seeke captaine Preston: and standing



ouer towards Tenerif, the 9 day at night I came into captaine Sommers ship. The 10 in the morning we brake our maine yard, yet we recouered Tenerif, and the same day towards night we ankered vnder the southside of the same. There I went a land in our boat, and found 3 or 4 fisher boats, and brought one of them off. The rest bulged themselues. Here we rode to mend our yard til the 11 at night: then we set saile to find captaine Amias Preston: and standing towards Gomera, the 12 in the morning we had sight of him. Then we thought to haue landed in Gomera: but the wind blew so much, that we could not. So we departed altogether with ioy the 13 of April, and set our course for the West Indies. And the 8 of May next ensuing, we arriued at the yland of Dominica. In all which time nothing happened vnto vs sauing this, that the 18 day of April at midnight, our admiral lost her long boat in towing. We staid at Dominica till the 14 of May, to refresh our sicke men. Here the Indians came vnto vs in canoas made of an whole tree, in some wherof were 3 men, in some 4 or 6, and in others 12 or 14, and brought in them plantans, pinos, and potatos, and trucked with vs, for hatchets, kniues, and small beadstones. Here in refreshing of our men, we found an hot bath hard ioyning to a cold riuer side: wherein our sicke men bathed themselues and were soone recouered of their sicknesses. This is a goodly yland, and something high land, but al ouergrown with woods: The 14 we departed from thence, and the 16 sailing Southwestward, we had sight of Granada, but landed not there. The 17 we arriued at the Testigos and ankered there, and consorted with the 3 ships of Hampton, wherin captaine Willis was. The 18 we landed our men and tooke view and muster of all, and the same night set saile away. The 19 we had sight of Margarita, where the Spaniards by their Indians fish for pearle: we stood in very neere the rode, but saw nothing there. Therefore we went no further in, but stood from it againe. The same day toward night, we had sight of a litle yland, betweene Margarita and the maine, called Coche. We came neere it in the night with our ships within some 3 leagues, and there ankered vnder the maine side, and about midnight we manned our pinnesses and boats, and in the morning about breake of day, we landed on the yland, wherein are few or none inhabitants; but they commonly come from Margarita in boats on the Munday,

and remaine there fishing for pearles vntill the Saturday, and then returne and cary al that they haue taken to Margarita. Here we tooke some few Spaniards and Negros their slaues with them, and had some smal quantitie of pearls. We remained on this Iland the 20 and 21, in which time we went a fishing with our seine, and tooke good store of mullets and other fish, and amongst the rest drew ashore in the seine a fish called by the Spanyards Lagarto, and by the Indians Caiman, which is indeed a Crocodile, for it hath 4 feete and a long taile, and a wide mouth, and long teeth, and wil deuour men. Some of these Lagartos are in length 16 foot, some 20 foot, and some 30 foot: they haue muske in them, and liue as wel on the land, as in the water. The 21 of May we departed for Cumana, thinking to haue gotten in that night to haue landed: but the current striketh so strong out of the bay, that we could not recouer the towne till day light. In the morning we espied 2 sailes before the towne, but could not fetch them. Here we plied too and againe in the sound all the forenoone, but could not get vp so farre as the towne. These 2 sailes came roome to vs, after they saw that we were at an anker, and came somewhat neere vs, and sent their skyphs aboard our admiral. They were 2 flieboats of Middleburgh which traded there, and had secretly aduertised the country of our comming, to our great hinderance: but we knew it not at our first arriual. Here they of Cumana perceiuing that we would land, came to parle with vs, and tolde vs, if we would land, we might easily take the towne, for they ment not to withstand vs, but that they had caried all their goods into the mountaines, but if we would not land to burne and spoile the towne, they would giue vs some reasonable ransome, and any victuals that we wanted. So our general agreed with them, receiued their ransome, and departed without landing. But at our first arriual in this bay, our generals long boat was sent forth wel manned, and tooke 3 Carauels, but found litle or nothing of value in them: sauing in one were some sides of bacon, and some maiz and Guiny-wheat. Here we staid til the 23. of May, and in the euening we set saile, and departed from thence. And the 26 of the same we thought to haue landed at a fort that standeth by the sea-coast in the Caracos, as you go for S. Iago. This is a marueilous high

Certaine  
Spaniards  
and Negros  
taken in the  
yle of Coche  
where they  
fish for  
pearle.

The towne  
of Cumana  
ransomed.

land, as high as the pike of Tenerif. We could not land here ouer night, by reason of the roughnes of the sea, which goeth in that place, and there is but one litle creeke against the fort, to come in with your boat. So, we perceiuing no fit place to land, by reason of the sea, stood away some league to the West-ward, about a litle head-land, there we ankered al night: and the 27 in the morning we all landed in safety, none resisting vs. Then we presently set ourselues in aray, and marched toward the fort, and tooke it without any resistance. A fort nere Here we remained al the rest of this day vntill the 28, the Caracos about three of the clöck in the Afternoone. We taken. We found nothing in this fort but a litle meale, or 2 or 3 tunnes of wine, which by reason of some disorder amongst the company ouercharging themselues with the wine, our general for the most part caused to be spilt. While we remained here, some of our company ranging the woods, found the gouernor of the fort where he lay asleepe, brought him to our general: who examined him touching the state of the citie of S. Iago de Leon. Al our actions betray- Who declared vnto vs that they had newes of our comming a moneth before, and that they of the towne had made preparation for our coming: and that if we did go the common beaten way, it was out of England. neuer possible for vs to passe, for that they had made in the midst of the way betweene this fort and the said city, an exceeding strong baricado on the top of a very high hil, the passage being not aboue 25 or 30 foot in bredth, and on each side maruellous steep-vpright, and the woods so thicke that no man could passe for his life: which indeed at our returning backe we found to be true. Vpon which speeches our generall demanded of him if there were not any other way: who answered, there is another way maruellous bad and very ill to trauel, which the Indians do commonly vse: but he thought that the Spaniards had stopt the same, by cutting downe of great trees and other things, as indeed they had. This Spaniard was a very weake and sickly man not able to trauel, so our general sent him aboard his ship, and there kept him. In the taking of our three small Carauels at Cumana, we had a Spaniard in one of them that had traueled these wayes to the citie of S. Iago. He told vs he would cary vs thither by any of both these wayes, if afterward we would set him at libertie: the which was granted. While we remained at the fort by the waters side, the Spaniards came downe vnto

vs by the great and beaten way on horsebacke, who being discovered, our generall sent out to meete them captaine Roberts with some 40 or 50 musketeirs, who came to skirmish with them, but they would not stay. The same day in the afternoone we marched forth toward S. Iago, and tooke the Indians way called The vnknown way. In our march we came to diuers Indians houses, which we neuer hurt, but passed by and left them vntouched: but the Indians were all fled into the woods, and other places, we know not whither. We marched vntil it was night ouer such high mountaines, as we neuer saw the like, and such a way as one man could scarce passe alone. Our general being in the forward, at length came whereas a riuer descended downe ouer the mountaines, and there we lodged all that night. Here in going this way, we found the Spanish gouernors confession to be true: for they had baricadoed the way in diuers places with trees, and other things in such sort, that we were driuen to cut our way through the woods by Carpenters, which we caried with vs for that purpose. The next day being the 29 of May early in the morning we set forward to recouer the tops of the mountaines: but (God knoweth) they were so extreeme high and so steep-vpright, that many of our souldiers fainted by the way: and when the officers came vnto them, and first entreated them to goe, they answered, they could goe no further. Then they thought to make them goe by compulsion, but all was in vaine: they would goe a little and then lie downe, and bid them kill them, if they would, for they could not nor would not goe any further. Whereby they were enforced to depart, and to leaue them there lying on the ground. To be short, at length with much ado we gat the top of the mountaines about noone: there we made a stand til all the company was come vp, and would haue stayed longer to haue refreshed our men: but the fogge and raine fell so fast, that wee durst not stay. So wee made hast to descend towards the towne out of the fogge and raine: because that in these high mountaines by report of the Spaniards themselues, it doeth almost continually raine. Assoone as we were descended downe neere halfe the way to the towne the raine ceased, and going downe a little further, on the toppe of a hill we saw the towne not farre distant from vs. Here we all cleared our muskets: and when our colours came in sight, we discharged a second volec of shot to the great discouragement of the enemie. Thus we marched

on a round pace. The enimie was in readinesse a little without the towne to encounter vs on horsebacke. Being nowe fully descended from the mountaines wee came into a faire plaine champion felde, without either hedge, bush or ditch, sauing certaine trenches which the water had made, as it descendeth from the mountaines. Here we set our selues in a readinesse, supposing the enimie would haue encountered vs: but hauing pitched our maine battell, and marching forward a good round pace, captaine Beling, and captaine Roberts tooke ech of them some loose shoot, and marched in all hast toward the enimie before the maine battel, wherein was our generall with cap. Sommer and came to skirmish with them: but it was soone ended: for the enimie fled. One Spaniard was slaine in this skirmish, and not any one of our companies touched either with piece or arrow, God be thanked. We soone marched into the towne, and had it without any more resistance: but there we found not the wealth that we expected: for they had conueyed all into the mountaines, except such goods as they could not easily cary, as wine, and iron, and such things. By three of the clocke in the afternoone the 29 of May, we entred the citie. Here we remained vntil the 3 of Iune without anie great disturbance, sauing sometime by night they would come on horsebacke hard vnto our Corps du guard, and finding vs vigilant, and ready for them, would depart againe.

The Citie of  
S. Iago de  
Leon taken  
the 29. of  
May.

The first of Iune, there came a Spaniard neere vnto vs alone: the Corps du guard perceiuing him, called our General, who soone came towards him: but before he approched, the Spaniard made signes that he should lay aside his armes: which he refused to doe, but promised as he was a souldier, if he would come, hee should haue free passage. Vpon which promise hee came to him on horse-back, and our General brought him within the towne, and there communed with him. Who demanded what he ment to do with the towne: he answered that he meant to remaine there and keepe it; or if he did depart from it he would burne it. The Spaniard then demanded, what the ransome of it should be. Our General required 30000 ducats. Whereunto he replied that it was very much. So hauing had some other conference together, hee shewed him that hee had bene a souldier in Flanders a long time, and now was sent thither by his kings commandment.

Among other things our General demanded of him, what the reason was they had not walled the citie, being so faire a thing as that was. The Spaniard replied, that hee thought it to bee stronger walled than anie citie in the world, meaning by those huge and high mountains which the enemie must passe ouer before he can approach it; which we found very true. Thus with many other faire speeches, he tooke his leaue for that day, and told our Generall, that he would go speake with the gouernour: (but it might be himselfe, for any thing we know) howbeit because our General had granted him free comming and going, he suffered him to depart: who before his departure, requested to haue a token of our General, that he might shew to the Gouernour how he had spoken with vs, or else he doubted, that he would not beleeuue him. Wherupon our General gaue him a piece of 12 pence: so he departed and promised the next day by ten of the clocke to returne vnto vs with an answer: in which meane time nothing befel. The next day being the 2 of Iune, at his houre appointed, he returned w<sup>th</sup> his Indian running by his horses side. So he was brought to the Generall, and there remained till after dinner, and dined in his company in the gouernours house that was. The dinner ended, with the best entertainment which could be giuen him, they communed again about the ransome of the citie. Our General proposed his old demand of 30000 ducats. The Spaniard first proffered him 2000, then 3000, last of all 4000, and more he would not giue. Our General counting it a small summe of money among so many, did vtterly refuse it. So the Spaniard departed. But before his departure our general told him, that if he came not to him again before the next day noone, with the ransome which he demanded he would set all on fire. That whole day past, and the night also without any thing of moment, except some shew of assault, by their approching towards our Corps du guard, and retiring backe again. The 3 day being come, in the morning some of our company went forth, a league or more from the towne, and some two leagues and more vnto certaine villages about villages thereabout, and set them on fire: but the enemy neuer came to resist them, so they returned backe againe safe into the towne, and brought certaine Indian prisoners with them, among whom there was one which spake broken Spanish, which being examined, confessed vnto vs of his own accord, how the General had sent

to the other towns thereabout for aide, and that he thought they would be there with him that day. When we vnderstood this, we grew into some distrust of the Spaniards trechery, and thought vpon the messenger, how he had vsed long delays with vs: whereupon we were commanded presently, euery man to make ready to depart, and to fire the citie: which forthwith was done. And after we had seene it all on fire, and burnt to ashes, we tooke our leaues and so departed, and <sup>The citie of S. Iago</sup> marched away that day being the 3 of Iune, not <sup>burned.</sup> that way we came, but by the great beaten way. And when we had marched halfe the way towards the waters side, we came vnto that strong baricado which they had made, and there lay all that night. Here we found the Spanish captaines word to be true which we tooke at the fort by the waters side: for this baricado was oi such force, that 100 men in it wel furnished, would haue kept backe from passing that way 100000: first by reason of the huge and high mountaines, next the steepeñes of them, on both sides, last of all in regard of the fine contriuing of it with the large trenches, and other munitions, which I cease to recite. The fourth day of Iune in the morning wee departed from thence: but before our departure, wee ouerthrew on the one side of the steepe hill two bases of yron, which we found there planted by the enemie, and so set forward toward our ships, and by 12 of the clocke came to the waters side, and there remayned in the fort which wee had taken before, vntill the fift day at night: in which time we laded some small quantity of hides, and Salsa-pevilla, which we found there at our first landing. So the fift day at night we departed from thence, to goe to a towne called Coro: but before we departed, wee set fire in the fort, and all the Indians houses that were about <sup>A fort and certain Indians houses</sup> it, and burnt them. Then we set sayle, and standing <sup>by the waters side</sup> along the coast, our Spanish guide signified vnto vs, <sup>burnt.</sup> that there were foure sayles of ships about fve leagues from thence, in a place called Checherebiche, and Caio, and Maio. So the 6 day in the morning we were thwart of the place, and there our generall sent away his long boate with captaine Sommers, vnto those places, where they found 3 of the ships: but the Spaniards had conueyed their sailes ashore into the woodes, so that they could not bring them off, <sup>Three Spanish ships</sup> but set fire in them and burnt them. From hence <sup>burnt.</sup> we stood along the shore, sailing vntill the ninth day

of Iune, on which day toward the evening we imbarked ourselves in our pinnesses and small carauels, to land at Coros: but we had none that knew the place certainly: wherefore we ankored that night some two leagues to the Eastward of it, and in the morning I went on land, and nine more with me, to see if we could discouer the towne, but we could not, wee went aboue a league vp into the countrey, but could not see any village or towne. So returning backe, wee met our Generall, with diuers others which came ashore with him, with whom we marched into the countrey againe, but could see nothing, and so returned. At the water side captaine Prowse died. There we remained all that day on land, by reason the wind blew so much that wee could not get aboard vntill the evening. After our comming aboard a boat which we sent into the bay, returned and brought vs newes, that there rode a barke within the bay, and by all likelyhood the towne should be there. So presently our Generall went into the bay with the Derling and some of the small carauels. The tenth day in the morning, the rest of our shipping came into the bay, and our men landed the same day, about 10 or 11 of the clocke in the night, and so marched on toward the towne: but in the way they had made baricados, and kept them very strongly. Notwithstanding the courage of our men was such, as that they feared nothing, and forced them to leaue their forces, and flie.

A baricado  
woon.

Having wonne this baricado they there remained vntill the next day being the 11 of Iune, and then early in the morning they marched on towards the towne, where by the way, the enimie often times came to skirmish with them, but alwayes fled. In fine they wan the towne without any great losse of men, God be thanked.

The towne  
of Coros  
taken and  
burnt.

Having gotten the town, they found nothing in it at all; for they had intelligence from Sant Iago, how wee had vsed them before, which caused them to conuey all their goods into the mountaines and woods: finding nothing in it, our Generall caused it to be set on fire, thinking it not good to remaine there, but to returne againe, backe to the ships: and the greatest cause was by reason of the departure of captaine Sommers: who the day before in a most furious tempest, being in the pinnesse, with some 50 men at anker, had his cables broken and lost all his ankers, and so was faine to put to sea to saue himselfe, otherwise they had bene in danger of perishing.



Thus our General and his company, returned backe againe the twelfth day and imbarked themselues, and departed away with all speede to seeke captaine Sommers. The 13 toward night, hee came where captaine Sommers was, and found him riding, but not by anie ankers, but by two bases, which they had made for to stay their barke by: at which meeting the company was very glad. Then they determined to go into a mighty great bay, to a towne called Laguna: but the bay was so deepe and should withall, that we returned backe againe, after wee had stood in two daies and a night. So we sayled ouer toward the Isle of Hispaniola the sixteenth of Iune: and the twentieth day we saw it. The 21 we ankored vnder Cape Tiburon. Here we watered, and stayed vntill the 25 of the same. After our departure out of the bay of Laguna, a great sicknes fell among our fleete, and there died about eighty men of the same. This sicknesse was the fluxe of the bellie, which is a common disease in that country. We remayned about this Island vntill the eight and twentieth of this moneth. Then we departed from thence, and the second of Iuly arriued at the Island of Iamaica. Before our comming hither, the three ships of Hampton had forsaken vs, and left our company. And the Derling wherein was captaine Iones, was sent to discouer some other secret matter, in which discouery the valiant gentleman ended his life. The death of captaine Iones. So our whole fleete was now but our generall, with captaine Sommers, and a small pinnesse. We stayed at this Isle of Iamaica vntil the sixt of Iuly, in which meane time we landed to see if we could kill any beeués, but we could not, they were so wild: here is great store of them, and great plenty of fresh-fish. We departed hence the 6 of Iuly, and passed by the Islands, called Caimanes, and the Isle de Pinos, and the 12 of the said moneth by Cape de Corrientes where we watered, and the same night, wee set saile towards the cape of S. Anthony, being the westermost part of the Isle of Cuba. The 13 day in the morning we were vnder this cape, and the same day we met with the honourable knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, returning from his painful and happie discouery of Guiana, and his surprise of the Isle of Trinidad. So with glad hearts, wee kept him and his fleete of three ships company till the twentieth day at night, what time we lost them. In all which time nothing of moment fell out, saue that we gaue chase to a couple of frigats, but could not fetch them.

Afterward we plyed to recouer Hauana, vntill the fue and

twentieth of Iuly: then we set our course for the head of the Martyrs, the 27 we were in sight of them. The 28 we entred the gulfe of Bahama: then we set our course homeward toward Newfoundland, but we could not fetch it, but were on the Banke, and tooke fish there the 20 day of August. The same night we set saile to come home, by reason the wind was contrary to goe in with Newfoundland. So the tenth day of September, we arriued in safety (God be thanked) in Milford hauen in Wales, hauing performed so long a voyage in the space of sixe moneths, or somewhat lesse.

The voyage truely discoursed, made by sir Francis Drake, and sir Iohn Hawkins, chiefly pretended for some speciall seruice on the Islands and maine of the West Indies, with sixe of the Queenes ships, and 21 other shippes, and barkes, containing 2500 men and boyes, in the yeere 1595. In which voyage both the foresayd knights died by sicknesse.

Wee brake ground out of the sound of Plimmouth on Thursday the 28 of August, and that night ankored againe in Causon\* bay, where we rode till Friday. Then we set sayle and stode Southwest: and about three of the clocke the next morning the Hope, wherein sir Thomas Baskeruil went, strake vpon the Edy stone, and shot off a piece, but after cleared herselfe wel enough.

On Munday at sixe of the clocke in the morning the landes end bare Northwest and by North, and then we stode away Southwest and by South for the coast of Spaine.

The 8 of September we tooke two small Flemish flieboats bound for Barbary: which we caried a while with vs and afterward dismissed them without doing them any harme: onely wee learned newes of them, and stayed them from discrying our fleete to the enimie.

The 26 we saw Forteuentura, being one of the Islands of the Canaries.

The 27 being Saturday by breake of day we had ouer-shot the chiefe towne of Grand Canaria to the Northeast, and then stood about for it againe, and by nine of the clocke were at anker fayre before the fort to the Eastward of the towne some league. At

\* Causand Bay, near Torquay.

one of the clocke, wee offred to land one thousand and foure hundreth men in the sandie bay betwixt the fort and the towne: But by our detracting of the time they had made a bulwarke in the sandie bay and planted Ordinance: so that by reason thereof, and the great breach of the sea that went then on shore we were not able to land without endangering our whole forces, which our General would not doe. There were of Spaniards horsemen and footmen some 900, which played vpon vs out of their trenches, most of them being shot. At the time of our landing there went by commandement of our Generals within musket shot of the shore, and rode there at ankor some three hours, the Salomon, the Bonaventure, the Elizabeth Constance, the Phenix, the Iuell, the Little Iohn, the Delight, the Pegasus, the Exchange, the Francis, the carauell, and the two catches: But when the Generall sir Francis Drake gaue ouer the landing being in his barge, the ships weighed being in some danger, and stooode off againe to the great ships. Then we went to the West end of the Island and there watered: where captaine Grimston going vp the hill with 6 or 7 in his company was set vpon by the herdmen, who with their dogs and staues killed the captaine with three or foure of his company: the rest were sore wounded: the Salomons Chirurgian taken prisoner, who disclosed our pretended voyage as much as in him lay: so as the Viceroy sent a carauel of aduiso into the Indies, vnto all such places as wee did pretend to goe to. Howbeit they had intelligence from the king of all our voyage the eight of August, which was three weekes before we set forth of England: as also by a Fleming that had seene all our prouision at London.

The 28. being Sunday at ten of the clocke at night wee set saile, and stood away Southwest and Southsouthwest some 200. leagues, vntill we came in the height of the Islands of Cape Verde, and then more Westerly for Martinino, one of the Islands of the West Indies, which we saw the 27. of October: but the night before we had a storme, in which sir Francis with foure or fife other ships bearing on head of the fleete was separated. Then we stood for Dominica, an Island full of inhabitants of the race of the Canibals, not past ten leagues distant from Martinino. In it groweth great store of Tabacco: where most of our English and French men barter kniues, hatchets, sawes, and such like yron tooles in trucke of Tabacco.

Before we came to Dominica our Generall Sir Francis Drake

altered his course, and went for Marigalante, which we had sight of the 28 day, and came to an anker on the Northeast side a saker shot off the shore in 13 fathomes water faire sholding. There the Generall went on shore in his barge, and by chance met a Canoa of Dominicans, to the people whereof he gaue a yellow wastcoate of flanell and an handkerchiefe; and they gaue him such fruits as they had, and the Dominicanes rowed to Dominica againe. They came thither to fetch some fruits which they sowe and plant in diuers places of that Island, which they keepe like gardens.

The next morning by breake of day we weyed and stode betweene the Todos Santos, which are 4 or 5 little Islands betweene Guadalupe and Dominica. There is nothing vpon these Islands but wood. We came to the Southeast side of Guadalupe and there ankered hard aboard the shore: the Southwest side of the Island is deepe water and good ankerage: where that day sir Iohn Hawkins came to vs againe standing vp from the South side of Dominica. There we watered, washed our ships, set vp our pinnesses, and refreshed our souldiers on shore.

The 30 captaine Wignol in the Francis, a barke of 35 tunnes, being the sternmost of sir Iohn Hawkins fleete was chased by fve of the king of Spaines frigats or Zabras being ships of 200 tunnes a piece, which came of purpose with 3. other Zabras for the treasure of S. Iuan de Puerto rico: The Francis going roome with them, supposing they had bene our owne fleete, was by them taken in sight of our caruel. They left the Francis driuing in the sea with 3 or 4 hurt and sicke men, and tooke the rest of our men into their ships, as the prisoners which wee tooke at S. Iuan de Puerto rico told vs.

The 4 of Nouember we began to vnlade the Richard, one of our victuallers, which was by the next day vnladen, vnrigged and then sunken: Then we stood Northwest and by North: and the next morning saw the Ilands of Monserrata, Redonda, Estazia, S. Christopher and Saba. The biggest of these Islands is not past 8. leagues long. There is good ankerage in 8, 7, and 5 fadomes water, faire white sand. Then wee stood away Southwest, and on the 8 in the morning being Saturday came to an anker some 7 or 8 leagues off within certain broken Ilands called Las Virgines, which haue bene accounted dangerous: but we found there a very good rode, had it bene for a 1000 sails of ships in 14, 12, and 8 fadomes faire sand and good ankerage,

high Islands on either side, but no fresh water that we could find: here is much fish to be taken with hookes and nets: also we stayed on shore and fowled. Here sir Iohn Hawkins was extreme sicke; which his sicknes began vpon newes of the taking of the Francis. The 18 day wee weyed and stode North and by East into a lesser sound, which sir Francis in his barge discovered the night before, and ankored in 13 fadoms, hauing hie steepe hils on either side, some league distant from our first riding.

The 12 in the morning we weied and set sayle into the sea due South through a small streit but without danger, and then stode West and by North for S. Iuan de Puerto rico, and in the after noone left the 3 small Islands called the pas-  
sages to the Southward of vs, and that night came vp <sup>The death of</sup> sir Iohn  
to the Eastermost end of S. Iohn, where sir Iohn <sup>Hawkins.</sup>

Hawkins departed this life: vpon whose decease sir Thomas Baskeruil presently went into the Garland. At 2 of the clocke we came to anker at the estermost side of the chiefe towne called Puerto rico in a sandie bay 2 miles off: where we receiued from their forts and places where they planted Ordinance some 28 great shot, the last of which strake the admirall through the mizen, and the last but one strake through her quarter into the sterage, the Generall being there at supper, and strake the stoole from vnder him, but hurt him not, but hurt at the same table sir Nicholas Clifford, M. Browne, captaine Stratford, with one or two more. Sir Nicholas and master Browne died of their hurts.

Then wee set sayle and stood to the Eastward, and at midnight tacked about to the West, and in the morning came to an anker before the point without the towne, a little to the Westwards by the 3 Islands.

The 13 we rode still vntill night, when in the beginning with twenty five pinnesses, boats and shallops manned and furnished with fire-workes and small shot wee went <sup>The fight at</sup> S. Iuan de  
into the rode within the great castels, and in despite <sup>Puerto rico.</sup> of them fired the five Zabras of frigats, all ships of two hundreth tunnes the piece or more, quite burning the Rereadmirall downe to the water, which was the greatest shippe of them all, and also mightily spoiled the admirall and viceadmirall, notwithstanding the castles and ships gaue vs a hundreth eighty and five great shot, besides small shot abundance. They had also sunke a great shippe in the mouth of the chanell

and rafted it ouer with her mastes almost to the very fortes and castles, so as they thought it impregnable. The frigats had in each of them twenty pieces of brasse, and a hundreth barrels of powder. Their chiefe lading that they brought thither was silke, oyle, and wine. The treasure which they went to fetch which was brought thither in a ship called the *Vigonia*, was conueyed into the strongest and surest castell of defence; being, as one of the prisoners confessed, three millions of ducats or foue and thirty tunnes of siluer. Also they had sent all the women, children, and vnable persons into the woods, and left none but souldiers and fighting men in the towne. The fight on our side was resolute, hote, and dangerous: wherein wee lost some forty or fifty men, and so many were hurt. There was also great death of the Spaniards aboard the frigats, with burning, drowning, and killing, and besides some taken prisoners.

The 14 we rode stil, being within shot of the vttermost castell: but they fearing the next night we would come in againe, began to warpe vp the other 4 frigats, beginning first with the Admirall: which whether by chance or their owne willes we sawe to sinke; and as wee suppose so did they with all the rest, or else by stealth got vp farther within their chieftest forces.

The 15 also we rode still, and at afternoone wee espied a carauell comming from the castell point: but before our pinnesses could fetch her vp, she ranne on shore, where our boates could not come at her because of the breach, and also many of the Ilanders came downe to guard her with shot. The beginning of this night we weyed, and stode one houre to the East, and then tacked about to the West.

The 16 being Sunday, and the 17 also we were becalmed.

The 18 we ankered a little to the Southward of the Southwest point of the Island, giuing the point a birth because of a shoald of sand that lieth some two cables length off, there we rode in foure, foue, and sixe fadomes faire white sand, where wee set vp more pinnesses, washed our ships, and refreshed our men on shore. Here the Generall tooke a pinnesse of Hispaniola with diuers letters, signifying that two Englishmen of warre had done great hurt along their Island.

The 20 the Generall rowed to the Phenix, the Delight and the carauell, and caused them to wey and anker right against the mouth of a fresh riuer in two fadomes water in ozie sand to the Southward of the other ships some league or more. The

Generall went into this riuer three or foure leagues vp, and tooke horses in the countrey. Sir Thomas Baskeruil rowed vp the riuer, and stayed there all night, and went vp into the land three or foure leagues.

The 23 wee discharged a barke called the Pulpit and burnt her: and at three of the clocke that afternoone, when we were ready to set saile, there came aboard the *Defiance* our Admiral, a Spaniard with his wife, who feared some great torment for not hauing repaired to the towne according to the Generals commandement of that Island, who had commanded that all able men of the fleete should repaire to the towne to defend it against vs. Then we stood againe West and by North because of a ledge of rocks that lie sunke 4 or 5 leagues off the Southside of the Island.

The 25 we stood away southwest, and saw *Mona* being a lowe flat Island betweene *Hispaniola* and *S. Iuan de Puerto rico*. That day the Exchange of captaine *Winter* spent her boultspite: and in the beginning of the night the *Phenix* was sent backe to seeke her: which by Gods help that night met with her, and kept her company vntil the next morning, then taking in a small cable from her for a towe: but by 9 that morning, she spent her maine mast and split her foreyard, breaking also her tow: so as they were faine to saue some trifles out of her and the men, and to sinke the hull. Then we stood away South, and South and by West after the fleete; and the 26 in the morning had sight of the fleete againe.

The 29 we had sight of the Island called *Curaçao* within eight leagues of the maine, and on the Northwest side came to an anker in very deepe water hard aboard the shore without any danger: but the Generall weyed presently and stode away Northwest and by West, and Northnorthwest for the maine, and that night saw *Aruba*, being somewhat a lesse Island then the other: we left it some three leagues to the Southward of vs.

On Sunday morning being the last of Nouember wee saw three or foure little Islands called the *Monjes*, betwixt *Aruba* and the next North point of the maine. At 12 of the clocke we sawe the maine, where we saw a great current setting to the Westward, and also the water changing very white. The *Phenix*, the *carauell*, and one of the catches kept within, and at midnight came vnder *Cape de la Vela*, and made a fire, whereby the rest of our fleete came to anker vnder the *Cape*, where is a very good rode, faire

sholding and sandie ground, fourteene, twelue, and tenne fadoms neere the shore. The Cape is a bare land without trees or shrubs, and falleth in eight or ten leagues Southeast and Northwest: and a saker shot off the point standeth a little Island like Mewestone neere Plimmouth, but somewhat bigger. In the morning the

first of December wee embarked all our souldiers for  
 Rio de la Hacha taken. Rio de la Hacha, which is a towne twenty leagues to the Westwards, one of the ancientest in all the maine although not very bigge: but it standeth in a most fertile and pleasant soyle. Our men tooke it by ten of the clocke in the night. The ships bearing all that night and the day before in 5 and 6 fadomes, the lesser ships in two fadomes and an halfe water: the Phenix went so neere the shore by the Generals commandement, that shee strake on ground, but got off againe. There lieth to the Eastward of the towne a mile or thereabout a shold of sand: therefore giue a birth some halfe league or more before you come right against the town. There wee came to anker in two fadomes, but the great ships rode off in fife and sixe fadomes. There is a fresh riuer about a bow shot to the Eastward of the towne; whereinto our pinnesses could scarce enter by reason of a barre of sand in the riuers mouth, but within it is nauigable for barkes of twenty or thirty tunnes some sixe or eight leagues vp.

The sixth day the Spaniards came in to talke about the ransome of the towne, but not to the Generall his liking: and that night Sir Thomas Baskeruil marched vp into the countrey to ouerrunne those parts: and the Generall the same night with some hundreth and fiftie men went by water sixe leagues  
 La Rancheria taken. to the Eastward, and tooke the Rancheria a fisher towne, where they drag for pearle. The people all fled except some sixteene or twenty souldiers, which fought a little, but some were taken prisoners, besides many Negros, with some store of pearles and other pillage. In the houses we refreshed ourselues, and were all embarked to come away, and then had sight of a brigandine or a dredget, which the Generall tooke within one houses chase with his two barges: she had in her Indie-wheat, which we call Maiz, and some siluer and pearle, but of small value.

On Saturday the seuenth, master Yorke captaine of the Hope dyed of sicknes, and then master Thomas Drake the Generals brother was made captaine of the Hope, and master Ionas



Bodenham captaine of the Adventure, and master Charles Cæsar captaine of the Amitie.

The tenth day the Spaniards concluded for the ransome of the towne for 24000 ducats, and one prisoner promised to pay for his ransome 4000 ducats.

The fourteenth day they brought in the townes ransome in pearles, but rated so dear as the Generall after conference with them, misliking it, sent it backe againe, giuing them foure houres respite to cleere themselues with their treasure.

The sixteenth the gouernour came into the towne about dinner, and vpon conferenc with the Generall told him plainly, that he cared not for the towne, neither would he ransome it: and that the pearle was brought in without his command or consent, and that his detracting of time so long was onely to send the other townes word, that were not of force to withstand vs, whereby they might conuey all their goods, cattell, and wealth into the woods out of danger. So the General gaue the gouernour leaue to depart according to promise, hauing two houres to withdraw himselfe in safety.

The seuteenth Sir Thomas Baskeruil with the Elizabeth Constance, the Phenix, the carauel with foure or fve pinnesses went some fve leagues to the Westward, and landing, marched some foure leagues vp into the countrey to a place called Tapia, which he tooke and burned certain villages and ferme houses about it. He had some resistance as he passed ouer a riuier, but had but one man hurt, which he brought aboard aliue with him: he marched one league farther and burnt a village called Sallamca, and so returned with some prisoners, the souldiers hauing gotten some pillage.

The 18 the Rancheria, and the towne of Rio de la Hacha were burnt cleane downe to the ground, the Churches and a Ladies house onely excepted, which by her letters written to the Generall was preserued. That day we set sayle and fell to leeward, to meete with Sir Thomas Baskeruil.

The 19 we weighed and stood to leeward for Cape de Aguja, which the twentieth at sunne rising we saw. It is a Cape subiect much to flawes, by reason it is a very hie land: and within the cape lieth an Island within the mouth of the sound, which hath a white cliffe or spot in the Westnorthwest part of the Island. The land all about the cape riseth all in homocks or broken steepe hills. A league Southwest within that, (for so falleth the

land thereabout) there standeth on the top of a cliffe a watch-house: and a little within that a small Island: you may goe in betweene the maine and it, or to leeward if you lust: and hard within that is the rode and towne of Santa Martha which at 11 of the clocke we tooke, the people all being fled except a few Spaniards, Negros and Indians which in a brauado at our landing gaue vs some 30 or 40 shot, and so ran away.

That night their Lieutenant generall was taken and some little pillage brought in out of the woods: for in the town nothing was left but the houses swept clean. In all the main is not a richer place for gold: for the hops were mixt with the earth in euery place, and also in the sand a little to the leewards of the towne. In the bay wee had a bad rode by reason of a small moone, for euery small moone maketh foule weather all the maine along.

The 21, the Generall caused the towne to be burnt, and all the ships to wey, and stood out, many of the souldiers being imbarked where the Generall had appointed, in the small ships which rode nearest the shore. We lost that night the company of the Phenix, captaine Austin, Peter Lemond, and the Garlands pinnesse, which stood along the shore, and being chased off by gallies out of Carthagena Peter Lemond with nine of our men was taken, the rest came safe to our fleete.

The 26 we saw the Ilands some 12 leagues to the Eastward of Nombre de Dios standing in toward the shore, but toward night we stood to the offin vtill the next day.

The 27 we came into the mouth of Nombre de Dios, and by one of the clocke tooke the towne, the people being all fled except some 100 Spaniards, which kept the Fort, and played vpon vs, hauing in the fort some 3 or 4 small pieces of ordinance, and one of them brake in discharging at vs. They gaue vs also a voley of small shot: but seeing our resolution in running vpon them they all fled and tooke the woods.

The towne was bigge, hauing large streetes, houses very hie, all built of timber, but one Church very faire and large, wrought all of timber likewise. Nothing was left in the towne of value: there was a shew in their shops of great store of marchandises that had bene there. There was a mill about the towne, and vpon the toppe of another hill in the woods stood a little watch-

house, where we tooke twentie sowes of siluer, two barres of gold, some money in coyne, besides other pillage.

The towne was situated in a waterie soile, and subiect much to raine, very vnhealthly as any place in the Indies, hauing great store of Orenge, plantans, cassauy-roots, and such other fruits; but very dangerous to be eaten for breeding of diseases. To the eastward of the towne within the bay runneth out a fresh riuer of excellent good water, with houses, and all about it gardens: halfe a league from hence due East into the countrey was an Indian towne, whither as we marched a little before our comming away with an hundred men they had broken downe a bridge to hinder our passage, where they lay in ambu-h with some twentie or thirtie small shot, and bowes and arrowes, et vpon vs, and killed Lieutenant Iones, hurt three or foure and so fled into the woods, ranne before vs and fired their owne towne, and then fled farther into the woods: our men fired <sup>An Indian</sup> towne fired. diuerse other houses in pursuing them and so returned again: our Generall with Sir Thomas being in the Riuers mouth with thirtie or fortie men filling water about some myle from vs.

The road of Nombre de Dios is a faire road: but on each side, as you come to ride before the towne, lyeth a ledge of rockes, but there is no danger because they are in sight. You may ride betweene them in three or foure fadome water, and without if you will in eight or ten fadomes, where neither Castle nor Fort can annoy you. The name of Nombre de Dios was greater then their strength. For they had no Castle nor Fort, but onely the little fort aforesaid standing on the top of an hill, although they might haue made it stronger if they would.

The 29 sir Thomas Baskeruil with 750 armed men, besides Chirurgians and prouand boyes, went for Panama.

The last of December the Generall burned halfe the towne, and the first of Ianuarie burnt the rest, with all the Frigats, Barks and Galiots, which were in the harbour and on the beach on shore, hauing houses built ouer them to keepe the pitch from melting.

The second of Ianuary sir Thomas returned with his souldiers both weary and hungry, hauing marched more then halfe the way to the South sea. The Spaniards played diuers times vpon vs both outward and homeward in the woods, the way being cut out of the woods and rockes both very narrow, and full of myre and water. The march was so sore as neuer Englishman marched

before. Hauing marched some 10 leagues in a maruellous strait way, vpon the top of an hill, through which we must needes passe, the Spaniards had set vp a Fort and kept it with some 80 or 90 men, who played vpon vs as we came vp, before wee were aware of them, and so killed some twentie or more of vs, amongst whom was Captaine Marchant, quarter-master Generall, and Ensigne Sampson, Maurice Williams one of her Maiesties guard, besides diuerse werè hurt, as M. Captaine Nicholas Baskernil a valiant gentleman, with diuers others. Then sir Thomas had perfect knowledge that they must passe two such Forts more, if he got that, besides Panama to be very strong, the enemye knowing of our comming long before.

Also our souldiers had no victuals left, nor any meanes to get more: which considerations caused sir Thomas to returne and giue ouer his attempt. As he marched thitherward he tooke an Indian and sent him to Nombre de Dios with letters of his returne and proceeding.

The 5 we set saile at 12 of the clocke, and stood to the Westward.

The 10 we saw an Iland lying Westward some 30 leagues called Escudo, where wee came to anker on the Southside in 12 fadoms water, faire sand and good anchorage. If you come into the Easterne point, giue it a birth, because of a ledge of rockes, that lyeth out there from the end of the Island: comming to anker we sawe a roader, who seeing vs, set sayle, but that night with our Pinnesses we tooke him, he had nothing in him but a little maiz. The men being examined by the Generall confessed him to be an Aduisor sent from Nombre de Dios to all the ports along the coast Westward. This Iland lyeth 9 or 10 leagues from the maine, and is not past two leagues long full of wood, and hath great store of fresh water in euery part of the Iland, and that very good. It is a sickly climat also, and giuen to much raine: here we washed our ships, and set vp the rest of our Pinnesses.

The 15 day Captaine Plat died of sicknesse, and then sir Francis Drake began to keepe his cabin, and to complaine of a scouring or fluxe.

The 23 we set saile and stood vp again for Puerto Bello, which is but 3 leagues to the Westwards of Nombre de Dios.

The death of sir Francis Drake. The 28 at 4 of the clocke in the morning our Generall sir Francis Drake departed this life, hauing bene extremely sicke of a fluxe, which began the

night before to stop on him. He vsed some speeches at or a little before his death, rising and apparelling himselfe, but being brought to bed againe within one houre died. He made his brother Thomas Drake and captaine Ionas Bodenham executors, and M. Thomas Drakes sonne his heire to all his lands, except one manor which he gaue to captaine Bodenham.

The same day we ankored at Puerto Bello, being the best harbour we found al long the maine both for great ships and small. There standeth a saker shot off the shore at the Easterne point a little Iland: and there is betwixt the maine and that 5 or 6 fadomes: but the best comming in is the open mouth betwixt that Iland and another Iland that lyeth to the westward with a range of rocks.

In Puerto Bello were but 8 or 10 houses besides a great new house which they were in building for the Gouvernour that should haue bene for that place: there was also a very strong Fort all to the waters side with flankers of great trees and stones filled with earth betweene: and had not our comming disappointed their pretence, they would haue made it one of the strongest places in all the maine. There they ment to haue builded a great towne. We found there three pieces of brasse ordinance sunke in the sea, which we weighed vp, all the people were fled and their goods carried away.

Vp within this bay there was a little village but of no force, where we found a great fresh riuer, our men rowing vp some two leagues found pillage, as wine and oyle, and some small quantitie of yron. After our comming hither to anker, and the solemne buriall of our Generall sir Francis in the sea: Sir Thomas Baskeruill being aboard the Defiance, where M. Bride made a sermon, hauing to his audience all the captaines in the fleete, sir Thomas commanded all aboard the Garland, with whom he held a Councell, and there shewing his Commission was accepted for General, and captain Bodenham made captaine of the Defiance, and M. Sauill captaine of y<sup>e</sup> Aduenture.

The 27 died captaine Iosias of the Delight, and captaine Egerton a Gentleman of the Foresight, and Iames Wood chiefe chirurgion of the fleete out of the Garland.

The 28 died Abraham Kendall out of the Saker. At this place we watered againe, washed our ships and made new sailes, it being by the Generall and all the captaines agreed, that if we could by any meanes turne vp againe for Santa Marthā, we should,

if not, to goe directly for England. Here also we tooke in some balast as our neede required.

The 6 of Februarie the Elizabeth of M. Wattes was discharged and sunke, and that day the Pegasus iolly was going on shore for water, carying no garde: The Spaniards perceiuing it came downe vpon them, killed two of them, and tooke 2 or 3 prisoners, and so ranne vp into the woods againe.

The seuenth the Delight and captaine Edens frigate were discharged and sunke because they were old and leaked, and the Queenes ships wanted Saylers.

That day our men being mustered we had sicke and whole 2000. And the next day we set on shore all our prisoners as Spaniards and Negros. But before at our first comming to Puerto Bello sir Thomas sent two of those Spaniards to Nombre de Dios and to Panama to fetch ransome for some of the chiefest prisoners, but they neuer returned againe. As we weré setting saile there came one with a flagge of truce, and told the General that they had taken 18 of our men, and that they were well vsed adding that if he would stay 8 or 10 dayes longer they should be brought from Panama. We supposed this to haue bene but a delay to haue kept vs there while the kings forces had come about by sea, as they dayly expected. We set saile the 8 of Februarie, turning vp for Santa Martha, and the 14 day we saw the Ilands of Baru some 14 leagues to the Westward of Carthagena: The Generall that night told vs he would stand in for the towne of Baru in the bay: but that night blew so much winde and continued that small moone, that the same night we lost the Foresight, and the next day standing againe to make the land which we had made, we lost companie of the Susan Parnel, The Helpe, and the Pegasus. Then the next day we put ouer for Cape S. Antonie, and gaue ouer Santa Martha.

The 25 we saw the Iland of Grand Cayman some 30 leagues to the Nothwestward of Iamaica, being a low sandie Iland, hauing many tortoyses about it.

The 26 we saw the hie land of Cuba to the Eastward of the broken Ilands, to the East of the Iland of Pinos, and were imbayed in among those dangerous places. But perceiuing it, we stood out againe Southsoutheast and so got cleere, and then stood away West and by North for the Ile of Pinos, which we saw the first of March. It is a low land with wood and fresh water to the Western end. If you come in with the middest of it you

shall see rise vp above the rest of the land 8 or 9 round homockes, and the Westermost hath three in one.

Being shot forth with the West end, and standing in for to water we espyed 20 sayle of ships, about one in the afternoone. This was a third part of the fleete which the king sent for Carthagena, the rest of the fleete being gone for the Honduras. They were in all 60 sailes sent onely to meete our fleete, being commanded wheresoeuer they heard we were, to come vpon vs with all their three forces. This fleete which we met withall came standing for Cape de los Corrientes, and had bene refreshed at Hauana.

As soon as they discried vs, they kept close vpon a tacke, thinking to get the winde of vs: but we weathered them. And when our Admirall with all the rest of our fleet were right in the winds eye of them, sir Thomas Baskeruil putting out the Queens armes, and all the rest of our fleete their brauerie, bare roome with them, and commanded the Defiance not to shoot, but to keepe close by to second him. The Viceadmirall of the Spaniards being a greater ship than any of ours, and the best sayler in all their fleete loofed by and gaue the Concord the two first great shot, which she repayed presently againe, thus the fight began. The Bonaenture bare full with her, ringing her such a peale of ordinance and small shot withall, that he left her with torne sides. The Admirall also made no spare of powder and shot. But the Defiance in the midst of the Spanish fleete thundering of her ordinance and small shot continued the fight to the end. So that the Viceadmirall with 3 or 4 of her consorts were forced to tacke about to the Eastward, leauing their admirall and the rest of the fleete, who came not so hotly into the fight as they did. The fight continued two houres and better. At sunne set all the fleete tacked about to the Eastward, we continued our course to the Westward for cape de los Corrientes, supposing we should haue met with more of their consorts. In this conflict in the Defiance we had fise men slaine, three Englishmen, a Greeke and a Negro. That night some halfe houre after their fleete keeping vpon their weather quarter, we saw a mightie smoke rise out of one of their great ships which stayed behind: which happened by meanes of powder as we thinke, and presently after she was all on a light fire, and so was consumed and ail burnt, as we might well perceiue.

The next day being the second of March in the morning by breake of day we were hard aboard Cape de los Corrientes, which is a bare low cape, hauing a bush of trees higher then the rest some mile to the Eastward of the cape. All Cuba is full of wood on the Southside. The Spanish fleete which then were but 14, no more then we were, kept still vpon our weather quarter, but dared not to come roome with vs although our Admirall stayed for them. As soone as we had cleered our selues of the Cape 3 of their best saylers came roome with the Salomon, which was so neere the land that she could not double the Cape, but tacked about to the Eastward, and so was both a sterne and also to leeward of all our fleete. But when we saw the Spaniards working, the Defiance tacked about to rescue her: which the Spaniards seeing, and hauing not forgotten the fight which she made the night before, they loofed vp into the midst of their fleete againe, and then all the fleete stayed vntill the Salomon came vp: and so stood along for Cape S. Antonio, which wee came in sight of by two in the afternoone, being a low cape also, and to the Southwest a white sandie bay, where 3 or 4 ships may very well water. There is a good road for North and Easterly windes: there the Spaniardes began to fall a sterne. That night wee stood away a glasse or two Northwest, and Northnorthwest, and Northeast, and in the morning-watch South, and in the morning had sight of Cuba about the East part of the Organes, which are dangerous rocks lying 8 leagues off vpon the North part of Cuba, presently assoone as you passe Cape S. Anthonie: then we stood to the Eastward of the land, the winde at Southsouthwest, and at 6 at night had foule weather, but after were becalmed all night. The 5 the winde came scant. The 7. we sawe a hie land like a crowne, which appeareth so 13 or 14 leagues to the Westward of Hauana, and another place in Cuba called the table, 8 leagues to the Eastward of the crowne. The land ouer Hauana maketh two small mountaines like a womans breasts or paps. Here we found no great current vntill we came to the Gulfe of Bafama.

The 10 we saw the Cape of Florida being but a reasonable low land and broken Ilands to the Southward of the Cape. And at two in the afternoone we lost sight of the land 12 leagues to the Northward of the Cape. After we had disemboqued, we stood West till midnight, and were in 28 degrees, and then stood Northeast till the 13 at night, when we were in 31 degrees. And



after the wind scanted with a great storme, in which we lost the Bonaventure, and the Little Iohn, they bearing on head. Then we stood with our larbord tacked Eastsoutheast.

The 19 we were in 29 degrees our course Eastnortheast. The 21 we had a great stormie gale of winde and much raine but large. And then all the rest of our fleete fell asterne except the Hope, which bare a head: so that there kept no more with the Admirall, but the Defiance, the Aduenture, and the Phenix.

The 28 we were in 39 degrees, and stood away for Flores, which the 8 of April we saw, and the 9 came to an anker on the Southside, where we watered because the Defiance when we came in had but two butts of water. We bartered with the Portugals for some fresh victuals, and set here on shore at our comming away out of the Admirall our two Portugall Pilots; which sir Francis Drake caried out of England with him.

The 10 being Easter-eue at night we set saile the winde seruing vs to lie some slent in our course. That night and Easter day we had much raine: the winde came vp at Northeast, wee beate it vp some 30 leagues to the Eastward, and then about to the West, and so againe to the East, and tryed, and the next boord to the West. On Thursday towards night, being the 16 wee had sight of Coruo againe, wee tryed all that night: and on Friday towards night we came to an anker to the Westward of the point of Santa Cruz vnder Flores: but before midnight we draue, and set saile the next day standing away northeast. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came vp againe at North. On Sunday the 19 by two of the clocke in the afternoone we had made 20 leagues an East way: and then the winde came vp a good gale at Northwest, and so Northeast with a flowne sheete we made the best way we could: but being dispersed by bad weather we arriued about the beginning of May in the West parts of England. And the last ships which came in together to Plimmouth were the Defiance, the Garland, the Aduenture, and the Phenix.

A letter sent from Hauana in Cuba from the general of the fleete Iohn de Orimo to the king of Spaine the 18 of October 1590, touching the building of certaine excellent Frigats, &c.

It may please your maiestic that at the date hereof one of the  
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Frigates was lanced : and three more will be ready against the fleet depart from hence. They are very bigge and excellent of sayle, which will carie 150 men a piece with souldiers and mariners, And hauing good ordinance, there are fewe or none of our enemies that can offend vs. For wee shall both leaue and take at all times when we list. But it behoueth your maiestic to send both souldiers and mariners to man the Frigats. For we haue great want of souldiers and mariners, with tackling, ankers, powder, shot, caliuers, and all kinde of furniture for them. For these things are not here to bee had for money : and likewise to send some great ordinance for the Zabras. For the merchants ships are so weake and so vnprouided, that they haue almost none to defend themselues. Also we shall be constrained to giue the carena againe vnto al the ships ; for they are very weake by reason of the long voyage : and the mariners and souldiers are wearie with their long traelling and keeping of them here. Thus if it would please your maiestic to command with all expedition that these souldiers and mariners with all kinde of other furniture might be sent vs, then the fleet may set forward and so proccede on their voyage. God preserue your Catholike royal maiestic. From Hauana the 20 of October 1590.

Your maiesties seruant, whose royall feet I kisse.  
JOHN DE ORIMO General of your Fleetc.

A Letter sent from the Gouvernour of Hauana Iohn de Trexeda, to the King of Spaine, the twentieth of October 1590, touching the wants of that place.

BY three shippes which departed from this Harbout since the Fleetes arriall here, I haue giuen your maiestic at large to vnderstand, what hath happened as much as I can, and what thing is here to be done in this citie, and what your maiestic must prouide. And now once againe I will returne to put your maiestic in minde thereof. I beseech your maiestic to send <sup>Hauana</sup> fortification into command to be prouided and to be sent hither two hundred Negros, if you will haue this fortification to goe forwardes : because your maiestic is here at great charges with the master workeman and the Officers. And for want of Pioners the worke goeth not forwardes. For as the worke goeth dayly forward and increaseth farther and farther, so we want men to

worke, and to garde it, and likewise to keep it. We dare not meddle with those of the Galies. And likewise it may please your maiestie to send new working tooles of yron, according to a remembrance which I haue sent to your maiestie of late, which doeth signifie our wants more at large.

Likewise it is needefull that your maiestie should send powder and match to furnish these forts. And likewise to send money to pay those souldiers which are newly come hither, and for that companie of souldiers which were sent from Mexico to this place. For it behooueth your maiestie not to haue them as yet left, till such time as the defences about the forts bee finished, and that which is in building vpon the hill, which will be ended very shortly if you send the Negros and yron tooles.

Likewise I haue certified your maiestie, that with all speed I am making ready of the five Frigates, that they may cary all the treasure. Also Iohn de Orimo seeing that it is of so great importance to haue them dispatched, doeth furnish mee with some money, although somewhat scantly, vntill such time as your maiestie doth send him some order therefore. I beseech you to command it to bee done; considering the great charges and expences that we are at here, as by the accounts your Maiestie shall more at large perceiue, what hath bene spent. These Frigats will be made an end of without all doubt by the moneth of Februarie: but as yet their tackling and sayles are not here arriued: but I doe stay the comming thereof euery day, according as the Duke of Medina and Iohn de Ibarra haue written vnto me, that those ships which should bring the same were ready to depart from thence. All these things it behooueth your Maiestie to send in time: for I can assure your Maiestie that you shall not haue vpon the sea such good shippes as these are. For as touching the other ships of the flecte, which are in this harbour, it is not conuenient to venture the siluer in them. This counsell your Maiestie shall not take of mee, for I am a souldier, and haue but small skill in nauigation. But euery day it is tolde me openly and in secret by many of the pilots, captaines, masters and mariners.

As touching the copper, I haue put it in practise twice more,

Souldiers sent  
to Hauana.

A fort vpon  
an hill.

Five Frigats  
made at  
Hauana.  
Iohn de  
Orimo  
General of  
the flecte.

The excell-  
ency of the  
great  
Frygates built  
in Cuba.

Copper mines and haue made prooffe thereof: wherein there hath newly found bene more spent, then I was willing there should in Cuba. haue bene, because I haue gotten no fruit thereof: I know not the cause, but that it is not done effectually by those that haue the working thereof. Therefore I beseech your Maiestie to send me that same founder which I wrote to your Maiestie heretofore of. Our Lord keepe your Maiestie many yeeres. From Hauana the 20 of October, 1590.

Your Maiesties seruant, whose royall feete I kisse,  
JOHN DE TREXEDA gouernour of Hauana.

A letter sent to Don Petro de Xibar one of his Maiesties priuie Counsel of the West Indies, from Don Diego Mendez de Valdes Gouernour of S. Iuan de Puerto Rico the 20 of Nouember 1590, touching the state of that Citie and Island.

I Receiued your honours letter the 20 of Februarie, whereby I receiued great content, to heare that your honour is in good health. As touching the imprisonment of our cousin Don Pedro de Valdes, it doeth grieue me to the very soule. I beseech God to send him his libertie: and likewise the imprisonment of Diego Flores de Valdes grieueth me very much: I pray God to send good iustice. The M. of the fielde Iuan de Texela, and the M. workeman Iuan Baptista Antonio arriued here in safetie, and haue viewed this Citie with all the circuite round about and the situation as I haue informed his maiestie thereof. They haue marked a place to build a strong fort, wheremat the countrey remaineth very well contente. And it standeth in a good situation, and in a conuenient place on a high mount which doeth lye vpon the entering in of the Harbour, and so cutteth ouer to a point of land, leauing in the Fort as much space as wil containe 3000 persons, without ioyning thereunto any part of the coast. So the M. del campo hath named the fort Cita della. He left me great store of yron work, tooles, eight workemen, and 200 Negros, which are the kings. And the Island doth finde 400 pioners which are continually at worke. His maiestie hath sent me a warrant to spend the

Pedro de Valdes, prisoner in England.

Iohn Baptista Antonio the generall Ingenour of the West Indies.

A strong fort newly builded in S. Iuan de Puerto Rico.

\* Sic in original. Probably intended to be "Cita bella."

provision of the Island, and to take those rents which his maiesty hath here, and to certifie his maiestie what there is wanting for the maintaining of the workmen and that they may haue all things necessary. So I haue sent to Nueua Espanna, for such things as are here wanting. I haue written to the M. of the field, which is gone to Hauana, informing him that it doeth greatly import that the worke with all expedition should go forward, seeing that it is begun for the defence of the Island. And we doe defend it as well as we can from the enimie, in respect of the great danger which otherwise might happen, if the enimie should come and finde it begun, and not ended. And likewise that his maiestie would send me that which I do request. And the most principal thing of al is, to send more Negros. And sending me all these things which be needful, I trust in God I shal in short time build vp the fort, to defend vs from the enimie. The fort must be builded triangle wise: for it will reach into the bay: and we shall be able to plant in the same 40 pieces of good ordinance, Canon, Demi-cannon, and Coluerinè. The M. of the field, hath promised to send me some from Hauana. For that he is determined to cast some there, by reason of the great store of copper, which now of late is found in Hauana: for here we haue as yet but small store of ordinance to defend vs. I looke for 5 Canons which his maiestie should send from Spaine, with shot and powder, and al kinde of weapons, because that here is great want in the Island. His maiestie hath sent the whole number of 200 souldiers, and in the companie there came two captaines. The corps de Guard is kept in the market place: and twice in a moneth I muster all the men in the Iland, and finde very neere 1500 fighting men, and 80 horsemen. The forte when it is ended will be the strongest that his maiestie hath in all the Indies. And now the people of the countrey sleepe in security. For commonly before, the Englishmen would come and beard vs to the hauens mouth. God keepe your honour, and send you long health. From Puerto Rico the 20 of Nouember 1590.

This fort was taken by the Earle of Cumberland, 1598.

Copper mines found neere Hauana.

200 souldiers sent to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico. 1500 fighting men in S.

Iuan de Puerto Rico Island.

The boldnes of the English.

The Gouvernour DIEGO MENDEZ DE VALDES.

A letter to Iohn Lopez Canauate, Alderman in the towne of Canauate in Spaine written from his seruant Iuan de Porua Canauates, from Hauana the seuenteenth of October 1590, touching the state of the said place.

THIS is to giue you to vnderstand, that since my departure from S. Lucar I haue written vnto you twice of my arriual here, and what successe I haue had. And nowe you shall vnderstand that I am determined to goe for Nueua Espanna. For I stay but opportunitie of time. For here is great watch dayly kept and great looking to the souldiers in keeping of them together, for

running away. But neuerthelesse I hope in God, to  
The souldiers run away from Hauana. finde some friend to conuzy mee away from hence. This countrey is so close and narrow, that if a man steale not away hidden in some shippe, it is not

possible for him to escape, nor to goe a league out of the towne, no way but by sea. And because the harbour is so close, it is the best harbour and the surest in the world. The harbour is made in this order. The entrie in towarde the land is by a narrow streight chanel, which continueth as long as a caluer shot, and from that place the riuer openeth broader and broader: There are in the entring in, two points which make with the lande, whereupon are newly builded two strong forts, which are fortified with very great store of ordinance: besides another strong and famous Forte which is in the Citie, so that it is impossible to take it. There are in

these three Fortes, a thousand souldiers in Garrison. The boldnes of the English. And likewise here are two galies to keepe the coast. Yet for all this, the audacious Englishmen being without all shame are not afraid to come and dare vs at our owne doores. Our journey to goe for England is most certaine in the

yeere 1592: Here are making with great expedition  
18 ships builded in Cuba against England. 18 ships, which are called Frigats for that effect. They are very strong shippes, and will drawe but very litle water, whereby they may enter amongst the shoulds on the banckes of Flanders: they are builded the higher because here is great store of timber and excellent good and incorruptible. It is reported that the fleete will depart from hence in February, by reason that at that time the Englishmen are not departed out of their owne countrey. And thus I rest, from this

Island of S. Christopher in Hauana this present day on S. Lukes  
cuen; the 17 of October 1590.

Your Worships seruant, JOHN DE PORVA CANAVATES.

A letter from Mexico, of Sebastian Biscaino to his father Antonio  
Biscaino in Corchio in Spaine, touching the great profit of  
the trade to China, and somewhat of M. Thomas Candish  
Written the 20 of Iune 1590.

HAuing written to your worship by a friend of mine at large,  
nowe I will bee somewhat short. And this is only to giue you  
to vnderstand, that foure moneths past, I came from <sup>Acapulco the</sup> ~~China,~~ and landed in Acapulco, 70 leagues from <sup>harbour</sup> ~~China,~~  
Mexico, which is the harbour where the ships that <sup>where the</sup> ~~goe downe to China lye:~~ and, all the marchants of <sup>ships lie that</sup> ~~Mexico~~ bring all their Spanish commodities downe to <sup>goe for China.</sup>  
this harbour, to ship them for that countrey. It is one of the  
best harbours in all Nueua Espanna; and where the ships may  
ride more safely without all kinde of danger. For it lyeth vnder  
a neeke of land, and behind a great point. And in this harbour  
here are foure great ships of Mexico of 600 and 800 tunnes a  
piece, which onely serue to cary our commodities to <sup>From Aca-</sup>  
China, and so to returne backe againe. The order is <sup>pulco, to</sup>  
thus. From hence to China is aboute two thousand <sup>China aboute</sup>  
leagues farther than that from hence to Spaine. And <sup>2000 leagues.</sup>  
from hence their two first ships depart at one time to China: and  
are 13 or 14 moneths returning backe againe. And when those  
two ships are returned, then the other twaine two moneths after  
depart from hence. They goe nowe from hence very strong with  
souldiers. I can certify you of one thing; That 200 <sup>Flemish</sup>  
ducates in Spanish commodities, and some Flemish <sup>wares good</sup>  
wares which I caried with me thither, I made worth <sup>in China.</sup>  
1400 ducates there in the countrey. So I make account that  
with those silkes, and other commodities which I brought with  
me from thence to Mexico, I got 2500 ducates by <sup>A wonderful</sup>  
he voyage: and had gotten more, if one packe of fine <sup>gaine.</sup>  
silkes had not bene spoiled with salt water. So as I sayd, there  
is great gaine to be gotten if that a man returne in safetic. But  
the yeere 1588 I had great mischance, comming in a M. Thomas  
ship from China to Nueua Espanna: which being <sup>Candish,</sup>  
laden with rich commodities, was taken by an Englishman which

robbed vs and afterward burned our ship, wherein I lost a great deale of treasure and commodities.

If I should write to you of the state of this country of China, and of the strange things which are there, and of the wealth of the country, I were not able to do it, in an whole quire of paper. Onely I may certify you, that it is the goodliest country, and the richest, and most plentiful in all the world. For here are great store of golde mynes, siluer mynes, and

pearle, great store of cotten cloth: for the country  
Gold mynes, siluer mynes people weareth nothing else but fine cotten cloth,  
and Pearles, which is more accepted then silkes. For here is great  
in China.

store of silkes, and they are good cheape. All kinde  
Fine linnen of victuals, as bread, flesh, wines and hennes and all  
cloth greatly esteemed in kinde of foules, are very plentiful. Here are great  
China. store of fresh riuers. The people are very louing.

Here are very faire cities and townes with costly buildings, better then those in Spaine. And the country people go very richly apparelled both in silkes and gold. But here we haue order from the king of Spaine, that a Spaniard may not dwell in China, aboue 3 yeres, and afterwards they must returne againe into Nueua Espanna, and other souldiers must come in their places. The country is very vnwholesome for vs Spaniards. For within these 20 yeres of 14000, which haue gone to the Philippinas, there are 13000 of them dead and not past 1000 of them left aliue. There

is a place in China which is an harbour, called  
Not aboue one thousand Spaniards in freely: which shall be the place where the ships shall  
the Philip- come and trafficke. For in this harbour there is a  
pinas.

great riuier which goeth vp into the maine land, vnto diuers townes and cities, which are neere to this riuier. And thus troubling you no farther I rest. From Mexico the 20 of Iune 1590.

Your obedient sonne, SEBASTIAN BISCAINO.

A Letter of Bartholomew Canoto Peter de Tapia in Siuill, from Mexico the 30 of May 1590, touching the state of Nueua Espanna, and the fleet of that yeere.

BEcause I haue answered your letters which I haue receiued in the last Fleet, as touching that matter I haue no more to say. The occasion of my writing vnto you at this time, is to giue you



to vnderstand, that those commodities which came in the last Fleet, were sold at the first good cheape, and those that bought them, got much by them. For now at this instant white Roan cloth is solde for 8 or 9 reals a vare. The cause of this was, by reason there came a carauel of Aduise from Hauana; which brought vs newes, how the armie that his maiestie did send for England, was all spoiled and cast away: and therefore they of Spaine did write that there would come no Fleet from Spaine hither this yeere: And this is the cause that all linnen cloth is very deere in these parts. Wines also are very deere: for they are sold for 90 and 100 deminas a pipe. When the Frigats departed from hence in August last 1589. Cochinilla was sold at that instant for 50 pesos the quintall; and now it is sold for 55 pesos. And since that newes came from Spaine in a carauel of S. Lucar, that it was solde there for 72 ducates the quintall, there are laden in this Fleet 14000 Arouas of Cochinilla, and 7000 Arouas more were laden in the Frigats which departed before the Fleet. There is laden in the Fleet great quantitie of treasure, more then hath bene sent to Spaine these many yeeres, both for the Kings and the Vice-royes account. And the marchants and gentlemen of all these prouinces doe send great quantitie to supply the Kings wants: for that his maiestie hath written to the Vice-roy and to the gentlemen of these countreyes to ayde him with much money towards the maintenance of his warres against France and other places, and therefore they haue sent good store: God send it well to Spaine. There are likewise laden aboard the Fleet to the number of 100000. hides, and great store of other kindes of this countrey commodities. So that the Fleet goeth very richly laden. Quicke siluer is here very deere, for here is almost none to bee had for any money to worke in the gold mynes: for without Quicke siluer wee cannot refine our gold. And no man vpon paine of death may bring any from Spaine hither; but all must come for the Kings account: and so the King doeth sell it here: there is exceeding great gaine therein. And thus I rest: From Mexico, the 30 of May 1590.

BARTHOLOMEW CANO.

A letter of Frier Alonso new elected Bishop of Mechuacan, to the king of Spaine, written in Peru in the citie de los Reyes the first of March 1590, touching the state of Arica a chiefe Hauen in Peru.

Vpon Christmas euen the yeere 1589, I receiued your maiesties commission in Potossi. For which I am and shall be continually bound to pray for your maiesties long health, for the great benefits which your maiestic hath bestowed vpon me, in sending me to Mechuacan: whereby my great trauell and paines may be recompenced, which I haue taken with that vngrateful and desperate people of the riuer of Plate, which they haue bene the occasion of, in dealing so badly with me their Pastour, which haue counselled them, that they should haue a great care to serue God, and be dutifull to your maiestic, according as euery good and true subject ought to do. Now for this gift which your maiestic hath bestowed on me, I most humbly kisse your maiesties handes a thousand times. Thus presently I departed from Potossi somewhat sickely, to accomplish that which your maiestic hath commanded me. So I arriued at Lima in safetie the first of February by the way of Arica, which is an hauen towne, where they imbarke all the barres of siluer. And there I haue seene what is done, and what they haue prouided against the Englishmen in that hauen: which is; That there is a litle fort made hard by the waters side, with certaine small pieces of ordinance in the said fort to offend the enimie, if occasion should serue that they should offer to come into the harbour and offer any

<sup>100 men</sup> <sup>wanting</sup> violence. But the principall thing of all that we want is to haue souldiers, foote men, and horsemen. For according as I am informed, here want 100 men which should keepe the coast, if they should offer to land and march vp into the country. And likewise the people of this country haue told me, that if vpon an high mount which is here in the harbour neere to the hauens mouth, on the Southside of the harbour where the sea doth beat, there were two or three great Canons planted on the top of the hill, (where very good watch is continually kept) from that place they may reach to doe the enimie great hurt, a league into the sea. The new Vice-roy Don Garcia Vrtado de Mendoza, worthy of that dignitie, is in great fauour with al those of these

realmes : for that he is a great solliciter both by sea and land in all kinde of diligence, not loosing one houre in your seruice, and that which he hath in charge. With as much speed as may be I will depart from hence to Mechuacan, to serue that church and your maiestie : and there I will remaine according to your maiesties commandement, with the bulles or indulgences. Our Lord keepe your maiesty many yeres in his holy seruice. From the city de los Reyes the first of March 1590.

Frier Alonso bishop of Méchuacan.

A letter from Don Iohn de Miramontes Suasola to Don Iohn Garcias de Penalosa from Arica on the coast of Peru the tenth of March 1590.

After my long trauell and badde successe, my fortune brought mee to the Indies ; where being void of all hope, and full of grieffe, I am become a souldier : a thing in this countrey which is most hated of all other things, not onely of men, but of the wilde beastes : and is an occupation which is chosen of idle persons. The occasion of this is, that there haue bene in these seas, and yet are certeine English rouers : and in seeking of them I haue trauelled these three yeres : the one of the yeres a souldier, and the other two yeres I haue gone for captaine and ensigne-bearer. And at this time here is arriued Don Garcias Vrtado de Mendoça viceroy of these realmes : who hath chosen me to be chiefe ensigne-bearer of an army which departed from hence to scoure the coast. For here we haue newes of the enemy, which is comming vpon the coast : for wee haue stayed for their comming these foure moneths the same way which they must come, in a hauen called Arica, which is the first entry of Peru. So I haue 90 pezos a moneth, besides other profits, at nine reals the pezo ; and foure shares at nine reals the pezo. So that I haue 1800 pezos euery yere of pay : for the viceroy is my dere friend, and maketh great account of me. And I haue alwayes 400 ducats in my chest to goe like a man. I beseech God to send vs quietnesse. But yet it is the part of a gentleman to serue the king his master in these actions. And thus I rest. From the harbour of Arica the tenth of March 1590.

I kisse your worships hands,  
and am at your commandement  
Don Iohn de Miramontes Suasola.

There are foure great galeons of 350 tunnes a piece, which are  
 This was M. in Arica men of warre, with a Generall, Admirall,  
 Iohn Chidleys Viceadmirall, with great store of souldiers which keepe  
 fleet. this hauen : for the viceroy hath intelligence that  
 there are certeine Englishmen of war comming thither. This  
 hauen of Arica is the best harbour in all the South sea : for all  
 the siluer which commeth from the mines of Potossi, is shipt in  
 this harbour, and so brought to Lima. And likewise all the  
 commodities which come from Spaine, and all the kings quick-  
 siluer, is vnladen in this harbour, and so caried to the city of  
 Lima and other places, where the mines of siluer are.

A letter of the Licentiate Christopher Vslano to Gonsaluo de  
 Solana in the city of Encisa in Spaine, written from the  
 city of Potossi in Peru the 20 of Iuly 1590, touching a  
 great plague in Peru, and the shortnesse of the passage  
 from the riuer of Plate into Potossi in Peru.

THE last yeere 1588 I receiued letters from your worship and  
 from my sister : and since that time I haue receiued none, nor in  
 the fleet which came to Cartagena 1589. And this yeere 1590  
 there hath bene great want of corne in this kingdome  
 Famine. of Potossi : for that there hath bene no raine in this  
 kingdome of long time. For in March the husbandmen vse to  
 sowe their corne : and in Aprill Winter doth begin. And if in  
 Aprill there be no raine, the corne which is sowen will consume  
 away : and so for want of raine we haue had two badde yerres of  
 corne. And likewise here hath bene in these countreys of Potossi,  
 and in the city De la paz, great sicknesse among the Indians,  
 Mullatos, and Mestiços, called the small pocks, and a certeine  
 plague, which hath destroyed all this countrey. And there haue  
 no olde people died, nor Spanyards, but onely this countrey  
 people, from one yeere to 30 yeeres of age : so for want of  
 Indians we can not worke in the mines. This sicknesse runneth  
 al along the coast of Peru, and hath passed into the streights of  
 Magallanes, whence we haue newes that those souldiers which  
 were sent from Spain thither to build those forts are most of them  
 dead, and especially the workemen which came to make the forts.  
 The General Don Diego de Abolos hath written to his maiesty to  
 send more souldiers and more workemen, whereby these three  
 forts might be builded according to the kings commandement.

This sicknesse came first from Cartagena to this countrey, which is 1000 leagues distant: and, as I sayd, it hath gone all Peru ouer, to the vtter vndoing of this countrey: I pray God to cease it. I pray you when you write any letters to mee, send them in those shippes which come to Sainct Thomé, and take in Negros. And there are great store of ships which goe to Sainct Thomé for Negros, and it is but 15. dayes sailing ouer a gulfe to Brasill. And from Brasill their shippes bring their Negros to a haueu called The haueu of Buenos Aeres, which is within the entrance of the mightie riuer of Plate. And from this harbour all kinde of Spanish and Portugall commodities are caried to this citie of Potossi in carts and on horses: for it is but 10. or 12. dayes iourney, and the countrey is very plaine for carts to trauaile. And from Potossi to this harbour is great store of treasure brought to buy that countrey commodities, and so they are shipped for Portugall: and the ships go and come againe in short time. If his maiestie will consent that we may haue traffique from Spaine to this harbour, it will be vey profitable: and in five or sixe moneths I shall heare from you, and you shall doe the like from me. And by the way of Cartagena it is sometime 2 yeres before we can receiue your letters from Spaine. By this way my brother may write, and so by this meane the letters may speedily come to my hand. And thus I rest. From this citie of Potossi the 20 of Iuly 1590.

Peru vtterly vndone with the plague.

A short passage from Buenos Aeres in the riuer of Plate to Peru.

The tediousnesse of the way by Cartagena to Peru.

The Licenciate CHRISTOPHER VSLANO.

A letter of Steuen de Tresio to Alonso Martines Vaca in Siuil from Panama the 21. of August 1590. touching the kings desire to borrow money vpon priuie seales, and the want of the countrey.

It may please your worship to vnderstand, that I haue receiued a packet of letters from you, wherein you write vnto me of the great miseries and the calamities of Spaine. And I promise you that these countreys are in no lesse. For here is great want of corne and other kind of prouision: for here is almost none to be had for any money, by reason that from Lima there is no shipping come with maiz. Here wee haue had newes from Spaine of the

great prouision which is making ready for those great wars which his maiestie is in preparing, and of the great sums of money that his maiestie standeth in neede of: So that it doth put vs all that are dwellers here in such a perplexitie and confusion, that we know not what we shall doe. I pray God his maiestie take not away our money which wee haue sent to Spaine in the fleete. For here are marchants that haue sent some 200000. pezos, some 100000. pezos, some 60000. some more some lesse, to haue it employed in commodities of that countrey. Although the king hath sent hither his scedule or bill of assignement signed and sealed by his maiestie, which hath bene proclaimed here: The contents whereof are, That what man soeuer marchant or other will send their money into Spaine in that fleete, his maiestie will not take away any part or portion thereof, (which in so doing will bee a great comfort vnto vs all) yet here we were in doubt that hee would take it from vs all. Newes from the citie of Lima as yet we haue none: But I can certifie your worshippe, that all things are very deere here, and that we stand in great extremitie for want of victuals; and likewise we haue great want of money. Also here is order come from the king with certaine priuie seales for to lend his maiestie money, for that hee hath great neede thereof. This countrey at this instant is very poore, and there are none that can lend the king at this time any money at all, by reason that this lande is left so vnprouided of money: But wee are looking for great store of money, which is to come from Lima and from the Valles.

From Panama the 12. of August 1590.

STEVEN DE TRESIO.

A letter of the Licentiate Iohn de Labera to the Licentiate Alonso Sapata de Henao in Castile in Calamea de la Sorengo, written from S. Fee de Bogota in the new kingdom of Grañada, the 10. of May 1590. touching the rich siluer mines of Marequita newly found out, and the long way thither by the riuer of Magdalena.

With other letters which I dispatched from hence in August 1589. I wrote vnto your worship by 2. or 3. wayes: but I know not whether you haue receiued them or no. Presently after I

departed to the government of Popayan, which ioyneth with the citie of Quito in the coast of Peru, in companie of the gouernors lieutenant Don Diego Ordonez de Lara of Salamanca. But I was faine to forsake his companie, by reason I fell sicke in the citie of Marequita, where they haue discovered the great siluer mines : which citie is aboute 200. leagues from Cartagena : where I remained a certaine time very sicke. And because this countrey is extreme hotte, and I euery day grew worse and worse, I was faine to trauaile 30. leagues further vp into the maine land to a citie called S. Fee in the new kingdom of Granada, being on the coast of Peru : which is a cold countrey : where I am admitted a procurator, for that the Royal audience is kept in this citie. So I finde my selfe very healthy of bodie, by reason this countrey is full of all kind of victuals, very good and very plentifull, as bread, cheese, bacon, beefe, great store of hennes, and great store of comfeitures. Onely here is want of golde : so that this countrey will be vtterly vndone, if the mines of Marequita help not to restore the same again : whereof there is good hope : for here is great store of metall already found, and the workmen are in hand to refine the said metal : so that we are in good hope that great store of siluer will be found in these mines of great value and profite to his maiestie. This riuier is called the great riuier of Magdalena. There is a fish in the riuier called Cayman, which followeth after the canoas : and if it can reach any man in the canoa, it will haile him out and deuoure him. All night they lie in the sand on shore. In this riuier as we are going vp, there is at certaine seasons great store of lightning and thunder, with such abundance of raine, as though the skies would fall downe : and so it doth continue from midnight vntil morning : so that we are faine to go aboard the canoas, and with certaine broad leaues which grow in the countrey, the mariners make a couering to cast ouer the wares which are laden in the canoas : and it doth keepe both the raine and sunne from vs which are passengers. The canoas are drawen vp this riuier of Magdalena by maine force of the mariners in rowing and haling them with ropes. There are 7. or 8. Indians commonly which guide these canoas, besides the master which keepeth the helme, and the passengers. We are commonly two moneths in going vp this riuier. It is 150. leagues to the landing place. And there the marchants vnlade their marchandise, which serue for all the

cities and townes which are in this newe kingdome of Granada. And the marchants lade the canoas backe againe from thence with great store of siluer and golde which is gotten out of the mines for Cartagena, and there it is shipped for Spaine. And likewise here is great quantity of treasure laden in the sayd canoas which is for the kings custome and other dueties which are paid: But they are but a moneth or three weekes going downe the riuier to Cartagena. These are the richest mines in all Peru. And thus I rest.

From Santa Fee de Bogota in the new kingdome of Granada in Peru the 10 of May 1590.

The Licentiate IOHN DE LABERA.

A letter of Hieronymo de Nabares to the licenciad Iohn Alonso dwelling in Valladolid, written from Panama to Siuil the 24 day of August 1590. touching the gainefulnes of the trade to the Phillipinas, and the extreme feare they haue of the Englishmen.

NOt long agone I wrote to your worship from Panama by the way of Hauana: giuing you to vnderstand of my being here, and of the state of these countreys. After I departed from Spaine, in 37. dayes wee arriued at Cartagena: and from thence I tooke shipping to goe to Nombre de Dios, which is 80. leagues from Cartagena: and in 4. dayes wee got thither. And from thence I went to Panama: where I haue remained these 20. dayes, till the shippes goe for the Phillipinas. My meaning is to carie my

commodities thither: for it is constantly reported, <sup>The great</sup> that for euery hundred ducats a man shall get 600. <sup>profite of the</sup> <sup>trade to the</sup> <sup>Phillippinas.</sup> cleerely. Wee must stay here in Panama from August till it be Christmasse. For in August, September, October and Nouember it is winter here, and extreme foule weather vpon this coast of Peru, and not nauigable to goe to the Phillipinas, nor to any place else in the South sea. So that at Christmasse the ships begin to set on their voyage for those places: and then in these parts the summer beginneth with very faire weather, and alwayes we shall haue the windes with vs. For in Iuly vntil October here is terrible thundering and lightening with extreme raines, so that it is not possible to go any way in this countrey. Here are



in Panama 10. great ships of 500, 400, 300, and 200. tuns apiece, and some 15. barkes which vse commonly to saile in the South sea to Lima, to the Valles, to Arica, and to the Phillipinas. This country in the summer is so extreme hotte, that it is not possible to trauel in the day time: it standeth in 8. deg. and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . and all this coast is in 9. and 10. deg. Here is great store of adders, snakes and toades, which are in the houses, but they doe but small hurt. Here bread, wine, and bacon are very deere, by reason the country doth not yeeld it: for it is brought from Peru. A li. of bread is worth here 2. rials of plate: a quart of wine is solde for 4. rials: for none groweth here. Here are very few shepp, and those extreme deere. The only food here for flesh, are oxen, kine, buls and heffkers: you may buy 20. li. of beefe for one rial of plate. Their smallest money <sup>Twenty li. of</sup> of siluer is a rial of plate, and very few of them, but <sup>beefe may</sup> be bought all pieces of 4. and 8. For the siluer mines which <sup>for sixe pence</sup> in Peru. <sup>in Peru.</sup> dayly be found in Peru be wonderfull to bee spoken of. If a man did not see the siluer made, hee would neuer beleeue it: for the very earth which commeth out of the mines, and is afterward washed, being but 3. or 4. yeres on a mount, yeeldeth great store of siluer afterward againe. But as here we get much, so our charge in meat, drinke and apparell doth cost very much. As for fruite here is none that is good, but onely muske melons, and they are sold for 6. or 8. rials apiece. I can certifie your worship of no newes, but only, that all this country is in such extreme feare of the Englishmen our enemies, <sup>The English-</sup> that the like was neuer scene nor heard of: for in <sup>men</sup> seeing a saile, presently here are alarmes in all the <sup>extremely</sup> country. I pray you to write vnto me as touching <sup>feared in</sup> the wars that his Maiestic hath with our enemies, and howe his <sup>Peru.</sup> Maiestic doth preuaile. And thus I rest. From Panama in the firme land the 28. of Aug. 1590.

HIERONYMO DE NABARES.

A Libell of Spanish lies written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Armada, concerning some part of the last voyage of sir Francis Drake; together with a confutation of the most notorious falsehoods therein contained, and a declaration of the truth by M. Henrie Sauile Esquire: and also an approbation of both by sir Thomas Baskeruill Generall of her Maiesties Armada after the decease of sir Francis Drake.

To the courteous Reader.

WHEREAS Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the Spanish fleete, hath by his printed letters published to the world diuerse vntruthes, concerning our fleete and the commanders thereof, seeking thereby his owne glorie, and our disgrace; I haue taken vpon me (though of many least able) to confute the same, the rather for that the printed copie came first into my hands, hauing myselfe bene Captaine of one of her Maiesties ships in the same voyage. Take this therefore (gentle Reader) as a token of my dutie and loue to my country and country-men, and expect onely a plaine truth, as from the pen of a souldier and Nauigator: Which if you take in good part, you may draw me hereafter to publish some greater labour.

HENRY SAVILE.

THE true copie of a letter found at the sacking of Cadiz, written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his Nauie in the West Indies, sent vnto Doctor Peter Florez, President of the contraction house for the Indies, and by him put in print with priuilege: wherein are declared many vntruthes, and false reports, tending to the disgrace of the seruice of her Maiesties Nauie, and the commanders thereof, lately sent to the West Indies, vnder the command of sir Francis Drake, and sir Iohn Hawkins Generalls at the sea; and sir Thomas Baskeruill Generall at land; with a confutation of diuers grosse lies and vntruthes, conteyned in the same letter: together with a short relation of the fight, according to the truth.

Copia de vna carta, que embio Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, General de la Armada de su Magestad, embiada al Doctor Pedro Florez Presidente de la casa de la contratacion de las Indias : en que trata del suceso de la Armada de Ynglaterra, despues que partio de Panama, de que fue por General Francisco Draque, y de su muerte.

DE Cartagena di cuenta a vuestra Merced como sali del puerto de la ciudad de Lisbona, en busca de la armada Ynglesa, aunque por la mucha priessa, no se pudieron reparar tambien los Galeones como fuera necessario, y con el tiempo se perdio uno, y por desgracia se quemo vn Filibote, y auiendo andado muchos dias en busca del enemigo, hasta que llegue a Cartagena, donde auiendo tomado el parecer de Don Pedro de Acunna Gouvernador y capitan general de aquella ciudad, porque tenia mucha necesidad de agua, y reparar los Nauios por que venian faltos della, me detuue en aquel puerto; adonde tuve noticia por vn Auiso, que Francisco Draque murio en Nombre de Dios, de pena, de auer perdido tantos Baxeles y gente, aunque despues se supo mas por estensó. Y auiendo dado a vuestro Merced cuenta de lo que hasta alli a sucedido, agora la doy de que sali de aquel puerto a dos de Março, y tome la derrota de la Hauana, donde entendi hallarlo : y auiendo hecho la diligencia posible, Lunes à onze del dicho mes, alas dos despues de medio dia, al salir de la Ysla de Pinos, en la ensenada de Guaniguanico, tope con el, que yua con catorze Nauios muy buenos : fueme arrimando a el, aunque tenia el viento por suyo, y el Almiranta que yua mas al viento con otros dos Nauios commenço arrimarsele, y aunque vino sobre ella con todos los suyos tres vezes, no fue parte acercarsele para que quisiese enuestir : los que estauamos mas apartados fuymos dando bordos acercandonos hasta jugar la artilleria, Mosqueteria, y Arcabuzeria de los mas dellos, en lo qual el recibio muy conocido danno, el lo hizo con el artilleria como suele, y particularmente el Almiranta, y en reconociendo la voluntad con que a el nos arrimauamos, con mas diligencia de lo que se puede creer se desembaraço de todos, poniendose en huyda, dando las velas, dexando en la mar todas las Lanchas que traya. Yo le segui con nueue Nauios toda la noche, y con quatro mas todo el dia, hasta hazerie doblar el cabo de Sant Anton, y tomar la derrota de la Canal de Bahama, conforme a las instrucciones de su Magestad : siruio de poco el ver me con menos

numero de Nauios, ni todas las diligencias que se hizieron, para que se inclinase a esperar ni abordar, ni tirar vn arcabuz, ni vna pieça, porque el se dio la diligencia que pudo, porque sus Nauios los auia reduzido a la mitad, y los mejores, y estos acabaua de reparar en Puerto Bello, donde se estuvo mas de quarenta dias, y ansi venian muy reparados; y yo saque los mios desbaratados, que no me dio el tiempo lugar para adereçarlos. A que nauego dos meses y medio, y traygo la capitana, que desde que parti de Cartagena no an parado las bombas, y el dia que sali se me lo arrimo vna Zabra con esta necessidad; la Almiranta y los demas Nauios vienen con el mismo trabajo, pero sin embargo, por lo que yo vi en los enemigos; era muy conocida la ventaja que nos hazia, y mucha dicha seria apoderarse del, sino es hallarlo sobrè el Ferro. Con todo esto me an dexado vn Nauio muy bueno en las manos con muy buena gente, la qual dize como murio el Draque en Nombre de Dios, y que va por general de la dicha armada Ynglesa el Coronel Quebraran, y por el poco lugar que se a dado no an podido tomar Agua, lenna, ni carne, y van de manera que no se como an de llegar a Ynglatierra. Entre la gente deuen de ser ciento y quarenta, y quinze nobles capitanes de lo mejor de alli, y algunos ricos, segun se echa de ver en ellos. No se ofrece otra cosa: nuestro sennor guarde a vuestra Merced, como puede, y yo desseo. De la Hauana. 30 de Março, de 1596. Annos.

Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda.

EL Licenciado Don Iuan Bermudes y Figueroa, Teniente mayor de Assistente desta ciudad de Seuilla y su tierra, que hago officio de Assistente della por ausencia de su Sennoria del Conde de Priego, Doy licencia a Rodrigo de Cabrera, para que pueda imprimir la Relacion de la muerte de Francisco Draque. La qual haga por dos meses, y por ellos no lo imprima otro alguno. So pena de diez mil maravedis para la camara de su Magestad. Fecha en Seuilla a quinze de Mayo, de mil y quinientos y nouenta y seys annos.

El Licenciado Don Iuan Bermudez y  
Figueroa. Por su mandado, Gregoria  
de Gutierrez, Escriuano.

## The Spanish letter Englished.

The Copie of a letter which Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his armie, sent vnto Doctor Peter Florez, President of the contraction house for the Indies, wherein he maketh mention of the successe of the English armie, after they departed from Panama, whereof was General Francis Drake, and of his death.

From Cartagena I gaue relation vnto your Worship how I departed from the citie of Lisbon, in the pursuite of the English armie: although for the great haste the Galeons could not be so well repaired as was needfull, and with foule weather one was lost, and a Fly-boat was burnt. And hauing sayled many dayes in pursuite of the enemy, vntill I arriued at Cartagena, and there taking the aduise of Don Pedro de Acunna, Gouvernour of the citie, and Captaine generall (for wee had great neede of water, and to repaire our shippes) we stayed in that port: whereas I had intelligence by an Indian that Francis Drake died in Nombre de Dios, for very grieffe that he had lost so many Barkes and men, as was afterwards more manifestly knowen. Thus hauing giuen you a relation of all that happened hitherto, now I let you vnderstand, that I left this Port the second of March, and tooke our course towards Hauana, where I thought to haue found the English fleete. And hauing vsed all the diligence possible, vpon Munday the eleuenth of the said moneth, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, at the end of the Isle of Pinos, in the entrance of Guaniguanico, I met with the English fleete, being fourteene very good ships: I drew towards them although they had the winde of vs, and our Admirall who bore vp towards the winde, with other two ships beganne to draw neere them, and although we set thus vpon them, three times with all their ships, yet would they not set againe vpon vs, and those of our men which were farthest off cryed to them amaine, being both within shot of artillerie, muskets, and caliuers, whereby they receiued euident hurt by vs: They plyed their great ordinance according to their manner, and especially their Viceadmirall, and seeing our resolution how sharpe we were bent towards them, they with all expedition and speede possible prepared to flie away, hoysing sailes and leauing their boates for

haste in the sea: but I followed them, with nine ships all the night following, and with foure more the next day, till I made them double the Cape of S. Antonie, and to take the course towards the Chanell of Bahama, according to the instructions from his Maiestie. It little auailed vs to be seene, with lesse number of ships, neither yet all the diligence we could vse, could cause them to stay or come neere vs, nor to shoot off one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, for they fled away as fast as they could, and their shippes were halfe diminished, and that the best part of them; the rest they repaired in Puerto Bello, whereas they were about fortie dayes, and so by that meanes they were all well repayred; and our shippes were very foule, because the time would not permit vs to trim them: I haue sayled 2 moneths and a halfe in the Admirall, since we departed from Cartagena, we haue not repaired their pumpe nor cleaséd them: and the same day I departed thence, there came vnto me a small Pinnesse in the like distresse: our Viceadmirall and the rest of our ships haue the like impediment, but no great hinderance vnto vs, for ought I could perceiue by our enemies: It is manifest what aduantage they had of vs, and by no meanes was it possible for vs to take them, vnlesse we could haue come to haue found them at an anker. Neuerthelesse they left vs one good shippe behinde for our share, well manned, which tolde me that Drake died in Nombre de Dios, and that they haue made for Generall of the English fleete the Colonel Quebraran; and also by meanes of the small time, being straightly followed by vs, they had no opportunitie to take either water, wood or flesh, and they are also in such bad case, that I know not how they will be able to arriue in England. The number of men we haue taken are about an hundred and fortie, and fiteene noble captaines of their best sort, and some of them rich, as well may appeare by their behaiour: I haue no other thing to write at this time. Our Lord keepe you who best can, and as I desire. From Hauana the 30 of March, 1596.

DON BERNALDINO DELGADILLO DE AVELLANEDA.

THE Licenciat Don Iohn Bermudas of Figueroa Lieutenant of the Assistants of the citie of Siuill, and the Prouince thereof, who doth supply the office of the Assistant in the absence of the Right honourable the Earle of Priego, giueth licence to Roderigo de Cabrera to imprint the Relation of the death of Francis

Drake, which onely he may do for two moneths, and no other to imprint the same within the said terme, vpon paine of tenne thousand Marauedis for his Maiesties chamber. Giuen in Siuill the 15 of May 1596.

The Licenciat Don Iohn Bermudes of Figueroa.

By his Assigne Gregorie Gutierrez Notarie.

THIS letter of the Generall Don Bernaldino sent into Spaine declaring the death of Sir Francis Drake and their supposed victorie, was altogether receiued for an vndoubted trueth, and so pleasing was this newes vnto the Spaniards, that there was present commandement giuen to publish the letter in print, that all the people of Spaine might be partakers of this common ioy: the which letter printed in Siuill, bearing date the 15 of May, 1596 came to the hands of Henrie Sauile Esquire, who being employed in that seruice for the West Indies, and Captaine of her Maiesties good shippe the Aduenture, vnder the conduct of sir Francis Drake, and sir Iohn Hawkins, hath caused the said printed letter to be translated into English. And that the impudencie of the Spanish Generall may the more plainely appeare, the sayde Henrie Sauile doth answere particularly to euery vntrueth in the same letter contayned, as hereafter followeth.

The answere to the Spanish letter.

First the Generall doth say, that Francis Drake died at Nombre de Dios, as he had intelligence by an Indian.

THE Generall sent this newes into his countrey confirmed with his hand and seale of Armes: it is the first newes in The Generals his letter, and it was the best newes that he could <sup>first newes,</sup> send into Spaine. For it did ease the stomackes of <sup>and his best</sup> the timorous Spaniards greatly to heare of the death <sup>newes is in</sup> of him whose life was a scourge and continuall plague <sup>part lying</sup> vnto them: But it was a point of great simplicitie, and scarcely beseeming a Generall to tie the credite of his report locally to any place vpon the report of a silly Indian slaue. For it had bene sufficient to haue sayd, that Francis Drake was certainly dead, without publishing the lie in print, by naming Nombre de Dios: for it is most certaine sir Francis Drake died twixt the Iland of Escudo, and Puerto Bello; but the Generall being

raished with the suddaine ioy of this report as a man that hath escaped a great danger of the enemie, doth breake out into an insolent kinde of bragging of his valour at Sea, and heaping one lie vpon another, doth not cease vntill he hath drawn them into sequences, and so doth commende them vnto Peter the Doctor, as censor of his learned worke.

Secondly, the Generall doth write vnto the Doctor, that Francis Drake died for very grieffe that he had lost so many barkes and men.

A Thing very strange that the Generall or the Indian, whom hee doth vouch for his lie, should haue such speculation in the bodie of him whom they neuer saw, as to deliuer for truth vnto his countrie, the very cause or disease whereof hee died: and this second report of his is more grosse then the first. For admit the mistaking of the place might be tolerable; notwithstanding,

Don Bernal-  
dino doth  
lie impu-  
dently. this precise affirming the cause of his death doth manifestly prooue that the Generall doth make no conscience to lie. And as concerning the losse of

any Barkes or men in our Namie, by the valour of the Spaniard before Sir Francis Drake his death, we had none (one small pinnesse excepted) which we assuredly know was taken by chance, falling single into a flecte of five Frigats (of which was Generall Don Pedro Telio) neere vnto the Iland of Dominica, and not by the valour of Don Bernaldino: the which

The successe  
of the kings  
five Frigats. five Frigats of the kings afterwarde had but ill successe, for one of them we burnt in the harbour of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, and one other was sunke in the same harbour, and the other three were burnt amongst many other shippes at the taking of Cadiz. This I thinke in wise

The certaine  
cause whereof  
sir Francis  
Drake died. mens iudgements will seeme a silly cause to make a man sorrowe to death. For true it is, sir Francis Drake died of the fluxe which hee had growen vpon him eight dayes before his death, and yielded vp his

spirit like a Christian to his creatour quietly in his cabbine. And when the Generall shall suruey his losse, he shall finde it more then the losse of the English, and the most of his, destroyed by the bullet: but the death of Sir Francis Drake was of so great comfort vnto the Spaniard, that it was thought to be a sufficient amendes, although their whole flecte had bene vtterly lost.



Thirdly, the Generall doth say of his owne credite, and not by intelligence from any Indian or other, that on the eleuenth of March last he met the English fleete at the Ile of Pinos, being fourteene good shippes: who although they had the winde of him, yet he set vpon them three times with all their shippes: but the English Fleete fled, and refused to fight, shooting now and then a shot, but especially the Viceadmirall.

THis third lie of the Generall Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda (whose name for the prolixitie thereof may be drawn somewhat neere the length of a cable) hath no colour of protection, but it hath a iust proportion in measure to the lies of olde Bernardino de Mendoça his <sup>A payre of Spanish liers.</sup> countreyman, concerning the ouerthrowe of hir Maiesties Nauie in the yeere one thousand fve hundred eightie and eight. For except Don Bernaldino the Generall did purpose to winne the whetstone from Don Bernardino de Mendoça the olde Spanish lyer; I cannot coniecture why he should write to his countrey for a truth, that he chased the English Nauie with nine shippes, and did three seuerall times giue the onset to the English fleete, who being fourteene good shippes (as he saith) did flie and refuse to fight; considering that the <sup>The Spanish Viceadmirall</sup> Spanish Viceadmirall (if he be liuing) and many other can witness the contrarie: who fighting like <sup>a man of valour.</sup> a true valiant man, departed from the fight with a torne and battered shippe to saue her from sinking. Neither can I imagine that there is any one in the Spanish Fleete (Don Bernaldino excepted) that will say they were lesse then twentie sayle of shippes when they met the English fleete: and the Spanish Nauie can witness that they receiued such store of bullets from the English fleete, that they were glad to depart, and in despight of them the English nauie did holde <sup>The number of Spanish ships after the fight.</sup> their determined cōurse: And taking a viewe of the Spanish fleete the next day, their number was not aboute thirteene ships, which did argue that they were either sunke or fled to harbour to saue themselues. Fourthly, the General saith, that the English fleete fled away, and left their \* oares for hast behind them in the sea.

IT was strange that they should leaue behinde them oares in

\* *Marginal note.*— The translation of the Spanish word Lanchas is here mistaken.

the sea, sithence there was not in the English fleete either Galley or Galliasse, which required the vse of oares : as for the oares of their ship-boates and other such small vessels, they had stowed them aboard their shippes, and were no impediment vnto them, but most necessarie for them to vse, and therefore not likely they would cast them ouerboord : But it is more likely, that the Generall fell into some pleasant dreame at Sea, wherein he did see a false apparition of victorie against the English, and for lacke of matter did set this downe in his letter for newes, to his country : It is sinne to belie the Deuill, and therefore the Generall shall haue his right : the letter is so well contriued, and yet with no great eloquence, but with such art, that there are not many more lines, then there are lies, which shewed that there are wonderfull and extraordinarie gifts in the Generall : but I am perswaded if Don Bernaldino had thought that his letter should haue bene printed, he would haue omitted many things contained in the letter : for the Doctor did vse him somewhat hardly in shewing the letter openly, and more in suffering it to bee printed : for friendes may like good fellowes send lies one to the other for recreation, and feed their friends with some small taste thereof, so it be kept close, without danger to incurre the title of a lying Generall : But as the matter is now handled through the simplicite of the Doctor, I cannot see but the Generall Don Bernaldino is like to carrie the title equally twixt both his shoulders.

Fifly, the Generall doth say in his printed letter, that notwithstanding all the diligence he could vse, he could not cause the English fleete to stay nor come neere them, nor discharge one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, but fled away as fast as they could.

AND this lie also he doth not receiue by intelligence from any other, but himselfe was an eye-witnesse in the action of the Spanish which made him bold to sende this with the rest into his country for current newes ; but herein Don Bernaldino was more bolde than wise, for the torne and battered sides of his Galeons, being compared with her Maiesties shippes, and others that serued in that fight, doe declare, that his ships receiued at least two bullets for one. Neither can it be concealed but his owne countryman (if any do

faour truth) may easily see the losse, and late reparations, done vnto the kings fleete, sithence they did encounter with the English Nauie, whensoever they that remaine shall arriue in Spaine. But the Generall seemeth to be a very good proficient in his profession, and waxeth somewhat bold, treading the true steps of olde Bernardino de Mendoca: and yet Mendoca was somewhat more warie in his lies, for he had sometime the colour of intelligence to shadowe them: but the Generall growing from boldnesse to impudencie maketh no scruple to say, that the English Nauie fled as fast as they could without discharging any harquebuzer or peece of artillerie, when as the battered sides of his ships doe returne the lie to his face: For in this conflict Don Bernaldino did behaue himselfe so valiantly, that he was always farthest off in the fight, and had so great care of his owne person, that he stode cleare from the danger of musket or any small shot, and durst not approch: whereas our Generall was the foremost, and so helde his place, vntill by order of fight other shippes were to haue their turnes, according to his former direction: who wisely and politikely had so ordered his vangarde, and rereward, and as the manner of it was altogether strange to the Spaniarde, so might they haue bene without all hope of victorie, if their Generall had bene a man of any iudgement in sea-fights: I knowe no reason why the English Nauie should flie from him: for the Spaniarde may put all the gaine in his eye that euer he did winne from the English: Peraduenture some silly nouice of our countrey meeting the Generall in Spaine, and hearing a repetition of so many sillables in one name, as Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, might thinke them to be wordes of coniuration, and for feare of raising a spirit, might flie from him as from the Deuill: or some simple Indian slaue hearing the like repetition of his long and tedious name, might suppose it to be an armie of Spaniards, and for feare runne away: but the commanders and captaines of the English men of such resolution, that no Spanish bragges could dismay them (for they haue often met them with their Pikes in their Spanish bearded) nor the countenance of Don Bernaldino quaile them, although hee were acowtred in his gilt leather buskins, and his Toledo rapier.

The order of the English Nauie.

The Spaniard cannot bragge of his gaine.

Spanish bragges are of no value with the English.

Sixtly the Generall saith in his letter, that notwithstanding their flying away so fast, the English left them one good ship well manned, who tolde him that Drake dyed in Nombre de Dios : in which ship were one hundred and fortie men, and fiftene noble captaines of the best sort.

THE Generall Don Bernaldino, like a resolute Spaniarde hauing already gone ouer his shoes, maketh no danger to wade ouer his bootes also : and as he hath begunne, so hee doth conclud. I maruaile that he did not in writing his discourse remember this old saying : that is A liar ought to haue a good memorie : It were much better for him in mine opinion to reuoke the testimonie which he saith he had from the Englishmen, concerning Sir Francis Drake his death at Nombre de Dios, and stand to the intelligence receiued from the silly Indian slaue, as it appeareth in his first lie : for without all doubt there is no English man that will say (if he haue his right senses) that he dyed at Nombre de Dios, for they all knowe the contrarie : neither can the General auouch that he receiued intelligence from any English man, that after the death of Sir Frahcis Drake they did elect for Generall Colonel Quebraran (as he doth most

Don Bernal. falsely affirme in the latter ende of his vaine and dino his rare friuolous letter) seeing that this name was strange and <sup>gift in</sup> vnkownen to any in the English Nauie. Neither do <sup>coyning a new</sup> and strange I imagine that any of those which the Generall saith <sup>name.</sup> he had taken, were so forgetfull, as not to remember their Generals name. But without all doubt this addition of so new and strange a name to the English Generall, doth proque that Don Bernaldino is not unfurnished of a forge and storehouse of lies, from whence as from an euerflowing fountaine, he sendeth forth lies of al sorts sufficient for his own store, and great plentie to furnish his friends : the Generall was much beholding to his godfathers who gaue him the name Bernaldino, which we in English doe take to be plaine Barnard, which name hath as it were a kinde of priuilege from being sharpely reprehended, when the partie is thought to erre : for it is a common saying amongst the schoolemen that Bernardus non videt omnia, viz. Barnard seeth not all things, (when he doth dissent from their opinions) the which fauour we could be content to yeeld to Bernaldino for the name sake, if he were not taken with so many manifest and impudent lies : neither doe I thinke that

Sennor Bernaldino will say, that he sawe all that he hath written, be it spoken in councell for shaming the Generall: for is there any man so voide of reason as to thinke, that any Englishman being demanded of his Generals name, would write or speake Quebraran for Baskeruill. So much difference there is in the sound of the sillables, as there is no affinitie at all, or likelihood of truth. But such are the Generals rare gifts, (be it spoken to his small prayse) that we Englishmen must of force confesse, that the General hath giuen a proud onset to carrie the whetstone from Sennor Bernaldino de Mendoça: neither will the hundred and fortie men and fiftene noble Captaines (which he saith he did take, of whom he might haue bene rightly informed of their Generals name) acquit him of lying forgerie, for giuing the name of Quebraran to the English Général. As for the good shippe well manned, which he saith the English left them after the fight, I am perswaded he hath no man to witness that lie, for the ship was separated by weather from the English fleete in the night, thirteene dayes before the fight with the Spanish Nauie, and neuer to any mans knowledge came more in sight of the English fleete. If the Spanish ship by chance did take the saide well manned ship (as they call her) I doubt not but they haue the ship, the hundred and forty men, and the fiftene noble Captaines to shew: But euermore I gesse the Spanish reckoning will fall short when it is examined, for the fiftene noble Captaines will prooue, (as I take it) but three, whose losse I grieue to thinke on: Neither did the Spaniards gaine them by valour, or we loose or leaue them for cowardise, as most vntruely this bragging lier hath certified. But the Generall like a proudient man, to make his fame and credite the greater with his Prince and countrey, taketh vpon him (amongst other miracles performed before the English fleete) by way of amplification to make small matters seeme great as a little shooe to serue a great foote, and finding that it can hardly be brought to passe, he doth so stretch the leather with his teeth that it is readie to break: and yet notwithstanding al this will not serue; for the printing of the letter doth marre the play, and bringeth such matter in question, as the Generall doth wish might be concealed, and were he not of so drie and

The difference twixt Quebraran and Baskeruill.

The Generall maketh great brags in taking a distressed ship which is supposed not to strike one blow.

The 15 noble Captaines contrary to the Generals lying occupation, will prooue but three.

cholericke a complexion, as commonly Spaniards are, he would blush for very shame in publishing so impudently such manifest vntruthes. For sithence his meeting with the English fleetē at the Ile of Pinos, there hath bene by the worthie English Generals an honourable expedition from England into the Continent of

Spaine, where amongst other exploities hauing taken the citie of Cadiz, in the sacke thereof was found some of Don Bernaldino his printed letters: which comming to the handes of a captaine that serued in Sir Francis Drakes last voyage to the West Indies, he hath thought very fit (in regard of the slanders to the English Nauie contained in the saide letter) to quote the errors, that the truth onely may appeare, to all such as haue a desire to be rightly informed of such accidents as befell them in this late voyage to the West Indies: and this may suffise to shew Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda his great iudgement in amplifying small matters, or of nothing to make in shewe somewhat. And now hauing thus farre informed you of the trueth in reproofe of the slanderous, false, and vntrue reports of this glorious lying Generall, with a true disproofe to some of the grossest of his lies, I will leaue him with the rest of his lying letter, and the circumstances therein contained to your censures: who in discretion may easily discern the same: And haue here following plainly and truly set downe the course and order of our whole fight after we met.

The meeting of our English Nauie and the Spanish fleetē, and the order of our encounter.

MVnday the first of March, according to our computation, wee descryed the Iland of Pinos, where hailing in for the

Western part thereof, thinking there to haue watered, being within foure leagues off it Southerly, sent in three of our Pinnesses to discover the harbour, and to sound afore vs, about one of the clocke in the afternoone; the same day we discovered a fleetē of twentie sailes, and deeming them to be the Spanish fleetē, we kept our loofe to get the winde, but their Viceadmirall with diuers other ships went about to cut off our Pinnesses: so that our Generall with some other of our shippes, was forced to tacke about vpon the larbourd tacke, and so ranne in towardes the lande keeping the

winde, so as we recouered our Pinnesses; which forced the enemies shippes to tacke about, and to take the aide of their fleete, and being come neere vnto them they shot at vs; we still approached, hauing our close fights vp, our flags, ensignes and streamers displayed, our men orderly placed in each quarter, but forbare our fight vntill our Generall beganne, and gaue vs warning to come in and fight, by shooting off a great peece, according to his former directions: so <sup>The incoun-  
ter betwixt  
the English  
and the Spa-  
nish ships.</sup> being within musket shot, the Viceadmirall of the Spanish fleete came neerest vnto vs, to whom our Viceadmirall Iohn Traughton Captaine of the Elizabeth Bonadventure gaue fight, betwixt whom there was the greatest voley of small shot changed that lightly hath bene heard at Sea, which continued a long halfe houre. In which time the Spanish fleete came in to fight. Our Generall Sir Thomas Baskeruill being in the Garland (whereof Humphrey Reignolds was Captaine, being the next shippe vnto the Elizabeth Bonadventure) bare vp to the enemye, playing with his great ordinance hotly vntill he came within musket shot. Ionas Bodenham Captaine of the Defiance, and Henrie Sauile Captaine of the Aduenture, came likewise in to fight with them. After the Garland being withn musket shot played her part, and made good fight for the space of an houre, The Defiance bare vp likewise and had her turne: after came the Aduenture againe within musket shot, who hauing changed many a great bullet with them before, renewed his fight, and continued it an houre with small shot. Then came Thomas Drake Captaine of the Hope, who last of all had his turne. Thus had all the Queens shippes their course: The marchants ships with other small vessels being without the Queens ships, shot, when they saw opportunitie. After the enemye finding no good to be done (being well beaten) fell from vs, the Aduenture <sup>The Spanish  
Viceadmirall  
can wit-  
nesse, what  
scesse they  
had in this  
fight.</sup> playing vpon them with her great ordinance, made three of the last shot at them: their Viceadmirall with diuers others of their ships, were so beaten that they left off the fight, and were forced to lie in the winde, for that they durst not lie of either boord by reason of thier many and great leakes, which they had receiued by our great shot. The Generall with the rest of their fleete tacking about, fell in our wake, thinking to get the winde, which in the beginning wee

sought to hinder. But our Generall seeing that in holding the winde we should shoot our selues into the bay, gaue them the winde. All that night they kept themselues vpon our brode side, notwithstanding our Admiral carried his cresset-light all night, hauing great care of our smallest shippes. This fight continued about foure houres till it was neere night, in the which fight, thankes be to God, there were slaine

so few persons of our English fleete, as I thinke the like conflict hath not bene performed with so little losse of men: What

harme befell the Spaniards in their fleete I leaue to your iudgements. Yet our eyes can witness their ships werè sore beaten and raked thorough, whereby there was such falling backe and lying by the lee to

stoppe their leakes, as some of them were driuen to haste away, and rather to runne on shore to saue themselues then sinke in the Sea: besides within two houres after our fight with them, we sawe one of their great shippes on fire which burnt into the Sea, and all the sterne of another of their ships blown vp: And in the morning a shippe of our fleete was runne so peere the land, that to double the Cape de los Corrientes he must of necessitie tacke about and fall in the wake of the enemy, which caused our Generall in the Garland and the Defiancé to tacke about; which two ships forced the three ships of the enemies (which were put foorth to take our shippe, or else to cause her runne on ground) to returne to their fleete to saue themselues, hoysing all their

sayles for haste: This morning they were faire by vs hauing the winde of vs, being but thirteene sayle of their twentie to be seené: then we stroke our toppe sayles thinking to haue fought with them againe, which they perceiuing tacked about from vs, and after

that neuer durst nor would come neere vs: What became of the rest of their fleete wee knowe not, but true it was that they were in great distresse mightily beaten and torne, by hauing receiued many bullets from vs. All this day wee had sight of them, but they shewed little will to fight or come neere vs, so we keeping our course West, and by North, about sixe of the clocke at night lost the sight of them. And this is a true discourse of our fight with the Spanish fleete. The which the author hereof will iustifie with the aduerture of his life, against any Spaniarde seruing in that action, that shall contradict the same.

HENRY SAVILE.



Thomas Baskeruil knight, his approbation to the former twofold discourse of Captaine Sauile.

I Thomas Baskeruil knight, Generall of her Maiesties late Indian armada in the late conflict had betweene the Spanish fleete and vs, hauing perused the Spanish letter written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Nauie, and also hauing perused captaine Henrie Sauile his answeres vnto the sixe exceptions in the Generals letter, with his discourse of the manner of our fight with the Spanish fleete, doe say that the said Henrie Sauile hath answered the letter, and set downe the order of the fight sincerely according to truth, for testimonie of which I haue hereunto set my hand.

And if Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda the Generall shall take any exceptions to this my approbation, or stand in the iustification of his lying letter written to Doctor Peter Florez, President of the Contractation house for the Indies, and by him for Bernaldinos glorie lately put in print: I then say that he falsely lyed, and that I will maintaine against him with whatsoever armes he shall make choyce of. And because of the kingdomes wherein we abide are enemies (by reason of which there is no meanes in either of then, to maintaine that I haue written) let him make choise of any indifferent kingdome of equall distance from either realme, and I will there be readie to maintaine as much as I haue written: But if by my employments into France I be so stayed by her Maiesties commandements, that I cannot out of that realme meete him in any other, I cannot see why he should take any exception to that, considering the equalitie of the place, and that the Armies of both our princes be there resident.

THOMAS BASKERVILE.

A true relation of the voyage vndertaken by Sir Anthony Sherley Knight in Anno 1596 intended for the Ile of San Tomé, but performed to S. Iago, Dominica, Margarita, along the coast of Tierra firma, to the Ile of Iamaica, the bay of the Honduras, 30 leagues vp the Rio Dolce, and homeward by Newfoundland. With the memorable employtes atchieued in all this voyage.

WE departed from Hampton the 23 of Aprill with nine ships  
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and a gallee. The Beuce Admirall being 300 tunnes, the Galeon Viceadmirall being 240 tunnes. The George Rere-admirall being 160 tunnes. The Archangel being 250 tunnes. The Swanne 200 tunnes, the George Noble being 140 tunnes, the Wolfe 70 tunnes, the Mermayde 120 tunnes, the Little Iohn 40 tunnes the Galley and a Pinnesse. All which ships we sufficiently victualled and furnished for ten monethes, with all necessaries fit for the voyage. They were also manned with souldiers and saylers, exceeding well appointed with all furniture necessarie for the intended purpose of our Generall to the full number of 900. ratably and orderly distributed into every ship. We arriued at Plimmouth the 29 of Aprill, where wee found the Right honourable Earle of Essex readie for the attempt of his Cadiz Action, with whom our Generall left three ships and 500 souldiers well victualed and furnished. So the 21 of May we departed from Plimmouth with the Beuce, the Gallion, the George, the George Noble, the Wolfe and the Galley and Pinnesse, determining our voyage for the Ile of S. Tomé. But if our whole force had remayned with vs our Generals purpose was to haue first sackt the Madera Ile, and so to haue proceeded for S. Tomé. The 27 of May we arriued vpon the coast of Spaine, coasting all the shore, hoping to meete with some of the kings ships. From thence we past in sight of the coast of Barbary, and

came to Masagant, within shot of the Fort, which  
The Fort of  
 Masagants. our Generall reported to be an excellent fortification, where the Spaniard is in strong garrison. And bending our course for the Canarie Iles there purposing to water, our galley lost her rudder; so our Generall directed the George Noble to goe for the Ile Mogador, there to repaire the Gallies wants. Between which place and the Canarie Iles we

A Flieboat  
 taken. tooke a fly-bote of two hundred tunnes bound for Brasill, hauing nothing aboard her but some small portion of victuals for their reliefe. The captaine of this Flybote tooke vpon him to be a perfect Pilot of S. Tomé, and willingly consented to stay with vs, being a Fleming. Hauing watered at the Canaries, by the counsell of this Fleming we shaped our course for the Iles of Cape Verde, he assuring vs that we should there meet the fleete of Saint Tomé, for the yeere was so farre past, that we knewe they were all departed from S. Tomé.

The first of Iuly we fell with the Isle Maio, where wee saw small hope of any fleete to bee expected, and therefore departed

for Cape Verde, the appointed place for the George noble to meete vs: where we arriued the fift of Iuly, and there found him. And so instantly we proceeded for our voyage, because the yeere was farre spent. At this place most vntunately our General fell exceeding sicke, and we wanting water were enforced to goe with a place named Pescadores in 10 degrees of North latitude, where we had many skirmishes with the barbarous Negros. Our Generall now hopelesse of life, and we all dismayed and comfortlesse through that his exceeding extremitie, hauing his memory very perfit, he called all his Captaines, Masters, and officers vnto him, vnto whom he made a very pithie and briefe speech, tending to this purpose: That as we were Christians and all baptised and bred vp vnder one and the true faith, so wee should liue together like Christians in the feare and seruice of God: And as we were the subjects of our most excellent souereigne, and had vowed obedience vnto her: so we should tend all our courses to the aduancement of her dignity, and the good of our countrey, and not to enter into any base or vnfit actions. And because we came for his loue into this action that for his sake we would so loue together as if himselfe were still liuing with vs, and that we would follow (as our chiefe commander) him vnto whom vnder his hand he gaue commission to succede himselfe: all which with solempne protestation we granted to obey. Then for that the yere was past, and finding the coast of Guynea most tempestuous, hee saw in reason that the bay of Æthiopia would be our vtter ouerthrow, and infect vs all to death: whereupon he aduised vs to be respectiue of our selues, and to diuert our purpose from S. Tomé, either for Brazil or the West India, yeelding many reasons that it was our best course: but we all with one voice desired to proceede for S. Tomé. And so departing from this contagious filthy place, we directed our course for S. Tomé, but could by no means double the sholds of Madra-bomba, but very dangerously ran into shold water, still hoping of the best. In fine we were enforced to beare vp and take some other course; for the time wasted, our men <sup>A most con-  
contagious  
and filthy  
place.</sup> fell sicke, and the coast was contagious alwayes raging and tempestuous. The water falling from the heauens did stinke, and did in 6 houres turne into maggots where it fell either among our clothes, or in wads of Ocombe.

So by a general consent it was held to be our best course to

goe for the West India ; and so much the rather, because we had good pilots for that place, who vndertooke more then was after performed. So we bent our course for the Isles of Cape Verde, and arriuing at the Isle of S. Iago the 30 of August, we presently landed at Praia, where we found a smal barke in the rode laden with wine and meale.

After we were departed from this vile coast of Guyny our Generall to our great comforts began to recouer strength ; so that being now at Praia, he was able to land with vs. In our landing the people made a shew of great resistance, but we entred the towne without hindrance, being a very pretie towne, hauing a small fort in it, with 6. or 8 cast pieces.

Being here on shore, and finding nothing left in the towne, diuers of our company were very importunate with our Generall that he would go to the citie of S. Iago being 6 miles off : through their importunitie he yeilded consent, and so we marched towards the citie with 280 souldiers. As we passed by the Negros and herdsmen, they would crie vnto vs Guarda S. Iago. That night we lost our way, and lay vnder a hedge. The next morning the Ordinance of S. Iago was shot off to giue vs notice where the towne was : so wee marched towards it at the breake of the day. The countrey then being all spred ouer with people made shew of feare only to draw vs into the town : but we farther marched with our colours flying by the drumme. The gentelmen would come galloping by vs and viewing vs very much. But when we came in sight of the towne, we could see no way how to get into it, but by one

A description of the town of S. Iago taken by sir Francis Drake 1585. little path downe a very steepe hill, only man by man to go downe. The strength and situation of this towne was sufficient to haue danted a man of very good courage, for it standeth between two steepe cliffes strongly housed, and three exceeding good forts commanding the whole, the chiefest and best standing vpon the top of the hill right ouer the towne : so that from thence with muskets they command euery streete, the other 2 forts standing by the waters side, all three commanding the rode, and these two euery streete in the towne. Vpon the front of the towne the sea beateth, the rest standeth betweene two mighty cliffes, not accessible but by one small path, by which wee were enforced to goe. Our Gènerall seeing himselfe thus straighted, and perceiuing

the drift of the Portugals was to draw him into this trench, and knowing wel that he could not returne as we came, by reason of many straights and aduantageable places, with an excellent resolution (like vnto himselfe) cryed out, all courage my hearts: assure yourselues that the deuice of the Portugals shall serue our turne this day; for they will suffer vs quietly to passe downe into their supposed trappe, and then will pursue vs, then which nothing can happen better. The day is ours now shew your selues as I know you will: and so presently we descended into the trench. And being downe the enemy pursued with a mighty crie, and all the cliffes on both sides were beset full of men; shot, and stones we wanted none from them on euery side in great plenty; for this naturall trench was not halfe a musket shot ouer. Those that attempted our Rereward by our Generals policie were so receiued that they made a stand, and neuer more came neere vs. We had now halfe a mile to the towne, into the which when wee came, wee were receiued with the streetes full of souldiers, who ioyned with vs at the push of the pike. But their captaine and diuers of them being slaine (feare possessing them) they fled: and our Generall pursuing with such furious speede, did so dismay them that they fled the towne, and third of August we possessed both the lower forts.

The town of  
S. Iago  
taken by  
Sir Anthony  
Sherley.

Being now masters of the towne, we presently by the Generals direction (whose skill, spirit, and diligence can neuer haue sufficient commendation) baricadoed up all the streets, and brought our selues into a very conuenient strength. After we had bene six houres in the towne the Portugals still comming in great multitudes to the vpper fort, began to sally downe vpon vs, and to assault vs at euery baricado: so that in the first assault they slew and wounded eighty of our men, to our very great weakening. But they had small cause of triumph, for their losse was thrise more than ours: but they still prosecuted their assault, not giuing vs time either to sleepe or eate, so that we were in exceeding extremitie; for their forces did dayly increase to the number of three thousand persons: but we dayly lost of our poore number. Whilst we were thus keeping the towne, our ships came about vnto vs, who receiued many dangerous shot from the vpper castle. Our Generall finding himselfe thus strighted, and discretely looking into the policie and strength of the enemy, and scarce able to defend any one assault more,

sent to the forts and to his ships that about ten of the clocke in the darke of the night they should shoote at the vpper fort with all possible diligence, and send all the boates ashore, which was accordingly performed. And wee likewise keeping a tumult in the towne, the enimie supposing that our purpose was to assault the vpper fort (which God knowes was most impregnable for vs) retyred from their plotted purpose for the defence thereof. So we in a souldierlike order with very good safety departed the towne, although the Portugals hauing espied our Generals policie came very furiously vpon the back of vs, after we had kept it two dayes and two nights.

In the rode of S. Iago we tooke a ship with wine and cloth, which did greatly refresh our men. From hence we sayled to an Isla del Fuego. Isle called Fuego, being a very small Isle, with a very high hill in the midst of it, which continually burneth: this Isle is inuincible by nature, high cliffed round about, yet by diligent search we found a small path where wee landed our men with exceeding much difficulty, and so were masters of the Isle the eleuenth of September, where wee tooke in water, but the Isle yeilded vs nothing but miserable infection. One night wee had a showre of ashes which fell so thicke into our ships from that burning hill of Fuego, that you might write your name with your finger vpon the vpper decke.

Departing from this place the twentieth of September, we shaped our course for Dominica an Isle in the West India: but before we came thither our men fell generally downe, so that the hole could not relieue the sicke, the disease was so vile that men grew lothsome vnto themselues, franticke and desperately rauing, among whom our good Generals part was not the least; for his disease was vehement, the grieffe of his mind, the lamentation of his men, and the losse of those whom he loued were to him torments more then durable: all which with patience and humilitie in prayer he humbled himselfe vnto. But had not his mind bene inuincible and his desires aboue the ordinary course of men, it had bene impossible that life should now haue rested in him: but God (I hope) hath preserued him to some exceeding good purpose.

Arriuing at Dominica the seüenteenth of October, with all our men sicke and feeble, wee found there two hote  
Two excellent hote bathes. bathes, wherein our weake men washing themselues were greatly comforted: and the Indians of this place

vsed vs with great kindnesse, so that we were all perfectly well before we departed from this place. For here we stayed vntil the 25 of Nouember. From Dominica we sayled to Margarita, betweene the Isle and the maine, thinking to meete with the perle dredgers, but wee found them not. And comming to the point of Araia in the road of Cumaná, we sawe a Flemish ship riding; the marchant and men whereof came aboard vs, and brought with them my lord Admirals passe. By which meanes our General would in no sort meddle with them, yet they were very rich. Departing thence by Cape Coadera, going for Cape de la Vela at the Isle Buenaire our Fliboat was cast away, and some of the men lost, but the most part saued. Coasting all the shore from Cape de la Vela, being bound for S. Martha, we tooke a small frigate laden with Guiny corne, the eleuenth of September: she had in her money to the valew of 500 pound, linnen cloth and China silke, all which our General bestowed vpon his company to comfort them after their long sustained miseries: Out of which frigate we had 2 good pilots for those coasts: for our pilot, that promised many things before we came thither, was now absent in the Woolfe, who, we thinke, did wilfully loose vs. Arriuing at S. Martha, two leagues West from the town in a faire bay, we landed the 12 of September, <sup>Santa Marta taken.</sup> and so marched to the towne being often times encountered by the way, and in a narrow way at our descent downe a hill, they had placed two cast pieces of brasse, which we recouered, and so entréd the towne, the enemie flying before vs. While we abode in this towne, there came one Don Martin de Castilla, a gentleman of good education and a very great trauceller, who knew the whole state of the West India, Malucos, and Philippinas: he had bene in China, and made many relations to our Generall, his purpose was to saue the towne from burning, wherein he preuailed, but ransome I know of none we had: for this gentleman made many great protestations of great pouerty to be in that place. So wee departed, onely taking their ordinance, and a prisoner lost there by sir Francis Drake, with some reliefe of victuals. Hauing stayed there al the time of Christmas, we departed thence on Newyeres day, with termes of great content to our General in the Spaniards great submission vnto him, for they were now within a league of vs with 700 souldiers. And being challenged by him to defend their towne like men of worth, they did notwithstanding intreat fauour with great humilitie.

Whilest we were at S. Martha, the Wolfe came againe vnto vs: so wee shaped our course for Iamaica, and missing the rode, were constrained to saile round about the Isle, a thing not before done. In this place the Wolfe absolutely againe forsooke vs with the smal barke that we tooke at S. Iago, and returned for England with hard newes of our ruine, but by Gods fayourable help wee arriued in the road of Iamaica the 29 of Ianuary, which is very dangerous to enter by reason of the shoalds and rocks that lie before it. Here we landed and marched

6 miles into the country, where the towne standeth; The Ile and chief towne of Iamaica taken. the people all on horsebacke made shew of great matters, but did nothing. Now being masters of

the towne and whole Isle, the people submitted themselves to our Generals mercy: and here they prouided for vs great store of dried beefe, and Cassau meale, a base food, yet the best that the countrey yeeldeth, to continue at sea. This Isle is a marueilous fertil Isle, and is as a garden or store house for diuers parts of the maine. It is full of plaine champion ground, which in the rest of the Indies we haue not seene: it aboundeth with beeuies and Cassau, besides most pleasant fruits of diuers sorts. We haue not found in the Indies a more pleasant and holsome place. During the time that we remained in this Isle the captaine of the Isle came often aboard vs, we hauing pledges for the security of their promise. They were in fine at our Generals deuotion, to dispose of al things, and in all things as he pleased, so that now we were as one people and in one peace together. Being almost ready to depart, M. captaine Parker of Plimmouth came ~~into~~ the rode in his ships boat the second of March, with whom our Generall consorted to goe for the bay of Honduras, where by his perswasion we had great hope of a very good voyage. And departing from Iamaica the 6 of March, we sailed to Cape de Corrientes in Cuba, to looke for a barke of M. Parkers for our better strength: but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where we proposed to entrap the watch, and so to sacke the towne of Truxillo, but the watch discouering vs, made great fires, and the towne presently shot off a great piece, and answered with fires. Notwithstanding the next day being the 31 of March we brought our ships vnder the fort, and landed our men, but it was a vaine purpose: for the towne is not to be taken but by exceeding multitudes, for it is inuincible by nature. It standeth vpon the top of a very steepe



hill, bordering close to the sea: so enuironed with woods of such exceeding thicknes, that there is no passage among the trees, which if they were gone, yet there is no climbing vp the hill, only hauing one narrow lane to go into the towne; at the end whereof is a great gate very strongly fortified, so that it is not to be approached vnto, so that with the losse of some few men, we retired from this enterprise, being altogether impossible to be atchieued by our few and weake men.

We departed from Truxillo the second of April and went for Puerto de Cauillos lower down in the <sup>Puerto de Cauillos taken.</sup> bay, stil nourishing our hope of good successe: and comming thither found it reasonably fortified, but wee presently preuailed and tooke it the 7 of April, being the most poore and miserable place of all India. Now our hopes were all frustrate and no likelihood remaying how we could by any meanes make a voiage: our General reseruing vnto himselfe his silent inward impatiencie, laboured to doe some memorable thing. And in fine concluded by Rio Dolce to search with his boats some narrow passage or Isthmos for the South sea, alleaging that if hee could but finde a boat there, it should serue him to great purpose; against which there could be no reasonable contradiction. All his chieftest seamen consented hercunto, but especially the Captaine of the Admirall. So sayling with the ships to Cape de tres puntas in the bottome of the bay, there leauing the ships well mored the tenth of Aprill he departed with his boats for Rio Dolce, which in many Charts hath his passage through the land. Vp this riuer by many vncertaine windings we passed 30 leagues and better, where we found a strong built fort, a towne, and diuers store-houses: but for money or merchandize we found none. Wee learned by the miserable people that we tooke, that the South sea was 20 leagues from the nerest of that riuer, and that it was 50 leagues to Guatimala, 40 leagues to Sonsonate, and 30 leagues to Sacatocaluca, being townes which we hoped to marched vnto: so that now we were in <sup>Guatimala, Sonsonate, and Sacatocaluca.</sup> worse case then before: for we were fallen sicke with the vnwholesomenesse of this ayre, and our victuals so wasted, as that we were desperate how to recouer our cuntry. Whereupon with most vnwilling minds <sup>Their</sup> we returned to our shipping, and with all possible <sup>returne.</sup> expedition weyed, and so laboured vpon the tacke to turne out of this very deepe bay, being 60 leagues within the point of

land. Being out of the bay, wee shaped our course for Cape S. Anthony. Our General, whose restles spirit continually laboured to auoide the frownes of fortune, had now plotted with the Beuice and Galeon to goe for Newfoundland, and there to reuictual, and to haue fresh men, of which we stood in good assurance, and so to depart for the streits of Magellan, and so by his very good policie would haue concluded his voyage in the East India, which plat I thinke it unnecessary here to reueale, being put in principall trust by him.

Being thwart Hauana, by what chance I know not, but all his ships forsooke him the 13 of May, and here in a desperate place he was left desperately alone. The George departed by consent with his letters, the Galeon I know not how: but our misery in the Admirall was very great, for there was not one in the ship that was euer before in the Indies, besides our miserable want of victuals, the danger of the place, and the furious current of the chanel. Notwithstanding we were enforced without stay to disemboque: which happily being performed, we shaped our course for Newfoundland. And by Gods mercy we arriued there the fifteenth of Iune, not hauing one houres victuals to spare, and there by our countrey men we were well refreshed: where we stayed till the 24 of Iune, still expecting the Galeon, for the execution of this his last purpose: but she not comming, and that plat ouerthrowen, we returned for England, where we found the right honourable the Erie of Essex bound to the seas, with whom wee presently departed in his lordships ship, to doe him our humble seruice.

A voyage of Master William Parker of Plimmouth gentleman, to Margarita, Iamaica, Truxillo, Puerto de Cauillos situate within the bay of Honduras, and taken by sir Anthony Sherley and him, as likewise vp Rio dulce: with his returne from thence, and his valiant and happie enterprize vpon Campeche the chiefe towne of Iucatan, which he tooke and sacked with sixe and fifty men, and brought out of the harbour a Frigat laden with the kings tribute, and surprised also the towne of Sebo.

IN the yeere 1596, Master William Parker of Plimmouth gentlemen being furnished with a tall shippe and a barke at his owne charges, the ship called the Prudence of one hundreth and

twenty tunnes, wherein himselfe went captaine, and the barke called the Aduenture of fve and twentie tunnes, whereof was captain one Richard Hen, departed from the foresayd hauen of Plimmouth in the moneth of Nouember, hauing one hundreth men in his company.

The first place where wee touched in the West Indies was the Isle of Margarita on the coast of Tierra firma, where wee tooke a Spanish gentlemen and others, who for his ransome Sixe English men re- deemed. set at libertie Master Iames Willis, and fve other Englishmen which were prisoners in Cumanà, who otherwise were neuer like to haue come from thence. Thus passing from thence, wee sayled ouer to the Isle of Iamaica, where the second of March we met with sir Anthony Sherley, who before our comming had taken the chiefe towne in the Island, and was now almost in a readines to depart. And here consorting our selues with him, we departed from Iamaica the sixt of March, and resolued to set vpon Truxillo assailed. the strong towne of Truxillo neere the mouth of the

bay of the Honduras. And hauing sayled to Cape de Corrientes vpon Cuba, to seeke a barke of mine for our better strength; but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where wee purposed to intrap the watch, and so to haue sacked the towne of Truxillo. But the watch discouering vs, made great fires, and the towne presently shot off a great piece, and answered with fires. Nothwithstanding, the next day being the one and thirtieth of March, wee brought our ships vnder the fort, and landed our men: but it was a vaine purpose, for the towne is inuincible by nature, and standeth vpon the top of a very steepe hill close to the sea, enuironed with woods of such exceeding thicknes, that there is no passage through the trees: there is also but one very narrow and steep lane to goe into the towne, at the end whereof is a gate very strongly fortified: so that it is not to be approached vnto, vnless it be vpon the sudden, and with surprize of the watch: wherefore with the losse of some few men wee retired from this enterprize.

From hence we passed vp farther into the gulfe the second of April, with intention to inuade the towne of Puerto Puerto de Cauillos taken. de Cauillos, where wee arriued the seuenth of April, and tooke the same, finding it well fortified, but nothing answering our expectation for wealth. Whereupon Sir Anthony Sherley and I being hitherto frustrate of our hopes

They passe  
about 30.  
leags vp Rio  
dolce.

resolved here to enter vp to the bottome of Rio dolce, and to passe ouerland vnto the South sea. Wherefore wee set forward, and entred about thirty leagues vp the sayd Rio dolce, thinking to haue passed ouerland with two companies of men, and to haue caried a pinnesse in sixe quarters to be set together with skrewes, and therein to haue embarked our selues in the South sea, and there for a time to haue tried our fortune; and to haue returned ouerland to the bay of Honduras. But this our diligence tooke no effect, because of the huge highnes of the mountaines, and the length of the way, being more then was giuen out at the first. Then with much grieffe we returned out to Truxillo, where I departed from Sir Anthony Sherley.

Cabo de  
Cotoche.

After my departure from this worthy knight, I set my course for Cape de Cotoche which lieth on the East part of Iucatan from whence I ranged al the North coast of the said promontory of Iucatan, vntill I came vnto Cape Desconoscido, where I put 56 of my men into a Periago, or long Indian Canoa; and leauing my ship sixe leagues from the towne of Campeche at three of the clocke in the morning I landed hard by the monasterie of San Francisco, and tooke the sayd towne of Campeche, with the captaine and Alcalde, finding therein fise hundreth Spaniards, and in two townes close adioyning to the same eight thousand Indians. The multitude of the Spaniards which fled vpon my first assault by ten of the clocke in the morning assembling together renued their strength, and set furiously vpon me and my small company. In which assault I lost some sixe of my men, and my selfe was shot vnder the left brest with a bullet, which bullet lieth still in the chine of my backe. Being thus put vnto our shifts wee deuised on the sudden a newe stratagem: for hauing diuers of the townsmen prisoners, we tied them arme in arme together, and placed them in stead of a baricado to defend vs from the fury of the enemies shot. And so with ensigne displayed, taking with vs our sixe dead men, wee retired with more safetie to the hauen, where we tooke a frigate which rode ready fraught with the kings tribute

To the value  
of 5000  
pound.

in siluer and other good commodities, which were presently to bee transported to S. Iuan de Vllua, and brought the same and our Periago or Canoa to my ship, which lay in two fadome water sixe leagues from the town,

being not able to come any neerer for the sholds vpon that coast. Ouer against the place where our ship rode, <sup>Sebo an</sup> stood a towne of 300 or 400 Indians called Sebo, <sup>Indian towne</sup> which we likewise tooke, where wee found Champeche-<sup>taken.</sup> wood good to dye withall, and waxe, and hony. This done we left this coast, and turned vp to Cape de Cotoche againe, and ankored euery day at noone, because of the brizes, and in turning vp I lost my barke called the Aduenture, which was taken by 2 frigats of warre, which were manned out from Canipeche: wherein Captaine Hen and thirteen of my men were taken, and afterward executed, as since we vnderstand by some Spanish prisoners that were taken in those parts. After we had stayed five weekes on this coast, we shaped our course for Hauana, where finding nothing, we disemboqued, and came along by the Isle of Bermuda, and crossed ouer to The banke neere Cape Race in 22-fadomes: and from thence sayling for England, we fel with Sillie about the first of Iuly, and within two days after arrived at Plimmouth, where we found the Right honorable the Erle of Essex setting forth with a great fleet for the Isles of the Açores.

An excellent ruttier for the Islands of the West Indies, and for Tierra firma, and Nucua Espanna.

IF a man depart from the barre of S. Lucar in Summer time, hee must steere Southwest vntil hee hath sight of Punta de Naga, which is in the Isle of Tenerif. The markes to know it be these. An high point sloping to the sea, and at the Easter point it hath two down falles like particions, and they shew to be separated from the maine of the Island and stand in 28 degrees and a halfe. And if thou wilt haue sight of the Grand Canaria, and findest thy selfe with Punta de Naga, thou shalt then steere Southwest and by South, and so thou shalt haue sight of Canaria which standeth in 28 degrees. And thou must come to ankor on the Sotuhcast side of the Island. But I aduise thee, if it be in winter time, that thou keepe another course, and that as followeth.

The course that a man must keepe departing in winter for the Indies from Sant Lucar.

DEparting from Sant Lucar in winter thou shalt goe West and

by South keeping along the coast, because if thou goe farre from the coast, thou shalt meete with the wind off the sea vntill thou be as high shot as Cape Cantin, which is a low flat cape with the sea. And thou shalt see a great wood before thou come at this

cape, called Casa del Cauallero. And from thence  
A great wood before you come at Cape Cantin. thou shalt steere thy olde course, that is Southwest and by South for the Isles of Alegrança, and Lance-  
 rota; and when thou art North and South with Alegrança, thou shalt steere thence Southwest, and so thou shalt see the Canaria, which is a round high land, and standeth in twentie eight degrees.

What thou must doe if a contrary wind take thee fiftie leagues off the shore.

When thou art fifty leagues shot on thy way into the sea Southwest off, and there thou chance to meete with a contrary winde off the sea, and if it force thee to put roome, then thou shalt steere Northeast and by East, and shalt haue sight of Cabos del Plata, which shew when thou art a seaboord so farre as thou mayest descrie them, to be like two points of white sand: and if it be cleere thou shalt see within the land certain high hilles lying Northwest and by West called las Sierras de Zahara, and being three leagues from land thou shalt haue thirtie fadomes water, and sand: And from thence to the bay of Cadiz thou shalt goe along Northwest by the coast: and if thou be in thirtie or fortie fadomes, thou shalt haue oaze: but if thou bee in lesse then thirtie fadomes, thou shalt haue other sounding; which if it chance, then thou art against S. Pedro. And if it bee by day thou shalt see the Ermitage of Sant Sebastian, which seemeth to be a shippe vnder sayle. And thou shalt goe into  
Los Puercos. the bay taking heede of the Puercos, giue them a good birth off. And if thou chance to bee benighted when thou fallest with the bay, and wouldest goe into the bay, thou shalt carie thy lead in thy hand, and be sounding: and finding thy selfe in rockie ground, thou halt steere North because of shunning the Puercos: and yet giue not too great a birth because of The Diamant, and so thou mayest goe in, sounding when thou thinkest good. And being benighted and then not East and West with the bay, and if thou doest not goe into it, then make the largest boord thou canst keeping off till day.

If thou be at the Canaries and wouldest sayle to Nueva Espanna, thou shalt sayle foure and twenty houres South because of the calmes of Fierro. And from thence thou shalt goe West-southwest, vntill thou finde thy selfe in twenty degrees. And then thou must goe West and by South, which is the course for the Isle Descada. And from Descada thou shalt goe West and by North, because of the variation of the compasse. And falling with Descad thou shalt finde it to rise low with the sea: and it standeth in 15 degrees. And the easternmost part is the sharpest, and smaller then the West point.

The Isle Descada in the West Indies standeth in 15 degrees of latitude.

And if thou art going for Tierra firma, thou shalt goe West and by South vntill thou come to Dominica, and there on the Northwest side is a riuer, where thou mayest water. The marks to know it bee a certaine high land full of hills. And seeing it when thou art farre off to the seaward, it maketh in the middest a partition; so that a man would thinke it diuided the Island in two parts. And this Island standeth in 14 degrees and a halfe.

I aduise thee that if thou wouldest goe for Nueva Espanna, and so doest passe betweene Guadalupe and Monsiate to the Westward, that being thus open off the entrance betwix them thou shalt go Westnorthwest, and so shalt haue sight of Santa Cruz, which standeth in seuentene degrees and a halfe. And the markes to show it be these. It is an Island not very high, and lyeth East and West, and at the East end it is lower then at the West end.

And going forward on thy course thou shalt runne West-northwest, and so thou shalt goe to haue sight of the Isle of San Juan de Puerto rico, which is an Island lying East and West, and standeth in eighteen degrees. And the markes be these. That on the West end it is lowest, and the Eastermost is the highest. And if thou fall with the middest of the Island, then thou shalt goe a long it to the West vnto Cabo Roxo which is the end of the Isle. And from thence the coast runneth North to Punta Aguada. Cape Roxo hath certaine red cliffes. Thou must steere West and by South from Cape Roxo to find Mona, and so thou shalt haue sight of Mona. And the marks thereof be these, it is a low land lying East and West: and on the East end it is highest, it hath a slope towards the sea, and standeth in 18 degrees, rather lesse than more. And if it be by day, then thou shalt runne West and shalt see Sanna:

which is an Island lying without Hispaniola, and lyeth East and West, and is full of trees; and hath certaine sandy bayes. And if it bee cleere weather thou shalt see within the land of Hispaniola certaine hie hills called las Sierras de Yguy. And being benighted vpon Mona, then thou shalt steere West and by South, because of certaine shoalds that lye off Saona: but hauing day light and no sight of land, thou shalt loofe vp Northwest and so passe by it, and as thou goest along the coast of Hispaniola, and seest

Los Buffaderos or The spoutes. the sea to be cast vp into the aire, then thou shalt be about 10 leagues off the harbour of Santo Domingo, and these mountings vp are called The Spoutes.

But I aduise thee, that if thou bee benighted when thou fallest with Santo Domingo, then thou must keepe the hills called Sierras de las minas viejas to the Northwest. And if thou woudest goe into Santo Domingo, and meetest there with a forcible Northerly wind, then the best way is to runne East till it be day. And hauing daylight thou shalt cast about, and so thou must ply to wind-ward vntill the Northerly wind be done: and when it is past, make all the saile thou canst to hale with the sight of Calle de las Damas: and when thou hast sight thereof thou shalt iye with thy stemme with a sandie Bay, which lyeth on the other side: and thou must take in thy maine saile, and go so till thou bring thy selfe open with the midst of the riuer; and so hauing opened the riuer, thou must go with great care in the midst of the same, with all thy sailes vp, except thy maine saile, and thou must haue thy boat out, if it be needefull to sound or to tow thy ship, if she cast too much to the loofe, for the currents will cast here to the loofe: wherefore bee sure to haue thy boat out to helpe thy steerage: and this is the way whereby thou must worke.

The course from Santo Domingo to go for Nueua Espanna.

I Aduise thee that if thou wilt goe from Santo Domingo for Nueua Espanna, thou shalt goe Southwest and by South, and so thou shalt haue sight of Punta de Niçao, which is a low point; and is the end of the hilles called Sierras de las minas Viejas, and towards the Northwest of them thou shalt see a lowe land, and to goe into Hocca thou shalt stirre from this poynt of Niçao Westnorthwest, and thou shalt see the point of Puerto Hermoso, and the Bay that it



maketh : and thou must be sure to keepe neere the shore to find a good road, and feare not to go neere the land : for all is deepe water, and cleare ground, and let not fall thine anker til thou be past all the riuers ; and beware of the land, for if thou ride much without, thy anker wil come home, because it is rocky and flatte ground. And thou must be ready, that when thine anker commeth home, thou haue thy moarings readie in thy boat to carry on shore with foure or fiue men, and if thou thinke good, thou mayest let them fall on land with a rope. And when thou art come to anker thou mayest send on shore to moare, so shalt thou be best moared.

The course from Hocoia to Nueua Espanna.

GOing from Hocoia to Nueua Espanna thou shalt stirre Southwest : and this way thou shalt find the Isles Beata, and Alto velo : Beata hath these marks : It is a low land with the sea, and full of trees : and on the East side an high land or cliffe ; and Alto velo hath these marks. A blacke round land, and the Eastermost part thereof is highest, and it hath a downefall, When thou art North and South with \* then thou shalt go West, vntill thou be so farrè shot as the Frailes : and from thence goe West and by North, and keeping this course thou shalt haue sight of Cape Tiburon. And if by keeping this course thou haue sight of a little Island, thou mayest make account it is the Isle of Baque : and it is hard to the land, and from thence thou shalt go West, keeping thy selfe out vntill thou double a poynt that maketh as it were a great Bay, and then thou must go West and by North, till thou come to Cape Tiburon, that hath a round blacke land, and <sup>Cape de Tiburon.</sup> in some part thereof certaine white cliffes.

I aduise thee that when thou art against Cape de Tiburon. thou stirre Northwest, and so thou shalt haue sight of Cuba, which lyeth East and West : and thou shalt see certaine hilles which are called Sierras del Cobre, and in the highest of them is the harbour of S. Iago de Cuba : and finding thy selfe so, thou mayest runne West vnto Cape de Cruz. And before thou seest Cape de Cruz thou shalt see the hils called Sierras de Tarquino, and from these hils to Cape de Cruz the land waxeth lower and

\* Blank in original.

lower, and it is lowest of all at the Cape it selfe. And if thou chance to haue the water troubled, as though thy ship did raise vp the sand from the ground, be not afraid: for this place is called The nine fathoms: for thou shalt find no lesse water vpon it, and it is the shallowest water that thou shalt haue.

Thou must marke that Cape de Cruz maketh an ende of the coast that commeth from the East to the West, and beginneth the course that goeth North and South, and standeth in 19. degrees, rather more then lesse.

From Cape de Cruz thou must stirre Westnorthwest: and this way thou shalt haue sight of the Isle de Pinos, and if thou haue faire weather, then thou must goe Northwest and by West, because of the currents that will set thee out to sea. And keeping this course thou shalt haue sight of an high land. I tell thee it is the marke of the Isles called los Iardines, and is commonly called the land of Zagueio: and then thou shalt goe West and by South: and if it bee by night, then goe Westsouthwest vntill thou haue brought thy selfe out from The Iardines. And being by day thou shalt keepe off the land, and shalt goe Westnorth west, and so thou shalt see the Isle de Pinos.

The marques to know the Cape de Santo Antonio.

THE headland called Capõ de Santo Antonio is a lowe land, and full of trees, and vpon the Cape it selfe it hath two or three woods, and the coast lyeth Northwest and Southeast. And thou must also take good heed that thou haue sight on the same coast of a white sandie Bay; and it is on the same coast that lyeth Northwest and Southeast. And these be the marques from Punta de las Arenas thou shalt haue a great Bay, being so long, that

Cape de  
Sant Anton  
in 22  
degrees. if thou be not very neere the shore thou canst not see land, it is so low. And if thou see not the land well, it will shew to be a tuft of trees. And the Cape of S. Anthony standeth in 22. degrees.

A ruttier that a man must keepe from Dominica to Martinino and so to Tierra firma.

I Advise thee that going from Martinino or Dominica, if thou wouldest goe for Margarita, that thou stirre South and by West because of the great currents that goe here, and set Northwest.

And by this course thou shalt find the Testigos, The Testigos which be 4 or 5 Islands: and if thou wilt not goe so much to windward, then thou shalt see Frailes, Frailes which bee three small Islands. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour of Manpater, it is presently in doubling of the point on the East side to the Southward. And being minded to go for puerto de Iuan Griego, which lieth on the North side, then go neere the land, and along the coast of the West, and presently thou shalt haue sight of puerto de Iuan Griego; it standeth in 11. degrees.

I aduise thee that going from Matalino, which standeth in 13. degrees, if thou wouldest goe to Cartagena, thou shalt goe West and by South, and by this way thou shalt haue sight of the Isles of Cuřacao and Aruba, which stand in 12. degrees: thou art North and South with Monjes thou shalt see them to be three little white Ilands, and they are white because of the multitude of birds that are there: they stand in a triangle. From thence thou shalt goe West, if it be by day, and so shalt haue sight of Coquebacoa that standeth in 12. degrees. And being by night, then goe Northwest: and by day thou shalt cast to goe for the land againe Westsouthwest. Coquebacoa hath a certaine poynt not very high, and within this poynt thou shalt see in the inland certain hilles which bee called las Sierras de Auite.

Going from this point of Coquebacoa thou shalt run West, and shalt run along the coast, and shalt go to haue the sight of Baya honda and Portete, which is a low land euen with the sea.

The Cape de la Vela lieth with a redde-shewe not very high; and without this Cape about a league there is a little coppled rocke. A man may be bold to go betwixt this rocke and the maine.

And going from this Cape to haue sight of Cape del Aguja thou must stirre Southwest, and thou shalt haue sight of the Ancones which lye at the ende of the hilles called Sierras Neuadas. And then presently thou shalt see the Cape del Aguja: the marks whereof are these: It is a low Cape, and vpon it is a cople not very high, and there beginneth the high land of the Sierras Neuadas, or snowy mountaines.

Take this for a warning that if thou goe for Cape de la Vela by night by the course abouesayd, and comest into a whitish water, then sound and thou shalt find 40. fathoms, and thy sound will be certaine smal sandy white oaze, and some smal weeds. And then thou mayest make account that thou art North and South with the riuier called Rio de Palominos. Rio de Palominos. Palominos, which commeth out of the midst of the Sierras Neuadas. And being benighted thou shalt go Westnorthwest, or West and by North vntil day: and being day then thou mayest hale in with sight of the land Southwest, because thou mayest be sure to come right in with it.

If thou goe from Cape del Aguja for Cartagena, if it bee by day, thou shalt goe West and by South, and shalt goe to haue sight of Morro Hermoso, that is The faire mountaine, which lyeth to the Westward of Rio grande. Morro hermoso. Rio grande. And being alone, and with a good ship of saile, and drawing towards night, then thou must come to anker behind Morro hermoso: and after the first watch thou must set saile,

and go out West and by North, because thou must be sure to keepe a seaboord from the Island de Arenas, which lyeth 2 leagues to seaward right against Samba. Isla de Arenas. Samba or Zamba.

And if thou goe from Cape del Aguja by night thou shalt goe West and by North: and so thou shalt goe without the force of the water of Rio Grande. And being by day thou shalt goe along the coast, and shalt see Morro hermoso, which, as I haue sayd, lyeth to the West of Rio Grande, and hath for markes, a face of a blacke land not very hie, and it is round. And if thou depart by day from Morro hermoso, thou must goe West, and must take heede, as I sayde before, of the Isle de Arenas, which lyeth North and South of Samba. Samba hath for marke as it were a gallie towed. And going this way by day, thou shalt see El buio del Grato. El buio del Gato which is an high land with certaine white cliffes to the seaward: and also more to the West thou shalt see the poynt called Punta de la canoa. Punta de la canoa. Canoa, which is a low land cuen with the water: and there endeth the coast which lyeth East and West. And the Bay that goeth to Cartagena beginneth here, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest. Cartagena.

And take this for a warning, that if thou be benighted against Samba, thou shalt take in thy sailes, and lye off to the offward

vntil midnight without any saile abroad vntil midnight: and from midnight forward thou shalt lye so into the land without sayle: and if in the breake of day thou see no land, then goe Southwest, and if this way thou haue sight of certaine white cliffes, make account it is Buio del Gato. Take this for a warning, if thy ship bee great come not nigh the land in the Bay: I meanē thou mayest not with a great ship come nigh the land from the poynt de la Canoa vntill thou come to Cartagena, because in many places there are not aboue 3 or 4 fathoms at the most. In all this Bay there is no hie land but the Gallie, which is right ouer the harbour of Cartagena.

And if it chance that any man come for this place that neuer was here before, then let him looke for a little hill The land like a towed gallie lying East and West, and all the land is low, and seemeth to be full of trees. Hauiug The land marks of Cartagena. these sights, then make account thou art against Cartagena, and to goe in thou hast nothing to be afraid of: but keepe thyselfe hard aboard the poynt of Ycacos: and then when The poynt of Ycacos. thou comest to double the poynt del Iudeo, giue a A shoald. breadth off, because there is a shoald.

I aduise there that if thou be benighted when thou art at The poynt de la canos, and wouldest enter into Cartagena by night, that thou take good heede of a shoald that lyeth A shoald halfe a league to the sea, and so thou shalt goe in 8 halfe a fathoms, and sandie ground. And when thou league to the sea. findest thyselfe in deepe water, as in 30 fathoms and more, then the harbour will bee open before thee. And if thou haue any fresh Northerne winds, then loose vp to the seaward, and lye with thy stemme Eastsoutheast, and so thou mayest goe in East through the midst of the chanell: and though it bee by night, yet thou mayest goe in safely, because it is all cleere. And if the night be cleere thou shalt haue The Isle of Cares. sight of the Island called Cares, and it is an high land.

Comming from Cartagena to goe for Nombre de Dios in the time of the Northerne winds, thou must bring thy selfe to the offward of Sal medina: and thence stirre West till Sal Medina. thou bring thy selfe North and South with Cabeça Cabeza de de Catiua: and then goe Southwest and by West, and Catiua. thou shalt so fall with Rio de Francisco. It hath Rio de for markes a certaine land not very high, and within Francisco. the land certaine high hills lying East and West. And on the

West of the riuer of Francisco thou shalt see certaine cliffes that bee sixe leagues from Nombre de Dios, inclining toward the sea.

I aduise thee that going this course aboue written ; if thou see 3 or 4 Isles lying lowe with the sea, and also lying East and

**The Isles of Catiua.** West, thou mayest make account that they be the Islands de Catiua, and then runne West, and so thou

shalt go along the coast. And if thou see by this way

**Punta de Samblas.** a poynt of low land, make account it is Punta de  
**Sierras de Santa Cruz.** Samblas : and vpon it thou shalt see a row of hie rockie hils, and they be the mountaines of Santa Cruz.

If thou come from Cartagena to go to Nombre de Dios in the time of the sea winds when thou art out from Sal Medina, thou shalt goe West and by North, that thou mayest haue sea-roume, and take the Brisas or Northerne winds when they come : and goe till thou be North and South with the harbour of Nombre de Dios : and from thence goe Southwest, and if by this way thou see a row of high hils on a coast that lyeth Northeast and

**Sierras de las minas viejas** Southwest, make account they are Sierras de las minas Viejas, which minas Viejas lie North and South

with the harbour of Velo alto. Hauing kept this course abouesaid, and hauing sight of the former

**Puerto de velo alto.** marke, thou mayest account that thou art on the  
**Nombre de Dios.** West side of Nombre de Dios.

Furthermore when thou hast sight of an high land, and thou bee North and South with it, and in the toppe thereof thou seest as it were a litle table, if it be highest toward the East, then make account that thou art North and South with Nombre de Dios, I say, with the harbour of Nombre de Dios, and this hill

**Sierra de Capira.** is called Sierra de Capira. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou must keepe thy prow right against

**A ledge of rocks.** this hill, and comming neerer to the shore, thou shalt see a ledge of rockes, and it is without, and thou

mayest goe in what depth thou thinkest good, or at which place thou findest most water in. And to the West of the harbour

**Isla de los Bastimentos.** thou shalt see two or three Islands called Islas de los Bastimentos.

Take this for a warning, if thou come out of Nombre de Dios in the time of the Brisas or Northerne winds, and

**The course to goe back from Nombre de Dios to Cartagena.** wouldest goe for Cartagena, thou shalt come out in the morning, and shalt go Northnorthwest vntill 3 of the clocke at afternoone, and then cast about to the

land, vntill thou be hard aboard the shore, and so thou must go turning vntill thou hast doubled Cabeça de Catiua and hauing doubled it then ply to windward all that thou mayest: and if thou be Eastnortheast off it then thou shalt haue sight of the Ilands of Baru, which are 3 or 4 <sup>Islas de Baru.</sup> Islands lying low, and are all full of trees: and then presently thou shalt haue sight of the gallie that is ouer Cartagena, and it is like a gallie towed.

I aduise thee, that if thou come for Cartagena in the time aboue sayde, and comest from Cabeça de Catiua, if the wind will not suffer thee to lye but West, then going thus if thou seest a great high Island full of mountaines, and on the North side thereof thou see a ledge of rocks two leagues into the sea, thou mayest be sure it is Isla fuerte; but if thou see not the rocks, giue them a good breadth: and if thou wilt come to anker, thou mayest ride well on the West side of them, betwixt the mane and them in fiteene fathomes; and the sounding is clay. And if thou wilt go betweene this and the Islands of Saint Barnardo to goe into Cartagena, <sup>Islas de San Barnardo.</sup> thou mayest goe safely. And if any man aske thee how thou knowest the Islands of Baru and San Barnardo, thou mayest answer truely, that the Isles of San Barnardo are full of high hilles, and certaine sandie bayes to seaward; and the sayd Isles haue a good depth two or three leagues to the sea: and this depth is called The Bacilla. And these are all the <sup>La</sup> marques for the Islandes of San Barnardo. And <sup>Bacilla.</sup> touching the Isles of Baru, they bee 3 or 4 little Islands and very euen with the sea, and full of trees, and there is no good depth about them, but hard aboard them.

A ruttier from Cartegena to Hauana in Cuba.

COMming from Cartagena to goe to Hauana, thou must goe Northnorthwest vntill thou be in foureteene degrees: and then forwardes thou shalt goe with great care to anker euery night, and when it is day set sayle. And this is to bee done in this place because of the shoalds of Serrana: and so <sup>The shoalds of Serrana.</sup> thou mayest proceede with a care to anker when thou comest about Seranilla, or neere to it, which is in fiteene degrees and a halfe. And vpon it <sup>Seranilla.</sup>

thou shalt see a lowe flatte land lying Northeast and Southwest: and the sea beateth vpon it round about, except that on the Southeast part it hath certaine shelues of sand, and on the West side it hath a certain litle copple, which from sea seemeth to bee a shippe vnder sayle: and being Northeast and Southwest off it, scant a league from the shoald commeth out on the West side a certayne shoald, whereupon the sea doth alwayes beate

I aduise thee that if thou canst not passe on the West side, then thou must goe betwixt the sayd litle copple that is like a sayle and the shoald; for the passage is good. But if thou depart from the Serranilla to the Northwest, and seest a lowe land with the sea, and certayne white sandy bayes, and on the West side

seest a low land, and on the Eastside a litle coast lying East and West, thou mayest make account it is Cape de Corrientes.

And if thou goe from Cape de Corrientes for Cape de Santo Antonio, thou must goe Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt goe with the Cape. The marks be a low land full of trees with certayne white sandie bayes: and vpon the Cape itselfe thou shalt see two thicke groues of great trees, and they be vpon the Cape itselfe.

To go from the Cape de Sant Antonio for Hauana in the time of the North winds, thou shalt goe Northwest vntill thou be cleere of all the shoalds of the Cape, and then hale thy bowlines, and go as neere the wind as thou canst possibly, vntill thou bring

thy selfe vnto 24. degrees, and there sound, and thou shalt find it the Tortugas, and thy sounding will be white sand.

Thou must take heede what is said in the Chapter before: for he that writ the same hath seene it, and bene witnesse to

this: that comming from Seranilla, and stirring North and by East he had sight of an Island standing in 16 degees, and it is on the shoalds of Cape de Camaron. And from thence, if thou haue the wind large, goe North-east and by East, because of the variation of the compass, and thou shalt make thy way Eastnortheast, and thou shalt fall with Isla de Pinos. This I say, because the currents set sometime West: and so it fell out to bee true in March, Anno Domini 1582. I tell thee farther, that wee came out from this aforesayd Isle stirring north and

The currents set here sometimes West.



by East, for the wind would not suffer vs to lye neere the East, and one euening at Sunne going downe we fell with a land, that had the same markes to our iudgement with the Cape de Corrientes: and because night was at hand, we wrought to double Cape de Sant Antonio, stirring West: and about midnight we had land all high right a head, and the coast lying Southwest: and then we cast and lay Northeast till day: And being day, wee saw the land all a head, and we plied to windward to the East, and kept it a larboord till we had brought it Southwest. And to be short, we went here on land in the same place that we first fell with in the euening before: and it was an Island called Cozumel, lying on the coast of Iucatan. And this Island was the land which we saw first, seeming by the marks to be the Cape de Corrientes. Wee came to an anker about the midst of the Island, rather to the Norther then the Souther part: there we found a towne of Indians, who gaue vs all things which we needed for our money: and we carried our Astro- labs on shore and tooke the height in 19. degrees and one tierce. A man may goe betweene this Island and the coast of Iucatan, and the Cape de Catoche at pleasure Northeast; and the water wil set in thy fauour: and thou must go till thou be in 24. degrees, and so thou shalt haue the sounding of the Tortugas.

Isle de Cozumel.

The latitude of Cozumel in 19. deg. and one tierce.

Las Tortugas.

The course to be kept from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueua Espanna.

IF thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueua Espanna, and beeing late, thou shalt stirre Westnorthwest till thou be in the height of 24. degrees: and from thence thou shalt stirre something to the West, vntil thou bring thy selfe North and South with the litle Iland called Vermeja: and when thou art so, thou shalt go Southwest, and by this way thou shalt find Villa Rica, which is in 19 degrees and a halfe, and the signes be these. Thou shalt find a ledge of high hills lying Northeast and Southwest. But if thou chance to fall with a coast that lyeth North and South, then thou mayest account that it is about the low ground of Almeria which hath these markes. It is a land

The litle Isle called Vermeja. Marks of Villa Rica.

The low ground of Almeria.

not very high, and it is full of litle copples. And if thou haue cleare weather, thou shalt see within the land certaine high hils which are called the hils of Papalo.

And I aduise thee that beeing so farre shotte as the poynt called Punta del gada, which is the ende of all those hilles of Villa Rica, thou mayest stirre thence South and by West, and thou shalt goe along the coast, and shalt see a lowe land, and

with this land thou shalt fall, going for Saint Paul, and being so farre shotte as Saint Paul, if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou must stirre Southwest: and this is the course that thou must keepe being shotte into the Bay. And thou shalt goe along the coast of the lowe land in sight thereof: and keeping this course thou shalt see on the other side a

blacke hill, and it is called Monte de Carneros. Take this for a note, that it lyeth ouer the house of Buytron: and as thou doestcome neerer to the poynt of rockes, thou must bee sure to keepe the lead going, and shalt haue foure fathomes and a halfe or fiew

fathomes and so thou mayest goe through the midst of the chanell. And comming against the castle, thou shalt giue it some breadth off towards the Arrecife or rocke: and hauing doubled the castle, thou shalt goe from thence and shalt bring thy selfe to an anker hard by the Herreria, which is a cleane Bay, and thou shalt ride against the hospitall.

I aduise thee that if thou be benighted when thou art neere to S. Paul, and meetest with a Northerly wind after midnight, that then thy best way is to bring thy selfe into thy coarses, and lye by, plying to windward, and to seaward in 20. fathomes which depth thou shalt haue neere the shore, to the Northward: and being day, then goe in with the harbour as thou canst best, obseruing what is abouesaid.

And I aduise thee that if thou come from Villa Rica, and findest thy selfe in 20. degrees and a halfe, and seest no land, and seest that the water doth alter, thou shalt sound 60. fathomes water: and if in this depth thou hast oaze, make account thou art East and West with the riuer of Almeria. This

course is from the Cape of Santo Antonio to Nueva Espanna without or asea- board the Alacranes or Scorpions.

Now followeth how to worke, if a man come betwixt the Alacranes and the maine.

IF thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio and wouldest goe for Nueua Espanna within the Alacranes, thou must stirre West and by South, and by this way thou shalt bring thy selfe in 20. fathoms and if thou keep this course findest less water, then go West and by North, and that way thou shalt bring thy selfe into 20. fathomes againe, vntill thou haue brought thy selfe North and by South with the triangle. And being North and South with the triangle, then thou shalt be also North and South with Surta : from thence thou shalt goe Southwest : and by this course thou shalt haue sight of the high hils of S. Martin, which are certaine high hils lying Northwest and Southeast, and they haue a partition in the midst, and to the Northwest they be highest : and on the Southeast, part within the land, thou shalt see something on high land, called Pan de Minsapa, that is, the lofae of Minsapa, which is a round loafe not very high.

The hils of S. Martin stand in 18. degrees lesse one fift part.

I aduise thee, that when thou fallest with Saint Martin, and wouldest go with Saint Iohn de Villua, then thou shalt goe Westnorthwest : and this is the course that thou must keepe, if thou bee farre off at sea, I meane so farre off as thou mayest well descrie the hils of S. Martin.

But if thou be neere to the land, then thou must goe Northwest and by West, and thou shalt so come along the coast, and thou shalt find the coast to bee low land : and comming this course thou shalt haue sight of certaine little hilles not very high : then thou shalt fall with the poynt called Punta de Antoni Serro : and these hilles lye ouer the riuer of Medelin. And if when thou art East and West, with the Volcan or hill that casteth out fire, any man doe aske thee, where the harbour of Sant Iuan de Villua is, thou mayest truely answere, West and by South, and it standeth in 18. degrees and a halfe.

The course to be kept from Nueua Espanna to the maine of Spaine in Europe.

COMming from S. Iuan de Villua to goe for Spaine, thou shalt stirre Northeast vntill thou be in 24. degrees: and so beeing  
 The Tor- thou shalt goe East vntill thou bring thy selfe in the  
 rugas. soundings of the Tortugas, and thy ground will be white sand. I aduise thee, that if it be by night, thou goe East; and finding the water to waxe shoalder, then goe Southwest, with a care to keepe thy lead going, vntill thou loose ground, and come into great depth, because thou mayest fall to the North of the Tortugas. And going from this sound for Hauana thou must stirre Southsoutheast,  
 The currents because of the currents that carrie thee to the East.  
 to the East. And if by this way thou haue sight of an hie land, that seemeth to be like a loafe, make account it is the loafe of Cabanas. And to the East of this loafe thou shalt see a land that hath a plaine. It sheweth to be low, euen with the sea, and as smooth as the sea: and from this land to the East the land is lower and lower. And from thence to Hauana thou must goe East. And if the wind will not let thee go that course, thou must turne vp  
 Hamana. till thou be vpon the harbour of Hauana.

The marks of this point of Hauana be these, that on the East side it hath an hie blacke land, which is sloping to the sea, with a litle white tower on the top thereof: and as thou goest into the port, thou must keepe neere the high blacke land, and when thou art hard to it, strike thy toppe sayles in signe of peace to the castle, leas it shoote at thee.

What course the Spaniards keepe from Hauana to Spaine.

IF from Hauana thou wouldest set thy course for Spaine, thou must goe Northeast, and shalt so haue sight  
 Los Mar- of the Martyres, which stand in 24. degrees and a  
 tyres halfe. And the coast lieth East and West. The marks be these, it sheweth like heads of trees, and in some places certaine rocks with white sandy bayes. And if the wind be large, thou mayest go East and by South vntill thou see the coast to lye Northeast and Southwest: and if the wind be scant, then goe turning vp: and take good heed that euery euening at

Sunne going downe thou haue sight of the land, and so thou must do being in the chanell, vntill thou bring thy selfe into the middest of the chanell: and thou must lye off from the going downe of the sunne, vntill the ende of the first watch with thy coarces alone, without any more sayle; and from midnight forwards cast about, and lye the other way with the like sayle vntill day: and thus thou must doe vntill thou bring thy selfe into the chanel. And if being in the Chanel thou finde the winde large, thou shalt stirre Northeast, with a care to goe cleane off the sholds of the Mimbres or the Osiars. The sholds of Mimbres, that is, of Osiars. And if being in the Chanel thou meete with the wind at North, then thou must turne with a little saile 4. glasses one way, and 4. another, as thou thinkest good. And if thou canst not beare sayle, then thou mayest goe with all thy sayles downe, except when thou wouldest cast about, thou mayest loose some small sayle to winde thy ship.

I aduise thee, that when thou art come out of the Chanel, thou shalt be in 28. degrees. The chanell reacheth to Summer, thou shalt goe Northeast vntill thou be in 28. degrees. 39. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , which is the height of Flores: and La Bermuda. thou shalt goe to the Northward of Bermuda. And if thou thinke good to go in more degrees, to haue the seawinds, thou shalt goe by the same height, as I haue sayd: and if thou shalt finde the winde off the sea, thou hast no neede to goe in more heights: and from thence thou shalt goe East and by South: and thou must goe thus because of the The variation of the Compasse. variation of the Compasse. And thus thou shalt finde the isles of Flores and Cuero, which stand in 39. degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and in 40. large. These markes be these.

Thou mayest goe from betwixt Flores and Cuero, Flores and Cuero. and must goe East Southeast, and so thou shalt haue sight of the Island of Sayles, which is the Island of S. George. And beeing at the land thou shalt goe along it, and when thou hast doubled Saint George. a certaine litle Headland that lyeth in the East point, then thou shalt stirre East and by North, and East. Terzera. And thus going, thou shalt haue sight of Terzera, which is in 39. degrees. The markes bee these. And behinde a certaine blacke land something high, which is called el Brasil, standeth the Citie called Angra. Going from Terzera, thou shalt runne East Northeast, vntill thou bring thy selfe

The Cape of Northwest, and Southeast with the Cape of Saint S. Vincent Vincent. And thou mayest worke thus being in summer: for alwayes thou shalt haue the windes at Northwest. And beeing Northwest and Southeast with

The windes this Cape, thou shalt stirre Southeast and by East, are alwayes and thou shalt so fall with the land 6. or 7. leagues at Northwest to the windward off the Cape on the coast, which in the summer. lyeth North and South: then thou shalt goe along the

The markes of Cape S. Vincent. the Cape standeth in 37. degrees: the markes be these. It is a Cape not very hie; and is blacke,

The Asagresal. sloping to the sea. And from thence thou shalt double the Asagresal Southeast; and so running, thou

The Cape of Saint Mary. shalt then goe East vnto the Cape of S. Mary: and from this Cape goe East Northeast, and so thou shalt

runne to haue sight of Arenas Gordas: and then thou shalt see presently a little hill towardes the East which is called Cabeça de Pedro Garcia. And if thou be benighted, and comming into 8. or 9. fathoms, then I wish thee to come to anchor, vntill it be day, and then call for a Pilote, that may by some meanes carie thee into harbour.

The course in winter from the chanel of Bahama.

The variation of the Compas.

Many lost vpon Bermuda by negligence.

I aduise thee, if in the Winter time thou bee shot out of the narrowest of the Channel of Bahama, and wouldest goe for Spaine, that thou must goe East Northeast, vntill thou be in 30. degrees rather lesse then more; and then thou mayest goe East and by

South, because of the variation of the Compas. And stirring hence East Southeast, thou shalt goe on the Southside of Bermuda: and must goe with great care, because many haue bene lost heere about this Island, because of their negligence. And when thou art sure thou art past this Island, then goe East Northeast, vntill thou bee in the height of seuen and thirtie

The Isle of S. Marie. degrees: which is in the height of the Island of Saint Marie. And going thus, and not seeing Land, but seeing the Sea to breake, make account it is the rocks called

Las Hormigas. And if thou thinke good to goe to

Faial. Faial, thou shalt goe till thou be in 38. degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$  scant, and then thou shalt goe East, and so shalt thou haue sight of Faial. The markes of it be these.

Comming out from Faial, and leauing all the Islandes, then

all goe East and by South vntill thou bring thy selfe in 37. degrees, which is the height of Cape Saint Vincent : and then goe East, and thou shalt see the Cape hauing the markes aforesayd. And from Cape S. Vincent thou must goe East Southeast, till thou be Northeast, and Southwest, The barre of S. Lucar. with the barre of S. Lucar : and then goe Northeast for the Barre.

Take this for a warning, that if going in 37. degrees thou haue not sight of Cape S. Vincent, and has sight of certaine hie hils make accompt they are Sierras de Monchico. Sierras de Monchico.

I aduise thee, that if thou stand in feare of men of warre about the Cape S. Vincent, then goe in 36 degrees  $\frac{1}{3}$ . And finding thy selfe within the Cape, if thou see many signes of greene weedes, then cast about to the North Northeast, and by this way finding land, and the same shewing white, be sure it is the castle of Aimonte. To auoyde men of warre. The castle of Aimonte.

A ruttier for the old Chanel from the East point of Cuba by the North side thereof to Hauana.

GOing from the Cape of S. Nicolas, thou shalt goe North Northwest, but thou must keepe to windward off the poynt, that thou mayest weather it, and it is called the poynt of Mayaci : and it is a very low land and smooth : and aboue vp within the land about a league it hath a long Hill, which is not very high but flat. And from that point to Baracoa is 7. leagues. The cape of S. Nicolas on the East ende of Cuba. Punta de Mayaci.

And being disposed to goe into Baracoa, keepe the weather-shore all along, vntill thou open the Harbour. And to knowe if thou bee open of the Harbour, looke vpon the South side; and thou shalt see an Hill by it selfe, which maketh as it were a crowne vpon it. And if thou come along, it maketh as it were a Fort with Ports about it: And this is the marke if thou come out of the Sea. And this Hill is North and South of the Harbour, ouer the Harbour of Baracoa. And if thou wilt goe in, thou must take heede of a Shoald which lyeth on the East side, and thou must keepe the West side: and goe not much from the Shoald, because the foote of the Shoald that shooteth Westward Baracoa. A shoald on the East side of Baracoa.

hath 5. fathoms water. And when thou art within the Shoalds, thou must goe a litle within them, and then let fall an anchor: aud looke that thou come not much on the East side, for it is shoaldie.

And comming out from Baracoa, being to passe through the old Cayo de chanel, you shal set your course Northwest vntill you Moa. come with the Cayode Moa, or the shoald of Moa, vntill This worde you thinke you are Northeast and Southwest with it, or Cayo in the till you thinke you are gone 12. leagues: and you Biskayne shal know that you are vpon Cayo de Moa. For tongue sig- nifieth a flat before you come at it by 2. leagues or more, you or a shoald. shall vnderstand that it hath a poynt of lowe land, and vpon the poynt it hath a Palme tree; which tree you shall see alwayes, before you see the point: and it is like a sayle. From thence to the Pracellas or Flats you shall stirre Northwest two parts of your way, that you haue to runne from Cayo de Moa to the sayd Pracellas or Flats, and the one halfe part of the way North Northwest and by West. And this way you shall see The Pracellas or Flats in a cleane place of the shoald aboute the The water, for all the breach of the sea. The Mosowes Mosowes. bee from the Pracell West, and you shall leaue them to windward.

And if you will goe with the Pracellas or Flats, you shall finde 4. or 5. fathomes: and you may goe sure without danger a Northwest course vntill you come in 7. fathomes. And if you will goe vpon the Shoald, you shall goe vpon that depth, vntill you haue runne 40. or 45. leagues: And from thence you shall set your course Southwest, till you see the Flattes of the maine land. You shall then see to the Westward a rocke diuided into 3.

partes, which is called the Camoloquea. And Camoloquea. looke that when you come from the Pracellas Southwest, you haue certaine Flats before you: take The Flats of heede of them that you fall not by night with Mecala to be them by foure leagues, for feare of the Mecala: and auoyded. you shall set your course West Northwest vntill day: and when it is day, you must beare close aboard the shore,

and then you shall see a flat Island with many Cropeda a flat Island. broken sands, which is called Cropeda, and lyeth but a little out of the trade way, somewhat to the Northward. Off that you shall see 2. Rocks of stone. of stone. stone, which are the poynt of all the Flats:



And two leagues from them on the mayne land you shall see a poynt which sheweth like broken land. This is Punta de called the poynt of Caucus. And from that poynt to Caucus. Matanças on the North side of Cuba are 12. leagues, Matanzas. and your course lieth West and by North: and then you must borrow vpon the land all that you can, because of the currents: for the currents will cary you into the Channell. And being at Matanças, you must runne all along the shore, because of the currents. Remember that when you see one league The cur- before you a Rocke, and a Shoald, that hath vpon rents. it but 2. fathomes water; and your marke if you come out of the sea is an Hil, and the Hil is not very hie, it standeth East and West, and vpon it are some little risings and they are not very high, and vpon these risings stand two round homocks close together, you shall see the Teates The Teates of Hauana. of Hauana.

To know along the shore when you are against the Harbour of Xaroca, the markes are these. A little The harbour to the Westward one league, you shall see along of Xaroca. the shore a Hill that is broken, and that broken Hil is ouer the Harbour of Xaroca: and then a little more to the Westward a league, there is another broken Hill. And you shall see that North and South from these broken hills is a Flât off. And from that to Hauana is 7. leagues: and it is all cleane ground, and you may goe along the shore till you come to Hauana. To know the harbour of Markes to Hauana, you shall see before you come at it one know the litle rocke of stone not very hie, and smooth toward harbour of the sea: vpon the rocke standeth a litle white tower, wherein Hauana. they keepe watch. And then if you haue the winde large, you shall see the harbour open, and then you may beare in with it.

Your shippe being of great burthen, when you are within, then keepe on the West side, because on the East side, on the West end of the Rocke aforesayde, there lieth a ledge to the Westward which hath but three or foure fathoms  $\frac{1}{2}$  vpon it. If your ship be of small burthen, you may run along the weather shore, vntill you come right against the Castle; and then halfe the Bay ouer you may come to an anchor.

Howe to worke comming through the oldie Chanell, if you be not minded to goe ouer the Pracellas or shoalds.

IF you will come through the oldie Chanel, when you come as  
 Caio de Moa. hie as the Shoalds, comming vpon your course from  
 the Caio de Moa, as I told you, keepe 2. leagues  
 from the Prancel or shoald: and then set our course West vnto  
 the low islands of the firme land. And vpon this course you shal  
 Caio Romano. ken the Flats on the point of Caio Romana: and  
 within it is one Flat higher then the other, and  
 smooth vpon, and in the middest it maketh as it were broken  
 land; and when you are in the chanel in the day time, you must  
 take heede you come no neere the shore by 2. leagues, and by  
 your sounding no neerer then 3. fathoms. And you must take  
 heede stil when ye night commeth to keepe 2. or three leagues off  
 for feare of the shoalds. And in the night you must goe North-  
 west as is aforesaid. And also you must take heed that you  
 keepe in the middle of the chanel, as nere as you can toward the  
 shoald. And finding much wind and being beknighted, from  
 midnight till day stirre West Northwest, and when it is towards  
 day, then you may edge towards the Flats as is aforesaid.

And as you stirre hence one day and one night from Caio  
 Romano to the inwards of the Chanell, you shall see the firme  
 land of Cuba, and other markes: and among the rest,  
 Alcan de Barasoga. a round hamocke, which you may easily know: It  
 is called Alcan de Barasoga. And from thence to  
 Sauano Basquo. Sauano and to Basquo is 6. leagues, and likewise  
 Hauana 6. leagues. And from thence to crosse vnder the Forts  
 is 45. leagues. And stirre hence vpon your course aforesaid.

The Flats And if you haue gone from Barasoga 30. leagues, you  
 of Mecala. shall see none of the Flats of Mecala: And giue  
 them a bredth off two or three leagues, and keepe your course  
 Take heede West Northwest, as aforesayd, vntill it be day, and  
 of that which presently you may edge round to the Flats. And  
 is here sayd, for it hath thus stirring, keepe your course vntill you see the  
 litle reason hilles of Camaloqua.

Sierras de Camaloqua. And looke that when you come from Caio de Moa,  
 Caio de Moa. along the Prancel or shoald by night close by it, you  
 shall not see what land it is, till it be day: and in the Morning

you shall set your course as is aforesayd vntill you see the shoald, and in seeing it, you may stirre on your course as is aboue mentioned, vntill you come to Hauana.

Pracellas.

Hauana.

For to set your course from the point of Mance to Caio Romano, when you are North and South with the point of Mance, you shall stirre thence West Northwest, vntil you thinke you be Northeast and Southwest with the hill of Hama. And this hill is an high hill and smooth to the seaside. And from this hill to Caio Romano you shall stirre Northwest and by West: and vpon this course you may be bolde to see Caio Romano. An the marke of this Flat is, that it maketh an hie land and smooth vpon the top: and in the midst of it, it sheweth as it were broken. And when you come to it, you must take heede you come not neere it by 2. leagues, because it is fowle. And looke that you bring not yourselfe too neere the hill of Hama by night. For you must take heede of Caio Romano to keepe off it vntill Morning: in the Morning you may goe your course vntill you see it, and then set your course, as is abouesaid.

Punta de Mance.

Sierra del Hama.

Caio Romano.

The markes of the Flat of Caio Romano.

A principal ruttier conteining most particular directions to saile from S. Lucar in Andaluzia by the Isles of the Canaries, the small Isles called Las Antillas, along the South parts of the Isles of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, Hispaniola and Cuba: and from Cabo de Corrientes, or Cabo de S. Anton without and within the litle Isles called Los Alacranes, to the port of S. Iuan de Villua in Nueua Espanna: and the course from thence backe againe by Hauana, and through the Chanell of Bahama to Spaine: together with the Speciall markes of all the Capes, Islands, and other places by the way; and a briefe declaration of their latitudes and longitudes.

IF you depart from the barre of S. Lucar de Barameda toward the West Indias in the Summer time, you must stirre away Southwest vntill you come to the head-land called Punta de Naga vpon the Isle of Tenerif. But if your departure be from the sayd barre in the Winter, you must stirre away Southwest and by South, vntill you come to the height of

Punta de Naga.

Cape Cantin on the coast of Barbarie: the markes and signes whereof be these following.

The markes to know Cape Cantin.

Cape Cantin is a lowe Cape and small to the sea ward, and maketh a snowt like the nose of a galley, and hath vpon the top of the poynt a Heath or shrubby place, and on the toppe thereof stand two homocks, that to the sea-ward being higher then the other; but that on the Souther side sheweth like a tower; and his Cape is in 32. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

And he that wil seeke from this Cape to discouer Punta de Naga before sayd, must stirre away Southwest and by West, vntill hee bring himselfe Northeast and Southwest with the same point, and then he must stirre away South to fetch the said point.

The signes of Punta de Naga.

The said point or Head-land is an high point of Land, and plaine vpon the toppe like a table, and without it there are two litle rockie Islands; and vpon the North side of the said point is another point called Punta de hidalgo, and vpon the top thereof are 2. picked rockes like vnto the eares of a Hare.

The course from the Canaries to the West Indise.

IF you set saile from any of the Islands of the Canaries for the West Indias, you must stirre away 30. or 40 leagues due South, to the ende you may auoid the calmes of the Island of Fierro: and being so farre distant from the said Island, then must you stirre away West Southwest, vntill you finde your selfe in 20. degrees, and then saile West and by South vntill you come to 15. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . And from thence stirre away West and by North; and so shall you make a West way by reason of the Northwesting of the Com-  
The variation of the Com-  
 passe.
 passe: which West way will bring you to the Island of Deseada.

The markes of the Island of Deseada.

THIS Island Deseada lieth East Northeast, and West South-

west, hauing no trees vpon it, and it is proportioned like a Galley, and the Northeast ende thereof maketh a lowe nose like the snowt of a galley; and by comming neere it, and passing by the Norther ende thereof, you shall perceiue white broken patches like heapes of sand with red strakes in them: and the Southwest <sup>Deseada in</sup> end of this Island maketh like the tilt of a galley. <sup>15. degrees</sup> and a halfe. And this Island standeth in 15. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Markes of the Island of Monserate.

MONserate is an high Island, and round, full of trees, and vpon the East side thereof you shall perceiue certain white spots like sheetes: and being vpon the South side at the very point of the Island, somewhat off the land, it maketh like a little Island: and putting your selfe either East or West from that point, in the midst thereof will appeare a great broken land.

Markes of the Island of Marigalanta.

MARigalanta is a smooth Island, and full of wood or trees, and as it were of the fashion of a galley vpon her decke: and being on the Southeast side about halfe a leagüe off you shall make certaine hamocks of blacke stones, and certaine white patches: but on the West side appeare faire white sandy shotes or plaines.

Markes of the Isle of Dominica.

THE Island of Dominica lieth Northwest and Southeast, and vpon the Northwest side it sheweth more high: and if you come neere it at full sea, it will shew like two Islands, but by comming neerer vnto it, you shall perceiue it to be but one: and vpon the Southeast side you shall make or see a plaine and long point, and vpon the same point appeareth a cliffe like to the cliffe of Cape Tiburon; and vpon the North side a litle from the land it sheweth like a litle Island, and upon the top thereof is, as it were, an high steeple, and vpon the Norther side you shall perceiue it like many white sheetes.

Markes of the Island of Guadalupe.

THE Island of Guadalupe lieth on the West of Deseada, and vpon the Southwest part thereof appeare many hie mountaines, but vpon the East side it maketh certaine tables, which are

called the high part of Guadalupe. And this Island is cut North and South; so that the Canoes of India do passe from the North to the South of it, as if it were two Islandes.

Markes of the Isle of Matalina, or Martinino.

THE Isle of Matalina is high and full of mountains, hauing in the midst thereof 3. homocks: the middlemost homocke being highest sheweth like the great bowle of an hat. And vpon the North side it appeareth like three little Islandes. And in this Island there are warlik Indians like those of Dominica.

Markes of the three small Islandes called Islas de Los Santos, or the Islands of Saintes.

LOs Santo are 3 Islandes lying one close by another vpon the South side of Guadalupe. For to go with S. Iuan de Puerto rico you must stirre away Northwest, vntill you fall with the Isle of Saba.

Markes to know the Isle of Saba.

SABA is a litle Island, and round about it you shall see the bottome; but feare not, for there is no danger but that which you shall see; and round about it, it maketh as it were certaine heapes of white sand; and by the side thereof it sheweth like a Ship vnder saile: but follow that direction that I haue giuen, and you shall see La virgin gorda.

Markes to know the Isle called La virgin gorda.

LA virgin gorda is an high Island and round, and seeing it, you shall espie all the rest of the Virgines which lye East and

West one from another, and are bare without any trees. You may goe about by them vntill you see a litle gray Island, which you shall see by it selfe by the Virgines; and comming neere to the sayd Island, ouer that you shall by and by rayse sight of the white litle Island, which seemeth like a ship vnder saile. And if you will passe betweene this litle white Island or bare rocke, and the greene Island, you must beware that you leaue the white Island on the larbour side of you, and come no neerer it then a Caliequer-shot, and so shall you passe through 12. fadome-water: and then stirre away Northnorthwest, and so shall you enter into the Hauen of Puerto rico; and if you chance to passe the sayd Island by night, goe by the foresaid direction, vntill the first watch be out, and then take in your sayles, and so driue vntill it bee neere day: and then hoise sayles, and stirre away Southwest, seeking the sayde Port: and when you come to the entring within, you must stay till 10. of the clocke for the sea-terne. And know, that hauing the Loguilo at Southwest, then shall the Harbour be off you North and South.

These the 2 white and the gray Islands are rather bare rockes in the sea, for so doeth farral on the Spanish word signifie. But I interpret it Island, because all the rocks separated from the bigger Islands are said to be litle Islands. This white and bare Island is made white by the dung of birds and sea-foules that resort vnto it.

Directions from Monserate to Santo Cruz.

HE that departeth from Monserate to Santa Cruz, must stirre away Westnorthwest: and by the same course you shall seaze vpon S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

Markes to know the Isle of Santa Cruz.

Santa Cruz is an Island not very high, all full of homocks: and comming with it at full sea, it will shew like the Virgines: and vpon the East side there are two homocks higher then all the rest. And by this course you may goe to the Isle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico; and hauing found it, you may sayle along the South coast East and West, vntill you come to Cabo Roxo.

Markes to know Cape Roxo.

CApe Roxo is a low cape and traying to the sea-ward, hauing certaine heapes of broken ground thereon, which are like a

homocke, and at full sea the same sheweth like a litle Island from the land by it selfe, but comming neere vnto it, it will make all a whole land.

Directions from Cabo roxo to the Isle of Mona.

IF you will seeke Mona from Cape roxo, you must stirre away West and by North.

Markes of the Isle of Mona.

THE Isle of Mona is a low, round, and smooth Island, lying lowe by the sea, and full of trees: and to goe from thence to the Isle of Saona you must stirre away West; and if you fall with it in the night season, and come any thing neere the land, then stirre away West and by South, vntill it be neere day, that you may keepe your selfe by the land; and if so be that in the Morning you see it not, then stirre away Northwest, and so shall you finde it: and if it be faire weather, and you perceiue that the current hath set you to the Southwest, then stirre away Northnorthwest, and so shall you goe cleare off the land.

Markes of the Isle of Saona.

IF you chance to see the Isle of Saona, it is an Island smooth with the sea, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest, and you shall see the trees before you see the Island: and on the Southwest end of this Island appeareth a great high banke of white sand which is called the head of Saona. And if you would come to an anchor, you may, for all is cleare ground. And to go from this Island to Santa Catelina, you must stirre away Northwest.

Markes of the Isle of Santa Catelina.

Santa Catelina is a litle lowe Island all full of low rockes euen from the water, and hath not any trees, and it is close by the land; and if you doe not run along the coast of Hispaniola, you shall not see it: and from that Island to goe to Saint Domingo, you shall sayle along as the land lyeth, West and by North: and before you come to the point called Causedo, you shall see



certaine holes in rockes, which lye alongst as the rocks doe that cast vp the water, which will shew like to the spouting of Whales. And a litle a head off that, you shall see the point of Andresa : and ahead thereof the poynt of Causedo. This poynt of Causedo lyeth lowe close by the water, and passing thereby, the coast will make to thee Northwest and Southeast ; and from thence to S. Domingo are 5. leagues. And if the winde chop vp at North vpon you, by meanes whereof you should be cast off from the coast of Port, and that you happen to see the olde Mines (called Sierras de las minas viejas) beare Northwest off you, and The teates which are within the land be open of you, then shal you be North and South with the harbour ; and if The old Mines beare North off you, then shall you be below the harbour.

These rockes are called Los Buffaderos, or the spoutes.

The point of Causedo. San Domingo.

Sierras de las minas viejas.

Directions from Saint Domingo to Nueua Espanna.

IF you will sayle from Saint Domingo in Hispaniola to Nueua Espanna, stirre away Southsouthwest, vntill you come vp as farre as the point of Niçao : and from thence stirre away Westsouthwest, and so you shall finde the Isle of Beata. And if you saile from this point of Niçao for Ocoa, you must passe along the coast West and by North, vntill you come to Puerto Hermoso, or The beautifull hauen, which is 18. leagues distant from Saint Domingo : and if you proceede from Puerto Hermoso for Nueua Espanna, you must stirre away Southsouthwest, vntill you looke out for Beata and Alto velo.

The point of Nisao.

The Isle of Beata.

Ocoa.

Puerto hermoso.

The Isle of Alto Velo.

Markes of the Isle of Beata.

BEata is a small Island and not very high : you may passe along the outside thereof, and there is no danger but that you may see ; and by and by you shall raise Alto velo : and from thence you must stirre away West and by South, to giue a birth from the Islands called Los Frailes, or The Friers. And when you are as farre a head as the Frailes, then you must stirre away West and by North, and so shall you goe right with Bacoa, and before you come to it, you shall see high craggie cliffes, and at

Los Frailes.

Bacoa.

the descending of them white paths like great sheetes; these  
 Las sierras high craggie mountaines are called Las sierras de  
 de donna donna Maria. And before you come to the sayde  
 Maria. point of Bacoa, you shall discouer a little low Island  
 Isla Baque. euen with the Sea, and full of trees, which is called  
 Isla Baque.

Directions from Isla Baque to Cape Tiburon.

IF you will goe from the Island Baque, or from the  
 Cape Tiburon. point of Bacoa for Cape Tiburon, or to the isle of  
 The Isle of Nauaza, you must stirre away Westnorthwest, and  
 Nauaza. edge in somewhat to the Northwest, and you shall  
 passe between Nauaza and Cape Tiburon.

Markes of Cape Tiburon, which is the Western cape of  
 Hispaniola.

Cape Tiburon lyeth sliding downe to the Seaward, and maketh  
 a sharpe cliffe like the snout of a Tiburon or sharke-fish; and  
 vpon the top thereof it appeareth like white wayes with certaine  
 gullets or draines vpon it, which are caused by the passage of the  
 water from the mountaine in the Winter time.

Markes of the Isle of Nauaza

NAuaza is a little round Island full of trees or shrubs, and it  
 lyeth East and West from Cape Tiburon, and from this small  
 Island to go for Sierras de Cobre, or The mountaines or mines of  
 Copper vpon the Southeast part of Cuba, you must stirre away  
 Northnorthwest.

Directions from Cape Tiburon to Cabo de Cruz in Cuba.

IF you will saile from Cape Tiburon to Cape de Cruz in  
 Cuba, you must stirre away Northwest, and you shall  
 Sierras de see the Sierras or mountaines de Cobre; and from  
 Cobre. thence you may goe along the coast West towardes  
 Sierras de Cabo de Cruz; and before you come at it you shall  
 Tarquino. see The great Tarquino, and from this Tarquino you  
 shall haue to Cape de Cruz 30. leagues, and this  
 great Tarquino is the highest land vpon all that coast; and then

by and by you shall see the lesser Tarquino, from whence to the foresayd Cape you haue 12. leagues, and so shall you goe discovering the coast, vntill you come to Cabo de Cruz.

Markes of Cabo de Cruz.

Cape de Cruz is a low Cape full of shrubs; and from thence Westward you shall see no land; for the distance or bay is great between the sayd Cape and the Isles called Los Iardines.

Directions from Cape de Cruz to Isla de Pinos.

IF you sayle from Cape de Cruz to seeke the Island of Pinos, you must stir away Westnorthwest. And note, that if in this course you happen to sounde, doe not feare; for you haue nine fathoms. If also going this course, you meete with certaine little Islands vpon the larboord side, which are called The Caimanes, or The crocodiles, hauing sight of them, stir away Northwest, and so shall you finde the Island of Pinos. And if by seeing the sayde Islands called Caimanes you are amazed, you shall knowe by the latitude, whither they bee The Iardines or no: for if you finde your selfe in one and twentie degrees, then bee you sure they are The Iardines, and then stir out againe South, till you bee cleare of them; and when you haue brought them North of you, then you may stirre away West, if it bee by day; if it bee by night, West and by South, till you see the Island of Pinos.

The markes of Isla de Pinos.

THE Island of Pinos stretcheth it selfe East and West, and it is full of homocks, and if you chance to see it at full sea, it will shewe like 3. Islands, as though there were diuers soundes betweene them, and that in the midst is the greatest; and in rowing with them, it will make all a firme lande: and vpon the East side of these three homocks it will shewe all ragged; and on the West side of them will appeare vnto you a lowe point euen with the sea, and oftentimes you shall see the trees before you shall discern the point.

Directions from the Isle of Pinos to Cape de Corrientes.

IF you saile from the foresayde Isle of Pinos to Cape de

Corrientes, stir away West and by North; and before you come to the sayd Cape vpon the Northside of you, you shall see certaine mountaines all full of homocks, which are called Las Sierras de Guanaguarico, and that vpon the West part hath more homocks then that on the other.

#### Markes of Cape de Corrientes.

Cape de Corrientes is a lowe Cape, though not so low as the other part of the land that lyeth along by it: for it is more lowe, and hath vpon it 4. or 5. great splats like vnto oxen, and the very point of the Cape is all white sand: and from thence Westward you shall discerne no land, for it maketh a great bay: and from hence you must saile to Cape de Sant Anton.

#### Markes of Cape de Sant Anton.

The cape of Sant Anton is lowe by the sea, and all full of shrubs or trees: and you shall see within the land a lake of fresh water; and if you want water, there you may conuenient watering place. water: and vpon the North side of the said Cape you shall discerne a palme tree higher then the rest of the trees, and it sheweth round like a bowle at the top, like to the top of a ship: and North from the Cape are certaine sholdes which are 2. or 3. leagues long.

Directions from the Cape de S. Anton to Nueua Espanna on the outside of the small Islands called Los Alacranes or The Scorpions.

IF you will sayle from Cape Sant Anton to Nueua Espanna with a North winde, then stirre away Westnorthwest from 21. to 22. degrees, and then sound vpon the prael or flat; and if you see by this direction, that you holde water, then stir away Northwest, vntill you lose the ground; and then follow your course againe, vntill you haue brought yourselfe into 24. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . and then saile West vntill you bring your selfe North and South with the Isle of Vermeja, or The red Isle: then stir away Southwest, and by this way you shall finde Villa rica on the coast of Nueua Espanna. And if by going this course you be in 19. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . and chance not

to see the lande, then stir away West vntill you see Villa rica, and from thence saile you South for the harbour of S. Iuan de Vllua: and if you should be neere the land you must stir South and by West towardes the same harbour. And if you chance to see the Volcan or burning hill to beare west and by South from you, then know, that the harbour of S. Iuan de Vllua. shalbe East and west off you.

Markes of Villa rica.

Villa rica standeth in 19. degres and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . and the signes thereof are certaine high hiles full of homocks of many heads, which haue on the top of them certain white patches after the maner of white beaten wayes; and these hils lie Northeast and Southwest. And if you doubt whether these be the Sierras or hils of S. Martin, wet your lead or sound, and if you finde bottome, they are the Sierras of Villa rica: and saile you to the landward, and looke by how much you come neerer the land, so much will they seeme lower vnto you: but so doe not the hilles of S. Martin; for the neerer you come to them, the higher will they appeare to you and likewise if they be the hilles of S. Martin, you shall not finde bottome, but euen at land it selfe.

Markes of Rio de las palmas, and of the riuier of mountaines called Rjo de las montannas.

IF you should chance to fall with Rio de las palmas, or The riuier of palmes, or els with the riuier of Mountaines, it is all a plaine lande, and full of trees and certaine woodie homocks, and among them certaine heapes of sand, and all this along by the sea side: and if you went by land to the riuier of Panuco, you shall haue many mouthes or openings of plaias strands, where also are many lizas or oazy places, which stretch to Rio Hermoso.

You must beware what part soeuer you happen of this coast to fall withall, to discouer it, and although you knowe it, you must sound the depth; because if the windes bee Easterly, the current setteth there much to the North: but if you should be 40. leagues at sea, then this current setteth to the Northeast.

Rio de las Palmas.  
Rio de las montannas.

Rio de Panuco.  
Rio Hermoso, or The beautifull riuier.

The current of the bay of Mexico (the winde being at the East) setteth to the North and 40. leagues from the shore to the Northeast.

Markes of Rio Hermoso or The beautifull riuier.

IF you wil seeke the riuier called Rio Hermoso, looking well within the land, you shal see three homocks of an high hill, and those two which are to the landward within, are rounder then the other which is neerest the sea, for that it is longer and bigger, and lyeth North and South, and you shall be 4. leagues at sea when you shall see them: and they are called The The mount-  
taines of  
Tamaclipa. sierras, or mountaines of Tamaclipa; and from thence to the riuier of Panuco there is no high land, but all lowe and euen with the sea, and full of palme trees and other trees.

Markes of the riuier of Panuco.

IF you fall with the riuier of Panuco (between which and the foresayde Villa rica standeth the Island called Isla de Lobos or The Isle of seales) the markes bee these. From the mouth of the riuier it maketh a great bay without, and at the ende of this bay vpon the Northside there is oazy, low, and bare ground altogether without trees, and at the out ende of the oazy lowe place vpon the West side it maketh a low homock like to a Lizards head: and when you see the aforesayde cliffe, you shall bee in the opening of the mouth of the sayd riuier, then you shall see a

No tide at  
the riuier of  
Panuco. little low tower hauing on the top of it a crosse, which the fishermen call Marien: and this barre hath on it 2. fathom water, and 2. and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . and you neede not to staye for the tyde, for that it floweth not there: and that you may the better knowe whether you bee in this bay which I haue

Las sierras  
de Tarquia. mentioned, or not, you shall see certaine hils at West Southwest, which are called Las sierras de Tarquia; and forthwith also you shall see the oazy place that I speake of,

S. Luis de  
Tampice. which goeth to the mouth of the riuier where standeth a towne called S. Luis de Tampice, and from thence to Panuco you haue 9. leagues by land.

The markes of Isla de lobos, or The Isle of seales.

Isla de lobos is a small Island nothing so big as the carde doth shew it, and in it is a litle groue or wood of palme trees, and all

the rest of the Island is without trees, and round about it are sundry playas or strandes, and it is inclosed round about with arraçites or shoalds, and chiefly toward the maine lande. And from thence to Cape Roxo or the red Cape are 3. Cabo Roxo. leagues. And if you will come to anker at this Island A watering place. to water, for that there is water in it, you may ride on all the South side close by the poynt that stretcheth to the Westward, and you may passe by the East side of it, and ride in 22. fathom, and vntill you come to 15. fathoms, all is cleane ground.

Markes of the riuier of Tuspa.

IF you fall with the riuier of Tuspa, you must beware the sholdes which run 5. or 6. leagues into the sea: and vpon this riuier of Tuspa within the lande there are high hilles which lie Northeast and Southwest, and haue their ending vpon the bay of Cassones: and vpon the riuier you shall perceiue a white cliffe, which will shew vnto you like the castle of S. Iuan de Villua. The bay of Cassones.

Markes of the riuier of S. Peter and S. Paul.

IF you chance to fall with the bay of Cassones, and vpon the riuier of S. Peter and S. Paul, take heede: for the sayd bay is a deepe bay, and the hilles of Tuspa haue their ending vpon this bay. And in the mouth of this riuier of S. Peter and S. Paul are two homockes of white sand, the Westermost being bigger then that on the Northeast. And by and by you shall perceiue the water to change white which commeth out of the riuier, and sounding you shall finde sande mixed with clay vpon your lead; and looke vpon the West side, and you shall see the Sierras or mountaines of S. Paul, which are two, and that on the North side is higher then the other. All these are vpon the coast of Tabasco. Las Sierras de S. Pablo.

Markes of Almeria.

IF you should chance to fall or come vpon the plaines of Almeria, it is a lande full of many homocks, some with tuftes of trees on them, and some bare with white sand, and in 60. fathoms

you shall haue clay or oaze, and in 30. fathom to  
 Punta delgada, or The slender point. the landward sand. And from thence to Punta de  
 hidalgo or Punta delgada the coast lyeth Northeast  
 and Southwest.

Soundings of Villa rica.

IF you fall with Villa Rica in 30. fathoms, you shall finde  
 clay or oaze, and in some places stones, and neere the lande you  
 shall haue sand: and vpon the port of S. Iuan de Vllua you  
 shall haue in some places clay or oaze, and in some places  
 herring bones, and in other places mase and\* ; and vpon  
 the rocks called Cabeças anegadas you shall haue small blacke  
 sande at 17. fathom two leagues from land. And if you see a  
 coast that lieth Northeast and Southwest, and another Northwest  
 and Southeast, you shall be vpon S. Paul: and if you

Cabeças anegadas are sunken heads or rocks vnder water. should be vpon Cabeças anegadas, you shall finde in  
 30. fathoms great sande and blacke, and in 28.  
 fathoms you shall haue the sand white like the shau-  
 ings of free stone: and from S. Paul to the barre of  
 Vera Cruz it is clay or oaze, and from thence to S. Iuan de  
 Vllua you haue many deeps, which at one sounding bring you  
 clay, and at another sand, and at another clay and mase together,  
 and herring bones: and in some 35. or 40. fathom you shal finde  
 rockie ground, and in some places sand, and in some other  
 Comedera de places herring bones: and we call this Comedera de  
 Pescado. pescado, or The foode of fishes.

The course from Cabo de Corrientes and Cabo de S. Anton  
 vpon the West end of Cuba, towards Nueua Espanna,  
 within the Isles called Los Alacranes, or The Scorpions.

Cabo de Corrientes. IF you saile from Cape de Corrientes towarde  
 Nueua Espanna on the inside of The Alacranes, you  
 must stir West: and when you thinke you haue sailed 35. or 40.  
 leag. you shall sound vpon the prael, and you shall come vpon  
 many bristlings of waters, which if it were faire weather, would  
 seeme a skull of fish. And before you come out of the bristlings,

Cabo de S. Anton. if you sound you shal haue depth as I haue sayd.  
 S. Anton. If you goe from Cape de S. Anton by the inside of

\* Blank in original.



The Alacranes, you must stir away West and by South, and you shall finde sounding in the same order as I haue sayd: you shall haue white sand, and neere the land you shall finde it like the shauings and peckings of free stone, and white sand like houre-glasse-sand, and sometimes periwinkles or small shelles. Also if you sound in deepe water, and on the sudden finde rockes, then knowe that you are vpon The Alacranes, and then stir away Westsouthwest vntill you finde cleane ground, and til you bring your selfe into 18. or 20. fathoms. And if you goe deeping your water, then stir away West, and by these depths you shall go sounding; then taking your heighth by sunne or starre, you must beware that you passe not 21. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . or 21. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . at the most; and in this heighth, and at 18. or 20. fathoms you shall follow your way: and if you deepen water, edge to the Northwestward, and if you alter more your depth, edge to the Southwestward, vntill you haue gotten so farre ahead as Cape Sisal, and discovered the coast of Campeche, Cape Sisal vpon the coast of Campeche in Iucatan. which coast lyeth North and South, and you shal take vp on your lead white sande like houre-glasse sand, Or Isla de Arenas. and sometime periwinkles or small shelles; and by and by you shall goe increasing depth, vntil you lose it, and so shal you passe between the Triangle and the Sandy Iland.

The course betweene the Triangle and the Sandy Island to S. Iuan de Vllua.

WHen you haue lost your depth, stirre away Southwest to fetch the Sierras or hills of S. Martin: and to knowe the hills Sierras de S. Martin. of S. Martin, there are 2. hills stretching Northeast and Southwest, and the Southwest is greater then that on the Northeast, but the Northermost hill is higher, and maketh on the top a flat point and very high, and without it, Roca partida. it hath an Island which is called Roca partida, or The clouen rock: and if it be cleare, on the Southwest side an high lande like a top-saile will appeare, and then shall you bee North and South with The Pan or Loafe of Nisapa. Note, Or Minsapa. that these Sierras or Hilles of Sant Martin are all blacke and full of trees, and make no shewe as Villa rica doth: And marke this, that by how much you come neerer them, so

much the higher will they shewe vnto you: neither shall you finde any bottome till you bee at the very shoare.

The course from Roca partida or The clouen rocke to S. Iuan de Vllua.

IF you depart from Roca partida or The clouen rocke for Sant Iuan de Vllua, you must stir away Westnorthwest, and so shall you fetch or fall with the point of Anton <sup>Or Anton-  
isarro.</sup> Mislardo: and if you happen to sound vpon The sunken rocks called Cabeças anegadas, you shall haue black sand and 17. fathom water, and you shall bee but a league from the land, and if you bee 2. leagues from the land, you shall haue 34. fathoms.

The course from Sant Iuan de Vllua in the bay of Mexico to Spaine in Europe.

IF you depart from S. Iuan de Vllua to Hauana, you must stir away Northeast vntill you bring your selfe in 25. degrees, and from thence you must stir away East from the little <sup>Las Tortugas.</sup> Islands called Las Tortugas, vntill you haue the sounding of them; and if you finde white sande very small, you shall bee East and West with them, and if your sounding bee shellie ground and periwinkles, or small shelles, or skales, then shall you be Northeast and Southwest, and the shelles or skales must bee red, and if at some time you take vp blacke sande, then are you North and South with the sayd Tortugas.

Markes of The Tortugas.

IF you chance to fall with The Tortugas, they are 5. or 6. little Islands of white sand, lowe and close by the sea, sauing one which hath on it some shrubs or bushes of trees: and they are in 25. degrees.

The course from the Tortugas toward Hauana.

IF you depart from the Tortugas towards Hauana with a fresh winde, you must stir away Southwest: and if it be faire weather, and a small gale of winde, then stir South, that the current may

not draw you in, nor set you too much to the Westward: and if you fall with Los Organos, they are a ranke of high and low hilles with many sharpe heads like vnto Organ-pipes, and at the entring thereof on the South side is Rio de puercos, or The riuier of hogs; and at the further ende is the deepe bay called Baya honda, and there is the round loafe or heape called El pan de baya honda, that is to say, The loafe of the deepe bay: and from this place vntill you come to Cape de S. Anton all is sholdes and flats 4. or 5. leagues into the-sea, euen as farre as the sayde Cape: and from Baya honda or The deepe bay to Hauana, all the coast is full of high and lowe hilles, which they call La Quadrilla de sierras, which is as much to say, as A companie of hilles together like souldiers on a heape; and more to the Eastward you shall descry an high hill which is called El pan de Cabannas. And if you fall with Hauana, you shall see on the Southwest side an hill called La meza de Marien, or the Table of Marien; and if it be cleare, you shall see lower to the Westwarde the heape or loafe that is called El pan de Cabannas. You must note, that about Hauana it is all lowe land euen with the sea, till you come to Mesa de Marien, and looke well within the lande, and you shall see 2. little round trees like to the teates of womens breasts; and bringing your selfe North and South, you shall be with the harborough of Hauana, and then shall you soone perceiue the tower that is vpon the cliffes of Hauana.

The hilles  
called Los  
Organos vpon  
Cuba neere  
Hauana.

Rio de  
Puercos.  
Baya honda.

La Quadrilla  
de sierras.

El pan de  
Cauannas.  
La mesa  
de Marien.

The tower  
of Hauana.

#### Markes of the hauen or port called Puerto de Marien.

Puerto de Marien is a harbour that you may enter into without any danger or feare, but at the entrance thereof you must borrow on the West side, by reason of the rockes and shelues, and when you are within, then borrow on the East shoare, and leaue the other side, and so shall you enter safe: and from this place to Hauana is all lowe lande. Note, that if you ouerpasse the harborough of Hauana to the Eastward, or if the current hath set you past it by meanes of calmes, then shall you perceiue at full sea vpon the coast certaine broken places like the enterances of harbours, because the lande is lowe; and coming neere the shoare you

Note.

Chipiona a towne standing vpon the coast of Andalusia next vnto S. Lucar. El pan de Matanzas. Barrancas also signifie creeks or broken entrances of landes.

shall see in some places of the coast Playas or strandes of sande which shew like vnto Chipiona: and looking Eastward along the sea coast, you shall see a round loafe which is called El pan de Matanzas: and also you shall perceiue in certaine places round white heapes of sande called Barrancas. If you will recouer Hauana, go along the coast close by the lande, for the current runneth very swift in the chanell, and there is no feare but of that which you may see; for all the coast is cleane ground.

The course from Hauana to Spaine.

IF you will saile from Hauana to Spaine, you must stirre away Northeast, till you come to the head of The Cabeza de los Martires. Which Martires are a number of small Ilands lying ahead the Cape of Florida.

Los Mimbres.

The marques of Pan de Matanzas.

Seluco, there will appeare vnto you a great broken lande, like as it were sunken places, and vpon the East side of this Punta de los Puercos.

The furious current in the chanell of Bahama.

of Florida.

Martires called La Cabeça de los Martires. If it chance before you come to the said head, that the winde should chop vp at North on you, then stand to Eastward, vntill you bring your selfe as farre ahead as Matanzas; then cast about to the West, to discover the lande of The Martires, or of Florida, that the current may not set you on The Mimbres: and if by chance you see The Pan de Matanzas at ful sea, it hath these marques following. It is a round heape or loafe, and high withall, and on the Westerne side thereof, appeareth a rocke like to the head of a Tortoise: and between this Pan and the hilles of Seluco, there will appeare vnto you a great broken lande, like as it were sunken places, and vpon the East side of this Pan toward Punta de los Puercos it is all lowe lande, and you shall see no high lande at all: and being so farre shot, that this Pan de Matanzas shall beare Westnorthwest and Southsoutheast off you, and being desirous also to auoyde the furie of the current of the chanell of Bahama, stir away Northnortheast, and by this course you shall passe the chanell, and win the coast

Markes of the head of The Martires called Cabeza de los Martires.

THE head of The Martires are three heapes of white sande full of trees, and that in the midst hath on the top a crowne, as it were of white sande, and is higher and bigger then the other two: and to know whether you be entred into the chanell, marke well how the coast lyeth off you; and if you perceiue that the coast beareth off you East and West, you are not in the chanell; but if the coast should beare off you Northeast and Southwest, then are you in the chanell; and taking your heighth you shall know: for if you finde your selfe in 24. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , then you are East and West with the head of The Martires: and if you see the coast beare off you Northeast and Southwest, (as I haue sayde) stir away 4. or 5. leagues from the landward right off: and then stir away Northeast: and being in 28. degrees and a halfe, you shall be shot out of the chanell, and then shall you be East and West with Cape de Cannaueral, or The Cape of Reedes.

Directions to know whether you be in the chanell of Bahama or no.

Cabo de Cannaueral in 28. deg. and a halfe.

The course to come through the chanell of Bahama homeward for Spaine.

IF in the Winter you should passe through the chanell of Bahama for Spaine, stirre away the first Sangradura or course Eastnortheast, and afterward East and by North, and so shall you passe by the South side of Bermuda: and you must take heede that you goe these foure hundred or fise hundred leagues, because you shall not come neere the said Isle of Bermuda; and when you are gone this course, then put your selfe in what height you will, and make your way as you will your selfe. But if you passe the chanell in the Summer time towards Spaine, stir away Eastnortheast, and you shall passe by the North side of Bermuda; and when you haue brought your selfe in 35. degrees, stirre East and by North, vntill you bring your selfe to 25. degrees and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and from thence stir away East for the Isle of Fayal or of Flores.

The course in Winter.

The Isle of Bermuda.

The course in the Summer more Northerly.

## Markes to know the Isle of Fayal.

THE Island called Fayal vpon the Southwest side, maketh an high hill or loafe like to the top of Brasilla in the Island of Puerto Pini. Terçera ; and behinde that high Pike or loafe is an harbour called Puerto Pini, and vpon the East side it maketh a little plaine Island ; and vpon the North side there standeth a rocke or Island by it selfe. And from this Island being one of the Açores, you may shape your course to which of the Islands you please, or to any other place which you know.

## Markes to know the Isle of Flores.

IF you happen to fall with Flores first, by this you shall know it : the Island lyeth Northeast, and Southsouthwest, and the West ende thereof maketh a rocke or cliffe like the cliffe of Tiburon ; and comming neere the lande, you shall see two little Islands neere the point of the lande ; and to the Northward of this cliffe or rocke a little from the land you may ride and water ; and betweene that and the village, in euery bay you may likewise ride and water : and you shall see the water run into the sea in euery part that you look on.

Now followeth the course and direction to saile from Passage on the Northeast part of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, vnto Hauana, by the North side of the Isle of Hispaniola, and by The old chanell.

El Passaje a  
place on the  
Northeast  
part of the  
Isle of S.  
Iuan de  
Puerto rico.

Cabo del  
Enganno  
the most  
Easterly  
Cape of  
Hispaniola.  
Or Saman.

Las Ouejas.

IF you depart from S. Iuan de Puerto rico to seeke Cabo del Enganno, you must stirre away Westnorthwest, and so shall you see a round heape or loafe in the sea, which lieth on the Southwest side of the gulfe of Semana ; and from thence it beginneth about the hill of the Cape del Enganno, and this is the mouth of the gulfe. And if it should be neere night when you see this lande, stir away Northwest with a small sayle, because of certaine rockes called Las Ouejas, or The Sheppe : and in the morning cast about to see the land to the Southward ; and if when you see the land, it seemeth vnto you a small island at full sea like a round mountaine, then is it the The cape del Enganno : and from thence stir away West and by North toward Cabo Franco.

## Markes of Cabo Franco.

Cabo Franco is a low Cape euen with the sea, and Cabo Franco hath these markes \* And from thence stir away West, and you shall see an high mountaine, and on the top thereof a cloudie homock like the top of a hat: and at the foote of this hill is the hauen or harbour called El puerto de plata. And if you will goe into this port, you must leaue the Island on the West side, and then take heede of that which you see, and borrow on the castles side. And from thence to goe with the olde chanell, you must stirre away Northwest, vntill you come out of sight of lande, and then stir away West and by North, and so shall you goe with the lande of Baracoa, and here are hilles very high, which make the teates which looke like 3. crownes. And you shall passe betweene the Isle of Tortugas or Hinagua, and the Island of Iaico; and from thence run alongst the coast Northeast and Southwest; and hauing doubled the outmost high hill or mountaine, you shall see in the midst thereof a round hill, and vpon the Southwest side by the sea you shall see a lowe euen lande foure or fife leagues long, and a lowe point, and this point of the hill is called Las sierras de Cabanca; and then beginneth the bay of Cayo Romano: and ahead the sierras you shall see a rounde loafe which is in the midst of the same bay, and ahead of that you shall see a hill flat on the top like a table sixe or seuen leagues, which hill is not very high, and from these hilles to Cayo Romano you haue fife and thirtie leagues, and you must stirre the one halfe of the course Northwest, and the other halfe Northwest and by West, and so shall you make or see the sayd Cayo Romano vpon the larboord side of you. Note, that from Cayo Romano to Cabo de Cruz you haue three leagues, and they lie North and South one from another.

El Puerto de Plata.

Baracoa.

Isla de Tortugas otherwise called Hinagua. The Isle of Iaico.

Las sierras de Cabanca.

Cayo Romano. This word Cayo in the Biscayan tongue signifieth a flat or a shold.

Cabo de Cruz.

## Markes of Cayo Romano.

Cayo Romano is an high Island, and lyeth Northeast and

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Southwest, and stretcheth it selfe as it were 4. leagues; and comming on it Northeast and Southwest, it maketh a loafe or round heape or homock; in the midst there are two saddles, as wee terme them, or lowe partitions, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and comming with it North and South, it maketh all one lowe send or saddle in the midst. And if night should come on you at this Cayo Romano, enter not the chanell, because in the mid way is an Isle, flat, or Cayo, which lyeth North and South with Cayo Romano, and it is called Cayo de la Cruz: and at full sea you shall discerne a heath, which this Cayo hath in the midst of it, which is like to a saile; but al night beare but your foresaile a glasse one way and another glasse the other way vntill it be day, and then enter the chanell, and leaue these Cayos, on the larbourd side of you. Note, that if you bee within sight of the Parcel, and see two litle Islands of white sand, that then you are on the cantell of the Parcel: and if you goe more a head coasting the Parcell, about fiteene leagues, you shall see three Islands full of trees, which are called Las Anguillas and all these three Islands beare North and South one from another. Item from Cayo de Cruz to Hauana, if it be by day, stir away West Northwest; but if it be by night, then stir a point more to the Westward: and if in this course you chance to see the Parcell, feare not; for in the lowest water there are sixe fathomes; then cast about to the Southwestward to get out about two glasses, and then stir away Westnorthwest vntill it be day and so shall you goe by the Cayos: and in this course you must keepe twentie foure leagues or thereabout. And from this Cayo de Cruz sixe or seuen leagues lyeth another Cayo vpon the Northeast and by North, which is great and white, and all euen; But the point on the Southwest is smaller, and vpon the said point is a shrub or bush which sheweth like a saile: also there is a banke of white sand along by the sea-side, which in the midst thereof maketh a cliff full of trees that seemeth like a sadle: and vpon the Northeast side (for on this maner the coast lyeth along from the Cape) going by the chanell you shal see certaine hilles eightene or twentie leagues long lying Northest and Southwest being all saddle-like: and bringing the poynt Southwest off you, you shall be in the midst of the chanell: and from thence you haue as

This Island  
lyeth 100.  
leagues from  
Hauana.

The great  
Parcel.

Las An-  
guillas.

Another Cayo  
6 or 7 leagues  
from Cayo  
de Cruz.



farre to Matanças as to Cayo Romano. Likewise from thence on the side of Hauana you shall see certaine hilles which shewe to be three, and ly Northeast and Southwest, and that on the Southwest is highest: they are called Las Sierras de Guana: and North and South from them lyeth a flat, which is called Cayo de Nicola, which stretched out two leagues into the Sea, and in the middle of the sayde flatte there is a little Island of white sand: and from thence you must sayle to Cruz del Padre.

El puerto de Matanzas or The haven of slaughters. Las Sierras de Guana.

Cruz del Padre.

#### Markes of Cruz del Padre.

CRuz del Padre is a Cape all broken in pieces: and from thence you must stir away Northeast, because of the Bay that is there, called the Bay of Conell, and this Bay, stretcheth to the Bay of Caos, which is within 20 leagues of the sayd poynt: and then stir away West Northwest to goe with the Port of Matanças, and with the hilles of Camoniaca.

La Baia de Conel. La Baia de Caos, or Cayos.

#### Markes of the hilles of Camoniaca.

THE hilles of Camoniaca ly Northwest and Southeast, and the Southeast side is lowe land and euen: also vpon the Northeast side it is euen land, and runneth towards the Bay of Matanças, and in the middle of these hilles there is one high hill, and vpon the Northeast side there appeareth a round heape: and if you see this hill at West Southwest, the Pan or round heape of Matanças will beare off you West and by South.

Of Came-loquez.

#### Markes of the round hill called El pan de Matanças.

This Pan is a round heape standing on a lowe land: and if you bring yourselfe North and South with it, it will make you two saddles: and on the West side it maketh a great parted lande as it were sinking with the sea. Note that wheresoeter you shall goe to seeke the Tortugas, and shall come with the coast and finde it beare off you Northeast and Southwest, I aduise you to goe along the coast to the Southwestward: you

may not deepen more then fortie five fathomes, for if you doe, you shall cast your selfe without the Tortugas.

Note. Also you must note, that if by chance you finde your selfe shotte betweene the Tortugas, and the Martyres, and that you cannot goe on the out-side of the sayde Tortugas, then cause one to goe to the top, to see if you can descry them, and if you cannot see them, stir away Southwest vntill you see them; and hauing gotten sight of them, sounde, and you shall finde eighteene or nineteene fathomes: and so sholding stir away South and by West, and goe by this course. And feare you not the sholding, for you shall meete with 12. fathomes, and shall haue blacke sand in your sounding. And going neerer to the ende of the said Tortugas (for hee that is on the toppe shall see them all) as you passe by, you shall finde but eight fathomes, and stony ground, and that is the sholdest water you shall haue. And you shall passe by a bustling of a tyde, that shoules out of the chanel that way; but you neede not feare any thing for you shall haue no lesse then eight fathome water: and being past the said bustling but a minion shot, you shal loose the ground and be in the chanell.

An aduertizment.

When you shall passe this course, goe not out of sight of the Tortugas. And if you will goe from thence to Hauana, hauing a faire winde, stir away Southwest because the current may not set you off: and if with a fresh winde and Northerly, then stir away Southerly.

Here follow the latitudes of the headlandes, Capes, and Islands, as well of Madera, The Canaries, and The West Indies, as of the Açores and the Isles of Cabo Verde.

|                                                                        | Degrees of<br>Latitude. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| THE island called Puerto Santo standeth in                             | 33                      |
| The isle of Madera standeth in                                         | 32½                     |
| The isle Saluaja in                                                    | 30                      |
| The isle of Alagrança in                                               | 29½                     |
| The isle Fuerte ventura in                                             | 28½                     |
| The Grand Canaria in                                                   | 28½                     |
| The isle of Palma, and the point called Punta de Naga<br>in Tenerif in | 28½                     |
| The isle of Gomera in                                                  | 27½                     |

The latitudes of the Islands of the West Indies.

|                                                          |                      |                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| The island of Fonçeca standeth in                        | - - -                | 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| The Isle Tabago in                                       | - - - skant          | 11               |
| The Barbudos in                                          | - - -                | 13               |
| The isle of Trinidad vpon the North side in              | - - -                | 10               |
| The isle of Granata in                                   | - - -                | 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| The isle of Sant Vincent in                              | - - -                | 12               |
| The isle of santa Lucia in                               | - - -                | 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| The isle of Dominica in                                  | - - -                | 14               |
| The isle of Matalina or Martinino in                     | - - -                | 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The isle of Marigalante in                               | - - -                | 15               |
| The isle of Deseada in                                   | - - -                | 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The isle of Monserate in                                 | - - -                | 16               |
| The isle called La Antigua in                            | - - -                | 17               |
| The isle called La Baruada in                            | - - -                | 17               |
| The isle of S. Bartholomew in                            | - - -                | 17               |
| The isle of S. Martin in                                 | - - -                | 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The isle called La Anguilla in                           | - - - skant          | 18               |
| The isle of Sombrero in                                  | - - -                | 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| The isle Amegado in                                      | - - -                | 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| The isle called La isla de Avez in                       | - - -                | 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The isles called Las Virgines in                         | - - -                | 18               |
| The Isle of Santa Cruz in                                | - - -                | 17               |
| The isle of S. Juan de Puerto rico                       | On the North side in | 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
|                                                          | On the South side in | 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Cape del Enganno vpon the East part of Hispaniola in     | - - -                | 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The point of the isle of Saona in                        | - - -                | 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The Cape called Punta de Niçao neere S. Domingo in       | - - -                | 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Hispaniola in                                            | - - -                | 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The Isle Beata on the South side of Hispaniola in        | - - -                | 17               |
| The point of Bacao on the South side of Hispaniola in    | - - -                | 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Cape Tiburon vpon the West part of Hispaniola, and the   | - - -                | 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| isle of Nauaza in                                        | - - -                | 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The isle of Iamaica                                      | On the South side in | 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
|                                                          | On the North side in | 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Cape de Cruz on the South side of Cuba in                | - - -                | 20               |
| The 3 Isles called Caimanes, or Crocodiles, South of     | - - -                | 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Cuba, in                                                 | - - -                | 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| The dangerous isles called Los Iardines South of Cuba in | - - -                | 21               |
| The isle of Pinos in                                     | - - -                | 21               |

|                                                                           |                  |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Cape de Corrientes vpon the Southwest part of Cuba in                     | 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Cabo de sant Anton being the most westerly Cape of Cuba in                | 22               |
| The litle isles called Los Alacranes, or the Scorpions, in                | 22               |
| The isles called Nigrillos in                                             | 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Isla de Lobos, or The isle of seales neere the maine of Nueua Espanna, in | 22               |
| The Cape of Iucatan called Cabo de Catoche in                             | 21               |
| The island called Isla de Ranas in ( <i>large</i> )                       | 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

The latitudes of certaine places vpon the coast of Nueua Espanna, and of diuers other places lying in the way from thence to Spaine.

|                                                                   |                  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Villa rica standeth in                                            | 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Sant. Iuan de Vllua in                                            | 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| From Sant Iuan de Vllua sayling to the Tortugas you must sound in | 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The small isles called Las Tortugas stand in                      | 25               |
| The Port of Hauana vpon the Northwest part of Cuba in             | 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The head of the Martyrs lying before the Cape of Florida in       | 25               |
| The Mimbres are in                                                | 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The Chanel of Bahama in                                           | 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The Cape de Cannaneral vpon the coast of Florida in               | 28 $\frac{1}{3}$ |
| The Isle of Bermuda in                                            | 33               |
| The *isle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Alvarez in                         | 41 $\frac{1}{4}$ |

The latitudes of the Isles of the Açores.

|                                                      |                  |
|------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| The isle of Flores standeth in                       | 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The isle of Cueruo in                                | 40               |
| The isle of Fayal in                                 | 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The isle of Pico and the isle of Sant George both in | 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The isle of Terçera in                               | 39               |
| The isle of Graciosa in                              | 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The isle of Santa Maria in                           | 37               |
| The isle of sant Michael in                          | 38               |
| Cape sant Vincent vpon the coast of Spaine           | 37               |
| The Rocke in                                         | 39               |
| The Burlings in                                      | 40               |

\* This is a very commodious Isle for vs in our way to Virginia.

*Traffiques, and Discoveries.*

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|                                                             |           |                  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Bayona in                                                   | - - - - - | 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Cape Finister in                                            | - - - - - | 43 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The enterance of the streights of Gibraltar is in           | - - - - - | 36               |
| Cape Cantin vpon the coast of Barbarie in                   | - - - - - | 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Cape Bojador vpon the coast of Barbarie in ( <i>large</i> ) | - - - - - | 27               |
| Rio del oro, or The riuer of Gold, in                       | - - - - - | 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Cabo de Barbas in                                           | - - - - - | 22               |
| Cabo blanco, or the white Cape in                           | - - - - - | 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ |

The latitude of the isles of Cabo verde.

|                                                                                      |           |                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------------------|
| The isles of Sant Anton, Sant Vincent, Santa Lucia, and<br>Sant Nicolas stand all in | - - - - - | 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Isla del Sal, or the isle of salt, in                                                | - - - - - | 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| The isle called Buena vista in                                                       | - - - - - | 16               |
| The isle of Sant Iago in                                                             | - - - - - | 15               |

The latitudes of diuers Islands, Capes, and other places,  
from the Isle of Margarita vpon the coast of  
Cumana Westward along the coast of Tierra  
Firma.

|                                                                      |           |                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------------------|
| The isles of Aruba, Curaçao, and Buinero stand all in                | - - - - - | 12               |
| The isle of Margarita in                                             | - - - - - | 11               |
| The islandes called Los Testigos in                                  | - - - - - | 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| The coast of Baya Honda to Cape de la Vela lyeth East<br>and West in | - - - - - | 12               |
| Cape del Aguja in                                                    | - - - - - | 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The rockes of Seranna in                                             | - - - - - | 14               |
| The Roncador in                                                      | - - - - - | 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The isle of Santa Catelina in                                        | - - - - - | 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The isle of Sant Andrew in                                           | - - - - - | 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The seranilla in                                                     | - - - - - | 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| The isle of Centanilla or Santanilla in                              | - - - - - | 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Cape Camaron on the maine, South of the enterance of<br>the Honduras | - - - - - | 16               |
| Ganaba in                                                            | - - - - - | 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Genaza in                                                            | - - - - - | 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

Here followeth a declaration of the Longitudes, or Western and Eastern distances, from Spaine to Newe Spaine in America, and from thence backe againe to Spaine.

|                                                                                                                                       | Leagues. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| From Sal Medina vpon the Coast Andaluzia till you bring your selfe North and South with Cape Cantin vpon the Coast of Barbary - - - - | 85       |
| From Sal Medina to the island of Gran Canaria - - - -                                                                                 | 200      |
| From the Gran Canaria to Deseada - - - -                                                                                              | 850      |
| From Deseada to Monserate - - - -                                                                                                     | 20       |
| From Monserate to Santa Cruz - - - -                                                                                                  | 58       |
| From Santa Cruz to Cape Roxo the Southwest Cape of Sant Iuan de Puerto Rico - - - -                                                   | 45       |
| From Cape Roxo to Saona - - - -                                                                                                       | 25       |
| From Saona to sant Domingo - - - -                                                                                                    | 25       |
| From sant Domingo to Ocoa - - - -                                                                                                     | 18       |
| From Ocoa to Beata - - - -                                                                                                            | 20       |
| From Beata to the isle Baque - - - -                                                                                                  | 43       |
| From the isle Baque to Nauaza - - - -                                                                                                 | 33       |
| From Nauaza to sant Iago of Cuba - - - -                                                                                              | 32       |
| From sant Iago of Cuba to Cabo de Cruz - - - -                                                                                        | 34       |
| From Cabo de Cruz to the first Cayman - - - -                                                                                         | 40       |
| From the first Cayman to the middle Cayman - - - -                                                                                    | 6        |
| From the middle Cayman to the great Cayman - - - -                                                                                    | 12       |
| From the Great Cayman to the isle of Pinos - - - -                                                                                    | 48       |
| From Cabo de Cruz to the isle of Pinos by the forsaied course - - - -                                                                 | 106      |
| From the Isle of Pinos to Cabo de Corrientes - - - -                                                                                  | 19       |
| From Cabo de Corrientes to Cabo de sant Anton - - - -                                                                                 | 20       |
| The course from Cabo de sant Anton to sant Iuan de Villua by the outside or north of the Isles called Alacranes. {                    |          |
| From Cabo de sant Anton to the Nigrillos - - - -                                                                                      | 106      |
| From the Nigrillos, vntill you bring your selfe North and South with the isle Vermeja - - - -                                         | 25       |
| From the isle Vermeja to Villa Rica - - - -                                                                                           | 96       |
| From Villa Rica to Sant Iuan de Villua - - - -                                                                                        | 12       |
| The course from Cabo de Corrientes to sant Iuan de Villua on the inside or South of the Alacranes. {                                  |          |
| From Cabo de Corrientes to the first sounding - - - -                                                                                 | 45       |
| From the first sounding till you come so farre a head as the island called Isla de Ranas - - - -                                      | 80       |
| From Isla de Ranas vnto - - - -                                                                                                       | —        |

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The longitudes from New Spaine, backe againe to Spaine.

|                                                                           |       |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----|
| From Saint Iuan de Villua to the Tortugas                                 | - - - | 280 |
| From the Tortugas to Hauana                                               | - - - | 36  |
| From Hauana to the head of the Martyrs                                    | - - - | 36  |
| From the head of the Martyrs to the Mimbres                               | - - - | 30  |
| From the Mimbres to Bahama                                                | - - - | 22  |
| From the head of the Martyrs to Cabo de Cannaueral                        | - - - | 62  |
| From Cabo de Cannaueral to Bermuda                                        | - - - | 350 |
| From Bermuda to the Isle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Aluarex                     | - - - | 320 |
| From the Isle of Iohn Luis or Aluarez to Flores                           | - - - | 300 |
| From Flores to Fayal                                                      | - - - | 28  |
| From Fayal to Terçera                                                     | - - - | 28  |
| From Terçera to Saint Michael                                             | - - - | 28  |
| From Saint Michael to Cape Saint Vincent                                  | - - - | 218 |
| From Terçera to Cape Saint Vincent                                        | - - - | 256 |
| From Cape S. Vincent to Cabo de santa Maria vpon the<br>coast of Algarbe. | - - - | 22  |
| From Cabo de santa Maria to Sal Medina in Andaluzia                       | - - - | 32  |

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Voyages of the English Nation round  
the World.

THE TWO FAMOUS VOYAGES

HAPPILY PERFORMED ROUND ABOUT THE WORLD, BY SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, AND M. THOMAS CANDISH ESQUIRE, TOGETHER WITH THE REST OF OUR ENGLISH VOYAGES INTENDED FOR THE SOUTH SEA, THE KINGDOMS OF CHILL, PERU, THE BACKE SIDE OF NUEVA ESPANNA, THE MALUCOS, THE PHILIPPINAS, THE MIGHTIE EMPIRE OF CHINA, THOUGH NOT SO HAPPILY PERFORMED AS THE TWO FORMER: WHEREUNTO ARE ANNEXED CERTAINE RARE OBSERVATIONS TOUCHING THE PRESENT STATE OF CHINA, AND THE KINGDOME OF CORAY, LATELY INVADED BY QUABACONONO THE LAST MONARCH OF THE 66. PRINCEDOMES OF IAPAN.

The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South sea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577.

THE 15. day of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord 1577. M. Francis Drake, with a fleete of fiue ships and barkes, and to the number of 164. men, gentlemen and sailers, departed from Plimmouth, giuing out his pretended voyage for Alexandria: but the wind falling contrary, hee was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth hauen in Cornewall, where such and so terrible a tempest tooke vs, as few men haue seene the like, and was in deed so vehement, that all our ships were like to haue gone to wracke: but it pleased God to preserue vs from that extremitie, and to afflict vs onely for that present with these two particulars: The mast of our Admirall which was the Pellican, was cut ouer boord for the safegard of the ship, and the Marigold was driuen ashore, and somewhat bruised: for the repairing of which damages wee returned againe to Plimmouth, and hauing recouered



those harmes, and brought the ships againe to good state, we set forth the second time from Plimmouth, and set saile the 13. day of December following.

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

The Isle of Mogador on the coast of Barbarie.

On this Island our Generall erected a pinnesse, whereof he brought out of England with him foure already framed. While these things were in doing, there came to the waters side some of the inhabitants of the countrey, shewing foorth their flags of truce, which being seene of our Generall, hee sent his ships boate to the shore, to know what they would: they being willing to come aboard our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboard our ship, which by signes shewed our General, that the next day they would bring some prouision, as sheepe, capons and hennes, and such like: whereupon our Generall bestowed amongst them some linnen cloth and shooes, and a iaueling, which they very ioyfully receiued, and departed for that time.

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

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

The 17. day of Ianuary we arriued at Cape Blanco, where we found a ship riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple Mariners in her, which ship we tooke and caried her further into the harbour, where we remained 4. dayes, and in that space our General mustered, and trayned his

Ianuarie.

men on land in warlike maner, to make them fit for all occasions.

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

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

The master or Pilot of that Carauel did aduertise our Generall that vpon one of those Islands called <sup>The Isle of</sup> Mayo, there was great store of dried Cabritos, which a few inhabitants there dwelling did yeerely make ready for such of the kings Ships as did there touch, beeing bound for his country of Brasile or elsewhere. Wee fell with this Island the 27. of Ianuary, but the Inhabitants would in no case traffique with vs, being thereof forbidden by the kings Edict: yet the next day our Generall sent to view the Island, and the likelihoodes that might be there of prouision of victuals, about threescore and two men under the conduct and gouernment of Master Winter and Master Doughtie, and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Island (as by the Portugall wee were informed) hauing traualled to the mountaines the space of three miles, and arriuing there somewhat before the day breake, wee arrested our selues to see day before vs, which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled: but the place, by reason that it was manured, wee found to be more fruitfull then the other part, especially the valleys among the hills.

Here we gaue our selues a litle refreshing, as by <sup>Ripe grapes</sup> very ripe and sweete grapes, which the fruitfulnessse of <sup>in Winter.</sup> the earth at that season of the yeere yeelded vs: and that season being with vs the depth of Winter, it may seeme strange that those fruites were then there growing: but the reason thereof is this, because they being betweene the Tropike and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne passeth twice in the yeere through their Zenith ouer their heads, by meanes whereof they haue two Summers, and being so neere the heate of the line, they neuer lose the heate of the Sunne so much, but the fruites haue their increase and continuance in the midst of Winter. The Island is wonderfully stored with goates and wild hennes, and it hath salt

also without labour, saue onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is increased vpon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiuing heate of the Sunne kerning the same, so that of the increase thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours.

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

The descrip-  
tion of the  
tree that  
beareth  
Cocos.

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

After wee had satisfied our selues with some of these fruites, wee marched further into the Island, and saw great store of Cabritos aliuie, which were so chased by the inhabitants, that wee could doe no good towards our prouision, but they had layde out as it were to stoppe our mouthes withall, certaine olde dryed Cabritos, which being but ill, and small and few, wee made no account of.

Or goates.

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

The Isle of  
S. Iago.

Being before this Island, we espied two ships vnder sayle, to the one of which wee gaue chase, and in the end boarded her

A prize, and  
Nuno da  
Silua a Por-  
tugal Pilot  
taken.

with a ship-boat without resistance, which we found to be a good prize, and she yeilded vnto vs good store of wine : which prize our General committed to the custodie of Master Doughtie, and reteining the Pilot, sent the rest away with his Pinnesse, giuing them a Butte of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed.

The Isle of  
Fogo.

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

Vpon the South side thereof lyeth a most pleasant and sweete Island, the trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke vpon, in respect whereof they call it Ilha Braua, that is, the braue Island. From the banks thereof into the sea doe run in many places reasonable streames of fresh water. easie to be come by, but there was no conuenient roade for our ships : for such was the depth, that no ground could be had for anchoring, and it is reported, that ground. was neuer found in that place, so that the tops of Fogo burne not so high in the ayre, but the rootes of Braua are quenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these Islands, we drew towards the line, where wee were becalmed the space of 3. weekes, but yet subject to diuers great stormes, terrible lightnings and much thunder : but with this miserie we had the commoditie of great store of fish, as Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying fishes, whereof some fell into our shippes, wherehence they could not raise againe for want of moisture, for when their wings are drie, they cannot flie.

From the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape Verde, wee sayled 54. dayes without sight of land, and the first April 33. land that we fell with was the coast of Brasil, which Degrees. we saw the fifth of April in y<sup>e</sup> height of 33. degrees towards the pole Antarctike, and being discovered at sea by the inhabitants of the countrey, they made vpon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned to the deuils, about which they vse coniuurations, making heapes of sande and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall goe about to stay vpon their coast, not onely sands may be gathered together in shoalds in euery place, but also that stormes and tempests may arise, to the casting away of

ships and men, whereof (as it is reported) there haue bene diuers experiements.

The seuenth day in a mightie great storme both of lightning rayne and thunder, wee lost the Canter which we called the Christopher: but the eleuenth day after, by our Generals great care in dispersing his ships, we found her againe, and the place where we met, our General called the Cape of Ioy, The Cape where euery ship tooke in some water. Heere wee <sup>of Ioy.</sup> found a good temperature and sweete ayre, a very faire and pleasant countrey with an exceeding fruitfull soyle, where were great store of large and mightie Deere, but we came not to the sight of any people: but traueiling further into the countrey, we perceiued the footing of people in the clay-ground shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our ships, we wayed anchor, and ranne somewhat further, and harboured our selues betweene a rocke and the maine where by meanes of the rocke that brake the force of the sea, we rid very safe, and vpon this rocke we killed for our prouision certaine sea-wolues, commonly called with vs Seales.

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

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

Our General after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, being on shore in an Island, the people of the countrey shewed themselues unto him, leaping and dauncing, and entred into traffique with him, but they would not receiue any thing at any mans hands, but the same must bee cast vpon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foote, and seeme to be very actiue.

The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought <sup>May.</sup>

it needfull to haue a care of such Ships as were absent, and therefore indeuouring to seeke the Flieboate wherein master Doughtie was, we espied her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ships were sent to discouer the coast and to search an harbour, the Marygold and the Canter being imployed in that businesse, came vnto vs and gaue vs vnderstanding of a safe harbour that they had found, wherewith all our ships bare, and entred it, where we watered and made new prouision of victuals, as by Seales, whereof we slew to the number of 200. or 300. in the space of an houre.

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

Hauiug dispatched all our businesse in this place, wee departed and set sayle, and immediatly vpon our setting forth we lost our Canter which was absent threc or foure dayes: but when our <sup>The cape of Good hope.</sup> General had her againe, he tooke out the necessaries, and so gaue her ouer neere to the Cape of Good hope.

June. The next day after being the twentieth of Iune, wee <sup>Port S. Italian.</sup> harboured our selues againe in a very good harbour, called by Magellan Port S. Iulian, where we found a gibbet standing vpon the maine, which we supposed

to be the place where Magellan did execution vpon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

The two and twentieth day our General went ashore to the maine, and in his companie. Iohn Thomas, and Robert Winterhie, Oliuer the Master gunner, Iohn Brewer, Thomas Hood, and Thomas Drake, and entring on land, they presently met with two or three of the countrey people, and Robert Winterhie hauing in his hands a bowe and arrowes, went about to make a shoote of pleasure, and in his draught his bow-string brake, which the rude Sauages taking as a token of warre, began to bend the force of their bowes against our company, and droue them to their shifts very narrowly.

In this Port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of M. Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or some other disorder, whereby (without redresse) the successe of the voyage might greatly haue bene hazarded: whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by master Doughties owne confession, and partly by the euidence of the fact, to be true: which when our Generall saw, although his priuate affection to M. Doughtie (as hee then in the presence of vs all sacredly protested) was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Maiestie, and of the honour of his countrey did more touch him, (as indeede it ought) then the priuate respect of one man: so that the cause being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order as neere as might be to the course of our lawes in England, it was concluded that M. Doughtie should receive punishment according to the qualitie of the offence: and he seeing no remedie but patience for himselfe, desired before his death to receive the Communion, which he did at the hands of M. Fletcher our Minister, and our Generall himselfe accompanied him in that holy action: which being done, and the place of execution made ready, hee hauing embraced our Generall and taken his leaue of all the companie, with prayer for the Queenes M. Thomas maiestie and our realme, in quiet sort laid his head <sup>Doughtie</sup> to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being <sup>executed,</sup> done, our Generall made diuers speaches to the whole company, perswading vs to vnitie, obedience, loue, and regard of our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed euery

man the next Sunday following to prepare himselfe to receiue the Communion, as Christian brethren and friends ought to doe, which was done in very reuerent sort, and so with good contentment euery man went about his businesse.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The 24. of August we arrived at an island in the streights,



where we found great store of foule which could not  
 flie, of the bignesse of geese, whereof we killed in  
 lesse then one day 3000. and victualled our selues  
 throughly therewith.

Abundance  
 of foule in  
 the streight.

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

September.

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

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

57. Degrees  
 and a terce  
 of Southerly  
 latitude.

Botero  
 writeth that  
 another hath  
 found this  
 place all  
 Islands.

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

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

M. Winter  
 separated and  
 returned.

Thus being come into the height of The streights againe, we  
 ran, supposing the coast of Chili to lie as the generall  
 Maps haue described it, namely Northwest, which we  
 found to lie and trend to the Northeast and East-  
 wards, whereby it appeareth that this part of Chili hath  
 not bene truly hitherto discovered, or at least not truly  
 reported for the space of 12. degrees at the least, being  
 set downe either of purpose to deceiue, or of ignorant  
 coniecture.

The trending  
 of the coast  
 of Chili.

The Isle la Mocha in 38 degrees and 30. minutes.

We continuing our course, fell the 29. of Nouember with an Island called la Mocha, where we cast anchor, and our General hoysing out our boate, went with ten of our company to shore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards haue forced for their owne safetie and liberty to flee from the maine, and to fortifie themselues in this Island. We being on land, the people came downe to vs. to the water side with shew of great courtesie, bringing to vs potatoes, rootes, and two very fat sheepe, which our Generall receiued and gaue them other things for them. and had promise to haue water there: but the next day repaying againe to the shore, and sending two men a land with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they vse to shew no fauour if they take them) layde violent hands on them, and as we thinke, slew them.

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

The port of Valparizo in 33. degrees and 40. minutes.

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

They of the towne being not aboue 9. housholds, presently fled and abandoned the towne. Our generall manned S. Iago taken. his boate, and the Spanish ships boate, and went to the Towne, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a

small chappell which wee entred, and found therein a silver chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gave to M. Fletcher his minister.

We found also in this towne a warehouse stored with wine of Chili, and many boords of Cedar-wood, <sup>Wine of Chili.</sup> all which wine we brought away with vs, and certaine of the boords to burne for fire-wood: and so being come aboard, wee departed the Hauen, having first set all the Spaniards on land, sauing one Iohn Griego, a Greeke borne, whom our <sup>Iohn Griego a</sup> Generall caried with him for his Pilot to bring him <sup>Pilot taken.</sup> into the hauen of Lima.

When we were at sea, our Generall rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of Chili, and 25000. <sup>Gold of Balduia.</sup> pezoës of very pure and fine gold of Balduia, amounting in value to 37000. ducats of Spanish money, and aboute. So going on our course, wee arriued next at a place called <sup>Coquimbo in</sup> Coxuimbo, where our Generall sent 14. of his men <sup>29 degrees</sup> on land to fetch water: but they were espied by the <sup>30 minutes.</sup> Spaniards, who came with 300. horsemen and 200. footemen, and slewe one of our men with a piece, the rest came aboard in safetie, and the Spaniards departed: wee went on shore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a flag of truce, but we set sayle and would not trust them.

From hence we went to a certaine port called Tara- <sup>Tarapan.</sup> paça, where being landed, we found by the Sea side a Spaniard lying asleepe, who had lying by him 13. barres of siluer, which weighed 4000. ducats Spanish: we tooke the siluer, and left the man.

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

Here hence we sailed to a place called Arica, and <sup>Arica in 18.</sup> being entred the port, we found there three <sup>deg. 30 min.</sup> small barkes which we rifled, and found in one of them 57 wedges of siluer, each of them weighing about 20 pound weight, and euery of these wedges were of the fashion and bignesse of a brickbat. In all these 3. barkes we found not one person: for they mistrusting no strangers, were all gone aland to the towne, which

consisteth of about twentie houses, which we would haue ransacked if our company had bene better and more in number. But our Generall contented with the spoyle of the ships, left the Towne and put off againe to sea and set sayle for Lima, and by the way met with a small barke, which he boarded, and found in her good store of linnen cloth, whereof taking some quantitie, he let her goe.

To Lima we came the 13. day of February, and Lima in 11. deg. 50. minutes. being entred the haven, we found there about twelue sayle of ships lying fast moored at an anker, hauing all their sayles caried on shore; for the masters and marchants were here most secure, hauing neuer bene assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as we were. Our generall rifled these ships, and found in one of them a chest full of royals of plate, and good store of silkes and linnen cloth, and tooke the chest into his owne ship, and good store of the silkes and linnen. In which ship hee had newes of another ship called the Cacafuego which was gone towards Paita, and that the same shippe was laden with treasure: whereupon we staid no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the shippes in the haven, we let them driue whither they would, either to sea or to the shore, and with all speede we followed the Cacafuego toward Paita, thinking there to haue found her: but before wee arriued there, she was gone from thence towards Panama, whom our Generall still pursued, and by the way met with a barke laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which hee boarded and searched, and found in her 80. li. weight of golde, and a crucifixe of gold with goodly great Emeralds set in it which he tooke, and some of the cordage also for his owne ship.

From hence we departed, still following the Cacafuego, and our Generall promised our company, that whosoeuer could first descric her, should haue his chaine of gold for his good newes. It fortuned that Iohn Drake going vp into the top, descriced her about three of the clocke, and about sixe of the clocke

The rich ship called Cacafuego taken. we came to her and boarded her, and shotte at her three peeces of ordinance, and strake downe her Misen, and being entered, we found in her great riches, as iewels and precious stones, thirteene chests full of royals of plate, foure score pound weight of golde, and sixe and twentie tunne of siluer. The place where we tooke this prize, was called Cape de San Francisco, about 150. leagues from Panama.

The Pilots name of this Shippe was Francisco, and amongst other plate that our Generall found in this ship, he found two very faire guilt bowles of siluer, which were the Pilots: to whom our Generall sayd: Senior Pilot, you haue here two siluer cups, but I must needes haue one of them: which the Pilot because hee could not otherwise chuse, yeelded vnto, and gaue the other to the steward of our Generals ships.

Cape de San Francisco in 1. degree to the North.

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

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

China-silks and Porcellan.

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

This Pilot brought vs to the hauen of Guatulco, the towne whereof, as he told vs had but 17. Spaniards in it. Assoone as we were entred this hauen, wee landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne-house, where we found a Iudge sitting in iudgement, being associate with three other officers, vpon three Negros that had conspired the burning of the towne: both which Iudges and prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shipboard, and caused the chiefe Iudge 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, we ransaked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

Guatulco.

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

At this place our General among other Spaniards, set ashore

The Portugall Pilote set on land.  
The Island of Canno.

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

A ship with a gouernour for the Islands of Philippinas.

And while wee were here, we espied a shippe, and set saile after her, and tooke her, and found in her, two Pilots and a Spanish Gouernour, going for the Islands of the Philippinas : wee searched the shippe, and tooke some of her marchandizes, and so let her goe. Our Generall at this place and time, thinking himselfe both in respect of his priuate iniuries receiued 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 vpon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey.

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

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

1<sup>th</sup>ne. The 5. day of Iune, being in 43. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the ayre so colde, that our

men being grieuously pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased vpon us. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke the land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, till wee came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same.\*

Sir Francis Drake sayled on the back-side of America to 43. degrees of Northerly latitude 38. Degrees.

In this Baye wee anchored, and the people of the Country hauing their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselues vnto vs, and sent a present to our Generall.

A description of the people and Country of Noua Albion.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things that wee brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to couer their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed vs to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary: the presents which they sent to our Generall, were feathers, and calles of net-worke.

The houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermost brimmes of the circle, clifts of wood set vpon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with rushes strowed on it, and lying about the house, 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 down about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands.

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

A long oration.

\* Now called Sir Francis Drake's Bay, north of the Golden Gate.

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 mean time our Generall with his company went to prayer, and to reading of the Scripture, at which exercise they were attentiuē, and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs, they restored againe unto vs those things which before we bestowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the Country, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the King himselfe, a man of goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose coming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was coming, in doing of which message, their speach was continued about halfe an houre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send some thing by their hand to their king, as a token that his coming might be in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to vs with a princely maiestie, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drew neere vnto vs, so did they striue to behaue themselves in their actions with comlinesse.

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

In the meane time our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching, a very warre-like shew. They being trooped together in their order, and a 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 voyce proclaymed that which the other spake to him in secrete, 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 daunce, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Guard, and guery degree of persons following, did in like maner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women, which daunced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwarke, where they continue their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselues, they made signes to our General to sit downe, to whom the King, and diuers others made seueral oration, or rather supplication, that hee would take their prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would The King resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole crown and kingdome to land, and become his subjects. In which, to Sir Francis Drake. perswade vs the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne vpon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offred vnto 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 reiect, because he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her Maiestie he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might so conueniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in y<sup>e</sup> same.

The common sorte of people leauing the King and his Guard 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 nailes, whereof issued abundance of blood. But we used signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them vpwards to the liuing God, whom The like they onely they ought to worship. They shewed vnto vs <sup>did in</sup> their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our hands, <sup>Hochelaga.</sup> whereupon he gaue them lotions, plaisters, and oyntments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Euery third day they brought their sacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderstood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from vs, but dayly our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so greuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into sorrow. They intreated vs, that being absent we would remember them, and by stealth prouided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

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

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

Our Generall called this Countrey Noua Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called. There is no part of earth heere to be taken vp, wherein there is not some probable shew of gold and siluer.\*

At our departure hence our Generall set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poste, whereupon was engrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriual there, with the free giuing vp of the prouince and people

\* Curious this statement appears, referring as it does to California.

into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence in current English money whereunder was also written the name of our Generall.

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

After we had set saile from hence, wee continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning wee fell with certaine Islands 8. degrees to the Northward of line, from which Islands came a great number of Canoas, hauing in some of them 4. in some 6. and in some also 14. men, bringing with them cocos, and other fruites. Their Canoas were hollow within, and cut with great arte and cunning being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glasse as if it were a horne daintily burnished, hauing a prow, and a sterne of one sort, yeelding inward circle-wise, being of a great height, and full of certaine white shels for a brauerie, and on each side of them he out two peeces of timber about a yarde and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the smalnesse, or bignesse of the boate.

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

Leauing this Island, the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October we lighted vpon diuers others, wherof made a great shew of Inhabitants.

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

The 14. of Nouember we fell with the Islands of Maluco, which day at night (hauing directed our course to runne with Tydore) in coasting along the Island of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputie or Vice-king seeing vs at sea, came with his Canoa to vs without all feare, and came aboard, and after some conference with our Generall, willed him in any wise to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him



The Isle of that the King would bee glad of his comming, and Ternate. would be ready to doe what he would require, for which purpose he himselfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes, with whom if he once dealt, hee should finde that as he was a King, so his word should stand: adding further, that if he went to Tydore before he came to Ternate, the King would haue nothing to doe with vs, because hee held the Portugall as his enemie: whereupon our Generall resolued to runne with Ternate, where the next morning early we came to anchor, at which time our Generall sent a messenger to the king with a veluet cloke, for a present, and token of his comming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffique and exchange of marchandize, whereof he had good store, in such things as he wanted.

In the meane time the Vice-king had bene with the king according to his promise, signifying vnto him what good things he might receiue from vs by traffique; whereby the King was mooued with great liking towards vs, and sent to our Generall with speciall message, that hee should haue what things he needed, and would require with peace and friendship, and moreouer that hee would yeeld himselfe, and the right of his Island to bee at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a Prince as we serued. In token whereof he sent to our Generall a signet, and within short time after came in his owne person, with boates, and Canoas to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer roade then she was in at present.

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

The King purposing to come to our ship, sent before 4. great and large Canoas, in euery one whereof were certaine of his greatest states that were about him, attired in white lawne of cloth of Calicut, hauing ouer their heads from the one ende of the Canoa to the other, a couering of thinne perfumed mats, borne vp with a frame made of reedes for the same vse, vnder which euery one did sit in his order according to his dignitie, to keepe him from the heate of the Sunne, diuers of whom beeing of good age and grauitie, did make an ancient and fatherly shew. There were

The king of Ternate offreth himselfe and his kingdome to the seruice of the Queene of England.

The great and strange Canoas of the King of Ternate.

also diuers yong and comely men attired in white, as were the others: the rest were souldiers, which stood in comely order round about on both sides, without whom sate the rowers in certaine galleries, which being three on a side all along the Canoas, did lie off from the side thereof three or four yards, one being orderly builded lower then another, in euery of which galleries were the number of 4. score rowers.

These Canoas were furnished with warlike munition, euery man for his part hauing his sword and target, with his dagger, besides other weapons, as launces, caliuers, darts, bowes and arrowes: also euery Canoa had a small cast base mounted at the least one full yarde vpon a stocke set vpright.

Thus comming neere our shippe, in order they rowed about vs, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnitie, the great personages beginning w<sup>t</sup> great grauitie and fatherly countenances, signifying that y<sup>e</sup> king had sent them to conduct our ship into a better roade.

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

The King of Ternate came to visite Sir Francis Drake.

At length the King craued leaue of our Generall to depart, promising the next day to come aboard, and in the meane time to send vs such victuals, as were necessarie for our prouision: so that the same night we receiued of them meale, which they call Sagu, made of the tops of certaine trees, Sagu a kinde of meale. tasting in the mouth like sowre curds, but melteth like sugar, whereof they make certaine cakes, which may be kept the space of ten yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. We had of them store of rice, hennes, vnperfect and liquid sugar, sugar canes, and a fruite which they call Figo, with store of cloues.

The King hauing promised to come aboard, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to intreate our Generall to come on shoare, offering himselfe pawne aboard for his safe returne. Whereunto our Generall consented not, vpon mislike conceiued of the breach of his promise, the whole company also vtterly refusing it. But to satisfie him, our Generall sent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the

Kings brother, reseruing the Vice-king for their safe returne. They were receiued of another brother of the kings, and other states, and were conducted with great honour to the Castle. The place that they were brought vnto was a large and faire house, where were at the least 1000. persons assembled.

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

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

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that we had heere by the fauour of the king receiued all necessary things that

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

When wee had ended our businesse here, we waied, and set saile to runne for the Malucos: but hauing at that time a bad winde, and being amongst the Islands, with much difficultie wee recouered to the Northward of the Island of Celebes, where by reason of contrary winds not able to continue our course to runne Westwards, we were inforced to alter the same to the Southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for vs, by reason of infinite shoalds which lie off, and among the Islands: whereof wee had too much triall to the hazard and danger of our ships and liues. For of all other dayes vpon the 9. of Ianuarie, in the yeere 1579. wee ranne suddenly <sup>Ianuarie in anno 1579.</sup> vpon a rocke, where we stucke fast from 8. of the clocke at night, til 4. of the clocke in the aftermoone <sup>Their danger vpon a rocke.</sup> the next day, being indeede out of all hope to escape the danger: but our Generall as hee had alwayes hitherto shewed himselfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God: so now he continued in the same, and lest he should seeme to perish wilfully, both he, and we did our best

\* Is Floris meant?

indeuour to saue our selues, which it pleased God so to blesse, that in the ende we cleared our selues most happily of the danger.

Cloues.  
The helpe of  
a current  
in the  
deliuerie. We lighted our ship vpon the rockes of 3. tunne of cloues, & peeces of ordinance, and certaine meale and beanes, and then the winde (as it were in a moment by the speciall grace of God) changing from the starreboord to the larboord of the ship, we hoised our sailes, and the happy gale droue our ship off the rocke into the sea againe, to the no litle comfort of all our hearts for which we gaue God such prayse and thanks, as so great a benefite required.

Februarie.  
Barateue  
Island. The 8. of Februarie following, wee fell with the fruitfull Island of Barateue, hauing in the meane time suffered many dangers by windes and shoalds. The people of this Island are comely in body and stature, and of a ciuill behauiour, iust in dealing, and courteous to strangers, whereof we had the experience sundry wayes, they being most glad of our presence, and very ready to releuee our wants in those things which their Countrey did yeelde. The men goe naked; sauing their heads and priities, cuery man hauing something or other hanging at their eares. Their women are couered from the middle downe to the foote, wearing a great number of bracelets vpon their armes, for some had 8. vpon each arme, being made some of bone, some of horne, and some of brasse, the lightest whereof by our estimation waied two ounces apeece.

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

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

Nutmegs and  
long Peper  
growing in  
Barateue. Their fruits be diuers and plentifull, as nutmegs, ginger, ong pepper, lemmons, cucumbers, cocos, figu, sagu, with diuers other sorts: and among all the rest, wee had one fruite, in bignesse, forme, and huske, like a Bay berry, hard of substance, and pleasant of taste, which being sodden, becommeth soft, and is a most good and wholsome victuall, whereof we tooke reasonable store, as we did also of the other fruits and spices: so that to confess a trueth, since the time that we first set out of our owne Countrey of England,



we happened vpon no place (Ternate onely excepted) wherein we found more comforts and better meanes of refreshing.

Commenda-  
tion of the  
Island of  
Barateue.

At our departure from Barateue, we set our course for Iaua maior, where arriuing, we found great courtesie, and honourable entertainment. This Island is gouerned by 5. Kings, whom they call Raiah: as Raiah Donaw, and Raiah Mang Bange, and Raiah Cabuccapollo, which liue as hauing one spirite, and one minde.

Iaua Maior.

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

Red and  
greene  
clothes much  
esteemed.

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

The manners  
of the people  
of Iaua.

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

They haue an house in euery village for their common assembly: euery day they meete twice, men, women, and children, bringing with them such victuals as they thinke good, some fruites, some rice boiled, some hennes roasted, some sago, hauing a table made 3. foote from the ground, whereon they set their meate, that euery person sitting at the table may eate, one reioycing in the company of another.

They boyle their rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a sugar loafe, being ful of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great ende, wherein they put their rice drie, without any moisture. In the meane time they haue ready another earthen pot, set fast in a fornace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme substance they become, so that in the end they are a firme and good bread, of the which

A strange  
fashion of  
boyling rice.

with oyle, butter, sugar, and other spices, they make diuers sorts of meates very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature.

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

From Iaua Maior we sailed for the cape of Good Hope, which was the first land we fell withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other land, vntill we came to Sierra Leona, vpon the coast of Guinea: notwithstanding we ranne hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirme that it is the most dangerous Cape of the world, neuer without intolerable stormes and present danger to trauailers, which come neere the same.

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

Sierra Leona. From thence we continued our course to Sierra Leona, on the coast of Guinea, where we arriued the 22. of Iuly, and found necessarie prouisions, great store of Oister-trees. Elephants, Oisters vpon trees of one kinde, spawning and increasing infinitely, the Oister suffering no budde to grow. We departed thence the 24. day.

We arriued in England the third of Nouember 1580. being the third yeere of our departure.

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

Raia Donaw.  
Raia Rabacalpa.  
Raia Bacabatra.

Raia Tymbanton.  
Raia Mawgbange.  
Raia Patimara.

Certaine wordes of the naturall language of Iaua, learned and obserued by our men there.

Sabuck, silke.  
Sagu, bread of the Countrey.  
Larrike, drinke.

Paree, ryce in the huske.  
Braas, sodden ryce.  
Calapa, Cocos.  
Cricke, a dagger.  
Catcha, a looking glasse.  
Arbo; an oxe.  
Vados, a goate.  
Cabo, golde.  
Gardange, a plantane.  
Hiam, a henne.  
Seuit, linnen cloth.  
Doduck, blew cloth.  
Totopps, one of their caps.  
Gula, blacke sugar.  
Tadon, a woman.  
Bebeck, a ducke.  
Aniange, a deere.  
Popran, oyntment.  
Coar, the head.  
Endam, raine.  
Ionge, a shippe.  
Chay, the sea.  
Sapelo, ten in number.  
Dopolo, twentie.  
Treda, no.  
Lau, vnderstand you.  
Bayer, goe.  
Adadizano, I will fetch it.  
Suda, ynough.

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

NVno de 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 Iago, one of the Islandes of Cabo Verde aforesayde, beeing the nineteenth of Ianuary in the yeere of our Lord 1578. And lying there, there came sixe ships, which seemed to be Englishmen, wheroof our Admirall boarded his ship, and by force with his men tooke him out of his ship, bringing him in the boate aboard the Admirals shippe, leauing some of his best men aboard his ship: and although the fortresse of the Island shot foure or five times at them, yet they hurt not the Englishmen: who 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 vessels 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 bee a pilot for the coast of Brasilia, that hee might bring them to such places in those countreys as had fresh water.

Being put off from the Island of Braua, they helde their course to the land of Brasilia, which they descried vpon the first of Aprill, vnder 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 vnder five 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 vnder nine and thirtie degrees, where they ankered: and beeing there, they left two of their sixe shippes behinde them, and sailed but foure in companie (that of Nuno da Silua being one) till they came to the Bay called Baya de las Islas, that is, The Bay of the Islands, lying vnder 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 Iune 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 skinned, with their legges from the knees downward, and their armes from the elbowes downward naked, all the rest of their bodies beeing clothed, with bowes and arrowes in their handes, being subtil, great, and well formed people, and strong and high of stature: where sixe of the Englishmen went on land to fetch fresh water, and before they leapt on land, foure of the Indians came vnto their boate, to whome the Englishmen gaue bread and wine: and when the Indians had well eaten and drunke, they departed thence: and going somewhat farre from them, one of the Indians cryed to them, and sayde: Magallanes, Esta he minha Terra, that is, Magallanes, this is my country: and because the Englishmen followed them, it seemed the Indians fledde vpward 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, vpon the which day they set saile, running along by the coast about a league and a halfe from the land, (for there it is all faire and good ground, at twentie, and five and twentie fathome deepe) and were about foure or five dayes before they came to the mouth or entrie of the Streight: but because the wind was contrary, they stayed till the 24 of August before they entred.

The entrie or mouth of the Streight is about a league broad, on both sides being bare and flatte land: on the North side they sawe Indians making great fires, but on the South side they saw no people stirring. The foure and twentieth day aforesayd, they beganne to enter into the Streight, with an Eastnortheast wind. This streight may bee about an hundred and tenne leagues long, and in bredth a league. About the entry of the Streight, and halfe way into it, it runneth right foorth without any windings or turnings: and from thence about eight or tenne leagues towards the ende, it hath some bouts 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 West, and about eight or tenne leagues before you come to the ende, then

The description of The streight of Magellan.

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 finde the streame to runne from the South sea to the North sea.

And after they began to saile in with the Eastnortheast wind, being entred they passed along without any let or hinderance either of wind or weather: and because the high land on both sides lay 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 certayne 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, vpon 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 Westsouthwest, which course they held for the space of ten or twelue dayes with few sailes vp: 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 hoysed sayle 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 Westsouthwest.

The next day they lost the sight of another ship of their company, for it was very foule weather, so that in the ende the Admirals shippe was left alone, for the ship of Nuno da Silua was left in the Bay where they wintered before they entered into

the Streights : and with this foule weather they ranne till they were vnder 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 vnhabited 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 five or sixe leagues from the firme land, on the North side of the Streight, where they ankered about a quarter of a league from the land, in 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 vpon the Island, the Indians in exchange of other things, brought two Spanish sheepe, and a little Maiz or rootes whereof they make bread, and because it was late, they returned againe vnto 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 vpon the two Englishmen and tooke 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 an other arrow in the head, whereby they were constrained to turne backe againe, without once hurting any of the Indians, and yet they came so neere the boate, that they tooke foure of their oares from them. This done, they set saile againe, running along the coast with a South winde, sailing so for the space of sixe dayes, passing by the hauen called Sant Iago, and put into another hauen, and there they tooke an Indian that lay fishing in a Canoa, giuing him linnen and butchers chopping kniues with other

They were  
driuen vnto  
57. degrees of  
Southerly  
latitude.

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

Sir Francis  
Drake  
wounded.

trifles, and not long after there came another Indian aboard their shippe called Felipe, and he spake Spanish, he gaue the English Captaine notice of a certaine shippe that lay in the hauen of Sant Iago, which they had left sixe leagues behind them: with that intelligence the Indian being their guide, the next day they set saile and went to the aforesayd hauen of S. Iago, 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,

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

taking the aforesayd shippe, with two men (that they found in her) with them, and so departed from that hauen, which lyeth vnder 32 degrees and a halfe, running along by the coast till they came vnder 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 vnder thirtie degrees, they found a very good hauen, whereinto they entred, and ankered at sixe fathome deepe, 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 vpon the land, and being busied in filling of their water, they espied a company of men comming towards them, wherof 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 presenly 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 vnhabited hauen: yet they went not on land, for euery day they saw people vpon the shore, and there they made out a smal pinnesse, the peeces wherof they brought ready framed out of England, and hauing prepared it, they launched it into the



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

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 vnderstanding 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 vpon 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 halfe of the fish that lay packed vpon the shore ready to be laden, with the which Indians and booty, they came on boord againe.

The next day following, they saw a barke laden with fish that belonged to the Spaniards, with foure Indians in it. This barke with the Indians and the fish they tooke, and bound the Spanish ship to their sterne, and so drewe it after them, leauing the said Indians within it, who by night vnbound the barke, and secretly made away with barke and fish, and were no more seene. The next day the Captaine went into the pinnesse, and because he saw certaine houses vpon the shore, he made thither, and being on land, he found two men in them, one whereof he tooke, leauing the other behind, and there he found three thousand pezos of siluer, (euery pezó being the value of a ryall of eight,) and seuen Indian sheepe, and hennes, and tooke al whatsoever they found: wherewith they departed from thence, following on their course. And two dayes after they came to the hauen called

Arica. 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 bowes) they perceiued on the land certaine horsemen comming towards them, whereupon they left off their pretence, and tooke with them a Negro that they found in the barks, with whom they returned aboard.

The next day in the morning, they burnt the ship, that was laden with the Spanish wares, and tooke the other with them, passing forward with it on their course. the Captaine sailing along the shore with his pinnesse, and the ship keeping about a league from him to seaward, to seeke for a ship wherof they had intelligence: and hauing in that maner sailed about fve 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 vp all her sailes and let her driue, doing the like with the ship that they had taken in Arica, as also the other of Sant Iago, which likewise they let driue, following on their course with their owne ship, and the pinnesse.

Being seuen or eight leagues from the hauen of Calao de Lima. Calao de Lyra, they espied three ships, and boarding one of them, they tooke three men out of her, and so held on their course towards Calao de Lyra, where they entred, being about two or three houres within night, sailing in betweene all the ships that lay there, being seuentee 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 arriued a ship from Panama laden with wares and merchandise of Spaine, that ankered close by the English ship,

which was, while the English Captaine sought in the other ships for the siluer. Assoone as the ship of Panama had anchored, there came a boat from the shore to search it: but because it was in the night, they let it alone till morning, and comming to the English ship, they asked what ship it was: whereupon one of the Spanish prisoners (by the English Captaines commandement) answered and said it was the ship of Michael Anzeio, that came from Chili: which they of the boat hearing sent a man on board, who climbing vp, light vpon one of the great peeces, wherewith he was afraid, and presently stept backe againe into the boat (because the shippes that lay there, and that sailed in those countreys, vsed 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 perceiuing, shipped certaine men in their pinnesse, followed her: and being hard by her, they hadde her strike, which they of the ship refused to doe, and with a harquebuse shot killed one of the Englishmen, wherewith they turned againe into their shippe, and presently set saile, following after the ship, which not long after they ouertooke: which they of the shippe perceiuing 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 sayed 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 shippe of Panama driue, therein leauing Iohn 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 vpon 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 vnderstood 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 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 haven called Payta, where they found a ship laden with Spanish wares, which the pinnesse boarded, and tooke without any resistance: for assoone as the Spaniards perceiued the Englishmen, they presently made to land with their boate, and two of them leapt into the sea, none staying in the shippe, but the Master, Pilote, and some Negros, out of the which shippe the Englishmen tooke the pilote, and all the bread, hennes and a hogge, and so sailed forward with the ship: but being about two harquebuse shot to seaward, they let it goe againe, not taking any thing out of it, and asking after the ship, which they sought for, they told them that about two dayes before she departed from that place, 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 silver, and some gold, but I know not how much, which they tooke, and sent the passengers (with two friers that were in her) in a boate to land. The next day they hanged a man of the ship, because hee would not confesse two plates of golde that he had taken, which after they found about him: which done, they let the ship drive, following on their course.

The first of March towards noone, they espied the ship laden with silver, being about foure leagues to seaward from them: and because the English ship was somewhat heauie before,

whereby it sailed not as they would 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 being hard by her, the English Captaine badde them strike, but the other refusing to doe it, with

A pretie device to make their ship saile more swiftly.

a great peece hee shot her mast ouerboord, and hauing wounded the Master with an arrowe, the shippe presently yeilded, 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 peeeces of siluer, and fourteene 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 aboord, being the sixth of March, and from thence they held their course towards the land of Nicaragua.

Nicaragua.

The thirteenth of March, either the day before or after, in the morning, they descried land, not being very high, being a small Island two leagues from the firme land, and there they found a small Bay, wherein they ankered at five fathome deepe close by the land, and there they stayed till the twentie day. Vpon 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 board, and cast the Salsaperilla on the and, leauing all the rest of the wares in the frigate, and then he put all his peeeces into the frigate, that so he might lay his ship on shore, to new calke and trimme her, which continued till the three and twentie or foure and twentie of March. Which done, and hauing made prouision of wood and fresh water, they held on their course along by the coast, sayling Westward, taking the said 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 he had about him,

The Island of Canoa. The first sight of Noua Espanna.

They calke and trimme their ship at the Ile of Canoa ouer against Nicaragua.

SECRET

During the past few years the Government has been...  
...the Department of the Interior...  
...the Bureau of Land Management...

The Department of the Interior has been...  
...the Bureau of Land Management...  
...the Bureau of Reclamation...  
...the Bureau of Indian Affairs...  
...the Bureau of Geographical Names...  
...the Bureau of Fish and Wildlife Management...  
...the Bureau of Land Management...  
...the Bureau of Reclamation...  
...the Bureau of Indian Affairs...  
...the Bureau of Geographical Names...  
...the Bureau of Fish and Wildlife Management...

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...the Bureau of Reclamation...  
...the Bureau of Indian Affairs...  
...the Bureau of Geographical Names...  
...the Bureau of Fish and Wildlife Management...

The Department of the Interior has been...  
...the Bureau of Land Management...  
...the Bureau of Reclamation...  
...the Bureau of Indian Affairs...  
...the Bureau of Geographical Names...  
...the Bureau of Fish and Wildlife Management...  
...the Bureau of Land Management...  
...the Bureau of Reclamation...  
...the Bureau of Indian Affairs...  
...the Bureau of Geographical Names...  
...the Bureau of Fish and Wildlife Management...

pray you pay them double the value for it, which I will satisfie againe, and command your men not to doe her any hurt: and what composition or agreement we haue made, at my returne into England I will by Gods helpe performe, 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 vs in his keeping, to whom one v 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 vs, and am in good hope, that we shal be in no more trouble, but that he will helpe vs in aduersitie, desiring you for the Passion of Christ, if you fall into any danger, that you will not despaire of Gods mercie, for hee will defend you and preserue you from all danger, and bring vs to our desired hauen, to whom be all honour, glory, and praise for euer and euer. Amen. Your sorrowfull Captaize, whose heart is heauy for you.

FRANCIS DRAKE.

END OF VOL. XV.