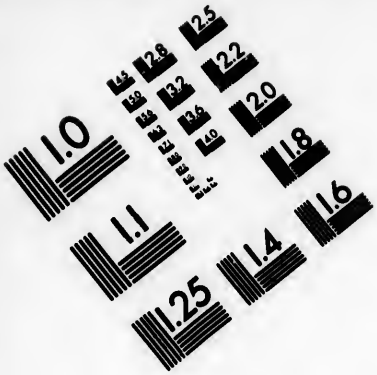

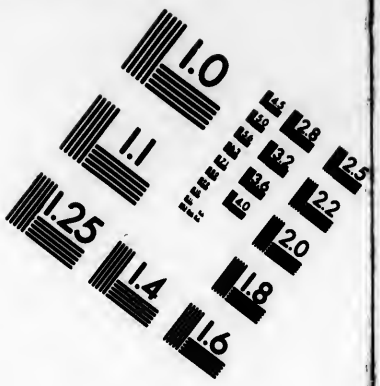

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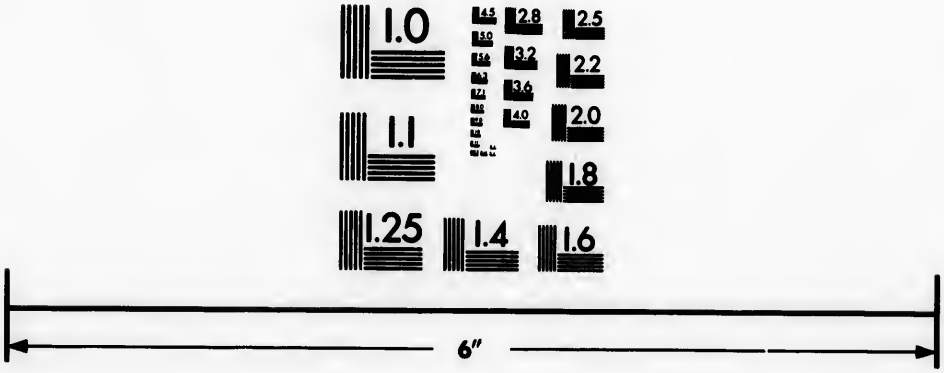

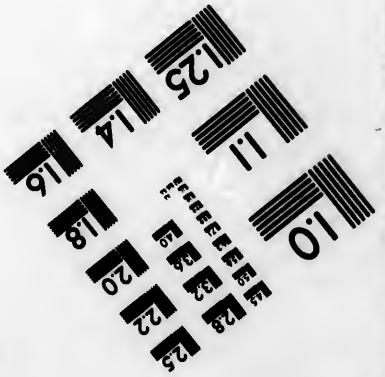

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BIOGRAPHIA NAUTICA:

OR,

MEMOIRS

OF THOSE

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN,

TO WHOSE

INTREPIDITY AND CONDUCT

THE

ENGLISH ARE INDEBTED,

FOR

The VICTORIES of their FLEETS, the INCREASE of their DOMINIONS, the EXTENSION of their COMMERCE,

AND THEIR

PRE-EMINENCE ON THE OCEAN,

INTERSPERSED WITH

The most material Circumstances of NAVAL HISTORY, from the NORMAN INVASION to the Year 1779.
Embellished with COPPER-PLATES.

By DR. J. CAMPBELL, and JOHN KENT, ESQ.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

ENGLAND IS A LAND WHICH CAN NEVER BE CONQUERED WHILST THE KINGS THEREOF KEEP THE DOMINION OF THE SEAS.
SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED FOR J. WILLIAMS, [No. 20.] DAME-STREET.

M.DCC.LXXXV.

MEMOIRS

OF

CHARLES HOWARD,

BARON of EFFINGHAM, EARL of NOTTINGHAM, and LORD HIGH ADMIRAL of ENGLAND.

AT this æra, the family of Howard was not less distinguished by a race of naval heroes, than by exalted birth and powerful alliances. The immediate, and gallant ancestors of this destroyer of the Armada (*a*) have been already mentioned (*b*). Charles, born in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and thirty-six, was the son of the Lord William Howard, by Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage, in the county of Glanmorgan (*c*). He was trained to war, under the conduct of his father, who not only enjoyed the post of high-admiral, but had been

A 2 advanced

(*a*) Walpole's royal, and noble authors, V. 1. p. 158. Article Essex.

(*b*) Volume the Second, p. 2. &c.

(*c*) Baronagium Angliæ, p. 34. MS.—Dugdale's Baronage, V, 2. p. 278.

advanced to the barony of Effingham. His earlier years were paſſed in naval expeditions; but, at the acceſſion of Elizabeth, a period when he was juſt of age, he received orders from his ſovereign, to repair to Paris, and, in her name, to congratulate Charles, the ninth, who, about this time, had aſcended the throne of France (*d*). In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſixty-eight, he was appointed general of the horſe, and, attending the Earl of Warwick to the North, diſplayed his valour, and good conduct, in the action againſt the rebels, under their leaders, the Earls of Northumberland, and Weſtmoreland (*e*).

We have already (*f*) obſerved that, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſixty-nine, he was intruſted with the command of a formidable ſquadron, and, attended by ſeveral of the nobility, proceeded to Zealand, from whence, he eſcorted into Spain, Anne, of Auſtria, the daughter of the emperor Maximilian, and niece of Philip, to whom ſhe was betrothed in marriage (*g*). It is, now, neceſſary to add that, in the true ſpirit of an Engliſh ſeaman, who, neither in peace, nor war, permits the navy of his ſovereign to be inſulted, in the channel, he forced the Spaniards, although their fleet amounted to one hundred, and thirty ſail, to ſtrike their flags, as an acknowledgment that Elizabeth, and her people, were intitled to the dominion of the ocean by which they were ſurrounded (*h*).

In

(*d*) Camden's Annals, p. 54.

(*e*) Strype's Annals, V. 1. p. 583.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 1212.

(*f*) Volume the ſecond, p. 168.

(*g*) Camden's Annals, V. 2. p. 220, 221.—Ferrera's Hiſt. de Eſpana, Part XV. Sec. 16.

(*h*) Epiſtle Dedicatory, addreſſed to the Earl of Nottingham, in the firſt volume of Hackluyt's Voyages.

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy one, he was returned to parliament, by the county of Surry; an honour which he exchanged soon afterwards for a greater, being admitted into the House of Peers, as Baron of Effingham, in the room of his father, who died, on the twelfth of January, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-two, lamented by his sovereign, who had permitted him, during the latter part of his life, to enjoy the lucrative, and exalted post of Lord-Privy-Seal (*i*).

The Queen bestowed her favours, with equal profusion, on the son, advancing him to the highest offices, yet, not rapidly, but, as her manner was, by progression (*k*). On the fourth of April, in the year one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-three, and, at a period when he had, for some time, attended the person of Elizabeth, as the Lord Chamberlain of her houshold, he was honoured with the order of the garter (*l*). A naval historian (*m*) remarks that some contemporary writers have affirmed that the promotion of Lord Effingham was, in a great measure, intended to controul the aspiring spirit of the Earl of Leicester; and, he deems the circumstances to be probable, because these favourites have been represented, as destitute of congenial feelings, and not more opposite in their minds, than in the conduct of their lives (*n*). he adds that Leicester was deceitful, overbearing, and

(*i*) Stowe, p. 674.—Hollingshed, V. 2. p. 112.—Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, p. 88, 95.

(*k*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 511.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 279.—Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter, p. 715.

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 511, 512.

(*n*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 736.

ambitious; but commends Effingham for his patriotiſm, frankneſs, candour, and generoſity. We are told that, by the Queen, he was reſpected for his loyalty, and that the people revered, and loved him, not alone in compliment to his illuſtrious, and heroic family, but on account of his hoſpitality, affability, and a number of endearing virtues (*o*). With theſe apparent claims to the attention of his ſovereign, and the regard of his fellow-ſubjects, it is not extraordinary that, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-five, and at the death of the Earl of Lincoln, he was advanced to the poſt of Lord High Admiral of England; an event which gave the greateſt ſatisfaction to all the officers, and mariners of the fleet, by whom he was at once beloved, and honoured (*p*).

The particulars of thoſe important ſervices for which Elizabeth, and the ſtate, were indebted to the Lord Effingham, and his brave aſſociates, at a period when the whole naval, and military force of Spain was intent on the deſtruction of the Engliſh, have been already mentioned (*q*). We ſhall not farther review this important ſubject, than by the inſertion of a paſſage from the writings of the gallant Sir Richard Hawkins, whoſe teſtimony to the merit of his commander, it were Injuſtice to ſuppreſs.

"Worthy of perpetual memory, was the prudent "policy, and government of our Engliſh navy, in the "year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-"eight, by the valiant Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-"Admiral of England, who, in the like caſe, with ma-"ture, and experimented knowledge, patiently with-"ſtood

(*o*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 512.
(*p*) Stowe, p. 700, 709.—Camden, p. 451.
(*q*) Volume the ſecond, from page 230, to page 305.

"ſtood the inſtigations of many courageous, and no-
"ble captains, who would have perſuaded him to lay
"the Spaniards aboard; but when he foreſaw that the
"enemy had an army in their fleet, and he none;
"and that they exceeded him in number of ſhip-
"ping, and thoſe great in bulk, ſtronger built, and
"higher molded; ſo that they who, with ſuch Ad-
"vantage fought from above, might eaſily diſtreſs all
"oppoſition below, the ſlaughter, peradventure, prov-
"ing more fatal than the victory profitable, by being
"overthrown, he might have hazarded the kingdom;
"whereas, by the conqueſt, (at moſt,) he could
"have boaſted of nothing, but glory, and an enemy
"defeated. But, by ſufferance, he always advan-
"taged himſelf of wind, and tide, which was the
"freedom of our country, and the ſecurity of our
"navy, with the deſtruction of the Armada, which
"in the eye of the ignorant, (who judge of all things,
"by their external appearance,) ſeemed invincible,
"but truly conſidered, was much inferior to the Eng-
"liſh fleet, in all things of ſubſtance, as the event
"proved. For, we ſunk, ſpoiled, and took many of
"them; yet they diminiſhed of our navy, but one
"ſmall pinnace, nor any man of name, ſave only
"captain Cocke, who died, with honour, amidſt his
"company. The greateſt damage that, (as I remem-
"ber,) they cauſed to any of our ſhips, was to the
"*Swallow*, belonging to her majeſty, (which I had,
"in that action, under my charge,) with an arrow
"of fire, ſhot into her beak-head, which we ſaw
"not, becauſe of the ſail, until it had burned a hole
"in the roſe, as big as a man's head. The arrow
"falling out, and driving along by the ſhip's ſide,
"made us doubt of it, which, afterwards, we diſco-
"vered."

As

As every material circumſtance connected with the expedition to Cadiz, hath been already preſented to the reader (r), we need only remind him that the conduct of the Lord Effingham was ſtrongly marked by that well-tempered heroiſm, which is a ſurer earneſt of ſucceſs, than the violence of undaunted Reſolution. Elizabeth, who felt the value of his ſervices, expreſſed a pleaſure in rewarding them; and, ſoon after (s) his return advanced him to the title of Earl of Nottingham, which had formerly been enjoyed by the houſe of Mowbray, from which he was deſcended. The preamble of his patent reflects a luſtre on his character, and, by order of Elizabeth, it was expreſſed that, "In conſequence of the victory obtained, in "the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-"eight, he had ſecured the kingdom of England, from "the invaſion of Spain, and other impending dan-"gers; and did, alſo, in conjunction with her dear "couſin, Robert, Earl of Eſſex, ſeize, by force, the "Iſle, and the ſtrongly fortified city of Cadiz, in the "farthest part of Spain; and, did likewiſe, intirely "rout, and defeat another fleet of the king of Spain, "prepared, in that port, againſt this kingdom (t)." A naval hiſtorian (u) obſerves that theſe aſſertions in the patent, howſoever honourable, were leſs needful in that than in any other reign, ſince it was well known that Elizabeth parted not with titles, until they were deſerved (x); nor, unleſs ſhe knew that the

(r) Volume the ſecond, from page 329, to page 389.
(s) October 22. A. D. 1596.
(t) Pat. 39 Eliz. P. 3.
(u) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 516.
(x) Yet the earl of Eſſex thought differently. The violent, and jealous temper of this lord was ill-calculated to brook

the public voice would approve her favour; as, in this case, it loudly did. At the first Introduction of the earl of Nottingham into the house of lords, he was received with such unusual marks of joy as amply testified the high opinion which that assembly had conceived of him; nor did they less applaud the conduct of the queen, when, not satisfied with having advanced him to one dignity, she, almost immediately, appointed him justice-itinerant (for life) of all the forests, south of Trent (*y*). The next great office conferred upon him appears to have been that of lord lieutenant-general of all England (*z*), at a period (*a*) when a suspected invasion from the Spaniards, and the conduct of the earl of Essex, in Ireland, had exceedingly alarmed the kingdom.

It may, in this place, be necessary to remark, without entering into a tedious relation of the desperate conspiracies of Essex, that Nottingham (who had been accused by that lord, of having sacrificed to Spain the interests of his country,) was intrusted with the command of an armed body of the nobility, citizens, and soldiers, when having surrounded both from the street, and gardens, the house to which the insurgents had retired, he summoned Essex to surrender (*b*). At first, yield-

brook the insinuation that Nottingham had equally contributed with himself, to the success of the enterprize before Cadiz. He even assumed the unwarrantable liberty of proposing that the patent should be cancelled; and threatened, in case of a refusal, to challenge Nottingham, or any of his sons, to single combat.—Bacon's papers, p. 365.

(*y*) Pat. 39. Eliz. P. 1.

(*z*) Camden. Annal. p. 794.—Stowe's Annals, p. 778.—Speed.—Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 517.

(*a*) Volume the second, from page 425, to page 427.

(*b*) The earl resided, then, at Temple-bar; and, on that spot where Devereux-court, and Essex-street now stand.

yielding to the advice of the lord Sandys, this infatuated malcontent declared that he was determined to resist, until the last extremity; and would perish, not tamely by the hands of the executioner, but, bravely, contending against his enemies. The reflections of a cooler moment induced him, soon afterwards, to change his purpose; and he informed the lord admiral that he was prepared to yield on the conditions, that his adherents, together with himself, should be treated with civility; that their trials should be regulated by an impartial regard to law; and that Ashton a presbyterian minister, might be permitted to attend him in his confinement. The earl of Nottingham engaged for the first condition; observed that Elizabeth would, undoubtedly, perform the second; and promised to employ his interest for the completion of the last. Having received this answer, the conspirators submitted; and the earls of Essex, Rutland, and Southampton, the lords Sandys, Cromwell, and Monteagle, together with Davis, and Bromley, were conducted, by water, to the tower. The rest were committed to different prisons within the city (*c*).

At this period, the lord high-admiral was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of earl marshal of England (*d*); and it was to him (who attended (*e*) with the keeper of the privy-seal, and the secretary of state,) that Elizabeth, in her last moments, declared her pleasure that the crown should devolve on James, the king of Scotland (*f*).

At

(*c*) February 8, 1600. — Stowe. — Speed. — Camden. — Treasons of the Earl of Essex.

(*d*) Pat. 44. Eliz. P. 14.

(*e*) Volume the second, p. 434.

(*f*) Camden, V. 3. p. 912.—Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth, V. 2. p. 507, 508.

At the acceſſion of this prince, the earl of Nottingham was honoured with diſtinguiſhed marks of approbation, and not only fixed in the poſſeſſion of thoſe Offices which he held at the cloſe of the preceding reign, but directed to aſſume the dignity, and Employment of lord high ſteward, during the approaching ceremony of the coronation. In the ſummer of the ſucceeding year (*g*), a peace was concluded with Spain, and ſigned by the plenipotentiaries from that court, at London (*h*). The more effectually to ratify it, the conſtable of Caſtile arrived in England; whilſt, on the ſame occaſion, the earl of Hertford was diſpatched to the Low-Countries, and the earl of Nottingham to Spain. His magnificent retinue amounted to five hundred perſons, amongſt whom were ſix peers, and fifty knights. Amidſt the pomp of this ambaſſy, the royal appointment of fifteen thouſand pounds, formed but an inconſiderable part of the expences which attended it. The generoſity of Nottingham, which, at this juncture, was carried to unuſual exceſſes, proved highly-pleaſing to the Spaniards, on whoſe bigotry, and ignorance, the prieſts had worked ſo powerfully, that they expected to have met an infernal troop of monſters from the Engliſh land of heretics; and could not avoid remarking with aſtoniſhment, that the ambaſſador, and his attendants, were not only in human form, but blooming with health, and beauty, ſuperior to their own. The gifts which were preſented by Philip, the third, to the earl of Nottingham, at his departure from the court of Spain, were ſuppoſed to have exceeded in value, the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds (*i*).

On

(*g*) Auguſt 18, 1604.
(*h*) Rymer, V. 16. p. 585, &c.
(*i*) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 69. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 519.

On his return, and, at his first audience with James, he was treated with a degree of coolness ill suited to the importance of his services, and which resulted solely from the credulity of the king, who considered the lord high admiral to be guilty, on the weak ground that his enemies had accused him; and expressed, without reason a violent displeasure, that he should have affected a magnificence too unlimited for a subject; and have proceeded, in the free sallies of his temper, to indiscretions, unworthy of the prudence of an ambassador (*k*). The disgrace of Nottingham was, however, transient, and James took an early opportunity of convincing him that he was intirely reinstated in his favour, by appointing him to the command of the fleet which accompanied the princess Elizabeth, on her passage to Flushing, soon after the celebration of her nuptials with the Elector Palatine (*l*). This service (if it be intitled to such a name,) was the last public action of his life, and, quickly followed by the resignation of his post of lord high admiral, to the rising favourite, George Villiers, at that period, duke of Buckingham.

A naval writer (*m*), observes that some contemporary historians have thrown this circumstance into a light exceedingly injurious to the memory of James, disgraceful to Buckingham, and equally detrimental to the Reputation of the earl of Nottingham, who is represented as having been, compulsively, dismissed from his employments in the navy; yet not without a pecuniary recompence from James, and the appointment of sir Robert Mansel, to the post of vice-admiral

(*k*) Winwood's Memorials, p. 91, 92.

(*l*) Wilson's life of James, the first, in Kennet's compleat History of England, V. 2. p. 690, 691.

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 520.

miral for life; and thus, (if ſuch accounts could be depended on,) a valiant, and experienced officer, was wantonly removed from an important truſt, to pleaſe a raſh, and giddy youth, unable to diſcharge it (*n*).

In contradiction to this inference, it hath been remarked (*o*) that the manner in which the earl of Nottingham reſigned his poſt, appears from the moſt ſcrupulous conſideration of every circumſtance, to have anſwered his own wiſhes, without leaving a pretext for an injurious reflexion on the conduct of his ſovereign. During the courſe of thirty-two Years, he had preſided over the naval department of the kingdom, with unſullied honour; and, at length, ſinking under age and infirmities, applied, but without the privity of Buckingham, for a conditional diſcharge. His requeſt was granted; and, as he had ſignified his apprehenſions leſt (under circumſtances too narrow for his rank,) he ſhould be unable to make the neceſſary proviſion for the counteſs (*p*), and her daughters, the king remitted to him a debt of eighteen hundred pounds, which was due from his family to the crown (*q*), and likewiſe ſettled on him a penſion of three thouſand pounds (*r*). To theſe pecuniary rewards, was added a precedency in rank; and, with the title of the earl of Nottingham, he took his ſeat in the houſe of

(*n*) Court and character of king James, by ſir Anthony Weldon. London, 1651. 12mo. p. 114, 115.

(*o*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 520.

(*p*) This lady to whom he had been married, not long before, was the daughter of the earl Murray.

(*q*) Camden's Annals of king James, in biſhop Kennet's compleat hiſtory, V. 2. p. 651, 653.—Sir William Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 279—Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 360.—Aulicus Coquinariæ. London, 1650. 12 mo. p. 169.

(*r*) Aulicus Coquinariæ.

of peers, as the deſcendant of an anceſtor on whom it had been conferred by Richard, the ſecond; and not according to the date of his laſt creation (*s*).

We are informed (*t*) that Buckingham paid a viſit to the earl, and having thanked him for this ſpontaneous reſignation in his favour, intreated the young counteſs to receive from him, as a token of his gratitude, and eſteem for her illuſtrious lord, a preſent of three thouſand pounds. It is added that this powerful favourite (who knelt, as he approached Nottingham, nor ever mentioned him, but with reverence, and by the name of father,) prevailed on James to confirm, (for life, and by patent,) the poſt of vice-admiral to ſir Robert Manſel, the deſcendant of an honourable family, but, at one period, the menial ſervant of the earl. Affected by this act of generoſity, Nottingham, regardleſs of the infirmities of age, repaired, inſtantly, to the duke of Buckingham, and proteſted that he conſidered the advancement of Manſel, as an obligation conferred upon himſelf (*u*). To obviate the popular objections againſt the appointment of Buckingham to the poſt of lord high admiral, the king inſtituted a council compoſed of officers of exalted rank, and diſtinguiſhed naval abilities, without whoſe concurrence no important meaſure was to be carried into execution. The ſalutary effects of this proceeding were ſoon apparent, and Buckingham, who had obtained the aſſignment of a conſiderable fund for the ſervice of his department, was enabled to reduce the ordinary expences of the fleet, from fifty-four, to thirty thouſand pounds, a year.

(*s*) Camden's Annals of king James, p. 653.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 521.
(*t*) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 170.
(*u*) Ibid.

a year (*x*). It is remarked, by a discerning writer (*y*), that, on the whole, this transaction was not dishonourable; that all parties were obliged, and all expressed their satisfaction; that every insinuation to the contrary flows manifestly from unwarrantable conjectures, and a desire of prejudicing the world against the memory of men in elevated stations; practices the most destructive of the true end, and fruit of history, the great business of which is the discovery of truth, and the instruction of those to whom it is revealed (*z*).

Having quitted his employments, the earl of Nottingham retired to the calmer scenes of private life, and passed the few remaining years of his existence, amongst his family, and friends (*a*). His character hath been thus drawn by the historian (*b*) to whose researches

(*x*) Roberti Johnstoni Rerum Britannicarum Historiæ, Lib. 18. p. 37.—Rushworth's collections, V. 1. p. 307, 378, 379.—Sanderson's History of James I. p. 439.

(*y*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 522.

(*z*) Ibid.

(*a*) He died, on the fourteenth of December, in the year one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-four, and, at the age of eighty-eight *. On the twenty-third of the same month, his body was buried in the family-vault, under the chancel of the church of Ryegate, in Surry, His first wife was Catharine, daughter of Henry Cary, lord Hunsdon; and his issue by her, were William, and Charles Howard, (the Last of whom succeeded him in his honours,) and three daughters. The fruits of his second marriage with Margaret, the daughter of James, earl of Murray, were two sons, James who died in his minority, and Charles Howard, who received the honour of knighthood, and, by the death of his brother, became, afterwards, earl of Nottingham.

* Catalogue of nobility deceased in the reign of king James I. MS.

(*b*) Mr. Campbell—Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 522.

searches we are particularly indebted for the materials of this memoir.

The natural integrity of his disposition had rendered him incapable of committing a base Action (*c*), and such was his abhorrence of the guilt which he observed in others, that no consideration could prevail on him to suppress it. His steady loyalty to the crown preserved his reputation spotless, and his fortune unimpaired, whilst the rest of his family were in the utmost danger (*d*). Elizabeth, who knew, and valued his integrity, preferred his candour to the policy of some of her greatest favourites, and frequently remarked that he was born to serve, and save his country. Her peculiar felicity in suiting employments to the capacity of her warriors, and Statesmen, was, at no Period more conspicuous than in her choice of Nottingham, whose intrepidity could not be lessened by a sense of danger, and whose fidelity was incorruptible.

The magnificence which he displayed in his public character, was, in private life, exchanged for hospitality; a virtue which he carried to such lengths that he kept (to use the expression of doctor *Fuller* (*e*),) seven standing houses, at once. It must be confessed that

(*c*) It is with pain that we contradict this encomium, and remind the reader of an account * too well authenticated. How melancholy is the consideration that Nottingham, the brave preserver of his country, should have descended to an act of pusillanimous revenge! The public services of the Hero are almost cancelled by the barbarity of the Murderer. —Bacon's Papers, p. 365.—Walpole's royal, and noble authors, V. 1. Article Essex.

* Volume the second of this work, p. 432, 433.

(*d*) Camden.—Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia. —Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 751.

(*e*) English Worthies, Surry, p. 84.

that the character, and conduct of the earl of Nottingham hath been placed in unfavourable points of view; but, let it be remembered that the writer who reproached him was influenced by the violence of prejudice; and that the rough, and martial behaviour of the heroes in the active service of Elizabeth was ill-suited to the stiff, and solemn air of those statesmen who composed the court of James, and to whom it was natural that Nottingham should appear disgusting *(f)*. His actions are sufficient to silence envy, and to destroy the credit of malicious censurers. He who vanquished the Armada, equipped, in the space of fourteen days, a fleet sufficient to maintain the sovereignty of the ocean, and, by his presence alone (*g*), dispirited the adherents of the earl of *Essex*, must have been an extraordinary man, although we should grant that he had enemies, was not learned, expressed himself somewhat bluntly, and, notwithstanding his exalted rank, betrayed almost a total ignorance of those arts which howsoever common, are yet disgraceful in the courts of princes.

(*f*) See a letter from the earl of Northampton, to Sir Charles Cornwallis, ambassador to the court of Spain. Winwood's Memorials, v. 2. p. 91.

(*g*) The idea of the gallant Essex, and his associates, intimidated by the presence alone of Nottingham, is too extravagant. In the heat of panegyric, Mr. Campbell, like a multitude of encomiasts, seems to have trespassed on probability.

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT,

KNIGHT.

THIS illuſtrious adventurer was deſcended from a long line of honourable anceſtors, who had been ſettled in the county of Devon, at leaſt as early, and (if the authority of ſome writers can be depended on,) even before the conqueſt (*a*). He was the ſecond ſon of Otho Gilbert, of Greenway, eſquire, by Catharine, the daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, in the ſame County. (This Lady was married, afterwards, to Walter Raleigh, of Fardel Eſquire, and in conſequence of that Union, became mother to the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh (*b*).)

It was to her care that he ſtood indebted for thoſe advantages of education, (at Eton, firſt, and, afterwards, at Oxford,) which enabled him to fill a diſtinguiſhed place in life, and obtain a pre-eminence

 during

(*a*) Collection of arms, &c. of the ancient families of Devonſhire, by Sir John Northcote, Baronet, MS.

(*b*) Sir William Pole's deſcription of Devonſhire.——Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 1. p. 524.

during an æra productive of illustrious men (*c*). His advancement was, also, much facilitated through the interest of an aunt (*d*), who obtained a permission from Elizabeth to introduce him to her presence. The queen, charmed with the politeness of his behaviour, his taste for literature, and the apparent Liberality of his disposition, recommended him, as a youth of merit, and promising Abilities, to Sir Henry Sidney, the chief governour of Ireland. The favourite studies of Gilbert were Cosmography, Navigation, and the Art of War. With these, he was equally conversant in Theory, and in Practice; and is recorded, bravely to have exposed his person, at an early period, in the service of his country, acquiring a distinguished Reputation, by his military Conduct, previous to his Engagement in more important Projects (*e*).

The first instances of his mature judgment, and enterprizing spirit were particularly conspicuous on the expedition to Newhaven, where his attempts were followed by such success, as contributed not only to the establishment of his Fame, but to the augmentation of his Fortune. The clear, and persuasive Manner in which, either as a Speaker, or an Author, He maintained the Rectitude of his own Conduct, or apologized for those measures which had been pursued by others, was so pleasing to the great officers, in the service of Elizabeth, that they recommended him to their sovereign, as a sagacious Warrior, the exertions of whose intrepidity, and talents, might be directed to the

(*c*) Risdon's Survey of Devonshire, V. 1. p. 152, 172.—Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 260.

(*d*) Mrs. Catharine Ashley.

(*e*) Supply of Irish Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.—Fuller's Worthies in Devonshire, p. 260.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 525.

the moſt ſalutary purpoſes, in Ireland, where men of the firſt abilities were ſo particularly wanted (*f*). The conceptions of theſe ſtateſmen coincided with the views of our adventurer, and with that ambition which made him zealous to exalt his character, by great atchievements. Having embraced the offers of the court, he proceeded, inſtantly, to Munſter, and, aſſuming the command, began thoſe enterprizes which were, afterwards, ſucceſsful (*g*).

Without entering minutely into the circumſtances of his military operations, in Ireland, let it be ſufficient to remark, that, amongſt other exploits, performed in conjunction with his relation, Sir Walter Raleigh, he compoſed the diſturbances which had been raiſed by the Mac-Arthies; drove the Butlers, who had broken their allegiance, from his province, and obliged Fitz-Maurice, one of the moſt formidable chieftains amongſt the Iriſh, to forſake his country, and flee, for ſafety, into Spain (*h*).

A naval hiſtorian (*i*), after having obſerved that it is not poſitive whether the honour of knighthood was conferred on Mr. Gilbert, previous, or ſubſequent to his departure from Ireland, and that there are authorities on both Sides of the queſtion (*k*), adds that he

(*f*) Stowe, p. 812.—Sidney-Papers, V. 1. p. 28.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 526.

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 526.

(*h*) Ibid.—Camden, V. 1. p. 198, 199.—Sidney-Papers, V. 1. p. 36, 37, 38, 39.—Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 333.

(*i*) Mr. Campbell.

(*k*) Prince's Worthies of Devonſhire: where he is firſt mentioned to have been knighted, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy; and, afterwards, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-ſeven; but, in both places, the author aſſerts (from a manuſcript belonging to Sir William Pole,) that the dignity was conferred by queen Elizabeth.

probably, received that dignity from the chief governor, Sir Henry Sidney, about the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy; and that he did not return to England, until some years afterwards (*l*). Whether Sir Humphrey Gilbert was knighted by Elizabeth, at her own court, or, by Sir Henry Sidney, in Ireland, is a point which we shall not pretend to settle. It is, however, certain that he was in England, during the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-one, and spoke in that parliament which met, at Westminster, on the second of April, and was dissolved on the twenty-ninth of May, in the same year. As the circumstance to which we allude conveys a striking idea of the political character of Sir Humphrey, it may not be improper briefly to relate it.

A company of merchants, residing at Bristol, had obtained an exclusive patent from the queen. Soon afterwards, it was excepted against, in the house of commons, by Robert Bell, a member, and a Puritan. In a short time from this event, a message was delivered to the speaker, from Elizabeth, who laid her interdictions against unnecessary motions, and long Debates. The commons were, now, apprehensive that their sovereign was offended at the discussion of a point which affected her prerogative (*m*). It was remarked, by Fleetwood, that the queen enjoyed the privilege of granting patents; that to call in question their validity was, in effect, to invade the royal prerogative; that all foreign Commerce was absolutely dependant on the pleasure of the crown, which might issue prohibitions, even in defiance of the statute establishing a liberty of trade; and that whensoever an exclu-

(*l*) Supply of Irish Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.
(*m*) D'Ewes, p. 159.

exclusive patent was granted by the prince, He only employed the power vested in him, and forbad all others to engage in any particular branch of commerce. In this speech, Fleetwood referred to the clerk of the parliament's book, in support of his assertion that no man might speak in the house, concerning the statute of wills, unless the sovereign first gave licence, because the royal prerogative in the wards was thereby touched. He, also, quoted the statutes of Edward, the third, and Henry, the fourth, as making mention of a saving of the prerogative (*n*).

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, still more zealous in his defence of regal privileges, called the motion, which had been made by Bell, a vain Device, and perilous to be treated of. He remarked that its aim was the derogation of the prerogative imperial; and that those who, even in imagination, should side with this attempt, must be considered as declared enemies to the crown. He asked, what particular difference there was between saying that the queen is not to use the privilege of the crown, and observing that she is not queen? and added, that although experience had shewn so much clemency in her majesty, as might, perhaps, make the subjects forget their duty, it was not good to sport, or venture too far with princes. He alluded to the alarming consequences which might result from either hearing, or suffering so dangerous a doctrine, in the fable of the hare, who, being informed that all the horned beasts were ordered, by proclamation, to depart the court, fled instantly, lest his ears should be construed to be horns. He closed his speech by requesting of the members to take heed, lest, if they persisted to interfere in these points, the

(*n*) D'Ewes, p. 160.

queen might look to her own power, and, conscious of her ability to extirpate their challenged liberty, and maintain an arbitrary sway, pursue the conduct of Lewis, the eleventh, of France, who "delivered the crown from Wardship (o)."

A speech so very courtly was far from meeting with a favourable reception, yet, at this period, the only reply was that Sir Humphrey had mistaken the meaning of the house, and of the member who made the motion; and that their sole intention was to represent, in due, and seemly form, their grievances unto the queen. At a subsequent debate, Peter Wentworth, another puritan, whose name deserves to be recorded with the Hampdens, Miltons, Sidneys, and Russels of a later æra (p), called the speech which had been made by Sir Humphrey, an insult on the house of commons; reproached him with a propensity to fawn upon his sovereign; compared him to the Cameleon, which can change itself into all colours, except white; and recommended to the house a due care of the liberty of speech, and of the privileges of parliament (q). Farther to pursue the subject is foreign to our purpose; but it is impossible to conclude it, without lamenting that the hero whose martial character was irreproachable, should, in his senatorial capacity, have sacrificed the feelings of humanity to the most abject extravagance

(o) D'Ewes, p. 168.

(p) We would intreat the English reader, who feels the value of his Libetty, to attend to the debates of that session of parliament which was holden on the eighth of February, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-six. He will find it difficult to restrain his Admiration, and astonishment, whensoever he reflects on the spirit, and understanding of Wentworth.—See D'Ewes, p. 236, 237, 241, 244, 259, &c.

(q) D'Ewes, p. 175.

gance of loyalty; and have contended for the propriety, and existence of a patent, which, whilst it enriched four merciless, and avaritious courtiers, brought on the ruin of seven thousand industrious subjects (*r*).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-six, Sir Humphrey Gilbert published his treatise concerning the discovery of a North-West passage to the East-Indies. At the conclusion of this performance (which, in the Opinion of a discerning Writer (*s*) is plain, methodical, and judicious,) the author signified his intention of producing another essay on navigation, which he had written, but which, now, is probably destroyed (*t*). In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-three, he embraced the Resolution of establishing a colony in America, for which purpose, the queen had issued her letters patent, in the terms that follow (*u*).

"ELIZABETH, by the grace of GOD, queen of "England, &c. To all people to whom these pre-"sents shall come, greeting. Know ye, that of our "especial grace, certain science, and mere motion, "we have given, and granted, and, by these pre-"sents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give, "and grant to our trusty, and well-beloved servant, "Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Compton, in our county of "Devonshire, knight, and to his heirs, and assigns, "for ever, free liberty, and licence, from time to "time, and at all times, for ever, hereafter, to "discover, find, search out, and view such remote, "hea-

(*r*) D'Ewes, p. 242.
(*s*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 527.
(*t*) See Hackluyt's Voyages, V. 3. p. 11.
(*u*) Camden.—Harris's Col. Part I. p. 583.—Hackluyt's Voyages, Part III. p. 135.

" heathen, and barbarous lands, countries, and ter-
" ritories not actually possessed of by any christian
" prince, or people, as to him, his heirs, and assigns,
" and to every, or any of them shall seem good, and
" the same to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy to him,
" his heirs, and assigns, for ever, with all commodi-
" ties, jurisdictions, and royalties, both by Sea, and
" land; and the said Sir Humphrey, and all such, as
" from time, to time, by licence of us, our heirs,
" and successors, shall go, and travel thither, to inha-
" bit, or remain there, to build, and fortify, at the dis-
" cretion of the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and as-
" signs, and every of them, the statute, or acts of
" parliament made against fugitives, or against such as
" shall depart, remain, or continue out of our realm
" of England, without Licence, or any other act, sta-
" tute, law, or Matter whatsoever to the contrary in
" any wise notwithstanding. And we do, likewise,
" by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors,
" give full authority, and power to the said Sir Hum-
" phrey, his heirs, and assigns, and every of them,
" that he, and they, or every, and any of them,
" shall, and may, at all, and every time, or times
" hereafter, have, take, and lead in the same voyages,
" to travel thitherward, and to inhabit there, with him,
" and every, or any of them, such, and so many of
" our subjects, as shall willingly accompany him, and
" them, and every, or any of them, with sufficient
" shipping, and Furniture for their transportation,
" so that none of the same persons, nor any of them,
" be such as hereafter shall be specially restrained by
" us, our heirs, and successors. And farther, that, he,
" the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and assigns, and
" every, or any of them, shall have, hold, occupy,
" and enjoy to him, his heirs, and assigns, and every
" of

"of them, for ever, all the ſoil of ſuch lands, coun-
"tries, and territories, ſo to be diſcovered, or poſſeſſ-
"ed, as aforeſaid, and of all cities, caſtles, towns,
"and villages, and places in the ſame, with the
"rights, royalties, and juriſdictions, as well marine,
"as other, within the ſaid lands, or countries of the
"Seas thereunto adjoining, to be had, or uſed, with
"full power to diſpoſe thereof, and every part there-
"of, in fee-ſimple, or otherwiſe, according to the or-
"der of the laws of England, as near as the ſame con-
"veniently may be, at his, and their will, and plea-
"ſure, to any perſon then being, or that ſhall remain,
"within the allegiance of us, our heirs, and ſucceſ-
"ſors, paying unto us, for all ſervices, duties and
"demands, the fifth part of all the ore of gold, and
"ſilver, that, from time to time, and, at all times,
"after ſuch diſcovery, ſubduing, and poſſeſſing ſhall
"be there gotten. All which lands, countries, and
"territories ſhall for ever be holden by the ſaid Sir
"Humphry, his heirs, and aſſigns, of us, our heirs,
"and ſucceſſors by homage, and by the ſaid payment
"of the ſaid fifth parts, before reſerved only for all
"ſervices."

"And, moreover, we do, by theſe preſents, for us,
"our heirs, and ſucceſſors, give and grant licence,
"to the ſaid Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his heirs, or aſ-
"ſigns, and to every of them, that he, and they,
"and every, and any of them ſhall, and may, from
"time, to time, and at all times, for ever, hereafter,
"for his, and their defence, encounter, expulſe, repel,
"and reſiſt, as well by ſea, as land, and by all other
"ways whatſoever, all, and every ſuch perſon, and
"perſons whatſoever, as, without the ſpecial licence,
"and liking of the ſaid Sir Humphrey, and of his
"heirs, and aſſigns, ſhall attempt to inhabit within

"the

" the ſaid countries, or any of them, or within the " ſpace of two hundred leagues near to the place, or " places within ſuch countries, as aforeſaid, if they " ſhall not be before planted, or inhabited, within the " limits aforeſaid, with the ſubjects of any chriſtian " prince, being in amity with her majeſty, where the " ſaid Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or aſſigns, or any of " them, or his, or their, or any of their aſſociates, or " companies, ſhall, within ſix years next enſuing, " make their dwellings, and abidings, or that ſhall en- " terprize, or attempt, at any time hereafter, unlaw- " fully to annoy, either by ſea, or land, the ſaid Sir " Humphrey, his heirs, and aſſigns, or any of Them, " or his, or their, or any of their companies. Giving, " and granting by theſe preſents, farther power, and " authority to the ſaid Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or " aſſigns, and every of them, from time, to time, " and, at all times, for ever, hereafter, to take, and " ſurprize, by all manner of means whatſoever, all, and " every perſon, and perſons, with their ſhips, veſſels, " and other goods, and furniture which, without the " licence of the ſaid Sir Humphrey, or his heirs, or " aſſigns, as aforeſaid, ſhall be found trafficking in " any harbour, or harbours, creek or creeks, with- " in the limits aforeſaid, (the ſubjects of our realms, " and dominions, and all other perſons in amity with " us, being driven by force of tempeſt, or ſhip- " wreck, only excepted,) and thoſe perſons, and every " of them, with their ſhips, veſſels, goods, and Fur- " niture, to detain, and poſſeſs, as of good, and lawful " prizes, according to the diſcretion of him the ſaid " Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and aſſigns, and of every, " or any of them. And, for uniting, in more perfect " league, and amity of ſuch countries, lands, and " territories, ſo as to be poſſeſſed, and inhabited, as

" afore-

" aforesaid, with our realms of England, and Ireland, " and for the better encouragement of men to this " enterprize, we do, by these presents, grant, and de- " clare, that all such countries, so hereafter to be pos- " sessed, and inhabited, as aforesaid, from thenceforth " shall be of the allegiance of us, our heirs, and suc- " cessors. And we do grant to the said Sir Humphrey, " his heirs, and assigns, and to all, and every of them, " and to all, and every other person, and persons, be- " ing of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted, " and entered in some of our courts of record, within " this our realm of England, and that with the assent " of the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or assigns, shall " now in this journey for discovery, or in the second " journey for conquest, hereafter, travel to such " lands, countries, and territories as aforesaid, and " to their, and every of their heirs; that they, and " every, or any of them, being either born within " our said realms of England, or Ireland, or within any " other place, within our allegiance, and which, here- " after, shall be inhabiting within any of the lands, " countries, and territories, with such Licence as " aforesaid, shall, and may have, and enjoy all the pri- " vileges of free denizens, and persons, natives of " England, and within our allegiance, any law, cus- " tom, or usage to the contrary, notwithstanding."

" And forasmuch, as upon the finding out, discover- " ing, and inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, " and territories as aforesaid, it shall be necessary for " the safety of all men that shall adventure them- " selves in those journies, or voyages, to determine to " live together in christian peace, and civil quiet- " ness, each with other, whereby every one may, with " more pleasure, and profit, enjoy that whereunto " they shall obtain, with great pain, and peril; we,

" for

"for us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, are, likewiſe, "pleaſed, and contented, and, by theſe preſents, do "give, and grant to the ſaid Sir Humphrey, and his "heirs, and aſſigns for ever, that he, and they, and "every, or any of them, ſhall, and may, from time, "to time, for ever hereafter, within the ſaid men-"tioned remote lands, and countries, and, in the "way, by the ſeas thither, and from thence, have full, "and mere power, and authority to correct, puniſh, "pardon, govern, and rule by their, and every, or any "of their good diſcretions, and politics, as well in "cauſes capital, or criminal, as civil, both marine, and "others, as ſhall, from time, to time hereafter ad-"venture themſelves in the ſaid journies, or voyages, "habitative, or poſſeſſive, or that ſhall, at any time "hereafter inhabit any ſuch land, countries, or ter-"ritories, as aforeſaid, or ſhall abide within two "hundred leagues of any of the ſaid place, or places "where the ſaid Sir Humphrey, or his heirs, or aſſigns, "or any of them, or any of his, or their aſſociates, "or Companies, ſhall inhabit within ſix years, next "enſuing the date hereof according to ſuch ſtatutes, "laws, and ordinances, as ſhall be by him, the ſaid "Sir Humphry, his heirs, and aſſigns, or every, and "any of them, deviſed, and eſtabliſhed for the better "government of the ſaid people, as aforeſaid, ſo al-"ways that they be, as near as conveniently may, "agreeable to the form of the laws, and policy of "England. And, alſo, that they be not againſt the "true chriſtian faith, or religion, now preferred in "the church of England, nor, in any wiſe, to with-"draw any of the ſubjects, or people of thoſe lands, "or places, from the allegiance of us, our heirs, and "ſucceſſors, as their immediate ſovereigns, under "GOD. And further, we do, by theſe preſents, for

"us

"us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, give, and grant full "power, and authority to our truſty, and well-beloved "counſellor, Sir William Cecil, knight; lord Bur-"leigh, our high treaſurer of England, and to the "lord treaſurer of England, of us, for the time be-"ing, and to the privy-council of us, our heirs, and "Succeſſors, or any four of them, for the time be-"ing, that he, they, or any of them ſhall, and may, "from time, to time, and at all times hereafter, "under his, or their hands, or ſeals, by virtue of "theſe preſents, authorize, and licence the ſaid Sir "Humphrey Gilbert his heirs, and aſſigns, and every, "or any of them, by him, and themſelves, or by "their, or any of their ſufficient attornies, deputies, "officers, miniſters, factors, and ſervants, to em-"bark, and tranſport out of our realms of England, "and Ireland, all, or any of his, or their goods, and "all, or any of the goods of his, or their aſſociates, "and companies, and every, or any of them, with "ſuch other neceſſaries, and commodities of any of "our realms, as to the ſaid lord treaſurer, or four of "the privy-council of us, our heirs, or ſucceſſors "for the time being, as aforeſaid, ſhall be, from "time, to time, by his, or their wiſdoms, or diſ-"cretions, thought meet, and convenient, for the bet-"ter relief, and ſupportation of him, the ſaid Sir "Humphrey, his heirs, and aſſigns, and, every, or any "of them, and his, or their, and every, or any of "their ſaid aſſociates, and companies, any act, ſta-"tute, law, or other thing, to the contrary, in any "wiſe, notwithſtanding."

"Provided always, and our will, and pleaſure is, "and we do hereby declare to all chriſtian kings, "princes, and ſtates, that if the ſaid Sir Humphrey, "his heirs, or aſſigns, or any of them, or any other,

"by

" by their licence, or appointment, shall, at any
" time, or times, hereafter, rob, or spoil, by sea, or
" by land, or do any act of unjust, and unlawful hos-
" tility, to any of the subjects of us, our heirs, or
" successors, or any of the subjects of any king,
" prince, ruler, governor, or state, being then in
" perfect league, and amity with us, our heirs, or
" successors; and that upon such injury, or upon just
" complaint of any such prince, ruler, governor, or
" state, or their subjects, we, our heirs, or success-
" sors, shall make open proclamation within any of the
" ports of our realm of England commodious, that
" the said Sir Humphrey, his heirs, or assigns, or any
" others to whom these our letters patent may extend,
" shall, within the term to be limited by such procla-
" mations, make full restitution, and satisfaction of
" all injuries done, so as both we, and the said princes,
" or others, so complaining, may hold us, and them-
" selves fully contented; and, that if the said Sir Hum-
" phrey, his heirs, and assigns, shall not make, or
" cause to be made satisfaction accordingly, within
" such time so to be limited; then it shall be lawful
" to us, our heirs, and successors, to put the said Sir
" Humphrey, his heirs, assigns, and adherents, and all
" the inhabitants of the said places, to be discovered
" as is aforesaid, or any of them, out of our allegi-
" ance, and protection; and that from, and after such
" a time of putting out of protection, the said Sir
" Humphrey, and his heirs, assigns, adherents, and
" others, so to be put out, and the said places within
" their habitation, possessions, and rule, shall be out
" of our protection, and allegiance, and free for all
" princes, and others, to pursue, with hostility, as be-
" ing not our subjects, nor by us any way to be al-
" lowed, maintained, or defended; nor to be holden as
" any

"any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion, or "allegiance, any way belonging, for that expreſs "mention, &c. In witneſs whereof, &c. witneſs "ourſelf, at Weſtminſter, the eleventh day of June, "in the twentieth year of our reign, and in the year "of our Lord, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſe-"venty-eight."

Per ipſam Reginam, &c.

Having obtained his patent, Sir Humphrey endeavoured to procure aſſociates in the enterprize, and was, at firſt, encouraged, by offers of ſupport from numbers who declared their Reſolution to attend him on the voyage. When the veſſels were compleatly equipped, and the crews aſſembled near the coaſt, in readineſs to embark, the majority of the adventurers departed from their agreements, and ſignified their Intention of reſerving their property for the ſupport of plans concerted by themſelves (*z*). Sir Humphrey, ſuperior to diſappointments, was, ſtill, determined to proceed upon the voyage, and, with the few friends who yet remained unſhaken in their attachment, ſailed inſtantly for Newfoundland, from whence, after a ſhort, and fruitleſs ſtay, he came back to England (*y*). On the paſſage, he was intercepted by a ſmall ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips, from which he narrowly eſcaped, with the loſs of one veſſel.

The great expences incurred by Sir Humphrey, in preparations for the enterprize, and its ſubſequent miſcarriage, had ſo impaired his eſtate, that he was compelled, for ſome time, to deſiſt from the Reſumption

(*x*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 145.——Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 1369.—Riſdon's Survey of Devonſhire, V. 2. p. 205.——Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 528.

(*y*) This appears to have been the Summer of the year one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-eight.

of his project. He, now, assigned to persons of extensive fortune, a tract of land in the northern parts of America, and adjacent to the river of Canada, for the purpose of establishing a colony; but the adventurers were so dilatory in their proceedings, that he was reduced to the necessity of accelerating his second expedition, and repairing to the place, of which, if he had not actually taken possession, before the expiration of six years, the patent must have become void (z).

Assisted by Sir George Peckham, and other friends, who, liberally, contributed to the expences of his enterprize, Sir Humphrey, who had disposed of his estate, equipped a small Fleet, consisting of five ships, and barks. He took the command of the Delight, which was the admiral, and of the burden of one hundred, and twenty tons; and appointed William Winter, who was, in part, an owner, to be captain. Richard Clarke acted as master.

The other vessels were the Raleigh, vice-admiral, fitted out by Sir Walter, (at that period, Mr. Raleigh,) and of the burden of two hundred tons. She was commanded by captain Butler; and the master was Robert Davis, of Bristol. The Golden Hind, rear-admiral, of the burden of forty tons; Edward Hayes, captain, and owner, and William Cox, of Limehouse, master. The Swallow, of the burden of forty tons, Maurice Brown, captain. The Squirrel, of the burden of ten tons, William Andrews, captain, and one Cade, the master. The number of men on board of the whole fleet amounted to two hundred, and sixty; and amongst these were several shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smiths, miners, and refiners (a).

It

(z) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 165.

(a) Risdon's Survey of Devonshire, V. 2. p. 205, 206. —Narborough's Voyages, edition, 1711. P. 13.—Birch's Memoirs of queen Elizabeth, V. 1. p. 34.

It had been resolved by the proprietors that their ships should steer their course, northerly, and follow, with all possible exactitude, the trade-way to Newfoundland, from whence, having obtained a proper supply of necessaries, they were to sail towards the south, and to enter every river, or bay, which might appear deserving of their notice. At the same time, the proprietors drew up the orders, necessary to be observed during the course of the voyage, and delivered copies of them in writing to all the captains, and masters of the vessels.

On the eleventh of June, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-three, the fleet proceeded from Plymouth, and, on the thirteenth of the same month, the Raleigh (which was the largest ship,) returned into the harbour. Two reasons were assigned for this desertion; the first, a conspiracy to set aside the voyage; and the second, (which is the most probable,) a contagious distemper that, violently affecting the captain, and several of his crew, prevented them from navigating the vessel. After the departure of the Raleigh, the Golden Hind was considered as the vice-admiral.

On the thirtieth of July, and, in about fifty-one degrees, they first discovered land. It was, however, seen imperfectly, neither on account of the intense fog, could they take the altitude of the sun. They, now, steered along the coast, and to the southward, the wind remaining favourable, until they reached the island of Baccalaos. At this place, they were rejoined by the Swallow, which, during the fog, had been separated from the fleet. She had intercepted a fishing bark, on its return from Newfoundland, and seized the tackle, sails, cables, provision, and other articles. Soon afterwards, the ships proceeded farther to

the ſouthward, and, on the third of Auguſt, entered the harbour of Saint John. At the mouth of it, they found the Squirrel, which had been refuſed admittance by the other veſſels (of different nations, and amounting to thirty-ſix ſail,) that were within. Sir Humphrey prepared to open a paſſage for the ſhips, by Force; but, previous to the intended commiſſion of hoſtilities, diſpatched ſome officers, in the boat, to acquaint the maſters of the fiſhing barks, that he was impowered by Elizabeth, to take poſſeſſion, in her name, of the adjacent lands; and, that if he met with the leaſt reſiſtance, he ſhould inſtantly endeavour to bring them to ſubmiſſion. It was anſwered that their deſigns were peaceable, and that they had only waited to be fully apprized of the Nature of the Expedition undertaken by Sir Humphrey, whom, in token of their reſpect, they chearfully intruſted with a diſcretionary power of laying a tax on their proviſions, for the purpoſe of ſupplying the neceſſities of his fleet. All the veſſels, now, ſafely entered within the harbour, the Delight excepted, which, too careleſsly navigated by the mariners, was daſhed againſt a Rock; but, after having ſuffered ſome inconſiderable damage, was towed off by the boats belonging to the fiſhing barks. On the day following, Sir Humphrey, (who was ſtiled the general,) and his aſſociates were conducted on ſhore, by the maſters, and owners of the Engliſh veſſels.

On the fifth, having ordered a tent to be erected within ſight of all the ſhips, which amounted nearly to forty ſail, he ſummoned the Engliſh, and foreign merchants to attend, whilſt with the whole of his own company, he took a formal poſſeſſion of the place, and its adjoining territories. In the preſence of theſe perſons, he cauſed the commiſſion, under the great ſeal of England, to be openly read, and afterwards,

wards, explained to the foreigners, who were not conversant with the English language. In a speech, he acquainted the assembly that, under the royal authority, he stood possessed of the harbour of Saint John, and all the adjacent land within the circumference of two hundred leagues (*b*); that, thenceforward, the witnesses of this transaction, and, through their information, all persons whatsoever, must consider these territories as appertaining to the sovereign of England; and acknowledge that he, the general of Elizabeth, was impowered, by royal licence, to possess, and enjoy them; and, likewise, to enact laws for the government thereof, as nearly conformable as the nature of circumstances would admit to the spirit of the English constitution; under which regulations it was expected that all Adventurers who might arrive, at future times, either to dwell within the place, or maintain a traffic with the inhabitants, should, quietly, be governed.

The three first laws, which were immediately passed by the general, in his juridical capacity, were, that the public exercise of religion should be conducted according to the rites, and ceremonies of the church of England.

That if any person should attempt to commit the least act which might prove prejudicial to the maintenance of the queen's right, and possession of those territories, the offenders should be adjudged, and executed, as in cases of high treason, according to the laws of England.

(*b*) On this occasion, the customary ceremony of delivering a rod, and a turf from the soil, to the new proprietor, was performed in the presence of the assembly, at which juncture, Sir Humphrey entered possession for himself, his heirs, and assigns, for ever.

That if any person should utter expressions injurious to the honour of Elizabeth, he should be punished by the loss of ears, and the confiscation of his ship, and goods.

Immediately on the promulgation of these edicts, the whole assembly, as well foreigners, as English, signified their resolution to obey them, and were, immediately, dismissed. On the spot where they had been convened, the general erected a wooden pillar, to which was affixed the arms of England, engraven on lead. Farther to establish this possession, not only in right of Elizabeth, but, for the emolument of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his heirs, and assigns, for ever, several parcels of land, contiguous to the sea-side, and lying either near the harbour of Saint John, or elsewhere, were granted in fee-farm. The tenants were under covenant to pay a certain rent, and service to Sir Humphrey, his heirs, and assigns, for ever; and yearly to maintain possession of the lands, by themselves, or by their assigns.

A party of the English, under the command of the general, were now employed to collect those taxes on provisions, which had been granted by the owners of the different ships engaged in fisheries on the adjoining coast. Others were busied in repairing vessels; whilst the remainder received directions to make excursions through the country, and along the shore, that they might obtain a full account of the terrestrial, and marine productions.

The result of their discoveries was that the southern parts seemed destitute of inhabitants; a circumstance which, probably, was owing to the frequent appearance of the Europeans, whose presence, intimidating the natives, might have constrained them to relinquish their abodes. Towards the north, they met with the sa-

vages,

vages, who approached without dread, and were of gentle dispositions. Here it was, that a Saxon miner, (of the name of Daniel,) to whom the general had particularly recommended a search for metals, found a kind of ore which greatly resembled iron. The next discovery was, in his opinion, a pleasing earnest of the future affluence of Sir Humphrey, and his associates; and he ventured to pronounce, on peril of his life, that a second species of ore, which he produced, was absolutely composed of silver (*c*).

That the general relied on the assertions of *Daniel*, is evident from his answer to Hays, (the captain of the Golden Hind,) when he seemed to call in question the quality, and value of the ore, and desired that he might be suffered to keep part of it. "Content "yourself," (observed Sir Humphrey,) "I have seen "enough; and, were it not to satisfy my private hu-"mour, I would proceed no farther. The engage-"ments which I am under to my friends, and the ne-"cessity of bringing the southern countries, also, with-"in the compass of my patent, (which is nearly ex-"pired,) as we have already brought these northern "parts, do alone prevail upon me to continue the "voyage. As for the ore, I have sent it on board, "and desire that no farther mention may be made of "it, so long as we shall remain in the harbour; there "being Portuguese, Biscayans, and French, not far off, "from whom this discovery must be kept a secret. "When we are at sea, an essay shall be made of it; "and then, if we think proper, we may return, the "sooner thither."

At this Period, whilst the few faithful companions of the general were endeavouring to accelerate the preparations for a voyage, a number had conspired to

(*c*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 154.

prevent it. It was timely, and fortunately discovered that one party intended to have seized the vessels, in the dead of night, and during the absence of Sir Humphrey and the commanders, to have proceeded immediately for *England*. Others, more successful in their treachery, had conveyed away from one of the adjoining harbours, a vessel freighted with fish, and set the crew on shore. Several of the mariners had concealed themselves within the woods, where they watched for opportunities to return home in ships which departed daily from the coast. Many were languishing under fluxes, and other violent disorders; and some had been permitted, by the general, to repair to England. Amidst this decrease of numbers, it became impossible to navigate the vessels; and orders were issued that the Swallow, (the command of which was now given to captain William Winter,) laden with such provisions as were not absolutely wanted by Sir Humphrey, and his associates, should receive the invalids on board, and return home.

When the Swallow was departed, the three remaining ships were immediately supplied with all necessaries for the continuance of the enterprize. As the Squirrel, a light, and expeditious sailer, was the best constructed for the purpose of entering creeks, and harbours, the Command of her was taken by the general, on whom captain Maurice Brown attended in the Delight, and captain Edward Hayes, in the Golden Hind. On the twentieth of August, they sailed from the harbour of Saint John, which, from an exact observation, they had discovered to be in forty-seven degrees, and forty minutes of north latitude. In the following night, they reached Cape Race, at the distance of twenty-five leagues. From thence, they sailed, in eight degrees more, nearly eighty-seven leagues towards Cape Breton.

On

On the twenty-ſeventh, and in the latitude of forty-five degrees, Sir Humphrey gave orders for the crew to ſound, and, at the depth of thirty-five fathom, they diſcovered white ſand. In the ſucceeding afternoon, the wind veered to the ſouthward, when, in oppoſition to the advice of William Cox, the maſter of the Golden Hind, the ſhips bore in with the land, during the whole night, at weſt-north-weſt.

On the twenty-ninth, the wind blew violently at ſouth, and by eaſt; the rain deſcended in ſtorms; and the miſts were ſo extremely thick, that the mariners could not diſtinguiſh any object, at a cable's length. Towards day-break, they were alarmed by the appearance of ſurrounding ſhoals, and ſands; and, at every third, or fourth ſhip's length, obſerved the water leſſening in its depth. A ſignal was now, thrown out for the Delight to ſtand off to ſea; but, in the moment that it was made, ſhe ſtruck; and, ſoon afterwards, her ſtern, and quarters, were daſhed to pieces. Immediately, the Squirrel, and Golden Hind, caſting about eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and bearing to the ſouth, with much difficulty, got clear of the ſhoals, and regained the open ſea.

In the Delight, periſhed captain Maurice Brown, and nearly an hundred of his aſſociates, who, with a reſolution that bordered upon madneſs, refuſed to ſet (what they imagined was) an ill example, nor would deſert the ſhip, although convinced it was impoſſible to ſave her. Fourteen of the crew, more eager to preſerve their lives, leaped into a ſmall pinnace. For a ſhort time, they remained along ſide, in hopes of being joined by the captain. At length, diſappointed in their expectations; they prevailed on Richard Clarke, the maſter of the Delight, and one of his companions, to quit the veſſel. Having cut the rope, they, now, ven-

ventured out to ſea; furniſhed only with a ſingle oar, and deſtitute both of freſh water and proviſions. As the pinnace appeared over-laden, Edward Headly, who deemed it juſt that ſome ſhould periſh in order to preſerve the reſt, recommended the caſting of lots, and that out of the number on whom they ſhould fall, four might be thrown over-board. This meaſure was oppoſed by Clarke, who, availing himſelf of the affectionate regard with which he was conſidered by his comrades (*d*), perſuaded them to ſhun ſuch terrible reſources, and bear, with Chriſtian fortitude, their burden of calamity.

The pinnace was driven before the wind, during the courſe of ſix days, and nights, whilſt theſe miſerable wretches received no other ſuſtenance than their own urine, and ſome weeds which they had diſcovered on the ſurface of the ocean. Sinking under the ſeverities of thirſt, hunger, intenſe cold, and perpetual fatigue, Headly, and a mariner, expired on the fifth day. The remaining fourteen ſurvived; and, on the ſeventh day, were fortunately driven towards the coaſt of Newfoundland, from whence they departed for France, on board a veſſel in the ſervice of that kingdom, and, ſoon afterwards, returned to England. To the regular continuance of the wind, at ſouth, during the ſeven days of their alarming paſſage on the ſea, may be attributed the preſervation of their lives. Had it ſhifted to any other quarter, they could not poſſibly have made the land; and it is not leſs remarkable that it changed full north, in half an hour from the time, at which they reached the ſhore.

This

(*d*) It was unanimouſly agreed that, howſoever the lots might have fallen, Clarke ſhould be excepted from the number.

This terrible event was ſeverely afflicting to Sir Humphrey, who not only lamented over the deaths of ſuch a multitude of uſeful men, and the deſtruction of a valuable ſhip, but felt his ſorrow embittered by the loſs of his Saxon miner, and, with him, the ſilver ore which had been digged in Newfoundland, and of the value of which Sir Humphrey was ſo confident, that he boaſted to his friends that, on the credit of the mine, he did not doubt of borrowing, from Elizabeth, ten thouſand pounds, to defray the expences of another enterprize (*e*).

From this diſtreſsful period, the crews belonging to the Golden Hind, and Squirrel, became intimidated, and ſignified their apprehenſions, leſt (as the Delight, their ſtore-ſhip, was, now, loſt,) they ſhould languiſh under the inclemencies of the approaching winter, and be alike deſtitute of raiment, and proviſions. Moved by their complaints, Sir Humphrey expreſſed an inclination to return to England. The captain, and maſter of the Golden Hind, diſcovered a reluctance in complying with his deſires; nor yielded, until He had frequently repeated: "be content; we have ſeen "enough; take no thought of the expences which "we have incurred: if the ALMIGHTY ſhould per-"mit us to reach England, in ſafety, I will ſet you "out royally in the courſe of the next ſpring. There-"fore, I pray you, let us no longer ſtrive here, where "we fight againſt the elements."

On the firſt of Auguſt, they changed their courſe, and ſteered for England. On the ſecond of September, They paſſed in ſight of Cape Race, and, ſoon afterwards, Sir Humphrey went on board of the Golden Hind, in order to have his foot dreſſed, which he had

(*e*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 155.

had accidentally wounded, by treading on a nail. The wind was, now, violent, and the ocean ſo extremely agitated, that captain Hayes, and his crew, who, every moment, expected that the Squirrel would be ſwallowed up, intreated Sir Humphrey not to return to her, but to remain on board the Golden Hind. To this requeſt, he would not pay the leaſt attention; but, inſtantly, departed, affirming that no conſideration ſhould induce him to quit the veſſel, or his brave aſſociates, with whom he had eſcaped ſuch alarming dangers. A generous, but fatal reſolution! for, on the ninth of September, and, at midnight, the Squirrel ſunk, and was ſeen no more. In the courſe of the preceding evening, Sir Humphrey had been obſerved ſitting, and reading, near the ſtern of the frigate, and was frequently heard to exclaim, with a loud voice: "courage! my "lads! we are as near heaven on the ocean, as at "land (*f*)." Thus, he died like a chriſtian hero, full of hope, as having the teſtimony of a good conſcience (*g*). It is affirmed, by his aſſociate in the expedition (*h*), that Sir Humphrey was principally determined to ſail in the Squirrel, by a malicious, and falſe report which had been propagated of his cowardice at ſea (*i*). Death (it hath been juſtly obſerved,) was leſs dreadful to him, than ſhame; yet it is difficult to believe that ſo wiſe a Man could be affected by ſo inſignificant a ſlander (*k*).

Such

(*f*) Camden, V. 2. p. 402.—Riſdon's Survey of Devonſhire, V. 2. p. 207.—Stowe, p. 812.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V, 1. p. 531.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Folio, V. 1. p. 193, 200.—Fuller's Worthies in Devonſhire, p. 261.

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 531.

(*h*) Edward Hayes, Captain of the Golden Hind.

(*i*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 159.

(*k*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 1. p. 531.

Such was the fate of Sir Humphry Gilbert! than whom few perſons, in that Æra, were more diſtinguiſhed by exalted underſtanding, and undaunted reſolution. A naval hiſtorian (*l*) obſerves that his memoirs are particularly intitled to a place in the works of this kind, ſince he was, in a manner, the parent of all our plantations, being the firſt who introduced a legal, and regular method of ſettling, without which ſuch undertakings muſt, neceſſarily, prove unſucceſsful. His treatiſe concerning the north-weſt paſſage, was the ground of all the expectations which the moſt enlightened ſeamen had formed, during many years, of actually finding ſuch a track to the Eaſt-Indies; and, notwithſtanding that we, at preſent, know that a multitude of aſſertions advanced in this treatiſe muſt be falſe, yet we, likewiſe, diſcover that many of his conjectures are true, and that all of them are founded on reaſon, and the philoſophy which, at that period, was commonly received.

It

(*l*) Mr. Campbell.—This writer, alluding to Prince, the author of "The Worthies of Devonſhire," introduces the following note. "He tells us, among other things, that "the queen, of her particular grace, gave to Sir Humphrey "Gilbert, a golden anchor, with a large pearl, at the peak. "If this were true, it is ſtrange that in the prolix accounts "which we have of his voyages, and in the Latin poem "written expreſsly to do him honour, by Stephen Parme-"nius, an Hungarian, who accompanied him in his laſt voy-"age, there ſhould be no mention of it."—It may, perhaps, be ſome defence of Prince, to oppoſe the following paſſage (from Mr. Granger's Hiſtory of England, V. 1. p. 179.) to Mr. Campbell's note.—"Sir Humphrey Gilbert always "wore on his breaſt a golden anchor ſuſpended to a pearl, "which was given to him by the queen. There was a "portrait of him in the poſſeſſion of his deſcendants, in De-"vonſhire with this honourable badge."

It may not be improper to conclude the memoirs of this illuſtrious adventurer, by an extract from his own works, and which hath been judged (*m*) the more worthy of regard, becauſe the later accounts of the Spaniſh miſſionaries, in California, contain atteſtations to the ſame effect.

" There was one Salvaterra, a gentleman of Victo-
" ria, in Spain, that came, by chance, out of the
" Weſt-Indies, into Ireland, in the year, one Thou-
" ſand, five hundred, and ſixty-eight, who affirmed
" the north-weſt paſſage, from us, to Cataia, con-
" ſtantly to be believed, in America, navigable; and
" farther ſaid, in the preſence of Sir Henry Sidney,
" (then lord deputy of Ireland,) in my hearing, that
" a friar of Mexico, called Andrew Urdaneta, more
" than eight years before his then coming into Ire-
" land, told him that he came from Merdel Sur into
" Germany, through this north-weſt paſſage, and
" ſhewed Salvaterrra, (at that time, being then with
" him, in Mexico,) a ſea-card, made by his own ex-
" perience, and travel in that voyage, wherein was
" plainly ſet down, and deſcribed, this north-weſt paſ-
" ſage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius's map.
" And, farther, this friar told the king of Portugal, as
" He returned by that country, homewards, that there
" was of (certainty,) ſuch a paſſage north-weſt from
" England, and that he meant to publiſh the ſame;
" which done, the king moſt earneſtly deſired him not
" in any wiſe to diſcloſe, or make the paſſage known
" to any nation, for that (ſaid the king,) if England
" had knowledge, and experience thereof, it would
" greatly hinder both the king of Spain and me. This
" friar

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p 532.

" friar (as Salvaterra reported,) was the greateſt dif-
" coverer by ſea that had been in our age: alſo,
" Salvaterra, being perſuaded of this paſſage, by the
" friar Urdaneta, and by the common opinion of the
" Spaniards inhabiting America, offered moſt willingly
" to accompany me, in this diſcovery, which it is like
" he would not have done, if he had ſtood in doubt
" thereof (*n*)."

It is neceſſary to obſerve that Sir William Maſon diſbelieves this relation, and endeavours to refute the arguments which have been advanced in ſupport of the diſcovery of the paſſage to the north-weſt (*o*). But, (as hath already (*p*) been remarked,) the queſtion is not concerning the diſpute, but the fact, which is confirmed by teſtimonies of a later æra (*q*).

(*n*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 19.
(*o*) Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 428.
(*p*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 534.
(*q*) The Golden Hind arrived ſafely at Falmouth, on the twenty-ſecond of September, and, more fortunate than the miſerable remainder of the fleet, brought home the whole crew, excepting one mariner. Of the fate of the Swallow, we have no account.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

EDWARD FENTON.

THE Family of this gallant adventurer was ſeated in Nottinghamſhire, until the period at which the eſtate fell into the joint poſſeſſion of himſelf, and the younger brother (*a*). They mutually agreed to diſpoſe of their inheritance, and employ the produce in ſuch enterprizes as were the moſt ſuited to their genius. The mention of the firſt exploits of Edward will be more properly introduced in the account of expeditions undertaken by Sir Martin Frobiſher. Let it be ſufficient, in this place, to remark, that, favoured by the powerful intereſts of the earls of Leiceſter, Warwick, and Cumberland, he was advanced by Elizabeth to a military command, in Ireland, on his return from whence, he obtained the approbation of his ſovereign, for the prudence, and intrepidity of his conduct.

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-two, he received orders from the privy coun-

(*a*) Thornton's Hiſtory of Nottinghamſhire, p. 415.—Fuller's Worthies of Nottinghamſhire, p. 318.

cil, to prepare for an expedition to China, and Cathay. The ſhips appointed were the Galleon, Leiceſter, admiral, and of the burthen of four hundred tons. Of this, he aſſumed the command, as captain, and general. Under him, were William Hawkins, the younger, lieutenant-general, and Chriſtopher Hall, maſter. The Edward-Bonaventure, vice-admiral, and of the burthen of three hundred tons. The captain was Luke Ward, and the maſter, Thomas Perry. The Francis, of the burthen of forty tons, John Drake, commander, and William Markham, maſter. The Elizabeth, of the burthen of fifty tons, Thomas Skevington, captain, and Ralph Crane, maſter (*b*.

A naval hiſtorian (*c*) obſerves that the Leiceſter, and the Edward-Bonaventure (both equipped by the queen, and ſent out on her own account,) were ſuperior to any veſſels in the kingdom, excepting thoſe of the royal navy, and the committee. He adds, that the chief deſign of the expedition was to intercept a ſquadron belonging to the king of Spain, in the Southern Ocean, from the territories adjoining to which came thoſe immenſe treaſures that, afterwards, were circulated throughout all Europe.

The following are the inſtructions given to Fenton, by the lords of the council, on the ninth of April, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-two.

I. " You (Edward Fenton, eſquire,) ſhall enter, as " captain-general, into the charge, and government " of theſe ſhips, namely, the Bear, galleon, the Ed- " ward-Bonaventure, the bark Francis, and the ſmall " frigate, or pinnace (*d*)."

II. " You

(*b*) Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 754.
(*c*) Sir William Monſon
(*d*) Notwithſtanding that theſe veſſels are mentioned in the Inſtructions, it is certain that only thoſe which have been already named ſailed on the Expedition.

II. " You ſhall appoint, for the furniſhing of theſe " veſſels, in the whole, to the number of two hun- " dred able perſons, accounting in that number the " gentlemen, and their men, the miniſters, ſervants, " and factors; which ſaid number is no way to be " exceeded, (whereof, as many as may be, to be ſea- " men,) and ſhall diſtribute them into every veſſel, " as, by advice here, before your going, ſhall be " thought meet: provided that you ſhall not receive " under your charge, and government, any diſordere- " ed, or mutinous perſon, but that, upon knowledge " had, you ſhall remove him, before your departure " hence, or, by the way, as ſoon as you can conve- " niently avoid him, and receive better in his place."

III. " For the more, and better circumſpect exe- " cution, and determination in any weighty caſes, " incident in this voyage, We will that You ſhall take " unto you, for aſſiſtants, captain Hawkins, captain " Ward, Mr. Nicholas Parker, Mr. Madox, Mr. Walk- " er, Mr. Evans, Randolph Shaw, and Matthew Tal- " boys, with whom you ſhall conſult, and confer, in all " cauſes, matters, and actions of importance, not pro- " vided for in theſe inſtructions, tonching the ſervice " now in hand. And in all ſuch matters ſo handled, " argued, and debated, we think that convenient al- " ways to be executed which you ſhall deem meeteſt, " with the conſent alſo of any four of them, the " matter having been debated, and ſo aſſented to, in " the preſence of your ſaid aſſiſtants. And, in caſe " that ſuch conference, and debating of the opinions " of the aforeſaid aſſiſtants be found, in effect, any " way to differ, then it is thought meet that all ſuch " matters ſo argued upon, ſhall reſt to be put in exe- " cution, in ſuch ſort as you ſhall think, moſt meet, " having the aſſent of any four of them, as aforeſaid.

" And, if any of these assistants shall die, then the " number of the one half of the survivors to join with " the captain-general, for consent in all things " aforesaid."

IV. " Of all which your assemblies, and consultations " for the matters aforesaid, we think it very convenient that a particular, and free note should be kept; " for which cause, we appoint Mr. Madox, minister, and if he should decease, then the general, with " half of the assistants, survivors, to name one to keep " a book of all such matters, as shall be brought in " consultation, and of all such reasons as shall be propounded by any persons, either on the one, or on the " other Side; what was resolved on, and by whose " consent; who dissented from them, and for what " causes. In which book, he shall, in that beginning " of the note of every such assembly, set down, particularly, the day, and the place, if it may be, and " the names of the persons present, and upon what occasion, the said consultation was appointed, or holden, and shall have, to every act, the hands of the " general, and of all, or so many of the said assistants " as will subscribe; which Book, the said master Madox, or the other, upon his decease, appointed in his " place, shall keep secret, and in good order, to be " exhibited unto us, when you shall return home."

" V. " If there happen that any person, or persons employed in this service, of what calling, or condition, he, or they shall be, should conspire, or attempt privately, or publicly, any treason, mutiny, " or other discord, either, touching the taking away of " your own life, or any other of authority, under " you, whereby her majesty's service, in this voyage might be overthrown, or impugned; we will, " therefore, that upon just proof made of any such " trea-

" treaſon, mutiny, or any other diſcord, attempted as " aforeſaid, the ſame ſhall be puniſhed by you, or " your lieutenant, according to the quality, and " enormity of the fact: provided always, and it ſhall " not be lawful, neither for you, nor your lieutenant, " to proceed to the puniſhment of any perſon, by loſs " of life, and limb, unleſs the party ſhall be judged " to have deſerved it, by the reſt of your aſſiſtants, as " is before expreſſed, or, at the leaſt, by four of them. " And that which ſhall concern life, to be, by the " verdict of twelve men of the company, employed " in this voyage, to be impannelled for that purpoſe, " with the obſervation of the form of our country- " laws, in that behalf, as near as you may. Pro- " vided that it ſhall not appear that the forbearing " of execution, by death, ſhall miniſter cauſe to in- " creaſe the fact of the offender, then it were better " to convince the party of his fact, by the Oaths of " twelve indifferent perſons, and to commit him to " hard impriſonment, until the return. And, as well " of the facts committed by any, as, alſo, of the proof " thereof, and of the opinion of you, and your aſ- " ſiſtants, and the manner of the puniſhment, the " regiſters ſhall make a particular, and true note, in " the book of your conſultation, as is before appoint- " ed."

VI. " You ſhall not remove captain William Haw- " kins, your lieutenant, captain Luke Ward, your " vice-admiral, or captain of the Edward-Bonaven- " ture, nor captain Carliſle (*e*) from his charge by " land, (whom we will not to refuſe any ſuch ſer- " vice as ſhall be appointed to him, by the general, " and the council,) nor any captain of other veſſels,

(*e*) Captain Carliſle was not, however, on this expedition.

" from their charges, but upon just cause, duly pro-
" ved, and by consent of your assistants, or of four of
" them, at the least.

VII. " For the succession of the general, govern-
" or of this whole voyage, if it should please God to
" take him away, it is thought meet that there should
" be the names of such gentlemen secretly set down
" to succeed in his Place, One after the Other, which
" are severally written in Parchment, included in Balls
" of wax, sealed with her majesty's signet, put into
" two coffers, locked with the several locks, whereof
" one key is to be in the custody of captain Luke
" Ward, the other of William Hawkins, and the third
" of Mr. Madox, the minister; and the same two
" coffers to be put into two several ships; viz. the one
" coffer in the Galleon, in the custody of the gene-
" ral, and the other in the Edward-Bonaventure, in
" the custody of the vice-admiral. The same two
" coffers upon any such casualty of the general's
" death, by the consent of the Assistants which shall
" over live, to be opened, and the party therein named
" to succeed in the place, who shall thereupon take up-
" on him the charge in the said voyage, according
" to these instructions, in such sort as if they had
" been specially directed unto him; and the Rest of
" the company so to take, and repute him, in every
" respect, as they will answer to the contrary. But,
" if it shall so follow, (as we hope it will,) that there
" shall be no such need, but that the general do con-
" tinue still, then shall you, at your return, deliver
" back the said coffers, and balls of wax, sealed, in
" such sort as they be, without opening them, un-
" less it be in the case aforesaid."

VIII. " You shall make a just, and true inventory,
" in every ship, and vessel, appointed for this voy-
" age,

" age, of all the tackle, munition, and furniture, be-
" longing to them, at their ſetting forth, hence, and
" of all the proviſions whatſoever; and one copy there-
" of, under your hand, and under the hands of your
" vice-admiral, and lieutenant, to be delivered to
" the earl of Leiceſter, and the other to the governor
" of the company for them, before your departure,
" hence: and the like to be done at your return home,
" of all things then remaining in the ſaid ſhips, and
" veſſels, with a true certificate how, and by what
" means, any parcel of the ſame ſhall have been ſpent,
" or loſt."

IX. " You ſhall uſe all diligence poſſible to depart
" from Southampton, with your ſaid ſhips, and veſſels,
" before the laſt of this preſent month of April, and ſo
" go on your courſe, by the Cape of Good Hope, not
" paſſing by the ſtreights of Magellan, either going, or
" returning, except upon great occaſion incident, that
" ſhall be thought otherwiſe good to you, by the Ad-
" vice, and conſent of your ſaid aſſiſtants, or four
" of them, at the leaſt."

X. " You ſhall not paſs to the north-eaſtward of
" the fortieth degree of latitude, at the moſt; but
" ſhall take your right courſe to the iſles of the Mo-
" lucco, for the better diſcovery of the north-weſt
" paſſage, if, without hindrance of your trade, and
" within the ſame degree, you can get any know-
" ledge concerning that paſſage, whereof you ſhall do
" well to be inquiſitive, as occaſion of this ſort may
" ſerve."

XI. " You ſhall have ſpecial regard, after your
" departure from the coaſt of England, ſo to order
" your courſe, as that your ſhips, and veſſels, loſe
" not one another, but keep company together, both
" outward, and homeward. And, leſt if they happen

"to ſever, the one from the other, by tempeſt, or "otherwiſe, it ſhall not be amiſs that you appoint to "the captains, and maſters, certain places wherein "you will ſtay certain days. And every ſhip paſſ-"ing before hand, and not knowing what is become "of the other ſhips, to leave, upon every promon-"tory, or cape, a token to ſtand in ſight, with a "writing, lapped in lead, to declare the day of "their paſſage. And if any wilfulneſs, or neglect "in this behalf ſhall appear in any perſon, or perſons, "that ſhall have charge of any of the ſhips, or veſ-"ſels aforeſaid; or, if they, or any of them ſhall "do otherwiſe than to them appertaineth, you ſhall "puniſh ſuch offenders ſharply, to the example of "others."

XII. "We do ſtreightly enjoin you, and conſe-"quently, all the reſt employed in this voyage, in "any wiſe; and, as you, and they will anſwer to "the contrary, at your coming home, by the laws "of this realm, that neither going, tarrying abroad, "nor returning, you do ſpoil, or take any thing "from any of the queen's majeſty's friends, or allies, "or any Chriſtians, without paying juſtly for the ſame, "nor that you cauſe any manner of violence, or "force againſt any ſuch, except in your own de-"fence, if you ſhall be ſet upon, or, otherwiſe, be "forced, for your own ſafeguard, to do it."

XIII. "We will that you deal altogether, in this "voyage, like good, and honeſt merchants, traffick-"ing, and exchanging ware for ware, with all cour-"teſy to the nations you ſhall deal with, as well "Ethnics, as others; and, for that cauſe, you ſhall "inſtruct all thoſe that ſhall go with you, that when-"ſoever you, or any of you, ſhall happen to come "into any place, to conference with the people of "thoſe

"those parts, that in all your doings, and theirs, "you, and they so behave yourselves towards the "said people, as may rather procure their friendship, "and good liking towards you, by courtesy, than "to move them to offence, and misliking; and, "especially, you shall have great care of the per-"formance of your word, and promise to them."

XIV. "We will that, by the advice of your as-"sistants, in places where you, and they shall think "most fit, you settle, if you can, a beginning of a "farther trade to be had hereafter: And, from such "places, do bring over with you some few men, and "women, if you may; and do, also, leave some one, "or two, or more, as to you, and your assistants, "shall seem convenient, of our nation, with them "for pledge, and to learn the tongue, and secrets of "the country, having diligent care that deliver-"ing, and taking of hostages, you deliver not per-"sonages of more value than you receive, but rather "deliver mean persons, under colour of men of va-"lue, as the Infidels do, for most part, use. Provided "that you stay not longer to make continuance of "farther trade, than shall be expedient for good ex-"change of the wares at present carried with you."

XV. "You shall have care, and give general "warning that no person, of what calling soever he "be, shall take up, or keep to himself, or his private "Use, any stone, pearl, gold, silver, or other mat-"ter, or commodity, to be had, or found in places, "where you shall come; but he, the said person, so "seized of such stone, pearl, gold, silver, or other "matter, or commodity, shall, with all speed, or, so "soon as he can, detect the same, and make delivery "thereof to yourself, or your vice-admiral, or lieu-"tenant, and the factor appointed for this voyage,

"upon

" upon pain of forfeiture of all the recompence he is " to have for his ſervice in this voyage, by ſhare, or " otherwiſe; and, farther, to receive ſuch puniſhment, " as to you, and your aſſiſtants, or the greater part " of them ſhall ſeem good, and, otherwiſe to be pu- " niſhed, here, at his return, if, according to the qua- " lity of his offence, it ſhall be thought needful."

XVI. " If the captains, merchants, or any others " ſhall have any apparel, jewels, chains, armour, or " any other thing whatſoever, which may be deſired " in countries where they ſhall traffic, that it ſhall " not be lawful for them, or any of them to traffic, " or ſell any thing thereof, for their private account; " but the ſame ſhall be prized by the moſt part of thoſe " that ſhall be in commiſſion in the places where the " ſame may be ſo required, rated at ſuch value as it " may be reaſonably worth in England, and then, ſold, " to the profit of the whole voyage, and to go as in " adventure for thoſe to whom it doth appertain."

XVII. " You, yourſelf, ſhall, in the galleon, keep " one book, and the factors appointed for the ſame " ſhip another book, wherein ſhall be a juſt account " kept, as well of the merchandize carried hence, as " of thoſe you ſhall bring home. And as well at your " ſetting forth, as from time, to time, as exchange " ſhall be made, you ſhall ſet your hand to their " book, and they theirs to yours, and the like order " ſhall you ſee that the captain, and the factors, in " the Edward-Bonaventure, ſhall uſe in their ſhip, and " the other captains, and factors in each other veſ- " ſel."

XVIII. " You ſhall give ſtreight order to reſtrain " that none ſhall make any charts, or deſcriptions of " the ſaid voyage, but ſuch as ſhall be deputed by " you, the general, which ſaid charts, and deſcrip-

" tions,

"tions, we think meet that you, the general, shall "take into your hands, at your return to this our "coast of England, leaving them no copy; and to "present them unto us, at your return: the like "to be done, if they find any charts, or maps, in "those countries."

XIX. "You shall, at your return, so direct your "course that all ships under your government may "come home together, and arrive here in the river "Thames, if it conveniently may be. And where-"soever in this realm, you, or any of the ships shall "arrive, you shall give special, and streight order, "that no person of whatsoever condition he be, shall "unlade, or bring on land, or out of the vessels in "which he came, any part, or parcel of merchan-"dize, or matter, or commodity, brought in any of "the said vessels, until we, being certified of your, "or their arrival, shall give farther order, or direc-"tion therein, under the penalties, and forfeitures ex-"pressed in the fifteenth article against such as shall "retain any thing to their private use, as in the said "article is farther expressed."

XX. "To the intent that all such persons as shall "go with you, in this voyage, may better understand "what they ought to do, and what to avoid, we "think it requisite, that, as well out of these, as other-"wise, with the advice of your assistants, and masters "of the ships, you shall cause some convenient order "to be set down in writing, for their better govern-"ment, both at sea, and land, if they shall happen "to go on land any where; and the same to be openly "read, and made known unto them, to the intent that "they may understand how to behave themselves, "and, upon any fault committed, not to have any ex-"cuse to pretend ignorance, and so to avoid such pu-"nishment

" nishment as it is requisite to have ministered for the
" keeping of them in good order."

XXI. " And to the end God may bless this voy-
" age with happy, and prosperous success, you shall
" have an especial care to see that reverence, and re-
" spect be had to the ministers appointed to accompany
" you in this voyage, as appertaineth to their place,
" and calling, and to see such good order as by them
" shall be set down for reformation of life, and man-
" ners, duly obeyed, and performed, by causing the
" transgressors, and contemners of the same to be se-
" verely punished, and the ministers to remove some-
" times from one vessel to another."

XXII. " Provided always that the whole direction,
" and government of the people, life, and limb ex-
" cept, as in the fifth article; and the course of
" this voyage, shall be wholly at your disposition, ex-
" cept in the course by the streights of Magellan, ei-
" ther outward, or homeward, and, in your passage by
" the northward of forty degrees in latitude, wherein
" you shall follow directions set down in the ninth,
" and tenth article, as also in the displacing of the
" captain of the Edward-Bonaventure, and other cap-
" tains, wherein you shall follow the order appointed
" in the sixth article. Provided that we mean not,
" by this article, to derogate any thing from the au-
" thority of your assistants established in the third ar-
" ticle, or in any other article in these instructions."

XXIII. " On all occasions, and enterprizes that
" may fall out to be upon the land, we will that
" captain Carlisle shall have the general, and chief
" charge thereof."

XXIV. " And, finally, we require you, and every
" of you, to have a due regard to the observation,
" and accomplishment of these our instructions, and
" of

" of all ſuch other things as may, any kind of way, " tend to the furtherance, and benefit of this ſervice " committed to your charge."

In the month of May, the general departed, with his ſquadron, from England, and, after a paſſage of nearly eleven weeks, arrived, on the tenth of Auguſt at Sierra Leona, in Africa. Having remained, during twelve days, within the harbour, he was viſited by ſeveral of the Portugueſe, and their attendant negroes. The large boat which conveyed them was freighted with the teeth of Elephants, and a great quantity of rice. Theſe, the Engliſh took in exchange for the Elizabeth, together with her ſails, and tackle; and, when the bargain was concluded, the Portugueſe preſented the general with a negro-boy. At a ſubſequent period, twenty-four barrels of ſalt were given to the natives, in return for forty barrels of rice, a commodity the more acceptable to the crews of the different ſhips, as the meal, and other proviſions carried out from England, were become unfit for Uſe.

On the third of October, the general proceeded, with the fleet, from Sierra Leona; and, on the firſt of December, all the ſhips came to an anchor, in a commodious harbour, near the coaſt of Brazil. On the day following, ſeveral of the Engliſh diſembarked, and ſunk three wells for the purpoſe of obtaining freſh water. During their abode at this place, their chief ſubſiſtence was fiſh, which is mentioned to have been ſo plentiful, that ſix hundred large mullets were taken at a ſingle draft of the net.

On the ſixth, and at break of day, a ſail was deſcried, bearing to the ſouthward. The ſignal was immediately made for the Francis, and the admiral's ſhip to give chace. Having proceeded nearly ſix Leagues to the Leeward of the harbour, they came

up

up with, engaged, and took her. She proved to be a Spanish vessel, of the burthen of forty-six tons, and bound to the river of Plate. Amongst the passengers, was Don Francisco de Torre Vedra, nephew to the governor of that river, and its adjoining settlements. The prize, after having been detained two days, and plundered of her cargo, which consisted of sugar, and ginger, was suffered to proceed on her voyage, with a part of the crew. The rest, amounting to twenty-one persons, were made prisoners. Amongst these were two women, and, with each, an infant; seven friars, eight mariners, Francisco de Torre Vedra, and Richard Carter, of Limehouse, who had been absent from England, his native country, during twenty-four years, twelve of which had been passed at the town of Ascension, situated on the borders of the river Plate, and distant from the mouth of it, nearly three hundred leagues. The prisoners informed the general that the Spanish fleet, which was equipped for the purpose of intercepting him, had departed, about the latter end of the preceding month of November, from Rio de Janeiro, and was, probably, cruizing near the streights of Magellan.

The several commanders were, now, summoned to a consultation; and they, at first unanimously resolved to pass the streights, and take in fresh water, notwithstanding that the Spaniards might appear in readiness to attack them. Pursuant to this resolution, the whole squadron got under sail, on the twelfth of December, and proceeded, on the appointed course, until the twentieth, when, at a second conference, it was judged more prudent not to pass the streights, but to sail either to the river of Plate, or to Saint Vincent, in order to procure an immediate supply of necessaries. Richard Carter, who was examined touching the Propriety

priety of proceeding to the river, obſerved that it was ſhallow, and dangerous; that the road was at the diſtance of ſeven leagues from any town, or convenient place; and that, although proviſions might be plentiful, yet it would be difficult to obtain wine, unleſs they waited, during four months, for the arrival of the veſſels that were uſually laden with it. A circumſtance of ſtill greater moment was the probability that on their entrance into the river of Plate, they might be diſcovered either to the Spaniſh ſquadrons ſtationed in the ſtreights of Magellan, or to the land forces aſſembled at Peru. Induced by theſe conſiderations, they prepared to ſail immediately for Saint Vincent, a place inhabited by the Portugueſe, from whom they did not expect to meet the ſlighteſt oppoſition.

On the twenty-ſecond, the Engliſh miſſed the Francis, commanded by captain John Drake, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention at the concluſion of this memoir. On the ſeventeenth of January, in the ſucceeding year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-three, they arrived at a place to which (having perceived a Falcon hovering near the ſhore,) they gave the name of Falcon Iſle. The ſole produce of the land was woods, and buſhes. On the twenty-fourth, they landed at Citron Iſland, where they procured quantities of wild-fowl, and excellent freſh water.

On the twenty-third, and at day-break, they arrived at the harbour of Saint Vincent. Here, the general was preparing to diſembark, but relinquiſhed his intentions, in the moment that he perceived ſixty men partly Indians, and partly Portugueſe, advancing in their canoes towards the ſhips. On a nearer approach, they diſplayed a flag of truce, in conſequence of which the general diſpatched a meſſenger, with a letter to the governor, from whom he requeſted

queſted a permiſſion to trade, and likewiſe a pilot to bring the ſhips ſtill nearer to the town. In the afternoon, the whole ſquadron anchored within muſquet ſhot of ſome houſes, and an adjoining fortreſs.

The four ſucceeding days were loſt in unavailing meſſages between the governor, and the general, who under the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of amity, concealed a violent diſtruſt. Early in the morning of the twenty-fifth, John Whitehall, an Engliſhman, who had married, and ſettled with his family, at Saint Vincent, came privately, with two Indians, on board of the Leiceſter galleon, and, after having affirmed that the governor had given orders for the immediate departure of the women, aſſembled the troops, and made every preparation for an attack, adviſed the Engliſh to loſe no time, but ſlip their cables, and inſtantly ſtand out to ſea. On that day, there was a ſevere engagement, of which captain Luke Ward, the commander of the Edward-Bonaventure, hath given the following account.

"About four in the afternoon, we perceived three "ſail, bearing in towards the point, and which, as "ſoon as they ſaw us, anchored on the bar, and put "themſelves in readineſs, ſending from one ſhip to "another with their boats, and preparing their ord-"nance for the attack. We, on our ſide, were not "idle; but before night, getting our men, and "other neceſſaries from the ſhore, put ourſelves in a "poſture of defence. I went on board of the admi-"ral to know what He deſigned to do, and was anſwer-"ed that he determined to ſet his watch in a warlike "manner; and thus in the event it proved; for, af-"ter his trumpets, and drum had ſounded, he ſhot "off a great piece, as the enemy had done before. "Shortly afterwards the Spaniſh vice-admiral diſ-

"charged

"charged a gun at my ſhip, the Edward-Bonaventure, "and I returned the fire. We then ſet up our main-"top, and top-maſt, which we had taken down, "ſince we lay here, and, before eleven at night, we "were compleatly rigged. In the mean time, the "Spaniards let ſlip their anchors, and cables, and "came driving, and towing with their boats upon us, "deſigning to have boarded us. As they approached, "our admiral hailed them, and, not receiving an an-"ſwer, fired a ſhot at them. He was, however, "glad to let an anchor ſlip to avoid them. Then, "they came all driving down athwart my Hawſer, ſo "that I was forced to ſlip an anchor, and cable, to "ſhun the galleon. During this time, the ord-"nance, and ſmall ſhot plied hard on all ſides, and I "was forced to ſend to the galleon, my ſkiff, with an "hawſer to ride by; for ſhe was looſe, and, with the "flood, drove up within me. The Spaniſh vice-ad-"miral was then on my broad-ſide, and, much ſhat-"tered; yet I did not leave gauling of him, until I "thought that the powder was expended in vain, he "being already in a miſerably torn condition. To-"wards four in the morning, and when the moon was "gone down, it rained ſo violently hard that we could "not perceive one another."

Early in the morning of the twenty-fifth, which was the following day, the Spaniſh Vice-Admiral ſhip ſunk, at a ſhort diſtance from the Engliſh. Several of the mariners, with diſmal ſhrieks, clung, for a conſiderable time, to thoſe parts of the ſhrouds, and tackling, which were above the water; but at length, were overwhelmed by the waves, and periſhed in the ocean. The engagement between the Engliſh, and the two remaining Spaniſh veſſels, continued all the morning, and until one in the afternoon, when the

latter, although their complement had, at firſt, amounted to ſix hundred men, ſheered off, and ſailed towards the river of Plate. The Engliſh, who had not ſuffered conſiderably in the action, ſtood off to ſea.

The circumſtances relating to the ſecond engagement are thus mentioned by the commander of the Edward-Bonaventure.

"On the twenty-fifth, at break of day, we ſaw "the Spaniſh admiral ſunk hard by us, ſo that his "yards, which were hoiſted acroſs, and his tops, with "all about them, were out of the water: moſt of "their men were gotten away in their boats, except-"ing about forty perſons, who hung in the ſhrouds, "and tops, and whom I adviſed our general to fetch "away. His pinnace was made ready, and manned "for that purpoſe, but he *countermanded his orders.* "Three of their boats were, likewiſe, going from their "ſhips to ſave them; but *I fired at them, and obliged* "*them to retire, and leave them upon the ſhrouds.* At "length, our general ſent for two of the men; but "one of them, a *Marſilian, being ſorely wounded, and* "*not likely to live, was thrown overboard (f).* The "other, a boatſwain, belonging to the vice-admiral, "was a Greek, and born at Zante. Of the reſt, ſome "ſwam away on rafts; others were drowned; and "ſome remained ſtill hanging on the ſhrouds."

"By

(*f*) The paſſages in Italics are ſhocking inſtances of the barbarity of Fenton, and his aſſociate. It is difficult to reconcile the advice given by the latter to releaſe the Spaniſh mariners from their dangerous ſituation, on the ſhrouds, with his firing at the boats which had put off to their aſſiſtance. Is he to be vindicated as having complied with the inclination of the general, who countermanded a former, and more merciful order? or, would not his diſobedience have been a virtue?

"By this time, it was fair day-light; and I called "to our general to weigh, and drive down upon "them; but he required me to go first, and anchor "on their quarter; and he would follow, and anchor "on their bows. I weighed, and went down, and an-"chored by them, but not so near as I designed, be-"cause the ebb put me off to the northward. There, "I rode alone, spending my shot at them, and they "at me, for four hours, before our admiral's anchor "would come up. During which time, I received "some damage; but, when our admiral came, he had "his part, and eased me."

"At length, our admiral began to warp away, and "being come without me, set sail, and began to stand "out into the sea. I went on board of him to know "his pleasure. He determined to get out of shot, but "could not, because the wind scanted on them. "The Edward-Bonaventure, before she could get up "her anchors, endured a great many more shot, after "the galleon was farther off than she; and, some-"times the galleon had two, or three. Thus the bat-"tle ended, about one in the afternoon. The rest of "this day, and part of the night, we spent in re-"pairing our damages, fitting, and putting our ord-"nance, and furniture, in order, for the next morn-"ing, thinking they would have been with us."

"On the twenty-sixth, in the morning, they were "gone so far up the river that we could not see "them; so, we manned our boats, and pinnaces, and "sent them up the river to weigh the anchors, and "cables, which we had let slip, in the preceding "night; and this the Spaniards peaceably suffered us "to do. An Indian, who came off to us, informed us "that the enemy had buried a great number of dead, "and landed several wounded men, in the bay. Our

" loſs proved inconſiderable. On the part of the ad-
" miral, only one, a mariner, was killed."

On the twenty-ninth, the Leiceſter galleon, and the Edward-Bonaventure were ſeparated. The laſt, commanded by captain Ward, arrived, after a long, and dangerous voyage, on the thirty-firſt of May, ſafely, in England, to which kingdom, captain Fenton, alſo, returned, but at what period is uncertain. A naval hiſtorian (*g*) remarks that he appears to have preſerved his fame, although expoſed to the mortification of not having accompliſhed his purpoſe. He, afterwards, acquired a more decided reputation by the gallantry of his conduct, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, when, having been advanced to the Mary-Roſe, a ſhip belonging to the queen, he contributed, with other heroes, to the Defeat of the Armada. He paſſed the latter part of his life, at Deptford, in the pariſh-church of which a monument was erected to his memory, by the great earl of Corke, who married his niece. It appears from the Epitaph, that he died in the ſpring of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and three, and had enjoyed the poſt of Eſquire of the body to the queen (*h*).

We ſhall conclude this memoir with ſome particulars relating to the Francis, as delivered to us by a Portugueſe hiſtorian (*i*).

" It

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 575.

(*h*) The particulars of this Memoir are taken from Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 757.—Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations, §. 35. p. 85.—Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth, V. 1. p. 38.—Stowe.—Strype.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 171.—Camden, V. 2. p. 574.—Ubaldino's Diſcourſe of the Spaniſh fleet invading England, p. 26, 27.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio, p. 185, 193.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 575.—Biſhop Carleton's Remembrancer, p. 154.—Fuller's Worthies.

(*i*) Lopez Vaz.

"It is impoſſible to aſſign a reaſon why the whole "ſquadron, commanded by Fenton, did not proceed to "the Streights of Magellan. The Francis, under the "conduct of John Drake, quitted the other ſhips, and "arrived at the river of Plate, at the diſtance of five "leagues from Seal-Iſland, and cloſe to the ſpot where "the veſſels belonging to the earl of Cumberland took "in freſh water. Here, the Francis was caſt away up-"on a ledge of rocks; but eighteen of the crew "eſcaped, in the boat, to the adjoining ſhore, from "whence they travelled, by land, during a whole "day, and were, at length, intercepted by the natives, "who (although not abſolutely Cannibals,) were ac-"cuſtomed to reduce to ſlavery all the chriſtians whom "they could ſeize."

"During a ſhort Skirmiſh, theſe ſavages killed five "of the Engliſh, and, then, compelled the remaining "thirteen to ſurrender. After a ſevere bondage of "fifteen months, Richard Fairweather, the maſter "of the Francis, having diſcovered that there was a "town of Chriſtians, on the other ſide of the river, "was determined to eſcape. He ſecured a ſmall ca-"noe, furniſhed with two oars, and at midnight, put "off from the ſhore, in company with John Drake, "and a young mariner. As the river was nineteen "leagues in breadth, they were three days on their "paſſage, during which they had not the leaſt ſuſ-"tenance. On the ſpot where they landed, they "diſcovered a beaten path, along which (as it was "marked by the feet of horſes,) they ventured to "purſue their courſe. In a ſhort time, they ar-"rived at a houſe ſurrounded by corn-fields, and "were ſo fortunate as to meet with more charitable "Indians, who, having fed, and cloathed them, haſt-"ened to inform the captain of the place, of their ar-

" rival. He, immediately, directed four horſemen to " conduct them to the town, where he waited to re- " ceive them, and entertained them with unbounded " hoſpitality. It was his intention to have ſent them " to Spain; but the vice-roy of Peru gave orders " that they ſhould repair to him." Concerning the ſubſequent fate of Drake, and his aſſociates, the hiſtorian is ſilent.

THE

THE

VOYAGES

OF

Captain JOHN DAVIS.

AS the disappointment of Mr. Fenton gave rise to the succeeding expeditions of this adventurer, it may be proper to subjoin a relation of them to the last memoir. In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-five, William Sanderson, a master of globes, and several opulent citizens of London, equipped two barks, which were named the Sun-Shine, and the Moon-Shine. The first, commanded by captain Davis, was of the burthen of fifty tons; and his company, amounting to twenty-two persons, consisted of a merchant, a master, and master's-mate, a gunner, a carpenter, a boatswain, ten mariners, two boys, and four musicians. The second, of the burthen of thirty-five tons, was intrusted to captain William Bruton, under whom were nineteen persons, all common sailors, except the master.

On the seventh of June, and in the same year, captain Davis proceeded, with these barks, from Dart-

mouth, for the purpoſe of diſcovering a new paſſage, by the north-weſt parts of America, to the Eaſt-Indies. Having paſſed Falmouth, on the twenty-eighth, he ſteered his courſe, northward; and, on the nineteenth of July, at the diſtance of nearly five hundred leagues from the ſouthern cape of Ireland, called Miſſenhead, was much obſtructed by the ice. On the day following, he arrived within ſight of the coaſt of Greenland, the lofty mountains of which were covered with ſnow. The extenſive icy bulwarks which encompaſſed the iſland, rendered it impoſſible for the veſſels to approach nearer than within two leagues of it. This place, on account of the hideous noiſe occaſioned by the continual claſhing of the piles of ice, was named by Davis the Land of Deſolation.

Having followed the tract of ice, which winded firſt towards the north, he, on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, had the good fortune to paſs it, and in ſixty-four degrees, and fifteen minutes, latitude, diſcovered a chain of green, and fertile iſlands. On one of theſe, the Engliſh diſembarked, and were peaceably accoſted by the inhabitants, who are deſcribed as low of ſtature, with little eyes, and beardleſs chins. They were ſo pleaſed with their new viſitors, that they came, in multitudes, to ſee them; and, at one time, the ſhips were ſurrounded by thirty-ſeven of their canoes. five of theſe were purchaſed by the Engliſh, who, alſo, obtained from the natives, the ſkins of ſeals, veſtments curiouſly wrought with the plumage of different birds, ſeveral kinds of leather, and rich furs. When they perceived how much the laſt were coveted, they expreſſed, by ſigns, an intention to bring a larger quantity, on the ſucceeding day; but, as the wind became fair, at night, Davis, more eager to proſecute his diſcoveries, than engage in traffic, gave orders to prepare for ſailing.

On

On the first of August, he steered his course to the north-west, and having entered a sea without ice, came, on the fifth day, into the latitude of sixty-six degrees, and forty minutes. Here, he landed on a hill the sides of which glittered, as if their surface had been tinged with gold. The place (which he named Mount Raleigh,) seemed destitute of inhabitants, but abounded with white Bears, some of which were killed, and eaten by the English.

On the eighth, they continued their course, the land gradually extending itself westward; and, on the eleventh, They entered a Streight, in most parts, twenty leagues wide, and free from ice. Along this streight, (which still bears his name,) captain Davis sailed forty leagues, and, searching all around, discovered many islands, and several harbours, together with appearances of a farther passage. On the fourteenth, fifteenth, and seventeenth, the English went on shore, but could not discover a single inhabitant, although many marks were visible of the labours of various artisans. These circumstances are mentioned by Davis, as increasing his expectations of making some great discovery. Yet, towards the latter end of August, when the wind became unfavourable for the continuance of his voyage, he changed his course for England, and, on the thirty-first of September, returned to Dartmouth, elated with the hopes of accomplishing the discovery, at a future period.

The following are the reasons advanced by Davis, and his associates, in confirmation of the possibility of discovering a north-west passage.

1. That the place (to which they had sailed,) was all islands, with great sounds between them.

2. That the water remained of the same colour with the main-ocean, without the least alteration: where-

whereas, they never entered into any bay, either before, or afterwards, without perceiving that its colour was altered to a deep black.

3. Becauſe they obſerved to the weſtward of thoſe Iſlands, three, or four Whales, which (they imagined,) came from the weſtern ſea. To the eaſtward, no Whales were ſeen.

4. Becauſe, as they were rowing into a very great ſound, lying ſouth-weſt, from whence theſe Whales came, there happened, ſuddenly, a violent counter-check of a tide, from the ſouthward, againſt the flood, with which they entered, not knowing from whence it received its ſource.

5. Becauſe, in ſailing twenty leagues within the mouth of this entrance, they had ſounding (a ſoft, grey ſand,) at nine fathoms; and the farther they ran to the weſtward, the deeper was the water; ſo that among the iſlands, they diſcovered near the ſhore, no ground at three hundred, and thirty fathoms.

6. Becauſe it ebbed, and flowed, ſix or ſeven fathoms, the flood coming from divers parts, ſo that they could not diſcern the chief ſoucre of it.

On the ſeventh of May, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſix, captain Davis proceeded on his ſecond expedition, with one ſhip, two Barks, and a ſmall pinnace. Their names were the Mermaid, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons; the Sun-Shine, of the Burthen of fifty tons; the Moon-Shine, of the burthen of thirty-five tons; and the Northern Star, of the burthen of ten tons.

On the fifteenth of June, captain Davis diſcovered land, in the latitude of ſixty degrees, and in forty-ſeven degrees, weſt longitude from the meridian of London. At this place, to which the vaſt drifts of ice ren-

rendered a near approach impoſſible, he divided his ſmall ſquadron, and ſent the Sun-Shine, and the pinnace, to diſcover (unleſs prevented by the land,) a paſſage northward, between Iceland, and Greenland.

On the twenty-ninth, he reached the land, in the latitude of ſixty-four degrees, and in fifty-eight degrees, and four minutes of longitude, from the meridian of London. Here, he went aſhore, and met with an hoſpitable reception from the natives, who, in return for different European commodities, brought ſeals, ſtags, wild-fowl, dried fiſh, and the ſkins of white Hares.

During the time that ſeveral of the Engliſh were employed, on one iſland, in the conſtruction of a pinnace, they were repeatedly viſited by the natives, whoſe numbers were ſo great that they ſometimes filled an hundred canoes. They recollected thoſe perſons amongſt the crew who had been there, in the preceding year, and expreſſed much ſatisfaction at this ſecond meeting. Captain Davis, now, divided his boats, and ſent them to the different ſounds, and bays. The ſeveral crews frequently diſembarked, and aſcended to the ſummits of the higheſt mountains, but could make no diſcoveries agreeable to their wiſhes. Having remained in this quarter, during ſome days, and carried on a traffic with the natives, whom he found much addicted to ſtealing, the Engliſh weighed anchor, and ran into the latitude of ſixty-ſix degrees, and twenty minutes.

It hath been aſſerted by ſome hiſtorians that, having entered, at this period, into the ſame ſtreight along which he had ſailed in the preceding year, captain Davis continued his courſe, for eighty leagues, and obtained a farther knowledge of the ſeas, in thoſe parts. He found them ſurrounded by ſcattered iſlands, and plen-

plentifully ſupplied with fiſh. He, next, coaſted ſouthward, and to fifty-ſix degrees, where he remained in a commodious harbour, until the month of September, and, ſailing thence, on the third, diſcovered, in fifty-four degrees, an open ſea, tending weſtward, which induced him to hope that he was on the point of diſcovering the paſſage for which he ſo long had ſearched. He ſuppoſed the ſouth land to be only iſlands, and was chiefly intent on proceeding towards the ocean; but as the wind became directly contrary, he was obliged to anchor in four fathoms, and employed the crew, in catching fiſh, of which the quantities were immenſe.

On the ſixth, having a fair north-north-weſt wind, he made ready for his departure, and ſent a boat, with five men, to bring the fiſh which had been left upon the ſhore. At their landing, they were ſuddenly attacked by the inhabitants, who killed two, dangerouſly wounded two more, and obliged the fifth (into whoſe arm, they had ſhot an arrow,) to ſave himſelf by ſwimming. At this period, a violent tempeſt aroſe, in conſequence of which, captain Davis was forced to remain at anchor, until the eleventh. The wind being then fair, and at weſt-north-weſt, the Engliſh ſet ſail, directing their courſe homewards, and, at the commencement of October, the Moon-Shine arrived at Dartmouth. Of the Mermaid, no account is given, from the time that ſhe was left at anchor (*k*), by captain Davis. It is needleſs to relate the circumſtances of the voyage undertaken by the Sun-Shine; as they do not contain the leaſt variety of information. with regard to the pinnace, it is neceſſary to obſerve that on the third of September, during a violent tempeſt, ſhe was ſeparated from the Sun-Shine, and ſeen no more. The latter reached Dartmouth on the fourth of

(*k*) Auguſt 12, 1586.

of the following month, laden only with a ſmall quantity of ſeal ſkins.

In the letter, written by captain Davis, to Mr. William Sanderſon, is the following paſſage: "I have now "gained much experience of the north-weſt part of the "world; and have brought the paſſage to that likeli-"hood, that I am aſſured it muſt be in one of the four "places, or elſe not at all. I aver, upon the for-"feiture of my life, that the voyage may be performed, "not only without farther charge, but with certain pro-"fit to the adventurers."

On the nineteenth of May, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eight-ſeven, captain Davis proceeded on his third expedition, with three ſmall Ships, the Elizabeth, of Dartmouth, the Sun-Shine, and the Helen of London. Two of theſe veſſels were equipped for fiſhing: the third was particularly fitted out for a voyage of diſcovery, in the north-weſtern parts of America.

On the eighteenth of June, captain Davis caſt anchor near the northern coaſt of that Region; and, on the twentieth, arrived in the open ſea, in the latitude of ſixty-ſeven degrees, and forty minutes. From thence, ſteering weſtward, he ran forty leagues, but, being obſtructed by the mountainous drifts of ice, and impelled likewiſe, from his intended northerly courſe, by a violent north wind, He was reduced to the neceſſity of returning to the main ocean.

On the twentieth of July, he came in Sight of the ſtreight, which he had diſcovered, two years before, and, after a courſe of ſixty leagues, was interrupted by the ice, and obliged haſtily to return. Having coaſted along to the ſouthward, as far as the latitude of fifty-two degrees, he proceeded towards England, and arrived at Dartmouth, on the fifteenth of September,

in

in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-seven.

The following passage, taken from his second letter to Mr. Sanderson, is a proof that it was not in the power of disappointments to destroy his confidence.

"By the mercy of God, I am returned in health, "with all my company, and have sailed threescore "leagues farther than I designed at my departure. "I have been in seventy-three Degrees, and found the "sea all open, with forty leagues between land, and "land. The passage is most probable, the execu-"tion easy, as, at our meeting, you shall more fully "know."

Of the success of the two barks, which were constructed for the purpose of fishing, We have no account. It was directed that they should take their station, between fifty-four, and fifty-five degrees of latitude, and raise beacons on every head-land, at which they might arrive. None of these marks were ever seen by captain Davis, notwithstanding that he looked out for them, on his return (*l*).

It may be proper to acquaint the reader that a naval historian (*m*) conversed with captain Davis, and Sir Martin Frobisher, touching the discovery of a passage to the north-west, and that (if his report be true,) They were not able to give him any more assurance, than persons who had never gone so far. He confesses that they did offer him (which was all that he could expect,) several plausible reasons to prove the truth of their position. In a discourse on this subject, the same author endeavours to represent the undertaking as,

(*l*) The particulars of these expeditions are taken from Camden, Harris, Hackluyt, Purchas, and Lediard.

(*m*) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 426.

as, in its nature, impracticable; but, admitting that it were not so, he delivers it as his opinion, that not one of the boasted advantages could be reaped from this discovery. He concludes his remarks with an insinuation, that a more profitable, and, at the same time, a more probable attempt might be made by sailing due north, directly under the pole, which (in his imagination,) would render the passage between England, and China, not more than fifteen hundred leagues (*n*).

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 1. p. 576.

MEMOIRS

S.r FRANCIS DRAKE.

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE.

THIS illuſtrious adventurer, incapable from the obſcurity of his birth, of deriving his deſcent from a long line of titled anceſtry, was ennobled by himſelf. His naval, and military atchievements, ſupply the place of hereditary dignities, and reflect more real honour on his name than all the patents of creation which the ſovereign could have granted. We are informed, by a contemporary Writer (*a*), that he was the ſon of a perſon in narrow circumſtances, who, having, ſoon after the acceſſion of Henry the eighth, embraced the proteſtant religion, was obliged to quit his native country of Devonſhire, and retired ſecretly into Kent, where he read prayers on board the fleet, was next ordained deacon, and, at length, appointed vicar of the church of Upnore, on the river Medway. It is added that Drake (to whom Sir Francis Ruſſel, afterwards earl of Bedford, ſtood

(*a*) Camden, p. 351.—See another inconſiſtent account in the ſame author.—Britannia, p. 145.—Engliſh Hero, p. 1.—Fuller's holy ſtate, p. 123.

godfather,) was bound apprentice to the mafter of a coafting veffel, who, pleafed with his fidelity, and attention to fea-affairs, made a will, in which he bequeathed to him a bark that laid the primary foundation of his fortunes.

A naval hiftorian (*b*) is of Opinion that, although moft of the circumftances in this relation may appear true, if arranged in their proper order; yet, as introduced by Camden, they muft feem otherwife. Firft, the account makes our hero ten years older than he was; next, if his father fled from thofe perils to which his religious principles had expofed him, and this event happened fome time after the birth of Drake, Sir Francis Ruffel muft have been an infant, and therefore, probably, was not his godfather (*c*). A more circumftantial, and well-founded relation (*d*) ftiles his father, Edmond Drake, an honeft feaman, of Taviftock, in Devonfhire, where Francis (the eldeft of twelve fons,) was born in the year, one thoufand, five hundred, and forty-five, and afterwards received an education, at the expence, and under the care of his kinfman, the gallant Sir John Hawkins.

When Drake had reach his nineteenth year, he was appointed purfer of a trading veffel bound to Bifcay. At the age of twenty, he made a voyage to Guinea; and, in two years afterwards, attended (as cap-

(*b*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 549.

(*c*) It appears by the monumental infcription to the memory of the earl of Bedford that he was born in the year, one thoufand five hundred, and twenty-feven, and, therefore, (if the account given by Camden is to be relied on,) was but ten years old, when Drake was chriftened. But, allowing Drake to have been born in the year, one thoufand, five hundred, and forty-five, the earl of Bedford might well have been his Godfather.—Campbell.

(*d*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

captain of the Judith,) Sir John Hawkins, to the port of Saint Juan de Ulloa, in the gulph of Mexico, where, his intrepidity attracted the attention not only of his patron, but of the whole fleet, and was considered as the presage of his future fame (*e*).

From this enterprize, he returned impoverished in his circumstances: and to repair his losses, determined to embrace the earliest opportunity of cruizing against the Spaniards. He proceeded on his first expedition, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy, touching (with two ships, the Dragon, and the Swan,) at several harbours in the West-Indies. Having obtained some slight intelligence, he returned to England; and, in the succeeding year, (with the Swan alone,) repeated his voyage, the success of which, although not considerable, induced him to prepare for an expedition that seemed calculated to extend his reputation, and augment his fortune (*f*).

On the twenty-fourth of March, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-two, Francis, and his brother, John Drake, sailed from Plymouth, with two ships, the Pascha, of the burthen of seventy tons, and the Swan, of the burthen of twenty-five tons. These were furnished with a sufficient quantity of naval stores, and such a stock of provisions as could not be consumed within the year. Three pinnaces, so constructed, that their several parts could either be taken in pieces, or joined, at pleasure, were put on board the vessels. The whole number of adventurers amounted to seventy-three, including boys; and of these, only the principal persons were acquainted with the nature of the enterprize.

(*e*) Prince's Worthies of Devonshire, p. 239.
(*f*) Sir Francis Drake revived; written by Philip Nichols, 4to.

After a quick, and prosperous passage, they arrived, on the twenty-eighth of June, within sight of Guadalupe, and, next, sailing between the island, and Dominica, towards the continent, approached a bay, to which, at his former landing, Drake had given the name of Port Pleasant. At this place, which they reached on the twelfth of July, They moored their ships, whilst the carpenters were employed to frame the pinnaces. On the day following, they were joined by an English bark, belonging to some adventurers, residing at the isle of Wight, and commanded by captain James Rawse, who brought with him two prizes, being a Spanish caravel, and a small sloop, which he had taken, not long before. Several of the crew, belonging to the bark, had served, during a former expedition, under Drake, and, intimated to their commander, a wish that they might again attend him; an association was proposed by Rawse, and, under particular conditions, immediately agreed to. Thus united, the whole squadron, including the pinnaces which were put together, got under sail; and, on the twentieth of July, the third day from their departure, arrived at the island of Pinas. In the harbour, were two frigates, which had been sent from Nombre de Dios, to receive a lading of plank, and timber. The crews consisted of negroes, from whom Drake obtained some information of the force within that city, and then set them on shore, that they might either escape from bondage, or return to Nombre de Dios, by land, a long, and tiresome journey, which it was impossible to perform with that expedition necessary for men who might have determined to acquaint the Spaniards of the intention of the English (g).

Leaving

(g) Sir Francis Drake revived.

Leaving the three ſhips, and the caravel, under the command of Rawſe, our gallant adventurer, attended by ſeventy-three of his aſſociates, ſailed with the ſloop, and the three pinnaces, from the iſle of Pinas. On the twenty eighth, he arrived at Cattivas, and, immediately diſembarking, drew up his men, amongſt whom he properly divided the inſtruments of war, conſiſting of ſix targets, ſix fire-pikes, twelve pikes, twenty-four muſkets, and calivers, ſixteen bows, and ſix partizans, together with two drums, and two trumpets.

In the evening, the Engliſh proceeded towards Nombre de Dios, and, by night, reached Rio de Franciſco. Keeping near the ſhore, in order to elude the vigilance of the centinels at the watch-houſe; they advanced, in deep ſilence, until they recovered the point of the harbour, under the high-land. Here, a part of the crew became anxious for their own ſafety, and, in the language of apprehenſion, took notice of the extent, and ſtrength of the place which they were preparing to attack. It was now neceſſary that not a moment ſhould be left for that deliberation by which the firſt emotions of cowardice are ſo frequently increaſed, and Drake purſued his courſe with ſuch celerity, that he reached the town, a full hour before day-light. At this juncture, a Spaniſh veſſel, of the burthen of ſixty tons, and freighted with Canary wine, having entered the bay, and not yet furled her ſprit-ſail, diſpatched a Gondola, to inform the Spaniards that four pinnaces, apparently belonging to an enemy, were approaching; but the Engliſh, by ſtanding in between this barge, and the ſhore, obliged her to paſs over to the oppoſite ſide. They now diſembarked, and proceeded, without the leaſt oppoſition, to an adjoining platform, at a ſmall diſtance from the houſes. Here, they found, and immediately diſ-

mounted from their carriages, ſix large braſs cannons, ſeveral demi-culverins, and ſome whole culverins. A gunner, who ſtood on the platform, previous to their landing, eſcaped, and gave the alarm of danger to the inhabitants (*h*).

Having left twelve men to guard the pinnaces, Drake directed his brother, together with John Oxenham, to enter the town, (at the head of ſixteen men,) by the back front of the royal treaſury, and near to the eaſt end of the market-place; propoſing to conduct, at the ſame time, the reſt of his aſſociates, with the ſound of drums, and trumpets, up the broad ſtreet which led to it.

The fire-pikes which at once ſerved to terrify the Spaniards, and give light to their aſſailants, were equally divided into two companies. The inhabitants were ſeized with conſternation, and hearing the noiſe of warlike inſtruments, in different places, ſuppoſed themſelves on the point of being overpowered by numbers. The Spaniſh ſoldiers, ſupported by ſeveral of the citizens, appeared in arms, and drew up at the ſouth-eaſt end of the market place, adjoining to the palace of the governor.

The Engliſh advanced ſteadily, and, having received the fire of their Opponents, returned it by a general diſcharge of ſmall arms, and of arrows. Each party, now, came to cloſe quarters, when Drake, and his intrepid followers, by unremitted attacks with pikes, ſwords, and the ends of muſkets, obliged the Spaniards to give ground. At this inſtant, the other company marched forwards to the engagement, and the enemy threw down their arms, and fled, with precipitation, from the town. Two were ſeized, during their endeavours to eſcape, and obliged to conduct their ſubduers to the re-

ſidence

(*h*) Sir Francis Drake revived.

ſidence of the governor, in whoſe cuſtody was the treaſure which had been brought from Panama. In a lower apartment of the houſe, the Engliſh perceived a pile of ſilver bars, each of which appeared to be thirty pounds, in weight, and, with the reſt, extended nearly ſeventy feet in length, ten in breadth, and twelve in heighth. Drake ſtrictly commanded his men to leave the bars untouched, and ſtand reſolutely to their arms, not only becauſe the people were returning, in multitudes, to the town; but, becauſe it would be more advantageous to refrain from plunder, until the ſucceſs of the intended attempt to force the royal treaſury, where was depoſited a quantity of gold, and jewels, which all their pinnaces were not ſufficiently capacious to contain.

Scarely were the Engliſh returned to their arms, than news arrived that their veſſels were in danger of being ſeized, and that if they ſhould neglect to repair on board, before the morning was advanced, they, probably, would be overpowered by the increaſing numbers of armed citizens, and ſoldiers. The brother of Drake, and John Oxenham, were immediately diſpatched to make inquiries concerning the occaſion of this report, and found that it aroſe chiefly from the timidity of the men appointed to guard the pinnaces, who had judged their deſtruction to be inevitable, from the moment that they perceived a large party of the Spaniards, running haſtily from place, to place, with lighted matches, and warlike weapons in their hands.

At this juncture, the Engliſh, within the town, were expoſed to the violence of a tempeſt, by which their bow-ſtrings, matches, and powder, were rendered wet, and totally unfit for ſervice. Alarmed at their apparent danger, they murmured at the temerity of

Drake, who reproaching them with cowardice, declared that if they desisted from their enterprize, after having been conducted to the very door of the place where an immense treasure was deposited, they must expect to meet with equal infamy, and censure. Without waiting for a reply, he commanded his brother, together with John Oxenham, and his party, instantly to force the house, and expressed his determination to secure the market-place, whilst they were busied in the execution of this important enterprize. In the moment that he had spoken, the blood trickled, in quantities, from his leg, and he fell, fainting, to the ground; a circumstance which equally affected, and surprized his comrades, from whom, in order to prevent a baleful despondency, at the appearance of a wounded leader, he had concealed the injury which he received, at the commencement of the action, from a Spaniard, who discharged his piece at him, in too unerring a direction.

Having recovered from the fit, he was earnestly intreated by his associates to repair on board, and procure the necessary assistance, in his disabled situation; but, sensible that, during his absence, the enterprize would be relinquished, he tied his scarf about the wound, and declared his resolution to proceed immediately to the attack. After so positive a refusal to comply with the intercessions of his friends, he was carried, by force, into the pinnace, and rowed, with all expedition, from the shore. Thus ended the attempt to seize an immense treasure, consisting of three hundred, and sixty tons of silver, and a far greater quantity of gold. In the action, several of the men were wounded, and a trumpeter was slain (*i*).

On

(*i*) Sir Francis Drake revived.

On the twentieth of July, after having taken the Spanish vessel freighted with Canary wine, they departed, with her, from the harbour, and, soon afterwards, arrived at the neighbouring island of Bastimientes, from whence they returned, on the twenty-second, to their ships, at Pinas.

On the twelfth of August, captain Rawse took a final leave, and sailed for *England*, with the bark, the Spanish caravel, and the sloop without oars. At the same time, the brother of Drake, and Ellis Hixon, who, had been sent to make discoveries to the westward, and near the river Chagro, returned with favourable accounts. Drake, therefore, immediately steered his course, with his two ships, and the three pinnaces, for Carthagena. Here, he arrived on the thirteenth, and, after a short engagement, took two Spanish vessels, of which, one was of the burthen of two hundred, and forty tons. On the succeeding day, he made prizes of two frigates, and, having stripped all these of such articles as were useful, permitted them to depart. He, next, set fire to the Swan, one of his own ships, and turned the crew over to the pinnaces, which were not, until that period, sufficiently manned. On the sixteenth, he sailed towards the sound of Darien. and, after a passage of five days, arrived at an unfrequented harbour, where he remained, during a fortnight, without being discovered by the enemy (*k*).

Not to extend this memoir beyond its proper limits, let it be sufficient to remark that from the end of August, until the month of April, in the succeeding year, Drake, and his associates, enriched themselves by the capture of several Spanish ships, at sea, and the acquisition of valuable booties, on the shore. Soon after this period had been elapsed, our adventurer engaged

(*k*) Sir Francis Drake revived.

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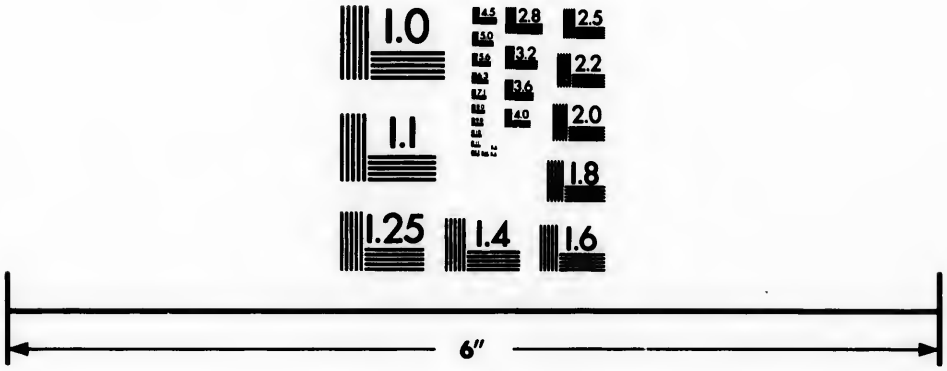

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gaged in a friendly intercourſe with the Symerons, a tribe of Indians, who had deſerted from their maſters, at Nombre de Dios, and Panama. To Pedro, the captain of theſe people, Drake had preſented a rich cutlaſs, and, in return, received four large wedges of gold, all of which he added to the common ſtock, obſerving that he thought it "juſt that those who "bore the charge of ſo uncertain a voyage, on his "credit, ſhould ſhare the utmoſt advantages which "it produced (*l*)." Pedro, the inveterate enemy of the Spaniards, not only informed Drake that the Muleteers were travelling from Panama, with the treaſure, but directed ſome Negroes to conduct him to the road on which it would be moſt prudent to intercept them. Aſſiſted by an hundred of his aſſociates, Drake attacked them unexpectedly, and, putting the guards to flight, ſeized two Rocoes, or ſtrings of mules, laden with thirty tons of ſilver, beſides gold. Of the laſt, the Engliſh carried the greater part, on board their veſſels. What remained, they buried, at a conſiderable depth, in the ſand of a ſhallow river. Of the ſilver, only fifty tons were concealed within a pit, which they had digged for the purpoſe of receiving it. Unable to carry the reſt over the high mountains, they left it ſcattered about the road.

Their next enterprize was near the river Chagro, and, at a place, called Venta de Cruz, or the Houſe of Croſſes. Here, they diſcovered vaſt quantities of merchandize, too unwieldly to be conveyed away; and, in the wanton ſpirit of barbarity, ſlew ſeven of the merchants, deſtroyed goods to the value of two hundred thouſand ducats, and, then, reduced the place to aſhes.

(*l*) Sir Francis Drake revived.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 552.

ashes. They had scarcely reached their ships, when an hundred Spaniards appeared in arms, advancing to the shore (*m*).

Justly hath it been remarked (*n*), that this expedition may be considered as one of those facts which prove that things really happen which are altogether improbable; and which, but for the weight of evidence that attends them, would not only be deemed fictions, but absurdities. The gallant Drake attended by an inconsiderable number of associates, marched twice, through unknown ways, into the heart of a country belonging to enemies who, urged by implacable revenge, had sought for him, at land, and on the ocean. Of the spirit, and perseverance with which he conducted his enterprizes, it is not possible to give the reader a more striking idea than in the following narration.

On his return, with his companions, to Rio Francisco, he was astonished to perceive a number of Spanish sloops, at anchor, near the shore, instead of the English pinnaces which had been ordered to wait, in readiness to receive him. On this occasion, it was natural to imagine that they had been seized by the enemy, and that the crews, to avoid the torture, had discovered the place, at which the English ships were stationed. Sensible that the only method of securing the treasure, and facilitating his return to his native country, was to repair instantly to his vessels, before the Spaniards could have time to take them, he gave orders that some trees should be so effectually lashed together as to form a kind of raft. Of this, a biscuit-bag became the sail, whilst a plank was shaped into

(*m*) Sir Francis Drake revived.

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. Note *t*. p. 551.

into an oar, as the best substitute for a rudder. Eager to proceed, Drake placed himself on this dangerous machine, and, in a tone of chearful fortitude, exclaimed, "Are none so brave that they will follow "me?" At this instant, John Smith, two Frenchmen, and a Negro, declared their resolution to attend him. With these, he put off to sea, and sat, during six hours, up to the waist in water, and, in continual peril of being dashed overboard by the waves which at every surge, rose higher than his breast. At length, he descried, but at a considerable distance, two pinnaces sailing before the wind, and advancing towards the raft. Drake, and his associates, had scarcely expressed their joy at the supposed appearance of their friends (by whom, however, they were not seen, as they lay low on the water,) when the pinnaces took shelter from the approaching night, and the increased violence of the wind, behind an adjacent promontory. Mortified, but not intimidated by this event, Drake instantly ran the raft ashore, and, proceeding, by land, to the pinnaces, had the good fortune to discover that they were his own. Notwithstanding the violence of the tempest, he obliged his company to row that night to Rio Francisco, from whence (having received the remainder of his men on board, together with their plunder,) he set sail at break of day. When he had regained his ships, he divided his treasure, by weight, into equal portions, and presented one portion to the crew of a French ship, whose fidelity, and fortitude, had been singularly conspicuous in the preceding expedition. In about twelve days afterwards, Drake repaired, with a single pinnace, to Rio Francisco, where John Oxenham, Thomas Sherwill, ten Mariners, and sixteen Negroes disembarked in search of the gold, and silver, which had been buried in the ground,

ground. On their arrival, they perceived that a part of the treaſure had been diſcovered, and retaken by the Spaniards. The remainder, conſiſting only of ſome coits of gold, and thirteen bars of ſilver, they brought in ſafety to their ſhip.

It may, in this place, be proper to remark that when Drake, attended by the Symerons, was travelling the country, he aſcended to the ſummit of a loſty mountain, from whence he diſcerned the ſouthern ocean, lying eaſt, and weſt, between the two ſeas. Fired at the ſight, he immediately conceived the project of gratifying, at a future æra, his love of fame, and hope of affluence; nor did he quit the ſpot until he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn vow, to attempt that enterprize, in which he afterwards ſucceeded.

The greateſt, and almoſt ſole misfortune which befel Drake, in the courſe of this extraordinary voyage, was the loſs of his two brothers, ſoon after his departure from Rio Franciſco, to England, where he arrived, on the ninth of Auguſt, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-three, after having ſailed from Cape Florida, to the Iſles of Scilly, in the ſpace of twenty-four days (*o*).

We next find this illuſtrious adventurer taking the command of three frigates equipped at his own expence. With theſe, he ſailed to Ireland, where, ſerving as a volunteer, under Walter Devereux, Earl of Eſſex, he confirmed, by his intrepidity, and good Conduct, the public opinion of his exalted merit (*p*). At the deceaſe of his benefactor, he returned to England, and was introduced to Elizabeth, by Sir Chriſtopher Hatton,

(*o*) Campden, p. 351.—Sir Francis Drake revived—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, Folio, V. 1. p, 154. 159.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 548. 553.

(*p*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

ton, at that period, vice-chamberlain, and privy-counſellor (q). Having obtained from his Sovereign a gracious approbation of his intended attempt to circumnavigate the globe, he immediately gave orders for the equipment of five veſſels. Theſe were the Pelican, Admiral, commanded by himſelf, and of the burthen of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth (Captain John Winter), of the burthen of eighty tons; the Marigold, a bark, of the burthen of thirty tons, and commanded by John Thomas; the Swan fly-boat, (Captain John Cheſter), of the burthen of fifty tons; and the Chriſtopher, a pinnace, commanded by Thomas Moon, and of the burthen of fifteen tons. Amongſt the crews of this ſquadron, were one hundred, and ſixty-three robuſt, and experienced Mariners. The reſt were officers, muſicians, and domeſtics. With the real deſigns of Drake, but few of his aſſociates were acquainted, and the majority had been taught to believe that the ſhips were bound only to Alexandria.

At three in the afternoon of the fifteenth of November, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-ſeven, Drake (a ſtranger to the enterprizes of Oxenham), (r) ſet ſail from Plymouth; immediately after his departure, a violent ſtorm aroſe, during which the Pelican loſt her main-maſt by the board, and another veſſel parted from her anchors, and ran aſhore. In order to repair the damages ſuſtained by his ſquadron, Drake returned immediately to Plymouth, from whence he again proceeded, on the thirteenth of the following month of December.

On the twenty-fifth, he approached Cape Cantin, in Barbary, and in the latitude of thirty-one degrees, North.

(q) Stowe's Annals, p. 107.
(r) See volume the ſecond of this work, p. 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191.

North. He next (s) arrived at the island of Magador, and gave directions for the construction of a pinnace, the pieces of which had been brought from England.

Whilst a part of the crew were employed on this business, several of the natives approached the shore, and having displayed a flag of truce, and adjusted the exchange of hostages, came immediately on board. Apparently delighted with the courteous behaviour of the admiral, and proud to have obtained some presents of linen-cloth, shoes, and a javelin, they promised to return on the following day, with sheep, fowls, and the necessary produce of the country. Early the next morning, they came to the sea-side with laden camels, when a boat was dispatched from the Pelican, for the purpose of receiving such articles as the inhabitants might chuse to relinquish in the way of traffic. When the English had reached the land, John Fry, the foremost of the crew, ran eagerly to embrace the islanders, when, on a sudden, they seized him by the throat, and presenting a dagger to his breast, obliged him to mount a horse, on which he instantly was led away. It appeared, afterwards, that their design was not to injure the man, but only to learn from him the destination of the fleet, and whether it belonged to the Portuguese, with whom the people of Fez were then at war. When the king of the island was informed that the ships were in the service of the queen of England, and had arrived to establish a peaceable, and commercial intercourse, he would have sent Fry with valuable presents to the admiral, but, learning that the ships were departed, gave orders that he should be hospitably treated, and conveyed to England, (which was the case,) in the first vessel of that nation, which might touch at Magador, on her Passage, homewards.

No

(s) December 27th.

No ſooner was the pinnace conſtructed than the fleet ſet ſail, and, on the ſame day (*t*), coaſting along the ſhore, intercepted, and took three Spaniſh fiſhing veſſels; and ſoon afterwards, made prizes of three caravels. On the ſeventeenth of January, the Engliſh arrived at Cape Blanco, in twenty-one degrees of north latitude, where they found a ſhip, with only two men on board, which they ſeized, and carried into the harbour. During their abode of four days, at this place, the crews were muſtered, and exerciſed by Drake. At length, having taken ſome neceſſaries from the fiſhermen, and, likewiſe, obliged them to exchange a veſſel of the burthen of forty tons, for the little bark, called the Chriſtopher; the Engliſh departed, on the twenty-ſecond of January, and, proceeding to the Cape de Verd iſlands, obtained a plentiful ſupply of all refreſhments, at Mayo.

From thence, they ſailed, on the thirty-firſt of January, towards Saint Jago, the principal of theſe iſlands, but did not ſtand in too cloſe, from an apprehenſion of the inhabitants. Here, they chaſed two Portugueſe veſſels, and took one, which was freighted with wine. The admiral, having diſmiſſed all her company, excepting Nuno de Silva, the maſter, (whoſe perfect knowledge of the coaſt of Brazil, made it neceſſary that he ſhould be detained, to officiate as pilot,) gave the command of the veſſel to John Doughty, whom we ſhall have occaſion particularly to mention at the concluſion of this memoir. The Portugueſe, now, departed in a pinnace, which was given to them, by Drake, together with a butt of wine, and a proper allowance of proviſions. At the ſame time, the Engliſh proceeded on their expedition, and paſſed by the iſlands of Fuego, and Brama. On the thirteenth of *March*,

(*t*) December 31ſt.

March, they croſſed the equinoctial line; and, on the fifth of April, having been ſixty-three days, at ſea, without obtaining any ſight of land, they made the coaſt of Brazil, in thirty-three degrees of ſouth latitude. Still continuing their courſe, they, on the ſeventh, loſt the Chriſtopher, (a bark taken in Barbary,) during the violence of the tempeſt. Each veſſel was directed to ſteer a different courſe in ſearch of her; and, on the eleventh, the whole ſquadron met at the ſame place; a circumſtance ſo pleaſing to the admiral, that he called the rendezvous Cape Joy. Here, they found a fertile ſoil, delightful views, a mild climate, and a ſalubrious air. The Deer, of an uncommon ſize, were ſeen grazing on the plains; but not a ſingle inhabitant could be diſcovered, although the prints of human feet were viſible on the clay. On the twenty-ſixth, they arrived at the mouth of Rio de la Plata, (or the river of Plate,) and obſerved a vaſt number of ſea-calves, or ſeals.

At this juncture, the Marigold, and Chriſtopher, having diſcovered a convenient harbour, of which they had been ſent in ſearch, all the ſhips entered it, and came to an anchor. Whilſt the Engliſh were working on the ſhore, they were accoſted courteouſly, but not with any marks of fear by the inhabitants, whoſe bodies were painted, and who wore no cloathing, except the ſkins of beaſts, tied cloſely round their waiſts. Having ſailed from this haven, farther to the ſouthward, our adventurers arrived, on the twentieth of June, at port Saint Julian, at which place they found a gibbet that had been erected by Magellan, for the execution of mutineers; and, here it was that Doughty, the ſecond in command, was beheaded for having conſpired againſt his admiral.

Departing, on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, from Saint Julian, with three ſhips, (the two ſmalleſt veſſels having been turned adrift, in order that the crews might reinforce the largeſt) the Engliſh arrived on the twentieth, at the ſtreight of Magellan. After a difficult, and tedious paſſage of ſixteen days, they entered into the Southern, or Pacific Ocean, where, contrary to their expectations, they were driven back nearly an hundred leagues to the weſtward, by the violence of the winds, and ſtorms, during which the Marigold, a bark, commanded by captain Thomas, was unfortunately loſt.

As a naval writer (*u*) obſerves that the following fact is but little known, as not having appeared in any relation of this celebrated voyage, we preſent the reader with an account of it, in the words of a contemporary hiſtorian (*x*): "In all the ſtreights it ebb-"eth, and floweth, more, or leſs. If a man be fur-"niſhed with wood, and water, and the wind prove "favourable, he may keep the main ſea, and go round "about the ſtreights to the ſouthward; and this is the "ſhorter way. For, beſides the experience which "we made that all the ſouth part of the ſtreights is "but iſlands, many times having the ſea open, I "remember that Sir Francis Drake told me that having "ſhot the ſtreights, a ſtorm took him, firſt, at north-"weſt, and afterwards veered about to the ſouth-weſt, "which continued with him, many days, with that "extremity that he could not open any ſail, and that "at the end of the ſtorm, he found himſelf in fifty "degrees, which was a ſufficient proof that he was "beaten

(*u*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 555.
(*x*) Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations, &c. p. 95.

"beaten round about the ſtreights; for the leaſt "heighth of the ſtreight is in fifty-two, and fifty de-"grees, in which ſtand the two entrances, or mouths. "And moreover, he ſaid that ſtanding about when the "wind changed, he was not well able to double the "ſouthermoſt iſland, and therefore anchored under the "lee of it; and going aſhore, carried a compaſs with "him, and ſeeking out the ſouthermoſt part of the "iſland, caſt himſelf down upon the uttermoſt point, "groveling, and ſo reached out his body over it. Soon "afterwards, he embarked, where he acquainted his "people, that he had been upon the ſouthermoſt known "land in the world, and farther to the ſouthward "upon it, than any man yet known." A learned hiſtorian remarks (y) that this narrative is confirmed by the writer of an old chronicle, wherein it is added that Drake beſtowed on this iſland the name of Elizabetha, in honour of his royal miſtreſs.

Near the fifty-ſeventh degree of ſouthern latitude, the Engliſh entered within a bay, and obſerved a ſavage tribe of people, without raiment, and paſſing, in their canoes from place, to place, in ſearch of ſuſtenance. They, next, proceeded northwards, and, on the third of October, diſcovered three iſlands, in one of which were innumerable flocks of birds. On the eighteenth, the Elizabeth under the command of captain John Winter, was ſeparated from the Pelican, and returning through the ſtreight, arrived ſafely in England, on the ſecond of June, in the ſucceeding year, being the firſt veſſel that ever came back, by that courſe. Drake, with a ſingle ſhip, was driven into fifty-five degrees of ſouthern latitude, from whence, he, with the utmoſt difficulty, regained the heighth of the ſtreight.

(y) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 555.

Having advanced thus far, and concluding that the Chili-Shore, as marked upon the map, was precisely correspondent to its real situation, he steered his course north-west, but perceived his error, in the moment that the land appeared, lying to the north-east, or eastwards. Hence did it seem evident that this part of Chili, had either never been exactly discovered, until that period, or not truly reported by the space of at least twelve degrees. Whether ignorance, or an intention to mislead, gave rise to this description is not easy to determine.

Again pursuing their course, the English, on the twenty-ninth of November, made the island of Machao, in thirty-eight degrees, and thirty minutes; and, soon afterwards, cast anchor. The admiral, having ordered that the boat should immediately be manned, disembarked, with ten of his associates. They were quickly surrounded by the inhabitants, who, apparently inclined to peace and hospitality, presented them with two exceeding fat Sheep, some Potatoes, and various roots. These savages received, afterwards, with every outward mark of amity, and satisfaction, several articles of European merchandize. On the day following, the admiral sent two of the crew, on shore, with barrels, which they were directed to fill with water. Immediately on their landing, they were attacked by those very natives, who, at a former interview, had seemed so gentle, and inoffensive. Whether they were regarded as Spaniards, is uncertain; but there is every reason to suppose that they were dragged to a retired spot, and treacherously murdered, as multitudes of the savages ran furiously to the shore, and discharged a volley of arrows at the nine Englishmen appointed to guard the boat. Of these, all were severely wounded.

When,

When, with difficulty, they had reached the ſhip, the admiral, who judged it neceſſary to eſcape, with precipitation, from dangers that could not be reſiſted, gave orders to prepare for ſailing. The veſſel was no ſooner under way than he expreſſed his reſolution to ſteer towards the coaſt of Chili. Thither, he arrived in ſafety, and was informed by an Indian fiſherman (who hailed him from his canoe,) that a large Spaniſh ſhip, richly freighted, and returned from the kingdom of Peru, was at anchor off Valparizo. Thither the Engliſh ſoon arrived, attended by the Indian, who officiated as pilot. The Spaniards, miſtaking them for fellow-ſubjects, prepared to welcome their approach; and, as a mark of joy, drank to them, by beat of drum, in cups of Chili wine. The violent hoſtilities with which this friendly ceremony was returned, convinced the Spaniards of their error; nor had they leiſure for oppoſition, before the Engliſh, ſeizing all the crew, (excepting one who leaped overboard, and ſwam to Saint Jago,) confined them underneath the hatchways, and took poſſeſſion of the ſhip. The cargo proved of immenſe value; and, amongſt other articles, were four hundred pounds of the Baldivian, or pureſt gold, together with a croſs of the ſame metal, richly ſtudded with emeralds (z). After this exploit, Drake and his aſſociates, proceeded to a neighbouring town, the houſes, and chapel of which, they ſtripped of all their contents, carrying away cedar-wood, Chili wine, ſilver chalices, and altar-cloths.

On the nineteenth of December, the Engliſh came to an anchor at Coquimbo, in twenty-nine degrees, and thirty minutes. Here, fourteen of the crew ventured aſhore, and were immediately attacked by a ſmall army

(z) M. S. Iſaac Caſaubon.

my of Spaniards, consisting of three hundred cavalry, and two hundred infantry. It is astonishing that these numbers should have slain only one Englishman, and still more extraordinary that basely declining the contest, they should have suffered the remaining thirteen to return in safety to their ships.

On the following day, they entered a more commodious haven, nearly in twenty eight degrees, and remained in it, during a full month, for the purpose of careening their own ships, and the Spanish prize, and also to construct a pinnace.

Towards the end of January, they arrived at the port of Tarapaxa, and, on the adjoining shore, perceived a Spaniard, in a deep slumber, and lying near thirteen bars of silver, of the value of four thousand ducats. These, the English took, without disturbing the person appointed to guard them, and immediately proceeded to a neighbouring place, where, disembarking for water, they intercepted a Spaniard, and an Indian, who were conducting, along the road, eight Peruvian sheep (*a*), each of which was laden with two leathern bags, containing, in the whole, one hundred pounds weight of pure silver. These also the English seized, and having ordered the drivers to depart, carried the plunder safely to the ship. They, next, entered the port of Arica, in eighteen degrees, and thirty minutes of southern latitude, where they found three ships, intirely destitute of crews, but laden with various

(*a*) It had been asserted that several of these sheep were as large as cows of a common size, and much stronger. Three robust men, together with a boy, are mentioned to have ridden on their backs, at one time, when the creatures supported their weight, with ease. They had necks like camels; their wool was of an exceedingly fine texture; and their flesh was esteemed delicious.—Drake revived.

various articles of merchandize, and fifty-seven wedges of silver, each of which weighed twenty pounds. The English did not venture to attack a neighbouring town, consisting of twenty houses, but stood off to sea, and, shortly afterwards, intercepted a small vessel, freighted with linen-cloth. Of this they took a part, and then suffered the Spaniards to renew their course.

On the fifteenth of February, they arrived at Callao, the port of Lima, the capital of Peru, situated in eleven degrees, and fifty minutes of south latitude, where they found twelve ships which were lying at anchor. No men were on board of these; a circumstance not extraordinary at places so distant from Europe, and where neither pirates, nor enemies of any kind had been accustomed to approach. Previous to the arrival of Drake, only Magellan, and the Spaniards had navigated these seas. The latter constructed at Callao all the vessels which were necessary for their voyages, in those parts. The booty which the English took out of the twelve ships, consisted of great quantities of silk, and linen, a chest intirely filled with coined money, and fifteen hundred bars of silver.

Having cut the cables of the Spanish vessels, and set them all adrift, the English sailed in pursuit of the Cacofogo, a ship of immense value, which was supposed, from well-grounded information, to have proceeded in the month of February, on a voyage to Panama. During their cruize, the English intercepted, and took a Spanish brigantine, which they suffered to depart, after having seized eighty pounds weight of gold, a crucifix of the same metal, several emeralds of more than two inches in length; and a small quantity of cordage. Shortly afterwards, they chased, and came up with the Cacofogo, near cape Saint Francis, in one

degree of north latitude, and at the diſtance of about one hundred and fifty leagues from Panama.

The gold chain, worn by Drake, had been promiſed to the perſon who ſhould firſt deſcry this rich veſſel, and John, the brother of our brave adventurer, acquired it, by having diſcovered her, as he was ſitting in the top. At ſix, in the afternoon, the Engliſh came along ſide, and, having fortunately ſhot away her maſt, they boarded, and took her unreſiſting. The plunder conſiſted of an immenſe quantity of pearls, and jewels, eighty pounds weight of gold, thirteen cheſts full of coined ſilver, and twenty-ſix tons weight of unrefined ſilver. Having ſecured the whole of this treaſure, amounting in value nearly to ninety thouſand pounds ſterling, the Engliſh ſuffered the Cacofogo to depart.

They next proceeded to the weſtward, and, during their courſe, towards the middle of March, intercepted, and took a veſſel freighted with linen cloth, china-diſhes, and ſilk. From a paſſenger on board, who was a native of Spain, and of noble birth, Drake ſeized the figure of a falcon, wrought in maſſy gold, and bearing on its breaſt, an emerald of great ſize, and of immenſe value. Having ſecured the richeſt part of the cargo, and detained the pilot for the purpoſe of navigating their own ſhip, the Engliſh ſuffered the veſſel to proceed upon their voyage.

Drake, and his aſſociates, now ſteered towards the north, cruized off the coaſt of Mexico, and, on the fifteenth of April, landed at Acapulco. Here the judges were ſitting in court, and preparing to give ſentence againſt ſome negroes, who had been accuſed of a deſign to burn the town. The Engliſh put an immediate ſtop to all judicial proceedings, by ſeizing the magiſtrates, the evidences, and the criminals, all of whom were

were conveyed prisoners to the ship. This act of violence was followed by the sackage of the town, the chief treasure in which consisted of several rials of plate. The most valuable prize was taken by Thomas Moon, from a Spaniard, who vainly attempted to save himself by flight. It consisted of a ponderous gold chain, and several large jewels. Previous to his departure, the admiral set ashore some Spanish prisoners, together with the Portuguese pilot, whom he had compelled to enter on board the ship, at the islands of Cape de Verd.

The English next arrived at the isle of Canno, where they unladed, and repaired the ship. In a few days after they had cast anchor, a Spanish vessel, bound to the Philippines, came within the harbour. They immediately searched her, and, having seized the most valuable part of the cargo, permitted the Spaniards, amongst whom was the governor of the islands, to proceed, with their ship, upon the voyage.

The English were now sated with plunder, and expressed an eager inclination to return home. An attempt to pass the streights of Magellan was deemed imprudent. They had heard of the multitude of rocks, and shallows, but were ignorant of their situation. There, also, the tempests were frequent, and dangerous; nor were these the only obstacles: Drake had, learned, from good authority, that Don Francisco de Toledo, the vice-roy of Peru, had sent Peter Sarmiento, and other naval officers to the streights, for the purpose of intercepting him on his passage. He, therefore, determined to steer his course by North America, and sailed to the northern latitude of forty-three degrees, in order to discover whether any streight was on that side by which he might return the most speedily to England. His endeavours were soon frustrated; and

the

the intenſe cold, dark Fogs, and drifts of ſnow which were blown by the hurricanes, even in the month of June, from the adjacent, and open ſhore, obliged him to put back into the latitude of thirty-eight degrees. Here, in the northern parts of California, he entered a commodious harbour, and was kindly received by the Indians who inhabited the neighbouring country. They were without raiment, appeared chearful in their diſpoſition, and with a mixture of mirth, and ſolemnity, formed a ring around the Engliſh, to whom they offered ſacrifices, and by the moſt ſignificant geſtures expreſſed an inclination to confer a kind of ſovereignty on the admiral.

Some hiſtorians have obſerved that the king of theſe Indians offered to reſign his authority to Drake, and to become his vaſſal, in confirmation of which the latter threw his chain of gold about the neck of the voluntarily depoſed ſovereign, and taking the crown of feathers, placed it on his own head. With whatſoever view the Indians purſued this extraordinary conduct, Drake ſeriouſly affected to aſſume the poſſeſſion of the territories, in the name, and for the uſe of queen Elizabeth. That the Engliſh nation might reap an advantage from a friendly intercourſe with theſe people was, at that period, no improbable conjecture, and the more eſpecially as the Spaniards had never viſited the country, nor ever diſcovered the land, by many degrees to the ſouthward of the place.

To this region, the ſoil of which was extremely fertile, Drake gave the appellation of New-Albion, not only becauſe it alluded to the ancient name of England, but becauſe, like that kingdom, it was ſurrounded on the ſea-ſide, by white banks, and cliffs. At a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore, he erected a pillar, on which were inſcribed the titles of Elizabeth, the date of the arri-

arrival of the Engliſh (*b*), and his own name. At the bottom of the pillar were buried ſeveral Britiſh coins. During their reſidence at this place, the Engliſh had frequent interviews with the natives, who continually brought them the moſt valuable commodities as preſents, and, on every third day, came to offer ſacrifice, until Drake, by ſigns, expreſſed his abhorrence of the practice, and obliged them to deſiſt. By ſome appearances in veins on the ſurface of the earth, and the pieces of ground which were digged up, it was natural to conclude that there were mines of gold, and ſilver, but the Engliſh had no opportunity of procuring any of theſe valuable metals (*c*).

Having ſailed from New-Albion, the Engliſh loſt ſight of land, until the thirteenth of October, on the morning of which day, they arrived off certain iſlands, in eight degrees of North latitude, and were ſoon ſurrounded by Indians, in canoes which were rendered hollow within, and, on the outer ſide, appeared ſmooth, and ſhining, like burniſhed horn. The perſons who rowed them had cut the lower part of their ears into a circular piece, which was conſiderably diſtended by the weight of rings fixed within it, and hung down upon their cheeks. Their nails were a full inch in length from the extremity of the fingers, and their teeth were rendered black by art; a circumſtance which, in their opinion, was ſo neceſſary to conſtitute a part of beauty, that they frequently renewed the colour, by chew-

(*b*) June, 1579.

(*c*) Amongſt the deer, and other animals of this country, Purchas makes mention of a ſingular ſpecies of rabbit, the body of which was of the ſize of a Barbary rabbit, the head reſembling that of the European breed, and the feet like thoſe of a mole. It had the tail of a rat; and on each ſide, under the throat, were bags, in which it preſerved its meat.

chewing an herb, mixt with a kind of powder; the properties of which were to convert whatſoever it touched, into a deep jet. Theſe Indians appeared to be of gentle diſpoſitions, and preſented the Engliſh with fruit, and the various produce of the country.

On the eighteenth of October, Drake touched at ſeveral other iſlands, where he obſerved the traces of inhabitants, although none approached the ſhore. Continuing his courſe, he paſſed by the iſles of Faguloda, (abounding with cinnamon,) Zelon, and Zevenna. theſe were all in ſubjection to the crown of Portugal.

In the following month, the Engliſh departed from this coaſt, and proceeded to the weſtward; on their paſſage to the Moluccas, where they arrived at Ternate, the chief, and moſt fertile of the iſlands, and the reſidence of the king, who received his viſitors with ſuch magnificence, and hoſpitality, as beſpoke a refinement of manners which, at that period, was ſeldom found in countries even leſs diſtant from the more poliſhed, and well-regulated ſtates of Europe. Previous to the departure of Drake, this accompliſhed prince expreſſed a wiſh to caſt himſelf, with all his claims of empire, at the feet of ſo wiſe, and powerful a ſovereign as Elizabeth.

From the Moluccas, the Engliſh continued their voyage through dangerous ſeas, ſurrounded by iſlands, and beſet with rocks, on one of which their ſhip unfortunately ran, and ſtuck faſt during twenty-ſeven hours (*d*). From the firſt moment of the accident, the crew were inceſſantly employed in lightening the veſſel, and caſt overboard eight guns, three tons of cloves, and a large quantity of proviſions. Soon afterwards, and at a time when the ſprit-ſail was ſet, a bearing gale of wind took the ſhip in the quarter, and heaved her off.

On

(*d*) January 9, 1580.

On the eighth of February, they made the island of Borateve, (nearly seven degrees south of the line,) the inhabitants of which were comely, and well proportioned, courteous to strangers, and strictly honest in their dealings. The country abounded, not only with mines of gold, and silver, but with quantities of valuable articles. Of all places which the English had visited, except Ternate, this was the most plentifully supplied with every requisite whatsoever that could administer to the comforts, and conveniencies of existence.

Departing from Borateve, on the tenth of February, they arrived at Java Minor, and were hospitably entertained by one of the five joint sovereigns of the island, four of whom dined on board the ship. The admiral was here informed that some exceedingly large vessels were cruizing at no considerable distance, and, therefore, judged it prudent to sail immediately for the cape of Good Hope, where he arrived in the month of June. At this place, which on their return to England, they represented as the most delightful promontory that had been ever seen, they disembarked, and searched, along the western shore, for springs of fresh water. After much loss of time, they returned without the least success, and were again reduced to the necessity of drinking rain-water, three butts of which (unequal, indeed, to the wants of fifty-seven men,) had prudently been saved. On the fifteenth of June, they doubled the cape, and, by a quick, and easy passage, discovered how grossly the Portuguese had imposed on other nations, by false accounts of the dangers that attended it.

They next sailed towards Rio Grande, in Negroland, where they arrived in the month of July, and having obtained the necessary quantity of fresh water, proceeded

ceeded on their course for England. At the close of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty, the brave, and adventurous Drake, together with his associates, arrived at Plymouth, and terminated a voyage, in which, to the astonishment of their fellow-subjects, and all Europe, they had compleatly surrounded the globe.

It may, in this place, be proper to remark that an historian (*e*), of respectable authority, hath differed from other authors in his account of the return of Drake. He observes that this adventurer came under the line, on the twelfth of July; that, on the sixteenth, he made the coast of Guinea; that on the twenty-second of August, he reached the height of the Canaries; that on the eleventh of September, he fell in with Tercera; that on the twenty-fourth, he approached the isles of Scilly; and, on the twenty-fifth, arrived at Plymouth. The same historian adds that if Drake was not the first who could challenge this glory, yet he was indisputably the second, and next to Magellan, who died upon his passage. The former discovered, at his return, that he had lost but one natural day of his reckoning, during the course of his voyage.

We cannot avoid observing with another naval writer (*f*), that it is extraordinary that not one of those contemporaries who have related the enterprizes of Drake, should precisely mention the day of his arrival in England. Holingshed fixes it on the twenty-sixth of September; and Hackluyt, Camden, and many others, date it on the third of November: But Stowe, and several historians content themselves with remarking that he returned towards the close of the year; and hence, it is evident that, at this juncture, the exact time of his arrival cannot certainly be determined.

Al-

(*e*) Sir William Monson.

(*f*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 556.

Although the multitude were unable to withhold their approbation, and aſtoniſhment, when they conſidered the extraordinary enterprizes of this brave, and fortunate adventurer; yet ſeveral of the courtiers, who dreaded the reſentment of the Spaniards, ſuggeſted to Elizabeth the neceſſity of declaring that ſhe had never given the leaſt countenance to the undertaking, and was not only reſolved to puniſh Drake, but to compel him to reſtore the treaſures which he had ſeized. Whilſt a powerful party reproached him with acts of piracy, refuſed to accept of his proffered gold, inſiſted that it was equally dangerous, and diſgraceful for a trading nation to give the leaſt encouragement to the violent avarice, and ambition of a deſperate individual, complained that his conduct was not only a direct infraction of all the preceding treaties with Spain, but a breach of the ancient compact with the houſe of Burgundy, and vehemently aſſerted that the conſequences which muſt reſult from a public avowal of his proceedings would be much more fatal, than the benefits reaped from them could be advantageous; another party, not leſs formidable, alleged that his exploit was at once honourable to himſelf, and to his country, that it would occaſion all foreign nations to conceive the higheſt Idea of the maritime knowledge of the Engliſh, and raiſe an uſeful ſpirit of emulation amongſt the ſubjects of Elizabeth, and that, with regard to the money, no circumſtance could be more juſt than that the benefits ariſing from repriſals made by Drake, ſhould be enjoyed by the mercantile bodies of the ſtate, who had ſuffered grievouſly in conſequence of the faithleſs, and hoſtile practices of the Spaniards. The queen, charmed with the heroiſm, and enterprizing genius of this illuſtrious ſeaman, nor yet averſe from ſharing in the plunder, beſtowed on him the moſt public teſti-

mony

mony of her applauſe, and condeſcended to preſide at a magnificent entertainment which he gave at Deptford (*g*), on board of the veſſel that had performed this extraordinary voyage. On this occaſion, Elizabeth advanced him to the honour of knighthood, and directed that the ſhip ſhould be laid up in the dock, and carefully preſerved as a monument of national reputation (*h*). In proceſs of time, it became decayed, and was broken up, when a gentleman of the name of Davis, converted one of the planks into a chair, and preſented it to the univerſity of Oxford (*i*) (*k*).

When

(*g*) April 4, 1581.

(*h*) During this ceremony, ſome Wincheſter-ſcholars affixed the following verſes to the main-maſt.

Plus ultra Herculeis inſcribas Drace Columnis,
Et magno dicas Hercule major ero.

Drace, perrerati novit quem Terminus Orbis,
Quemque ſemel Mundi vidit uterque Polus,
Si taceant Homines, facient te Sidera notum:
Sol neſcit Comitis non memor eſſe ſui.
Digna Ratis quæ ſtet radiantibus inclita Stellis;
Supremo Cœli Vertice digna Ratis.

(*i*) A knight, whoſe zeal for the reputation of Drake, and his brave aſſociates, was certainly ſuperior to his taſte in architecture, propoſed that the chair ſhould be placed on the top of the cathedral of ſaint Paul. With more propriety, was it admitted within the muſeum of curioſities, at Oxford; an event which hath been thus celebrated by Cowley:

To this great ſhip which round the world hath run,
And match'd, in race, the chariot of the ſun,
This Pythagorean ſhip, (for, it may claim,
Without preſumption, ſo deſerv'd a name,)
By knowledge once, and transformation now,
In her new ſhape, this ſacred port allow.
Drake, and his ſhip could not have wiſh'd from fate
An happier ſtation, or more bleſſ'd eſtate:
For ſo a Seat of endleſs reſt is giv'n
To her in Oxford, and to him in heav'n.

(*k*) Of the perſons who accompanied Drake, only the following are mentioned by name. Thomas Drake, John Drake,

When Bernardino de Mendoza, the ambaſſador from the court of Spain, exclaimed againſt the piracies of Drake, and demanded the fulleſt reſtitution, Elizabeth replied that "Philip, and his ſubjects who, contrary "to the law of nations, threw almoſt inſuperable im-"pediments againſt the foreign commerce of the Eng-"liſh, had drawn theſe miſchiefs upon themſelves; "that Drake ſhould be forth coming to anſwer ac-"cording to law, if he were convicted, by good evi-"dence, and teſtimony, to have committed any crime "againſt law, and right; that the goods were laid "by, purpoſely, that ſatisfaction might be made to the "Spaniards, although the queen had expended a great-"er ſum of money than Drake had brought in, to quell "the rebels whom Philip had raiſed, and encouraged "againſt her, both in England, and in Ireland. More-"over, ſhe underſtood not why her ſubjects, or thoſe "of any other prince, ſhould be debarred from the In-"dies, which ſhe could not perſuade herſelf that the "Spaniard had any juſt title to, by the donation of "the biſhop of Rome, (in whom ſhe acknowledged no "prerogative, much leſs authority, in ſuch caſes, ſo "as to lay any tie upon princes who owed him no "obedience, or obſervance, or, as it were to infeoff "the Spaniard, in that new world, and to inveſt him "with the poſſeſſion thereof,) nor yet by any other "claim than as they had touched, here, and there, "upon the coaſts, builded cottages, and given names "to a river, or a cape; which things cannot intitle "them unto a propriety. So that this donation of "what belongs to another man, which is of no validity

Drake, Thomas Hood, Thomas Blacoler, John Gripe, George, a muſician, Crane, Fletcher, Cary, Thomas Moone, John Thomas, Robert Winterly, and Oliver, a gunner.

"in law, and this imaginary propriety cannot hinder "other princes from trading into those countries, and, "without breach of the law of nations, from transporting colonies into those parts thereof, where the "Spaniards inhabit not, (forasmuch as prescription, "without possession, is little worth,) neither from "freely navigating that vast ocean, seeing that the use "of the sea, and air is common to all mankind. Nor "can a title to the ocean belong to any people, "or to private persons; forasmuch as neither nature, "nor custom permits any possession thereof."

Notwithstanding this spirited reply, Elizabeth, anxious to maintain some terms of peace with an adversary at once so formidable, and incensed as Philip, gave orders that a part of the plunder should be delivered to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who stiled himself an agent for the merchants whom Drake had injured. The money was afterwards seized by the Catholic monarch, and employed partly for the purpose of paying the troops, raised by the prince of Parma, and partly for the support of the Irish Insurgents who had opposed the government of Elizabeth; a circumstance which determined that princess to make no more restitutions to the Spaniards (*l*).

In

(*l*) The several particulars relating to this voyage round the world are taken from various manuscripts belonging to the Cottonian library.—Camden's Annals.—Harris's Collection of voyages.—Sir William Monson's Tracts.—Prince's Worthies of Devonshire.—Stowe's Annals.—Burchett's Memoirs.—Hume's History of England.—Lediard's Naval History.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.—Hackluyt's voyages.—Purchas's Pilgrims.—The World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, London, 1652. quarto.—Dampier's Voyages, V. 4. p. 101. edit. 1729.—Holingshed, V. 2.—Sir Richard Hawkins's Observations.—Speed.—and Sir Francis Drake revived.

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-five, preparations were commenced by Drake, and the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney, for an expedition to the West-Indies. It was intended to be partly maritime, and partly invasive. The naval armaments were to be commanded solely by the former, and the land-forces receive orders to act under the absolute direction of the latter. On a sudden, the queen signified her pleasure that Sir Philip should retire from this service, and that Drake should proceed immediately on the voyage.

The following is an authentic list of the fleet which was equipped on this occasion.

The Elizabeth Bonaventure, admiral,	Sir Francis Drake, and, under him, captain Thomas Fenner.
Primrose, vice-admiral,	Martin Frobisher.
Galleon Leicester, rear-admiral,	Francis Knollis.
Aid,	Edward Winter.
Tiger,	Christopher Carlisle, lieutenant-general.
Sea Dragon,	Henry White.
Thomas,	Thomas Drake.
Minion,	Thomas Seely.
Bark Talbot.	——— Bailey.
Bark Bond,	Robert Cross.
Bark Bonner,	George Fortescue.
Hope,	Edward Careless.
White Lion,	James Erizo.
Francis,	Thomas Moon.
Vantage,	John Rivers.
Drake,	John Vaughan.
George,	John Varney.

The Benjamin,	John Martin.
Scout,	Edward Gilman.
Galliot Duck,	Richard Hawkins.
Swallow,	——— Bitfield.

Concerning the burthen of the ſhips, and the number of their guns, our hiſtorians are ſilent. On board, were two thouſand, and three hundred volunteers, excluſive of the mariners. Chriſtopher Carliſle, a brave, and experienced warrior, equally verſed in the operations of ſhips, and armies, was appointed commander in chief of the land forces, and raiſed to the rank of lieutenant-general. Under him were Anthony Powel, captain, and ſerjeant-major, Matthew Morgan, and John Sampſon, captains, and corporals of the field, together with ten officers of diſtinction.

On the fifteenth of September, the whole fleet proceeded from Plymouth, and, ſailing towards the coaſts of Spain, took ſeveral prizes of conſiderable value. At Bayonne, Vigo, and the iſle of Ferro, the troops diſembarked, in ſearch of plunder, of which the chieſeſt was the plate belonging to the cathedral at Vigo, together with a crucifix of an immenſe ſize, compoſed of maſſive ſilver, and doubly gilt. According to the computations of the Spaniards, their loſs amounted to the value of more than thirty thouſand ducats.

From theſe places, the Engliſh directed their courſe to Saint Jago, near Cape de Verde, and reached it on the ſixteenth of November, Having caſt anchor between that town, and another which was called Praje, Carliſle propoſed to take the former by ſurpriſe, and landing, in the duſk of the evening, at the head of one thouſand men, proceeded, without oppoſition, to a general pillage, during which, the ſoldiers ſeized great quantities of meal, wine, oil, and various proviſions, but could

could not discover any riches. Here, the English remained almost a fortnight, in expectation that either the governor, the bishop, or some of the principal inhabitants of the town, and Island, would appear to offer advantageous terms for the prevention of hostilities. At length, concluding that they had withdrawn, and were resolved not to return, whilst an enemy was in sight, the general directed his troops to reduce the town, and all the neighbouring houses, except the hospital, to ashes.

In the week after their departure from Saint Jago, the English were attacked by a contagious disorder, to which, in a short space of time, almost two hundred were miserably sacrificed. On the eighteenth day, they arrived at Dominica, in the West-Indies. Having procured a supply of fresh water, they sailed to the island of Saint Christopher, and remained there, in order to re-establish their health, during the greater part of December, but were not visited by any of the inhabitants.

At this place, it was determined, in a full council of war, that the fleet should proceed to Hispaniola. Arriving there, on the first of January, the forces, amounting to twelve hundred men, were disembarked, under the command of Carlisle, and immediately began their march towards the city of Saint Domingo. As they approached the western gates, in two separate bodies, they were feebly opposed by an hundred and fifty of the Spanish cavalry, receiving, at the same time, some vollies of shot from musqueteers who were concealed behind the trees. After the first moment of resistance, these affrighted adversaries retired with precipitation, and tamely permitted their invaders to pass forward into the city, from whence the townsmen (having fired, but with little effect, some

rounds of cannon,) fled, with every appearance of consternation, and disorder.

The English now drew up in two columns, near the market-cross, and close the cathedral, which they fortified, intending that it should serve them, as a place of refuge, in the hour of danger. At midnight, the Spaniards, who had been quartered in the castle, discovering that the English were at the gate, deserted from their posts. Numbers were intercepted in their flight, and taken prisoners; the rest escaped in boats to the opposite side of the haven, and from thence, retreated into the country. On the day following, the English were stationed more at large, and, unmolested, kept possession of the place, during a full month. At the expiration of this period, and whilst the inhabitants remained unwilling to contribute any considerable sums in order to secure themselves from that destruction with which they had been threatened, the troops were directed to set fire to the buildings in the suburbs. A flame was scarcely lighted for the execution of this dreadful purpose, when each citizen entered into an agreement to redeem the town, with the sum of twenty-five thousand ducats. This composition was accepted, and quickly paid, when the English, after having seized a large stock of provisions, mercery-wares, and household-furniture, together with a small quantity of plate, proceeded on their expedition.

They next approached towards Carthagena, at the distance of nearly five miles from which, the troops were disembarked, whilst the admiral, with his pinnaces, and boats compleatly manned, attempted, but without success, to enter the harbour, which was defended by a strong fort. In the mean time, the soldiers, under the command of Carlisle, advanced, at mid-

midnight, ſilently along the ſhore, and before break of day, arrived at the town, and reduced it, after a ſhort engagement, during which ſeveral of the Engliſh were mortally wounded by arrows, the points of which had been dipped in venom, and alſo, by ſpikes which were driven into the paths, and like the former weapons, anointed with a poiſonous liquid. The Spaniards who had been warned of their approaching danger by the people of Hiſpaniola, took care to bury their chief treaſures in ſubterraneous places, and were, at firſt ſo averſe from parting with the leaſt portion of their property, that they refuſed to advance a ſum ſufficient to induce the conquerors to relinquiſh their deſign of ſetting fire to the city. But, when they perceived that the flames were burſting from ſeveral of the houſes, they intreated the general to give orders that the conflagration might be immediately extinguiſhed, and, in return, offered to ranſom the town for an hundred, and ten thouſand ducats, and the Abbey for one thouſand crowns. The propoſal was immediately aſſented to, and the money (paid upon the ſpot,) was equally divided between the mariners, and the ſoldiers.

The infectious diſorder which had raged, with ſuch fatality, amongſt his men, reduced the admiral to the neceſſity of relinquiſhing his deſign to attack Nombre de Dios, and, from thence, to proceed, by land, to Panama. Accordingly on the firſt of March, and after having remained during ſix weeks, at Carthagena, he ſteered his courſe for England. On the third day from his departure, a large Spaniſh veſſel, which had been taken at Saint Domingo, and, afterwards, freighted with ordnance, hides, and other articles of plunder, was diſcovered to be leaky, and, with difficulty, preſerved from ſinking before the whole fleet returned to

Carthagena, at which place the admiral ſtayed, for the ſpace of twelve days, until the veſſel was put into complete repair. Again proceeding on his voyage, He paſſed betwen Cuba, and Juccatan, and ſailing along the coaſts, came, at length, to an anchor near the ſmall towns of Saint Anthony, and Saint Auſtin, both of which had been abandoned by the Spaniards, and were, afterwards, reduced, by the Engliſh troops, to aſhes. Amidſt the plunder taken in the laſt, was a cheſt containing money to the value of two thouſand pounds ſterling, and deſigned to defray the expences of the army. The next intended enterprize of Sir Frances, and his aſſociates, was againſt the town of Saint Helena, at the diſtance of nearly twelve leagues to the northward; but the dangerous appearance of the Shoals, and the want of an experienced pilot, obliged this brave adventurer to change his plan of operations.

The Engliſh now ſailed along the coaſt of Florida, and, keeping near the ſhore, paſſed ſix degrees farther to the northward, until they reached the colony which had been planted in Virginia. On the ninth of June, they diſcerned a fire burning near the ſeaſide, and, immediately, ſent an officer, in the boat, to make the neceſſary inquiries. At his return, he was accompanied by one of the new ſettlers, who, having directed the admiral to the moſt commodious harbour, was deſired to rejoin his aſſociates, and inform them that they might be ſupplied with ſuch ſtores as they wanted. On the following day, Mr. Ralph Lane, who preſided at the Engliſh fort, erected at Roannock, paid a viſit to Sir Francis, and earneſtly requeſted thoſe proviſions which could be ſpared, a reinforcement of men, a ſmall veſſel, and ſome proper boats, that ſo they might be enabled, in any future moment of diſtreſs to abandon the colony, (where they feared

it

it was impoſſible to proſper,) and return, in ſafety, to the mother-country. A ſhip was inſtantly aſſigned to them, and furniſhed with all neceſſaries; but, in the very moment that they became poſſeſſed of this valuable preſent, a violent tempeſt aroſe, which laſted during three days, and, at length, drove the veſſel from her anchors, out to ſea. She, ſoon afterwards, diſappeared, and was ſeen no more, until her return to England.

The admiral again offered to furniſh them with another veſſel, but, dreading a perpetual miſcarriage of their enterprizes, they could not be prevailed on to accept it, and expreſſed a wiſh that they might be conveyed to England. Accordingly, they were all received on board the fleet, which, departing from the coaſt, on the eighteenth of June, arrived at Portſmouth, on the twenty-eighth of July, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſix (*m*).

The value of the plunder taken, during the courſe of this enterprize, from the Spaniards, amounted to ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling. They, alſo, loſt two hundred, and forty pieces of cannon, of which by far the greater number were compoſed of braſs. Forty thouſand pounds of the money ariſing from the different captures, were divided among the chief adventurers, and twenty thouſand pounds amongſt the mariners of the fleet. Each ſhare amounted nearly to ſixty pounds.

On this expedition, Sir Francis Drake was the firſt of his countrymen who landed in New-England, being a part of the continent diſcovered by Barlow, and Amidas. He remained, during two days on the coaſt, trading with the inhabitants, and previous to his departure,

(*m*) Mr. Lane is imagined to have been the firſt perſon who introduced the uſe of Tobacco in England.

parture, accepted, with great form, of the submission of one of the Indian kings to the authority of Elizabeth.

The profits accruing from the success of his exploits were moderate, and, on this occasion, it was insinuated that Drake chose rather to weaken the enemy, than enrich himself. In confirmation of the idea, an historian (*n*) hath observed that it was a maxim, from which this illustrious adventurer never varied, to regard the service of his country, first; next, the advantage of the Proprietors; and, last of all, but with due attention, his own interest. Hence, although rich in pecuniary acquisitions, He was still more opulent in reputation (*o*).

It cannot be improper to conclude our relation of this enterprize with the remarks of a contemporary, and discerning writer (*p*).

"The voyage of Sir Francis Drake being the first "undertaking on either side, (for it ensued immedi-"ately after the arrest of our ships, and goods in "Spain,) I will deliver my opinion of it; and, with "the service done, observe the mistakes, and over-"sights

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 559.

(*o*) The particulars relating to this expedition are taken from Camden's Annals, p. 353, &c.—Hackluyt's Voyages, Part III. p. 534.—History of Virginia.—Lediard's naval history, V. 1. Folio. p. 213, &c.—Stowe's Annals, p. 709.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 558, 559.—Columna Rostrata.—British Empire in America.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 169.—Sir Francis Drake revived.—A summary, and true Discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage, accompanied with Christopher Carlisle, Martin Frobisher, Francis Knollys, and many other captains, and gentlemen, wherein were taken the towns of Saint Jago, Saint Domingo, Carthagena, and Saint Augustine, London, 1652. Quarto.

(*p*) Sir William Monson.

" ſights committed, as a warning to thoſe that ſhall " read them, and to prevent the like errors here- " after."

" One impediment to the voyage is that to which " the ill ſucceſs of divers others which followed after- " wards is to be imputed, namely, the want of vic- " tuals, and other neceſſaries fit for ſo great an expe- " dition; for had not the fleet, by chance, met with " a ſhip of Biſcay, on her return from Newfoundland, " laden with fiſh, which relieved their wants, they had " been reduced to great extremity."

" The Engliſh fleet was the greateſt (if we except " that of the Spaniards) which had been ever ſeen in " thoſe ſeas, ſince the firſt diſcovery of them; and " if it had been as well conſidered of before their go- " ing from home, as it was happily performed by the " valour of the undertakers, it had more annoyed the " king of Spain than all other actions that enſued, " during the time of the war."

" But it ſeems that our long peace made us incapa- " ble of advice in war; for had we kept, and de- " fended theſe places, when in our poſſeſſion, and pro- " vided to have been relieved, and ſuccoured out of " England, we had diverted the war from this part of " Europe; for, at that time, there was no compariſon " betwixt the ſtrength of Spain and England, by ſea, " by means whereof we might have better defended " them, and, with more eaſe, have encroached upon " the reſt of the Indies, than the king of Spain could " have aided, or ſuccoured them."

" But now we ſee, and find by experience, that " thoſe places which were then weak, and unfortified, " are ſince ſo fortified that it is to no purpoſe to us to " annoy the king of Spain, in his Weſtern Indies. And

" al-

" although this voyage proved both fortunate, and " victorious, yet considering that it was rather an " awakening, than a weakening of him, it had been " far better to have wholly declined, than to have un- " dertaken it upon such slender grounds, and with so " inconsiderable forces."

The Biscayan ship alluded to in the preceding quotation was the first Spanish prize taken after the commencement of the war, nor can we give the reader a better account of this single engagement, than in the words of the same historian:

" I was then a youth of sixteen years of age, " and so inclined to see the world abroad, that with- " out the knowledge of father or mother, I put " myself into an action by sea, where there was in " company of us, two small ships fitted for men of " war, that authorized us, by commission, to seize " upon the subjects of the kingdom of Spain. We de- " parted from the Isle of Wight, to which place we " returned with our dear bought prize. She was a Bis- " cayner, of the burthen of three hundred tons, well " manned, sufficiently furnished, and bravely defended. " She came from Grand Bay in Newfoundland, and " was met by us at our first arrival upon the coast of " Spain. As she refused to yield to us, we suddenly " boarded, and by consent of all our men entered her; " but the waves of the sea growing very high, we were " forced to ungrapple, and to leave our men fighting " on board of her, from eight of the clock in the " evening, until eight in the morning."

" The Spaniards betook themselves to their close " fight, and gave two attempts, by trains of powder " to blow up her decks, on which we were; but we " happily prevented it by fire-pikes. Thus continued

" the

" the fight until ſeven in the morning, when the Spa-
" niards found that they had ſo many men killed, and
" diſabled, that they were forced to yield."

" When we came to have a view of our people, we
" found few left alive, but could ſhew a wound, or
" ſhot through their cloaths, in that fight. We were
" a woeful ſpectacle, as well as the Spaniards; and I
" dare ſay that, in the whole time of the war there
" was not ſo rare a manner of fight, or ſo great a
" ſlaughter of men on both ſides."

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſeven, the queen received intelligence that her ambitious and reſtleſs adverſary Philip, notwithſtanding that he publickly affected to be inſenſible of thoſe repeated inſults which were offered to him by the Engliſh, was ſecretly preparing a formidable naval armament, to be employed againſt her, in the enſuing ſummer. She, therefore, appointed Sir Francis Drake to the command of a fleet deſigned to intercept the ſupplies of that monarch, to lay waſte his coaſts, and to deſtroy his ſhipping.

How well enabled the Spaniards were to carry their deſigns into execution, and by what means the impending danger was made known to the miniſters of Elizabeth, may be gathered from the following paſſage, in a letter, written by Sir Francis Drake, the ſucceſsful hero who was choſen to enfeeble, and retard the meaſures of an exaſperated foe, who meditated the abſolute deſtruction of a people, whoſe growing power he beheld with jealouſy, and whoſe religious principles he had been taught to execrate.

" The Spaniards had proviſions of bread and wine
" ſufficient to laſt, and maintain forty thouſand men,
" during the whole year. The ſecretary, Sir Francis
" Walſingham, had intelligence from Madrid, that Phi-
" lip

"lip assured his council that he had dispatched an "express to Rome, with a letter written, with his own "hand, to the Pope, acquainting him with the true "design of his preparations, and asking his blessing "upon them, which, for some reasons, he would "not yet disclose to them, until the return of the "courier. The secret being thus lodged with the "Pope, Walsingham, by the means of a Venetian priest, "retained at Rome, as his spy, got a copy of the ori-"ginal letter, which was stolen out of a cabinet be-"longing to the Pope, by a gentleman of his Bed-"chamber, who took the keys out of his pocket, "whilst he slept."

The fleet equipped, on this occasion, amounted to thirty sail, of which twenty-six were furnished by the most opulent merchants of London, whom Drake had particularly recommended to Elizabeth, and who were the more eager to contribute their assistance, as they had entertained hopes of sharing in the expected plunder. The remaining four ships, and two pinnaces, belonged particularly to the queen. Their names were the Bonaventure, admiral; the Lion, commanded by William Borrough, the comptroller of the navy; the Dreadnought, captain Thomas Fenner; and Rainbow, captain Henry Bellingham.

Sir Francis proceeded from the sound of Plymouth, at the commencement of the month of April, and steered towards the coast of Spain. On the sixteenth, and, in the latitude of forty degrees, he intercepted two Dutch vessels, on their passage to Middleburgh: From the commanders of these, he learned that a Spanish fleet, richly laden, and plentifully supplied with ammunition, and provisions, was lying at Cadiz, in readiness to sail for Lisbon, the destined rendezvous of the invincible Armada. Having obtained this informa-

information, he immediately haſtened to the former port, and arriving there on the nineteenth of the ſame month, began a furious attack, and forced ſix gallies which, at firſt, made head againſt him, to retire for ſhelter under the guns of the caſtle. He next, took, and either ſunk, or burned an hundred ſhips which were at anchor in the bay, and had on board a conſiderable quantity of ammunition, and naval ſtores. Amongſt the greater veſſels were a galleon of the burthen of twelve hundred tons, belonging to the marquis of Santa Croce, and a rich Raguſian merchantman, of the burthen of one thouſand tons, and mounting forty braſs cannon.

From the port of Cadiz, he proceeded, on the twenty-firſt, towards cape Saint Vincent, where he ranſacked the dwellings of the chief inhabitants reſiding on the coaſt; took the caſtle, by aſſault; reduced three adjoining fortreſſes; and, after having ſet on fire, all the fiſhing boats, together with the nets, ſet ſail for Caſcais, ſituated at the mouth of the river Tagus. Here, he challenged the marquis of Santa Croce to an engagement; but that officer declined it, and tamely permitted Drake to lay the adjoining country waſte, to pillage the naval armaments, and to deſtroy an hundred of the ſhips.

Merely to have conferred the moſt important ſervices on the ſtate of which he was a brave and active ſubject, was not ſufficient in the opinion of the merchants, who, eager to reap a more ſubſtantial profit from their diſburſements, complained that, too eager in the purſuit of martial glory, Sir Francis had neglected the leſs hazardous, but more advantageous opportunities of taking thoſe trading veſſels which were valuably laden. Reſolved to free himſelf from this ſingle imputation on his conduct, he inſtantly departed from Caſcais, and ſteered his courſe for the Azores. Soon after-

afterwards, and near the island of Saint Michael, he was so fortunate as to intercept the Saint Philip, a large Spanish Carrack, returning, richly freighted, from the East Indies. The cargo of this prize, although of immense value, was of less consequence to the merchants than the papers which were found on board. From an inspection of the last, they acquired so perfect a knowledge of the exact prices of all the Indian articles of traffic, and of the best method of maintaining a commercial intercourse with the natives, that they soon afterwards, engaged largely in this particular branch of trade, and became established as a company of East-India merchants.

The destruction of the naval armaments at Cadiz, the total Loss of their provisions, and stores, the capture of the galleons, and the carrack, and the various damages which the Spaniards had sustained, reduced Philip to the necessity of deferring, all the succeeding year, the intended expedition against England; and also putting Elizabeth on her guard, afforded her sufficient leisure, and opportunities, to collect the proper means of defence against that formidable invasion. It must be allowed (to borrow the language of a discerning writer (q), that no expedition, undertaken throughout the whole course of the war, was more fortunately conducted, either with respect to reputation, or to profit, than that of which we are now treating; nor can it be deemed extraordinary if, at his return, Sir Francis appeared elated by the compliments which he received. It hath been remarked that his pride was happily directed, and always vented itself in acts of service to the public (r).

It

(q) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 560.
(r) Ibid.—The particulars relating to the expedition to Cadiz are taken from Camden's annals, p. 353.—Hackluyt, V. 2.

We, next, obſerve this illuſtrious hero engaged in the cultivation of one of the moſt ſalutary arts of peace, and ſupplying the town of Plymouth with freſh water, the want of which had, until that period, proved a diſtreſsful circumſtance to the inhabitants. This aqueduct was brought thither from ſprings which were diſtant, in a direct line nearly eight miles; but it forms a circuit of more than twenty miles, before it enters within the town (*s*).

Having already enquired into all the particulars reſpecting the defeat of the Armada, we need only refer the reader to the gallant conduct of Sir Francis Drake, at that celebrated period (*t*), and ſhall now treat of thoſe circumſtances connected with the expedition to Portugal.

Antonio, the prior of Crato, and a natural ſon of the royal family of Portugal, relying on that implacable hatred which his countrymen had conceived againſt the whole race of Caſtilians, had aſſerted his claim to the crown, and received ſome ſlight encouragement, in France, and England, from Henry and Elizabeth. For this pretender to ſovereignty, the people of England, independent of the courtiers, who remained inactive on the occaſion, had meditated a deſign to conquer Portugal. The commanders fixed upon were Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris. The charges of

V. 2. Part II. p. 121.—Strype, V. 3. p. 451.—Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 169.—Stowe, p. 709.—Lediar'd naval hiſtory, folio, v. 1. p. 228.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 560.—Hume's hiſtory of England 8vo, v. 5. p. 327.

(*s*) Weſtcot's ſurvey of Devonſhire, MS.—Stowe's annals, p. 808.—Ridſon's ſurvey of Devonſhire, v. 1. p. 69, 70.

(*t*) See the ſecond volume of this work, from page 232, to page 305.

this enterprize, which was more remarkable as an instance of romantic bravery, than of discerning prudence, were chiefly defrayed by the principal adventurers. The queen, with her accustomed parsimony, took care to limit her contributions within the sum of sixty thousand pounds, and, having permitted six only of her ships to attend Sir Francis, gave orders that he, together with his associates, should be assisted in levying the proper number of mariners, and soldiers.

It may, in this place, be necessary to observe that the miscarriages of the enterprize were aggravated by the negligence of those powers who had promised to support it. Instead of twelve pieces of artillery, the stipulated number, only eight were sent; and of the English horses, there was a deficiency of six hundred. Seven veteran companies of soldiers from the Low-Countries, four from Holland, and six men of war in the service of that state, were kept back, contrary to agreement. Add to this, the great losses sustained both in money and provisions, whilst the ships lay windbound during a whole month, at Plymouth. The fleet, according to the account given by one historian (*u*), amounted to eighty sail of ships, on board of which were eleven thousand soldiers, and two thousand, and five hundred seamen. In the relation of a different writer (*x*), the total number of the vessels is one hundred, and forty-six, manned with fourteen thousand soldiers, and four thousand mariners. Of the last there appears to have been so few that we must naturally conclude that the vessels were either small, or not supplied with half the complement of necessary hands (*y*).

On

(*u*) Speed.
(*x*) Stowe.
(*y*) Sir William Monson hath mentioned, in particular, the following vessels, and officers.

SHIPS.

On the eighteenth of April, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-nine, the fleet failed from Plymouth, and, in few days afterwards, arrived at the Groyne. Here, some of the troops immediately disembarked, and attacking a party of the enemy, obliged them to retreat with considerable loss. On this occasion, the military operations were thus conducted:

Twelve hundred men landed from the pinnaces, and long-boats, and, marching towards the town, assailed it by a general discharge of the artillery. On the other side of the water, a body of five hundred soldiers, disembarked, and scaled the ramparts, whilst three hundred of the troops formed an attack, in a different quarter. All the forces charging together, the victory was gained with ease, and the affrighted citizens fled, through subterraneous passages, undiscovered by the enemy, into the upper town. The governor, Don Juan de Luna, and many officers of distinction were taken prisoners. The English, proceeding to those wild excesses of barbarity which, in that age, was one of the disgraceful consequences of success, slew five hundred of the inhabitants, after the place had been reduced, and the plunder surrendered quietly to the conquerors. What the arms of the

SHIPS.	COMMAND. by SEA.	COMM. by LAND.
The Revenge	Sir Francis Drake	Sir John Norris.
Dreadnought	Capt. Tho. Fenner	Sir Edward Norris.
Aid	Wm. Fenner	Sir Henry Norris.
Nonpareil	—— Sackville	Sir Roger Williams.
Foresight	Wm. Winter	Capt. Williams, (or Wilson,) serjeant major.
Swiftsure	—— Goring.	

Spaniards were unable to effect, their wines accomplished; and multitudes of the English soldiers drank so freely of the liquors which they discovered in the cellars, that they perished through the violence of intoxication.

In the mean time, the Spaniards set fire to a large vessel which lay at anchor in the harbour, and which continued burning, during the space of two days. On board, were several great pieces of artillery, thirty-four of which burst, amidst the conflagration. The English next besieged the upper town, which was extremely difficult of access, and sprang two mines that made considerable breaches in the walls. They, now, began a close attack, and were on the point of succeeding in their operations, when, unfortunately, a tower fell, and crushed several of their associates. Dismayed by this unexpected accident, the survivors retreated with precipitation, and, having only three pieces of ordnance for their defence, were severely wounded, on their march through a narrow passage, by the continual discharges from the small arms of the enemy.

During the siege of the upper town, the English took possession of the cloister, on the south side, whilst colonel Huntley, and captain Sampson, with a strong detachment of the troops, ravaged the adjacent country, and returned with droves of cattle, and flocks of sheep.

On the day following the assault, the general, Sir John Norris, was informed by a Spaniard, who had been taken prisoner, that the Conde de Andrada, at the head of eight thousand troops, was assembled at Puento de Burgos, intended to advance to the relief of the Groyne, and would be shortly supported by a still greater number

ber of forces, under the command of the Conde de Altomira. Accordingly, on the ſixth of May, Norris marched, with nine regiments, in order to intercept the enemy, and left the remaining five to attend on Sir Francis Drake, and guard the artillery, and the cloiſter. The Engliſh troops proceeded in three diſtinct bodies, and ſoon approached the Spaniards. After a furious conteſt, during which Sir Edward Norris, colonel Sidney, and the captains Middleton, Wingfield, Hinder, Fulford, and Barton, behaved with ſingular intrepidity, the enemy were totally defeated, and fled with ſuch precipitation, that three thouſand officers, and ſoldiers, were cut off in the purſuit. The Engliſh took the chief ſtandard, and (what ſullied the luſtre of their victory,) ſlew two hundred of the Spaniards, near the cloiſters, in cold blood, excluſive of thoſe who had been maſſacred on the roads, and in the vineyards. Of their own men, but one was killed, and few were wounded.

Having plundered, and reduced to aſhes the adjacent villages, together with the camp, in which they ſeized large quantities of ammunition, plate, and apparel, the Engliſh, on the eighth of May, ſet fire to the lower town, and cloiſter. This was the laſt hoſtility: they, now, raiſed the ſiege, and retreated to their ſhips.

From the Groyne, the fleet ſailed towards the coaſt of Portugal, and, on the paſſage, were joined by the earl of Eſſex, a young hero of promiſing expectations, who, glowing with military ardour had ſtolen ſecretly, and without the knowledge of the queen, from England. With him, were veſſels, equipped at his own expence, and commanded by his brother, Walter Devereux, Sir Roger Williams, Sir Philip Butler, and Sir

Edward Wingfield. These had cruized near the south cape, and taken some ships freighted with corn, which they brought into the fleet.

On the sixteenth the English arrived at Penicha, a small town of Portugal, where Sir John Norris, and the troops, immediately disembarked, and unresisted, obliged the castle to submit to Don Antonio. They, next, marched towards Lisbon, and, on the road, took the town, and citadel of Torre Vedra. From thence, they continued their progress, but were frequently interrupted by strong parties of the Spaniards, whom they engaged and conquered. Approaching Lisbon, on the twenty-fifth, they attacked, and without loss, reduced the suburbs of Saint Catherine. The people in this city appeared in general, averse from declaring for Antonio; the succours which that prince had been promised by the Emperor of Morocco were not arrived; the troops were infected with diseases; the artillery was insufficient for a vigorous attack, and the ammunition was expended. Under these alarming circumstances, the council of war resolved that the whole armament should retire. Accordingly, after a stay of two nights, at Lisbon, (during which time, the garrison, although reinforced by a body of troops, more numerous than their opponents, avoided an engagement,) the English retreated to Cascais, a small town, at the mouth of the river Tagus. By the plunder of the suburbs alone, they could have acquired a richer booty than any of their armies had ever taken; since, exclusive of the wealth which might have been discovered in private dwellings, the storehouses, near the water, were filled with valuable merchandize: but Antonio (who, it must be observed, was present, during every enterprize,) insisted that mercy, and indulgence, might be shewn to a people whom he

stiled

ſtiled his ſubjects, and thus, the adventurers who ſupported his cauſe, were deprived of the moſt ſolid advantages which could have reſulted from their Succeſs.

The fleet which had intercepted, and taken ſeveral Spaniſh veſſels, and, in particular, fifteen which were bound to Liſbon, with forces, and proviſions, had already arrived at Caſcais, and reduced the place. The admiral (having blown up a port of the caſtle, and ſeized ſixty ſail of ſhips, belonging to the Hanſe Towns, which, contrary to the prohibition of Elizabeth, were juſt arrived with corn, and naval ſtores, for the ſervice of an armada which Philip was preparing againſt the Engliſh,) received the troops on board, and ſailed homewards. The ſhips were ſcarcely under way, when twenty Spaniſh gallies rowed toward them, and began a furious attack, but were ſo powerfully reſiſted, that, after a ſhort, and unequal conteſt, they haſtily retreated.

Returning, the Engliſh reduced to aſhes the town of Vigo, in Galicia, on the banks of a bay of the ſame name, and pillaged the adjacent country. They next arrived at Plymouth, in the beginning of July with an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, which had been taken from the enemy, and a large booty, of which a part was divided amongſt the ſeamen.

The queen intended to have releaſed the ſixty veſſels in the ſervice of the Hanſe Towns, and only to have confiſcated their cargoes, but her reſentment was increaſed by advices that an aſſembly was convened at Lubec, for the purpoſe of deviſing meaſures to annoy the Engliſh; and ſhe immediately directed that all the ſhips ſhould be detained, excepting two, which were permitted to return home, and inform the Hanſe Towns of the misfortunes to which they had reduced them-

ſelves, by their interpoſition in favour of the Spaniards (z).

As the following reflections of a contemporary hiſtorian (a) will elucidate the foregoing relation of the enterprize, it may be proper to preſent them to the reader.

"The laſt overthrow, given in the year, one "thouſand, five hundred and eighty eight, to the "Invincible fleet, (as they termed themſelves) did "ſo encourage every man to war, that happy was he "who could put himſelf in action againſt the Spani-"ards, as it appeared by the volunteers, that went on "this voyage. Conſidering the great loſs which the "king of Spain had received, in the preceding year, "whereby it was to be imagined how weakly he was "provided for at home, the queen became willing to "countenance this action, although ſhe undertook it "not wholly of herſelf, to which is to be imputed the "overthrow of it.

"For whoſoever he be of a ſubject, that thinks to "undertake ſo great an enterprize, without a prince's "purſe, ſhall be deceived; and therefore theſe two ge-"nerals, in my opinion, never over-ſhot themſelves "more, than in undertaking ſo great a charge, with ſo "little means, which is the only cauſe to which is to "be imputed the ill ſucceſs of it; for, where victuals, "and arms are wanting, what hope, is there of pre-"vailing?

"The

(z) The particulars relating to the expedition to Portugal are taken from Camden's Annals, p. 601, 606.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 174.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 561, 562—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, Folio, V. 1. p 264, 267.—Birch's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 58. —MS. in Bibl. Cott.—Hackluyt, V. 2. Part II. p. 134.—Purchas, V. 4. p. 1914.—Appendix to Harris's Col.—Columna Roſtrata.

(a) Sir William Monſon.

"The project of this voyage was to restore a dis-
"tressed king to his dominions, which (as he pre-
"tended,) were usurped; and although the means for
"the setting forth of this voyage were not so great as
"was expedient; yet, in the opinion of all men, if
"they had directed their course, whither they in-
"tended it, without landing at the Groyne, they had
"performed the service for which they went, restored
"Don Antonio to the crown, dissevered Portugal from
"Spain, and united it in league with England, which
"would have answered the present charge, and have
"settled a continual trade for us to the West Indies,
"and the rest of the Portugal dominions; for so we
"might have conditioned.

"But, as I have said, the landing at the Groyne was
"a lingering of the other design; a consumption of
"victuals; a weakening of the armies by the immo-
"derate drinking of the soldiers, which brought a la-
"mentable sickness amongst them; a warning to
"the Spaniards to strengthen Portugal, and, what was
"more than all this, a discouragement to proceed far-
"ther, being repulsed in the first attempt.

"Notwithstanding this ill success, at the Groyne,
"they departed from thence towards Portugal, and
"arrived at Penicha, a maritime town, twelve leagues
"from Lisbon, where, with small resistance, they
"took the castle, after the captain understood Don
"Antonio to be in the army.

"From thence, general Norris marched with his
"land forces to Lisbon, and Sir Francis Drake, with
"his fleet, sailed to Cascais, promising from thence to
"pass with his ships up the river to Lisbon, to meet
"with Sir John Norris, which he did not, and there-
"fore he was much blamed by the common consent of
"all men, who imputed the overthrow of the action
"to him.

"I will

"I will not excuſe Sir Francis Drake, in his promiſe made to Sir John Norris, although I would utterly have accuſed him of want of diſcretion, if he had put the fleet to ſo great an adventure, to ſo little purpoſe; for his being in the harbour of Liſbon, was nothing to the reduction of the caſtle, which was two miles from thence; and had the caſtle been taken, the town would have ſubmitted, of courſe.

"And, moreover, the ſhips could not furniſh the army, with more men, or victuals than they had; wherefore I underſtand not wherein his going up was neceſſary; and yet the fleet was to endure many hazards to this little purpoſe.

"For, betwixt Caſcais, and Liſbon, there are three caſtles, Saint Julian, Saint Francis, and Bellem. The firſt of the three, I hold one of the moſt impregnable forts, to ſeaward, in Europe, and, by this, the fleet was to paſs, within caliver-ſhot; yet I confeſs the greateſt danger was not the paſſing it; for with a reaſonable gale of wind, any fort is to be paſſed, with ſmall hazard.

"But at this time, there was a general want of victuals, and, being entered the harbour, their coming out again was uncertain, the place being ſubject to contrary winds, in which ſpace of time, the better part of the victuals would have been conſumed, and they would have remained there in ſo deſperate a ſtate, that they would have been forced to have fired one half of the fleet for the bringing home of the reſt; for, being as they were, after the army was embarked for England, numbers died famine homeward, and more would have done ſo, if the wind had taken them ſhort, or, if, by the deaths of others, they had not been relieved.

"And,

"And, exclusive of all these casualties, and dan-
"gers, the Adalantado was then in Lisbon, with the
"gallies of Spain, and how easily he might have an-
"noyed our fleet, by towing fire-ships amongst us,
"we may suppose, by the hurt which we did the
"Spaniards, on the preceding year, in Calais road,
"and greater we had done, if we had had the help
"of gallies.

"It is a wonder to observe every man's opinion of
"this voyage, as well those that were actors in it,
"as others that stayed at home; some imputing the
"overthrow of it to the landing at the Groyne;
"others to the Portuguese, failing of their help, and
"assistance, as was promised by Don Antonio; and
"some to Sir Francis Drake, who did not come up the
"river with his fleet.

"Although any of these three might seem probable
"reasons to many men, that shall but hear them, and
"the landing at the Groyne, the chiefest of the three
"alleged; yet, weighing truly the defect, and where
"it was, it will appear, that the action was overthrown
"before their departure from home, they being too
"weakly provided with things needful for so great an
"expedition.

"For when this voyage was first in debate, the
"number of ships was not concluded on, according to
"the proportion of men, wherefore they were forced
"to detain divers Easterlings, which they met with in
"our channel, and compelled them to serve in this
"action, for the transportation of our soldiers; and
"although these ships were an ease to our men, which
"would otherwise have been much pestered for want
"of room, yet their victuals were nothing augment-
"ed; but they were put on board the ships, like ba-
"nished men, to seek their fortunes, at sea; for, by
"con-

"confession, divers of the ships had not four days "victuals; when they departed from Plymouth.

"Another impediment to this voyage was the want "of field-pieces; and hence ensued the loss of Lis-"bon; for, as the strength consisted in the castle, and "we had only an army to countenance us, but no "means for battery, we were the loss of the victory "ourselves; and it was apparent, by the intelligence "which we received, that if we had presented them "with battery, they were resolved to parly, and so, "by consequence, to yield; and this was the main "reason for the excuse made by the Portuguese for not "joining with us.

"There is one reason to be alleged on the behalf "of the Portuguese, and their love, and favour to our "proceedings; for although they shewed not them-"selves forward, upon the occasion aforesaid, in aid-"ing us, yet they opposed not themselves as ene-"mies against us; for, if they had pursued us, in our "retreat from Lisbon, to Cascais, our men being weak, "sickly, without powder, and shot, and other arms, "they had put us to a greater loss, and disgrace "than we sustained: And if ever England should have "occasion to set up a competitor in Portugal, our car-"riage, and good treatment of the people of that "country must secure to us a great influence amongst "them: For the general most advisedly forbad the "rifling of their houses, in the country, and sub-"urbs of Lisbon, which they possessed, and command-"ed royal payment for every thing which they took, "without compulsion, or rigorous usage. This hath "made those, who stood but indifferently affected "before, now ready, upon the like occasion, to as-"sist us.

Towards

Towards the close of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-four, a report was circulated, throughout Europe, that the king of Spain had issued orders for the equipment of a fleet still more powerful, and numerous than the Invincible Armada, and that its operation were to be directed against the English. Elizabeth, conscious that she had no security but in immediate preparations for defence, drew together twenty-six of the chief vessels in her navy, and dividing them into two squadrons appointed one to cruize in the British channel, and the other to act, under the command of Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins, against the Spaniards, in America. Exclusive of the royal ships, twenty were fitted out at the joint expence of these gallant officers, and some opulent adventurers in the enterprize (*b*).

These armaments, although speedily equipped, had not failed in the month of July, when Diego Brochen, the commander in chief of four Spanish gallies, landed, without interruption, at Mounts-Bay, in Cornwall, and reduced to ashes House-Hole, Newlin, Penzance, and a neighbouring church, but did not either kill, or force

(*b*) Sir William Monson makes mention of the following vessels, and their officers.

Ships.	Command. by Sea.	Comm. by Land.
The Defiance	Sir Francis Drake	Sir Thomas Baskerville.
Garland	Sir John Hawkins.	
Hope	Captain Gilbert Yorke.	
Bonaventure	Captain Throughton.	
Foresight	Captain Winter.	
Adventure	Captain Thomas Drake.	

From the author of Drake Revived, we may add that Sir Nicholas Clifford was lieutenant-general, and that eight captains were appointed for the land-service, exclusive of Arnold Baskerville, serjeant major, and Nicholas Baskerville.

force on board their veſſels, any of the inhabitants.

The deſtination of the fleet, and land forces, under Drake, Hawkins, and Baſkerville, was for Saint Juan de Puerto Ricco, in the iſle of Boriquena, at which place, a large treaſure had been depoſited for the uſe of the king of Spain. Informed of this event, Elizabeth prudently countermanded the firſt order, that the ſhips ſhould ſail to Nombre de Dios, from whence the troops were to have marched to Panama, for the purpoſe of intercepting the expreſſes from Peru.

On the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, the Engliſh ſet ſail from Plymouth, but did not loſe ſight of land, until the thirty-firſt. Their next port was the Grand Canary, where they arrived on the twenty-ſeventh of September. Contrary to the advice of Hawkins, it was propoſed by Drake, and Baſkerville, to attack the iſland, and chiefly with a view of obtaining freſh proviſions, the great ſcarcity of which had occaſioned a violent diſcontent amongſt the ſeamen. After a long, and ineffectual attempt, they judged it prudent to deſiſt from an engagement, during which the Spaniards preſerved a manifeſt, and unexpected ſuperiority. They, now, proceeded towards the iſland of Dominica, and having reached it, on the twenty-ninth of October, commenced a traffic, with the natives, for tobacco. to their imprudence in remaining too long at this place, engaged in conſtructing pinnaces, may be attributed their ſubſequent diſappointments, and the timely knowledge which the Spaniards had gained of their intentions.

A ſmall ſquadron of obſervation, in the ſervice of the enemy, had been diſpatched from Puerto Ricco, and was ſo fortunate as to intercept an Engliſh pinnace, which had ſtrayed to a conſiderable diſtance from the fleet.

fleet. The crew, who were put to the torture, made a full confeſſion of the deſigns of Drake, and his aſſociates; and the Spaniards haſtened inſtantly to inform their fellow-ſubjects of the approaching danger. The gold, ſilver, and other valuable treaſures, at Puerto Ricco, were concealed, by the inhabitants, in ſubterraneous places; light frigates were ſent to alarm all the dependant iſlands, and the adjoining coaſts; whilſt every warlike preparation was made for the moſt vigorous, and effectual defence.

On the twelfth of November, the Engliſh fleet came to an anchor, within cannon-ſhot of the forts erected at Puerto Ricco, and were immediately aſſailed by a furious diſcharge from the artillery of the Spaniars. At the beginning of the attack, Sir Nicholas Clifford, and captain Brute Brown, received, each, a mortal wound, in conſequence of which, they expired on the day following. Their deaths were ſucceeded by that of Sir John Hawkins, leſs a martyr to a fit of ſickneſs under which he had languiſhed, for ſome time, than to the agonies of grief.

At the mouth of the haven, was ſunk a large veſſel, for the purpoſe of preventing the entrance of the Engliſh; and, on each ſide, long maſts were placed, as obſtructions, and extended to the forts. Five Spaniſh ſhips, ballaſted with ſand, and mounting two tiers of cannon, were drawn up in line of battle. Not intimidated by the appearance of thoſe armed multitudes which were on board, Sir Thomas Baſkerville, attended by the troops, in twenty-five boats, and pinnaces, entered the road, beyond the caſtles (c), where, expoſed to an inceſſant cannonading, together with a diſcharge of ſmall arms, during the whole action, from the enemy, he ſet fire to the five veſſels, four of

(c) November 13th.

of which were of the burthen of two hundred tons, and the other (the rear-admiral,) of twice the ſize. On board of each were twenty braſs guns, and a hundred barrels of powder. The freight, conſiſting, chiefly, of ſilk, oil, and wine, had been previouſly ſecured, with the treaſure, brought from Vigonia, and valued (according to the report of a priſoner,) at three millions of ducats, or thirty-five tons of ſilver. On the ſide of the Spaniards, the loſs was very great; and, amongſt theſe, numbers were either burned, or drowned. Although the action had proved leſs fatal to the Engliſh, yet their forces were conſiderably diminiſhed; and the commanders, ſenſible that no material advantage could be gained, judged it prudent to depart.

Reimbarking, they ſailed over to Terra Firma, and, arriving on the firſt of December, at La Hacha, reduced the place to aſhes, notwithſtanding that the inhabitants were prepared to ranſom it with thirty thouſand ducats. The Engliſh next ſet fire to La Rancheria, after having taken priſoners ſeveral negroes, and other natives. Poſſeſſed of ſome large pearls, and many valuable articles, the plunder of the place, they ſailed, with their prize, a Spaniſh brigantine, to the ſmall villages in the neighbourhood, and burned them to the ground. They, now, proceeded to Nombre de Dios (*d*), of which they ſoon became the maſters, and totally deſtroyed it, with every veſſel in the harbour. They were not ſo fortunate as to diſcover any money, within the town; but at the watch-tower, on the ſummit of an adjoining hill, they ſeized twenty ſows (*e*) of ſilver, two bars of gold, ſeveral pearls, coins, and various articles of merchandize.

From

(*d*) December 19th.
(*e*) Each amounting to about one hundred weight.

From Nombre de Dios, Sir Thomas Baſkerville marched, at the head of ſeven hundred and fifty men, towards Panama. As they approached nearer to the place, they obſerved that all the paſſes had been fortified; a circumſtance which induced them to ſuſpect that the Spaniards were prepared for an attack. Of this, they were ſoon convinced, by a furious and well-directed diſcharge of ſmall arms, from ſome troops in the adjoining wood. They, now, found that every defile was encompaſſed by the Spaniards; at each turning a fortreſs appeared in view, from whence the ſoldiers ruſhed forth in multitudes, and harraſſed their invaders by continual ſkirmiſhes. Obſtacles ſo inſurmountable obliged the Engliſh to return, and on the ſecond of January, they, with difficulty, rejoined the fleet.

Theſe diſappointments proved fatally afflicting to Sir Francis Drake, who, accuſtomed to victory, was unable to ſupport the loſs of it; and, yielding to the dejection of his mind, contracted a nervous fever, which deprived him of life, at the age of fifty-one, and on the twenty eighth of January, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five. Such was the end of this illuſtrious hero, whoſe memory (to borrow the expreſſion of a naval hiſtorian *(f)*,) will ſurvive as long as the duration of that world which he firſt ſurrounded *(g)*.

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 563.

(g) The particulars relating to this laſt expedition are taken from the hiſtory of a voyage into the Weſt-Indies, made by Sir Francis Drake, &c. &c. London, 1652. Quarto.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 583.—Camden's Annals, p. 700.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 309.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 562, 563.—Engliſh Hero, p. 206.—Roberti Johnſtoni Rerum Britannicarum Hiſtoria, Lib. 8. p. 208.——Purchas, V. 4. p. 582.—Sir William Monſon's Tracts.—Drake Revived.

The characters of individuals are, with few exceptions, the most accurately traced in the writings of discerning, and unprejudiced contemporaries. To these, therefore, we shall apply; and, next, present the reader with observations of a later date.

The following is a parallel between Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins. The author of it (*h*) had the honour of serving under both commanders.

"They were alike given to travelling, in their "youth, and in their more mature years. They both "attempted many honourable voyages; as, that of Sir "John Hawkins, to Guinea, to the isles of America, "and to Saint Juan de Ullua: So likewise, Sir Francis "Drake, after many discoveries in the West-Indies, "and other parts, was the first Englishman that ever "compassed the globe, in which, as well as in his "great knowledge in sea-affairs, he far exceeded "not only Sir John Hawkins, but all others. In their "natures, and dispositions, they differed as much, as "in their management in war. Sir Francis was of a "lively spirit; resolute, quick, and sufficiently vali-"ant; Sir John was slow, jealous, and difficult to be "brought to a resolution. In council, Sir John Haw-"kins did often differ from the judgment of others, "making a shew, in difficult cases, of knowing more "than he would declare. Sir Francis was a willing "hearer of the opinion of every man, but, com-"monly, a follower of his own. He never attempted "any action, wherein he was an absolute command-"er, but he performed it with great reputation, and "could go through the weightiest concerns, with won-"derful ease. On the contrary, Sir John Hawkins "was

(*h*) See the letter signed R. M. in Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 582.

"was an undertaker of great things; but, for the "most part, without fortune, or ſucceſs. Sir John "Hawkins naturally hated land ſoldiers, and, al- "though he was very popular, affected to keep com- "pany with common people, rather than his equals. "Sir Francis, on the contrary, loved the land-ſol- "diers, always encouraged, and preferred merit, where- "ſoever he found it, and was affable, and of eaſy ac- "ceſs. They had both many virtues, and agreed in "ſome; as in patience in enduring labours, and "hardſhips; obſervation, and remembrance of "things paſt; and great diſcretion in ſudden dan- "gers. In other virtues, they differed: Sir John "Hawkins was merciful, apt to forgive, and faithful "to his word; Sir Francis Drake hard to be recon- "ciled, but conſtant in friendſhip; and withal, at the "ſame time, ſevere, and courteous; magnanimous "and liberal. They were both ambitious to a "fault; but one more than the other; for, Sir Fran- "cis had an inſatiable thirſt after honour, beyond all "reaſon. He was full of promiſes, and more temper- "ate in adverſity, than in proſperity (*i*). He had "likewiſe ſome other imperfections; as quickneſs to "anger; bitterneſs in diſgracing; and was too much "pleaſed with ſordid flattery. Sir John Hawkins had "malice, with diſſimulation; rudeneſs in behaviour; "and was covetous in the laſt degree. They were "both alike happy in being great commanders, but "not equally ſucceſsful. They both grew famous by "the ſame means, that is, by their own virtues, cou- "rage, and the fortune of the ſea. There was no "compariſon, however, between their merits, taken in "general, for, therein Sir Francis far exceeded."

(*i*) The deſpondency which preceded his death but ill agrees with this aſſertion.

The ſucceeding character of our illuſtrious adventurer was drawn by a diſtinguiſhed writer (*k*), whoſe applauſe appears of ſome weight, as being mixed with cenſure.

"I have laboured, in all my relation, to walk uprightly, and with integrity, neither ſwaying to the one hand, nor bending to the other; I have endeavoured to carry my intentions ſo equally, as not to deſerve blame for too much commending, nor reproof, for detracting more than truth leads me; and as I have begun ſo indifferently, ſo will I continue as ſincely, and ſay ſomething of this noble gentleman, Sir Francis Drake."

"There is no man ſo perfect, but is fit to be amended; nor none ſo evil, but he has ſomething in him to be praiſed. Comparing the imperfections of Sir Francis Drake, with his perfections, the world, and not I, ſhall truly judge of his merits."

"His detractors lay to his charge the baſeneſs of his birth, and education; his oſtentation, and vainglorious boaſting; his high, haughty, and inſolent carriage; and they except againſt his ſufficiency for a general, although they allow him to be an able captain."

"His friends, and favourers anſwer, in his behalf, that the meanneſs of his birth was an argument of his worth; for, what he attained to, was by no other means than his merit. They ſay, that every man is ſon to his works; and what one hath by his anceſtors can ſcarcely be called his own; that virtue is the cauſe of preferment, and honour but the effect; that a man is more to be eſteemed for being virtuous, than being called worſhipful; the one is a title of honour, the other of deſert."

"Marius,

(*k*) Sir William Monſon.

"Marius, being upbraided by Sylla, in the like man-
"ner, for the baſeneſs of his birth, and the haughti-
"neſs of his carriage, anſwered; that he was not of
"ſo great a family as Sylla, yet Sylla could not deny
"but that he was the better man; for, in Sylla's houſe
"were painted the acts of his fore-fathers; but in
"his, were hung up the banners, that he himſelf had
"won from his enemy."

"In vindication of the pride of Sir Francis Drake,
"they ſay that it was not inherent to him alone, but
"to moſt men of his profeſſion, and rank. It is true,
"that he would ſpeak much, and arrogantly, but elo-
"quently, which bred a wonder in many, that his
"education could yield him thoſe helps of nature.
"Indeed, he had four properties to further his gift of
"ſpeaking; his boldneſs of ſpeech, his underſtanding
"in what he ſpoke, his inclination to ſpeak, and his
"uſe in ſpeaking; and although vain-glory is a vice
"not to be excuſed, yet he obtained that fame, by
"his actions; that facility, in ſpeaking; and that
"wiſdom, by his experience, that I can ſay no more,
"but that we are all the children of Adam."

"His friends go farther, and obſerve that his haugh-
"ty, and high carriage is ſomewhat excuſable, when
"it appears not but in his command; for a general
"ought to be ſtern towards his ſoldiers; courageous,
"in his perſon, valiant in fight, generous in giving,
"patient in ſuffering, and merciful in pardoning: and,
"if Sir Francis Drake was to be praiſed for moſt of
"theſe virtues, let him not be blamed, or condemned
"for one only vice. Many times, where a man
"ſeeks obedience, it is imputed to his pride, and high
"carriage; but if hatred grew upon envy, (as it is
"likely,) it appeared greater than if it had been
"grounded upon injury."

"The exceptions againſt him, by thoſe, that "condemned him as an ill general, are, his neglect of "furniſhing his fleet to the Indies, in the year, one "thouſand, five hundred, and eighty five; his not "keeping Santo Domingo, and Carthagena, when he "was poſſeſſed of them, in that voyage; his weak pre-"paration for ſuch an expedition as that to Portugal; "his promiſe to go up to Liſbon, that voyage, and his "non-performance; and the ſeizure of the pinnace, "in his way to the Indies, which diſcovered his di-"rections in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, "and ninety-five. Without entering into theſe par-"ticulars, here, I ſhall ſpeak of him, as a private cap-"tain, and eſpecially, of his renowned voyage about "the world, being the firſt attempt of that nature, "that ever was performed by any nation, except the "Spaniards themſelves, (and they only with Magel-"lan, and his company.) It was the more honour to "him, in that the ſtreight of Magellan was counted "ſo terrible in thoſe days, that the very thoughts of "attempting it was dreadful; ſecondly, in that it had "been but once paſſed, and but by one ſhip that ever "returned into Europe; and that above ſixty-nine "years previous to his enterprize. His praiſe was that "he could carry a voluntary action ſo diſcreetly, ſo "patiently, and ſo reſolutely, in ſo tedious, and un-"known a navigation, the condition of ſeamen being "apt to repine and murmur. But, laſtly, and princi-"pally, that after ſo many miſeries, and extremities "which he endured, and almoſt two years ſpent in "unpracticed ſeas, when reaſon would have warned "him to ſeek home, for his reſt, he left his known "courſe, and ventured upon an unknown ſea, in for-"ty-eight degrees; which ſea, or paſſage, we know "had been often attempted, but never diſcovered."

"This

"This enterprize alone muſt ſilence all his detrac-
"tors. It ſhewed an extraordinary reſolution; a de-
"ſire to enrich, and benefit his country; and a ſingu-
"lar patience to endure the diſaſters, and miſhaps to
"which he, and his aſſociates were expoſed."

"Yet he muſt not go ſo clear without ſtain, or
"blemiſh. It ſhould be known, that although he de-
"ſerved well in the direction, and carriage of his
"journey, yet the ground of this expedition was un-
"juſt."

"No man had more experience of the inconſtancy
"of fortune than Sir Francis. The nature of fortune
"is to bite, when ſhe flatters, and to ſtrike when ſhe is
"angry."

"What his birth and other deſerts were, needs no
"reiteration. Fortune did much for him; but, at
"his death, ſhe was incenſed againſt him; firſt, in
"that there was a doubt whether it was natural; ſe-
"condly, (and the beſt that his friends can ſay, is
"that it was cauſed by grief,) for failing of his ex-
"pectation in that voyage; thirdly, notwithſtanding
"his meritorious ſervices, his heir was proſecuted,
"and perplexed for debts, and accounts to the
"crown; and laſtly, he died, like Pizarro and Alma-
"gro, without a child to ſucceed him, and perpetuate
"his memory."

Were it poſſible to ſet aſide thoſe wanton exceſſes of barbarity by which the heroes of that age ſo frequently diſgraced their conqueſts, we might aſſent to the opinion of a diſcerning writer (*l*), and allow that the ſole actions of his life which expoſed him to a juſt, and heavy cenſure, was the unrelenting ſeverity with which Sir Francis Drake enforced the execution of an active,

(*l*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 565.

active, brave, and skilful officer. This unhappy victim (of the name of Doughty, and second in command,) stood charged with having endeavoured to excite a mutiny in the fleet, and concerted measures for the destruction of the admiral. The natural turbulence of his temper appeared to give some colour to the accusation; but, if we can trust the evidence of history, his guilt was ascertained by testimonies which could not be disputed; his private papers, and his own confession (*m*). During his trial, more than forty of the chief persons on board of the fleet sat as jurymen, and, by their verdict, declared him to be guilty. Although cast for death, he received the liberty of chusing, out of three situations, one to which it was necessary that he should be reduced; and, if he had felt an inclination to evade the execution of the sentence, he might have been either separated from his associates, and left at port Saint Julian, or sent to England, not to suffer immediately on his arrival, but to enjoy the benefit of a second trial. His option was instant death, and, in consequence of it, he was directed to prepare for a submission to his fate.

Thus far the conduct of Sir Francis Drake seems not deserving of reproach; but by what arguments shall we vindicate the barbarous profligacy of that man, who having made himself the active instrument to bring the criminal to justice for those injuries which he had received from him, could withold a pardon (which as a judge and chief commander, he had the full power of granting,) in the moment after he had partaken with him of that sacrament which was instituted by the saviour who directs us to forgive, as we expect

(*m*) Life of Sir Francis Drake, in Winstanley's English Worthies.—Hacklnyt, V. 3. p. 733.—Winter's Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, p. 752.

expect to be forgiven? Occasions have arisen to justify an adherence to strict discipline, and the severity of the law; yet it is needless to observe that both should be removed whensoever the prosecutor, who is invested with the power of punishing, becomes the partner of the offender in the performance of those ceremonies, one great foundation of which is the hope of mercy, in return for mercy (*n*).

It may be necessary to observe that the enemies of Sir Francis had insinuated that Doughty was sent, on this enterprize, purposely that he might be deprived of Life, as a punishment for his presumption in having

(*n*) On the morning which preceded his execution, Doughty received the sacrament with Drake, and other officers belonging to the fleet. He, next, dined with them, at the same table, and, in the midst of convivial chearfulness, after, having drunk to the prosperity, and health of every person present, rose, and with equal fortitude, and submission, proceeded to the place of execution, where, at one blow, his head was severed from his body. There is something shocking in the idea, that almost in the very hour of punishment, prosecutors, evidences, judges, and the criminal should mix together at a social entertainment. It is at least sufficient to justify the current report that he was cut off by Drake, as being the emulator of his glory. Humanity was not the prevailing characteristic of this celebrated adventurer: yet cruelties appear to have been countenanced by the practice of the times; and the advocates of Sir Francis were accustomed to extol his lenity, because, during his voyage round the world, he had only put Doughty to death: abandoned a Portuguese (whom he had taken under his protection, near the coast of Africa,) to the vengeance of the Spaniards, at Aguatulco; and left a female negro alone on a deserted island, after she had become pregnant in consequence of an intercourse with one of his associates. This unhappy woman had been presented to him, by a Spaniard, in return for the preservation of his ship.

ing charged the earl of Leicester, with the murder of the earl of Essex, whose death was the effect of poison. The abandoned disposition of Leicester might have given an air of probability to any suggestion, in a case where he only was concerned (*o*); but it is more than difficult to suppose that Drake was not too brave, and open in his temper, to assume the office of a designing ruffian; nor could he, without having been lost to every sense of gratitude, and honour, so far forget his obligations to the earl of Essex, the first, and most liberal of all his patrons, as to become an accessary to the destruction of Doughty, merely because he had endeavoured to bring to justice the murderer of that unfortunate, and injured lord. We shall conclude this memoir with some miserably-composed, and (let us hope,) ill-grounded stanzas relating to this affair. They have already been introduced by a naval writer (*p*), from a book (*q*) which he calls the fullest account of the matter that hath fallen within his knowledge; and he adds that it contains much true history, although, there may be ample reasons to imagine that it is interspersed with falsities.

"I doubted

(*o*) The poisoning of Essex was the more generally attributed to Leicester, because the latter married Lettice, (the daughter of Sir Francis Knolles, and the widow of the former, soon after the decease of her husband. She was suspected of a criminal familiarity with Leicester, during the life-time of her first lord. See, "Reporte of the Deathe of "the Earle of Essex," in Hearne's Preface to "Camdeni Elizabetha," Sect. 16.—Hemingi Chartular. Eccles. Wigorn. —Winstanley's English Worthies, in the life of Sir Francis Drake.

(*p*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 1. p. 566.

(*q*) Leicester's Ghost (a Poem written by father Parsons, chiefly from Leicester's Commonwealth.) Quarto. 1641.

" I doubted left that Doughty would bewray
" My counfel, and with other party take;
" Wherefore, the fooner him to rid away,
" I fent him forth to fea, with captain Drake,
" Who knew how t'entertaine him for my fake.
" Before he went, his lot by me was cafte,
" His death was plotted, and performed in hafte.

" He hoped well; but I did fo difpofe
" That he at Port Saint Gillian loft his head;
" Having no time permitted to difclofe
" The inward griefs that in his heart were bred.
" We need not fear the biting of the dead.
" Now let him go, tranfported to the feas,
" And tell my fecrets to th' Antipodes" (*r*).

(*r*) The arms of Sir Francis Drake were, fable, a fefs wavy, between two pole-ftars, argent; and the creft, a fhip on a globe, under ruff, the cable of it holden by a hand iffuing from the clouds. Above was the following motto, AUXILIO DIVINO; and underneath, SIC PARVIS MAGNA. To the rigging was affixed, by the talons, a Wyverne, gules. This laft was the paternal coat of Sir Bernard Drake, a brave, and enterprizing feaman, whofe arms Sir Francis had formerly affumed, and from whom, he on that account had received a fevere blow on the face. The queen took up the quarrel, forbad the parties to fhew any farther refentment, and gave to Sir Francis Drake thofe arms which have been already mentioned. By the Wyverne hanging in the fhrouds, Elizabeth feems to have infinuated her contempt for Sir Bernard.—Prince's worthies of Devonfhire. (To this author the preceding ftory was communicated by Sir Robert Drake, Baronet, a direct defcendant from Sir Bernard.)—The glory of generofity, by John Ferne. London, 1586. Quarto. p. 144, 145.

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MEMOIRS

OF

Sir JOHN HAWKINS.

THIS celebrated ſeaman (deſcended from a reputable family, and born at Plymouth, in the county of Devon,) was the ſon of William Hawkins, by Joan, the daughter of William Trelawny, a gentleman poſſeſſed of a conſiderable eſtate in Cornwall. The Parents of our adventurer, pleaſed with his early paſſion for naval knowledge, and the ſtudy of the mathematics, were careful that he ſhould be inſtructed, not only in the theory of theſe ſciences, but of all which could enable him to ſhine, with diſtinguiſhed luſtre, at the future periods of his life. Theſe accompliſhments were ſoon reduced to practice, and previous to his twentieth year, he had ſailed to Spain, to Portugal, and the Canaaries. During that Æra, ſuch enterprizes were deemed extraordinary; and, as few adventurers had undertaken them, the maritime, and commercial abilities of Hawkins ſecured

to

to him a decided superiority over the generality of his contemporaries (*a*).

The particular circumstances relating to these expeditions are not mentioned by historians; nor is there extant a minute detail of the adventures of William Hawkins, the father, a naval officer of great abilities, and experience, esteemed by Elizabeth, endeared to his fellow-subjects, and (at a period when an eagerness to acquire fame by maritime exploits was one of the ruling passions of the people,) particularly respected, as the first Englishman who had made a voyage to the Brazils (*b*).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-two, the gallant officer who is the subject of this memoir, having acquired, during his residence at the Canaries, an extensive knowledge of the slave-trade, and being much allured by the prospect of those pecuniary advantages which resulted from the sale of negroes, in the West-Indies, applied, for assistance in the enterprize, to the chief merchants of the port of London. Amongst these, were Mr. Gunson, his father in law, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, and Mr. Bromfield, who immediately contributing the necessary sums, directed our adventurer to equip such vessels as might be proper for the voyage (*c*).

In the Autumn of the same year, the preparations were concluded, and Hawkins departed, instantly, with three

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.—Prince's Worthies of Devonshire, p. 389.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 534.

(*b*) Hackluyt, V. 2 p. 520.

(*c*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1179.

three Ships (*d*), for Teneriff, where he arrived, towards the middle of October, and obtained a fresh supply of water, and provisions. From this island, he sailed to Sierra Leona (*e*), on the coast of Guinea, where, remaining during some time, he acquired, partly, by force of arms, and, partly, by purchase, three hundred slaves, and such valuable commodities as were the produce of the country.

From Sierra Leona, he steered his course towards port Isabella, in the island of Hispaniola, in the west Indies. Here, he disposed advantageously of several of the negroes, and some articles of merchandize. His next port was Puerto de Plata, where he traded as at the former place; but with great circumspection, lest the Spaniards, who secretly meditated the destruction of the English, should rise, and execute their purposes. He, next, sailed to Monte Christi, another harbour on the northern side of Hispaniola, where he was suffered to trade peaceably with the natives, and had the good fortune to sell the remaining number of his negroes.

Successful, even beyond his sanguine expectations, he not only laded his own ships with Quantities of pearls, hides, ginger, sugar, and other articles, but dispatched for Spain two hulks, consigned to merchants, and richly freighted with the various commodities of the country adjoining to Monte Christi. Having thus happily concluded his commercial intercourse, he,

(*d*) These were the Solomon, (John Hawkins, admiral,) of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons; the Swallow, (Thomas Hampton, captain,) of the burthen of one hundred tons; and the Jonas, a bark of the burthen of forty tons. The total number of men amounted only to one hundred.

(*e*) Called by the natives, Tagarin.

he, without proceeding farther within the bay, returned by the islands of Caycos, and, towards the conclusion of the month of September, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-three, arrived in England *(f)*.

On his succeeding expedition, this spirited adventurer was furnished with two ships, and two barks. These were the Jesus, of Lubec, of the burthen of seven hundred tons; the Solomon, of the burthen of one hundred, and forty tons; the Tyger, of the burthen of fifty tons; and the Swallow, of the burthen of thirty tons. With this squadron, he departed from Plymouth, on the eighteenth of October *(g)*, and, at the distance of nearly ten leagues from the harbour, fell in with two ships; (on their passage to Guinea,) the Minion, belonging to the royal navy, and commanded by David Carlot; and the John Baptist, equipped by the port of London. This last vessel sailed afterwards in company with Hawkins; but the Minion proceeded in search of the Merlin, another ship, from which she had separated some days before.

On the twenty-first a violent storm arose, during which the Jesus, the Solomon, and the Tyger, received considerable damage, and were parted from the John Baptist, and the Swallow. These, on the twenty-third, rejoined the fleet, at the of distance about ten leagues from Cape Finisterre.

On the twenty-seventh, and whilst the wind continued unfavourable, the English entered the port of Ferrol in Galicia, where they remained, during five days. On the twenty-eighth, they were joined by the

(f) Hackluyt's voyages, v. 3. p. 500.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 1. p. 535.—Lediard's naval history, v. 1. p. 141.

(g) A. D. 1564.

the Minion, the captain of which related the melancholy catastrophe which befel the crew, belonging to the Merlin. This vessel took fire, and blew up. Soon afterwards, her hulk sunk to the bottom of the ocean. A small number of the mariners were taken up by the boat which captain Carlot had sent to their assistance. These were miserably scorched; the rest either perished amidst the waves, or were burned to death.

On the thirtieth, the ships renewed their course; on the fourth of November, they descried the island of Madeira; and, on the sixth, arrived at Teneriff. Having remained here, during a fortnight, they set sail, and, on the twenty-fifth reached Cape Blanco, on the coast of Africa. Waiting only to obtain fresh water, fish, and other provisions, they soon proceeded on their voyage, and, after a passage of four days, arrived at Cape de Verd, in the latitude of fourteen degrees, and a half, on the twenty-ninth of the same month. At this place it was the design of Hawkins to seize upon several negroes, by force of arms; but the crew belonging to the Minion, either purposely, or through inadvertence, had warned these wretched victims to the tyranny of their fellow creatures to secure themselves from the impending danger; and they preserved their liberty by flying to the recesses of the woods.

Thus baffled in his views, our adventurer proceeded on his course (*h*), and soon (*i*) reached the island of Alcatrarsa, where the Jesus and the Solomon cast anchor, whilst the two barks sailed immediately to the island of La Formio, at which an armed body of eighty men disembarked, and pursued a multitude of negroes, who ran with such swiftness, that the English, in despair gave up the chace, and returned on board.

(*h*) December 7th. (*i*) December 8th.

On the fourteenth, they arrived at the island of Sambula, and, remaining there during several days, were employed either in seizing the inhabitants, or plundering, and setting fire to the towns. On the twenty-first, having secured the slaves on board, and obtained great quantities of provisions, they renewed their course, and, on the day following, entered the river of Callousa, at the mouth of which the two ships dropped anchor, whilst the Tyger, and the Swallow, accompanied by the pinnace of the John Baptist, and the boat belonging to the Solomon, proceeded up the river, and, soon afterwards, returned with two caravals, deeply laden with slaves.

On the twenty-seventh, having received information from the Portuguese, that the neighbouring town of Bymba abounded with gold, and was filled with negroes, the English disembarked, and, in armed bodies, marched forwards to reduce it. Instigated by avarice, they neglected the means of preservation; and, dividing themselves into small parties, for the purpose of securing a larger portion of the plunder, they became exposed to a more violent resistance from the negroes, who lost only ten of their associates, nor retreated into the town until they had wounded twenty-seven of the English, and killed Mr. Field, (the commander of the Solomon,) and six of his Companions. This calamity was rendered more afflicting to the survivors, by an event not less distressful: on the day following, four men were devoured, and a fifth was miserably torn, in several parts of his body, by the Sharks.

At the conclusion of the month, the English proceeded on their voyage, and soon afterwards, (whilst the barks, and boats passed up the river Casferoes,) dropped anchor at Taggarin (*k*). Here, they remained

(*k*) January 1, 1565.

mained until the twenty-eighth of January, when, having procured as many negroes as could be admitted within their veſſels, they ſet ſail for the Weſt Indies. During eighteen days, the fleet was detained by calms, and did not reach the iſland of Dominica, until the eighth of March, at which period the freſh water was expended, and the crews, languiſhing under the want of neceſſaries, deſpaired of preſervation. A barbarous race of cannibals infeſted the adjoining ſhore, and the Engliſh, who were not ignorant that the conſequence of being taken by the ſavages muſt be inſtant death, had no alternative but to periſh through exceſs of thirſt, or run the riſk of falling a dreadful ſacrifice to the ferocious diſpoſition of their fellow-creatures, who would firſt kill, and next devour them. As their ſituation was become intolerable, they, at once, determined to diſembark, and, after having wandered around the country, unnoticed by the cannibals, procured an inconſiderable quantity of rain water, which had deſcended from the ſummits of the hills, and was lodged within the cavities of the vales.

On the tenth, they departed from Dominica, and, in ſix days, arrived at the iſland of Margarita, where a Spaniſh officer ſupplied them with ſheep, and bullocks; a kindneſs which appears to have been diſpleaſing to the governor, who not only forbad the Engliſh to trade with any of the natives, but obliged them to ſend back a pilot whom they had already hired, nor ſuffered them to depart until he had diſpatched a caravel to Saint Domingo, and the neighbouring coaſts, in order that the inhabitants might be prepared for a defence, and, at the ſame time, exclude them from the liberty of commerce.

From Margarita, the Engliſh ſailed towards Santa Fe, ſituated on the continent, and, immediately after their

arrival (*l*), were so fortunate as to obtain a large supply of fresh water, and various articles of provision. On the twenty-eighth they weighed anchor, and passed, in the course of the succeeding day between the continent, and the island of Tortugas. Still steering within sight of land, they, on the third of April, reached the town of Burburoata, where Hawkins remained, during fourteen days, preserving every appearance of peace, and repeatedly solliciting for the permission to engage in commerce with the natives. An Order was, at length, issued by the governor, to the officers of the customs, who were to admit the English to the liberty of trading, on the payment of certain duties, for the benefit of the king of Spain. These were so exorbitant as not only to strike at all profit, but to expose the English (if they had imprudently complied,) to severe losses. Incensed at these proceedings, our adventurer now dropped the language of intreaty, and determined to obtain by violence those advantages of which the governor had endeavoured to deprive him. On the sixteenth, he disembarked, at the head of an hundred men in arms, and marching instantly to the town, so intimidated the Spaniards, by menaces of resentment, that they promised to assist him in the purchase, and disposal of effects, on the payment of an equitable duty.

When this commercial intercourse was concluded to the mutual advantages of the parties, the English renewed their course (*m*), and, on the sixth of May, reached the island of Curacao, with the natives of which, they maintained a profitable traffic, and, exclusive of a variety of provisions, received Oxen, Sheep, and lambs, in return for different articles of European

(*l*) January 22, 1565. (*m*) May 4th.

European merchandize. Thoſe laſt were leſs valuable than the hides alone of thoſe animals for which they were exchanged.

On the fifteenth, the fleet departed from Curacao, and, ſailing by the iſland of Aruba, caſt anchor on the ſeventh, near the weſtern promontory of Cabo de Vela. They, next, arrived at La Rancheria, the pearl-fiſhery of the Spaniards, and, on the nineteenth, entered the port of Rio de la Hacha. When Hawkins requeſted that he might be allowed to trade with the inhabitants, the treaſurer of the king of Spain ſent a poſitive refuſal. The appearance of an hundred Engliſhmen in arms, and threatening to attack the town, induced this officer, although reluctantly, to comply with their requeſt. They were permitted to exchange European articles for ſuch commodities as they wanted.

On the thirty firſt of May, they ſet ſail for Hiſpaniola, but, driven by the violence of the currents to the Leeward, were ſo unfortunate as to miſs their paſſage, and fall in with the iſland of Jamaica. Miſtaking this for Hiſpaniola, they not only proceeded beyond it, but continued their courſe to a great diſtance from Santa Croce, in Cuba; an event, in conſequence of which they were reduced to great perplexities. On the ſixteenth of June, they touched at the iſle of Pinas, and departing from it, the next day, made Cape Saint Anthony, at the weſtern extremity of the iſle of Cuba. The winds, which blew violently from the ſhore, drove the ſhips into the open ſea, and they ſteered their courſe to the north-weſt, until the twenty-ninth, when they reached the ſoundings of Florida.

On the fifth of July, they approached the iſlands of Tortugas, and, next endeavoured to proceed to the Havannah. Relying too implicitly on the Judgment of a

Frenchman, who asserted that he possessed a perfect knowledge of the situation of the neighbouring seas, they lost their passage, and were thenceforward unable to make the port at which they wished so eagerly to arrive.

The fleet now steered along the coast of Florida, and, on the twenty-eighth, being furnished with provisions, and all necessaries, prepared for a return to England. Arriving near the banks of Newfoundland (*n*), they were so fortunate as to procure great Quantities of Cod-fish, and soon afterwards, with the advantage of a favourable wind, renewed their course, and, on the twentieth of September, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-five, arrived (with a valuable lading of jewels, pearls, gold, silver, and other articles,) at Padstow, in the county of Cornwall (*o*), (*p*).

At the commencement of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-seven, this celebrated adventurer sailed to the relief of the French protestants, in Rochelle (*q*), and, returning to England, towards the close of the ensuing summer, made the necessary preparations

(*n*) August 23d.

(*o*) Stowe's annals, p. 807.—Prince's worthies of Devonshire, p. 389.—Hackluyt's voyages, v. 3. p. 501.—Purchas, v. 4. p. 1179.—Lediard's naval history, v. 1. p. 142.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 1. p. 536.

(*p*) We are informed by Prince, who examined the original patent, that Harvey, the clarencieux king at arms, granted to Hawkins, at his return, a new crest, being a demi-moor, proper, and bound with a cord. It is more than doubtful whether that augmentation can be deemed honourable, which must remind us that the person who first bore it had been concerned in enterprizes which rendered him at war with all the feelings of humanity.

(*q*) Prince's worthies of Devonshire, p. 389.—Strype's annals, v. 2.

parations for his third voyage to Guinea, and the West-Indies.

On this expedition, captain Hawkins again took the command of the Jesus, of Lubec, and was accompanied by the Angel, the Swallow, the Minion, the Hampton, the William and John, and the Judith (*r*). On the second of October, the fleet departed from Plymouth, and, during the five succeeding days, enjoyed the advantage of mild weather, and favourable breezes, but on the sixth were so exposed to the violence of a storm, that all the ships were separated for some time, and the Jesus became nearly disabled from proceeding on the voyage. At length, the tempest ceased, and, on the eleventh, the English renewed their course.

On their arrival at Guinea, they prepared for an attempt to seize the negroes, and during several skirmishes, in which numbers of their men were slain, overpowered, and secured five hundred slaves. With these miserable wretches, they departed, on the third of February, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and sixty-eight, for the Spanish islands in the West-Indies, where the sale of them was declared legal, in consequence of a former treaty which had been entered into by the emperor Charles the fifth and Henry, the eighth, of England, and still continued in full force.

On the twenty-seventh of March, the ships came within sight of Dominica. From thence, they proceeded successively to Margarita, Carthagena, and Cabode la Vela, where the commercial intercourse, although acquired with difficulty, was attended with considerable

(*r*) The Judith was commanded by Sir Francis Drake.—See p. 83. of this volume.

ſiderable ſucceſs. At Rio de la Hacha, our adventurer, and his aſſociates were leſs fortunate, nor could they by repeated intreaties, prevail upon the Spaniards to ſuffer them to trade. Determined to accompliſh their deſigns, they now commenced hoſtilities, and marching towards the town, reduced it, after a ſhort engagement, during which, only two of their men were ſlain. Thus driven to the neceſſity of complying, the vanquiſhed engaged in traffic with their conquerors, but ſtipulated that their bargains ſhould be private, and made only in the night-time.

On the ſixteenth of September, the ſhips which had been ſhattered by the tempeſts, near the coaſt of Florida, caſt anchor in the harbour of Saint Juan de Ulloa, at the extremity of the bay of Mexico. The inhabitants, concluding that they were arrived from Spain, repaired immediately on board, and were much terrified on the diſcovery of their miſtake. When they obſerved the courteous behaviour of Hawkins, and his officers, their fears ſubſided, and they ſeemed diſpoſed to place a confidence in the profeſſions of the former, who declared that his ſole views in entering the port were to refit his fleet, and obtain a freſh ſupply of water, and proviſions. The only act of violence which he committed was againſt the perſons of two Spaniards of diſtinguiſhed rank, who were detained as hoſtages, until the return of meſſengers diſpatched to Mexico, with an account of his demands. He could, unreſiſted, have attacked, and, taken twelve merchant ſhips, the cargoes of which were valued at two hundred thouſand pounds, but fearful that ſuch a conduct might expoſe him to the reſentment of the queen, he prudently declined it.

On the day following, the Spaniſh fleet appeared in ſight; a circumſtance particularly diſtreſſing to our adven-

adventurer, who was checked in the resolution of opposing their passage into the harbour only by the consciousness that Elizabeth could never be induced to pardon so violent an hostility committed against a power with whom her subjects were not at war (s). On the other hand, he was no less sensible that if the Spaniards were suffered to moor their vessels, and disembark, they would repay his lenity by some immediate injury. After a short deliberation, he resolved to admit the fleet, on the condition that the recently appointed vice-roy of Mexico, who was on board, should direct the inhabitants to supply the English with provisions, at reasonable prices, and also to surrender to them the island, together with eleven pieces of brass cannon, for ther defence, until the time of their departure. These things were, at first, disdainfully rejected, yet, at a subsequent conference with Hawkins, the vice-roy not only signified his assent, but gave ten hostages for the performance of the promise.

The follow is (with few variations,) the copy of an account which was written by the celebrated adventurer who is the subject of this memoir, and may claim the notice of the reader as a lively picture of the perfidy of the Spaniards, and the distresses of the English (t).

"Thus, at the close of three days, the treaty was "concluded, and the Spanish ships entered the port, "whilst

(s) Such was the natural situation of the haven, that Hawkins could, with ease, have prevented the Spaniards from entering within it. In their attempt to overcome the opposition, they must inevitably have suffered shipwreck, on the coast; and this calamity would, in all probability, have been attended with the loss of the treasure, which amounted nearly to two millions sterling.

(t) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 522, 523.

" whilst the two fleets saluted. We then laboured to " place the English, and the inhabitants of Saint Juan, " separately, the captains, and seamen of each party, " promising to assist by friendly offices. Our professions " were as sincere, as theirs were treacherous; for, they " had procured, from the continent, a reinforcement " of a thousand men, and had resolved, at noon of the " ensuing twenty-third of September, to attack us, on " every side."

" At day-break, when the time fixed for the exe- " cution of their villainy was near at hand, we began " to discover some signs of it; such as the shifting of " arms from one vessel to another; the planting, and " levelling of their cannon from their ships towards " the island, where our men had the guard; com- " panies of soldiers moving to, and fro, more than " their common occupations could require, and many " other circumstances which gave rise to violent sus- " picions. We therefore sent to the vice-roy (who " had signed the agreement,) to inquire what could be " the meaning of these proceedings. He immediately " gave strict orders that every cause of distrust should " be removed, and assured us that he, 'on the faith of " a vice-roy,' would be our defence against all trea- " chery. As this answer was far from proving satis- " factory, and reasons existed for supposing that num- " bers of men were concealed in a large ship of the " burthen of nine hundred tons, which was moored " next to the Minion, we sent the master of the Jesus, " who understood the Spanish language, a second time " to the vice-roy, who was intreated to represent " matters in their true light. This officer, perceiv- " ing that it was impossible longer to conceal his trea- " chery, detained the master; and causing the trump- " ets to be sounded, encouraged the Spaniards to at-

" tack

"tack us, at once, on every ſide. Our men, on ſhore, "intimidated by theſe ſudden, and unforeſeen hoſtili-"ties, endeavoured to regain their ſhips; but the Spa-"niards landed their troops in ſuch multitudes, that "only a ſmall number of the Engliſh got on board of "the Jeſus; the reſt were refuſed quarter, and bar-"barouſly ſlain. The great Spaniſh ſhip, in which "nearly three hundred ſoldiers had ſecretly embarked, "immediately attacked the Minion. But, as the perfi-"dy of the Spaniards had been ſuſpected by the crew, "not long before, they had ſlipped her cables, and "contrived to clear her from the harbour. Thus diſ-"appointed, our enemies in the great ſhip, and two "more veſſels, aſſailed the Jeſus, which likewiſe, al-"though with great difficulty, and the loſs of ſeveral "of the mariners, got out to ſea."

"No ſooner had the Jeſus, and the Minion proceed-"ed about the length of two ſhips from the Spaniſh "fleet, than the fight began to be ſo warm on all "ſides, that within the ſpace of an hour, the Spaniſh "admiral, and another veſſel were ſunk, and the vice-"admiral was burned; ſo that from their veſſels we "were not in danger of receiving any great injury."

"In the mean time, the cannon of the iſland had "fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, and it was by "them that we were principally annoyed. The "maſts, yards, and rigging of the Jeſus, were ſo "ſhattered that we had no hopes of clearing her "from the enemy. As our ſmall ſhips were alſo ſunk "by their artillery, we determined ſo to ſtation the "Minion, that the Jeſus might lie between her, and the "ſhore, and prove, as it were, a fence to ſecure her "from the cannon of the Spaniards, until night, "when it was propoſed to take ſuch proviſions, and

"neceſ-

" neceſſaries out of the Jeſus, as could conveniently " be ſaved; and then to leave her."

" Whilſt we were thus conſulting, and endeavour- " ing to place the Minion out of danger from the ſhot " which was directed from the ſhore, the Spaniards ſet " fire to two great ſhips, and ſuffered them to drive " violently down towards us. Alarmed at the approach " of theſe veſſels, the crew belonging to the Minion, " without waiting for the conſent either of the cap- " tain, or of the maſter, ſet ſail, but with ſuch preci- " pitation, and diſorder, that it was not without the " greateſt difficulty that I was received on board."

" The greater number of the men who were left " alive in the Jeſus contrived to follow the Minion, in " a ſmall boat; but the reſt, unable to enter it, were " left to the mercy of the Spaniards. Thus the Mi- " nion, with only one ſmall bark, of the burthen of " fifty tons, and the Judith, eſcaped from the purſuits " of our enemies; yet, at night, the laſt veſſel for- " ſook us. We now remained alone, poſſeſſed only of " two anchors, and two cables. Our ſhip was ſo da- " maged that it was difficult to keep her above water; " and of the crew, a great number were nearly deſ- " titute of proviſions. Concerning meaſures the moſt " proper to be taken, our opinions were divided. " Some urged the neceſſity of ſurrendering to the Spa- " niards: others were more inclined to truſt to the " mercy of the ſavages; and a third party deemed it " more eligible to keep the ſea, notwithſtanding that " the allowance of victuals was ſcarcely ſufficient for " the preſervation of our lives."

" In this alarming ſituation, we roved, during the " ſpace of fourteen days, over the unknown ocean, " and until the exceſs of famine obliged us once " more

"more to seek the land. Such was our misery, that "hides were esteemed palatable food. Of rats, mice, "cats, and dogs, not one which we could seize "escaped us; but parrots, and monkies were our "dainties. On the eighth of October, we disem-"barked, near the extremity of the bay of Mexico, "and in twenty-three degrees, and a half. We had "imagined that the place was inhabited by Spaniards, "who would not only supply us with provisions, but "assist us to repair the ships. In these expectations, "we were grievously disappointed. Not a human "creature was to be seen; no means of subsistence "could be discovered; neither was any haven near in "which we might refit our vessel. Notwithstanding "that every prospect of relief was vanished, a num-"ber of the crew, worn out, and emaciated by fa-"mine, desired to be set on shore; and I consented to "their request."

"Out of two hundred persons, to which, at this dis-"tressful period, our company amounted, the half "determined to seek a better fortune on the land. "With the remainder, after having procured some "fresh water, I again submitted to the mercy of the "seas, and on the sixteenth of October, renewed my "course (*u*)."

The infatuated wretches who quitted Hawkins, and his associates, appear to have been reserved for more afflicting trials of adversity. A boat, in which they rowed towards the shore, was overset at a considerable distance from the ship; and two of the English perished amidst the waves; the rest swam, with difficulty, to the land. Here, some almost immediately expired; and the survivors, sinking under the severities

(*u*) See Sir Walter Raleigh's works, V. 2. p. 271, 272. —Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1177.

rities of ſickneſs, thirſt, and hunger, threw themſelves in deſpair upon the ground, and even wiſhed for death to put a period to their miſery.

In theſe moments of calamity, they were ſuddenly attacked by the Chicemici Indians, a tribe of ſavages, who, at the firſt onſet, ſlew eight of the Engliſh, and were preparing to deſtroy the reſt, when, neither able, nor inclined to ſtand on their defence, they inſtantly ſubmitted, and ſued for mercy. Their aſſailants had concluded that they were Spaniards, and, on the diſcovery of their miſtake, appeared affected by the fatal conſequences which reſulted from it. Abſtaining from any farther violence, they left them to their fate, yet not without directing them to purſue a road that was terminated by the ſea-port of Panuco. The Engliſh now divided themſelves into two companies; the firſt, under the conduct of Miles Philips, proceeded to the Weſtward; and the ſecond, led on by David Ingram, took their journey Northwards (*x*).

After a ſeries of afflictions, the Weſtern company (excluſive of thoſe wretches who periſhed on the road,) arrived (oppreſſed with apprehenſions of greater miſeries,) at Panuco. Here, the governor, reviling them by the name of Engliſh miſcreants, flagitious Lutherans, and execrated heretics, ſeized on the few effects which they had yet preſerved, and caſt them into priſon. When they ſollicited for the attendance of the ſurgeons on ſuch of their aſſociates as had been wounded by the Indians, he replied, with brutal mockery, that the adminiſtration of an effectual cure was the ſole province of the executioner, who might juſtly be

(*x*) Philips, and Ingram returned afterwards to England. The former related to Purchas the melancholy adventures of his companions.

be offended, ſhould they attempt to gain a remedy from the ſkill of others. After a confinement of four days, they were dragged into the preſence of the governor, and, having been bound with halters, informed that the guard of Indians was waiting to conduct them as far as Mexico, at the diſtance of nine leagues. On the road, although they did not experience equal barbarity from all the keepers, they were frequently knocked down, and inſulted with the cry of "march! march! ye Engliſh dogs, vile Lutherans, and enemies of God." On their arrival at Mexico, the greater number were attacked by violent fevers; (the conſequence of their fatigues, and ſufferings, during a tedious journey,) calamities which contrary to their expectations, were followed by a gentler treatment from the Spaniards, who ſent them to the hoſpitals, and gave orders that no means ſhould be neglected for the preſervation of their lives. The few perſons who recovered were, notwithſtanding, reduced to ſlavery, at Teſcuco, and muſt inevitably have periſhed under the barbarity of their maſters, if Robert Sweeting, (the ſon of an Engliſhman, by a Spaniſh woman,) had not ſucceſsfully interpoſed in their behalf.

During a conſiderable time, their ſervitude was alleviated by indulgence, and, availing themſelves of the frequent permiſſions which they received to labour for their own ſubſiſtence, they had acquired a ſmall property, and obſerved with pleaſure that each effort of their induſtry contributed to its increaſe. At length, arrived the fatal interruption to their happineſs. The officers of the inquiſition deprived them of their effects, and, for the ſpace of eighteen months, confined their perſons in loathſome dungeons. At the expiration of this period, they were tortured on the wheel, and idly hoping to preſerve their lives, confeſſed to

crimes

crimes of which they never had been guilty. The judges now pronounced the ſentence, which, after a ſhort delay, was carried into execution. George Rively, Peter Momfrie, and one Cornelius, an Iriſhman were burned alive, with halters about their necks, and candles in their hands. Others were conducted naked, through the ſtreets, on horſe-back, and, having received three hundred laſhes, with long whips, were ſent immediately to the gallies, in which they ſerved, afterwards, during their allotted courſe of years. The bondage of the reſt was paſſed in monaſteries, from one of which Miles Philips effected his eſcape, and, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-two, returned in ſafety, to his native country.

Amongſt the Engliſh whom the vice-roy of Mexico had confined, in irons, on board of the Spaniſh fleet, commanded by Don Juan de Velaſco, were Robert Barret, John Gilbert, John Bone, and Job Hortop. The two firſt were burned alive, at Sevil, from the priſon of which city, they had endeavoured to eſcape. The others (concerned, alſo, in like attempts,) were ſentenced to ſlavery, in the gallies, during ten years, and, after the expiration of that term, to perpetual confinement. Horton was, at length, redeemed by Hernando de Soria, a Spaniard of noble birth, and ſingular humanity. Under this maſter, he paſſed an eaſy ſervitude of three years, at the cloſe of which, he embraced a favourable opportunity to regain his liberty, ſet ſail for England, and in December, of the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety, arrived at Portſmouth.

The reader hath already been informed (*y*) that captain Hawkins, and his aſſociates prepared for a return

(*y*) See Page 173. of this volume.

return to Europe. It is, now, neceſſary to add that, having weighed anchor, they ſtood through the gulph of Florida, and ſuffering by the violence of a tempeſt, were forced to put into Ponte Vedra, in Spain, where the inhabitants, obſerving that they were enfeebled by ſickneſs, and ſcarcely capable of making any defence, appeared determined to attack them. Eager to avoid the danger, they proceeded inſtantly to Vigo, where, fortunately, they were joined by ſeveral Engliſh ſhips, the commanders of which ſupplied them with ſuch neceſſaries as they wanted. From this port, they directed their courſe homewards, and arrived, ſafely, at Mounts-Bay, in Cornwall, on the twentieth of January, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſixty-nine: of thoſe afflictions which were experienced during the courſe of the voyage, the celebrated adventurer, who bore his ſhare of miſery, hath left a full relation. In his concluding remarks, we find a ſtriking picture of misfortune: "If all the calamities of this expedition ſhould be perfectly, and thoroughly written, there would need a painful man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives, and deaths of the martyrs (z) (a)."

When a ſmall ſquadron belonging to the royal navy, and under the command of Hawkins, was riding in Cat-water, the admiral of the Spaniſh fleet, ap-

 pointed

(z) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 469, 487, 524, 524.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1177.—Campbell's Lives of the admirals, V. 1. p. 541.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, V. 1. p. 145, 149.—Camden, p. 352.

(a) To perpetuate the memory of the celebrated action, at Rio de la Hacha, Mr. Cook, at that period, clarencieux, added to the arms of Hawkins, on an eſcutcheon of pretence, or, an eſcallop, between two palmers ſtaves, ſable.—The patent for this augmentation is ſtill extant.

pointed to escort the princess Anne, of Austria, from Flanders (*b*), endeavoured to run between the island, and the place, without paying the customary salutes, Hawkins directed the gunner of his own ship to fire at the rigging of the Spanish admiral, who, apparently inattentive to this proceeding, continued on his course, when a second shot, which had been levelled at the hull, passed through his vessel. He now took in the flags, and top-sails; and, having cast anchor, sent an officer of distinction, with compliments, and complaints, to Hawkins. This brave commander, standing on the deck, would neither admit him, nor listen to his message; but bade him inform the admiral that as he had neglected the respect due to the queen of England, within her seas, and port, and was also accompanied by so large a fleet, he must not presume to keep his present station, but depart in twelve hours; after the expiration of which time, should he still refuse to comply with this injunction, the consequences might be fatal, and teach him to bewail that obstinacy which had marked him more as a declared enemy than the subject of a prince who had acknowledged that the dominion of the surrounding seas was vested in Elizabeth.

On the delivery of this message, the Spanish admiral came on board the Jesus, where, at first, he was informed that Hawkins would not consent to see him. At length, prevailing by repeated sollicitations, he obtained an interview, during which he remarked, with equal astonishment, and concern, that he had been insulted by hostilities, as unmerited as they were violent; and that he expected to have found a different recep-

(*b*) See page 4 of this volume, and page 168 of the second volume.

reception, in the time of peace. It was anſwered that the proceeding which he had falſely termed an unwarrantable outrage muſt be conſidered as the juſt puniſhment of his arrogance; that he well knew what honours were continually exacted, and received by the fleets of England; that an expreſs had been diſpatched to court, with the particulars of his behaviour; and that until the commands of an irritated ſovereign ſhould be declared, he muſt retire from the harbour. The admiral now aſſerted that his offence was the reſult of ignorance alone, and that he wiſhed to make the fulleſt reparation, provided that it might not derogate from the dignity of the monarch whom he ſerved.

An offer ſo ſubmiſſive produced a milder conference; and Hawkins, after a ſlight inſinuation that the Spaniards had been guilty of a wilful negligence, demanded whether if the Engliſh ſhips ſhould enter a port belonging to the king his maſter, and, mooring near his fleet, carry their flags within their tops, the admiral would not ſhoot them down, and oblige the offenders to depart immediately. He replied in the affirmative; again confeſſed his error, and ſent the neceſſary inſtructions to the officer, who commanded during his abſence. Soon afterwards, the Spaniſh ſhips ſaluted; and Hawkins, ſatisfied by this conceſſion, entertained the admiral on board the Jeſus, with every mark of reconciliation, and reſpect (*c*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty eight, Hawkins (who had been appointed rear-admiral, and commander of the Victory,) was knighted by the lord Effingham. Concerning thoſe important

(*c*) Sir Richard Hawkins's obſervations, p. 22.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 542.

ſervices which raiſed him to this diſtinction, we have already written (*d*), and it is, now, ſufficient to obſerve that his conduct, during thoſe celebrated engagements which terminated in the defeat of the Armada, was equally applauded by his ſovereign, and his country.

In the year, one thouſand five hundred, and ninety, the queen gave orders for the equipment of two ſquadrons, which conſiſted of ten ſhips; the Revenge, the Mary-Roſe, the Lyon, the Bonaventure, the Rainbow, the Hope, the Crane, the Acquittance, the Foreſight, and the Swiftſure. Of theſe, five were commanded by Sir John Hawkins, and the reſt by Sir Martin Frobiſher. Under them were Sir Edward Yorke, and the captains Fenner, Beeſton, Beſtock, and Burnell. The deſign of this armament was to annoy the coaſts of Spain, and if poſſible, intercept the plate-fleet, on its return to Europe. The firſt reſolution adopted by Philip was to oppoſe theſe gallant officers, with a ſuperior ſquadron of twenty ſail, under the command of Don Alonzo de Baſſan; but, on mature deliberation, he relinquiſhed this deſign, and directing his ſhips to ſtay within the harbour, diſpatched a light veſſel to the Indies, with orders for the detention of the fleet, until the cloſe of winter. On this ſtation, Sir John Hawkins, and his collegue, remained during ſeven months; yet without either taking a prize, or performing a ſingle ſervice that was worthy to be recorded. They next made an attempt on the iſland of Fyal, which had ſubmitted, in the preceding year, to the earl of Cumberland; but, at this period, the citadel was compleatly fortified, and the Inhabitants had received ſo ample a ſupply of ammunition, and artillery,

(*d*) Volume the ſecond, from page 273, to page 300.

ry, that Sir John, and his associates, judged it prudent to retreat.

On this occasion, although the conduct of the admirals was not acceptable to the people, the courtiers were unanimous in representing it as beneficial to the state. It was observed, that by compelling the Spanish navy to seek a shelter in the harbours, and by reducing the plate-fleet to the necessity of wintering in the Indies, they had aimed a fatal stroke at the maritime power of an ambitious enemy, and exposed the merchants of Seville, and the trading cities, to that severe distress which is the natural consequence of a lengthened interruption to the prosperity of commerce (*e*).

The circumstances relating to the unsuccessful expedition against Puerto Ricco have been already mentioned (*f*); and it is scarcely necessary to repeat that whilst the English ships were lying at anchor before this island, Sir John Hawkins expired (*g*), a melancholy sacrifice to the anguish of the mind (*h*). The character of this celebrated hero is drawn in the memoirs of his great, but equally unfortunate associate, Sir Francis Drake, who, although brave to an extreme, appears, like Hawkins, to have been destitute of that magnanimity which, after a brilliant, and uninterrupted

(*e*) Camden's annals, p. 620.—Sir William Monson's naval tracts.—Linschotten's voyages, chap. 99.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 1. p. 544.—Lediard's naval history, v. 1. p. 275.

(*f*) See the 143d page of this volume.

(*g*) November 21st. 1595.

(*h*) Camden, p. 698, 699, 700.—Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 182, 183.—Hackluyt, v. 3. p. 583.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1183.—Relation of a voyage to the West Indies, by Sir Francis Drake, &c. p. 50.

ſeries of ſucceſſes, can riſe ſuperior to the calamities that may enſue.

That few officers in the marine department were, at this period, poſſeſſed of ſuch talents, conduct, and intrepidity, as could have enabled them to ſurpaſs the valiant and accompliſhed Hawkins (*i*) is a truth to which we readily aſſent. His great abilities were fully ripened by an experience which had reſulted from an active, and aſſiduous ſervice, during a courſe of forty eight years, twenty-two of which were paſſed under the immediate countenance of his ſovereign, who permitted him to hold, for ſuch a length of time, the lucrative, and honourable office of treaſurer of the navy (*k*).

At one period, he, in conjunction with his eldeſt brother, William, was the owner of thirty veſſels, of conſiderable burthen (*l*); and it was generally allowed that he had made more uſeful diſcoveries, and introduced better regulations amongſt the ſeveral departments of the navy, than any officers who, in preceding reigns, had been advanced to the ſame poſts. In ſupport of this opinion, may be introduced a glorious evidence; the inſtitution of the cheſt, at Chatham. This fund is of itſelf ſufficient to teach us to revere the names of Drake, and Hawkins, under the exertions of whoſe wiſdom, and humanity it was, at firſt, encouraged, and augmented. Their plan that ſeamen poſſeſſed of the advantages reſulting from ſucceſs, and, in their own perſons, ſtrangers to the calamities of war, ſhould, by a voluntary deduction from their

(*i*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 148.
(*k*) Camden, p. 700.—Stowe's annals. p. 807.—Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 371.
(*l*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

their pay, at once afford relief, and recompence to those associates who had been wounded, in the service of their country, was approved, and patronized by Elizabeth, and (what is of much greater moment,) hath been adopted by posterity (*m*).

(*m*) Lambarde's perambulation of Kent.—Kilburn's Survey of Kent, p. 53. MS. in the collection of Mr. Pepys.—Sir John Hawkins erected, and amply endowed an hospital, at Chatham.

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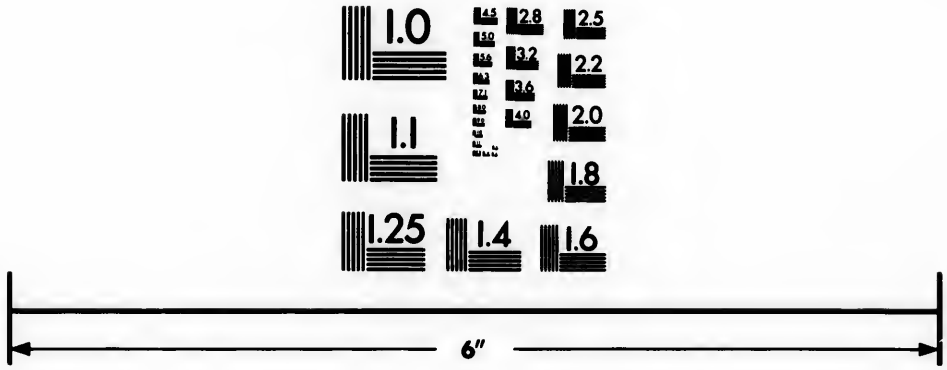

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MEMOIRS

OF

Sir ROBERT DUDLEY.

THIS noble adventurer (born in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-three, (*a*), at Sheen, in the county of Surry,) was the son of the earl of Leicester, by the lady Douglas Sheffield, the daughter of William, lord Howard, of Effingham. He received the first advantages of a learned education from Mr. Owen Jones, a gentleman of great abilities, who resided at Offington, in Sussex (*b*). From this place, he was sent, at the age of fifteen years, to the university of Oxford, and admitted into the college of Christ Church, where he became the pupil of the celebrated Thomas Chaloner, who, afterwards, received the honour of knighthood, and was appointed tutor to Henry, prince of Wales, and son to James, the first. In consequence of the demise of his father, on the fourth of September, in the year, one thou-

(*a*) Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. 2. p. 275.
(*b*) Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, Edit. 1656. p. 167.

thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight (c), at his house, at Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, Sir Robert stood intitled, on the death of his uncle, Ambrose, earl of Warwick, to the magnificent castle of Kenilworth; and other large estates in different quarters of the kingdom (d).

At this period, although endued with talents which would have enabled him to shine with distinguished lustre in the most arduous department of public life, he appeared to give an exclusive preference to the study of the naval arts; and, shortly afterwards, embraced an opportunity of gratifying his inclinations, by a voyage to the West-Indies. On this enterprize, he took the command of the Bear, a stout vessel, of the burthen of two hundred tons, and was attended by captain Munck, in the Bear's Whelp, and two pinnaces, the Frisking, and the Earwig (e).

On the sixth of November (f), the ships departed from Southampton, and towards the evening of the same day, were separated by the violence of a tempest. Not intimidated by this event, Sir Robert determined to proceed upon the voyage, and sailed along the coasts of Spain, within view of cape Finisterre, and cape Vincent. Here, he chased several vessels, all of which were either in the service of England, or belonged to powers at peace with that kingdom. Previous to his depar-

(c) Murdin's Collection of State Papers, p. 788.—Stowe's Annals, p. 750.

(d) See the last testament of Robert, earl of Leicester, in Collins's Memoirs of the Sidneys, prefixed to the first volume of the Sidney-Papers, p. 70.

(e) He had prepared, as early as in his twenty-second year, for an expedition into the south seas; but Elizabeth, and her ministers, who thought the undertaking dangerous, obliged him to relinquish it.

(f) A. D. 1594.

departure from this latitude, he had the ſatisfaction to obtain intelligence concerning the Bear's Whelp, which had returned, in ſafety, to Southampton, with two prizes.

On the fourteenth of December, he ſteered for the Canaries, in hopes of joining ſome veſſels, on board of which it might be convenient to ſend the greater number of his men, who, amounting to two hundred, were ſo incommoded for want of room, and pure air, that they languiſhed under fevers, and infectious diſorders. After a ſhort cruize, he had the good fortune to intercept, and take two caravels. The command of theſe was given to Wood, and Wentworth, both officers of tried fidelity, and experience. With his ſquadron, again conſiſting of three ſhips, Sir Robert proceeded to Cape Blanco, on the coaſt of Africa. From thence, he ſailed to the iſland of Trinidada; and, on the firſt of February, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, came to an anchor in the Bay of Pelicans, ſo called from the number of thoſe birds which continually fly around it. On the ſeventh, he diſpatched the two caravels, from Paracoa, where he was then at anchor, to the Weſt-Indies, and directed the commanding officers to remain on that ſtation, until they ſhould have taken ſome valuable prizes; and, afterwards, ſail back to England. He next ſent the boat, and fourteen of his crew, to Orocoa, at the diſtance of an hundred, and fifty miles; and ſituated near the banks of the river Oronoque. They were inſtructed to ſearch for mines of gold, and returned with proſpects of ſucceſs which they neglected to improve. The Indian chief, reſiding on the ſpot, had aſſured them that he was willing to exchange a quantity of that valuable metal, for hatchets, Knives, and

jews-

jews-harps. In confirmation of the ſincerity of his promiſes, he ſent Sir Robert three ſmall half-moons of gold, and two bracelets of ſilver. The latter became eager to engage in ſo lucrative a commerce, and was equally aſtoniſhed, and exaſperated at the diſcovery that not one of his aſſociates would either promote the undertaking, or aſſign a reaſon for their refuſal. On the day following, he was joined by a pinnace, under the command of captain Popham, with whom he afterwards ſet ſail (*g*), and, having proceeded to the northward of Granata, took a ſmall prize, the freight of which he ſecured, and then deſtroyed her. He, next, ſteered towards the iſland of Flores, and Cuervo, in hopes of intercepting ſome valuable prizes; but, at length, diappointed in his expectations, and nearly deſtitute of proviſions, he prepared for a return to England.

On his paſſage, and at a period when numbers of his men had died of ſickneſs, he was attacked by a Spaniſh veſſel, of the burthen of ſix hundred tons. The engagement laſted, at cloſe quarters, during the ſpace of two days, when a deficiency of powder, and the feeble ſituation of the crew, obliged him to retreat; yet not until the enemy was on the point of ſinking; an event which (if the information given to Sir Robert was well-grounded,) ſoon followed this involuntary ceſſation of hoſtilities. Excluſive of the loſs of this ſhip, the Engliſh had taken, during the courſe of the expedition, eight Spaniſh veſſels, moſt of which, they either ſunk, or burned. Continuing their courſe, they, on the fifth of May, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, arrived ſafely at Saint Ives, in the county of Cornwall (*h*).

At

(*g*) March 12th.
(*h*) Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 574.

At the commencement of the month of June, in the ſucceeding year, Sir Robert accompanied the earl of Eſſex, and the lord high-admiral, Howard, on the celebrated expedition to Cadiz, and received the honour of knighthood, in reward of his conduct, and intrepidity, during the courſe of the action, before that place (*i*). Endeavouring, not long afterwards, to prove the legitimacy of his birth, he was fruſtrated in the execution of this attempt, by an oppoſition at once ſo irritating, powerful, and unexpected, that, in the bitterneſs of reſentment, and deſpair, he reſolved intirely to forſake his country (*k*). Embarking inſtantly for Italy, he ſailed to Florence, and, on his arrival, was received with every mark of friendſhip, and diſtinction, by the then reigning grand-duke of Tuſcany, and the arch-ducheſs Magdalen, of Auſtria, ſiſter to the emperor, Ferdinand, the ſecond (*l*).

In this agreeable retirement, he became an object of ſuch general approbation, and placed his great abilities in ſo conſpicuous a point of view, by the introduction of plans for the improvement of ſhipping, the eſtabliſhment of various manufactures, and the Augmentation of foreign commerce, that the emperor, in compliance with the intreaties of the arch-ducheſs (to whom Sir Robert had, at a preceding period, been appointed great chamberlain,) was pleaſed, by letters patent, (bearing date, at Vienna, on the ninth of March, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty,) to create him a duke, and count of the empire, by the title of duke of Northumberland, and earl of Warwick; honours to which he afterwards received

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 771.—Speed, p. 869.
(*k*) Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickſhire, p. 166.
(*l*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, V. 2. Col. 127.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 579.

ceived an unsolicited addition (*m*), by the enrollment of his name, amongst the nobility of Rome, in consequence of an order from Urban the eighth, at that Æra, the reigning pope (*n*). It was during his residence, in this country, that he formed the great design of converting Leghorn into a free port (*o*), and, in acknowledgement of this important service, he received from the grand duke a considerable pension, exclusive of the free inheritance of the castle of Carbello, a magnificent villa, (at the distance of three miles from Florence,) which he so increased, and beautified, as to render it one of the most elegant, and spacious palaces in Italy. At this place, he paid his debt to nature, in September, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and forty-nine, and in the seventy-sixth year of his age, having acquired in the republic of letters, a most extensive reputation, his claim to which will seldom be disputed by those who shall attentively peruse his works (*p*).

(*m*) A. D. 1630.

(*n*) Athen. Oxon. V. 2. Col. 127.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 580.

(*o*) Fuller's Worthies in Surry, p. 84.—Bishop Burnet's Travels through Switzerland, Letter 5.—Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 761.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 580.

(*p*) Of these the most curious is the following: "Arcano del Mate di D Ruberto Dudleo, Duca di Northumbria, e Conte di Varwic. Diviso in Libri sei. Nel primo de quali si tratta dello Longitudine practicabile in diversi Modi, d'Invenzione, dell 'Autore. Nel secondo, delle Carte sue generali, e de Portolani rettificati in Longitudine, e Latitudine. Nel Terzo, della Disciplina sua marittima, e militare. Nel quarto, dell 'Architettura sua nautica di Vascelli da Guerra. Nel quinta, della Navigazione scientifica, e perfetta, cive spirale, o di gran Circoli. Nel sesto, delle Carte sue geographice, e particolari. Impressione seconda. Coretta, et accresciuta, secondo l'Originale

" del

" del Medesimo excellentiss : Signor Duca, che si conserva
" nella Libreria del Convento di Firenze della Pace, de Mo-
" naci di S. Bernardo dell' Ordine Fuliense. Con l'Indice
" de Capitoli, e delle Figure, et Istruzione a librari per le-
" garle. Al serenissimo Ferdinando Secondo Granduca di
" Toscana. In Fiorenza. 1661. 2 Tom. Fol."

It is elegantly printed on a very large imperial paper, enriched with upwards of six hundred beautifully engraved plates, consisting of maps, charts, plans, and other authentic testimonies of the excellent genius of its illustrious author. The chapters to the first five books which compose the first volume, as well as those of the sixth which comprehend the second volume, are again subdivided into several sections, and make, in the whole, one hundred, and forty-three pages. Immediately after the title-page to the first volume, appears a general index to the first five books; next come the letters-patent of Ferdinand, the second; then, a short advertisement, addressed, by the Editor, to the learned reader, setting forth the many advantages of this edition, with a brief index to the whole six books, which is followed by a discourse on the mathematical science, as far as it relates to his subject, intended as an introduction to his great work.—Of this book, but few copies are within the kingdom. One was deposited as a great rarity, in the archivs of the Bodleian library, at Oxford, and another copy (presented by Sir R. Moray,) is in the collection of the royal society. The first edition appeared in 1630, 1646, the two volumes coming out at different periods.—See Wood's Athen. Oxon. V. 2. Col. 128.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 580, 581.

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MEMOIRS

OF

GEORGE CLIFFORD,

EARL of CUMBERLAND.

THIS celebrated adventurer (the laſt heir-male of his illuſtrious family (*a*),) was born in the year one thouſand, five hundred, and fifty eight, and paſſed the earlier part of his life chiefly under the care of the learned John Whitgift, who was afterwards advanced to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury. Whatſoever advantages the earl of Cumberland might have reaped from an academical education, the ſucceeding employments of his life, afford a proof that he preferred the active culture of the naval arts, to the exertion of his talents, either in the ſenate, or the court. It is not through theſe laſt departments that we attempt to trace him; the chief objects of our notice are his enterprizes on the ocean; and, therefore, without adverting to thoſe circumſtances which are foreign to the deſign of this

(*a*) Camden.—Stowe.—Speed.—Holingſhed.

Memoir, we ſhall proceed to the relation of his voyages of diſcovery.

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſix, he prepared, at his own expence, for an expedition to the South ſeas, and, towards the concluſion of the ſummer, had fitted out a ſmall ſquadron, which conſiſted of the Red Dragon, (the admiral's ſhip,) of the burthen of two hundred and ſixty tons, having on board ſeventy men, under the command of Robert Widdrington; the bark Clifford, (vice-admiral,) of the burthen of one hundred, and thirty tons, and commanded by captain Chriſtopher Liſter; the Roe, (rear-admiral,) commanded by captain Hawes; and the Dorothy, a pinnace, formerly belonging to Mr. Walter Raleigh.

On the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, the earl, and his aſſociates ſet ſail from Plymouth, and, in three days after their departure, intercepted, and engaged ſixteen northern hulks, the commanders of which pretended that they were employed in the ſervice of the citizens of Hamburgh, and proceeding thither on their return from Liſbon. Their refuſal to ſtrike their flags, and lower their top-ſails, in deference to the Engliſh, gave occaſion to the action, which ended in their defeat. Having ſurrendered to the conquerors a great part of the cargo, and quantities of proviſions, they were ſuffered to renew their courſe.

On the ſeventeenth of September, the fleet approached the coaſt of Barbary, and, ſoon afterwards, caſt anchor in the river del Oro. They, next, arrived, in the month of October, at Sierra Leona, from whence, having procured a ſupply of freſh water, rice, and various proviſions, they ſailed towards America, and reached the ſouthern latitude of thirty degrees, and forty minutes, on the fourth of January, in the year,

year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-seven.

On the tenth, they intercepted a small Portuguese vessel, which was bound to Santa Fe, a town situated on the banks of Rio della Plata. On board of this prize, were several negroes, and a small cargo of sugar, rice, and sweetmeats. A second ship, in the service of the same nation, fell into their hands, on the succeeding day; and both were suffered to depart, after having been rifled of such articles as might be useful to the English.

On the twelfth, they reached Seal Island; and, on the fourteenth, arrived at Green Island, where they remained during the course of sixteen days, employed in filling the casks with water, and catching quantities of fish. At this place, they discovered, and received on board, Miles Philips, one of those unfortunate adventurers who had been left by captain Hawkins, in the West-Indies.

On the seventh of February, and whilst the ships were out at sea, the earl of Cumberland called a council of all the officers, and gentlemen, on board of the Red Dragon, in order that they might determine what course, under their present circumstances, was the most proper to be taken. At this meeting, so different were the opinions of the speakers, that it was deemed prudent to adjourn until the succeeding day. Previous to the renewal of debates, an inquiry had been made concerning the state, and quantity of the provisions; and the discovery of an impending scarcity was so alarming, that the council, more unanimous in their resolves, insisted on the expediency of applying to their own uses the necessaries which had been allotted to the prizes, and recommended the immediate dismission of the latter. When these propo-

ſals had been executed, the ſhips proceeded, with the wind at North, towards the ſtreights, but were ſoon obliged, partly for want of proviſions, and partly on account of the inclemency of the ſeaſon, to change their courſe, and bear away for the Brazils.

On the fifth of April, they ſailed into the road of Camana, and, having procured a ſupply of hogs, and bullocks, came to an anchor, on the eleventh, before the town of Baya. Here, they found a Portugueſe fleet, conſiſting of eight ſhips, one of which was of the burthen of two hundred and fifty tons, and mounted twelve pieces of artillery. At midnight, the Engliſh, in their boats, ſurrounded four of the largeſt of theſe veſſels, and, cutting their cables, towed them, with impunity, from the harbour, notwithſtanding that both in the attack, and the retreat, they were expoſed to the inceſſant fire of the cannon, and the ſmall arms. They even diſembarked, and procured aſſiſtance from the ſhore, although the Portugueſe, and Indian troops were drawn up, in order to oppoſe them.

Whilſt the Engliſh were conveying to their fleet the prizes, the leaſt of which was of the burthen of one hundred and thirty tons, they intercepted a large hulk, the captain of which obſerved that he belonged to Fluſhing. He was, notwithſtanding, directed to keep company with the prizes, and, obeying, brought with him a ſmall bark, and a caravel, freighted with forty butts of wine. The laſt appears to have been the moſt valuable part of the plunder which was taken during the courſe of this ſucceſsful enterprize.

On the ſixth of May, the pinnace, attended by two boats, and manned with fifty of the crew, was ſent aſhore for water and freſh proviſions. On their return, a galley, on board of which were four hundred Portu-

Portuguese, exclusive of Indians, began a furious attack; yet, in spite of the superiority of their numbers, they were exposed to so terrible a resistance from the English, (who lost but three men,) that only thirty survived, and escaped to relate the particulars of their defeat.

On the sixteenth, the English disembarked again, plundered the refining houses of the Portuguese, and, having seized, out of a thousand pots of sugar, a quantity for their own use, set fire to the rest. On the day following, they took a small caravel, and, discovering that her freight was not of any value, immediately destroyed her.

On the twenty-second, they renewed their course, and, soon afterwards (*b*), reached an island (at the distance of twelve leagues to the southward of the town of Baya,) where they stayed in order to procure a large supply of wood, and water.

On the twenty-fourth, they intercepted a canoe, in which were an Indian, a native of the adjacent county, and a mariner, in the service of the Portuguese. The latter confessed that a new vessel, (belonging to these people,) of the burthen of one hundred tons, and freighted with meal, sugar, and other Provisions, was secreted at a short distance from the shore, where it was intended that she should lie, until the departure of the English, from the coast. The earl of Cumberland directed the greater number of the crew to man the pinnace, and, attended by the Portuguese, proceed in search of this valuable ship. They immediately set sail, but, as the night advanced, were obliged to cast anchor.

On the twenty-sixth, they found her concealed in so small a creek that it was with difficulty that the

(*b*) April 23, 1587.

boat could enter it. She surrendered, without the least resistance, and, after several ineffectual attempts, the English proceeded with her to their own ships. On the sixteenth of June, they took a pinnace, the cargo of which was not considerable. At this period, the crews began to murmur, lamented over their long absence from their native country, and expressed an insurmountable aversion from the continuance of the voyage to the south seas. Unable to remove their uneasiness, the earl consented that they should return home, and, on the thirtieth of September, the fleet arrived at Plymouth.

The miscarriages of this enterprize have been attributed to Widdrington, who, at every consultation, expressed an unwillingness to pass the streights of Magellan, and continually raised some obstacles against the measure. The behaviour of Lister seems more intitled to approbation; he perpetually recommended the necessity of pursuing the enterprize, for the accomplishment of which the fleet was fitted out, and, whilst others expressed an eagerness to return, declared that if he were suffered to take eight seamen in exchange for landsmen, and, at the same time, supplied with six butts of wine, one barrel of oil, and three of fish, he would pursue the voyage, with the bark Clifford, alone; but even with this offer, the majority were unwilling to comply (c).

The next celebrated naval enterprize in which the earl of Cumberland bore an active part, was the successful operation against the Armada, in the year, one thou-

(c) The particulars relating to this expedition are taken from Camden.—Stowe.—Speed.—Holingshed.—Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 769.—Harris's Coll. Part 2. p. 685.—Lediard's naval History, V. 1. p. 219.—Campbell's Lives of the admirals, V. 1. p. 576.

thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight. At this period, he took the command of the Elizabeth-Bonaventure, and bravely contributed to that victory, the particulars of which have been already mentioned (*d*).

In October of the same year, the queen appointed him to the command of a squadron, in which it was intended that he should pursue his voyage to the South seas, and gave orders that the Golden Lion, a ship belonging to the royal navy, should be lent to him during the continuance of the enterprize. Having victualled, and equipped this, and other vessels, at his own expence, he sailed, with several gentlemen, from England, towards the conclusion of the month. The success of this expedition was not answerable to the preparations; neither could the earl at this period, carry his designs into execution. The great obstacles were unfavourable winds, and tempestuous weather, during which the Golden Lion lost her main-mast, by the board. The only prize taken was the Hare, of Dunkirk, on her passage through the narrow seas, for Spain, and freighted chiefly with articles of merchandize (*e*).

Not intimidated by disappointments, the earl of Cumberland prepared, in the succeeding year, for an expedition to the Azores. Elizabeth, who looked with approbation on his enterprizes, permitted him to take the Victory, a vessel of considerable force, and belonging to her navy. The remainder of his little squadron consisted of the Megg, (vice-admiral,) commanded by captain Monson (*f*); the Margaret, (rear-

 admi-

(*d*) See volume II. of this work, from page 270, to page 304.

(*e*) Harris's coll. v. 1. p. 686.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1142.—Lediard's naval history, V. 1. p. p. 263.

(*f*) Afterwards Sir William Monson.

admiral, commanded by captain Careless (*g*); and a caravel, commanded by captain Pigeon. All these, with the Victory, (on board of which was the earl of Cumberland, and, under him, captain Lister,) were completely equipped, and manned with their proper complements of four hundred mariners, and soldiers.

On the eighteenth of June, the English set sail from Plymouth, and, shortly afterwards (*h*), intercepted, and took, three French ships, in the service of the League,) freighted with fish, and on their passage from Newfoundland, to Nieuhaven, and Saint Maloes. Of these, two were sent to England, together with the Margaret, which, being ill-constructed, and in bad repair, was deemed unable to proceed upon the voyage. On the twenty-eighth, and the succeeding day, they met with several of the ships, belonging to the squadron, under the joint command of Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, who were returning from Cadiz, in such distress, resulting from the expenditure of their provisions, that they must have perished, if the earl of Cumberland, and his associates, had not relieved them.

On the thirteenth of July, and, at a short distance from the Spanish coast, the English took twelve ships belonging to the Hanse Towns, and, having rifled them of spices, valued at seven thousand pounds, permitted them to depart towards their respective ports.

The fleet now sailed to the Azores, and, on the first of August, arrived in sight of the island of Saint Michael. As it had been determined to cut the cables of four Spanish vessels, and, at midnight, convey them from the harbour, orders were given that false colours should be hoisted, the better to facilitate the execution of the enterprize. Accordingly, under the en-

signs

(*g*) Or White. (*h*) June 21st.

ſigns of Spain, the boats proceeded to the place of action, and, unreſiſted, towed off two ſhips, the crews of which, excepting a ſmall number, leaped into the ocean, and, with dreadful outcries, alarmed the inhabitants of the town, who fired ſeveral ſhot from the artillery on the ramparts, but in ſo erring a direction that none took place. The prizes were chiefly freighted with wine, and oil; acquiſitions leſs valuable than thoſe which were made, on a ſucceeding day (*i*), when the caravel took a veſſel laden not only with thirty tons of Madeira wine, but with great quantities of ſugar, ſweet-meats, woollen-cloth, ſilk, and taffatas. At this place, the Engliſh were joined by the captains Davis, and Markeſbury, under whoſe command were two veſſels (one of which belonged to Sir Walter Raleigh,) a pinnace, and a bark, named the Lime.

Having received advice that the Spaniſh carracks were at anchor near Fyal, the Earl of Cumberland proceeded, with his Squadron, to that iſland, and, arriving there, on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, diſcovered but few veſſels; a diſappointment which was heightened by the information that a rich ſhip had left the port, on the preceding day. Three of the Engliſh boats, under the command of the Captains Liſter, and Monſon, made a deſperate attack on a veſſel of the burthen of three hundred tons, having on board fifty men, and mounting eighteen pieces of artillery. She was moored to the caſtle, the great guns of which played on the boats, during the whole time of the action, which ended, not only in the capture of this veſſel, but of another that had arrived with a rich cargo from the Indies. Soon afterwards, the boats, in defiance of the inceſſant cannonading of the enemy, aſ-

ſailed,

(*i*) Auguſt 7th.

failed, and towed away from the harbour, several small ships, which were returned from Guinea, with cargoes of elephants teeth, cocoa, and goat-skins.

As he had missed the carracks, the earl was determined to direct his hostilities against the town of Fyal, and reduced it, without the loss of a single man. Having taken from the fort fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance, and their military stores, he accepted of a ransom (for the religious houses, and churches,) which was paid in plate, and amounted to the value of two thousand ducats. Unfortunately, the English did not arrive in time to intercept the rich Spanish West-India fleet, which consisted of eighteen large ships, and, in sight of their pursuers, came to an anchor, at the port of Angra, in Tercera, a safe shelter, and so well defended by an adjoining citadel, that an attempt to seize the vessels must inevitably have miscarried.

From hence, the ships sailed to the island of Saint Michael, and, afterwards, to that of Saint Mary, where they took two prizes, on their passage from the Brazils, and laden with sugar. These were sent to England, in company with the Megg, whilst the earl, attended by the remainder of his squadron, held on his course for Spain. During the voyage, he took two other vessels, one of which bound from France, to Newfoundland, and, in the service of the League, was of the burthen of two hundred tons. The other had been separated from the West-Indian fleet, to which she belonged, and was of the burthen of four hundred tons: amongst the articles of lading were bars of silver, hides, sugar, and cochineal, the whole of which was valued at one hundred thousand pounds.

They next arrived at the island of Graciosa; the inhabitants of which, after having resisted, during the course of two days, were allowed to capitulate, and

pre-

preſerved the place by the ſurrender of a large quantity of proviſions. Two more prizes fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Theſe were freighted with ſugar, and valued at ſeven thouſand pounds ſterling.

The capture of a third ſhip, under the caſtle of the iſland of Saint Mary, was a ſervice of more danger than the earl of Cumberland, and his aſſociates, as yet accuſtomed to conquer without ſuffering from the violence of oppoſition, had expected to engage in. Numbers of the Engliſh were either killed or wounded; a calamity which muſt, in ſome meaſure, be attributed to the obſtinacy of captain Liſter, who, contrary to all perſuaſions, diſembarked in the very face of the fortifications. During the action, the earl of Cumberland was much expoſed to the fire of the enemy. Three balls rebounded from his target, and a fourth was lodged, although not deeply, in his ſide. By the grenadoes, and the vollies of ſtones which had been diſcharged from the warlike inſtruments of the enemy, he was ſo ſeverely wounded that the blood iſſued from his face, legs, and hands, which were alſo burnt in many parts.

The Engliſh now proceeded on their return homewards, and, as the prizes, and priſoners became numerous, captain Liſter received orders to take the rich Weſt-Indian ſhip, under his convoy, and expedite his courſe. This unfortunate commander was wrecked, ſoon afterwards, at Mount's-Bay, near the borders of Cornwall, where the veſſels were loſt, and all the company, excepting ſix, periſhed amidſt the waves.

Calamities little ſhort of thoſe which we have now related, were felt by our illuſtrious adventurer, and his aſſociates. They are mentioned in the following quotations; and it is needleſs to apologize for the inſer-

insertion of it, as the descriptions of a fellow-sufferer must make the deepest impressions on the reader.

"Soon afterwards, the wind came about to the east-"ward, so that we could not fetch any part of Eng-"land. And, hereupon, also, an allowance of drink "which was scarce enough before, became yet less, "and less so; insomuch that now a man was allowed "but half a pint at a meal, and that, many times "scarce sweet. This, notwithstanding, was an happy "estate in comparison of that which followed; for, "from half a pint, we came to a quarter, neither did "that last long; so that by reason of this great scar-"city of drink, and contrariety of wind, we thought "to put into Ireland, there to relieve our wants. But "when we came near thither, we were driven so far "to leeward, that we could fetch no part of it. In "the mean time, we were allowed, every man, three "or four spoonfuls of vinegar, to drink at a meal; "for, of other drink we had none, saving only at "two, or three meals, when we had instead hereof as "much wine, which was wringed out of wine-leaves, "that remained. With this hard fare (for, by reason "of our great want of drink, we durst eat but ve-"ry little,) we continued for a fortnight; saving "that now, and then, we feasted when there fell any "hail, or rain. The hail-stones we gathered up, "and did eat them more pleasantly than if they had "been the sweetest comfits in this world. The rain-"drops were so carefully saved that, so near as we "could, not one was lost, in all our ship. Some hanged "up sheets tied with cords by the four corners, and "a weight in the midst, that the water might run "down thither, and so be received into some vessel set, "or hanged underneath: some that wanted sheets,

"hanged

"hanged up napkins, and clouts, and watched them "until they were thoroughly wet, then wringing, and "sucking out the water. And that water which fell "down, and washed away the filth, and soiling of the "ship, was trodden under foot, and became as bad as "if it had been running down the kennel, many "times, when it rained, was not lost, but watched, "and attended carefully, yea, sometimes with strife, "and contention, at every scupper-hole, and other "places where it ran down, with dishes, pots, cans, "and jars, whereof some drank hearty draughts, even "as it was, mud and all, without tarrying to cleanse, "or settle it. Others cleansed it first, but not often, "for, it was so thick, and went so slowly through, that "they might ill endure to tarry so long, and were loth "to lose too much of that precious stuff. Some licked, "with their tongues, like dogs, the boards under their "feet, the sides, rails, and masts of the ship. O-"thers, that were more ingenious, fastened girdles, or "ropes, about the masts, daubing tallow between "them, and the masts, that the rain might not run "down between, in such sort that those ropes, or gir-"dles, hanging lower on one side than the other, a "spout of leather was fastened to the lowest part of "them, that all the rain-drops that came running "down the masts, might meet together, at that place, "and there be received. Some also put bullets of lead "into their mouths to slake their thirst. Now, in "every corner of the ship, were heard the lamenta-"ble cries of sick and wounded men, sounding wo-"fully in our ears, pitifully complaining for want of "drink, being ready to die, yea, many dying for lack "thereof, so as by reason of this great extremity, we "lost many more men than we had done all the voy-"age before."

During

During these bitter trials of affliction, the conduct of the earl of Cumberland was full of fortitude, and resignation; nor did he once refuse to bear an ample share in those distresses which were experienced by the meanest of the sailors. When the English were driven to the last extremities, and had abandoned hope, a vessel appeared in sight, and bearing down upon them. Their joy was beyond all bounds when they perceived that she displayed the colours of their own nation. Scarcely was she within hail, when they exclaimed that they were on the point of perishing, and intreated for immediate relief. Their wishes were now gratified, and they obtained such a quantity of provisions as lasted until they had reached the coast of Ireland. Having supplied themselves with all necessaries from an adjacent port, they proceeded on their return to England, and arrived safely at Falmouth, on the twenty-ninth of December, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-nine (*k*).

As the circumstances relating to the engagement in the bay of Fyal afford such striking instances of the pusillanimity of the Spaniards, and the romantic bravery of the English, we shall present the reader with a detail of them, in the words of a distinguished officer (*l*), who bore an active share in the successes of the day.

"When I served as vice-admiral under the earl of "Cumberland, to the Azores, we came to Flores, the "westermost island of the seven. My lord had no-

"tice

(*k*) The particulars relating to the expedition to the Azores, are taken from Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 686.—— Hackluyt, v. 2. part 2. p. 155.—Purchas's Pilgrims, v. 4. p. 1142.—Lediard's naval History, v. 1. p. 270.—and chiefly from Sir William Monson's naval tracts.

(*l*) Sir William Monson.

" tice of certain ſhips, riding in the road of Fyal, to
" the ſouthward of which iſland, he had paſſed eight
" days before. Upon this news, he haſtened thither,
" both to be reſolved of the truth thereof, and to make
" an attempt upon the ſhips, if he could ſee a poſſi-
" bility to prevail. But, on his arrival, in two days
" afterwards, a calm took him towards the evening,
" and he was not able to reach within two leagues of
" the road where the ſhips lay. Hereupon a council
" was called, wherein I, and captain Liſter very earn-
" eſtly propoſed, and, by intreaty, prevailed that we
" might have leave, in that calm, to row to the road,
" to take a view of the ſhips, in order that we might
" perceive where to obtain advantages, by ſurpriſing
" them early on the morrow."

" As we drew near the Spaniards, the daſhing of
" our oars was heard, which gave the alarm to the
" admiral-ſhip, which only wore the flag, and in-
" ſtantly let fly her ordnance, without any certain
" aim, more than the daſhing of the oars directed.
" Captain Liſter, and I, ſeeing ourſelves miſſed by the
" ſhot, were ſo encouraged that, rather like mad, than
" diſcreet men, we ran aboard the admiral-ſhip,
" with an intent ſuddenly to ſurprize her; but, find-
" ing ſo great an inequality in our forces, (for, the
" ſhip carried eighteen pieces of ordnance,) we were
" glad to put off our boat, and retire, repenting of our
" enterprize."

" As we were rowing again towards our fleet, which,
" all this while, beheld the fight, and heard the re-
" port of the ſhips ordnance, we met another boat,
" of greater burthen, ſent to ſuccour us. After a joy-
" ful ſalutation, we reſolved, and concluded to return
" again with our boats, and give a ſecond aſſault upon
" the admiral, telling them the ſtate, and condition,

" of

" of the ſhip, which did ſo encourage both the one, " and the other, that, by conſent, it was agreed that " they ſhould board her in the quarter, and we in " the hawſe, and we to cut her cable, and let her " drive to ſea. All this was ſucceſsfully performed, " and the ſhip miraculouſly poſſeſſed, notwithſtanding " the continual ſhot from the caſtle, to which the ſhip " was moored; and which caſtle we took, in a month " afterwards. I muſt not forget that as we entered the " admiral-ſhip, on the one ſide, the Spaniards leaped " overboard, on the other, except the captain, Don " Juan de Palma, and one more.

" Now, having got an unexpected victory, rather " by valour, than by reaſon, we towed out the ſhip " with our two boats, the caſtle not ſparing to fire at " us, until we brought her without reach of the ſhot, " and then we agreed to take out all our men, except " one at the helm to govern her, and ſtruck down her " ſails; and we ourſelves returned in our boats, once " more into the road, where we poſſeſſed ourſelves of " the other ſeven ſhips left behind, three of which " were of a reaſonable good value."

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-one, the earl of Cumberland departed on a ſecond expedition, with a ſmall ſquadron, which conſiſted of the following ſhips; the Garland, (admiral,) of the burthen of ſix hundred tons (*m*); the Sampſon, (vice-admiral,) of the burthen of two hundred, and ſixty tons; the Golden Noble, (rear-admiral,) the Allegarta; and a ſmall pinnace, called the Diſcovery.

After a ſhort cruize, the Engliſh took two prizes. The firſt was laden with ſugar, and on her paſſage from the

(*m*) This ſhip belonged to the royal navy, and was lent to the earl, by the queen. The remainder of the ſquadron was fitted out at his own expence.

the island of Saint Thomas. She was discovered to have a quantity of water in the hull, yet no leak could be perceived. The earl, concluding that she must quickly sink, secured the cargo, and then directed that she should be turned adrift. The other vessel, having been long detained in her course to England, by contrary winds, was obliged, on account of the great scarcity of provisions, to enter a Spanish harbour, and, was immediately taken.

Soon after this event, the English intercepted, and seized two Dutch vessels, when Sir William Monson, the commander of the Golden Noble, was ordered to take them under convoy, and proceed to Plymouth. In the night, they were becalmed, and some gallies belonging to the port of Penicha, rowed up, engaged, and took them. The report of the artillery was heard by the earl of Cumberland, who, by the want of wind, was prevented from making sail to their relief. During the course of the action, which ended in the loss of the two prizes, captain Bayly was slain, and Monson and his associates were carried prisoners to Penicha, and from thence conveyed to Lisbon. The earl immediately wrote to the arch-duke Albert, (who, at that period, was the viceroy,) requesting that the English might be humanely treated, and threatening to retaliate any injuries which they might suffer, with double severity, upon the Spaniards. Albert, either intimidated by the message, or pursuing the natural generosity of his temper, supplied the mariners, and soldiers with new cloathing, and sent them thus equipped to the earl of Cumberland, but detained Sir William Monson, and six officers, as hostages for the ransom of the rest.

Whilst the English were cruizing near the coast, they received intelligence that a formidable Armada

 was

was aſſembled at the Groyne, and waited only for orders to ſail, and intercept a ſquadron under the command of the lord Thomas Howard, who was ſtationed near the Azores, for the purpoſe of ſurprizing the Weſt-Indian plate-fleet, on its return to Europe. The Moon-Shine (a veſſel which had joined the earl of Cumberland ſoon after his departure from the coaſt of England,) was accordingly diſpatched to give the lord Howard notice of the preparations of the enemy (*n*). At her return, the earl proceeded homewards with his ſquadron, and, ſhortly afterwards, arrived at Plymouth (*o*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-two, the earl of Cumberland was again engaged in the neceſſary equipments for a fifth expedition, but declined the offer which the queen made him of a veſſel from the royal navy, from an apprehenſion that he might loſe ſome opportunities of taking valuable prizes, when under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to a ſtrict order that no ſhip particularly belonging to Elizabeth ſhould be ſuffered to fall cloſe along ſide of a Spaniſh veſſel, leſt both might be deſtroyed by fire. The ſquadron employed on this occaſion was hired from the merchants of the port of London, and conſiſted of the Tyger, of the burthen of ſix hundred tons, the Sampſon, the Golden Noble, and two ſmall veſſels.

The long duration of unfavourable winds, and the conſequent expenditure of proviſions, during three months, in different harbours, were circumſtances which prevented the earl of Cumberland from taking the com-

(*n*) See the ſecond volume of this work, pages 311, 312.

(*o*) Harris's Coll. Part 1, p. 686.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1145.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts.—MS. in Bibl. Cotton.

command of this naval armament. Previous to the period at which the ſhips had proceeded to the weſtward of the port of Plymouth, the opportunity of intercepting the outward-bound Spaniſh carracks was entirely loſt, and our adventurer, thus baffled in his moſt important views, returned to London, after having transferred the chief command to captain Norton, who was inſtructed to ſail immediately to the Azores.

On their paſſage to theſe iſlands, the Engliſh intercepted, and took a Portuguese veſſel, within view of the fortreſs of Caſcais, and, ſoon afterwards the Golden Noble ſet ſail with her for Plymouth. The reſt of the ſquadron came to an anchor at the Azores, from whence, having procured freſh water, and proviſions, they departed in order to intercept the Santa Croce, a Portugueſe carrack, freighted with ſilver, and merchandize of immenſe value. The commander of this veſſel, obſerving that his enemies were in ſight, and giving chace, crouded every ſail, and ſtood towards the port of Angra, in Tercera. On the paſſage, he obſerved an Engliſh man of war bearing down upon him, and therefore, to avoid the dangers which ſurrounded him, was reduced to the neceſſity of altering his courſe, and attempted to recover the road of Lagowna, near the ſouthern extremity of the iſle of Flores.

Towards the night, the weather changed, and ſo great was the violence of the tempeſt, that no ſhips belonging to the Engliſh ſquadron were able to carry ſails ſufficient for the purpoſe of coming up with the carrack; which, ſoon afterwards, caſt anchor near the ſhore, and was unladen by the Portugueſe, who, next, loaded her great guns, and then ſet fire to her, from an apprehenſion that ſhe might otherwiſe have been taken by the enemy. The diſcharge of ordnance did no material injury to the Engliſh, and, captain

Norton, who judged that by immediately diſembarking with his aſſociates, he might be able to ſeize the valuable effects which had been landed from the carrack, gave orders that preparations ſhould be made for the execution of his deſign. Accordingly, a ſelect number of the crew were ſupplied with arms, and, proceeded under the command of Norton, in ſeveral boats, towards the ſhore. Having gained it, they took poſſeſſion of the plate, and merchandize, after a ſhort, and feeble oppoſition from the Portugueſe. They, next, attacked the town, and reduced it with ſtill greater eaſe, as the majority of the inhabitants, yielding to the firſt impulſe of their conſternation, had fled into the country.

On the third of Auguſt, the Engliſh intercepted the Madre de Dios, another carrack, more large, and valuable than the former. The action was maintained with equal obſtinacy, and reſolution, during the ſpace of nearly two hours, when the Portugueſe ſubmitted to the mercy of the conquerors. Eager to ſeize the plunder, the Engliſh ran from place, to place, with lighted candles in their hands, and during the confuſion which enſued, a cabin, filled with powder barrels, was accidentally ſet on fire. Inattentive to this impending calamity, numbers were ſtill buſied in their ſearch for treaſure; and, if Norton, with equal prudence, and intrepidity, had not attended ſolely to circumſtances more important than the ſeizure of the booty, and intirely extinguiſhed the flames which were beginning to ſpread around the cabin, every man on board muſt inevitably have periſhed.

No ſooner had the crews ſecured the cargo than they engaged in violent altercations concerning the diviſion of the ſpoil. All, to whatſoever ſhip they might belong, aſſerted that they were intitled to a ſhare;

ſhare; and the individuals on board a veſſel particularly in the ſervice of the queen, made ſtronger, and more undeniable pretenſions than the reſt. If the earl of Cumberland had received his dividend, in proportion to the expences which he incurred, it is more than probable that he muſt have gained at leaſt a million ſterling; but, as he did not act in perſon, and his commiſſion had not provided for the caſe of his return, it was adjudged that he was not intitled to a ſhare, and could have no expectations, but from the generoſity of Elizabeth, who permitted him to receive thirty-ſix thouſand pounds, and warned him to conſider this liberality as a matter of unprecedented favour (*p*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-three, the earl of Cumberland prepared for a ſixth expedition, and, at his own expence, fitted out the following veſſels; the Golden Lion, (admiral;) the Bonaventure, (vice-admiral;) the Anthony, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons; the Pilgrim, of the burthen of one hundred tons; the Chaldon, and the Diſcovery. Of this ſquadron, the earl took the command; and, under him, as vice, and rear-admirals, were Sir Edward York, and Sir William Monſon.

The two firſt prizes taken after the departure of the ſhips from England were French veſſels, in the ſervice of the League, and freighted with ſuch rich cargoes that their value was rated at thrice the ſum of the expences of the voyage. Soon afterwards, the Golden Lion was ſeparated from the fleet, and intercepted twelve hulks, the commanders of which preſuming on their ſuperior force, refuſed to pay the cuſtomary

(*p*) Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 687.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1147.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio, p. 289, 290.

honours to the Engliſh flag. This diſreſpect was immediately followed by hoſtilities, and, at the cloſe of a furious engagement, which laſted during the ſpace of two hours, the admiral of the hulks diſplayed a flag of truce, ſent an officer on board the Golden Lion, with humble acknowledgments of his error, and not only took in his colours, and ſtruck his top-ſails, but made a voluntary confeſſion that the ſquadron under his command was laden with ammunition, and powder for the ſervice of the king of Spain. Theſe the earl immediately ſecured, and then ſuffered the hulks to proceed upon their voyage.

On the day following, the Engliſh took a light veſſel, that had been cruizing on the ſeas, in order to make diſcoveries for a powerful Armada, which was then ſtationed at the diſtance of a few leagues. From the account given by the captain of this prize, the earl was convinced of the neceſſity of avoiding an enemy whom it was impoſſible to oppoſe, and conquer. he therefore determined to quit ſo dangerous a ſtation, but, being ſuddenly attacked by a violent indiſpoſition, prepared for a return to England, whilſt the Anthony, commanded by captain James Lancton, the Pilgrim, under captain Francis Slingſby, and the Diſcovery, proceeded on their voyage to the Weſt-Indies.

Having procured freſh water, and proviſions, at the iſland of Saint Lucia, the Engliſh reſolved to attack the town of Margarita, for the purpoſe of ſeizing the produce of the pearl fiſheries, which were carried on near ſeven ſmall villages, to each of which the Spaniards removed by turns, and, in conſequence of the variations in their proſpects of ſucceſs. All the valuable pearls were conveyed monthly to Margarita, ſituated at the diſtance of three leagues from the water ſide.

During

During the day-time, the Engliſh were cautious of approaching near the intended ſcene of action, leſt, being too ſoon diſcovered, they might be prevented from executing their deſigns. At night, they diſembarked, and marched to two of the fiſheries, which were both empty, and deſerted. Soon afterwards, they were ſo fortunate as to ſeize a Spaniard, and forced him to conduct them to a third fiſhery, at which his countrymen were then employed. The captains Lancton, and Slingſby, at the head of twenty-eight men, proceeded by land, whilſt the boats fell down the river, in order that if it ſhould appear neceſſary, they might cover their retreat. This party was divided into three bodies, for the purpoſe of making attacks in different places, at the ſame time; a meaſure not neceſſary on this occaſion, when the Spaniards threw down their arms, and fled for ſhelter into the woods. The Engliſh having ſeized a quantity of pearls, which were eſtimated at the ſum of two thouſand pounds, retired, unreſiſted, to a neighbouring village, where they remained during the following night. At break of day, they went on board the fiſhing boats, and regaled on oyſters, the pearls of which were of great value. Theſe alſo they ſecured, and immediately embarking, ſailed into the harbour before the town, and compelled the Spaniards to pay a compoſition in pearls, equal to two thouſand ducats, and thus preſerve their houſes from being reduced to aſhes.

The adjacent iſlands were now alarmed, and all the inhabitants, together with the troops, prepared for their defence. At Cumana, the Spaniſh forces were ſo numerous that the Engliſh ſailed by without the leaſt delay, and, having coaſted along Terra Firma, arrived at Rio della Hacha, from whence the natives, equally

enabled to make a vigorous resistance, had sent their valuable commodities to be concealed in caverns, on the summits of the mountaius. Thus baffled in their enterprizes, captain Norton, and his associates proceeded successively to Hispaniola, Cape Tuberone, the bay of Saint Nicholas, fort Saint Plat, Mona, and the island of Savona. From thence, they steered their course to the river Socco, at the distance of nearly five leagues to the eastward of Saint Domingo, and, having sailed far up the river, attacked the large houses which had been constructed, by the Spanish planters, on the adjoining shore. These the English threatened to reduce to ashes, but the owners, by rich presents, prevailed on their invaders to desist from the execution of such dreadful purposes. When they had received a supply of Bullocks, Cassavi meal, fruits, several valuable commodities, the English proceeded to the dwellings on the river Marracava, from the inhabitants of which they extorted all the choicest articles of their merchandize.

They next sailed to Saint Domingo, Jamaica, and Cuba, from the last of which places the Pilgrim departed on her voyage homewards, whilst the Anthony, accompanied by the frigate, sailed towards the bay of Honduras. Arriving in the road of Puerto de Cavallos, they intercepted seven Spanish ships, the least of which was of the burthen of one hundred and eighty tons. After an engagement of nearly twenty-four hours, the Spaniards deserted their vessels, and, having taken away the rudders, escaped in boats to the adjacent land. Their conquerors set fire to the whole fleet, except the admiral-ship, of the burthen of two hundred and fifty tons, which they freighted with the most valuable articles, selected from all the cargoes, and then proceeded with her for Plymouth, where they

they arrived, on the fifteenth of May, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-four (*q*).

In the ſpring of the ſame year, the earl of Cumberland had fitted out, at his own expence, a ſmall Squadron, of which the following were the ſhips: the Royal Exchange, (admiral, of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, and commanded by captain George Cave; the May-flower, (vice-admiral,) of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, and commanded by captain William Anthony; and the Sampſon, (rear-admiral,) commanded by captain Nicholas Downton. Theſe, attended by a caravel, and a ſmall pinnace, ſet ſail from Plymouth, on the ſixth of April, and, in few days from their departure, intercepted, and took a ſmall bark, laden with Galicia wine, and other articles of merchandize. After this event, they proceeded on their paſſage, and, at the commencement of the month of June, arrived within ſight of the iſland of Saint Michael.

On the twelfth the Engliſh deſcried, and immediately gave chace to a large Carrack, which ſoon took in her ſails, and prepared for battle. When the May-flower, the headmoſt of the ſquadron, had arrived within reach of her artillery, ſhe diſcharged a broad-ſide, but the ſhot were ſo ill directed that no material injury enſued. The night was now advanced, and the May-flower muſt have been obliged to ſheer off, if the Sampſon, and, ſoon afterwards, the Royal Exchange, had not failed to her aſſiſtance. The action laſted during a conſiderable time; and, at length, the ſtern, and fore-caſtle of the carrack were ſet on fire by the cannon of the May-flower. The flames aſcended to ſo

(*q*) Sir William Monſon's naval tracts.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1147.—Harris's Coll. Part 2. p. 687.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 299, 300.

ſo great a heighth that the fore-ſail, and fore-top-ſail of this laſt ſhip were entirely conſumed, neither could the Spaniards, who were ſeverely annoyed by the muſketry of their adverſaries, find leiſure even for an attempt to extinguiſh the conflagration.

In order to avoid the fatal conſequences which were likely to reſult from this calamity, the Royal Exchange, and the Sampſon fell off, leaving the May-flower ſoul of the ſprit-ſail-yard of the carrack, and in ſuch danger of being conſumed with her, that it was with difficulty, that, aſſiſted by the boats which were employed in towing, ſhe retreated to a ſecurer diſtance.

The majority of the crew belonging to the carrack were now driven to deſpair, and intreated their commander, Don Franciſco de Melo, to hang out a flag of truce; but, the carpenter, and a ſmall number of the men, more reſolute, declared if their aſſociates would endeavour to extinguiſh the flames, they were prepared to fight to the laſt extremity. At length, when all hopes of ſucceſs were vaniſhed, they threw themſelves, and their treaſures, into the ocean. Several of the officers, who had caſt off their golden chains, jewels, and all their raiment, ſwam to the ſides of the Engliſh veſſels, and, in piteous accents, implored for quarter. Amongſt the Spaniards received on board were Don Nuno Velio Pereiras, the governor of Sofala, and Don Bras de Carrero, the commander of a galleon which had been caſt away near the coaſt of Mozambique. Theſe Perſons were brought to England, and, afterwards, ranſomed. Others might have been received into the ſhips, if they had not diveſted themſelves of thoſe ornaments which could have gratified the thirſt of Plunder, in their adverſaries. It was juſtly obſerved that they ſhould have ſwam towards the Engliſh with their pearls, and jewels about

their

their Necks. The ſeamen would then have been careful of ſuch valuable perſons, and not have ſuffered them to have ſunk, had there appeared a poſſibility of ſaving them; but theſe unhappy wretches had diveſted themſelves of what ſhould have pleaded in their favour; and for want of theſe advocates periſhed miſerably in the ocean.

The carrack continued burning during the ſpace of twenty-four hours, after the departure of the Engliſh; at length, the flames reached ſixty barrels of powder which had been placed under the lower deck, and ſhe was blown to pieces.

The number of Spaniards who periſhed on this occaſion, amounted to eleven hundred men. On the ſide of the Engliſh, captain Anthony, and ſix ſoldiers were killed, during the courſe of the action. Captain Cave was ſeverely wounded, and died on his paſſage homewards. The carrack was larger, and more valuably freighted than the Madre de Dios, and, had ſhe fallen into the hands of her adverſaries, muſt have enriched them all, from the commanding officer, to the loweſt ſailor.

The Engliſh next arrived at the iſle of Florez, from whence, having obtained a conſiderable ſupply of freſh water, and proviſions, they ſet ſail for England, and, on the twenty-ninth of June, came up with a large carrack, of the burthen of fifteen hundred tons, and commanded by Don Lewis de Coſtanio. When this officer was ſummoned by the Engliſh to ſurrender, he ſet them at defiance, and immediately proceeded to hoſtilities. The engagement, which was once only interrupted by a ſhort calm, laſted during the courſe of ſeveral hours, and the carrack was ſo miſerably ſhattered, that the Engliſh might ſoon have taken her, if, diſpirited at the loſs of their ſuperior officers, they had

not

not declined the contest, when the advantage was in their favour. After this event, they became anxious to return home, and, in the month of September, arrived at Portsmouth (*r*).

The earl of Cumberland, dissatisfied with the small share which had been allowed to him by the court, out of the treasure which had been taken in the Spanish carrack, called the Madre de Dios, and still more displeased at the loss of the two great vessels (commanded by the Dons Francisco de Melo, and Lewis de Costanio,) for want of a sufficient force to take them, constructed, at his own expence, a ship of the burthen of nine hundred tons, and the largest which had ever belonged to any English subject. Elizabeth condescended to appear at Deptford, when she was launched, and named her the Scourge of Malice (*s*).

The earl intended to have performed this voyage in his new vessel, accompanied by the captains Monson, and Jarret, in the Alcedo, and Anthony, together with a frigate; but, on his arrival at Plymouth, he received a message from the queen, in consequence of which he was obliged to return to London.

The ships were, notwithstanding, directed to proceed upon the enterprise, and captain Lancton was appointed admiral, a promotion so offensive to Monson, that he determined to quit the squadron, and cruise alone in the Alcedo.

In

(*r*) Harris Coll. V. 1. p. 688.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1147.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts.—MS. in Bibl. Cotton.—Lediard's naval History, V. 1. folio. p. 303, 304.

(*s*) This ship made three voyages in the service of the earl of Cumberland, and was afterwards sold to the East-India Company, for whom (under the name of the Dragon,) she made many returns, and was concerned in the capture of several Portuguese vessels.

In the ſpring of the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, the Scourge of Malice, the Anthony, and the frigate, ſailed to the Azores, where they intercepted, and took a caravel, of the burthen of one hundred tons, and freighted with ſugar. Soon afterwards, on their approach to the iſle of Flores, they diſcovered a large veſſel, ſtationed to the leeward, and bearing the colours of the king of Spain. Arriving within hail, they were informed that ſhe was the Saint Thomas, the vice-admiral of an armada, appointed to guard the Eaſt, and Weſt-India fleets. An action immediately enſued, during which the Engliſh cannonaded the enemy, with ſuch inceſſant fury, that they were obliged to retreat towards the reſt of the ſquadron, then lying at a ſhort diſtance. As Lancton obſerved, that a ſuperior force was ſo near at hand, he judged it prudent to decline a battle, and ſail upon another tack. Accordingly, he ſteered, unmoleſted, by the enemy, towards the coaſt of Spain. Here, they intercepted, and took three Dutch ſhips, which were lawful prizes, as being laden with wheat, copper, and various kinds of ammunition, and proviſion, for the ſervice of a power at war with England. After this event, the ſhips returned in ſafety, with their prizes, to the port of Plymouth (*t*).

It may not be improper to conclude the particulars of this expedition, with the reaſons of the deſertion of Sir William Monſon, as given by himſelf.

" In this year, I was married; but, previous to this " event, I engaged myſelf by promiſe to attend the " earl of Cumberland, as his vice-admiral, to ſea. " His lordſhip went in the Scourge of Malice, a ſtout " veſſel,

(*t*) Harris's Collection, V. 1. p. 688 —Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1148.—Lediards naval hiſtory, V. 1. folio, p. 317, 318.

" veſſel, conſtructed at his own expence. His vice-
" admiral ſhip was the Alcedo, which had been hired
" of the merchants."

" Now, I began to have a proof of what I had before
" juſt cauſe to ſuſpect; the inconſtant friendſhip of
" the earl of Cumberland. For, although I was drawn
" by his ſweet words, and promiſes, to this voyage,
" and we had proceeded upon it ſo far as Plymouth,
" and, from thence, eight, or nine leagues to ſea, to-
" wards the coaſt of Spain, without imparting, or mak-
" ing ſhew of any circumſtance to me, he ſuddenly
" relinquiſhed the voyage (*u*), and appointed another
" captain for his own ſhip, which ſo much diſpleaſed
" me for the preſent, that I abandoned the company of
" his ſhip, at ſea, and betook myſelf to my own ad-
" venture. This afterwards bred a quarrel, between
" the earl and me, and it was a long time before that
" we were reconciled."

" My voyage produced no danger either of fa-
" mine, or of the ſword, as other voyages had done.
" The worſt enemy I found were ſtorms, and ſuch as
" compelled me to cut my main-maſt by the board,
" and bear away for England. After I had weathered
" the coaſt of Spain, the ſtorm held on ſo outrageouſ-
" ly, and was of ſuch long continuance, that I was
" driven to Spain, before the Sea, betwixt the Groyne,
" in Galicia, and Blavet, in Bretagne, which was, at
" that period, in the hands of the Spaniards. The
" ſea was ſo high, and the waves ſo powerful, that
" they raked me fore and aft, for want of a main-
" maſt to keep the ſhip ſteady; ſo that for many days
" together, I expected nothing but to founder at ſea.
" Yet

(*u*) This paſſage ſeems to contradict a preceding aſſertion that the earl was recalled by Elizabeth.

"Yet it pleaſed God that I ſhould, at length, arrive "in ſafety, at Plymouth"

In the Year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-ſix, the earl of Cumberland again equipped the Scourge of Malice, and proceeded on a ninth expedition, accompanied by the Dreadnought, a ſhip belonging to the royal navy, and ſome other ſmall veſſels. At the diſtance of thirty leagues from the coaſt of England, a violent ſtorm aroſe, during which the Scourge of Malice was ſhattered, that ſhe loſt her main-maſt, and became unfit for ſervice. The earl therefore returned immediately to England, in the Dreadnought.

At this period, the earl of Eſſex, and the lord Howard, high-admiral of England, were directed by Elizabeth to proceed towards the coaſt of Spain, with a formidable fleet, conſiſting of ſhips ſelected from the navy, and a ſquadron of Flemiſh men of war (*x*). The earl unwilling to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity of making valuable captures, fitted out the Aſcenſion, of the burthen of three hundred tons, carrying thirty-four pieces of artillery, and manned with one hundred, and twenty mariners, and ſoldiers. The captain was Francis Slingſby, who received orders to cruize for ſuch veſſels as might be on their paſſage from the port of Liſbon.

Thus equipped, the Aſcenſion proceeded on the voyage, and ſoon after her departure, was in danger of being loſt, during the violence of the tempeſt, and drove, with two anchors a-head, until ſhe had approached within the length of three cables of the Goodwin Sands. The Engliſh let fall their ſheet-anchor, and held by it until noon of the ſucceeding day, expecting that every

(*x*) See the ſecond volume of this work, and from page 329, to page 389.

every moment would prove their laſt. As their ſituation became more alarming, it was judged neceſſary to cut the cables, and endeavour to ſtand out to ſea. This they fortunately effected, and returned, on the day following to Plymouth.

Having repaired the damages which the Aſcenſion had ſuſtained, they renewed their courſe, and meeting with a caravel, quitted their ſhip, which was left under the care of a ſmall number of the mariners, and, entering into their boats, began a furious atttack, during which captain Slingſby was ſeverely wounded. The engagement might have ended in the capture of the Caravel, if Siriago, the Spaniſh admiral, who was ſtationed at a ſhort diſtance, had not ſent ſix ſhips to her relief, and, ſoon afterwards, arrived himſelf, in a large galleon, with which, aſſiſted by the other veſſels, he attempted to board the Aſcenſion. The Spaniards leaped into the fore, and main chains, imagining that they could have found an eaſy entrance into the ſhip, but were bravely, and effectually repulſed by the Engliſh, who, obſerving that numbers were aſſembled under the half-deck of the galleon, diſcharged amongſt them ſeveral vollies of ſmall ſhot, by which many were killed and wounded. Several, more puſillanimous than their aſſociates, had concealed themſelves at the commencement of the action, but being diſcovered, were forced to appear on deck; and, to prevent their eſcape, the captain directed that only the ſurgeon, carpenter, and cooper, ſhould be permitted to go down into the hold, and that afterwards, the hatchways ſhould be cloſed.

On the day following, the Spaniſh admiral bore down again, and appeared determined to renew the conteſt, but when he obſerved that the Engliſh were eagerly

eagerly preparing for resistance, he tacked about, and proceeded immediately towards Lisbon.

The Ascension continued near the coast, until all the provisions (except a small quantity, which could not have lasted longer than during the space of three weeks,) were entirely expended. She then returned to England, but was not accompanied by any prize to compensate for the dangers to which she had been exposed, or the damage that she had suffered (y).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety eight, the earl of Cumberland proceeded on a tenth expedition, which was considerably more important than any of the former (z). Exclusive of naval officers,

(y) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1148.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. folio, p. 346, 347.

(z) Of the ships which composed his fleet, and were chiefly equipped at his own expence, the following is a List.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Scourge of Malice, Admiral.	Earl of Cumberland. Under him, on the outward-bound passage, captain John Watts; and, on the homeward bound passage, captain James Lancton.
Merchant-Royal, vice-admiral.	Sir John Berkley.
Ascension, rear-admiral.	Captain Robert Flicke.
Samson.	Captain Henry Clifford, who died, and was succeeded by captain Christopher Colthurst.
Alcedo.	Captain James Ley, and, on the homeward bound passage, captain Thomas Cotch.
Consent.	Captain Francis Slingsby.

cers, he was attended by a gallant train of land commanders, amongſt whom Sir John Berkley was the lieutenant-general. On the ſixth of March, the whole armament ſet ſail from Plymouth, and ſoon after their departure, the earl received information that five carracks more valuably freighted than any which had been ever ſent to India, were on the point of ſailing, under the convoy of twenty-five ſhips, which were all bound for the Braziles. A diſpoſition was immediately made for intercepting, and attacking them; but the Engliſh had the mortification to diſcover that their intentions were not concealed from the Spaniards, who had diſpatched

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.
Proſperous.	Captain James Lancton, and on the homeward-bound paſſage, captain John Watts.
Centurion.	Captain Henry Palmer, and, on the homeward-bound paſſage, his ſon, captain William Palmer.
Galleon Conſtance.	Captain Hercules Folyambe.
Affection.	Captain Fleming.
Guiana.	Captain Chriſt. Colthurſt, and, on the homeward-bound paſſage, captain Gerrard Middleton.
Scout.	Captain Henry Joliffe
Anthony.	Captain Robert Careleis, who died, and was ſucceeded by captain Andrew Andrews.
Pegaſus.	Captain Edward Goodwin.
Royal Defence.	Captain Henry Bromley.
Margaret and John.	Captain John Dixon.
Barkley Bay.	Captain John Ley.
An old frigate.	Captain William Harper.

Excluſive of theſe, were two barges for the purpoſe of diſembarking the ſoldiers.

patched their light frigates to the different harbours, along the coaſt, in order to prevent the carracks, and other veſſels, from proceeding on their voyages. Previous to this event, the Engliſh had taken a ſhip belonging to the port of Hamburgh, and a merchantman in the ſervice of the French. The firſt was laden with corn, copper, powder, and other prohibited commodities. The cargo of the ſecond conſiſted ſolely of ſalt.

The earl of Cumberland, convinced that it would be in vain to wait longer either for the carracks, or the Brazil ſhips, ſet ſail, with his whole fleet, for the South Cape, after having taken two Flemiſh veſſels, freighted with corn. Paſſing by the Canaries, he proceeded to the iſland of Lancerota, and, on his arrival, attacked, reduced, and plundered it. It was then commanded by a Spaniſh nobleman, whoſe property was immenſe, and who exerted every ſpecies of tyranny over the ſubmiſſive, and unfortunate inhabitants of this, and the adjacent iſland of Forlaventura. The governor reſided in a ſtrong caſtle, conſtructed with ſtones, and acceſſible only by ladders. It was fortified on all ſides, and the ramparts were crouded with pieces of artillery. Within, this officer was guarded by two hundred ſoldiers, and domeſtics; and yet, although twenty men might, with eaſe, have defended the citadel againſt thirty times the number of opponents, the Spaniards fled, without having made the leaſt reſiſtance, and left it in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. The town, (which conſiſted of an hundred houſes,) the church, and the monaſtery of friars, were likewiſe abandoned to the mercy of the conquerors. At this place, the plunder was of little value.

From Lancerota, the Engliſh ſet ſail, on the twenty-firſt of April, for Dominica, and the Virgin iſlands. At

the former of these places, they disembarked, on the twenty-third of May, and remained there until the first of June. Previous to their departure, one of the captains, attended by a small number of the soldiers, went up the river, and landed at an Indian town, where they were hospitably entertained by the chieftain of the place. It was at the Virgin Islands, that the earl of Cumberland, having assembled his officers, and the chief persons belonging to his fleet, declared his intentions to direct his martial operations against Saint Juan de Puerto Ricco.

On the sixth of June, the English arrived at this place, when their admiral disembarked, at the head of a thousand men, and immediately advanced to the scene of action. They were obliged to march, attended by a negro, who was their guide, over high rocks, and dreadful precipices. Between these, and the island, on which the town stood, was a small arm of the sea; and the English, who were not provided with boats, despaired of crossing it. At length, they discovered a narrow causeway, terminated by a bridge, which was drawn up. Beyond it, the enemy had constructed a battery, and, at a short distance from the spot, a lofty fortress commanded the whole causeway, into which the Spaniards could discharge the shot from their artillery, and small arms. As the pass was exceedingly obstructed, the English chose rather to wade through the water, by the side of it.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, which were augmented by the Sultriness of the day, the darkness of the night, and the necessary absence of the earl of Cumberland (*a*), the soldiers resolutely pressed on to a gate

(*a*) He was obliged to retire, in consequence of the bruizes which he had received by a fall from the precipice into

gate which ſtood in front of the battery, and began to hew it down with bills, and hatchets. During this enterprize, the Spaniards kept up an inceſſant firing, and their aſſailants were obliged to retreat, after having ſtood, for a long ſpace of time, up to their waiſts in water. The next attack was more ſucceſsful. Whilſt a party of muſketeers drove the enemy from their ordnance, on the one ſide, ſeveral pike-men rowed towards that part of the ſhore, which was ſituated between the fortreſs, and the town. It was owing to the good conduct, and intrepidity of the firſt body, that the laſt diſembarked, without any material oppoſition, and, joining their aſſociates, proceeded to the attack. The Spaniards now became intimidated, and not only deſerted the outworks, but intirely evacuated the town. Fort Mora, a place of great ſtrength, and two citadels, the one ſituated near the entrance of Puerto Ricco, and the other at the weſtern extremity of it, ſurrendered to the beſiegers, and left them in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of every place.

The town, conſiderably more ſpacious within the fortifications than Portſmouth, was filled with broad ſtreets, the chief edifices of which made a grand appearance; and, amongſt theſe, the moſt magnificent were the cathedral, and a friary. As the Spaniards had been accuſtomed to make Puerto Ricco, the great avenue to the continent of America, the earl intimated to his aſſociates a deſign of putting it into a ſtrong poſture of defence, and of maintaining ſhips within the harbour, in order that they might be ready to cruize againſt the enemy. The execution of this meaſure was recommended with equal ardour by the whole

into the ſea, and it was with difficulty that, incumbered by the weight of armour, he ſwam to ſhore.

company, and those individuals were esteemed particularly fortunate whose names were inserted in the list of future residents on the spot. The earl now obliged all the former inhabitants to depart, notwithstanding that they offered him five hundred pounds sterling, exclusive of gold, and silver, in massy services of plate, and many different articles of valuable merchandize, for a permission to dwell within the town.

At the commencement of the preparations made by this illustrious adventurer for an establishment at Puerto Ricco, an unexpected calamity put a period to his enterprizes. A dreadful disorder broke out amongst the English, and raged with such violence that numbers expired within a short time from the first appearance of infection, and the remainder proved insufficient for the purposes of keeping possession of the place, and of navigating the fleet to England. At the debarkation, the earl had mustered more than one thousand men; but, such ravages had ensued from epidemical distempers, that scarcely five hundred of his associates remained alive. The persons chosen to reside at Puerto Ricco were now dispirited by calamities which yet threatened to prove fatal to the whole, and earnestly intreated their commander that they might be suffered to depart. With this request, he willingly complied, but judged it politic to keep possession of the place, until he should have obtained a considerable ransom from the Spaniards. Concerning the mode of raising the sums which it might be necessary to advance, They desired some time for deliberation, and their subsequent behaviour convinced the English that they had secretly resolved to evade the payment of any composition, and, at the first favourable opportunity, to attempt, by force of arms to take possession of the island.

At

At this period, a caravel, freighted with pearls, which amounted to the value of a thousand Ducats, came into the harbour, and was seized, in consequence of an order from the earl of Cumberland. She had arrived from Margarita, on her passage to Spain; and the hopes of being suffered to proceed to that Kingdom, had induced the captain to confess that the pearl-chests, at the former place, were not only of immense value, but so carelessly guarded that they might be plundered by a small number of brave adventurers, with impunity. On the fifteenth of July, the day when the earl of Cumberland received this welcome information, three ships, the officers, and crews of which, were directed to attempt the seizure of the pearls, set Sail from Margarita; but, as this place lay south-east, and by south, from Puerto Ricco, and the winds blew constantly in the summer either east-south-east, or south-east, and by east, the ships were driven back into the port, and the enterprize was intirely relinquished. Previous to the return of the ships, another vessel, bound from Angola, in Africa, and filled with negroes, entered the harbour, and was taken by the English.

When the earl of Cumberland discovered that the repeated delays of the Spaniards concerning the settlement of the ransom were not likely to be terminated, and that they ceased to look with all their former terror on enemies whom sickness had enfeebled, he set sail (*b*) from Puerto Ricco, leaving more than half of the fleet, under the command of Sir John Berkley, who on this occasion was intrusted with discretionary powers.

The two great ships which attended the earl were the Scourge of Malice, and the Samson. The remain-

(*b*) August 14th. A. D. 1598.

der of the division consisted of smaller vessels; and these were the Royal Defence, the Elizabeth, the Guiana, the frigate, two small transports, a French Pinnace, and a Spanish galley, which he found in the harbour of Puerto Ricco. The Ascension, the Constance, the Alcedo, the Consent, the Pegasus, the Centurion, and two fly-boats, all of which composed the strength of the fleet, were left with Sir John Berkley. One great motive for the departure of the earl was the anxious inclination which he had felt to arrive speedily at the islands, where he hoped to intercept either the Mexico fleet, or several of the carracks. That he did not reach Flores, until they had sailed from thence appears to have been a fortunate event, as they were under the convoy of twenty large Spanish men of war; a force too powerful for the opposition of his squadron. It is equally uncertain how long Sir John Berkley remained at Puerto Ricco, after the departure of the earl of Cumberland, and in what manner the treaty with the Spaniards relative to the payment of the ransom was concluded. We are only informed that each division of the fleet was in danger of being lost during the violence of a tempest, and together entered the port of Flores. From thence, they renewed their course, on the sixteenth of September, and arrived at Portsmouth, in October, of the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-eight.

Thus ended the last voyage of this illustrious adventurer, whose abilities were equally conspicuous in the different departments of the soldier, and the Statesman. Alike versed in the art of governing, and every branch of naval, and military Science, he acquired an exalted reputation in consequence of those services which he had rendered to Elizabeth, and her subjects, in war, and peace. Fortune frowned upon his enterprizes. If his

his ſucceſſes had been proportioned to his merit, talents, and well-concerted projects, his character muſt have ſtood as high as that of any of his contemporaries. The vaſt expences which he had incurred by the conſtruction, and equipment of veſſels, had conſiderably impaired his income, and the only profitable acquiſition which he made was at Puerto Ricco. This conſiſted of hides, ginger, ſugar, eighty pieces of iron ordnance, and pearls, the value of which amounted to a thouſand ducats.

The moſt important reſult of this expedition may be traced in the loſſes felt by the king of Spain, whoſe carracks were prevented from making their voyage to the Indies, and whoſe plate-fleet was detained, during the courſe of a whole year, in the harbours of America.

Amongſt the adventurers who ſerved under the earl of Cumberland, ſix hundred died of an epidemical diſorder, at Puerto Ricco. Forty were drowned at that calamitous period when the Pegaſus, and the old frigate were daſhed to pieces. The veſſels loſt were a barge, ſunk in the haven, for the purpoſe of injuring the enemy; another barge caſt away, during a tempeſt at the Bermudas; the Pegaſus, and the old frigate, the firſt of which was wrecked on the Goodwin ſands, and the laſt, at Uſhant. In return for theſe muſt be reckoned the few ſhips which were taken during the courſe of the voyage.

We ſhall conclude this relation with the judicious remarks of a naval officer (*c*) who was not only the contemporary, but, on ſome occaſions, the aſſociate of the earl of Cumberland.

"The error, committed in the proſecution of this "voyage, muſt be imputed to my lord himſelf, in "not

(*c*) Sir William Monſon.

"not forecasting how to prevent the hazard, and fears "that might be impediments to his designs; there-"fore, he worthily deserved blame, to present him-"self, and the fleet in the eye of Lisbon, to be there "discovered, knowing that the secret carriage thereof "gave life and hopes to the action. By a familiar "example of a man that being safely seated in a "house, and in danger of an arrest, knows that "catchpoles wait to attack him, and yet notwith-"standing will venture abroad, and not seek to avoid "them; so fared it with the carracks, at that time, "who rather chose to keep themselves in the harbour "than venture upon an unavoidable danger.

"If my lord had done well, and providently, his "fleet should have been furnished without rumour, "or notice, in several harbours, in England. The "men that went in them need not have known, or im-"agiued the design of their voyage, or that they "should have met, to compose a main fleet, until "they were come to the height in which the car-"racks were to sail, and after that, each captain might "have opened his directions, with a special caution "not to appear within sight of the shore, for fear of "discovery. This way (and no other there was,) "would have lulled the Portuguese into security, or at "least, a mistrust might have been avoided, until they "had fallen into their hands.

"My lord's other hope, if this had failed, was to "give an attempt with his land-forces, either upon "some island, or town, that would have yielded him "wealth and riches, being the chief end of his un-"dertaking. After many propositions made at coun-"cil, his resolution was to make an attempt upon "the island of Puerto Ricco, in which island there was "a town of convenient size, and strength, which my

"lord,

"lord, not long after, took, and poſſeſſed, with little "loſs of men, on either ſide; becauſe they came to "a compoſition.

"Herein lies my part to except againſt this deſign "of my lord's, as I promiſed in my former relations; "for, whereas all men's actions have a reaſonable "ſhew of likelihood of good to redound to them in "their intended enterprizes, yet cannot I conceive "how a land-attempt upon towns could yield my "lord any profit, or the merchants that adventured "with him; for my lord, by experience, well knew, "having been himſelf at the taking of ſome towns, "that they afforded little wealth to the takers; be-"cauſe riches of value will be either buried, or ſe-"cretly conveyed away; and, for merchandizes of "great bulk, which that poor iſland yielded, it was "only ſome few hides, black ſugar, and ginger, "which would not amount to any great matter, to "countervail the charge of ſo coſtly a voyage.

"Commonly that iſland ſends out two, or three "ſhips, of a reaſonable burthen, to tranſport the ear-"ly commodities that it yields; for although it have "the name of being in the Indies, yet it is a place re-"mote, and unfrequented with traffic, either from "the Indies, or any other place; or, although the iſland "ſhould be ſurprized, at ſuch a ſeaſon of the year, as "their commodities were ripe, and ready for tranſ-"portation, yet the value is not to be eſteemed, where "ſo many people that adventured with my lord, were "to look for a dividend, according to their adven-"ture.

"And yet I will not deny, but by accident, this "iſland was made worthy of an attempt upon it, by "the example of Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John

"Haw-

"Hawkins, who ſailed thither, on their own account, "in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and nine-"ty-five. Their defeat made it the more admired, "and purchaſed my lord's greater honour, in that he "carried it with a ſmaller number of men, and leſs "loſs, than Drake was repulſed with.

"But, becauſe time, and opportunity alter the cir-"cumſtances of things, therefore, to ſatisfy thoſe "common, and vulgar people, who judge according to "events, and not according to reaſon, let us under-"ſtand the difference, and the cauſe that made the "difference, betwixt Sir Francis Drake, in the year, "one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, and "the earl of Cumberland, in the year, one thouſand, "five hundred, and ninety-eight.

"Sir Francis Drake was commanded thither by di-"rections from the queen; not that ſhe expected "profit, or benefit from the iſland, which ſhe well "knew, of itſelf, was unworthy of any enterprize; "but what ſhe did was upon intelligence that ſhe re-"ceived of a Galleon of plate, which, with the loſs of "her maſt, was forced into that iſland.

"In the mean time, five frigates were preparing, "in Spain, to bring home that treaſure; and, in "them, were eight, or nine hundred ſoldiers, who, "in their courſe to Puerto Ricco, ſurprized a pinnace "of Sir Francis Drake's Fleet, that gave intelligence of "his deſign, as well againſt that place, as Nombre de "Dios, whither he was bound. By this accident, "his deſigns were prevented, and the enemy had lei-"ſure to fortify, ſtrengthen, and man the towns, with "the ſoldiers brought in the frigates, which made "Sir Francis Drake ſuddenly, and diſhonourably retire, "with the loſs of divers gentlemen, and others of

"good

" good quality. The misfortune was ſuppoſed to " haſten the death of Sir John Hawkins, who then " died, after he had ſeen himſelf thus repulſed.

" My lord might as well have conſidered that no " uſe could be made of the ſituation of that iſland, as " of other iſlands of leſs value, and riches, there " might be; as, for inſtance, the Tercera, which, " although the ſoils yield not that plenty, and profit, " which Puerto Ricco doth, yet, by our inhabiting it, " the Spaniards, and Portugueſe would find great an- " noyances, in their return from the Indies, Braſil, " and Guinea, in which ſeas our ſhips would conti- " nually lie, and endeavour to cut them off. On the " contrary, Puerto Ricco is ſeated ſo loneſomely, that " the inhabitants ſcarcely had the ſight of a ſhip, " during the whole year."

This illuſtrious adventurer was honoured, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-two, with the order of the Garter; a dignity which, during the reign of Elizabeth, was not frequently beſtowed, until it had been merited by ſignal ſervices to the public. He ſurvived the queen, and was much reſpected by her ſucceſſor. On the thirtieth of October, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and five, the earl of Cumberland expired, at the Savoy, in London; and his remains were afterwards interred at Skipton-Craven, in the county of York (*d*).

(*d*) The particulars of this expedition are taken from Camden. — Stow. — Speed. — Holingſhed.—Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 688.—Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts.—— Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, folio V. 1. p. 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 576, 577.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

THOMAS CAVENDISH, Esq;

THIS celebrated adventurer is supposed by a naval historian (*a*), to have been descended from that illustrious family, the present chief of which is Duke of Devonshire. He was born at Trimley, in the county of Suffolk, where, in the more youthful part of his life, he possessed a large estate, but afterwards reduced it by those unlimited expences which were necessary to support a vain attempt to eclipse, in gallantry, and magnificence, the nobles who attended on the person of Elizabeth. In order to retrieve his circumstances, he, at the commencement of the war with Spain, availed himself of a general permission from the queen, to cruize against her enemies, and made the necessary preparations for an expedition to the South Seas.

On the twenty-first of July, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-six, he set sail from Plymouth, with three vessels; the Desire, of the burthen

(*a*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 570.

then of one hundred and twenty tons; the Content, of the burthen of ſixty tons; and the Hugh Gallant, of the burthen of forty tons. Theſe were equipped at his own expence, ſupplied with neceſſaries for the ſpace of two years, and manned with one hundred and twenty-three perſons, incluſive of the mariners and ſoldiers, over all of whom, Cavendiſh preſided with the rank of admiral.

On the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, theſe adventurers arrived at Sierra Leona, where they ravaged a town belonging to the negroes, in revenge for the death of one of their aſſociates, who had been wounded with an envenomed arrow. From hence, they departed, on the ſixth of September, and arrived, ſoon afterwards, at one of the iſlands of Cape de Verd.

On the thirty-firſt of October, as they were ſailing weſt-ſouth-weſt, and, at the diſtance of twenty-four leagues from Cape Trio, in Braſil, they fell in with a lofty mountain, ſituated between two iſlands. On the firſt of November, and, in the ſouthern latitude of twenty-four degrees, they diſembarked, near the iſland of Saint Sebaſtian, and the main land, where they conſtructed a pinnace, and repaired their veſſels. Having remained there until the twenty-third, they ſet ſail, and, on the twenty-ſixth, reached the coaſt of America, in the ſouthern latitude of forty-ſeven degrees, from whence they ran along the ſhore, a degree farther. On the twenty-ſeventh, they entered a haven, to which the admiral gave the name of Port Deſire. Here they careened their ſhips, unmoleſted by the natives, who appeared uncultivated ſavages, and were of gigantic ſtature.

On the twenty-eighth of December, they departed from Port Deſire, and ſoon afterwards (*b*) paſſed near a large

(*b*) December 30th.

large rock, ſituated at the diſtance of five leagues from the land. On the ſecond of January, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſeven, they reached a great cape, and, on the day following, fell in with a ſecond, in the latitude of fifty-two degrees, and forty-five minutes. From hence, a long beach ran, nearly a league to the ſouthward, extending to the mouth of the Magellanic ſtreight. As the weather was unfavourable, they remained at this place, until the ſixth of January, and during the violence of a tempeſt, were ſo unfortunate as to loſe an anchor.

Having entered the ſtreights, they received on board a Spaniard, whoſe aſſociates (twenty men, and two women,) were the only ſurvivors of four hundred perſons, who, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-nine, had been ſent thither by Philip, the ſecond, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a colony. On the ſeventh, they paſſed by the hull of a ſmall bark, and were informed by the Spaniard, that it had been left there by Sir Francis Drake. On the eighth, they caſt anchor near the iſland of Penguin, where they killed, and ſalted a large quantity of thoſe birds, in alluſion to the numerous flocks of which, the place was named. On the ninth, they departed from this iſland, and ſailed ſouth-ſouth-weſt to Philip's-Town, which had been erected by the Spaniards. Here, in a ſubterraneous cavern, they diſcerned four caſt guns, which had been buried by the inhabitants, who, during the ſpace of two years, had languiſhed miſerably under the want of many of the chief neceſſaries of exiſtence. Previous to their departure, the Engliſh named the place Port Famine.

On the fourteenth, they entered within a large bay, and called it Muſcle-cove, on account of the quanti-

ties of that ſhell-fiſh which were diſcovered on the ſhore. On the twenty-firſt, they ſailed from thence, and paſſed into another bay, which was, immediately, named after their ſovereign, Elizabeth.

At the diſtance of two leagues from the bay, they diſcovered a fine river, the banks of which were inhabited by cannibals, who had devoured numbers of the Spaniards. The Engliſh not only ſaw, but ſpoke with theſe inhuman wretches, againſt ſeveral of whom they diſcharged their muſquets, when they perceived that their intentions were ſanguinary, whilſt under the ſhew of peace, they would have perſuaded them to venture up the river. From hence, the ſhips proceeded to the channel of Saint Jerome, at the diſtance of two leagues, and, next entered a harbour, where they were detained by contrary winds, violent tempeſts, and immoderate ſhowers, until the twenty-third of February. On the day following, the Engliſh ſailed into the South-ſea.

On the firſt of March, the Hugh-Gallant was ſeparated from the fleet, during the violence of a ſtorm, and, having ſprung a leak, was, with difficulty preſerved, by the inceſſant labour of the mariners, from plunging to the bottom. On the fifteenth, ſhe joined the Deſire, and the Content, between the iſland of Saint Mary, and the continent of Chili. Theſe laſt ſhips had, in the mean time, touched at the iſland of La Mocha, which lies in thirty-eight degrees of ſouthern latitude. Here, ſeveral of the Engliſh diſembarked, and were hoſpitably entertained by the Indians, natives of the iſland of Aranco. Theſe people were poſſeſſed of mines of gold, and had not yet ſubmitted to the dominion of the Spaniards.

On the ſixteenth, the admiral, attended by ſeventy of his men, landed on the iſland of Saint Mary, and was

was met by two Indian chiefs, who, mistaking the whole company for Spaniards, to whose authority they had been long accustomed to pay a servile deference, conducted them to a chapel, around which were storehouses intirely filled with wheat, and barley. Of these, the English took a large quantity, and, at the same time, procured a supply of hogs, hens, potatoes, Guinea wheat, and five hundred dried dog-fishes. The admiral invited the two Indians to an entertainment on board of the Desire; and, here, when they were elevated with wine, and had discovered that they were not amongst the Spaniards, they ventured to speak of mines of gold, and assured the admiral that if he, and his companions, would cross the country, they should be assisted in procuring a treasure equal to their most sanguine wishes. Cavendish returned them thanks for so liberal an offer, yet could not be persuaded to embrace it.

On the eighteenth, the English sailed from this place, and after a short passage, cast anchor under the island of Conception. On the thirtieth, they entered the bay of Quintero, in the southern latitude of thirty-three degrees, and fifty minutes. Fifty men, well armed, were ordered, by the admiral, to disembark immediately, and to proceed some miles towards the inland parts of the country. On their march they saw vast herds of cattle, and passed near the rivers which abounded with quantities of fish. The Spaniards had sent out a party of two hundred horse, for the purpose of intercepting, and vanquishing the English; yet, although the former were superior in numbers, and better prepared for action, they seemed afraid of venturing within gun-shot of their invaders, and suffered them to return unresisted to their ships. On the following day, they were less irresolute. Two hundred

horſemen ruſhed forward from the mountains, and, attacking a ſmall party of the Engliſh, who were on ſhore, engaged in repleniſhing their caſks with water, killed two, and made three their priſoners. Scarcely had the engagement been concluded, when fifteen men diſembarked from the boat belonging to the Hugh-Gallant, and, joining their aſſociates, began a furious attack, at the cloſe of which they were victorious, reſcuing the priſoners, and deſtroying twenty-four of their opponents. Twelve fell on the ſide of the Engliſh, who now became a terror to the Spaniards, and were no longer interrupted in their proceedings.

On the fifth, the admiral left the bay of Quintero, and, in ten days from his departure, arrived at Moro Moreno, in the latitude of twenty-three degrees. On the third of the following month (*c*), they entered within a bay, and diſcovered the ſmall towns of Paracca, Chincha, and Piſca, the laſt of which lies in thirteen degrees, and thirty minutes, of ſouthern latitude. Here, the Engliſh diſembarked, and procured a ſupply of various proviſions. They likewiſe ſeized two ſhips, one of which was ſo richly freighted as to be valued at twenty thouſand pounds, ſterling. Having ſecured the cargoes, they ſet fire to the veſſels, and permitted the crews to proceed, unmoleſted, to the town. Concerning the natives of this region, the admiral hath left the following deſcription.

"They ſtand in great awe of the Spaniards, are very "ſimple people, and live like ſavages. They brought "us to their abodes ſituated nearly two miles from "the harbour, and ſhewed us their women, and their "mode of lodging. On the ground, is laid the ſkin "of ſome wild beaſt; above it, and placed acroſs, are "five, or ſix ſtakes, which reſt on the tops of pieces "of

(*c*) May 1587.

"of wood that are driven deeply into the ground. "the whole is fenced about with boughs. Their diet "is raw fish, which stinks most intolerably. At their "decease, these savages are buried with their bows, "arrows, canoes, and all their property. We opened "one of the graves, and saw the order in which they "lay."

On the twenty-sixth, the English reached the road of Paita, and immediately attacked, plundered, and reduced the town to ashes. They likewise set fire to a bark, which was at anchor within the harbour. After the commission of these hostilities, they pursued the inhabitants to the mountains, where they seized their baggage, and every valuable article, amongst which were twenty-five pounds weight of rials of plate, all kinds of merchandize, household-goods, and apparel.

On the twenty fifth of May, they arrived at the isle of Puna, situated in three degrees of southern latitude, and famous for the manufactories of cables. Having attacked, and sunk a large ship, of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, which lay at anchor within the port, they immediately disembarked, and obtained intelligence that the Cacique, or lord of the island was an Indian, who had espoused a Spanish woman, was converted to christianity, and lived in great splendor. As the greatest part of his property, estimated at an hundred thousand crowns, was concealed within the subterraneous cavern of a small island adjoining to Puna, the admiral, and his associates repaired thither, discovered the treasure, and conveyed it to their ships, yet not until, at their return, they had seized the bells within the church, and reduced the edifice to ashes.

On the ſecond of June, the Spaniards aſſembled in arms, and appeared determined to take vengeance for the injuries which they had received. At noon, a deſperate engagement was commenced, during which twelve of the Engliſh were either killed, wounded, or taken Priſoners, and forty-ſix of the Spaniards fell in the field of battle. Towards the evening, ſeventy men landed from the Content, and the Hugh-Gallant. They were attacked by an armed multitude, conſiſting of an hundred Spaniards, and two hundred Indians, whom, after a ſhort reſiſtance, they intirely defeated. They next ſet fire to four large veſſels on the ſtocks, and, having demoliſhed the town, in which were three hundred houſes, retired unmoleſted, to their ſhips. The loſs of men on the ſide of the Engliſh was, notwithſtanding, ſo ſeverely felt, that the admiral gave orders that the Hugh-Gallant, the bark, of the burthen of forty tons, ſhould be directly ſunk.

On the fifth, the Engliſh left Puna, and having watered at Rio Dulce, paſſed the line, on the twelfth, and, during the remainder of the month, directed their courſe, northwards. On the firſt of July, they deſcried New-Spain, at the diſtance of four leagues. On the ninth, they intercepted, and took a new ſhip, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons. Having ſecured the crew, and one Michael Sancius, an experienced pilot, and accuſtomed to voyages in the South ſeas, they ſet fire to the ſhip. On the twenty-ſixth, and nearly a fortnight after they had taken another bark, they caſt anchor in the river of Copalita, ſituated in ſixteen degrees of north latitude. At night, thirty of the Engliſh rowed in the pinnace to Aguatulco, where they made a deſcent, and burned the town, and cuſtom-houſe, in the laſt of which were

ſix

ſix hundred bags of indigo, and four hundred of cocoa, valued together at twenty-eight thouſand crowns.

On the twenty-ſeventh, the ſhips ſailed from the river of Copalita, and reached Aguatulco, on the following night. At day-break, the admiral diſembarked, attended by thirty men, who ſeized an officer of the cuſtoms, as he was paſſing through the woods, with a load of merchandize, and not only forced him to reſign it, but ſent him a priſoner to their aſſociates.

On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, a party of the Engliſh, who had been led by the informations of Sancius to expect a valuable acquiſition, proceeded to Puerto de Natividad, and were mortified by the diſcovery that the veſſels of which they were in ſearch had juſt departed. They, notwithſtanding, reduced the town to aſhes, and deſtroyed two ſhips, each of the burthen of two hundred tons.

On the twenty-ſixth, they arrived at the bay of Saint Jago, where they dragged for, and obtained a quantity of pearls. The admiral, and a part of his aſſociates engaged, until the fourth of November, in the reduction, and demolition of ſeveral ſmall towns, whilſt the Deſire, and the Content, cruized near the head-land of California. At this period, a mariner deſcried a ſhip from the main-top-maſt, when the admiral diſplayed the ſignal for chacing, and, crouding every ſail, kept on his courſe. At the expiration of three hours, he came up with her, and diſcovered that ſhe was the Saint Ann, the largeſt ſhip in all the South Seas, of the burthen of ſeven hundred tons, and on her paſſage from the Philippines, to Acapulco, in New-Spain. When the Engliſh had fired the firſt broad-ſide, the enemy began a furious cannonading, and the battle laſted during five hours, at the cloſe of which a flag of truce was hoiſted on board of the

Saint Ann, and the commander offered to yield up the ſhip, and cargo, on condition that the crew, together with himſelf, ſhould not be put to death. This propoſal was complied with, and the conquerors took poſſeſſion of their prize, in which were one hundred, and twenty-two thouſand pieces of gold, (each valued at eight ſhillings,) rich ſilks, ſattins, damaſk, muſk, and various kinds of valuable merchandize, and proviſions. All the Spaniards, in number, one hundred, and fifty, including women, were left (*d*) aſhore near the harbour of Puerto Seguro, after having been ſupplied with all neceſſaries, a quantity of wine, the ſails of their ſhip, and ſome planks for the purpoſe of conſtructing huts.

On the nineteenth, having ſet fire to the Saint Ann, on board of which five hundred tons of goods were ſtill remaining, they proceeded on their return to England. The Content was ſoon outſailed, and the Deſire directed her courſe ſingly to the Ladrones, and, on the third of January, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, approached Guiana, in the latitude of thirteen degrees, and forty minutes. At this place, they were ſurrounded by thirty canoes, full of ſavages, who, in exchange for ſome of the leaſt valuable commodities of Europe, gave them cocoas, plantains, potatoes, and freſh fiſh. On the fourteenth, they arrived at a head-land of one of the Philippines, called Cabo del Spirito Santo. On the fifteenth they reached the iſle of Capul, and, having caſt anchor, trafficked with the ſeven Caciques, or chiefs of the place. Here, they remained during nine days, and were well ſupplied with freſh victuals, wood, and water. At this place, alſo, the Spaniſh pilot of the Saint Ann was executed on a gibbet erected for the pur-

(*d*) November 6, 1587.

purpose. He had been detected in an attempt to betray the English into the hands of the Spaniards; and his guilt was confirmed partly by the deposition of a Portuguese, his friend, and, partly, by passages from letters discovered in his trunk. At Capul, the admiral exacted a tribute of provisions from the Caciques of this, and an hundred other islands; but, soon afterwards, returned the value of it, when these chiefs declared that they would, on all occasions, assist him to oppose the Spaniards.

On the twenty-fourth, the English set sail, and passed the streight between Panama, and Negro Island. On the eighth of February, they came in sight of Batochina; and, on the fourteenth, fell in with eleven small islands, adjoining to the Moluccos. On the first of March, having passed the streights of Java Major, and Minor, they cast anchor near the south-western extremity of the former, and, on the twelfth, engaged in traffic with the inhabitants, who came along side of the ship, in canoes, laden with provisions. After having remained here, during a fortnight, they proceeded towards the Cape of Good Hope, and reached it on the sixteenth of May. From thence, they directed their course for Saint Helena, and arrived there on the ninth of June. When they were supplied with necessaries, they set sail for England (*e*). On the twentieth of August, they came in sight of the isle of Flores, and, continuing their voyage, arrived at Plymouth, on the ninth of September, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, having sailed intirely round the globe, and brought home what, in that age, was considered as an amazing fortune.

The following is a copy of the letter which was written by Cavendish to the lord Hunsdon, on the day of his return.

Right

(*e*) June 20, 1588.

Right Honourable, &c.

" As your favours heretofore have been moſt great-
" ly extended towards me, ſo I humbly deſire a conti-
" nuance thereof; and although there be nothing in
" me to deſerve it, yet the utmoſt of my ſervices ſhall
" not be wanting, whenever it ſhall pleaſe your ho-
" nour, to acquaint her majeſty with the intention
" I had to ſerve her, in the performance of this voy-
" age; and, as it has pleaſed GOD to give her the vic-
" tory over part of her enemies, ſo I hope ere long to
" ſee her overthrow them all. The places of their
" wealth, whereby they maintained, and made their
" wars, are now perfectly diſcovered; and, if it
" pleaſe her majeſty, with a very ſmall power, ſhe
" may take the ſpoil of them all. It hath pleaſed
" the ALMIGHTY to ſuffer me to circumnavigate the
" whole globe of the world; entering in at the
" ſtreight of Magellan, and returning by the Cape of
" Good Hope. In which voyage, I have either diſco-
" vered, or brought certain intelligence of all the rich
" places of the world, that ever were known, or diſ-
" covered by any Chriſtian. I navigated along the
" coaſts of Chili, Peru, and Nueva Eſpana, where I
" made great ſpoils. I burned, and ſunk nineteen ſail
" of ſhips, ſmall, and great. All the villages, and
" towns that ever I landed at, I burned, and ſpoiled;
" and had I not been diſcovered upon the coaſt, I had
" taken great quantities of treaſure. The moſt profit-
" able prize to me was a great ſhip of the king's,
" which I took at California, coming from the Philip-
" pines, being one of the richeſt of merchandize, that
" ever paſſed thoſe ſeas, as it appeared by the king's
" regiſter, and the merchants accounts; for, it a-
" mounted to the value of *****, to be ſold in Mexi-
" co.

"co. Which goods (my ships being able to con-
"tain but a very small part of them) I was obliged
"to set on fire. From the cape of California, which
"is the uttermost part of Nueva Espana, I navigated
"to the islands of the Philippines, bordering upon the
"coasts of China; of which country I have brought
"such intelligence, as hath not yet been heared of in
"these parts. The statelinefs, and riches of which
"country, I fear to make report of, lest I should not
"be credited; for, if I had not sufficiently known the
"incomparable wealth of that country, I should have
"been as incredulous thereof, as others will be that
"have not had the like experience. I sailed along the
"islands of the Moluccos, where I was civilly enter-
"tained by some of the Heathen-people; and where
"our country-men may trade as freely as the Portu-
"guese, if they will. From thence, I passed by the
"cape of Good Hope, and found out, in the way
"homeward, the island of St. Helena, where the Por-
"tuguese are used to refresh themselves; and from
"that island GOD hath suffered me to return to Eng-
"land. All which services, with myself, I humbly
"prostrate at her majesty's feet, desiring the AL-
"MIGHTY long to continue her reign among Us; for
"at this day, she is the most famous, and most victo-
"rious of sovereigns, &c."

Such, observes a naval writer, (*f*), was the harmony between the sovereign, and the subject. The one offered his all, and the other accepted of no more than what the absolute exigencies of the state required (*g*).

A love

(*f*) Lediard's naval history.

(*g*) The particulars relating to this voyage are taken from Hackluyt's Voyages, V. 3. p. 803.—Camden's Annals, p. 552.—Stowe's Annals, p. 808.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 401.—Purchas's pilgrims, V. 1. p. 57.

A love of pleasure, and magnificence, was still the prevailing passion of this illustrious adventurer, and, notwithstanding that his acquisitions, during the first expedition, were estimated at sixty thousand pounds, he was obliged to undertake a second, that he might relieve the wants to which extravagance had reduced him. Accordingly, with a small fleet (*h*), he departed from Plymouth, on the twenty-sixth of August, and proceeded, without being engaged in any material occurrence, to the equinoctial line, under which the ships were becalmed, for the space of twenty-seven days, and numbers amongst the crews became enfeebled by those disorders which are natural to the climate.

On the twenty-second of September, the wind blew favourably from the north-west, when the English renewed their course, and, on the twenty-ninth of November, came in sight of the Brazils. They were, notwithstanding, ignorant of their situation, until approaching nearer to the shore (*i*), they took a small vessel freighted with sugar, various articles of merchandize, and negroes. From the pilot of this prize, they learned that the adjacent land was Cape Frio, ten leagues distant from the river of Janeiro, and thirty from

57.—Roberti Johnstoni Rerum Britannicarum Hist. lib. 4. p. 126.—Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 24.—Introduction to the Coll. of Voyages, 6 vols. folio.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. 1. p. 571, 572.—and Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. folio. p. 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234.

(*h*) It consisted of the Leicester galleon, commanded by Cavendish, with the rank of admiral; the Roebuck, (vice-admiral ship,) commanded by captain Cock; the Desire, (rear-admiral ship,) commanded by captain Davis; the Dainty, commanded by captain Randolph Cotton; and the Black pinnace.

(*i*) December 2d.

from Santos, the place which they had already determined to attack.

Under the conduct of their new pilot, they sailed to Ilha Grande, twelve leagues distant from Santos, where they disembarked, and procured various refreshments.

At this period, the adventurers were perpetually engaged in violent altercations, and Cavendish, who wished to divert their attention from proceedings at once so alarming, and inexcusable, judged it necessary to accelerate his preparations for the attack of Santos. He now sailed towards the island of Placentia, at the distance of thirty leagues to the westward of Cape Frio, and, arriving there on the fifth of December, plundered the houses inhabited by the Portuguese. Having continued at this place until the eleventh, he renewed his course, and, on the fourteenth, reached the island of Saint Sebastian. It was now determined to attack the town of Santos, and, as the Portuguese pilot had observed that the place was scarcely defensible, the English concluded that if an hundred men well armed were to proceed to the scene of action, there could be no doubt of their success. A violent altercation now ensued. All insisted that they had a right to be intrusted with the execution of the enterprize, and declared their resolution to be revenged on those who should endeavour to exclude them. Even the authority of the admiral was insufficient either to appease their quarrels, or determine concerning any of the measures which it might be necessary to pursue. How painful the situation of Cavendish must have been, at this period, may be gathered from his own remarks. "Here we had such disorder amongst ourselves, that "if the Portuguese had been of any courage, they "might have killed many of us. Our men would "fight

"fight for their victuals, as if they had been no "Christians, but Jews; and they that got the best, "would go into some hole, or into the wilderness, "under some tree, and there continue as long as they "had meat. For mine own part, there was such a "sharking that I could, in that place, get neither meat, "nor money."

It appears from the testimony of one historion (*k*), that the captains Cock, and Davis, departed with the Desire, and the Black Pinnace, from the island of Saint Sebastian, and that the admiral did not follow until after the expiration of ten days: another writer observes (*l*) that the adventurers on this service had the good fortune to succeed, nor did they deviate from their instructions. They disembarked whilst the Portuguese were engaged in the celebration of the high mass, and surrounded the church, in which were three hundred persons, exclusive of women, and children. These were taken prisoners, and (what appears extraordinary,) by a party consisting only of thirty-four Englishmen. In the mean time, the townsmen who were not at their devotion, secured their effects and fled into the country. All the prisoners, except seven of the chief citizens, were set at liberty by the admiral.

Amongst the articles of plunder were sugar, Cassavi meal, and great quantities of gold, and silver. The natives not only appeared rejoiced at the reduction of the place, but intreated Cavendish to keep possession of it, declaring that they would arm in his defence. As a testimony of the sincerity of their professions, they made a discovery of the concealment of three large bags of money, and conducted the English to a spot from whence they carried off three hundred head

(*k*) Hackluyt. (*l*) Harris.

head of cattle, which lasted the whole fleet, during the time that they remained at Santos (*m*).

It is necessary to observe that the foregoing particulars do not agree with the relation of an historian (*n*) who describes the English as having been secure of satisfying all their wants, if the Indians, availing themselves of the criminal inattention of captain Cock, had not carried, even during the public hours of the day, whatsoever articles they chose to fix upon, from the town to their secret retreats within the woods. The same writer adds that the English continued at Santos, until the twenty-second of January, endeavouring, but in vain, to acquire, by intreaties, those treasures of which they were once possessed. At length, driven to such extremities as to be in want of common necessaries, they quitted the town, in which they could only obtain a few baskets of Cassavi meal.

Such are the representations of one historian. Another (*o*) hath informed us that the majority of the adventurers expressed an earnest inclination to remain at Santos, during the whole winter, but that the admiral refused, from just motives, to gratify their wishes. The English did not, however, quit the place, until the expiration of two months, and it is probable that from this long delay arose the succeeding unfortunate interruptions to the voyage. Previous to their departure, they burned the suburbs, destroyed several of the sugar-mills, between Santos, and Saint Vincent, and set fire to all the ships within the habour (*p*).

On the twenty-fourth of January, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-two, they sailed towards the streights of Magellan, and, at a short distance from the river Plata, the ships were miserably shattered,

(*m*) Harris. (*n*) Hackluyt. (*o*) Harris. (*p*) Ibid.

ſhattered, and ſeparated by a tempeſt, the violence of which, together with the dangers that attended it, are ſtrikingly deſcribed by Cavendiſh. "This ſtorm, I "thought to be ſuch that worſe could not be endured. "Such was the fury of the weſt, and ſouth-weſt "winds, that we were driven from the ſhore, four "hundred leagues, and conſtrained to beat from fifty "degrees to the ſouthward, into forty degrees to the "northward again, before we could recover near the "ſhore. In which time, we had a new ſhift of ſails, "clean blown away, and our ſhip in danger of ſink-"ing three times, which, with extremity of men's "labour, we recovered. In this weakneſs, we de-"parted from the ſtreights, being from that harbour "eight leagues, and, in eighteen days, we got to the "ſtreights."

On the ſixth of March, the ſeparated ſhips arrived at Port Deſire, which was the appointed rendezvous. Having obtained a freſh ſupply of water, and proviſions, the Engliſh ſailed, on the twentieth, towards the mouth of the ſtreight. Their courſe was much retarded by unfavourable winds, and they were obliged to beat three days off Port Famine, until the expiration of which period, they could not double the cape. At length, they reached the former place, but were becalmed at it, for the ſpace of eight days, during which they were in danger of periſhing under the want of proviſions, and the ſtill greater ſeverities of exceſſive cold (*q*).

Notwithſtanding theſe alarming obſtacles, they entered, on the eighteenth of April, nearly fifty leagues within the ſtreight's mouth. On the fourteenth, they paſſed

(*q*) The feet of one Knivet turned black with the cold, and his toes came off with his ſtockings. Another blowing his noſe with his fingers threw it into the fire.

passed the first streight; on the sixteenth, they sailed through the second; and, on the eighteenth, they doubled Cape Froward. On the twenty-first, they were forced, by the violence of a storm, to enter into a small cove, where they remained until the fifteenth of May. Here, all the unhappy wretches, in the galleon, who languished under sickness, were set on shore, and inhumanly deserted by their associates. The admiral now directed his course for the Brazils; a proceeding intirely contrary to his inclinations, but necessary to appease the mutinous disposition of his crew. It was the design of Cavendish to have sailed to China, and the voyage might easily have been accomplished, if the English had not wasted their time in unbecoming quarrels, previous to their entrance within the Magellanic streight. Another passage was still open to them by the Cape of Good Hope; and thither the admiral would willingly have sailed, but was overruled by the clamour of his company, who insisted that he should return to the Brazils.

On the passage, he was deserted by the Desire, and the Black Pinnace; a misfortune which, in the bitterness of grief, he attributes to captain Davis. "And "now to come to that villain who hath been the death "of me, and the decay of the whole action, I mean "Davis, whose only treachery, in running from me, "hath been an utter ruin to all. As I since under-"stood, it was ever the intention of Davis to run "away. This is the will of God, that I should put "him in trust; that it should be the end of my "life, and the decay of the whole action. For had "not these two small ships parted from us, we should "not have miscarried on the coast of Brazil; for the "only decay of us was that we could not get into "their barred harbours. In short, the whole amounts

" to this; the ſole intent of Davis was to overthrow " me."

The admiral was now left with only one ſhip, the Roebuck having been ſeparated from him, during the violence of a ſtorm. With difficulty, he reached the coaſt of Brazil, and caſt anchor in the bay of Saint Vincent. Here, more than twenty of the crew landed, under the command of captain Barker, and proceeded in ſearch of plunder. Venturing, imprudently, beyond the limits to which the admiral had endeavoured to confine them, and remaining on ſhore, during two days, and nights, engaged in feaſting, and debauchery, they were watched by the Portugueſe, eighty of whom, aſſiſted by three hundred Indians, ruſhed upon them, whilſt they were too intoxicated to make the leaſt defence, and, having ſeized the boat, put every Engliſhman to the ſword.

The increaſed diſtreſſes of the admiral might, at this period, have proved fatal if he had not fortunately procured an old boat belonging to the Portugueſe, and, if the Roebuck, from which he was ſeparated in the ſtorm, had not ſailed into the ſame bay, although much injured by the violence of the weather. Notwithſtanding that the ſhips were now almoſt defenceleſs, the admiral reſolved to engage in ſome enterprize, not only with a view of avenging the maſſacre of his aſſociates, but in order to repair his loſſes.

His firſt deſign was againſt the town of Saint Vincent; but the attempt failed becauſe the ſhips were too large to paſs over the ſhoals. Yielding to the advice of the Portugueſe pilot, he prepared to attack Spirito Santo; but there, alſo the enterprize proved unſucceſsful, as the water was not ſufficiently deep to take the veſſels over the bar. At a ſmall diſtance from the town, three ſhips were anchored; and, leſt they ſhound

ſhould remove to a ſecurer ſtation, the admiral propoſed that he and his aſſociates ſhould, in their boats, ſurround, and take them. He was anſwered by the majority that it was abſolutely neceſſary to defer the enterprize, until the next morning. With reluctance, he conſented, and, when that time approached, had the mortification to perceive that the enemy had ſhifted their ſituation to one where it was impoſſible to annoy them. Now that Cavendiſh would have waved the attack, his companions declared that it ought immediately to be commenced. As his authority was conſiderably weakened, he yielded, but with pain, to the neceſſities of engaging in the attempt. The two damaged boats were crouded with muſqueteers, who proceeded to the place of action, under the command of captain Morgan. If the greateſt intrepidity could have ſecured ſucceſs, they muſt have proved victorious; but in ſo powerful a poſture of defence were the Portugueſe, that all endeavours to annoy them proved equally dangerous, and unavailing. Morgan, and numbers of his men were killed; and of thoſe who returned on board, all, except eight, were deſperately wounded, their bodies being, in ſeveral parts, tranſfixed with arrows.

Notwithſtanding that the few Engliſh who ſurvived were ſcarcely capable of navigating the veſſels, the admiral proceeded to the iſland of Saint Sebaſtian, in the bay of which captain Davis, and the crew of the Roebuck, deſerted him, and in this ſhip, ſtood out to ſea. As he hath drawn the picture of his ſufferings, we here preſent it to the reader. "They inſtantly de-
"ſired nothing more than to return home; but, in
"truth, it was not of any care of the Roebuck, but
"only of a moſt cowardly mind of the maſter, and

"the chiefeſt of the company. Now, you ſhall understand that the captain was very ſick; and that "ſince the time that the ſhip loſt her maſt, ſhe became the moſt labourſome ſhip that ever did ſwim "in the ſea, ſo that he was not able to endure in her; "and, at that preſent, he lay on board of my ſhip, ſo "as there was none of any truſt, or account left in "her. But, ſuch was the caſe of that ſhip, being "without ſails, maſts, or any manner of tackle, as, "in the ſenſe, or judgment of any man exiſting, there "did not live that deſperate perſon in the world, who, "in that caſe in which ſhe then was would have ventured to have ſailed in her half ſo far as England. "Theſe villains having left in my ſhip all their hurt "men, and having on board of their ſhip, both my "ſurgeons, I not having one in my own ſhip who "knew how to lay a plaſter to a wound, much leſs to "cure any by ſalves; and farther, having in their "ſhip, three times the proportion of my victuals; "as having with them, at their departure, but ſix, "and forty men, and carrying with them the proportion for ſix months victuals of one hundred, and "twenty men, at large, I leave you to conſider of "this part of theirs, and the miſerable caſe in which I "was left."

When the admiral, and his aſſociates arrived at the iſland of Saint Sebaſtian, they repleniſhed their caſks with water; an article that was almoſt expended. Having conſtructed two new boats, and being furniſhed with a ſmall quantity of proviſions, Cavendiſh, regardleſs of the indignities which he had received from his aſſociates, and ſtill eager for the accompliſhment of his earlieſt project, intreated them to conſent that he ſhould return to the ſtreights of Magellan. They obſtinately

ſtinately refuſed to comply with this requeſt, and it is ſuppoſed that this unfortunate adventurer expired ſoon afterwards, a martyr to the grief ariſing from the treachery of his aſſociates, and the diſappointment of his hopes.

Concerning the means through which the letters, and laſt teſtament of Cavendiſh were forwarded to his executor, Sir Triſtram Gorges, our hiſtorians are ſilent; and it can only be aſcertained that when he arrived within eight degrees to the northward of the line, he ſent his friend ſome written papers, of which the following is an extract.

"My loving friend! there is nothing in this world "that makes a truer trial of friendſhip, than at death "to ſhew mindfulneſs of love, and friendſhip, which "now you ſhall make a perfect experience of, deſiring "you to hold my love as dear, dying poor, as if I "had been moſt infinitely rich. As to the ſucceſs of this "unfortunate action, the bitter thereof lies ſo heavy "upon me, that with much pain, am I able to write "theſe few lines, much leſs to make diſcovery unto "you of all the adverſe hopes that have befallen me "in this voyage, the leaſt whereof is my death.—"But, now I am grown ſo weak and faint, that I am "ſcarcely able to hold the pen in my hand; wherefore "I muſt leave you to inquire of the reſt concerning "our unhappy proceedings.—And now, by this, what "with grief for the death of my couſin, John Lock, "and the continual trouble which I endured amongſt "ſuch hell-hounds, my ſpirits were clean ſpent, "wiſhing myſelf upon any deſert place in the world, "there to die, rather than thus baſely to return home "again, the which courſe I had put in execution, had "I found an iſland, which the charts make to be in

"eighty degrees to the ſouthward of the line. I "ſwear to you that I ſought it with all diligence, "meaning, if I had found it, to have there ended my "unfortunate life. But GOD ſuffered not ſuch hap-"pineſs to light upon me, for, I could by no means "find it, ſo that I was forced to go towards England; "and, after having gotten eight degrees north of the "line, I loſt my deareſt couſin.—Bear with this "ſcribbling, for I proteſt that I am ſcarcely able to "hold a pen in my hand."

Such was the laſt adventure of this gallant ſeaman, whoſe life ſeems to have been equally checquered by the brilliancy of ſucceſs, and the ſeverity of misfortune. At his return from his firſt expedition, he was received in triumph; his ſoldiers, and mariners were clad in ſilk; his ſails were compoſed of damaſk; and every top-maſt was covered with cloth of gold. So extenſive alſo were his acquiſitions that the produce of one prize alone was valued at forty thouſand pounds. His ſecond expedition diſcovered a melancholy reverſe of fortune, and was marked by a ſeries of calamities which terminated only with his life (r).

Previous to the concluſion of theſe memoirs, it may be neceſſary, that in juſtice to the memory of captain Davis, and his adherents, we ſhould inſert a material extract from their vindication, which was drawn up at Port

(r) The particulars of this voyage are taken from Camden, p. 552.—Stowe, p. 808.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 401.—Hackluyt's Voyages, V. 3. p. 803.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 57.—Roberti Johnſtoni Rerum Britannicarum Hiſt. Lib. 4. p. 126.—Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 695.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 571, 572.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 282, 283, 284.

Port Desire, and signed by forty persons, including officers, and mariners.

"So, we departed the streight, on the fifteenth of "May. On the twenty-first, being athwart of Port "Desire, thirty leagues off the shore, the wind being "then at north-east, and by north, at five of the "clock, at night, lying north-east, we suddenly "cast about, lying south-east, and by south, and "sometimes south-east, the whole fleet following the "admiral, our ship (the Desire) coming under his "lee, shot a-head of him, and so framed sail fit to "keep company. During this night, we were se-"parated, but by what occasion we protest that we "know not; nor whether we lost them, or they "us. In the morning, we only saw the Black Pin-"nace, then supposing that the admiral had overshot us. "All this day, we stood to the eastward, hoping to "find him, because it was not likely that he should "stand to the shore again so suddenly. But missing "him, towards night, we stood to the shore-ward, "hoping, by that course, to find him. On the twen-"ty-second of May, at night, we had a violent "storm, with the wind at north-west, and we were "forced to hull, not being able to bear sail; and, this "night, we perished our main trestle-trees, so that "we could no longer use our main-top-sail, lying "most dangerously in the sea. The pinnace likewise "received a great leak, so that we were forced to seek "the next shore, for her relief. And, because fa-"mine was like to be the best end, we were willing to "go for Port Desire, hoping with seals, and penguins "to relieve ourselves, and so to make shift to follow the "general, or there to wait his coming from Brazil. "On the four and twentieth of May, we had much

"wind at north. During the five and twentieth, it "was calm, and the sea was very lofty, so that our "ship had dangerous foul weather. On the six and "twentieth, our fore-shrouds broke, so that if we "had not been near the shore, it had been impossible "for us to get out of the sea. And now being here "moored at Port Desire, our shrouds are all rotten, not "having a running rope in which we can put any "trust, and being provided with only one shift of "sails, all worn, our top-sails not able to abide any "stress of weather, neither have we any pitch, tar, "or nails, nor any store for the supplying of these "wants; and we live only upon seals, and mussels, "having but five hogsheads of pork, on board, and of "meal, three ounces for a man, a day, with water "to drink. And, forasmuch as it hath pleased God "to separate our fleet, and to bring us into such hard "extremities, that only now, by his mere mercy, "we expect relief, although otherwise we are hope-"less of comfort, yet because the wonderful works "of God, in his exceeding great favour towards us, "his creatures, are far beyond the scope of man's ca-"pacity, therefore, by Him we hope to have deli-"verance in this our deep distress. Also, forasmuch "as those upon whom God will bestow the favour of "life, with return home to their country, may not "only themselves remain blameless, but also manifest "the truth of our actions, we have thought good, in "Christian charity, to lay down, under our hands, the "truth of all our proceedings, even until the time of "this our distress. Given as above."

To this declaration is subjoined an account of their adventures on the ocean, after their separation from Cavendish. Hence, it appears that after having thrice passed

passed the streights of Magellan, and entered the south sea, they were a fourth time driven back by unfavourable winds, and furious storms. After the most afflicting trials of adversity, sixteen persons, the whole number of survivors, amongst whom only five were capable of navigating the vessels, reached Bear-Haven, in Ireland, on the eleventh of June, in the Year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-three.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir MARTIN FROBISHER.

CONCERNING those occurrences in which this celebrated adventurer (a native of Doncaster,) was engaged during the earlier part of his life, we have no account. His parents, who lived in a state of humble obscurity, endeavoured with a part of the little property which they possessed, to breed him to the sea; an element on which he afterwards acquired such exalted fame that the meanness of his birth, and the deficiencies of his education, were never mentioned by his contemporaries but as impediments, to which his enterprizing genius, assisted by the love of public virtue, could rise superior (*a*).

In the year, one thousand, five hundred and seventy-six, the merchants of the port of London, desirous that a discovery might be made of a nearer north-west

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, p. 808.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 568.

weſt paſſage to Tartary, and China, than the courſe on which the Portugueſe proceeded by the cape of Good Hope, fitted out two barks, the Gabriel, and the Michael, together with a pinnace, of the burthen of ten tons; and gave the chief command of this ſmall ſquadron to Frobiſher, under whom, as firſt Captain, was Matthew Kinderſley.

On the ſixteenth of June, theſe adventurers ſet ſail from Graveſend, and, after having proceeded towards the north of Scotland, came, on the twenty-eighth of July, into ſixty-two degrees of latitude, diſcovering land, ſurrounded by ſhoals of ice, and which, they ſuppoſed, was the continent, of America, called Sierra de Labrador. As there was no anchor-ground, even near the ſhore, they renewed their courſe, and, on the thirtieth, ſteered eaſt-north-eaſtwards, the current ſetting north-eaſt, and ſouth-weſt. Still were they impeded by numerous drifts of ice, nor were they able to approach nearer than within five leagues of land.

On the tenth of Auguſt, they reached a deſart iſland, which was ſituated at the diſtance of a mile from the continent. Here, they diſembarked, and, after a ſhort ſtay, returned on board, and purſued their voyage. On the eleventh, and when they had arrived in the latitude of ſixty-three degrees, and eight minutes, they entered within a ſtreight, and, in compliment to their chief, called it Frobiſher's Streight, a name which it ſtill retains. On the twelfth, they fell in with the iſland of Saint Gabriel, and caſt anchor in a bay, to which they gave the appellation of Prior's Sound. On the ſeventeenth, they reached the iſle of Thomas Williams; and on the eighteenth, having ſailed north-weſt, arrived at Butcher's iſland, which

which is ten leagues diſtant from the former place. Here they landed, and, ſoon afterwards, diſcovered Men, rowing towards them, in ſeven boats (*b*).

Such is the account, which hath been related by an old hiſtorian. From the teſtimony of others, we learn that on the firſt of July, when he had loſt his pinnace, and the Michael had quitted him, in order to return to England, he deſcried the land, but durſt not approach it, leſt the floating mountains of ice might have endangered his veſſel. It is added that, on the twentieth, he diſcovered a place which he called Queen Elizabeth's Fore-Land, and, ſoon afterwards, reached Frobiſher's Streight. Concluding that it was the paſſage between Aſia, and America, he entered it, on the ninth of Auguſt, and, nearly in the latitude of ſixty-three degrees.

Having ſailed up almoſt ſixty leagues, he diſembarked, and was met by a multitude of perſons of both ſexes. The men, who were clad in the ſkins of ſea-calves, had black hair, broad faces, flat noſes, and ſwarthy complexions. The women, who much reſembled the figures of the ancient Britons, had painted their cheeks, and eye-lids, with colours of a deep blue. Frobiſher detained one of theſe ſavages, and brought him, together with his bark, to England (*c*), where he died ſoon after his arrival.

It may be neceſſary to obſerve that one hiſtorian (*d*) hath obſerved that, when ſome of the Engliſh conducted on ſhore a ſavage who had been on board of the veſſel, the natives roſe, and ſeized them, together with the boat. Another writer (*e*) informs us that five of the

(*b*) Hackluyt, part 3. p. 29.

(*c*) This bark, the keel of which was of wood, was covered with ſeal-ſkins.

(*d*) Hackluyt. (*e*) Purchas.

the Engliſh, and their boat, were taken by the ſavages; and that it was poſterior to this event that Frobiſher detained the ſavage who, afterwards, accompanied him to England. A naval hiſtorian *(f)* remarks that theſe accounts, although apparently contradictions, are, notwithſtanding, the reſult of truths. On the nineteenth, a ſavage came on board, and was afterwards, conveyed to land. On the twentieth, another ſavage viſited the ſhip; and, when he was ſet on ſhore, his fellow-natives took poſſeſſion of the boat, and detained the Engliſh who attended him. On the twenty-ſecond, Frobiſher decoyed a third ſavage from his aſſociates, ſecured him, and brought him afterwards to England. Having remained at this place, during two days, engaged in fruitleſs endeavours to recover his men, our adventurer, obſtructed in the continuance of his voyage, by the drifts of ice, departed homewards, on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt; deſcried Friezeland, on the firſt of September; and, on the ſecond of October, arrived at Harwich.

We ſhall conclude the particulars of this firſt expedition, by obſerving that Frobiſher took poſſeſſion of the country, in the name of Elizabeth, his ſovereign; and that, in teſtimony of her right, he directed each of his aſſociates to take with him ſome produce of the place. One Engliſhman is mentioned to have brought home a piece of black ſtone, which was accidentally caſt into the fire, and when taken out, glittered like gold. Theſe appearances induced the owner to carry it to a refiner, who, after a trial, diſcovered that it contained a large proportion of that metal (*g*).

On

(*f*) Lediard.

(*g*) The particulars of this expedition are taken from Holingſhed.—Hackluyt, part 3. p. 29. 57.—Harris's Collection,

On the twenty-ſixth of May, in the year one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-ſeven, Frobiſher, whoſe employers were ſtill anxious for the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, proceeded from Blackwall, with the Aid, (a veſſel belonging to the queen,) the Gabriel, and the Michael, two barks, which were commanded by the captains Fenton and York. On board of the Aid, where Frobiſher acted under the title of general, for Elizabeth, were ſeven officers, a lieutenant, an enſign, a corporal of the ſhot, a maſter, mate, a pilot, and maſter gunner, together with nine gentlemen, twenty ſoldiers, and fifty ſailors. In the Gabriel, were a maſter, one gentleman, ſix ſoldiers, and ten ſailors. The company of the Michael, excluſive of the captain, conſiſted of a maſter, one gentlemen, five ſoldiers, and nine mariners.

On the ſeventh of June, they reached the iſles of Orkney, and, on the fourth of July, arrived at Friezeland. On the ſixteenth, they came to Frobiſher's ſtreight, into which the ſhips were hindered from entering by the ice, and only the pinnaces were rowed to the ſhore. When the crews belonging to theſe had taken a ſavage, they returned, and ſoon afterwards, the veſſels got under ſail. On the nineteenth of July, they entered the ſtreight, and anchored in a bay, to which Frobiſher gave the name of Jackman's Sound. Here, he diſembarked, attended by moſt of his aſſociates, and, after having proceeded far into the country, without making any diſcoveries of importance, he directed that the barks, and boats ſhould be made ready, and, then, coaſted in them both to the eaſt and to the weſt. During this ſhort expedition, he attempted to take

tion, part 1. p. 575.—Introduction to a collection of voyages in ſix volumes, folio.—Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 811.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. folio, p. 1. 65, 166.

take ſeveral of the natives, but could only ſeize a woman, and her infant.

Whenſoever theſe ſavages were inclined to trade, they placed the articles to be diſpoſed of on the ground, and retired in order to give the Engliſh an opportunity of putting near it ſome commodities for exchange. This they examined at their return, and took it, if they approved of it; but, if otherwiſe, they carried back their firſt depoſit. They informed Frobiſher, by ſigns, that their Catchhoe, or king, was of more gigantic ſtature than any of the Europeans, and that his attendants bore him on their ſhoulders. The Engliſh wiſhed to know what became of their aſſociates whom they had loſt in the preceding year; but all their enquiries proved ineffectual. Having diſcovered their cloaths, they concluded that the ſavages had killed, and devoured them.

On the fourth of Auguſt, they arrived at places which, in compliment to the counteſs of Warwick, they called Ann Warwick's ſound, and Iſland. Here they endeavoured to induce the natives either to give ſome account of themſelves, or to engage in traffic; but ſo ferocious were their diſpoſitions, that they appeared to have no object in view, but the deſtruction of the Engliſh.

It is affirmed, that, at this period, Frobiſher did not ſail above thirty leagues up the ſtreights, nor beyond queen Elizabeth's Foreland. A naval hiſtorian (*h*) hath juſtly obſerved that theſe relations are contradictory, and aſks how it was poſſible that the Engliſh ſhould find at the diſtance of thirty leagues from the ſtreight's mouth, the apparel of their aſſociates, whom they loſt on a ſpot ſituated thirty leagues farther, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the ſavages led them thither, for the purpoſe of murdering them, or at leaſt, according

(*h*) Lediard.

ing to one hiſtorian (*i*), carried their cloaths to that place.

As, in this region, the winter advanced, Frobiſher departed, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, and, after having been ſeparated from the two barks, arrived at Milford-haven, on the twentieth of September. In the ſucceeding month, the Gabriel, and the Michael, reached England, the one entering the port of Briſtol, and the other that of Yarmouth. During the voyage, only two men were loſt, one of which (the maſter of the Gabriel,) was drowned. The veſſels of Frobiſher were laden with a kind of ſhining ſand, intermixed with black ſtones, which, deceived by the information of the refiners, he had concluded to be gold-ore (*k*), (*l*).

(*i*) Hackluyt.

(*k*) Relatively to this ſubject, a celebrated naval writer * makes the following remark: "On this occaſion, I cannot help taking notice of an accident of the like nature which happened to the mate of a veſſel belonging to the Greenland company, ſent to make diſcoveries to the north-weſt. He brought home likewiſe a quantity of ſhining ſand which he apprehended contained gold: but, upon trial, it was judged to be of no value, and the ill uſage which, on account of this ſuppoſed miſtake, the poor man met with, broke his heart. Many years afterwards, the chancellor of Denmark ſhewed a ſmall parcel of this kind of ſand, from Norway, to an intelligent chemiſt, the reſt having by his expreſs orders, been thrown into the ſea;) and this man extracted a quantity of pure gold out of that ſand †, in which alſo the Copenhagen artiſt could find none.

* Campbell's lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 569.

† La Peyrere relation du Grœnland, a M. de la Mothe de Vayer, p. 67.—Churchill's voyages, (where this is tranſlated,) V. 1. p. 558.—Egede's natural hiſtory of Greenland, Chap. 2. p. 27, 32. Chap. 3. p. 47, 48, 59.

(*l*) The particulars relating to this ſecond expedition are taken from Stowe's annals, p. 680, 681, 685.—Holingſhed, V. 2.

In this place, it may not be improper to present the reader with the observations of a foreigner (*m*) concerning the first voyage of Frobisher.

"In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and "seventy-six, Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, made "the first discovery of that country which is now "called New-Greenland; he just obtained a sight of it, "but, not being able to reach the shore, on account "of the vast quantities of ice, and the approaching "winter, he was forced to return home, where he "gave an account of his voyage to Elizabeth, who, "at that period, swayed the Sceptre in England."

"This great queen sent him, in the following "spring, with three other ships, to pursue the former "design, on his safe arrival at Greenland. At the ap-"proach of this adventurer, and his associates, the "Inhabitants deserted their huts, and fled towards the "rocks, from which several precipitated themselves "into the ocean."

"After the English had in vain attempted to induce "these savages to return, they proceeded to their "Dwellings, which were tents constructed with the "skins of Sea-calves, and Whales, which were affixed "to strong poles, and sewed together with the sinews "of wild beasts. They were open towards the south, "and west, but were closely, and dexterously joined "together towards the East, and North, the better to "serve as a defence against the severity of the winds "which blow from those quarters. Here, the Eng-"lish

V. 2. p. 1162, 1270, 1271.—Speed, p. 852.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 32, 60.—Collection of voyages, 6 Vols. in folio, V. 1. p. 499.—Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 811.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 569.—Lediard's naval History, V. 1. Folio. p. 166, 167.

(*m*) Captain John Monk's Description of Old, and New Greenland, written originally in the German Language.

" lish did not meet any living creature, except an old " woman, who was leading a child, which they took " from her, and for the loss of which she made a " dismal outcry."

" From thence, they sailed along the coast, near to " which, they observed, above the water, the head " of a sea-monster, from which a horn projected, al- " most four feet in length. Having disembarked, " they found the surface of the earth to be rocky, " but discovered a fine mould beneath it. They also " perceived a great quantity of sand, glittering like " gold; and of this they took the weight of three " hundred tons."

" They used their utmost endeavours to obtain a " conference with the savages, who, apparently were " not averse from it; and gave them to understand, " by certain signs, that if they would row farther up " the river, their expectations should be satisfied. " Accordingly Frobisher, attended by some soldiers, " entered within the boat, and, having ordered the " ships to follow, passed up the river, on the banks of " which, and amongst the rocks, he perceived num- " bers of the savages, waiting for his approach. He " now ordered the men to rest upon their oars, and " judged it dangerous to venture farther. At length, " three persons, who seemed of a rank superior to the " rest, advanced beyond their company, and made a " signal for him to land. Encouraged by this cour- " teous behaviour, he made towards the shore; but, " scarcely had his boat touched the bank of the river, " when the savages rushed forward, in multitudes; a " proceeding so alarming that he instantly put off in- " to the stream. Still the savages endeavoured, by " signs, to allure them to the shore, and as intice- " ments threw towards them several pieces of raw

"flesh. Observing that the English were yet mis-
"trustful, they attempted to decoy them ashore
"by a new stratagem. All retired out of sight,
"except one savage, who, feigning lameness, fell
"down on the bank, and there lay, in order that
"the English might come, and take him. As this ar-
"tifice was suspected, Frobisher ordered one of the ma-
"riners to discharge a musquet at him, hearing the
"report of which, he rose and fled. The savages
"now advanced, and annoyed the English with stones,
"and arrows; but were soon intimidated by the fir-
"ing of the guns, and hastily retreated."

"These savages are extremely treacherous, and bar-
"barous; nor can they be mollified either by fair
"words, or by presents. They are strong, and well
"set, their complexion is of an olive-colour; and
"their cloaths are made of the skins of sea calves,
"sewed together with the sinews of wild beasts. The
"apparel of the women scarcely differs from that of
"the men. They wear breeches, having several pock-
"ets, in which they carry their knives, needles,
"yarn, and looking-glasses, which they did either get
"from strangers, or sometimes find upon the shore.
"Their faces are painted blue, and their hair is suf-
"fered to grow extremely long, hanging down dish-
"evelled over their shoulders. Their shirts are com-
"posed of the guts of fish, sewed together with si-
"news; their garments are loose, and only fastened
"about the middle, by a girdle. They are naturally
"filthy, and so indecent that they freely expose any
"parts whatsoever of their bodies. All their riches
"consist in their slings, bows, arrows, and boats.
"The bows are very slender; the arrows taper and
"tipped, at the extremity, either with pointed bone,
"or horn. They manage them with great dexte-
"rity, and strike the fishes, as they are swimming in
"the

"the water. Their boats are intirely covered with "the skins of Sea-calves, and so constructed as to be "incapable of receiving more than one person. Their "larger vessels are made of wood, covered with the "skins of Whales, and are able to contain twenty "men. The sails are made of the guts of fish, "sewed together with the sinews of wild beasts; and "notwithstanding that there is not the least iron work "about their boats, they are so strong, that the sa-"vages venture in them on the open sea."

"No venemous creatures are found in these parts, "unless we reckon Spiders, and the Gnats, which are "troublesome during the summer. Here are no fresh "springs; but this deficiency is supplied by melt-"ing snow. The dogs belonging to the savages are "of a prodigious size, and draw their sledges in the "place of horses."

In the year one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-eight, our adventurer undertook his third voyage, for the purpose of discovering a north-west passage. On this occasion, numbers, allured by the hopes of acquiring gold, were ready to attend him; and fifteen Sail of ships, well manned, and furnished with all necessaries, were assembled at Harwich (*n*). On board

(*n*) The following is a list of the ships, and their several captains.

Ships.		Commanders.
Aid, Admiral.	Captains	Frobisher.
Thomas Allen, Vice-Admiral.		York.
Judith, Lieutenant-General.		Fenton.
Ann-Francis.		Best.
Hopewell.		Carew.
Bear.		Philpot.
Thomas of Ipswich.		Tanfield.
Emanuel of Exeter.		Courtney.
Francis, of Foy.		Moyles.

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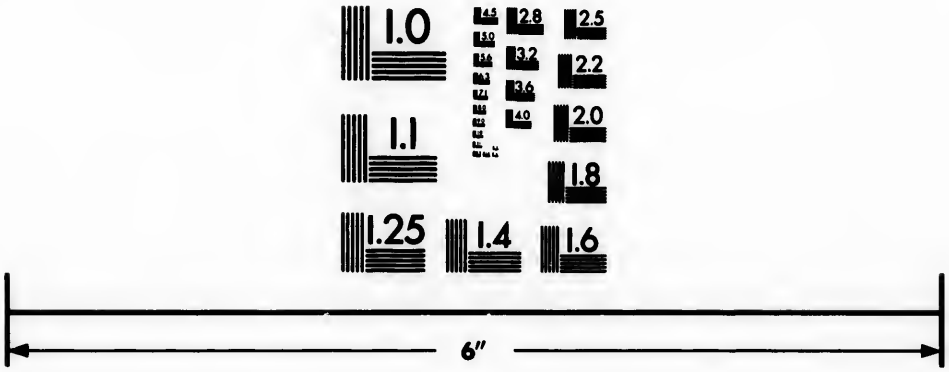

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of one veſſel was a wooden fort, ſo conſtructed as to bear dividing into ſmall parts, for the conveniency of carriage. It was intended that this ſhould be erected in the country which was ſuppoſed to abound with gold-mines, and where Frobiſher, and his aſſociates had formed a deſign of eſtabliſhing a colony, to conſiſt of one hundred perſons.

On the thirty-firſt of May, the Engliſh ſet ſail from Harwich, and, on the twentieth of June, diſembarked at Frizeland, which they named Weſt England. Here, they obſerved ſeveral tents, and people reſembling thoſe who dwell at Meta Incognita. At their approach, the people fled, and with ſuch precipitation, that they left a part of their effects behind. This conſiſted of a box of ſmall nails, ſome deal-boards, well cut, and ſeveral implements which were neatly made. From hence there was reaſon to conclude either that the natives were artificers, or that they had traded with Europeans.

Soon after their departure, the Solomon, being under both her courſes, and top-ſails, ran foul of a large whale, and, with ſuch violence, that, for a ſmall ſpace of time, the veſſel remained motionleſs. The creature made a hideous noiſe, and, after having appeared with its tail, and a part of its body above the water, was obſerved to ſink. On the ſecond day from

Ships.		Commanders.
Moon.	Captains	Upcot.
Emanuel of Bridgewater.		Newton.
Solomon, of Weymouth.		Randal.
Bark Dennis.		Kendal.
Gabriel.		Hervey.
Michael.		Kinnerſly.

Concerning the burthen of theſe ſhips, and the number of their men, there is no account.

from this event, they found a dead whale, which they imagined to be the ſame that had been wounded.

On the ſecond of July, they arrived at Frobiſher's ſtreight, and diſcovered that it was choaked up with ice. Whilſt they ſtruggled to paſs through it, a violent ſtorm aroſe, during which the ſhips were in danger of ſinking. The bark Dennis, of the burthen of one hundred tons, was loſt, but the mariners eſcaped. Two other veſſels, which had not been ſeen, during the preceding twenty days; and four, which were the fartheſt out at ſea, got clear of the ice, in ſeaſonable time. Having avoided the danger, by the change of the wind to the north-weſt, they gained the open ocean, and were driven down, by the current, to the ſouthward of Frobiſher's Streight, from whence they ran nearly ſixty leagues, into another ſtreight, but, on account of the thick fog, which prevented them from making any obſervation, were ignorant of their courſe. At their return from this ſtreight, moſt of the ſhips met, and proceeded towards Frobiſher's ſtreight, but were much obſtructed in their paſſage by the ice.

At length, after having been expoſed to many dangers, the Engliſh renewed their courſe, and, on the thirty-firſt of July, reached the port of Warwick's Sound, or (as it has been named by Elizabeth,) Meta Incognita.

Here, they diſembarked, but without the leaſt view of paſſing the winter upon the ſpot, as a part of the moveable fort was loſt in the bark Dennis, and the neceſſary proviſions were not arrived. At this period, the ſhips which had been miſſing, rejoined the fleet.

Our adventurer now directed the miners to ſearch for gold, and, immediately on the report that the ore anſwered their expectations, gave orders that a large

quantity of it ſhould be conveyed on board the veſſels. As the ſeaſon was too far advanced to render it probable that the continuance of their enterprize could prove ſucceſsful, the Engliſh made the neceſſary preparations for their return.

During their ſtay at the Counteſs of Warwick's Iſland, the maſons conſtructed a houſe with lime, and ſtone, which they imagined likely to reſiſt the froſt, and ſnow, provided that the ſavages ſhould not attempt to injure it. In order to divert them from ſo inhoſpitable a deſign, they left within the houſe ſuch articles as were beſt calculated to captivate their attention. Amongſt theſe, were bells, knives, looking-glaſſes, whiſtles, pipes, and repreſentations, in lead, of men, and women. They, likewiſe, builded an oven, and left within it bread ready baked; and they ſowed peaſe, corn, and other grain, that they might obſerve, in the ſucceeding year, to what produce the ſoil was beſt adapted.

On the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, the whole fleet ſet ſail from Warwick Iſland, and, after a dangerous paſſage, during which the ſhips were ſeparated by ſtorms, arrived ſafely in the Engliſh ports, at the commencement of October. The Emanuel, of Bridgewater, which was left behind, with difficulty, forced her paſſage through the ice, and proceeded northwards, through an unknown channel, full of rocks, into the north ſea, on the back of Frobiſher's Streight, where that adventurer (and, afterwards, ſome of his company,) diſcovered (if their affirmations can be depended on,) a great foreland, near to which (in their opinion,) was the wideſt paſſage towards the South ſea.

The Engliſh, on board of the Emanuel, obſerved during their homeward courſe, a large iſland, to the ſouth-eaſt of Friezeland, and in the latitude of fifty-

ſeven

ſeven degrees, and thirty minutes. They ſailed along the coaſt of it, for the ſpace of three days, and obſerved that the land was fertile, and full of wood. Until this period, it had not been diſcovered by the Europeans (*o*).

The gallant conduct of Frobiſher, whilſt he attended Sir Francis Drake, on the expedition to the Weſt-Indies (*p*); his patriotic ſervices previous to the defeat of the Armada, at which period, he was knighted by the lord high-admiral (*q*); and his enterprizes in conjunction with Sir John Hawkins, near the coaſt of Spain (*r*), have been already mentioned.

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-two, Sir Walter Raleigh equipped a fleet, conſiſting of fifteen ſhips, with which it was intended either to ſurprize Panama, in America, to which place the Spaniards conveyed their gold, in order that it might be afterwards exported to Europe, or to intercept the Plate-flota, after it ſhould have received on board the treaſure.

The Engliſh were detained, by contrary winds, for the ſpace of three months, within their harbours, and, during this time, the Spaniards, who had received intelligence of their deſigns, iſſued orders that no ſhip ſhould depart from America. Raleigh was not informed of

(*o*) The particulars of this third voyage are taken from Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 1271.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 30. 74.—Introduction to the Collection of Voyages, 6 vols. in folio.—Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 811.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 569.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, folio. V. 1. p. 168, 169, 170.

(*p*) See from the 115th, to the 125th page of this volume.

(*q*) See from the 232d, to the 304th page of the ſecond volume of this work.

(*r*) See the 108th page of this volume.

of the proceedings of the enemy, until he had arrived near cape Finisterre; and soon afterwards, a violent storm arose, in the course of which several of the long-boats were lost. Raleigh now resolved to return to England, and therefore, divided his fleet into two squadrons, intrusting one to the conduct of Sir Martin Frobisher, who was ordered to cruize off the coast of Spain; and leaving the other under the command of Sir John Burroughs, with instructions to proceed to the Azores, and endeavour to intercept the East-India carracks, which were accustomed to touch at these islands, on their passage homewards.

A naval historian (*s*) hath observed that it was the design of Raleigh to have surprized some place in the West-Indies; but, that being at sea, and having passed two, or three days, in foul weather, the queen was pleased to command him to return, and to commit the charge of the ships to Sir Martin Frobisher, who was sent down for that purpose, but with an express order not to proceed to the West-Indies.

Another writer (*t*), who is yet more particular in his relation, acquaints us that Sir Walter set sail on the first of May, and that, on the day following, Sir Martin Frobisher, in a pinnace, called the Disdain, met him, and brought letters of revocation from Elizabeth, with orders to relinquish, (for his own part,) the intended attempt, and intrust the execution of every measure to Sir John Burroughs, and Sir Martin Frobisher. He adds that the honour of Raleigh was so far engaged in the undertaking of this voyage, that he could not with reputation, and satisfaction to his friends, leave his fleet, which was now under sail; and, therefore, he put a dubious construction on the letter

(*s*) Sir William Monson.
(*t*) Hackluyt.

letter from Elizabath, as if it had left him at his liberty either to proceeed, or to return, and, without farther hesitation, continued his course, until the advice which he received near cape Finisterre, obliged him to change his resolution.

When the officers were informed of this unexpected alteration, they seemed, in general, desirous of cruizing on their own accounts. Sir Martin, who foresaw that all opposition would be unavailing, coincided with their wishes, and declared that he relinquished his command over those who were unwilling to remain with him.

Previous to their separation, the English intercepted, and took, upon the Spanish coast, a large Biscayan ship, of the burthen of six hundred tons, and freighted with several articles of small iron work, amongst which were horse-shoes, nails, plough-shares, bars, spikes, bolts, locks, and gimblets, valued by the captors, at only six thousand pounds, although to the Spaniards, they had been worth treble that sum. Soon after his departure from the fleet, Sir John Burroughs took a Spanish fly boat, which he first descried near the Rock of Lisbon, and had chased to the southward.

Sir Martin, attended by three ships, continued near the coast of Spain; a dangerous situation, as his vessels were so ill-constructed that they could not out-sail the light frigates of the enemy, and as Philip had a formidable fleet at sea. The perseverance with which the Spanish admiral attended to the motions of the small squadron under the command of Sir Martin, was favourable to Burroughs, who availing himself of the defenceless situation of the carracks, and caravels, attacked, and took them. The circumstances relating to these

theſe engagements have been already mentioned (*u*). It is, therefore, ſufficient to obſerve that our adventurer returned before the expiration of the year, to England (*x*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-four, Sir Martin Frobiſher proceeded on an expedition to Breſt, in the Vanguard, and was attended by the captains Fenner, Clifford, and Saville, in the Rainbow, the Dreadnought, and the Acquittance. His orders were to block up the port, whilſt Sir John Norris, at the head of three thouſand Engliſh troops, ſhould begin a regular attack on the land-ſide. The garriſon defended themſelves with equal intrepidity, and conduct, until Sir Martin, diſembarking his ſailors, and deſperately ſtorming the place, had the good fortune to carry it. In this action, ſeveral of the Engliſh captains were ſlain; and our gallant adventurer received a wound in his ſide, which, having been improperly treated by his ſurgeons, turned ſhortly to a mortification, in conſequence of which he died on his arrival at Plymouth, and was there interred (*y*). He was one of the moſt enterprizing, and able ſeamen of his time; intrepid to an extreme; poſſeſſed of ſingular preſence of mind; and almoſt equal to any undertaking; yet his freedoms were as unbecoming, as his manners were auſtere; and that unlimited ſeverity with

(*u*) See the 212th page of this volume.

(*x*) The particulars of this expedition are taken from the Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 63, 64, 65, —Camden, p. 680.—Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 682.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 570. —Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. folio, p. 293, 294.

(*y*) Camden, p. 680.—Stowe, p. 809.—Fuller's Worthies of Yorkſhire, p. 203.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 570.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. folio, p. 308, 309.

with which he maintained a ſtrict diſcipline amongſt the ſailors, prevented him from being much beloved (z).

(z). Stowe's annals, p. 808.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 182.—R. Johnſtoni Rerum Britannicarum Hiſt. p. 203.—The memorable ſervice of Sir John Norris, at Breſt, in Bretagne, by Thomas Churchyard, London, 1602. Quarto. p. 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141.—Fuller's Worthies of Yorkſhire, p. 202, 203.—Campbell's lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 570.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 308, 309.—There is an ancient portrait of Frobiſher, on the ſtair-caſe, leading to the picture gallery, at Oxford.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir RICHARD HAWKINS.

THIS gallant officer (the ſon of the celebrated Sir John Hawkins, whoſe memoirs have already been preſented to the reader,) was born at Plymouth in Devonſhire; and, as he was endued with equal abilities, and intrepidity, ſo was he like his father, expoſed to equal diſappointments, and misfortunes (*a*). As it is unneceſſary to recapitulate the particulars of thoſe ſervices which he performed during the engagements between the Engliſh fleet, and the invincible armada, we ſhall proceed to a detail of enterprizes which have not yet been noticed.

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-three, Sir Richard Hawkins obtained from Elizabeth, a commiſſion under the broad-ſeal, by which he was impowered to attack the Spaniards, in North America. Having equipped three veſſels, at his own expence, and aſſembled two hundred aſſociates, he ſet

(*a*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 391.

ſet ſail from Plymouth. His great object was to viſit China, the iſles of Japan, the Moluccas, and the Philippines; and, likewiſe, to direct his courſe, by the ſtreights of Magellan, and the South ſea. Thus, would he have taken as wide a compaſs as Drake, Cavendiſh, and the celebrated navigators who preceded him.

Not to enter into a minute deſcription of thoſe diſaſters to which he was expoſed, at the commencement of this voyage, partly by unfavourable winds, and tempeſtuous weather, and partly by the perfidy of his mariners, let it be ſufficient to obſerve that he arrived at the iſland of Saint Ann, where his pinnace was accidentally ſet on fire. From thence, he proceeded to the mouth of Rio della Plata, where he intercepted, and took a Portugueſe ſhip, on her paſſage to Angola, and freighted with Caſſavi meal, and ſugar. He next repaired towards the ſtreight of Magellan, but, on his courſe, was deſerted by captain Thralton (*c*), who ſailed from him in the veſſel of which he had the command, and thus, not only rendered the deſign of Hawkins ineffectual, but laid the foundation of thoſe calamities which he afterwards endured.

On this occaſion, our adventurer obſerves that "ſuch deſertions, and eſcapes, are only to pilfer, and "ſteal, as well as by taking of ſome prize, when they "are alone, and, without command, or order, to hinder "their bad proceedings, to appropriate that which is "in their intruſted ſhip, caſting their fault, if they "be called to account, upon ſome poor, and unknown "mariners, whom they ſuffer, with a little pillage, "to abſent themſelves, the more cunningly to cover "their

(*b*) See from page 232, to page 304, of the ſecond volume of this work.

(*c*) It was this miſcreant who, by a ſimilar act of treachery, had proved the ruin of Captain Cavendiſh.

" their greateſt diſorders, and robberies. Doubtleſs," adds this experienced officer,) " Robert Thralton, in " the Fanny, might, if he would, have come unto us, " with great facility, becauſe within ſixteen hours, " the ſtorm ceaſed, and the wind came fair, which " brought us to the ſtreights, and endured many days, " after, with us, at north-eaſt. This was good for " them, although naught for us. If he had periſhed " any maſt, or yard, ſprung any leak, wanted vic- " tuals, or inſtruments for finding us, or had any " other impediment of importance, he might have " had ſome colour to cloak his lewdneſs; but the " maſts, and yards being ſound, his ſhip ſtaunch, and " laden with victuals, for two years at the leaſt, and " having order from place, to place, where to find us, " his intention is eaſily ſeen to be bad, or his fault " ſuch as worthily deſerved to be made exemplary un- " to others. All this he manifeſted at his return by " his manner of proceeding, making a ſpoil of the " prize which he took in his way homewards, as alſo " of that which was in the ſhip, putting it into a port " fit for his purpoſe, where he might have time, and " commodity to do what he would. The breach of " duty is the more ſhameful in the Engliſh, becauſe " thoſe who are injured, either dying through grief, " or falling into extreme poverty, are ſeldom able to " proſecute ſuch offences which procured impunity, " and tempt others to follow ſuch a bad example; " whereas, in Spain, the king's attorney-general takes " notice of all ſuch offences of courſe, and, upon his " ſuit, the perpetrators of them are very ſeverely pu- " niſhed, and to this only may be attributed all their " ſucceſs. In all other things, we are at leaſt their " equals; in many things, much their ſuperiors."

Thus deſerted, at a conſiderable diſtance from any ſhore, and nearly in the latitude of fifty degrees, Sir Richard, and his aſſociates proceeded, but with uncertainty, on their courſe. The ſoon approached a fertile country, the harbours of which appeared commodious, and, on the mountains, were ſtately foreſts. As the place was not laid down in any of their charts, they could not even form a conjecture relative to its name. The multitude of fires which were blazing on the coaſt convinced them that it was populous. But, as they had loſt their pinnace, in which they might have diſcovered the ſhore before them, it was not poſſible to come within hail of the inhabitants.

Here, the Engliſh cruized, for the ſpace of ſixty leagues, from weſt to north, until, being driven back by contrary winds, they made the ſtreight of Magellan, in January, of the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-four, and ſailed up to it to the heighth of fifty-ſix degrees. On the adjoining ſhore, they diſcovered quantities of muſcles, which were ſo large and delicious, that they formed the greater part of their ſubſiſtence. Moſt of the ſhells contained pearls, and, in ſome, the number amounted to thirty; yet theſe were not of any ſize, nor of that bright, orient colour, from which they receive their value.

Having remained, during the ſpace of ſix weeks, near the iſlands of this ſtreight, and ſtriven againſt dangerous, and uncertain currents, Sir Richard proceeded ſafely into the open ſea, and (if we can rely on the teſtimony of the Spaniſh hiſtorians,) was the ſixth perſon who enjoyed the felicity, and honour of having paſſed the ſtreight.

From hence, they ſailed along the coaſts of Chili, and diſembarking at Valparizo, plundered the Spaniſh ſtore-houſes, and took five merchant-ſhips, one of which,

which, laden with Baldivian goods, they detained, but accepted of a ranſom for the reſt, amounting to two thouſand ducats.

They next directed their courſe to Arica, where they were intercepted, and attacked by eight Spaniſh ſhips, on board of which were two thouſand men, under the command of Don Bertrand de Caſtro. After a long, but ineffectual engagement, the enemy retreated, having been much ſhattered by the violence of the wind, and weather.

The hiſtorian (*d*) who hath given an account of this action, obſerves that the Engliſh and the Spaniards were ſcarcely within ſight of each other, when they prepared for battle. The winds, and ſtorms proved favourable to the former, and equally detrimental to the latter, whoſe veſſels were ſeverely damaged. The main-maſt of the Spaniſh admiral-ſhip was ſnapped aſunder, and, ſoon afterwards, ſhe dropped aſtern. The vice-admiral loſt her main-ſail, and the rear-admiral her main-yard, and only one ſhip of the Armada which had plied to windward could poſſibly have engaged, but her commander appeared unwilling to come to action. Thus, the two fleets remained, during the whole day, without making an attempt to commit hoſtilities. When the night advanced, Sir Richard called a conſultation of officers, in order to determine what operations might be neceſſary. At this period, the Spaniſh admiral-ſhip, and two others, were ſtationed a-ſtern of the Engliſh; the rear-admiral-ſhip was right a-head; the vice-admiral-ſhip to the leeward; one veſſel on the bow, and moſt of the reſt within ſhot. Sir Richard, and his aſſociates, concluded that it would be prudent to bear up before the wind, and endeavour to retreat between the admiral,

 and

(*d*) Harris.

and the vice-admiral-ſhip. This purpoſe they fortunately accompliſhed, previous to the riſing of the moon.

The Engliſh now directed their courſe towards the bay of Atacama, and, nearly fifty leagues to the northward of Lima, and within view of the town of Mongon, intercepted, and took a Spaniſh veſſel, of the burthen of one hundred tons, freighted with wheat, ſugar, Cardovan ſkins, honey, and other commodities. Having ſecured the moſt valuable part of the cargo, they ſet the crew aſhore, and then burned the ſhip.

In the mean time, the Spaniſh admiral, having reinforced his ſquadron, and procured a freſh ſupply of ammunition, and proviſions, purſued the Engliſh, to Atacama, and once more attacked them. At the commencement of the action, the victory appeared doubtful; but, at length, Sir Richard, and his brave aſſociates were overpowered, and driven to the neceſſity of accepting the offers which the Spaniards made them, of life, and liberty, on condition that they immediately ſubmitted. Before the Engliſh ſtruck their colours, every ſail had been torn away, the maſts were ſhattered, the pumps were ſhot to pieces, the decks were broken in, moſt of the mariners were killed, and water had entered to the depth of ſeven feet, within the hold. Add to this, that Sir Richard Hawkins was ſeverely wounded; and yet, although his veſſel was on the point of ſinking, he would not have ſubmitted, but for the earneſt interceſſions of the crew.

After the Engliſh were taken priſoners, the admiral Don Bertrand de Caſtro, ſhewed Sir Richard a letter, addreſſed from the king of Spain, to the vice-roy of Peru, and deſcribing, in the fulleſt terms, the preparations for the enterprize which was to have been undertaken by the Engliſh, the number of their ſhips, their

their burthen, men, guns, and ammunition; circumſtances which demonſtrated how cloſe a correſpondence Philip maintained with perſons who were too well acquainted with the counſels of Elizabeth.

Sir Richard Hawkins continued, during a length of time, a priſoner in America, where he was treated with great humanity by De Caſtro; yet, at laſt, in conſequence of an order from the court of Spain, he was ſent to that kingdom, where he remained for the ſpace of ſeveral years, a priſoner in Seville, and in Madrid. In time, he obtained his liberty, and returned to England. Here, he paſſed the reſt of his life in the cultivation of the arts of peace. A part of his leiſure hours was employed in writing the hiſtory of his life, until that period at which he was taken priſoner by the Spaniards. He had prepared materials for an augmentation of this work, but was prevented from digeſting them by ſudden death. Having been ſummoned to attend the privy council, he was ſeized with a fit of apoplexy, in the anti-chamber, and immediately expired.

A naval hiſtorian (*e*) concludes the memoirs of this illuſtrious adventurer with the inſertion of the following remarks concerning his father, Sir John Hawkins, and himſelf.

"If fortune had been as propitious to them both, "as they were eminent for virtue, valour, and know-"ledge, they might have vied with the heroes of any "age (*f*), (*g*)."

(*e*) Mr. Campbell.

(*f*) In the year one thouſand, ſeven hundred, and ſixty-one, ſome of the deſcendants of Sir Richard Hawkins were living in an obſcure ſtation, on the borders of Devonſhire.

(*g*) The particulars of the life of Sir Richard Hawkins are taken from Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 738.—Prince's Worthies

thies of Devonſhire, p. 391.—Obſervations of Sir Richard Hawkins, knight, his voyage to the South-Sea, A. D. 1593. Printed for John Jaggard, at the Hand and Star, in Fleet-ſtreet.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1367.—Captain Ellis's account, in the ſame book, p. 1415.—Deſcription of Devonſhire, Art. Plymouth, MS. penes me. Weſtcot. —Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 1. folio. p. 297, 298.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1, p. 581, 582, 583, 584.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

Captain JAMES LANCASTER.

CONCERNING the earlier ſcenes in the life of this celebrated adventurer, our naval hiſtorians have been entirely ſilent. The firſt preparations in which he is recorded to have been concerned were made for an expedition to the Weſt-Indies. Towards this region, he ſet ſail, as the aſſociate of captain George Raymond, on the tenth of April, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred and ninety-one. With their ſquadron, which conſiſted of three large ſhips, the Penelope, admiral; the Merchant-Royal, vice-admiral; and the Edward-Bonaventure, rear-admiral; the Engliſh arrived from Plymouth, at the Canaries, on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, and, in four days afterwards, renewed their courſe. On the ſecond of May, they approached the heighth of Cape Blanco; on the fifth, they paſſed the Tropic of Cancer; and, on the eighth, reached cape Verd. On the ſixth of June, they paſſed the line, previous to which event, hav-

ing been obſtructed in their deſtined voyage, by contrary winds, they cruized upon the ſeas, and took a Portugueſe caravel, bound for the Braziles, and laden with ſixty tons of wine, twelve hundred jars of olives, and various articles of merchandize. On the firſt of Auguſt, and, at a period when numbers of the crew were languiſhing under the diſtempers peculiar to the climate, they put into the bay of Agoada de Saldanha. From hence, the Merchant Royal, on board of which were fifty diſabled mariners, ſet ſail for England. The companies belonging to the other ſhips were now reduced to one hundred, and ninety-eight men; and their commanders, with equal humanity, and prudence, conſented that, in order to procure a re-eſtabliſhment of their health, they ſhould remain, during a month, on ſhore, where proviſions were ſo plentiful, that the natives chearfully gave the Engliſh, either a bullock, or a ſheep, in exchange for broken knives, and other articles of immaterial value.

Soon after their departure from this place, the Engliſh doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and proceeded to Corrientes. Here the Penelope, commanded by captain George Raymond, was ſeparated from the Edward-Bonaventure, in a ſtorm. As her lights were ſuddenly obſerved to diſappear it was imagined that ſhe had ſunk to the bottom of the ocean.

This tempeſt was ſucceeded by ſuch violent, and fatal flaſhes of lightning, that three mariners, whoſe necks had been diſtorted by the force of it, periſhed, almoſt in the inſtant from the time at which they had received the ſtroke. Several of the reſt either loſt their ſight, or were deprived of the uſes of their limbs: others were ſeized with the moſt excruciating pains, attended with vomitings of blood; and the bodies of ſome of the unhappy ſufferers were ſtretched, as if they

they had been tortured on the rack. The main-maſt was alſo ſhattered from the top, even to the deck; and ſome iron ſpikes placed ten inches within the timbers, were intirely melted.

From Cape Corrientes, our adventurer, and his aſſociates, proceeded to the iſlands of Comorro, where William Mace, the maſter of the Edward-Bonaventure, and thirty of the ſailors, were attacked, at their debarkation to procure water, and murdered by the ſavages. Alarmed at this event, Lancaſter departed immediately for Zanzibar, on the coaſt of Melinde, where he wintered, and, on the fifteenth of February, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-two, proceeded towards the Indies. During his courſe, he intercepted, and took ſome Turkiſh veſſels, in the ſervice of the merchants of Peru, and, likewiſe, ſome Portugueſe barks, laden with rice.

An indefatigable hiſtorian (*a*) hath obſerved that the Engliſh amounted only to thirty-three men, at the time when theſe veſſels were taken, and that two of the prizes, belonging to the Portugueſe, were ſhips of great force, the one being of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, and the other of the burthen of ſeven hundred tons. The laſt, which had been abandoned by the whole company, conſiſting of three hundred perſons, was freighted with three hundred butts of wine, and ſixteen pieces of braſs cannon, excluſive of various articles of valuable merchandize. When theſe veſſels had been entirely plundered, Lancaſter directed that they ſhould be turned adrift.

The Engliſh next directed their courſe towards Ceylon; from thence they ſailed to the iſlands of Nicubar, near Sumatra; and, afterwards, to the iſles of Pinaon, or Pulo-Pinaom, where they arrived in the Month

(*a*) Hackluyt.

Month of June, intending to remain there during the enſuing winter; but a diſtemper which broke out, towards the cloſe of the year, amongſt the crew, the ſcarcity of proviſions, and the mutinous diſpoſition of the mariners, were circumſtances ſo alarming, that Lancaſter determined to proceed, with all poſſible expedition to England. Accordingly, on the eighth of December, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-two, he ſet ſail, with his aſſociates, and, having doubled the Cape of good Hope (*b*), arrived, in the month of April, at the iſland of Saint Helena, and procured a ſupply of all neceſſary proviſions. Soon after their departure from this place, they were driven by the trade-winds to the iſland of Trinidada, in America, where they diſembarked in the month of June. From hence, they purſued their courſe to the iſland of Mona, near Puerto Ricco, and there the carpenter, five mariners, and a boy, availing themſelves of the abſence of captain Lancaſter, on ſhore, cut the cable of the Edward-Bonaventure, ſtood out to ſea, and made ſail for England, where they arrived ſafely, with a valuable cargo.

When Lancaſter, and his companions had remained, during ſeveral weeks, in great diſtreſs, at Mona, they were ſo fortunate as to be received on board of a French ſhip which entered the harbour, and, ſhortly afterwards, proceeded, on her return to Europe. On the twentieth of May, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-four, our adventurer arrived at Rye, cloſing a voyage of three years, which, although marked by a ſeries of adverſity, and diſappointments, proved the means of eſtabliſhing his reputation, and occaſioned him to be conſidered as the firſt Engliſhman who had opened a commercial intercourſe with the natives

(*b*) March 31, 1593.

tives of the Eaſt Indies, and laid the baſis of mercantile connections at once flouriſhing, and extenſive (*c*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-four, Lancaſter was appointed to the command of a ſmall ſquadron fitted out at the expence of ſome adventurers belonging to the port of London. Excluſive of a pinnace, conſtructed to take in pieces, for the convenience of ſtowage, this equipment conſiſted of three veſſels; the Conſent, admiral, of the burthen of two hundred, and forty tons; the Solomon, vice-admiral, of the burthen of one hundred, and ſeventy tons, and commanded by Edmund Barker, of London; the Virgin, under captain John Audley, of Poplar, and of the burthen of ſixty tons. The deſign of theſe preparations was to annoy the Spaniards, dwelling on the coaſt of Brazil, in revenge for hoſtilities which had been attended with the ſeizure of ſeveral valuable cargoes of Engliſh merchandize. On the thirtieth of November, Lancaſter, and his aſſociates, ſet ſail from Dartmouth, but had not proceeded to the diſtance of fifty leagues beyond the coaſt, before a violent ſtorm aroſe, during which the Conſent was ſeparated from the ſquadron. She rejoined it, not long afterwards, near Cape Blanco, and, at this period, the ſeveral ſhips had taken thirty-nine Spaniſh, and Portugueſe veſſels, of different burthens. Of theſe, four only were detained; the reſt, having been plundered, received permiſſion to depart.

The Engliſh next proceeded to the iſland of Mayo, where they framed their pinnace, which was furniſhed with a maſt, ſail, and fourteen banks on each ſide. The command of her was given to an experienced mariner,

(*c*) Camden.—Hacklupt, part 3. p. 573.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 286.

mariner, of the name of Watts, who was to take the charge of landing the men ſafely at the Braziles. Our adventurer, and his aſſociates, remained at Mayo, nearly three weeks, previous to the expiration of which period, they were joined by captain Venner, in the Peregrine, (together with a Biſcayan veſſel, which he had taken at Cape Blanco ;) and by the Welcome, and her pinnace, belonging to the port of Plymouth. The commanders of the veſſels (the laſt of which had been cruizing in the adjacent ſeas,) agreed to aſſiſt Lancaſter on the commiſſion of hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of the king of Spain, on condition that they ſhould receive a fourth ſhare of all the prizes ; and they immediately reſolved to attack Fernambuco, a town ſituated on the coaſt of Brazil, where the inhabitants preſerved, for the uſe of their ſovereign, an immenſe treaſure, ſaved from an Eaſt-Indian carrack, which had been caſt away near that place.

On the twenty ninth of March, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, the Engliſh reached the town of Fernambuco, and lay before the harbour, until break of day. In the mean time, the admiral manned his pinnace with eighty ſailors, and, rowing, in his boat from ſhip to ſhip, directed the ſeveral commanders to furniſh as great a number of their crews as could be ſpared, with muſkets, pikes, bills, bows, arrows, and other implements of war, in order that they might follow him, and ſecond his attempt to force into the harbour, at the firſt appearance of the morning. Five ſmall ſhips, which had been brought from Cape Blanco, and were, on this occaſion, ſupplied only with as many ſailors as were ſufficient to navigate them, were appointed to enter the port, at the ſame time, for the purpoſe of oppoſing three large Dutch veſſels, if they ſhould attempt

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to obſtruct the paſſage of the Engliſh. In this caſe, Lancaſter had given orders that they ſhould be boarded and grappled; and that his men having ſet fire to their own ſhips, ſhould immediately eſcape in their boats. Theſe directions were, fortunately needleſs. The Dutch appeared deſirous of maintaining a neutrality, and were no ſooner convinced of the hoſtile intentions of the Engliſh, than they warped to a ſecurer, and more diſtant ſtation.

At day-break, Lancaſter obſerved that the boats had been driven below the harbour, more than half a mile to the northwards; a circumſtance which, added to the reflux of the tide, prevented them from recovering the harbour, until the afternoon. The inhabitants were now alarmed, and dreading an immediate aſſault, aſſembled to the number of ſix hundred men, and marched forwards to the platform, in order to oppoſe the landing of their enemies.

It appears to have been the determination of Lancaſter, either to conquer, or periſh in the attempt. This gallant adventurer gave orders that the helmſmen, and all the rowers of the pinnace, and boats, ſhould run them on ſhore with ſuch violence that each might be daſhed in pieces, and that his aſſociates, deprived of the poſſibility of retreating, might at once perceive that their ſole reliance was on the GOD of BATTLE, their valour, and their arms.

At the flood, the Engliſh, in obedience to the directions of their admiral, ſet every ſail, and ran the pinnace, and boats aſhore, at a ſmall diſtance from the fort, and with ſuch exceſſive violence, that they immediately ſunk. At this inſtant, Lancaſter leaped into the water, and was followed by his aſſociates to the ſhore. Scarcely were they landed when a party

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of the enemy, within the fort, difcharged feven pieces of cannon, but in fo erring a direction, that moft of the balls fell hurtlefs on the fands, and the only perfon wounded was a mariner who loft his arm. The Englifh now rufhed forwards, and the Spaniards, difmayed at their intrepidity, had not prefence of mind to load their artillery, but retiring with precipitation, left the fort in the poffeffion of their affailants.

The admiral, thus far fucceefful, difplayed the appointed fignal for the fquadron to get under way, and, foon afterwards, every veffel had entered within the harbour. The Englifh next directed the cannon of the fort againft the high town, whilft an armed multitude marched towards the lower-town, in which were fituated the warehoufes belonging to the merchants. At the approach of their adverfaries, the inhabitants fled to the caravels, and boats, leaving every entrance to the town intirely unguarded.

Exclufive of various articles of valuable merchandize, the plunder confifted of large quantities of Brazil-wood, fugar, callicoes, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, and nutmegs. The admiral directed captain Venner, and his men to take their ftations at the fouthern extremity of the town, whilft the captains Barker, and Addy, proceeded, with their affociates, to the other end, leaving the main body of the Englifh in poffeffion of the middle ftreets. Orders were likewife iffued that fevere penalties, together with the lofs of their plunder, fhould be inflicted on thofe perfons who without efpecial leave of the commander in chief, fhould break open, or enter any of the ftorehoufes. Such was the falutary effect of this regulation that during the whole time that the Englifh remained at Fernambuco, no diforders were committed, nor any booty retained by violence, but in equal

fhares,

ſhares, according to the rank, and quality of the conquerors.

On the day following, the Engliſh fortified all that part of the town which extended towards the land, and conſtructed a ſtrong fort. They next prevailed on the commanders of the three Dutch veſſels, for a valuable reward, not only to aſſiſt them in their operations, but, afterwards to receive on board the plunder, and convey it to ſuch ports, as the admiral ſhould judge proper. In two days afterwards, an armed multitude of Portugueſe, and Indians, appeared before the town, at midnight, and, with hideous outcries, attacked the Engliſh. The action, which was ſhort, ended in the total overthrow of the formmer. On the fifth of April, three French men of war, attended by two pinnaces, ſailed into the harbour. At an interview with their officers, the admiral diſcovered that one of the commanders was the perſon who had received him on board, at the iſland of Mona. Happy to embrace an opportunity of gratefully returning the aſſiſtance which he had received, in the moment of diſtreſs, Lancaſter preſented his benefactor with a caravel, of the burthen of fifty tons, and permitted the French (who afterwards aſſiſted the Engliſh in every action,) to load their veſſels with a large quantity of Brazil-wood, and ſeveral articles of valuable merchandize.

On the third day from the landing of the admiral, and his aſſociates, a body of the inhabitants, diſplaying a flag of truce, appeared before the high town, and requeſted that they might be admitted to an audience. As Lancaſter had hitherto ſucceeded in his attempts, and was not under the neceſſity of receiving favours from an enemy, he refuſed to comply with their deſires, and threatened to proceed to violent hoſtilities,

tilities, unleſs they inſtantly departed. On the twentieth day, ſubſequent to this event, the Portugueſe, availing themſelves of the wind, and tide, ſent five fire-ſhips, amongſt the veſſels of the Engliſh, who, continually on their guard, and ſuſpecting ſuch attempts, entered within their boat, and, throwing grappling irons into the fire-ſhips, towed them all aground.

In the week following, the Portugueſe engaged in a ſimilar, but more dangerous enterprize, and, having made great fires upon large rafts, on which they had erected poles, with fire-ſpouts at the top, for the purpoſe of annoying the boats, of their aſſailants, they ſet theſe formidable machines adrift, in hopes that they might conſume the veſſels of the Engliſh. On this occaſion, they were equally unſucceſsful, and the ſame men whom Lancaſter had before employed, fixed their grappling irons on the rafts, and towed them on ſhore, where they continued burning until the morning.

At the expiration of thirty days, all hoſtilities appeared to have been concluded, and the immenſe plunder which had been taken was ſafely ſtowed, on board of Dutch, French, and Engliſh ſhips. At day-break, the admiral, and his aſſociates, prepared for their departure, when, on a ſudden, an armed multitude of Portugueſe, and Indians, ruſhed forwards, and began a furious engagement. In this their eleventh, and laſt enterprize, they ſtill miſcarried, and, after a great ſlaughter, retreated with much diſorder, and precipitation. Too eager in the purſuit, and regardleſs of the orders which had been iſſued by the admiral, a party of the Engliſh were ſurrounded by the main body of the Portugueſe, who had been poſted in ambuſh, and ſlew thirty-five of their adverſaries, amongſt whom were

were captain Barker, of the Solomon; captain Cotton, the lieutenant under the admiral; captain Jean Noyer, of the port of Dieppe; another French captain, from Rochelle; and Mr. John Barker, an Engliſhman.

In the following night, when the Portugueſe, and Indians ſeemed too intimidated to renew their oppoſition againſt their adverſaries, the victorious fleet ſet ſail. It conſiſted of three Dutch veſſels; one of the burthen of four hundred, and fifty tons; a ſecond of the burthen of three hundred, and fifty tons; and a third of the burthen of three hundred tons; five French ſhips, including that which Lancaſter preſented to the commander who had received him on board, at Mona; three ſail of ſhips, compoſing a part of the fleet under captain Venner, of Plymouth; and four ſhips immediately under the command of Lancaſter, all of which were richly laden. The whole armament proceeded towards Peranjeu, an harbour ſituated nearly forty leagues to the Northward of Fernambuco. As they approached this place, a violent ſtorm aroſe, during which moſt of the ſhips were ſeparated. The ſquadron under the command of Lancaſter was now reduced to four ſhips; and, with theſe, after having procured a ſupply of freſh proviſions, he directed his courſe homewards, and arrived ſafely in the Downs, in the month of July, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five. Here, he was informed that the other veſſels had returned before him; that the French had reached Dieppe; that captain Venner, with his ſquadron, had entered the port of Plymouth; and that the other ſhips belonging to the admiral were at anchor in the river Thames (*d*).

(*d*) The particulars relating to this expedition are taken from Camden's Annals, p. 683.—Hackluyt, Part 3. V. 2. p. 708.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 584, 585.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio, p. 304, 305.

The next expedition undertaken by this celebrated adventurer was immediately subsequent to the establishment of an East-India company, of which the first members were Sir John Spencer, and Sir Edward Michelburn, of London, knights; William Candish, Paul Banning, Robert Lee, Leonard Holliday, John Watts, John Moore, Edward Holmden, Robert Hampson, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Campbell, aldermen of London, exclusive of more than two hundred persons of rank, and property.

Without entering minutely into the particulars of the patent granted, by Elizabeth, towards the conclusion of the year, one thousand, and six hundred, let it be sufficient to acquaint the reader that these individuals were formed into a body corporate, and politic, under the title of the Governour, and company of merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies; that they were allowed a common seal, with power to change, or alter it, at pleasure; that the first governour, and twenty-four directors were nominated in the privilege, and power vested in the company to elect a deputy-governour; and likewise to elect a governour, deputy-governour, and twenty-four directors, yearly, for the future. A freedom was granted to them, their successors, and their sons, when arrived at the age of twenty-one, and also to the apprentices, factors, and servants employed by them, for the space of fifteen years, freely to traffic, and use the trade of merchandize, by sea, in, and by such ways, and passages, already found out, or discovered, or hereafter to be found out, and discovered, as they should esteem, and take to be the fittest into, and from the East-Indies; into the countries, and ports of Asia, and Africa; and into, and from all the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, towns, and places of Asia,

Africa,

Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the ſtreight of Magellan, where any trade, or traffic of merchandize might be uſed, or had, to, and from every of them, in ſuch order, manner, form, liberty, and condition, as they themſelves ſhould, from time, to time, agree upon.

They were allowed the authority of making reaſonable by-laws, and might, likewiſe, inflict puniſhment on offenders, either in body, or purpoſe, provided it were not contrary to the laws of the realm of England. Their outward-bound goods were to be cuſtom-free for the firſt four voyages; and, then, the cuſtom of all goods exported, which ſhould miſcarry, was to be permitted in other goods which might be ſhipped afterwards. For the cuſtoms, and ſubſidies on other goods, they were allowed ſix months credit for one half, and twelve months credit for the other half, with a free re-exportation for thirteen months. They were alſo permitted to export, every voyage, the value of thirty thouſand pounds, foreign coin, or bullion, provided that ſix thouſand pounds were coined in the mint belonging to the queen.

Six ſhips, and ſix pinnaces, with five hundred mariners, were allowed to be ſent yearly to the Eaſt-Indies, any reſtraint notwithſtanding, except when the royal navy was going out, and ſhips, and mariners were wanting.

All others, the ſubjects of Elizabeth, were, by this privilege, excluded from trading into thoſe parts, under ſevere penalties, without the aſſent, and licence of the company, who were allowed the liberty of admitting others into this freedom. They were alſo obliged to bring in, after every voyage returned, within ſix months, as great a quantity of ſilver, gold, or foreign coin, as they ſhould carry out, the firſt voy-

age excepted. All silver, or gold exported by the company was to be shipped at the ports of London, Dartmouth, or Plymouth. The privilege was not to extend into any place, being in actual possession of any prince, in league, or amity with Elizabeth. If this privilege was found unprofitable for the realm, then, within two years warning, given under the privy seal, the same was to be void; but, on the contrary, if it was found beneficial, then it was to be renewed, with some additions. This privilege was dated on the thirty-first of December, in the year, one thousand, and six hundred.

The merchants included within the patent, having raised a subscription to the amount of seventy-two thousand pounds, and obtained letters of recommendation to the chief princes of India, equipped a fleet of five vessels; the Dragon, admiral, of the burthen of six hundred tons; the Hector, vice-admiral, of the burthen of three hundred tons; the Ascension, of the burthen of two hundred tons; the Swan, nearly of the same burthen; and the Guest, a victualler, of the burthen of one hundred, and thirty tons.

The number of men on board of this fleet amounted to four hundred, and fifty. Exclusive of the necessary provisions, ammunition, and victuals were provided for twenty merchants. To these, were delivered, as a trading stock, twenty-seven thousand pounds, in specie. The remainder of the capital was intirely expended in the equipment of the fleet, and other preparations of importance.

On the thirteenth of February, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and one, this armament sailed from Woolwich, under the command of Lancaster; and, proceeding to Torbay, remained there until the second of May. On the twenty-first of June, and when

when they were within two degrees to the northward of the Line, the English intercepted, and took a Portuguese vessel, on her passage to the East-Indies. The cargo of this prize proved of great service to the captors, and consisted, amongst other articles, of one hundred, and forty-six barrels of butter, one hundred, and seventy-six jars of oil, and fifty-five hogsheads of meal.

On the thirtieth of June, they passed the line; and, on the twentieth of July, having reached nineteen degrees, and forty minutes of southern latitude, they unladed their victualling ship, called the Guest, and having reserved her masts, yards, and sails, broke down her quarters for fire-wood, and then turned her adrift. On the twenty-fourth, they passed the Tropic of Capricorn, and from thence, (as distempers began to rage amongst the crews,) determined to proceed either to Saint Helena, or Soldamia, for the purpose of obtaining fresh provisions.

On the passage, numbers of the mariners who had long languished under the severities of sickness, were so enfeebled by repeated attempts to assist in navigating the ships, that no circumstance except an actual rest from labour, could have effected their recovery. At this alarming crisis, when the merchants, and chief officers were obliged to work at the helm, and perform the various duties of the common sailors, the fleet approached the harbour of Soldamia; but in so helpless a condition were the English, that from the crews even of three ships, a sufficient number of mariners was wanting, either to let fall the anchors, or man the boats. Having procured assistance, they disembarked, and engaged in traffic with the natives, who supplied them with live cattle, and the various Commodities of the country.

On the twenty-ninth of October, and at a period when one hundred, and fifty of the Engliſh had fallen a ſacrifice to diſtempers, our gallant adventurer, and his aſſociates, renewed their courſe, and, on the firſt of November, doubled the cape of Good Hope. On the twenty-ſixth, they reached the iſland of Saint Lawrence, which is ſituated to the Eaſtward of Cape Sebaſtian. On the ſeventeenth of December, they deſcried the Southern extremity of the iſland of Saint Mary; and, on the eighteenth, they caſt anchor between that place, and the great iſland of Saint Lawrence. On the twenty-fifth, they entered the bay of Antongil; and, on the twenty-ſixth, anchored in a commodious road, between the ſmall iſland, and the main. Here, they diſembarked, and traded with the natives for oranges, lemons, rice, peas, beans, poultry, and cattle.

On the ſixth of March, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred and two, they departed from this place, and directed their courſe towards the Indies. On the ninth of May, they obſerved the iſlands of Nicubar, and, on the twentieth, reached the iſland of Sombrero. From hence, they ſet ſail on the twenty-ninth; and, on the fifth of June, caſt anchor in the road of Achen, at the diſtance of two miles from the city.

Immediately after his arrival, Lancaſter (who had been directed to obtain permiſſion for the ſettlement of a factory, at Achen,) ſent ſix gentlemen, who were to demand an audience, and delivered the letters, and preſents from Elizabeth, to the ſovereign of the place. The latter, not ignorant either of the power of the queen of England, or of the reputation which ſhe had acquired by her naval, and military ſucceſſes againſt the Spaniards, was overjoyed at the opportunity of doing honour to her ſubjects, prepared a ſplendid banquet for the ambaſſadors, aſſured them that the ſhips,

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and all their crews might remain ſecure within his harbours, and diſpatched a meſſenger to inform Lancaſter that if he choſe to diſembark, and repair to court, he ſhould find the ſame gracious reception which might have been expected in the preſence of Elizabeth.

On the eighth of June the admiral landed, and attended by the chief officers of the fleet, proceeded to the palace, where he was treated with every mark of favour, and reſpect, and from whence, after having partaken of a magnificent entertainment, he returned to his own veſſel. At a ſecond interview, the king obſerved that he had felt the higheſt ſatisfaction from the peruſal of the letters which had been delivered from Elizabeth, and immediately gave orders that two miniſters of ſtate ſhould enter into a negociation, with the Engliſh, concerning the buſineſs on which they had been ſent. After ſeveral conferences, a league was concluded between Elizabeth, and the ſovereign of Achen, who, with his own hands, ſurrendered to Lancaſter, the inſtrument which contained the grant of ſeveral important privileges, and accompanied this gift with the warmeſt expreſſions of his inviolable eſteem for Elizabeth, and all her ſubjects.

The rights, and immunities, conferred on this occaſion, were

I. A free entry, and trade.

II. An exemption from cuſtoms on all imports, and exports.

III. The liberty of making wills, and of diſpoſing of eſtates, where, and to whomſoever the Engliſh might think proper.

IV. Full ſecurity with regard to all bargains, and Payments, in which reſpect the Acheneſe were to be

tied down to a punctual, and ſtrict obſervation of all the meaſures of juſtice, and fair dealing.

V. Authority to inflict puniſhments on their own delinquents, without an appeal to the civil magiſtrate of the country.

VI. An aſſurance of juſtice to be done, on immediate complaint, in all caſes of injuries received from the natives.

VII. A freedom from all arreſts, either on goods, or prizes.

VII. Liberty of conſcience, and the undiſturbed exerciſe of their own religion.

When theſe points were intirely adjuſted, the merchants endeavoured to procure a large freight of pepper, but, on account of the barrenneſs of the preceding year, this commodity was extremely ſcarce, and the price of it much higher than even under ſuch circumſtances could reaſonably have been expected. At this juncture, the admiral received advice that a ſufficient quantity of pepper for the cargo of one veſſel, might be procured at Priaman, a place ſituated at the diſtance of an hundred, and fifty leagues to the ſouthward of Achen. He, therefore, gave orders that the Swan ſhould ſail thither for the purpoſe of receiving it.

It may, in this place be proper to obſerve, that the courteous reception which had been given to Lancaſter, and his aſſociates, by the king of Achen, excited the jealouſy of the Portugueſe, who obſerved with equal anger, and concern, how eaſily the Engliſh had obtained thoſe important privileges which they, with all their intereſt, and aſſiduity, were ſtill unable to procure. Eager to effect the ruin of their ſucceſsful rivals, they attempted, but in vain, through the inſinuations

nuations of their ambaſſador, to exclude them from the court. The king continued firmly attached, on every occaſion, to their cauſe, and even aſſiſted them to defeat the treacherous combination of their opponents.

On the eleventh of September, the admiral ſet ſail towards the ſtreights of Malacca, in order to cruize againſt the veſſels in the ſervice of the Portugueſe. Mean while, the chief merchants, whom the king had promiſed to take under his protection, were left at Achen, for the purpoſe of ſuperintending the European trade with the natives of the place. In company with the fleet under the command of Lancaſter, were two Dutch ſhips, of the burthen of two hundred tons, the captains of which offered to bear a part in the adventure, and, by agreement, were to receive an eighth ſhare of the cargoes of ſuch prizes as might be taken.

On the third of October, a veſſel appeared in ſight, and was ſoon afterwards intercepted by the Hector, which ſhip, having diſcharged a broadſide at her, was ſupported in the engagement by the Aſcenſion. The enemy maintained a briſk fire, during a conſiderable time, and until her main-yard was carried away by a ſhot from the Dragon. The night now advanced, and all hoſtilities appeared to be ſuſpended. At daybreak the captain of the veſſel came on board of the admiral, and declared that, as all oppoſition muſt prove ineffectual, he yielded himſelf to the mercy of the Engliſh. A proper number of officers, and ſailors were now ſent to take poſſeſſion of the prize, which was on her voyage from the iſland of Saint Thomas, in the bay of Bengala, to the ſtreights of Malacca. She was of the burthen of nine hundred tons, and, on board of her, were ſix hundred perſons. Her cargo con-

consisted of nine hundred, and fifty packs of callicoes, and various articles of the most costly merchandize.

On the twenty-fourth of October, the admiral returned safely, with his fleet, into the harbour of Achen, and, on being informed that the English agents who remained there, during his absence, had been liberally encouraged, and protected by the king, he made the latter a present of several of the richest commodities which had been taken from the prize.

Having directed that all the spices should be conveyed on board, our adventurer now prepared for his voyage to Bantam. Not long before he sailed, he was admitted to a conference with the sovereign of Achen, who delivered to him a letter, three pieces of cloth embroidered with gold, and a ring set with rubies of immense value. These he was ordered to present, on his arrival in England, to Elizabeth. The king now pronounced, in great form, a blessing on the English nation, and having given to Lancaster a large ruby, as a mark of his esteem, dismissed him, and his associates, with a promise that they should find the same gracious reception, at any future period when they might chuse to re-visit his dominions.

On the ninth of November, they departed from Achen, with three ships, on a voyage to Priaman, and Bantam, to which places the Susan had already sailed, in order to procure a lading of pepper, and other articles of merchandize. In two days afterwards, the admiral dispatched the Ascension to England; whilst the other two ships sailed along the coast of Sumatra, for the purpose of re-joining the Susan. Having crossed the Equinoctial, a third time, they arrived, on the twentieth, at Priaman, where they found the Susan, already freighted with six hundred bahars of pepper, and sixty-six of cloves. She was now ordered to com-

compleat her lading, and then ſail directly homewards.

On the fifteenth of December, the Engliſh arrived in the ſtreights of Sunda, and came to an anchor within three leagues of Bantam. On the ſixteenth, they entered the road, when the vice-admiral diſembarked, in order to certify their arrival, and buſineſs to the king, and to deſire a ſafe conduct. This monarch ſent one of his nobles, with the vice-admiral, to bid the admiral welcome, and to conduct him to the court. The reception which he met with was no leſs gracious at this place than at Achen. The delivery of the letter, and the ſervice of plate, gave the higheſt ſatisfaction; and orders were immediately iſſued by the king that all freedom of commerce ſhould be granted to the Engliſh, and that they ſhould enjoy as ample a protection, as if they were reſiding within their own country.

The ſole misfortune which they experienced during their ſtay at Bantam, was the loſs of their vice-admiral, John Middleton. All other circumſtances were accompanied by ſucceſs; and ſo uninterrupted was their trade that, previous to the eleventh of February, the ſhips had received their full loading of pepper, and were in readineſs to ſail. When the admiral was at the point of his departure, he diſpatched ſeveral experienced perſons in the pinnace to the Malaccas, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a trade, and factory, againſt the next return of the ſhips from England. He provided alſo for the ſecurity of the commerce, during his abſence, at Bantam, leaving there a ſufficient number of agents, in order that ſuch articles of merchandize as might be left ſhould be diſpoſed of. At his laſt audience, he was intruſted with a letter, and a pre-

a present of bezoar-stone, for his sovereign Elizabeth, receiving, at the same time, for his own use, a jewel of the like kind, together with a Java dagger, curiously wrought, and set with pearls.

On the twentieth of February, this illustrious adventurer, and his associates, directed their course for England. On the thirteenth of March, they passed the tropic of Capricorn, and, on the fifth of June, arrived at Saint Helena, after having been exposed to great dangers during the violence of a tempest. It was at this juncture that the Dragon lost her rudder; an alarming accident; yet, in the opinion of Lancaster, not sufficient to have justified his conduct, if he had quitted the ship, and, in compliance with the intreaties of his associates, gone on board the Hector. In the letter which he addressed to the East-India company, he first mentions this calamity, and next declares that they had every reason to be convinced that his intentions, by thus venturing his own life, and the lives of all the crew, were to preserve (if such a circumstance could be possible,) the ship, and cargo. Although several passages which he wrote bore evident marks of confusion, yet they were equally descriptive of his intrepidity, and zeal in the service of his employers. The postscript of his letter is of too singular a nature to be omitted.

"The passage to the East-Indies lies in sixty-two "degrees, and thirty minutes, by the North-West, "and on the American side."

From Saint Helena, where the Dragon was refitted, and all the ships received a supply of fresh provisions, and other necessaries, the admiral, and his associates, set sail for England. On the twelfth of August, they passed the Tropic of Cancer, and, on the eleventh of Septem-

September, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and three, arrived ſafely in the Downs. After this event, Lancaſter retired to the calmer ſcenes of private life, and, during a courſe of thirty years, enjoyed the advantages reſulting from the riches which were the fruits of this celebrated, and important enterprize (*e*).

(*e*) The particulars of this voyage to the Eaſt-Indies are taken from Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 57, 58, 59.—Camden's Annals, p. 683.—Hackluyt. V. 3. p. 708—Purchas's pilgrims, V. 1. p. 147.—Campbell's lives of the admirals, V. 1. p. 584, 585, 586—and Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 1. p. 376, 377, 378, 379, 380.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

Sir RICHARD GREENVILLE.

IN the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-five, this illustrious seaman, of high descent, but more exalted by his public virtues, prepared for an expedition to Virginia. The vessels which he equipped were the Tiger, of the burthen of one hundred, and forty tons; the Lion, of the burthen of an hundred tons; the Elizabeth, of the burthen of fifty tons; the Roebuck, a fly-boat, of the burthen of one hundred, and forty tons; the Dorothy, a small bark; and two pinnaces. The chief persons serving immediately under Sir Richard, were Mr. Ralph Lane, Mr. Thomas Cavendish, Mr. John Arundel, Mr. Stukely, Mr. Bremige, Mr. Vincent, Mr. Heryot, and Mr. John Clarke. Of these, a part were captains, and the rest, members of the council.

On the ninth of April, these adventurers set sail from Portsmouth, and, on the fourteenth, fell in with the Canaries. On the seventh of May, they arrived at Dominica, in the West-Indies, and disembarked at Puerto

Puerto Rico, where they continued during a considerable ſpace of time, raiſed a fort, conſtructed a pinnace, and gained ſome advantages over the Spaniards. At their departure from this place, they intercepted, and took two richly-freighted veſſels, on their paſſage from Europe, and, in the ſervice of the king of Spain. On board, were ſeveral perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank, and fortune, whoſe liberty the Engliſh placed at a large ranſom. After having been expoſed to ſome obſtacles, they reached the harbour of Iſabella, ſituated to the Northward of Hiſpaniola. Here, they traded with the Spaniards, who, fearful of offending them, refrained from the commiſſion of hoſtilities. On the twentieth of June, they made the continent of Florida, but were in danger of being ſeparated by the violence of a ſtorm, at Cape Fear. On the twenty-ſixth, they caſt anchor, at the iſland of Wokoken, in Virginia, where, through the miſconduct of the pilot, the Tiger, the admiral-ſhip, was loſt.

At this place, Mr. Lane diſembarked, with one hundred, and eight men, and all neceſſaries, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a colony. He was inveſted with the dignity of chief governour of the ſettlement, and immediately under him were Mr. Philip Amidas, and nineteen officers of diſtinction. At this place, Sir Richard ſtayed no longer than two months, after which period, having made more diſcoveries in the ſound, and towards the ſouthward, he prepared for a return to England, with a valuable cargo, conſiſting of ſkins, furs, pearls, and other articles which had been received in exchange for ſome of the leaſt important commodities of Europe.

On his paſſage homewards, this illuſtrious adventurer intercepted, and took a Spaniſh ſhip, richly freighted, and of the burthen of three hundred tons; a prize,

prize sufficiently valuable to indemnify him, for the expences of his enterprize, and with which he arrived at Plymouth, on the eighteenth of October, in the year, one thousand, five hundred and eighty-five. The measures pursued by the new colonists immediately after his departure from the island of Wokoken, are, in this place, foreign to our purpose. We, therefore, proceed to a detail of other events more particularly connected with the subject of this memoir (*a*).

Sir Richard Greenville is here mentioned in a separate relation (*b*), because a late excellent historian (*c*), who, on most occasions, took fire, at the recital of the gallant conduct of a naval officer, informs us of the memorable event which was attended with the death of this celebrated hero, in a style so cold, and unaffecting, that it is almost impossible to discover whether he thought such bravery, intitled to applause, or deserving of our censure (*d*).

In the narrative of the attack of the Spanish armada, under the command of Don Antonio Batsana, this writer (*e*) observes that (the vice-admiral under the

 lord

(*a*) The particulars relating to the voyage to Virginia are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1645.—Hackluyt, part 3. p. 251.—Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 5.—Introduction to a Collection of Voyages, 6 vol. in folio.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. folio. p. 203, 204.

(*b*) See the 312th page of the second volume of this work.

(*c*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 485.

(*d*) It was the opinion of the lord high-admiral Howard that a portion of intrepid frenzy was requisite to qualify a man for a superior station in the sea-service. Sir Richard seems to have approached nearest to the true spirit of this idea; and, therefore, was (if the maxim be incontrovertible,) the most accomplished naval commander mentioned in the annals of our history.

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 485.

lord Thomas Howard,) Sir Richard Greenville, in the Revenge, "was taken through his own obstinacy; for, "when the enemy was in sight, he would not be per-"suaded that it was the armada, but insisted that it was "the American fleet, and so was surrounded. He sold "his life, and his ship (which was the only one of the "queen's taken in the war,) dearly; for, a man of "war, called the Ascension, and a double fly-boat, full "of men, sunk by his side. The Revenge was so bat-"tered that she could not be carried to Spain, but foun-"dered at sea, with two hundred Spaniards on board; "and as for Sir Richard, he died two days after of his "wounds."

It would, perhaps, be a greater justice to the memory of this exalted hero, should we inform the reader that, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-one, Sir Richard Greenville, in the Revenge, was engaged alone with the whole Spanish fleet, consisting of fifty-three ships, on board of which were ten thousand men, including officers, mariners, and soldiers. From the hour of three, in the afternoon, until the day-break of the following morning, this intrepid commander repulsed the enemy fifteen times, although they continually shifted their vessels, and boarded with fresh men. At the commencement of the action, he received a wound; yet he remained on deck, busied in the performance of his duty until eleven at night, when, being again maimed, he was carried down in order that he might be dressed. At this juncture, he received a shot in the head, and, soon afterwards, the surgeon was slain by his side. The powder was now nearly expended, and the small arms were either broken, or become useless. Of all the crew, which, previous to the battle, amounted to one hundred, and three persons, forty

were

were killed, and a great number of the reſt wounded. every maſt had been ſhot away, the rigging was cut to pieces, and only the hulk, which it was impoſſible to navigate, remained intire. At this alarming criſis, Sir Richard propoſed to his aſſociates rather to truſt to the mercy of GOD than become the priſoners of the Spaniards, and exhorted them to ſet fire to the ſhip, and periſh, unconquered, amidſt the flames. To this equally deſperate, and aſtoniſhing reſolution, the maſter-gunner, and ſeveral of the mariners immediately agreed, but the reſt oppoſed it, and compelled Sir Richard to ſurrender to the Spaniards (*f*). Soon afterwards, he expired; and theſe were the laſt words of an hero whoſe name will be reverenced by Engliſhmen, whilſt any trace of public virtue ſhall remain amongſt them.

"Here die, I, Richard Greenville, with a joyful, "and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life, as a "true ſoldier ought to do, fighting for his country, "queen, religion, and honour. My ſoul willingly "departs this body, leaving behind the laſting fame "of having behaved as every valiant ſoldier is, in his "duty, bound to do (*g*)."

(*f*) During this engagement, the enemy loſt four ſhips, and nearly a thouſand men. The Revenge ſunk ſoon afterwards; and, in her, periſhed two hundred Spaniards.

(*g*) Hackluyt's Voyages, V. 2. Part 2. p. 169.—Camden, p. 565.—Sir William Manſon's naval Tracts.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1678.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 274, 275.

MEMOIRS

OF

HENRY MAY.

THIS adventurer, one of the associates of captain Lancaster, during his voyage to the East-Indies, was sent by that officer from Hispaniola, on board of a French vessel, commanded by Monsieur de la Barbotiere, in order that the merchants might be informed of his distress.

On the thirtieth of November, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-three, Henry May departed from the port of Laguna, in Hispaniola, and, on the seventeenth of the following month, was cast away on the north-west extremity of the Bermudas. At noon, the pilots, at once intoxicated, and totally inattentive to their duty, persisted in declaring that the ship was twelve leagues to the southward of the islands; an error which proved fatal not only to themselves, but to the majority of the crew, amongst whom only twenty-six, including May, were saved.

After having obtained some provisions on the largest of these islands, which is called the Island of Saint

George, our adventurer, and his fellow-ſufferers embraced the earlieſt opportunity which was afforded by the turn of fair weather, and endeavoured to get off their ſhattered veſſel, and ſave ſuch of her materials as might prove of ſervice. They were ſo far ſucceſsful in this attempt as to ſecure the tools belonging to the carpenter, ſome iron work, together with all the ſails, and a great part of the tackling. Inſtead of pitch, they made uſe of lime, tempered with the oil of tortoiſes; and this ſerved as a kind of Plaiſter, with which May, and one of his aſſociates payed the ſeams of their new veſſel (*a*), whilſt the carpenter calked her. The heat of the weather proved favourable to their operations, and this cement not only dried in a ſhort time, but quickly became as impenetrable as a ſtone.

Theſe adventurers next made two large cheſts, which, having been calked in the ſame manner as the ſhip, were filled with water, (in which ſwam thirteen tortoiſes,) and then placed on each ſide of the main-maſt. This iſland abounded more with hogs than any other animals; but theſe were ſo lean, and filthy, that it was impoſſible to eat them. The chief aliment of the Engliſh conſiſted of the tops of the Palmeto-Berries. Of theſe, they made bread. The juice which flowed from the ſame tree, became their liquor; and, with the leaves, which were more than an ell in length, they covered their cabins, and formed their beds.

On the eleventh of May, and after they had remained during five months upon the iſland, they ſet ſail, and on the twentieth, reached Cape Breton, near Newfoundland, from whence, after having procured a ſup-

(*a*) It was conſtructed with cedar which they had felled on the iſland.

ſupply of wood, and water, together with ſuch commodities as the ſavages were inclined to relinquiſh in exchange for trifling articles of European merchandize, they departed for the bank. Here, they were joined by ſeveral Engliſh veſſels; and, in one of theſe, Henry May arrived at Falmouth, towards the middle of the month of Auguſt, and in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-four (*b*).

It was on this occaſion that the Engliſh received the firſt intelligence concerning the Bermudas, or Sommer-iſlands. Whence they derived their names, is gathered from the writings of an hiſtorian (*c*) whoſe labours have been often ſerviceable to the collector of theſe memoirs.

It is very probable that although the Engliſh were not the firſt diſcoverers of theſe iſlands, yet they were the firſt inhabitants of them, as they were ſituated at ſuch a diſtance from any part of the continent of America, that the Indians, who were ignorant of navigation, could not poſſibly have ſailed to them.

Various are the reports concerning the reaſons why theſe iſlands obtained the name of Bermudas. By ſome hiſtorians they have been called the Iſlands of Hogs; and Oviedas remarks that when he approached the Bermudas, he conceived a deſign of ſetting ſome hogs aſhore, in order that the breed might be increaſed; but the ſhip was driven from the place, during the violence of a ſtorm, nor did he again attempt to reach it.

The moſt probable account is, that theſe iſlands obtained their names from one John de Bermudas,

(*b*) Smith's General hiſtory of Virginia, p. 172.—Britiſh Empire in America, V. 2. p. 361.—Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 574.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 302.

(*c*) Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio. p. 301.

who discovered them on his voyage to the Spanish West-Indies, and, at a period several years prior to the shipwreck of Henry May. It hath been remarked by some writers, that this adventurer landed on them; yet, allowing that they took their name from him, this circumstance appears improbable. Another auther (*d*) affirms that they were so called from a Spanish ship, the Bermudas, which was wrecked on the island, and laden with hogs, for the West-Indies. These swam ashore, and, afterwards, increased to an amazing number. How the Spaniards escaped from thence is uncertain; yet, we may infer that the Spaniards landed there, not willingly, but, either to avoid the violence of a tempest, or after having suffered shipwreck. Several crosses, pieces of Spanish money, and commodities which must have been maufactured in Europe, were found upon the place. Wrecks of ships had been observed floating on the water, and broken pieces of masts were discovered lying within the cavities of the rocks. Amongst these materials, several appeared to have belonged either to the Spaniards, the Dutch, the Portuguese, or the French.

In the year, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy-two, Philip, king of Spain, assigned them over to Ferdinando del Camelo; but this favourite never entered into possession of the gift. They obtained the name of Sommer Islands, from Sir George Sommers, who, with Sir Thomas Gates, was shipwrecked on the spot, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nine.

(*a*) Smith's General History of Virginia, p. 172.

MEMOIRS

OF

WILLIAM PARKER.

IN the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-ſix, this brave officer (a native of Plymouth,) equipped, at his own expence, a veſſel, called the Prudence, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons, and the Adventure, a bark, of the burthen of twenty-five tons, and commanded by Richard Hen. With theſe, on board of which were an hundred choſen mariners, he, in the month of November, in the ſame year, ſet ſail from Plymouth.

The firſt place at which they touched, in the Weſt-Indies, was the iſland of Margarita, on the coaſt of the continent, where they took a Spaniſh gentleman, and other perſons, priſoners, whom they ſoon afterwards exchanged for Mr. James Willis, and other Engliſhmen, who had been detained, in confinement, at Cumana. From Margarita, they proceeded to Jamaica, where they joined Sir Anthony Shirley, who, not long before, had taken the chief town of the iſland. They next ſailed, on the ſixth of March, in the year, one thou-

ſand,

ſand, five hundred, and ninety-ſeven, towards the cape of Honduras; having formed a deſign of ſurprizing the ſtrong fortreſs of Truxillo. On the thirty-firſt, they ventured within cannon-ſhot of it, but, perceiving that their intentions were diſcovered, and having cauſe to imagine that an enterprize of this nature could not be attended with ſucceſs, departed, on the ſecond of April, farther up the gulph, and, on the ſeventh, attacked, and reduced Puerto de Cavallos. The plunder, on this occaſion, proved more inconſiderable than, from a previous information, they had reaſon to expect.

Theſe adventurers next formed a deſign of proceeding, by land, towards the ſouth ſea, and had conſtructed a pinnace which might be taken into ſix pieces, and, when neceſſary, fitted together by ſcrews. Various, and unforeſeen obſtacles, rendered this project abortive, and they returned to Truxillo; from whence Sir Anthony ſailed alone.

Captain Parker now directed his courſe to Cape de Catoche, which is ſituated eaſtward of Jucatan, and cruized along the northern part of the promontory, as far as Cape Deſconoſcido. Here he entered, with fifty-ſix of the crew, into a Periago, or long Indian canoe, and leaving the ſhip, at the diſtance of three leagues, proceeded, at the hour of three in the morning, to the town of Campeche, which he ſurprized, and took. During the action, the governor of the place, and the alcaide were made priſoners. Theſe advantages reflect more honour on the Engliſh, as five hundred Spaniards were within the place, and eight thouſand Indians dwelled at the two adjacent towns. When the Spaniards, who fled on the firſt aſſault, had recovered from their terror, they poured down in multitudes, and, with great fury, upon the ſmall company of the Eng-

Engliſh, the captain of whom was wounded in the breaſt, and five of his aſſociates were killed in the firſt moment of the attack. At this juncture, captain Parker, and his companions, ſecured the bodies of the dead, and, recurring to a ſucceſsful ſtratagem, made an honourable retreat, under flying colours, and with beat of drum. Having taken priſoners ſeveral of the townſmen, they bound them together by a cord, and placed them in front, in order that they might receive the fire of the Spaniards, who deſiſted from hoſtilities, when they foreſaw that the conſequences might be fatal to their own party.

Having reached the haven, the Engliſh ſeized a frigate, on board of which were many valuable articles of merchandize, excluſive of the tribute belonging to the king of Spain, valued at five thouſand pounds Sterling, and intended to be tranſported to Saint Juan de Ulloa. When this prize had been taken in tow by the Periago, and left in charge with the firſt lieutenant of the Prudence, captain Parker, and his aſſociates, paſſed over to the oppoſite ſhore, where they reduced to aſhes the Indian town of Sebo, and carried off from the adjacent country Campeche wood, wax, and honey. As the Engliſh paſſed near Cape de Cotoche, the Spaniards, in two frigates, which had been fitted out at Campeche, took the Adventure, and, having erected a gallows, executed captain Hen, and thirteen of his crew. The Prudence returned to Plymouth, at the beginning of July, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and nine-ſix (*a*).

The next important expedition undertaken by this celebrated adventurer was for the purpoſe of annoying

(*a*) Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 602.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 1. Folio, p. 351.

ing the Spaniards, and the Portuguese, in the West-Indies. The fleet equipped consisted only of two small ships, a pinnace, and two shallops, commanded in chief by Parker, under whom the captains Edward Giles, and Philip Ward, acted as land-officers, and the captains, Fugars, Loriman, Ashley, and other gentlemen, as volunteers. The vessels were the Prudence, admiral, of the burthen of an hundred tons, and manned with an hundred, and thirty persons, including officers, and mariners; the Pearl, vice-admiral, of the burthen of sixty tons, having sixty, men, and being commanded by Robert Rawlins; the pinnace, of the burthen of twenty tons, and manned with eighteen sailors.

In November of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and one, these adventurers departed from Plymouth, and proceeded safely to the south cape, where a violent storm arose, during which they lost their pinnace, and all the men belonging to it, excepting three. From hence, they directed their course towards the islands of Cape de Verd, on one of which, called Saint Vincent, captain Parker disembarked, and, at the head of an hundred men, attacked, plundered, and reduced the town to ashes.

They next passed over to the coast of the continent, and when they had reached La Rancharia, or the pearl fishery, in the small island of Cubagua, they prepared to land, for the purpose of attacking the fortress; an enterprize from which they were not deterred, although informed that the governour of Cumana, and a large body of troops were in readiness to defend the place. At the commencement of the action, the victory appeared doubtful; but, at length, the Spaniards yielded, and the English took possession of the fortress, made several prisoners, and secured the barks,

barks, and boats, all of which were ranſomed with the value of five hundred pounds, in pearl.

From hence, captain Parker and his aſſociates, ſailed immediately for Cape de la Vela, where they intercepted, and took, a large Portugueſe ſhip, of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, and bound from Angola, and Cango, to Carthagena. On board, excluſive of an inconſiderable Cargo, were three hundred, and ſeventy negroes, for which, together with the veſſel, a ranſom was accepted, amounting to five hundred pounds. The Engliſh next proceeded to the iſland of Cabecas, where an hundred men, under the command of Parker, ſailed, in two ſmall pinnaces, and two ſhallops, to the iſland dos Baſtimentos. Here they landed, and having prevailed on ſome negroes to be their guides, returned on board, and, on the ſeventh of February, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and two, entered the river of Puerto Bello. As the moon ſhone when they approached the haven, they were diſcerned, and hailed by the ſentinels, poſted near the ſtrong caſtle of Saint Philip, in which were a powerful body of troops, and thirty-five pieces of braſs artillery. On board of the Prudence, were ſome mariners who underſtood Spaniſh, and theſe were ordered, by captain Parker, to anſwer, in that language, that they were the ſubjects of Philip, engaged in his ſervice, and then arrived from Carthagena. The commanding officer at the caſtle directed that they ſhould come immediately to an anchor. They obeyed, but, in leſs than an hour from this event, a choſen party of thirty men, headed by their chief, quitted the pinnaces, and entering within the boats, proceeded to the town of Triana, where, notwithſtanding that an alarm had been given, they diſembarked, and having

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ſet fire to the place, marched, unreſiſted, to the adjacent large, and rich town of Puerto Bello.

As they approached the royal treaſury, they obſerved a body of ſoldiers, and two braſs field-pieces, well mounted on their carriages, and drawn up in readineſs for action. The firſt diſcharge of fire-arms proceeded from the Spaniards, at which inſtant both parties engaged with equal fury, until at length, ſeveral of the Engliſh were ſlain; and the reſt muſt have ſubmitted, if the captains Fugar, and Loriman, (commanders of the pinnaces,) hearing the report of guns, had not haſtened with an hundred, and twenty of their aſſociates, to the ſupport of Parker. This unexpected relief procured the Engliſh a deciſive victory, and the Spaniards attempted to preſerve themſelves, by flight. Several entered within the palace, and, being purſued, made a gallant, but ineffectual reſiſtance. Ten thouſand ducats were ſeized within the treaſury, by Parker, and his aſſociates, who had reaſon to lament that they were not ſo fortunate as to have conquered the place, in the preceding week, when the treaſure contained within the royal coffers amounted to one hundred, and twenty thouſand ducats, and afterwards compoſed a part of the lading of two frigates, which had ſailed for Carthagena. The inconſiderable quantity of money, plate, and merchandize, ſeized within the town, was divided amongſt the ſoldiers, and Parker reſerved only two light tranſports, which were taken up the river.

When this brave adventurer had kept poſſeſſion of the town during two days, he, in that ſpirit of humanity which, at an Æra when conquerors were generally unmerciful, muſt have reflected the brighteſt luſtre on his character, gave orders that no buildings what-

whatſoever ſhould be ſet on fire; and ſatisfied with the honour of having reduced one of the fineſt towns in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, by the aſſiſtance of a ſmall force, releaſed the priſoners, (amonſt whom were Don Pedro de Melandez, the governour; his ſecretary, and ſeveral officers of diſtinguiſhed rank,) and generouſly refuſed to accept of the ranſoms which they offered. Such a conduct ſhould have ſecured him from the future inſults of the Spaniards; yet, at his departure, they diſcharged their artillery at his ſhips, and endeavoured, but in vain, to diſable them from ſailing.

On the ſixth of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and two, this intropid adventurer, and his aſſociates, returned to Plymouth-Harbour, and landed amidſt crouds of people, who loudly teſtified their approbation of a conduct which even enemies had mentioned with applauſe (*b*).

(*b*) Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 747.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1243.—Supplement to Prince's Worthies of Devonſhire.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 586, 587.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio, V. 1. p. 380, 381.

MEMOIRS

[illegible] and finished with the honour of a commemoration of the final towns in the Spanish West-Indies, by the addition of a third [illegible] to the [illegible] Jamaica, [illegible] Havana, [illegible] the governors, his [illegible] and several officers of distinguished rank, and [illegible] to accept of the rendition [illegible] a conquest should have [illegible]

[illegible] the inferior officers of the squadron, [illegible] equanimity, they discharged their salutary [illegible] and endeavours, but [illegible] to dissuade them from sailing.

On the [illegible] of March, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and two, the squadron adventure, [illegible] the Allection, returned to Portsmouth Harbour, and landed a vast number of people, who loudly testified their approbation of a conduct which every one [illegible] and mentioned with applause (A).

(A) [illegible] Oct. V. [illegible] p. [illegible]—Burchett's Transactions, V. [illegible] p. [illegible]—Supplement to Pelsaert's Wonders of Divine Providence, [illegible] Lives of the Admirals, V. [illegible] p. [illegible]—[illegible] of the Naval Heroes, [illegible] p. [illegible]

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

The FIFTH PERIOD.

From the ACCESSION of JAMES, the FIRST, to the DEMISE of CHARLES the FIRST.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS, during the REIGN of JAMES, the FIRST.

UNDER the neceſſity of confining ourſelves, through the ſucceeding part of this work, almoſt excluſively to the relation of naval, and commercial events, we ſhall not enter into the leaſt detail concerning a multitude of circumſtances which attended the commencement of the reign of James, but proceed to an enumeration of Occurrences more immediately connected with our ſubject.

At the acceſſion (*a*) of this monarch, a ſquadron (*b*), under the joint command of Sir Richard Leviſon,

(*a*) March 24, 1602.

(*b*) The chief ſhips were the Repulſe, the Mary-Honora, the Defiance, the Warſpight, the Rainbow, the Dreadnought,

and Sir William Monſon, was cruizing near the coaſt, but, on the day after the deceaſe of Elizabeth, approached the Downs, where an expreſs arrived from the privy council, which directed the admirals to prepare, with all their ſhips, for a vigorous defence againſt the expected attacks of the French, and Spaniards. The people were, notwithſtanding, agreeably convinced, by the early, and peaceable declarations of foreign powers, that this alarm was groundleſs; and James, who received aſſurances that the court of France was not inclined to call his right in queſtion, and that the archduke had given proofs (*c*) of his attachment to the Engliſh, iſſued orders for the fleet to ſail immediately to Chatham, and caſt anchor within the harbour (*d*).

Previous to the concluſion of this year, ſeveral merchants, belonging to the port of Briſtol, entered into a ſubſcription for the purpoſe of defraying the expences of a voyage to the northern diſtrict of Virginia. Having obtained a letter of licence from Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom Elizabeth had granted an excluſive patent, they equipped, with a diſburſement from their ſtock, which amounted to a thouſand pounds, two veſſels; the Speedwell, of the burthen of fifty tons, commanded by captain Martin Pring, under

nought, the Quittance, and the Lion's Whelp. Of theſe, the commanding officers were Sir Richard Leviſon, Sir William Monſon, and the captains Gore, Seymour, Trevor, Reynolds, Howard, and Polewheele.

(*c*) He revoked his letters of repriſal againſt the Engliſh, and iſſued an edict for the eſtabliſhment of a free, and lawful traffic into Flanders; a privilege from which the merchants of Elizabeth had been debarred, throughout a war which laſted until the expiration of eighteen years.

(*d*) Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 510 —Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 4.

der whom were thirty officers; and the Discoverer, Martin Brown, master, together with a mate, and eleven mariners, including boys. On board, were provisions sufficient for the consumption of eight months, and all kinds of apparel, tools, and trinkets, for the purpose of establishing a commerce with the natives of those countries which it was designed to visit.

On the tenth of April, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and three, these adventurers, accompanied by Robert Saltern, the chief director of the enterprize, set sail from Milford-Haven, and, having passed the Azores, approached, during the month of June, and, in the latitude of forty-three degrees, a Multitude of small islands, on the northern coast of Virginia, all of which, and likewise the opposite continent, they carefully surveyed, but, as they were unable to discover any inhabitants, or procure sassafras, the chief commodity in search of which they disembarked, captain Pring gave orders that they should proceed to Savage-Rock. Here, they descried some inhabitants on the main land, but could not find any sassafras. They, therefore, departed from this place, and bore into the great gulph which Gosnoll (*e*) had overshot in the preceding year. They now discovered people, on the northern, and southern sides of it, and nearly in forty-eight degrees. To this place, where they obtained an interview with the natives, and designed to take in their cargo, they gave the name of Whitsun-Bay.

Toward the conclusion of the month of July, the Discoverer, having been freighted with sassafras, proceeded on her voyage homewards, and, in fourteen days from this period, was followed by the Speedwell,

 laden

(*e*) See the 428th. 429th. and 430th. pages of the second volume of this work.

laden with the ſame commodity. On the ſecond of October, the veſſels arrived at Kingrode, but brought nothing remarkable from the country to which they had ſailed, except one of the boats uſed by the natives. It was conſtructed with the barks of birch-trees, faſtened by twigs, and the ſeams were payed with turpentine. Although ſeventy feet in length, four in breadth, and capable of carrying four perſons, the weight of it did not exceed ſixty pounds (*f*).

The next naval expedition was undertaken in the Elizabeth, of London, a bark of the burthen of fifty tons, and commanded by captain Bartholomew Gilbert, who, in the preceding year, had accompanied Goſnoll to Virginia. On the tenth of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and three, this adventurer, and his aſſociates, departed from Plymouth, and, in their paſſage, traded at Saint Lucia, Dominica, and Nevis, on the laſt of which iſlands they cut nearly twenty tons of lignum vitæ. From hence, they ſet ſail (*g*) towards the coaſt of Virginia, intending to touch at Cheſepeak-Bay, for the purpoſe of inquiring whether the perſons whom Sir Walter Raleigh had left on the adjacent land, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſeven, were yet living. On the twenty-fifth of July, they approached the mouth of the bay, but were prevented from entering it by the violence of a contrary wind, which ſoon afterwards obliged them to bear more to the eaſtward.

On the twenty-ninth, and when the Engliſh were at a ſhort diſtance from the land, Gilbert, accompanied by ſix of the moſt reſolute of his aſſociates, rowed towards

(*f*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1654.—Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 18.—Harris's Collect. Part 1. p. 816.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio, V. 2. p. 399.
(*g*) July 3d.

wards an apparently unfrequented part of the country, and, difembarking, with three others, marched, under arms, through a large wood, at the extremity of which they were attacked, and overpowered by the inhabitants, who flew the whole party, and immediately afterwards ran in purfuit of the two Englifhmen who were left to take care of the boat, and who, with difficulty, reached the fhip, and informed the crew of the melancholy fate of their companions.

Intimidated by this event, Henry Sute, the mafter of the Elizabeth, who now affumed the command, and had, under him, only eleven mariners, including boys, prepared for an immediate return to England, and, notwithftanding that the wood, and water were almoft expended, weighed anchor, and ftood out to fea. No remarkable occurrence arofe during the voyage, which was concluded by the arrival of the veffel, at the mouth of the Thames, on the thirtieth of September, in the year, one thoufand, fix hundred, and three (*h*).

It may, in this place, be neceffary to acquaint the reader that a naval hiftorian (*i*) makes mention of a voyage of difcovery towards the north, performed in a fhip called the Grace, of the burthen of fifty tons, and commanded by captain Stephen Bennet, who failed as far as feventy-four degrees, and thirty minutes (*k*). Concerning this enterprize, we meet with no remarkable particulars, and it is only neceffary to add that it was the firft voyage to Cherie ifland, a name borrowed

(*h*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1656.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 816.—Lediard's naval Hiftory. Folio, V. 2. p. 399.

(*i*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 566.

(*k*) A. D. 1603.

rowed from that of the adventurer who bore the expence of the discovery.

The discerning writer (*l*) whom we have taken for our guide, observes that the accession of James furnished the house of Austria with a favourable opportunity to terminate the tedious war with England; because, during that time, they had been at amity with Scotland (*m*). Immediately after the arrival of the king at London, he was waited on by an ambassador from the arch-duke, in consequence of whose negociations, a peace took place between the English and the Spaniards (*n*) Several historians of that Æra remark that the success of it was owing to the enormous bribes which were given to all the ministers of the king, but especially to the countess of Suffolk, who had prevailed on her husband to interest himself in this cause, and to the earl of Northumberland, who had laboured to promote it, by every mean within his power. From such gratuities we are informed that these lords drew considerable resources for the construction of Audley-End, in Essex; and Northumberland-House, in the Strand (*o*). On this occasion, even the lord high-admiral, Nottingham, did not escape censure, and insinuations were thrown out that he accepted

(*l*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 5.

(*m*) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 229.—Sully's Memoirs, V. 3. B. 14, 15.—Wilson, p. 673.

(*n*) Stowe, p. 825.—Speed, p. 884.—Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 3.

(*o*) Osborne's traditional Memoirs of the reign of James, V. 2. p. 105.—Sir Anthony Weldon's court, and character of James, p. 26, 27.—Historical View of the Negociations between the courts of England, France, and Brussels, from the manuscript State Papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes, by Doctor Birch, p. 222, 223, 224.

cepted of ample bribes. Our hiſtorian (*p*) deems it more reaſonable to conclude that this peace was the effect of the king's inclination, ſupported by the advice of his moſt eminent ſtateſmen, ſome of whom were known to have approved of this meaſure, during the reign of his predeceſſor (*q*). A treaty of alliance, and one alſo of commerce, were ſigned at London, on the eighteenth of Auguſt, in the year, one Thouſand, ſix hundred, and four (*r*), in the preſence of the conſtable of Caſtile, the firſt ſubject in Spain, who was ſent to England, purpoſely that he might bear witneſs to this event. The ſatisfaction which the commercial part of the nation at firſt received from the concluſion of the treaties was afterwards much abated by the ſingular, and impolitic conduct of the king. He eſtabliſhed a company of merchants, to whom were granted an excluſive privilege of managing the Spaniſh commerce; a meaſure which gave an offence equally juſt, and univerſal, for, as the whole nation had borne the charges of the war, and trade in general had ſuffered in conſequence of it, what could be more reaſonable than that the benefits of peace ſhould prove intirely as diffuſive? This Evil was, notwithſtanding, of ſhort continuance, and the parliament repreſented in ſuch ſtriking colours, to James, the miſchiefs which would inevitably enſue from ſo odious a monopoly, that he ſubmitted to the diſſolution of the recently erected company, and left the Spaniſh trade quite open to all his ſubjects (*s*).

(*p*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 6.

(*q*) Life of lord Burleigh, in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, p. 54.

(*r*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 16. p. 579, 596.—Stowe's Annals, p. 346.

(*s*) Detection of the Court and State of England, by Roger Coke, Eſquire, p. 27. Edit. 1696.—Act 3. James I. C. 6.

It muſt however, adds the ſame writer (*t*), be acknowledged that a powerful party oppoſed the conclusion of this peace, and, inceſſantly, publiſhed their diſlike of it, and apprehenſions of the effects which might enſue, even after it had taken place (*u*). The point was certainly of high importance, or it could not have been ſo warmly canvaſſed, during that Æra, or ſo differently diſcuſſed at a later period when modern hiſtorians diſſented as violently as his contemporaries relative to the policy purſued by James, on this occaſion. Although a full inveſtigation of the point might lead us too far from our preſcribed limits, yet we muſt accede to the opinion (*x*) that to paſs it intirely over would be wrong, conſidering the near relation which it bears to the ſubject of this work. With our authority (*y*) we ſhall reſt contented with ſtating the moſt concluſive reaſons that have been offered againſt the peace, as they were drawn up by the maſterly hand of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the replies thereto, both of which we leave to the conſideration of the reader, unwilling to treſpaſs on his patience with any comments of our own (*z*).

Theſe reaſons (which are five in number,) turn chiefly on the inability of the king of Spain to continue

C. 6. It is here obſerved that ſuch a monopoly tended to abate the prices of Engliſh wools, and cloths.

(*t*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 7.

(*u*) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 75, 93, 101.—Wilſon.—Oſborne.

(*x*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 7.

(*y*) Ibid.

(*z*) Theſe which were poſſibly the very points of his memorial to the king, againſt the treaty, are to be found in Sir Walter Raleigh's Dialogue between a recuſant, and a Jeſuit, amongſt the genuine remains, publiſhed at the end of an abridgment of his hiſtory of the world, by Philip Raleigh, Eſquire, 8vo. p. 1700.

nue the war, and the immenſe profits which he was likely to reap from the concluſion of the peace. Firſt, Sir Walter alledged that " his Catholic Majeſty had ſo " exhauſted his treaſure that he was no longer able " to maintain the army of the archduke in Flanders." To this it was anſwered that the fact was very doubtful, eſpecially if the king of Spain was in a condition to beſtow thoſe immenſe bribes which were ſuppoſed to have been diſtributed at the time when this peace was made. Secondly, " the interruption of his trade, " and the loſſes of his merchants were ſo great as to " break his two banks, at Seville." It was granted that the ſubjects of the king of Spain ſuffered exceſſively by the continuance of this war, yet it did not follow that the Engliſh reaped advantages in proportion; neither was it clear that if his Catholic Majeſty had been ruined, the king of Great Britain, or his ſubjects, could have become gainers. Thirdly, Sir Walter, felt " apprehenſions that the Engliſh, and Netherlanders " would plant in the Weſt-Indies." It was objected that if this fear drove him to grant the Engliſh better terms, the advantage became theirs; if not, they could have obtained little by ſettling in thoſe parts of America which were claimed by Spain; and it was never alleged that the Engliſh made this war, in order to extend the trade, or to procure countries for the Dutch. Fourthly, it was obſerved that " the king of " Spain made this peace to recruit his own coffers, " and to enable himſelf to break into the war again." To this it was anſwered that to judge by what was paſt, ſuch could not well be the motive; for it could hardly be ſuppoſed that Spain would ſoon recover as great ſtrength as ſhe enjoyed at the commencement of the war, when yet ſhe was unable to execute her own projects, or to defend herſelf againſt the Engliſh.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, Sir Walter remarked than "the king of "Spain took this ſtep, that the Engliſh might decline, "and forget the paſſages, and pilotage to the Weſt-"Indies, and their ſea-officers be worn out; for, ex-"cept a little trade for tobacco, there is not a ſhip "that ſails that way; and ſeeing that the Spaniards "may hang up the Engliſh, or put them to death, by "torments, as they do, and that the Engliſh dare not "offend the Spaniards in thoſe parts, a moſt notable "advantage is gotten in the concluſion of the peace! "It is certain that the Engliſh will give over the navi-"gation, to the infinite advantage of the Spaniſh king, "both preſent and future."

Relatively to this ſubject, a naval hiſtorian (*a*) obſerves that experience ſhewed that the deduction of Raleigh, although plauſible, was not true; for, in conſequence of this peace, many plantations were ſettled by the Engliſh, and their trade to America, in particular, as well as their commerce in general, flouriſhed beyond the example of former times. He judiciouſly adds that inſtead of objections which are eaſily framed againſt the beſt meaſures, by men of quick parts, and great political knowledge, it would have been more to the purpoſe to have ſhewn what advantages the Engliſh were to reap from the continuance of the war, and how it might have been better ended at laſt, than by ſuch a peace as was now made.

This treaty, which was received with ſuch diſſatiſfaction at home, proved equally the cauſe of murmurs in ſeveral of the ſtates abroad (*b*). The Hollanders,

(*a*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 9.

(*b*) Birch's view of the negociations between England, France, and Bruſſels, p. 287.—Winwood's Memorials, V. 2.

ers, who were now left deprived of that ſupport which reſults from a powerful alliance, and who had reaped ſuch important advantages from the favour of Elizabeth, were exceedingly irritated at a meaſure which tended ſo cloſely to their immediate prejudice: As they were ſtill ſufficiently formidable not only to cope with the Spaniards, but alſo to make a greater figure than moſt other nations, on the ocean, they loſt that reſpect which was due to the Britiſh flag, and began to aſſume a kind of equality, even in the narrow ſeas. This was quickly repreſented to the king as an indignity not to be borne, and thereupon he directed a fleet to be fitted out, the command of which was given to Sir William Monſon, who received inſtructions to maintain the honour of the Britiſh flag, and that ſuperiority which the ſovereigns of England (the anceſtors of James,) had enjoyed on their ſurrounding ocean (*e*). This fleet firſt put to ſea in the ſpring of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and four, and cruized annually under the ſame admiral, who ſeems to have been an officer of ſingular intrepidity, and great experience, and (as we learn from his memoirs,) ſerved in the firſt man of war fitted out in the reign of Elizabeth, and was an admiral in the laſt fleet

2. p. 453, 454.—Mr. Campbell * obſerves that, by comparing theſe books, the reader will ſee that king James was not ſo puſillanimous a prince, in reſpect to foreign affairs, as he is generally repreſented, but had ſpirit enough to demand ſatisfaction for an inſinuation of this ſort, by prince Maurice, to the ſtates, and ſteadineſs enough to inſiſt upon, and obtain it.

* Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 10.

(*e*) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 27, 34, 36, 55.—Sir Anthony Weldon's Court, and Character of King James, p. 48 49.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 237.—Rapin, V. 2. p. 170.

fleet which that princeſs ſent to ſea. Under all theſe advantageous circumſtances, he, notwithſtanding, felt a difficulty in executing his commiſſion. Whenſoever he conferred with the chief officers of the Dutch ſhips, they anſwered in the moſt ſoothing language, and promiſed that their future conduct ſhould be regulated by a full ſubmiſſion to the naval ſuperiority of the Engliſh; yet, ſoon afterwards, in open violation of their engagements, they ſeized the veſſels in the ſervice of James, on the moſt frivolous pretences, and treated the crews with an unexampled ſeverity, until the admiral, incenſed by theſe daring provocations, began to make repriſals, and threatened to hang, as pirates, individuals whoſe actions had already denoted them to be lawleſs. At this period, alſo, warm conteſts aroſe relative to the ſuperiority of the flag, and originated from ſome inſtances of temporary reſpect ſhewn to the Hollanders, during the preceding reign, when they ſailed on joint expeditions, under the command of Engliſh admirals, and were, on that account, treated as if they had been the natural born ſubjects of Elizabeth; a favour which they now pretended to claim as a prerogative due to them, in quality of an independent ſtate (*d*).

It is needleſs to apologize for the inſertion of an extract from the words of Sir William Monſon, as they are ſo ſtrikingly deſcriptive of the ſpirit with which that juſtly celebrated officer inſiſted on ſatisfaction from the Dutch, in conſequence of which the right of the Engliſh flag, which hath been ſo firmly ſupported on every later occaſion, was eſtabliſhed with regard to

(*d*) Seldeni Mare Clauſum, lib. 2. cap. 26.—Mollov de Jure Maritimo. Tit. Flag.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 11.

to this republic. We introduce a narrative of this memorable event, the rather (to use the words of an excellent historian (*e*),) because there are multitudes who will scarcely believe that matters of this nature were carried so far (perhaps, as far as they were carried,) under so pacific a prince as James.

"In my return from Calais, on the first of July, in "the year, one thousand, six hundred, and five, with "the emperor's ambassador, as I approached near "Dover Road, I perceived an increase of six ships to "those which I left there three days before, one of "them being the admiral. Their coming in shew "was to beleaguer the Spaniards, who were then at "Dover."

"As I drew near them, the admiral struck his "flag thrice, and advanced it again. His coming "from the other coast, at such a time caused me to "make another construction than he pretended; and "indeed it so fell out, for I conceived that his arrival "at that time was for no other end than to shew the "am-

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 11.—— The reader may possibly have perceived that in this, and other places, my words, and matter are the same with those in a lately republished performance, mentioned to have been written by Mr. Barrow, and intitled the "Naval History of Great-Britain." To the great excellence of this work, it is but candid to subscribe, as, in most of the pages, the sentences are borrowed from Mr. Campbell, to whom I must do that justice which the compiler hath denied him. I, indeed, have previously declared that Mr. Campbell is the chief fountain of my intelligence, may be allowed to follow him; yet, I flatter myself that I have not appeared either too servile in my imitations, or so ungrateful as to endeavour to conceal them. It is due to the memory of Mr. Campbell that I should remark, with some indignation, that Mr. Barrow had not the civility, in the whole course of his publication, to acknowledge that he was once indebted for a single passage to the "Lives of the Admirals."

" ambaſſador, who he knew would ſpread it abroad " throughout all Europe, as alſo the Spaniards, that " they might have the leſs eſteem of his majeſty's " prerogative in the narrow ſeas, that by their wear- " ing their flag, they might be reputed kings of the " ſea, as well as his majeſty. I haſtened the ambaſſa- " dor on ſhore, and diſpatched a gentleman to the ad- " miral, to intreat his company on the next day to " dinner, which he willingly promiſed."

" The gentleman told him that I required him to " take in his flag, as a duty due to his majeſty's ſhips. " He anſwered that he had ſtruck it thrice, which he " thought to be a very ſufficient acknowledgement, and " it was more than former admirals of the narrow ſeas " had required at his hands."

" The gentleman replied that he expected ſuch an " anſwer from him, and, therefore, he was prepared " with what to ſay to that point. He told him that " the times were altered; for that when no more but " ſtriking the flag was required, England, and Holland " were both of them in hoſtility with Spain, which " cauſed her majeſty to tolerate divers things in them, " as, for inſtance, the admiral's wearing his flag, on " the expedition to Cadiz, and the iſlands, when the " lord admiral of England, and the lord of Eſſex, went " as generals; and that courteſy they could not chal- " lenge by right, but by permiſſion; and the wars be- " ing now ceaſed, his majeſty did require by me his " miniſter ſuch rights, and duties as have formerly be- " longed to his progenitors."

" The admiral refuſed to obey my command, ſay- " ing that he expected more favour from me than " from other admirals, in reſpect of our long, and " loving acquaintance; but he was anſwered that all " obligations of private friendſhip muſt be laid aſide,

" when

"when the honour of one's king, and country is at "ſtake. The gentleman adviſed him in a friendly "manner to yield to my demand; if not, he had com-"miſſion to tell him that I meant to weigh anchor, "and come near him, and that the force of our ſhips "ſhould determine the queſtion; for, rather than I "would ſuffer his flag to be worn in view of ſo many "nations as were to behold it, I reſolved to bury my-"ſelf in the ſea."

"The admiral, it ſeems, upon better advice, took "in his flag, and ſtood immediately off to ſea, firing a "gun for the reſt of the fleet to follow him. And thus "I loſt my gueſt, on the next day, at dinner, as he had "promiſed."

"This paſſage betwixt the admiral, and me, was "obſerved from the ſhore, people beholding us to ſee "the event. On my landing, I met with Siriago, the "general of the Spaniards, who, in the time of queen "Elizabeth, was employed under Mendoza, the ambaſ-"ſador of Spain. He told me that if the Hollanders had "worn their flag, times had been ſtrangely altered in "England, ſince his old maſter, king Philip, the ſe-"cond, was ſhot at by the lord-admiral of England, "for wearing his flag in the narrow ſeas, when he came "to marry queen Mary *(f)*."

On the ſecond of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and four, Sir Henry Middleton, attended by three ſhips, the Hector, the Aſcenſion, and the Suſan, departed from Graveſend, in the Red Dragon, for the purpoſe of preſerving that commercial intercourſe with the people of the Eaſt-Indies, who had been firſt viſited by Lancaſter (*g*); an adventurer, engaged like Sir Henry,

(*f*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 242, 243.

(*g*) See from the 306th to the 317th page of this volume.

Henry, in the ſervice of the company of merchants, incorporated by Elizabeth. During the earlier part of this ſecond voyage, undertaken at their expence, the ſhips ſailed in company as far as Bantam, on the arrival (*h*) at which place the crews were ſo enfeebled by ſickneſs that not more than fifty of the whole number enjoyed ſufficient ſtrength for the performance of the neceſſary duty. On the thirtieth of December, Sir Henry Middleton delivered letters, and preſents from James, to the king of Bantam, by whom they were received with great ceremony, and the warmeſt profeſſions of attachment. The Red Dragon, on board of which was Sir Henry Middleton, ſailed for the Moluccas; the Aſcenſion proceeded to the iſles of Banda; and the Hector and the Suſan, remained at Bantam, in order to take in a lading of pepper, and the other articles.

In Auguſt of the following year, Sir Henry rejoined theſe laſt ſhips, from the commanders of which he was informed that the Dutch, availing themſelves of his abſence, had endeavoured, by various arts, to deprive the Engliſh of the privilege of trading to the Eaſt-Indies. Fortunately, on this occaſion, their plots were ineffectual; and the kings of Bantam, Ternate, and Tydore, unmoved by their intereſted, and cruel miſrepreſentations, continued to receive Sir Henry, and his aſſociates, with every mark of favour, and eſteem, and, at their departure, not only loaded them with preſents, but intruſted them with letters for their ſovereign, on whoſe ſubjects theſe princes declared themſelves reſolved to beſtow a firmer protection than any which they had ever granted to Europeans (*i*).

When

(*h*) December 28, 1604.

(*i*) Copies of the letters are in Harris's Collection of Voyages, and Purchas's Pilgrims.

When the Hector, and the Susan were intirely freighted, they sailed (*k*) from Bantam, notwithstanding that the majority of the crew were languishing under the disorders peculiar to the climate, and that the two masters, and several of the mariners were dead. In seven months afterwards, Sir Henry Middleton followed, with the Ascension. As he approached the cape of Good Hope, he rejoined the Hector, the crew of which were all dead, excepting ten; a calamity the more severe as following the loss of the Susan, which happened three months before. On the sixth of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and six, Sir Henry arrived, with the remaining ships, at Deal.

The next naval expedition was undertaken by John Davis, an experienced pilot, who having entered into the service of Sir Edward Michelbourne, sailed on a voyage to the East-Indies, and, on the fifth of December, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and four, departed from Cowes, in the isle of Wight, with the Tiger, of the burthen of two hundred, and forty tons, and a small pinnace called the Tiger's Whelp (*l*). This adventurer, and his associates arrived within three leagues of Bantam, towards the conclusion of the following year, expecting to have joined the English fleet, which had sailed but three weeks before. At this place, they were informed by the factors of the East-India company, that the supercargoes, and officers of the Dutch ships then lying in the road had represented them to the king of Bantam, as thieves, and vagabonds, who were secretly resolved either to de-

(*k*) March 1, 1604.

(*l*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 74.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p 179, 703.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 400, 401.

defraud his ſubjects by the moſt villainous, but unſuſpected meaſures, or to wait in ſilence until a favourable opportunity ſhould offer for the execution of their deſigns, by force. Alarmed at theſe proceedings, the Engliſh appeared averſe from entering the road, amongſt the Hollanders; but Sir Edward Michelbourne bravely ſet them at defiance, declared that he would caſt anchor within cannon-ſhot of their ſquadron, and threatened that, if they either proceeded to hoſtilities, or artfully endeavoured to undermine the intereſt of his countrymen with the king of Bantam, he would deſtroy their veſſels, or periſh in the attempt. To this gallant declaration, the Hollanders did not return the leaſt anſwer, neither whilſt the Engliſh remained at Bantam, did they venture, for any length of time, to quit their ſhips, one of which, the largeſt of the five, was nearly of the burthen of eight hundred tons.

On the twenty-ſeventh of December, and when the Engliſh were lying near Pan-Hange, a country ſituated between Patane, and Jor, they met a junck full of Japaneſe, who had been engaged in the commiſſion of acts of Piracy, along the coaſts of China, and, Cambaia, but, having loſt their ſhip, were proceeding homewards in this veſſel. The whole company amounted to ninety perſons, moſt of whom except, the pilot, appeared to be of ſuperior rank. Their firſt interviews with the Engliſh were full of courteſy, and they never viſited without either giving, or receiving preſents. Theſe appearances of peace were, notwithſtanding, but of ſhort duration, and, at a fourth meeting, a ſcene of ſlaughter enſued which proved fatal to numbers of the contending parties. Twenty-ſix of the crew belonging to the Tiger, being on board the junck, ventured with too imprudent a reſolution, to ſearch

ſearch amongſt the rice for concealed articles of greater value. The Japaneſe roſe, ſlew the majority of their opponents, and obliged the reſt to plunge into the ocean. They next directed their attacks againſt the ſhip, and fought with great fierceneſs, and reſolution. After a long engagement, the Engliſh forced them to retire from the half deck into the cabbin. Here, they made an obſtinate defence, during four hours, when they ſet the place on fire, and ſtill reſiſted amidſt the flames. As their adverſaries perceived that they had formed the deſperate deſign of burning themſelves, together with the ſhip, they diſcharged into the cabbin, from two cannons, a quantity of bullets, caſe-ſhot, and croſs-bars, which did ſuch dreadful execution, that all the Japaneſe, excepting one, were miſerably ſlain. The Engliſh alſo paid dear for their eſcape from this impending danger, as numbers (and amongſt them captain Davis,) were either killed or drowned.

The relation of the fate of the ſurviving Japaneſe is too ſingular to be omitted. To be at once ſecure from the cannonading by the Engliſh, and the flames which were ſpreading around the cabbin, he jumped into the ocean. Here, alſo, he was on the point of periſhing, but was taken by the Engliſh, and brought on board. His captors were unrelenting; they bade him prepare for death, and were aſtoniſhed at the frantic reſolution which induced him to deſire that he might be cut to pieces. Had the Engliſh been endued with the leaſt humanity, they would have extended it to a fellow-creature as gallant, and (what too juſtly may be inferred,) not more a ſavage than themſelves; yet the only mercy granted to him was a refuſal of the death which he would have choſen.

He received ſentence to be hanged, directly. The rope by which he was drawn up, broke; he fell into the ſea, ſwam away, and (as it was believed,) reached the ſhore, in ſafety. Thus, in the ſpace of a few hours, he eſcaped death (that death which to his companions was inevitable,) by the artillery of the enemy; he avoided deſtruction either from fire, or water; he was preſerved, although againſt his own requeſt, from being cut to pieces; a circumſtance ſingularly fortunate, ſaved him from hanging; and he, perhaps, was freed a ſecond time, from periſhing amidſt the waves.

On the thirtieth of December, and when the Engliſh were at anchor near a ſmall iſland, they received intelligence that a Chineſe fleet was daily expected to arrive. On the ſecond of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſix, they perceived two ſail, which on a nearer approach, proved to be a part of the fleet. Having boarded theſe veſſels, they, after a ſhort conteſt, obliged the commanders to caſt anchor. On board, were ſilks, and nearly fifty tons of China, and ſilver. The Engliſh, who imagined that their moſt valuable acquiſitions would be made out of the cargoes of thoſe ſhips which were yet to arrive, diſmiſſed the two veſſels, without detaining any material articles of merchandize. In the week ſucceeding to this event, they were informed by ſome officers belonging to the Dutch ſhips, that the Engliſh merchants at Bantam were in danger of being ſacrificed to the fury of the Chineſe, who had declared themſelves reſolved to avenge the detention of their veſſels. This circumſtance proved the ſafety of the fleet. The Engliſh preferring the welfare of their countrymen to their private intereſt, abandoned their deſign to ſeize the

the ſhips, and, directing their courſe homewards, arrived at Portſmouth, on the nineteenth of July, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſix (*m*).

It was alſo at this period that captain Charles Leigh, undertook a voyage to Guiana, partly at his own expence, and partly at the expence of his brother, Sir Olave Leigh. The crew amounted to forty-ſeven perſons, including boys; and the chief end of their enterprize was to make a more compleat diſcovery than had hitherto been effected of the country of Guiana, and, alſo, to eſtabliſh an Engliſh colony in thoſe parts.

On the twenty-firſt of March, theſe adventurers departed from Woolwich, in a bark called the Olive-Plant, of the Burthen of fifty tons; and, on the twenty-ſecond of May, they reached the river of Wiapoco, in the latitude of three degrees, and thirty minutes, to the northward of the line. Having diſembarked at the town which takes its name from the river, they entered into an agreement with the inhabitants, by whom they were courteouſly received, to aſſiſt them in their hoſtile operations againſt their inveterate enemies, the Caribbes, on condition that they ſhould be allowed an ample ſpace of ground, and ſeveral houſes to be poſſeſſed, until the Erection of their own buildings.

This compact was effected by the interpoſition of two natives, who had formerly been in England, and underſtood the language of that country. Leſt the articles agreed to ſhould not be ſtrictly carried into execution, five hoſtages, and amongſt theſe, two of

 conſi-

(*m*) Harris's col. Part 1. p. 55.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 132. and V. 3. p. 556.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, Folio. V. 2. p. 401, 402.

considerable rank, were demanded from the savages, who not only gave them, but consented that they should be conveyed to England, as pledges for the fidelity of their countrymen.

The first settlement of the colonists was on that part of the mountain which lies westward of the entrance of the river, and to which they gave the name of Mount Howard. Here, Leigh might have engaged in active scenes of life, at once pleasing to himself, and serviceable to his country, but the mutinous disposition of his associates cast such obstacles in the way of his designs, as neither resolution, nor abilities, nor industry could surmount.

In the summer of the following year, the captain sent the Olive-Plant to England (*n*), for a fresh stock of various articles of merchandize, domestic implements, and provisions, and retained at the colony thirty-five of his associates. The return of the vessel appeared the earnest of their better fortunes. The natives, rejoiced at the opportunity of procuring commodities from Europe, encouraged the English to trade with them, not only near the settlement, but farther up the river. The chief articles with which they supplied the colonists were wax; long, and beautiful white feathers; tobacco; green, and black cotton, yarn, and wool; sweet gums; red pepper; spleen, and matiate-stones; several kinds of wood, roots and berries, partly for medicines; and partly for the purposes of dyeing; flax; parrots; and monkies. At this period, when matters wore a successful aspect, a violent dysentery broke out, and proved fatal to many

(*n*) See in Purchas a letter to Sir Olave Leigh, from his brother Charles.

ny of the Engliſh, amongſt whom was the captain, who died of it, almoſt immediately after he had prepared for a voyage homewards, in order to procure a full cargo of ſuch articles as might be moſt needful for his colony. This ſevere calamity proved the bane of the undertaking. Each perſon now ſhifted for himſelf. Some returned to England in their own veſſels, others ſailed to Europe in a French ſhip; and the reſt in company with the Dutch. Thus, was the colony overthrown, to the great affliction of the Indians, who, by their conduct, had given proofs of an affectionate attachment to Leigh, and his aſſociates (*o*).

The concluſion of the peace with Spain was not ſufficient to prevent the commanders of ſhips in the ſervice of that country from continuing their depredations on the veſſels belonging to the Engliſh merchants. The particulars of theſe injuries have been too ſlightly mentioned, and we have no copious authority to follow in the diſcuſſion of them. In imitation of an indefatigable hiſtorian (*p*), we ſhall inſert a copy from a manuſcript which confirms the preceding aſſertion, and affords a melancholy proof not only of the facility with which the Spaniards impoſed on James, but of the various, and too ſucceſsful artifices of the Papiſts, in order to annoy the proteſtants. From whom the inſtructions came is not abſolutely certain: yet we may infer, with ſome probability, that they were addreſſed by an ambaſſador in the ſervice of James, (perhaps at Florence,) to his ſecretary.

(*o*) Harris's Coll. Part. 1. p. 712.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1250.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 402, 403.

(*p*) Mr. Lediard.

MS. in Bibl. Cotton. Jul. E. II. Fol. 102.

The instructions given to George Rookes, at his departure for Sicily, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and four.

"NOTWITHSTANDING the needful use of "your person about me, here, I have yielded to "your present employment in Sicily, for two respects. "First, upon my dealing, some weeks since, with the "Spanish ambassador, here, about those ships which are "questioned by the duke of Feria, and the said am-"bassador's effectual writing, in that account, to the "duke, there has been sent from him hither, unto "me a reply, and colour of justification (although "exceedingly weak, and unworthy of his wisdom,) "against our complaints, which engages me a little "farther, than otherwise I should be, in a mere mer-"cantile cause, by reason of the notorious violation, "offered by the said duke, unto the late contract of "peace, between the kings our masters, as appeareth "almost in every article of his answer; insomuch as "that he does not, in the fifth article thereof, make "mention of the said peace; and it might be well "doubted by his actions, whether that had yet come "to his hearing, as you may boldly say. Secondly, "because under the business for the releasement of "those ships, I will make use of you, for some other "occasions, that lie in the very direct line of the "Journey. Therefore, leaving unto Mr. James Hig-"gons, and Mr. Geoffry Luther, who are here consti-"tuted absolute procurators in the cause of those ships "to both authorise you to deal in that, and to illu-"minate, and inform you how to deal (as hath been "partly done already by their answers unto the above-

"named

" named juſtification,) I will only remember you to
" tell the duke of Feria, (if you fall into any argu-
" ment) theſe things. (1) That at the writing of
" his majeſty's letters, (which you carry) he had
" not yet heared of the death of the maſter, purſer,
" and merchant of the ſhip call the Trial, (who all
" three are ſince dead by torture, and barbarous
" uſage, in priſon,) whereby, as that ſeems, his ma-
" jeſty's letters are written with more moderation
" than peradventure otherwiſe they would have been.
" (2) That what original action ſoever might lie
" againſt the ſhip, called the Trial, or any other of
" his majeſty's ſubjects ſhips, for any hoſtile act,
" either intended, or committed, before the twenty-
" fourth of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix
" hundred, and three, is abſolutely fruſtrated, by
" the contract of peace, as you may urge out of the
" very firſt article of the ſaid contract, which I have
" cauſed to be written out for you, from an authentic
" copy, to that effect. This is all which I will ſay
" unto you about the merchants affairs, wherein the
" greateſt difficulty, which I can apprehend, is, that
" you will be troubled with falſe, and corrupted wit-
" neſſes; an ordinary trade, and occupation amongſt
" the Greeks, and Sicilians. Now, for my own pur-
" poſes, you ſhall underſtand that I have gotten know-
" ledge of the practices of Parſons, the jeſuit, in the
" kingdom of Naples, during the time of his being
" there, whence he is newly returned to Rome. Theſe
" practices do partly conſiſt in certain deviliſh reports
" which he hath there diſſeminated againſt the perſon
" of his majeſty, wherewith he hath, in ſome ſort,
" poſſeſſed the vice-roy, by his ſecretary, who hath
" great power over his maſter, and partly in the pur-
" chaſe of new inſtruments to himſelf there, where-
" of

" of their principal is one Wale, an Iriſh man, whom
" He hath by the means of the ſaid ſecretary, placed
" in a kind of conſulſhip over ſuch Engliſh merchants
" as ſhall arrive in that port, after he had managed a
" marriage between the ſaid Wale, and one Chancellor's
" daughter, an Engliſh man there reſident. Now for
" thoſe reports, although the ſpeech of ſo unclean a
" mouth, and conſcience, can no way blemiſh his
" majeſty's honour, yet there will be taken ſome
" courſe hereafter to obviate ſuch inconveniencies, as
" might ariſe from it. But, for the latter point, touch-
" ing Wale, the Iriſh man, this being a thing that
" doth directly croſs a prerogative of my charge here,
" from whom only his majeſty will take information
" of the incumbrances, and grievances of his ſubjects,
" and of all other accidents, in all harbours, and
" ſtates, in Italy, and hath, to that purpoſe, expreſſed
" his will unto the merchants, his ſubjects, at Piſa,
" and Leghorn, and by them to all others, as you ſee
" in the copy which you carry with you, of my
" lord ſecretary's letters, dated on the twenty-third of
" January laſt; I ſay, this ſubordination of the ſaid
" Wale, at Naples, without my conſent, being a baſe,
" and inſupportable intruſion, you ſhall deal in it, as
" from me, very roundly, calling together ſuch Engliſh
" merchants, as you ſhall find there, and acquainting
" them, with his Majeſty's will, out of the aforeſaid
" copy of my lord ſecretary's letters, by the virtue
" of which you ſhall diſ-authoriſe, and diſcredit the
" ſaid Wale, from dealing any farther as conſul, or
" otherwiſe, for them. This done, I would have you
" addreſs yourſelf there, to one captain Alexander He-
" brun, a Scotch Gentleman, (of whoſe loyalty unto
" his majeſty, I have, as you ſhall tell him, very eſpe-
" cial proof,) deſiring him to deliberate with you,
" upon

"upon choice of ſome other fit perſon there, for the "aſſiſtance of our merchants, in ſuch caſes as require "interceſſion from the vice-roy, and for the in-"formation of me, from time, to time, in their "grievances. Theſe points you are to negociate in "your paſſage towards Meſſina, and preſently upon it "to advertiſe me, what you have done, and how you "find the ſaid Wale to have demeaned himſelf, that "ſo, upon the advertiſement, and farther conſidera-"tion of circumſtances, I may write letters thither, "either to the vice-roy, himſelf, or any other, as "you, and the ſaid captain ſhall hold fit, to meet "you there againſt your return, which in your ab-"ſence ſhall be addreſſed to the ſaid captain's hand. "If you find the ſaid captain ſo vacant, that he may "undertake the cauſes of his countrymen, you ſhall "ſay that you had charge to offer it to him, before "any other. Laſtly, in the whole courſe, I would "have you obſerve, as much as may be, the nature "of the places by which you paſs, and all occur-"rences, for the information of me, and your own "judgment."

And ſo God bleſs you.

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and five, the earl of Southampton, and the lord Thomas Arundel, of Wardour, equipped a veſſel, called the Archangel, and directed the commander, captain George Weymouth, to ſail with her, on a trading voyage to Virginia. Accordingly, on the firſt of March, he departed from Dartmouth, and had a proſperous paſſage, until he approached the deſired coaſt. It was the intention of this officer, and his aſſociates, to have fallen in with the land, about the latitude of thirty-nine degrees; but, having

having been driven rather more to the northward, by the winds, they came into nearly forty-one degrees, and a half, when, as their water was almoſt expended, they eagerly wiſhed to obtain a ſight of land. Their charts had taught them to expect it, and, therefore, they bore directly in with it, according to their directions; yet, they did not find land, during a courſe of fifty leagues. At length, on the ſixteenth of May, they deſcried a ſmall iſland, the ſhores of which were ſkirted by woods. On the trees, were various fruits; ſtreams of freſh water ran down the cliffs; fowls of different kinds were alſo ſeen in vaſt numbers; and the ſhores produced quantities of fiſh. To this place, on the eaſtern part of which they had diſembarked, they gave the name of Long-Iſland (*q*).

From hence, they could diſcern a multitude of other iſlands, and the main land itſelf, extending from the weſt-ſouth-weſt, to the eaſt-north-eaſt. On ſeveral of the places adjoining to the continent, they landed, and found them all full of different ſorts of trees, ſeveral of which bore fruit, and the reſt were timber. At one of theſe iſlands was a convenient harbour, in which ſhips might lie, defended from the winds, in water, from ſix, to ten fathom, and on a tough clay-ooze. Having diſcovered it at Whitſuntide, they called it Pentecoſt harbour. The numerous fir-trees yielded a kind of ſweet turpentine; near the rocks were quantities of Muſcles, all of which

(*q*) Mr. Lediard, in his naval Hiſtory, obſerves that a full relation of this voyage was publiſhed, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and five, by Mr. James Roſier, one of the adventurers, and directed, by the lord Arundel, of Wardour, to draw up an account of the expedition. The more modern relations appear to be, in a great meaſure, abſtracts from this performance.

which abounded with ſmall pearls; and many produced ſuch as were large, and orient. Of this valuable commodity, the inſide of the ſhells of which reſembled mother of pearl, the Engliſh were unable to procure any conſiderable quantity, becauſe they wanted the proper tackle, for the purpoſes of dredging.

The ſavages who inhabited the continent, came off in canoes, and traded with the Engliſh, during their ſtay, giving in exchange for knives, beads, and other trifles, a valuable aſſortment of ſkins, and furs. Under the appearances of friendſhip, they concealed the moſt treacherous intentions, which, on one occaſion, they nearly executed. Having invited the Engliſh on ſhore, for the purpoſes of trading, they attempted to draw them towards an ambuſh, in which were ſecreted three hundred men, armed with bows, and arrows. The ſnare was, however, fortunately diſcovered, and captain Weymouth, and his aſſociates eſcaped, although with difficulty, to their ſhip.

The qualities of the main land, as far as they diſcovered it, appeared ſuperior in goodneſs to thoſe of the other iſlands, notwithſtanding their fertility; but the circumſtance which theſe adventurers deemed the moſt fortunate, was their arrival at a river (*r*), which they preferred to any (known at leaſt by themſelves,) in all America. Having ſailed on it, during a courſe of ſeveral leagues, they were enabled to give the following account; that as it runs up the main to the extent of forty miles, it is, in moſt places, a mile in breadth, in ſome three quarters, and in none leſs than half a mile. It flows ſixteen, or eighteen feet, and, at low

(*r*) The author of the new Hiſtory of Virginia obſerves that it is now named Connecticut River, but, in the Hiſtory of the Britiſh empire, in America, it is called the river of Powhatan, ſouthward of the bay of Cheſapeak.

low water, is in depth, from ſix, to ten fathoms. It hath abundance of harbours, capable of receiving ſhips of all burthens, and of affording them a more effectual ſhelter than could be found in the European ports, from the violence of the winds, and weather. On both ſides, and, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, are ſeveral coves proper for the reception of an hundred ſail; and here the ground is a ſoft ooze, with tough clay underneath, for anchor-hold. The adjacent land extends along, on either ſhore, in a ſmooth line, and, inſtead of rocks, and cliffs, is bordered with green graſs, firs, oaks, and other lofty trees. The river yields quantities of fiſh, and branches on both ſides, towards the main land; a circumſtance which muſt greatly contribute to the eaſy tranſportation of goods, from place, to place. It is added that the voyagers who approach Pentecoſt harbour will eaſily find this river; but that this company was, in all probability, the firſt of Europeans, who ever were there; ſince it could not be diſcovered, during the paſſage up the river, by any ſigns whatſoever, that others, not being natives, had viſited thoſe parts before.

It was on the banks of this river that the Engliſh would willingly have eſtabliſhed a colony; but ſuch were the orders in their commiſſion, that they were obliged to relinquiſh, until a future opportunity, their attempts, to make farther diſcoveries in this region (*s*). They, therefore, remained only ſix weeks, at

(*s*) Yet Purchas remarks that when the ſavages deſired that an Engliſhman would remain aſhore with them, Griffin, one of the adventurers who, in conſequence of an agreement made with the lord Arundel, of Wardour, was to have been left, if neceſſary, in the country, went with them in their Canoe. Hence, it may be inferred that, if the

at anchor, in the river, and, when this period was expired, having laden their ſhip with ſkins, furs, ſaſſafras, and tobacco, they, on the ſixteenth of June, ſet ſail for England, (accompanied by five of the ſavages,) and, on the eighteenth of July, arrived ſafely at the port of Dartmouth.

The ſavages (all of whom reached England,) appeared perfectly reconciled to their ſituation, notwithſtanding that when the Engliſh firſt prepared to detain them on board of the Archangel, they made a gallant, but ineffectual reſiſtance. The courteous treatment which they received during the voyage, from Weymouth, and his aſſociates, at once contributed to ſoften their captivity, (if it deſerve the name,) and to impart a gentleneſs to their manners. They became tractable, attached to the Engliſh, and rejoiced at every opportunity of manifeſting a readineſs to oblige them. Amongſt themſelves, they lived in conſtant harmony; and whatſoever one received, he immediately divided it with the others. Three of theſe ſavages had borne a diſtinguiſhed rank in their own country; a fourth was a Sagamo, or chief commander; and the fifth, a ſervant.

A naval hiſtorian (*t*) juſtly conſiders it as remarkable that, in all theſe latter voyages, the Engliſh never endeavoured to approach the place where the firſt attempts towards the eſtabliſhment of a colony, were made at Cape Hattoraſk; neither did they humanely ex-

the Engliſh had felt an inclination to eſtabliſh a colony at this place, they had no reſtraints to fear from the commiſſion. The perſons employed on this voyage amounted but to twenty-nine; too ſmall a number for the purpoſe of making ſettlements. Roſier obſerves that only Owen Griffin, and another man were to have been left there.

(*t*) Mr. Lediard.

extend a thought to the hundred, and fifteen persons, who had settled there, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-seven. Concerning these, no account had been received; no inquiry had been set on foot; and it was, therefore, natural to conclude that they had either died, or were languishing in want. To the disgrace of their countrymen, it must be remarked that they were not visited from this period, until the expiration of three years, when a colony was established near Chesapeak Bay, in Virginia, which, previous to this Æra, had not been seen by any Englishman. So insatiate was the lust of riches, and such were the ungovernable pursuits of an extensive commerce, that all regard for the lives of their fellow-christians, kindred, neighbours, and countrymen, was lost in the most sordid, and barbarous atachment to their private interest (*u*).

To the account already given concerning the voyage of captain Charles Leigh, to Guiana, it may be necessary to add that his brother, Sir Olave, anxious for the prosperity of the colony, fitted out another ship (*x*), which, being freighted with all necessaries, and commanded by the captains Catalin, and Saint-John, proceeded, on the fourteenth of April, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and five, from Woolwich, for Wiapoco. A variety of unfortunate circumstances, arising from contrary winds, strong currents,

(*u*) The particulars of this voyage to Virginia are taken from Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 817.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1659.—Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 18.—History of Virginia, p. 11.—British Empire in America, Part 1. p. 221.—Relation of a voyage to Virginia, by James Rosier.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. p. 405, 406, 407.

(*x*) The Olive-Blossom.

rents, and the ignorance, and inattention of the master, Richard Chambers, made these officers despair, (and the more, as they were driven greatly to the Leeward,) of ever gaining their destined port, in any seasonable time. They, therefore, touched first at Barbadoes, and, afterwards, at the island of Saint Lucia, intending to return from thence to England; a measure which they were, notwithstanding, obliged to relinquish, when having examined the stores, they perceived that the quantity was insufficient for the support of the crew, during so long a voyage. A situation thus alarming induced captain Saint-John, and sixty-seven of the passengers, to stay on the island, rather than run the risk of perishing at sea. Here, therefore, they disembarked, on the twenty-third of August, provided only with one small piece of Ordnance, their swords, Muskets, some powder, and a single barrel of biscuits. This supply was all which those shipmates whom they were going to desert, could be prevailed on to give; and the refusal of farther succours was the more steadily persisted in, as a punishment deserved by captain Saint-John, and his associates, who had forcibly detained the boat for their own use.

These adventurers were soon visited by the Indians, who, in exchange for trifling articles, supplied them with the various produce of the soil, together with gulls, pelicans, woodcocks, and snipes. During the night, they catched tortoises on the sands, and these creatures alone would have proved sufficient for their subsistence. Thus plentifully furnished with delicious food, they remained, for the space of five weeks, in little huts, which they had constructed, without making any excursions of discovery into the country. In this state of inactivity, they probably might

have rested much longer, if Saint-John, who had discerned plates of metal on the arms of several of the Indians, and was informed by one Brown, belonging to their company, and a refiner, that they were three parts composed of gold, had not suggested to his associates the necessity of preparing for an enterprize, the success of which might prove the means of loading themselves with riches.

When the Indians were inquired of, by signs, from whence they had procured the metal, they pointed to a lofty mountain, on the north-western extremity of the island. Thither Saint-John, and as many of his associates as the boat could conveniently receive, immediately set sail, after having promised those who were left to guard the huts, that they would return, in the course of a few days.

When this division of the company had departed, the remainder expected that the Indians would have resorted to them, as usual, with provisions; but three days elapsed, and none had visited them. At this juncture, the savages were employed in the perpetration of more inhospitable actions. Having traced Saint-John, and his followers, towards the mountain, they concerted measures for their destruction, and put themselves under the command of Augramert, a desperate, and enterprizing Indian, who had been appointed captain of the island of Saint Vincent. In order to conceal their intentions, they once more assumed the appearances of a friendly disposition, and paid fresh visits, at one of which Augramert expressed an inclination to return, at his own quarters, the civilities which he had received; and, having persuaded several of the English to accompany him, promised that they should be supplied with such provisions as they wanted.

The

The number of perſons who were induced to attend Augramert amounted to eighteen, including captain Saint-John. The ſavage, ſtill declaring that he was conducting them to his abode, drew them towards an ambuſh, where, being ſurrounded by more than five hundred Indians, and expoſed, on every ſide, to vollies of arrows, they were ſoon overpowered, and, after a brave reſiſtance, all, excepting John Nicolls, were barbarouſly ſlaughtered.

This ſole ſurvivor of his unfortunate companions having eſcaped, with difficulty, from the ſavages, firſt, concealed himſelf within the woods, then, ſwam acroſs a lake, and, at length, with three arrows ſticking in his body, returned home, barely in ſufficient time, to give the alarm to his companions, whoſe huts were ſhortly afterwards ſurrounded by an armed multitude of Indians, againſt whom they diſcharged their ſmall piece of artillery, and forced them to retire. In three days from this event, the Engliſh were again aſſailed by a body of thirteen hundred men, who, after having attacked, but without ſucceſs, their little fort, and cabins, for the ſpace of ſeven days, had recourſe to fire-arrows, which, in a ſhort time, reduced their habitations, and all their property, to an heap of aſhes. In ſpite of theſe calamities, the Engliſh ſtood intrepidly on their defence, and their numerous aſſailants, unable to conquer this little band of heroes, again reluctantly withdrew.

Scarcely were they departed, when ſome of the neighbouring Indians, leſs barbarous than the reſt, ſupplied the Engliſh with proviſions, and, at length, agreed to give them an old, and damaged boat, in exchange for beads, knives, and Hatchets. Thus equipped, the nineteen ſurvivors (*y*), of ſixty-eight perſons who had

 ſailed

(*y*) Of theſe, twelve were wounded.

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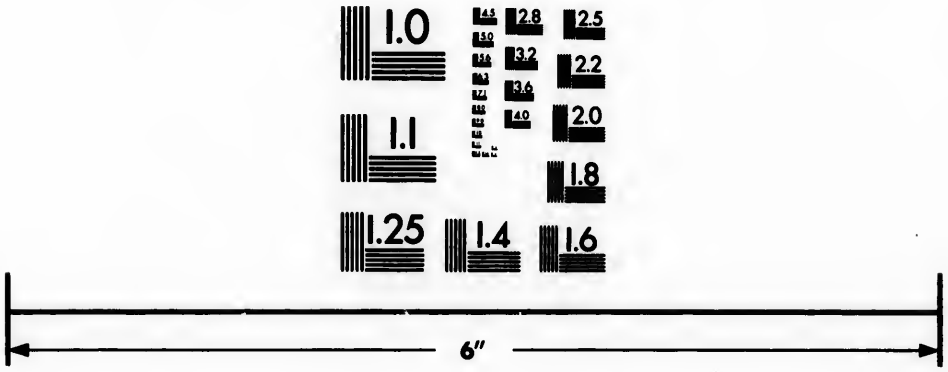

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ſailed from England, committed themſelves to the mercy of the ocean. Their ſituation was deplorable to an extreme; they had not either charts, or compaſſes; their whole means of ſubſiſtence were confined to four gallons of water, a ſmall quantity of plantains, and potatoes, and a bag of rice. With theſe proviſions, it was not poſſible that they could be ſupported longer than the ſpace of three days, previous to the expiration of which, they had no reaſon to imagine that, without one mariner in their company, they ſhould arrive at ſome hoſpitable ſhore.

In this ſmall, and overladen boat, they lived for the ſpace of ten days, at ſea, during which four perſons were employed, by turns, conſtantly to ſcoop out the water. At length, when all were driven to deſpair, and one of the company was juſt expiring, they diſcovered land. The night advanced before they could reach it, and ſoon afterwards, their boat was daſhed to pieces againſt a rock. With much difficulty, they gained the iſland, on which, as it was barren and uninhabited, they now expected to die by famine. Fortunately, all the ſeparated parts of their boat were caſt aſhore. Theſe being immediately collected, and properly joined together, five of the company departed for the continent, in order that they might prevail on the inhabitants to afford them ſpeedy ſuccour. Arriving at an Indian town, called Tocoya, they were humanely ſupplied with proviſions, and all neceſſaries, which they carried to the iſland, where, after an abſence of fifteen days, they rejoined all their aſſociates, excepting five, who had died, for want of ſuſtenance. The number of theſe unfortunate adventurers was now reduced to thirteen, who reached a Spaniſh ſettlement, called Coro, where, although they were treated with great humanity, two more

more expired ſoon after their arrival. Three proceeded to Carthagena, and were followed by two others, with whom they got a paſſage to Spain. The fate of the reſt is unknown (z).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſix, the king granted a charter to Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, George Popham, and others of the town of Plymouth, whereby they were impowered to plant wherefoever they might think fit, and convenient, between thirty-eight, and forty-five degrees of northern latitude (a).

It was at this period that the firſt attempt was made for a ſettlement in New-England, by Henry Challons, who was attended by thirty perſons, amongſt whom were two natives of the country, in a ſmall ſhip, called the Richard, of Plymouth. This voyage was undertaken at the expence of Sir John Popham, the lord chief juſtice, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the governour of Plymouth fort, who, with other gentlemen,

(z) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 713.—Purchas, V. 4. p. 1250.——Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio, V. 2. p. 407, 408.

(a) The letters-patent granted by James, in the courſe of this year, for the limitation of Virginia, extended from thirty-four, to thirty-five degrees, and it was divided into two parts, which were the firſt, and the ſecond colony. The firſt was allotted to the city of London, and perſons who would adventure with them, in order to diſcover, and take their choice of lands, betwixt the degrees of thirty-four, and forty-one. The ſecond was appointed to the cities of Briſtol, and Exeter, the towns of Plymouth, the Weſtern parts of England, and all thoſe who would adventure, and join with them. Permiſſion was granted to theſe to make their choice any where between the degrees of thirty-eight, and forty-five, provided there ſhould be at leaſt the diſtance of an hundred miles, between theſe two colonies, each of which enjoyed, equally laws, Privileges, and authority for the government of their ſeveral plantations.

and merchants of the weſt, were concerned in the company eſtabliſhed by the charter to which we have here alluded. Challons, and his aſſociates, ſet ſail in the month of Auguſt, and, having proceeded as far as the Spaniſh Weſt-Indian iſlands, were intercepted, and taken by an Armada, from the officers of which they experienced the moſt inhuman treatment, and were, at length, ſent into Spain, where they long languiſhed under every ſpecies of barbarous indignity. A laborious hiſtorian (*b*) remarks, without deſcending to particulars, that this misfortune of Challons expoſed him to the power of certain ſtrangers, enemies to his proceedings; who impriſoned his company, confiſcated the ſhip, together with the cargo, and by theſe oppreſſive meaſures, intirely overthrew the voyage.

So heavy a calamity conſiderably repreſſed the ardour of the firſt adventurers; but the lord chief juſtice Popham, at a period prior to the advice of the diſaſter which had happened to Challons, diſpatched another ſhip, under the command of captain Hanham, one of the patentees, with all neceſſaries for his ſupport. When he arrived at the appointed place, he learned that Challons, and his aſſociates, had never reached it. On this account, Hanham, who was inſtructed, not, at that juncture, to attempt the eſtabliſhment of a colony, but to make diſcoveries preparatory to ſuch an event, returned home, and, on his arrival, repreſented the ſituation, and other circumſtances relating to the country, in ſo favourable a light, that all people were now as much ſatisfied, as, at the recital of the firſt miſcarriage, they had been diſpirited, and numbers, who, before, had declined engaging in the enterprize, now, earneſtly intreated that they might become adventurers. Sir John Popham, and

(*b*) Purchas.

and thoſe perſons who were at firſt concerned in this deſign, now felt ſuch ſanguine hopes of its ſucceſs, that they chearfully contributed an ample ſhare towards the expence of collecting, and ſending over a multitude of proper perſons for the purpoſes of colonization.

On the thirty-firſt of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſeven, the captains Popham, and Gilbert, two of the patentees, ſet ſail from Plymouth, with two ſhips, on board of which were an hundred paſſengers, together with ordnance, ſtores, and all neceſſary proviſions for their uſe (*c*). Having arrived at Monahigan, on the eleventh of Auguſt, they ſoon afterwards ſeated themſelves at Sagadahock, in Norembegua, nearly nine leagues to the Southward, and at the mouth of a navigable river, where they conſtructed Saint George's fort.

Previous to the return of theſe ſhips, the lord chief juſtice Popham died, a circumſtance which, together with a ſeries of calamitous events, proved the ſource of inſuperable obſtacles to the proſperity of the coloniſts. Sir Francis Popham, the ſon, was, indeed, aſſiduous in the ſupport of thoſe undertakings which

(*c*) It is obſerved by Smith, in his general Hiſtory of Virginia, that Sir John Popham having, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſix, procured a number of perſons, together with whatſoever might be requiſite for the eſtabliſhment of a colony in New England, ſent thither the Captains, George Popham, as Preſident; Raleigh Gilbert, as Admiral; Edward Harlow, as Maſter of the Ordnance; Robert Davis, a Serjeant Major; and Elias Beſt, as marſhal; Mr. Seaman was appointed Secretary; Captain James Davis, Commander of the Fort; and Mr. Gome Carew, Chief-Searcher. All theſe were of the council, and together with an hundred others, had received orders to remain in the country.

had been patronized by his father, and advanced a considerable sum for the full equipment of three ships, which sailed, in the course of the succeeding year, for New England. With these, arrived the afflicting news of the deaths of the lord chief justice, and Sir John Gilbert, brothers to the president, and admiral of the colony. Captain Gilbert was now obliged to return to England, in order to take possession of the estate which had devolved to him, on the decease of Sir John. The loss of this officer, was the more heavily felt after that of Popham, (already dead,) and left the colonists without a chief sufficiently important for the purposes of contributing to the success, and stability of their enterprizes. To fill up the measure of their disappointments, the stores had, in the winter, been consumed by fire; an event which they now considered in so alarming a point of view, that they unanimously determined to forsake the plantation, and set sail for England, with the ships, and a small bark, which, notwithstanding the severity of the season, and the little assistance to be procured, they had constructed, and completely rigged. In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eight, they returned to their native country, and delivered such discouraging accounts concerning the miscarriage of their enterprize, that, in a short time, even the least discourse relating to the establishment of a colony in New-England had entirely subsided. Sir Francis Popham, notwithstanding, employed the Ships which were the property of the company, and supplying, at his own expence, whatsoever was necessary for his purpose, sent them frequently to these coasts, with directions to the commanders that they should not only reap every benefit in their power from the

the fisheries, but embraced all opportunities of establishing an extensive commerce (*d*).

We now turn back in order to present the reader with an account of the establishment of a colony in the more southern districts of Virginia, to accomplish which salutary purpose the merchants of London, Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, joined in a petition to the king, and having represented that no single individual was equal either to the settlement of a plantation, or the management of such extended plans of trade, besought him to grant them his protection, and to incorporate, and enable them to raise a supply sufficient for the completion of their intended enterprize.

Accordingly, on the tenth of April, in the year one thousand, six hundred, and six, the king issued his letters-patent, by which they were incorporated, in one charter, into two distinct colonies, and formed two separate companies (*e*).

"The charter was granted to Sir Thomas Gates, "Sir George Sommers, knights; Richard Hackluyt, "clerk, and prebend of Westminster; and Edward "Maria Wingfield, Esquire, adventurer of the city "of London, and to such others as should be joined "unto them, of that colony, which should be called "The

(*d*) Smith's general history of Virginia, p. 203.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 851.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1827, 1832.—British empire in America, V. 1. p. 26.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 2. folio, p. 409, 410, 411.—In imitation of the last author, to whose researches we are so much indebted, the narratives of transactions which are closely connected have been placed together, although they do not fall within the compass of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and six.

(*e*) Concerning these Letters Patent, mention hath been already made; but, in this place, it appears necessary to introduce them more circumstantially.

" The first Company, with liberty to begin their first " plantation, and seat, at any place, upon the coast " of Virginia, where they should think fit, and convenient, between the degrees of thirty-four, and forty-" one, of northern latitude; and that they should " extend their bounds from the said first seat of their " plantation, and habitation, fifty miles along the " sea-coasts, each way; and include all the islands " within an hundred miles directly overagainst the " same sea-coast, and also back into the main-land, " one hundred miles from the sea-coast; and that no " others should be permitted, or suffered to plant, or " inhabit behind, or on the back of them, towards " the main land, without the express licence of the " council of that colony thereunto in writing first " had, and obtained. And, for the second colony, " Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, " and George Popham, Esquires, of the town of Plymouth, and all others who should be joined to " them, of that colony, with liberty to begin their " first plantation, and seat, at any place upon the " coast of Virginia, where they should think fit, between the degrees of thirty-eight, and forty-five of " northern latitude, with the like liberties, and bounds, " as enjoyed by the first colony, provided that they " did not seat themselves within an hundred miles of " them."

This patent included Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, as they are now distinguished from each other, for the London adventurers; and New-England, New-York, New-Jersey, and Pensylvania, as they are now divided into several provinces, for the Plymouth adventurers; but the whole was then called Virginia, as well that which was granted to the one, as to the other.

Impow-

Impowered by this patent, the London company fitted out two ſhips, the command of which was given to Chriſtopher Newport. Accompanying this officer were Mr. Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, ſeveral gentlemen of family, the captains Goſnoll, Smith *(f)*, Ratcliff, Martin, Kendal, and Mr. Wingfield, which laſt ſix, together with Newport, were, as it afterwards appeared, nominated of the council. Excluſive of theſe, a miniſter, and many different artiſans were amongſt the paſſengers, who, together, amounted to more than two hundred perſons.

On the nineteenth of December, captain Newport, and his aſſociates, proceeded from England, and, in conſequence of inſtructions for that purpoſe, proceeded, (notwithſtanding that no convenient harbour could be found there,) to the part of Virginia, on which Mr. White had left his miſerable colony. During the voyage, captain Smith acted as pilot, and navigated this little fleet by the weſtern, and Caribbee iſlands. A courſe ſo tedious, and the various interruptions to it, filled the minds of his aſſociates with apprehenſions that

(*f*) Mr. Lediard obſerves that ſome authors diſtinguiſh the voyage of Captain Smith, from that of Captain Newport, and affirm that the firſt ſettlement which remained was made by Smith, who (they remark,) went there as chief commander of three ſmall ſhips. But other writers mention the voyage of Newport, as prior to that of Smith. This point muſt be left to the deciſion of thoſe who have inſpected the books of the company. Suffice it that the naval hiſtorian hath followed the accounts which appeared the moſt authentic. Amongſt theſe, the aſſertions in the general hiſtory, by Smith, ſeem too well grounded. We there learn that company fitted out two ſhips; the one of an hundred, and the other of forty tons burthen; together with a pinnace of twenty tons burthen. The tranſportation of the company was committed to captain Chriſtopher Newport.

that they ſhould never reach the colony, and determined them to return immediately to England. Soon afterwards (g) the ſhips fortunately fell in with Virginia, or that part of the continent which is now ſo called, at the mouth of Cheſapeak bay. The ſouthern cape of it was the firſt place on which they diſembarked; and here, they erected a fort; giving it the name of Cape, and Fort Henry, as to the northern part, they gave that of Fort Charles, in compliment to the two eldeſt princes. To the firſt great river which they diſcovered, and which was called, by the Indians, Powhatan, They, in honour of their ſovereign, gave the name of James River.

After the moſt careful examination of every part of it, the Engliſh, by unanimous conſent, fixed on a peninſula, nearly fifty miles from the entrance, which, excluſive of the goodneſs of the ſoil, was eſteemed the fitteſt place for their own ſecurity, and the management of their commerce. Two thirds of it was ſurrounded by the main river, which every where afforded ſafe anchorage. Along the other third, flowed a ſmall narrow river, capable of receiving ſeveral veſſels of the burthen of one hundred tons, until it reached within thirty yards of the main river, into which it generally ran, during the ſpring tides. Hence, the land, on which they choſe to erect their town, obtained the name of Iſland. In the back river, ſhips, and ſmall veſſels might ride, lashed to each other, and be moored aſhore, ſecure from the violence of the wind and weather.

The whole iſland (the capital place of which was called James Town,) contained nearly two thouſand acres of high land, and ſeveral thouſand acres of firm marſh-land, which produced a fine paſturage. The Eng-

(g) April 26, 1607.

Engliſh, who had erected caſtles, and a fort, lived here, in great ſecurity from the irruptions of the Indians; but although it was not in the power of a neighbouring enemy to excite diſturbances, their own mutual animoſities were attended by alarming conſequences, and their ruin appeared the nearer in its approach, whilſt they not only indulged an ungovernable rapacity in their attempts to ſeize the treaſures of the Indians, but embraced all opportunities of overreaching each other in affairs of commerce.

As the merchant-adventurers, whoſe names have been already mentioned, were, by charter, inveſted with the proper powers, they had drawn up inſtructions (not to be opened until the arrival of the Engliſh, at Virginia,) for the eſtabliſhment of a colony, to remain under the governance of a preſident, and Council choſen annually. The moſt zealous, and ſerviceable inſtrument in the promotion of the meaſures was captain Smith, whole aſſociates withdrew from him their ſupport, and treated him with equal perfidy, and Ingratitude. His activity, and experience, the laſt of which was particularly conſpicuous in all maritime affairs, inſtead of attracting the reſpect, had excited the envy of the Majority, from the inveteracy of whoſe perſecutions, it ſhould ſeem that even death was not, in their opinion, too ſevere a puniſhment for the unremitted, and frequently ſucceſsful exertions of his ſuperior abilities. Wingfield, the preſident, and the chief promoter of the conſpiracy againſt him, was avaritious, proud, inſolent, and implacable in his reſentments. Having availed himſelf of the abſence of Smith, who was engaged in attempts to effectuate the eſtabliſhment of a treaty of commerce with the Indian kings, he concerted meaſures which were intended to have terminated in his deſtruction. Falſe wit-

neſſes

neſſes were ſuborned to prove, on oath, the criminality of his conduct (*h*), and he was not only excluded from the council, although he had been nominated a member, by the company in England, but caſt into a loathſome priſon, where he lay until the forgeries of his enemies were effectually diſcovered, and defeated. At this favourable juncture, he was elected a member of the council; his adverſary Wingfield was depoſed, and Ratcliff, ſucceeding to the preſidency, intruſted Smith, of whoſe talents for government he was ſufficiently convinced, with the full adminiſtration of affairs.

At the expiration of five weeks, the ſhips were freighted, and in readineſs, when captain Newport departed for England (*i*), leaving more than one hundred men, ſettled under that form of government which hath already been deſcribed. The fleet had ſcarcely ſailed, when freſh diſſentions broke out amongſt the coloniſts, and the general proſperity of the

(*h*) A naval hiſtorian * hath obſerved, in a note, that Smith was accuſed of an intention to uſurp the government, to put to death every member of the council, and then proclaim himſelf the ſovereign of the place. In order to accompliſh this deſign, he was charged with having placed confederates in each ſhip, and informed that ſeveral of them had diſcovered his conſpiracy. Theſe aſperſions proved, at length, the mere reſult of Envy, and reſentments as violent as they were unjuſt. It is remarked that accuſations were lodged againſt him during the voyage, and whilſt the Engliſh were within ſight of the Canaries. Some hiſtorians have aſſerted that he was then confined, and not releaſed until the expiration of thirteen weeks, and after the departure of captain Newport. This laſt account is certainly erroneous, as, under ſuch circumſtances, Smith could not have been engaged in the negociation of a treaty with the Indian kings.

* Mr. Lediard.

(*i*) June 15, 1606.

the whole was once more, on the point of being sacrificed to the intrigues of a corrupted party.

Yet in the midst of these contentions, the English erected houses, and fortifications, nor did they suffer themselves to be drawn aside, by the violence of animosities, from the culture of the ground, and the preservation of their commerce with the Indians. To this last object, they attended with a degree of eagerness which might have insured success, had they been tied down by any restrictions in trade, or at least, prevented from the exercise of the dangerous custom of out-bidding one another. It was this circumstance which not only lessened their own profit, but created jealousies amongst the Indians; who, little skilled in the practices of trade, and perceiving that the articles of merchandize were not sold to all at the same prices, exclaimed that they who purchased, at the highest rates were fraudulently dealt with. Hence arose that hatred which the Indians conceived against the English, and which they afterwards gratified in the commission of the most violent hostilities.

The colonists subsisted, until the following year, on provisions with which they were supplied in exchange for several of the commodities of Europe. At length, one vessel arrived, with Men, and all necessary stores. The other having been driven back to the Caribbee islands, did not reach the settlement, until the former had departed, on her return to England.

At this period, the attention of the colonists was totally diverted from all objects of superior necessity, and importance, by one, which whilst it presented to imaginations, inflamed with avarice, with the views of future opulence, led imperceptibly to destruction. In a neck of land, on the back of James-Town-Island, they had discovered a stream of fresh water, that,

iſſuing from a ſmall bank, waſhed down its ſides a kind of yellow duſt-iſinglaſs, which, having been cleanſed in its paſſage, lay ſhining at the bottom, and bore the appearance of gold. The Engliſh, who ſuppoſed it to be that valuable metal, were inceſſantly employed in conveying it to their habitations. During theſe purſuits, their proviſions became almoſt entirely expended; and as they had not allowed themſelves the leaſt time to inquire for freſh ſupplies, they ſoon felt themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of ſubſiſting on crabs, Muſcles, and the wild fruits of the earth. Their wretched ſituation had gone far towards convincing them of the abſurdity of their hopes; and their misfortunes were now imbittered by the cruelty of the Indians, who waited in ambuſh for the purpoſe of deſtroying them, and ſo far ſucceeded in their treacherous reſolution as to ſlay numbers. The reſt, dreading the ſame fate, durſt not venture from their habitations, and, unable to procure the common neceſſaries of life, were on the point of periſhing.

At this alarming juncture, a ſhip arrived from England, and the Coloniſts again turned all their thoughts to the acquiſition of their imaginary gold. With it, and a ſmall quantity of ſkins, furs, and cedar, they freighted this veſſel, and directed the commander to proceed immediately on his paſſage homewards. The ſecond veſſel which reached the ſettlement was alſo laden with the ſame duſt, and inſtantly ſailed back to England.

Soon after the departure of theſe ſhips, and when the violence of avarice appeared to have been allayed, captain Smith, who had long, but vainly, endeavoured to convince his aſſociates of their error, propoſed that they ſhould engage in enterprizes leſs deluſive in their nature,

nature, and more conformable to the instructions of the company. Accordingly, under the direction of this experienced, and active officer, they made several important discoveries in James-River, and Chesapeak Bay; and, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eight, first gathered Indian corn of their own planting.

Whilst Smith, and his associates were proceeding on an expedition amongst the savages, they were treacherously assaulted by three hundred Indians, under the command of one of their petty kings, called Pamaunkee, who, having gained the victory, slew all the English, except their leader, whom he conveyed a prisoner to Powhatan, the chief sovereign (*k*), at the intercession of whose daughter, Pocahontas, his life was saved. With this mercy, Smith also received his liberty, and returned, in safety, to James-Town, where he was unanimously desired by the remaining colonists to become their president, on the resignation of Mr. Ratcliff.

Whilst these discoveries were making by captain Smith, to whose talents, activity, and resolution, must be attributed the success of the enterprizes, and the momentary tranquility which prevailed within the settlement, the colonists at James-Town, availing them-

(*k*) Smith, in his general history of Virginia, observes that, previous to his being made a prisoner, he had placed his Indian guide before him, as a shield, and, thus defended, slew three of the savages, and wounded so many more, that none of the rest durst venture near him. In this manner, he attempted to retire to his boat, keeping the Indian in the midway, and opposite to the enemy. At length, not observing the ground, he fell, as high as the waist, into a slough, and dragged the Indian after him. Even here, the savages durst not approach him, until, almost perishing with cold, he threw away his arms, and surrendered.

themſelves of the abſence of their chief, broke out into freſh diſſentions, during which a conſiderable number attempted to leave the place, and ſet ſail in the ſmalleſt veſſel which was at anchor in the harbour. Thus were the Engliſh expoſed, by their own miſconduct, to calamities not leſs irretrievable than their ſufferings in conſequence of the violent hoſtilities committed by the Indians.

Yet, amidſt theſe dreadful interruptions to the proſperity of infant ſettlements, ſo ſucceſsful were the Engliſh, at this period increaſed nearly to five hundred men, that they eſtabliſhed two more plantations; the firſt at Nahſamond, in James-River, more than thirty miles below James-Town, and the ſecond at Powhatan, ſix miles below the falls of James-River. The laſt place was purchaſed of the king of the country, for a certain quantity of copper; and each plantation conſiſted of an hundred, and twenty men. Shortly afterwards, the Engliſh made another ſettlement, at Kiguotan, near the mouth of James-River. From ſuch ſmall beginnings did Virginia riſe to that importance which it hath ſince enjoyed (*l*).

We now return to an occurrence in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſix, which the neceſſary relation of a chain of facts hath hitherto obliged us to paſs over. At this period, the Muſcovy company prepared once more the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage,

(*l*) Theſe particulars, relative to the eſtabliſhment of a colony in the ſouthern parts of Virginia, are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1683, 1705.——Introduction to the coll. of voyages, 6 vol. in folio, p. 56.——Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 41.—Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 13.—Britiſh empire in America, V. 1. p. 221 —and Lediard's naval Hiſtory, folio, V. 2. p. 411, 412, 413, 414, 415.

paſſage, and having, for that purpoſe, equipped a bark, of the burthen of forty tons, gave the command of it to captain John Knight. On the eighteenth of April, this officer departed from Graveſend, and, on the nineteenth of June, reached America. Diſembarking with the reſt of his aſſociates, they were attacked, and maſſacred by the ſavages. The reſt of the company, at a time when the veſſel had ſprung a leak, and unſhipped her rudder, gallantly repelled the attack of fifty Indians, and having repaired the damages which they ſuffered, proceeded to Newfoundland. When they had obtained the neceſſary relief from the inhabitants of this place, they ſet ſail for England, and, on the twentieth of September, arrived at Dartmouth (*m*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſeven, the Eaſt-India company appointed William Keeling their chief commander, on their third voyage. Under him were three hundred, and ten perſons, in ſhips, of which the names were the Dragon, the Hector, and the Conſent. Shortly after her departure, the laſt veſſel ſailed forward alone, and the other two ſeparated at Deliſa, a road near the North of Socotora, in the Arabian ſea. Keeling, in the Dragon, directed his courſe towards Bantam, and Captain Hawkins, in the Hector, proceeded for Surat. When the former, and his aſſociates, arrived at their deſtined port, they diſcovered that the Dutch had made earlier acquiſitions than themſelves, and not only freighted two ſhips with cloves, but were preparing to lade two more with pepper. They, notwithſtanding, had the good for-

 tune

(*m*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 76.——Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 827.——Lediard's naval Hiſtory, folio, V. 2. p. 415.

tune to obtain a cargo, and, at length, returned to England.

At Surat, captain Hawkins diſembarked, and, having ordered the company of the Hector to proceed with the ſhip, to the iſles of Banda, travelled, by land, to the court of the Great Mogul, at Agra, for the purpoſe of negociating the affairs of the company, and eſtabliſhing their commerce, in different parts of the Eaſt-Indies.

On the arrival of the Engliſh, belonging to the Hector, at the iſles of Banda, they were obliged, inſtantly, to engage in the regulations of the cuſtoms, and payments, which were a part in money, and a part in merchandize. Having adjuſted this point, they proceeded to introduce a trade, but met with great obſtacles to their endeavours from the inſidious practices of the Dutch, who, when they diſcovered that the Engliſh were in treaty with the natives of Puloway, for the eſtabliſhment of a factory in that iſland, made uſe of every effort to prevent them from ſucceeding. They were not, however, able to hinder them from obtaining nearly thirteen hundred weight of mace, and half a ton of nutmegs.

In the mean time, the Engliſh having been informed that the Dutch intended to erect a fort at Banda, foreſaw the pernicious conſequences which muſt ariſe from ſuch a meaſure, and, therefore, propoſed to the chief inhabitants of the place, that they ſhould embrace an opportunity previous to the conſtruction of the fort, and make a formal delivery of the ſpot, in the name of the king of England, to his ſubjects, then preſent. With this expedient, they appeared willing to concur, yet were treacherouſly leaning to the intereſt of the Dutch, whom they affected to deſpiſe. Conſtant in their declarations of friendſhip, and attachment to

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the Engliſh, they had affirmed that their ſpices ſhould be ſuffered to rot on the trees, rather than that the Dutch ſhould poſſeſs a ſingle ounce; yet they would never accede to meaſures deſigned to curb the power of the latter, and, in ſecret, gave the preference to the party which oppoſed the Engliſh. An hiſtorian (*n*) hath obſerved that they actually ſigned a treaty of commerce in favour of the laſt; but if this be fact, it is equally true that they broke it; a violation of faith for which they were ſeverely puniſhed, when the Dutch, having compleated their fort, treated them, and the Engliſh, with the moſt barbarous, and unexampled inſolence.

The Bandaneſe, incenſed at their behaviour, were now determined to obtain revenge, and, having inticed the Dutch admiral, with his chief followers, and the council, to a convenient ſpot, they put them inſtantly to the ſword. They next deviſed a plot for the deſtruction of the reſt, and would certainly have carried it into execution, but that the Engliſh interpoſed ſucceſsfully on their behalf. To this bounty, they made the baſeſt returns; and, in May, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, prepared for the commiſſion of hoſtilities. In the ſucceeding month, they placed many unreaſonable reſtraints on the commerce of the Engliſh, to all of which they were under the neceſſity of ſubmitting, being only ſixty-two in number, and, conſequently unable to reſiſt the oppreſſions of more than one thouſand of their adverſaries.

In the month of July, the power, and inſolence of the Dutch had ariſen to ſuch extremes, that they delivered to the Engliſh an order, ſigned by the vice-admiral, and the members of the council, to depart be-

(*n*) Purchas.

before the expiration of five days. They were obliged to compound with their formidable adverſaries for a longer ſtay; and yet, after a ſhort indulgence, were driven from the place, without having been permitted to compleat their lading.

From the iſles of Banda, the Engliſh ſailed to Bantam, where they took in three thouſand, four hundred, and eighty-one bags of pepper, and having, in the month of May, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ten, eſtabliſhed a factory at this place, they returned to England, without the loſs of a ſingle man (*o*).

We muſt now acquaint the reader that the Conſent, a veſſel of the burthen of one hundred, and fifteen tons, and commanded by captain David Middleton, the brother of Sir Henry, ſoon quitted the other ſhips, and proceeded on a different voyage. In the month of July, ſhe arrived within the bay of Soldania, and from thence, Middleton, and his aſſociates, directed their courſe to Bantam, where they ſold their cargo of lead and iron; and purchaſed other goods vendible at the Moluccas, towards which place they ſet ſail on the ſixth of December, and arrived there, at the beginning of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eight. Here they remained until the middle of March, but were greatly obſtructed in their commerce by the Spaniards, who, at length, endeavoured to put a ſtop to their negociations, and, with much eagerneſs, preſſed them to depart.

The natives, more courteous, endeavoured to trade with them ſecretly, and during the night, but were ſoon prevented from maintaining their intercourſe, by the

(*o*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 76.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 188.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 416, 417.

the Spaniards, who peremptorily insisted that the English should set sail immediately.

Accordingly, they departed from the Moluccas, and, on the twenty-third of April, entered the streights of Bangava. Here the natives discovered an inclination to engage in commerce with them, and solicited their attention by every favour which they could bestow. From the king of Botun, they received the most essential services. He visited them, on board of the Consent, invited them to his chief town, and directed a pilot to conduct their vessel thither. Here, this Prince renewed his civilities, and when some Javan ships arrived within the harbour, freighted with cloves, he suffered the whole cargo to be turned over, in exchange for European commodities, to the English.

Thus, successful, they took their leaves of this hospitable monarch, and returned to Bantam, where they arrived, on the twenty-second of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eight, and, having ended their trade, departed, on the fifteenth of July, for England (*p*).

In this year, also, began the fourth general voyage to the East-Indies. On the fourteenth of March, the Ascension, and the Union, sailed from Woolwich, under the chief command of captain Alexander Sharpey. They kept company as far as the bay of Soldania, where they arrived on the thirteenth of July, and remained until the twenty-fifth of September. Soon after their departure from this place, the two ships were separated, and the Ascension bore up with the islands of

(*p*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 94.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 94.—Lediard's Naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 417.

Comora, between Saint Lawrence, and the main, where the Engliſh received great civilities from the ſovereign of the country.

They next fell in with the iſland of Pemba, ſituated in ſix degrees of ſouth latitude, where they experienced ſuch treachery as induced them to name the place, Hell. Having quitted it, they took three pangays, or barks, belonging to the moors of Melinda, and carried all their principal men, to the number of fifty, on board of their own ſhip. But this action had like to have coſt them dear, for, although the Moors had ſuffered themſelves to be eaſily taken, it was only that they might gain an opportunity of being ſeverely revenged by the maſſacre of their captors, and the ſeizure of their veſſel. Availing themſelves of a time when the Engliſh were the moſt unguarded, they ſuddenly drew their long knives, and dreadfully wounded the miniſter, one of the merchants, and two mates. The reſt now ſtood ſo gallantly on their defence that of the fifty Moors, they ſlew forty, who proved to be of the beſt quality in Melinda; and ſome were of royal blood. Having ſent the remaining ten on ſhore to carry the news of the deaths of their countrymen, the Engliſh, ſenſible that it muſt be inconſiſtent with their ſafety, to remain long near the place, crouded every ſail, and ſtood out to ſea.

In January, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, the Engliſh fell in with a cluſter of thirteen pleaſant, and fertile iſlands, but deſtitute of inhabitants, for which reaſon, they called them, the Deſolate Iſlands.

From thence, they arrived, in April, at Aden, a place under the ſovereignty of the Grand Turk, and the key to Arabia Felix. Here they were courteouſly entertained by the baſhaw, and left two merchants, for

for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a ſettlement. Their ſucceſs in this meaſure was obtained at a dear price. As they had not any patent from the Grand Signor, the baſhaw pretended that he only granted to them the freedom of commerce, by connivance, and in return for the favour, took from them the whole parcel of valuable cloth which they had ſent up to the place of his reſidence.

The Engliſh next ſet ſail for Moha, or Mocha, a city on the Red Sea, and the grand ſtaple for all the Indian trade, where they alſo found a courteous reception. From hence, they proceeded to Cambaya; where the ſhip was loſt on the ſhoals, at the diſtance of eighteen leagues from the ſhore, a calamity, which in ſome meaſure, muſt be attributed to the obſtinacy of the captain, who refuſed to take a pilot, notwithſtanding that he was forewarned of dangers. The crew had the good fortune to reach the land, and travelled to Surat, from whence they returned, in ſafety, to England.

When the Union had weathered out the ſtorm which aroſe ſoon after her ſeparation from the Aſcenſion, ſhe came to an anchor, at the iſland of Saint Lawrence, and next proceeded to Zanzibar, where the natives proved as traiterous as the ſavages at Pemba. From this place, ſhe ſailed for Madagaſcar; and entered the bay, at the expiration of a fortnight. Here, the Engliſh were expoſed to the moſt alarming dangers, and ſuffered great loſſes in conſequence of the barbarity, and rapacious diſpoſition of the inhabitants.

From Madagaſcar, they directed their courſe to Achen, where, at length, ſurmounting a formidable oppoſition which proceeded from the Dutch, they were taken under the protection of the king, who generouſly aſſiſted them in the eſtabliſhment of a commerce with the Guzurats. Having remained, during ſome time,

time, at this place, they proceeded to Priaman, ſituated on the ſame iſland of Sumatra, where they at once engaged in ſo extenſive, and proſperous a commerce, that their felicity, at this ſettlement, ſeemed amply to compenſate for their paſt misfortunes. Having procured a full cargo of pepper, and other commodities, they ſet ſail for England, but were detained on their paſſage, by a variety of occurrences more unfortunate than any in which they had hitherto engaged (*q*).

On the firſt of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſeven, a veſſel which had been equipped at the expence of ſeveral merchants, of the port of London, ſet ſail from Gravesend, under the command of Mr. Henry Hudſon, who, attended by nine men, and a boy, was directed to attempt diſcoveries towards the north pole. On the twenty-ſeventh of June, they deſcried Greenland. As the wind was favourable, they coaſted it, in a ſmooth ſea, without ground at an hundred fathom, and diſtant four leagues from the land. They now ſuppoſed that the were in the latitude of ſeventy-eight degrees, and not far from Vogel Hook. On the fourteenth of July, they entered the bay which hath ſince borne the name of Hudſon. At the mouth of it were thirty fathoms water; beyond it ſeventy-ſix fathoms; but, farther on, no ground could be diſcovered at the depth of an hundred fathoms; a circumſtance which induced them to conclude that it was rather a ſound, than a bay. On the ſouthern ſide of it, lay three ſmall iſlands, or rocks. On the fifteenth, and when the wea-

(*q*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 228.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 96.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 417, 418.

weather was extremely clear, they obſerved the high-land of Greenland to the north-eaſt, and, at the diſtance of twenty leagues. If their accounts can be depended on, the land which they then ſaw ſtretched into eighty-one degrees (*r*). On the ſixteenth, having run towards the fartheſt part of the land which they had diſcovered, they could perceive more land which joined the former, and ſtretched into eighty-two degrees. The vaſt quantities of ice to the northward, prevented them from proceeding farther, and therefore, they directed their courſe, homewards, and, on the ſixteenth of September, arrived ſafely in the Thames (*s*).

It hath been pretended that this ſtreight, and bay, which bear the name of Hudſon, were firſt diſcovered by a Dane, who, in compliment to Chriſtian, the fourth, the then reigning king of Denmark, gave them the appellation of Chriſtiana. Yet Hudſon was, at leaſt, the firſt adventurer who diſcovered it to the Engliſh, and firſt ventured ſo near the extremity of the bay. During the voyage, he gave to ſeveral places, names which they ſtill retain. Amongſt theſe are Whale-bay, Hackluyt's Head-land, and Hudſon's Touches.

Let it ſuffice to inform the reader that on the twenty-ſecond of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eight, Mr. Hudſon, attended by fifteen perſons, ſet ſail from Saint Catherine's, in order to find a paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies, by the north-eaſt. The occur-

(*r*) The author of the Britiſh Empire in America obſerves that they diſcovered it only as far as eighty degrees, and twenty-three minutes.

(*s*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 464.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 564.—Britiſh Empire in Ameria, V. 1. p. 383.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 2. p. 419.

occurrences of the voyage are, in general (*t*), too immaterial to be related in this work. He returned to Gravesend, on the twenty-sixth of the ensuing month of August.

In the following year, this adventurer made a third voyage towards Nova Zembla, and, after having descried the northern cape of Finmark, sailed to Newfoundland, to Cape Cod, and to Virginia.

A celebrated naval writer (*u*) after having observed that the disputes for naval superiority between England, and the States of Holland subsisted during a course of several years, adds that although the Dutch were defeated in all their pretensions, and the prerogatives of the British sovereignty maintained in the full spirit of the claim, yet the states appeared determined to take a future vengeance on a people who had reduced them to so humble a submission, and accordingly proceeded to such acts of violence as never would have been tolerated, nor, perhaps, attempted, during the reign

(*t*) One circumstance is, notwithstanding, too memorable to be omitted. We introduce the passage which relates to it from a journal of the voyage, and leave the reader to form his judgment of the credibility of the assertion.

"On the fifteenth of June, one of our company, looking overboard, saw a Mermaid, and calling for more of the crew to observe her, another person came up, by which time she had reached the side of the ship, and looked earnestly at the men. Soon afterwards, a Wave overset her. From the navel upwards her back, and breasts were like those of a woman; her body as large as one of ours, her skin very white, and, on her head, long black hair. As she sank, we perceived her tail, which was like that of a porpoise, and speckled also as is a mackrel. The names of the men who saw her were Thomas Hills, and Robert Rayner."

(*u*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 14.

reign of the ſpirited Elizabeth. The great officer (*x*) who ſo thoroughly underſtood the nature of theſe tranſactions, doth not charge either the king, or his miniſtry, in general, with a puſillanimous forbearance to enforce juſtice from the Dutch to the irritated, and injured Engliſh. He throws the whole condemnation on ſecretary Cecil (*y*), who is deſcribed as having eſteemed it ſound policy to paſs by all offences of this kind. It muſt be remarked (*z*) that he doth not mention any reaſons on which ſuch policy was grounded (*a*); neither did it abſolutely, or conſtantly prevail, even in the councils of James, the firſt. On the contrary, it appears that when it was ſurmiſed that foreigners aſſumed unwarrantable liberties, by fiſhing in our ſea; a proclamation came forth (*b*), in which the right of the king to a naval ſovereignty, in this, as in other caſes, on the adjoining ocean, was firmly, and poſitively aſſerted; and all foreign nations were cautioned not to fiſh on the Britiſh coaſt. This prohibition, although general in appearance, had yet a more particular relation to the Dutch, who found themſelves much affected thereby; and, eſpecially, when

(*x*) Sir William Monſon.

(*y*) Afterwards created earl of Saliſbury.

(*z*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 14.

(*a*) The reader will find the diſpatches of this miniſter, in Winwood's memorials. The great point for which the States of Holland contended, was the neceſſity that England ſhould obſerve in matters which related to them, the old treaties with the houſe of Burgundy. Perhaps, the earl of Saliſbury countenanced the Dutch, becauſe his father had perſuaded Elizabeth to inſiſt on thoſe treaties as ſufficient to juſtify her, when, notwithſtanding her leagues with Spain, ſhe extended her aſſiſtance to the provinces. —Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 14.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 244.

(*b*) A. D. 1608.

when the king appointed commiſſioners at London, for the purpoſe of granting licences to ſuch foreigners as deſired to fiſh on the Engliſh coaſt; and, likewiſe, at Edinburgh, that they might confer the ſame powers on thoſe who ſollicited for leave to fiſh within the Northern ſea. The Dutch, although with great reluctance, ſubmitted, at this period, to ſuch offenſive regulations; nor can any motive be aſſigned for ſo paſſive an acquieſcence, except that affairs which they then endeavoured to negociate, at the court of Great Britain, were of the firſt importance to the public welfare of their States (*c*). Here, in ſpite of former inſults, they proved ſucceſsful; and, on the twenty-ſixth of June, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eight, two treaties were concluded between the crown of Great Britain, and the States-General. The one was of peace, and alliance; and the other reſpected the calculation, and ſettlement of the debt due to James, the firſt (*d*). It is remarked (*e*) that one obvious inference might have been that the advantages which reſulted from theſe treaties, ought to have brought the republic to a better temper concerning matters of a different nature. Yet ſo contrary was the effect of this ocurrence, tthat, not long afterwards, the Dutch diſputed the payment of the aſſize-herring, in Scotland, and the licence money, in

(*c*) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 358, 359.—England's Way to win Wealth, &c. by Tobias Gentleman. London, 1614. Quarto. In this ſcarce, and curious tract, which is dedicated to the earl of Northampton, are deſcribed at large, the injuries which the Britiſh nation ſuffered, when the Dutch fiſhed within their Seas—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 15.

(*d*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom 16. p. 674. et ſequen.

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 15.

in England, and, in order to protect their fellow-subjects from the penalties which might attend such a refusal, they sent ships of force to escort their herring-busses (*f*). A naval historian (*g*) judged it necessary to relate these incontestable facts, although without the least prejudice against the Dutch, who certainly deserve to be commended for all such instances of public spirit as appear to be consistent with the rights of their neighbours, and the law of nations (*h*).

At this period, the ministers, who stood too much in awe of parliaments, to run the hazard of losing any of the national rights, in consequence of a neglect to insist on them, prevailed on James to republish the following proclamation, that the commons might be convinced that they had done their duty, and also, advise with the king concerning the measures necessary to be pursued.

The PROCLAMATION concerning FISHING.

"WHEREAS, We have been contented, since our "coming to the crown, to tolerate an indif-"ferent, and promiscuous kind of liberty, to all our "friends whatsoever, to fish within our streams, and "upon any of our coast of Great-Britain, Ireland, "and other adjacent islands, so far forth as the per-"mission, or use thereof, might not redound to the "impeachment of our prerogative royal, or to the "hurt,

(*f*) Seldeni Mare Claus. Lib. 2. Cap. 31. ex Rot. Parliament. 4 Jac. 6. Cap. 60. et Rot. Parliament. 6. ejusdem Cap. 86.

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 15.

(*h*) The vouchers for these facts may all be found in the paper-office.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 15.

" hurt, and damage of our loving ſubjects, whoſe
" preſervation, and flouriſhing eſtate, we hold our-
" ſelves principally bound to advance before all world-
" ly reſpects: ſo finding, that our continuance there-
" in, hath not only given occaſion of over-great en-
" croachments upon our regalities, or rather queſtion-
" ing of our right, but hath been a mean of daily
" wrongs to our own people, that exerciſe the trade
" of fiſhing, as (either by the multitude of ſtrangers,
" which do pro-occupy thoſe places, or by the inju-
" ries which they receive moſt commonly at their
" hands) our ſubjects are conſtrained to abandon their
" fiſhing, or at leaſt, are become ſo diſcouraged in the
" ſame, as they hold it better for them to betake
" themſelves to ſome other courſe of living, where-
" by not only diverſe of our coaſt-towns are much
" decayed, but the number of our mariners daily di-
" miniſhed, which is a matter of great conſequence to
" our eſtate, conſidering how much the ſtrength
" thereof conſiſteth in the power of ſhipping, and
" uſe of navigation; We have thought it now both
" juſt, and neceſſary, in reſpect, that we are now,
" by God's favours, lineally, and lawfully poſſeſſed,
" as well of the iſland of Great Britain, as of Ireland,
" and the reſt of the iſles adjacent; to bethink our-
" ſelves of good, and lawful means, to prevent thoſe
" inconveniencies, and many others depending on the
" ſame. In conſideration whereof, as we are deſir-
" ous that the world may take notice, that we have
" no intention to deny our neighbours, and allies,
" thoſe fruits, and benefits of peace, and friendſhip,
" which may be juſtly expected at our hands, in ho-
" nour, and reaſon, or are afforded by other princes
" mutually in the Point of Commerce, and Exchange
" of thoſe Things which may not prove prejudicial to
" Them;

"them; so because some such convenient order may "be taken in this matter, as may sufficiently provide "for all those important considerations which depend "thereupon; we have resolved, first, to give notice "to all the world, that our express pleasure is, that, "from the beginning of the month of August next "coming, no person of what nation or quality so-"ever, being not our natural born subject, be per-"mitted to fish upon any of our coasts, and seas of "Great-Britain, Ireland, and the rest of the isles ad-"jacent, where most usually heretofore any fishing "hath been, until they have orderly demanded, and "obtained licences from us, or such our commissi-"oners as we have authorized in that behalf, viz. at "London, for our Realms of England, and Ireland, and "at Edinburgh, for our realm of Scotland, which li-"cences our intention is, shall be yearly demanded for "so many vessels, and ships, and the tonnage there-"of, as shall intend to fish for that whole year, or any "part thereof, upon any of our coasts, and seas, as "aforesaid, upon pain of such chastisement, as shall "be fit to be inflicted upon such as are wilful offend-"ers."

Given, at our palace of Westminster, on the sixth day of May, in the seventh year of our reign of Great Britain, Anno Dom. 1609.

We cannot, in this place, take leave of the subject, without observing that, during the reign of James, some contentions arose with the French, relative to the same right of fishery, and the sovereignty of the sea; but these were determined under every respect, in

four of the Engliſh, through the prudent, and gallant conduct of Sir William Monſon (*i*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eight, complaints were made to the king that great abuſes, frauds, corruptions, negligencies, miſdemeanours, and offences, were committed in the management of the navy, and other offices, thereunto belonging, and likewiſe that the officers, ſoldiers, and mariners, in the ſervice of the royal fleet had purſued a conduct which merited the ſevereſt reprehenſion. It was therefore deemed neceſſary to appoint a committee of inquiry, who were to deliver their report concerning the ground, and juſtice of theſe complaints. A copy, from the original regiſter is here ſubmitted to the inſpection of the reader.

MS. in Bibl. Cotton. Jul. F. III. Fol. 3.

"JAMES, by the grace of God, king of Eng-
"land, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender
"of the faith, &c. To our right truſty, and right
"well-beloved couſins, and counſellors, Henry, earl
"of Northampton, lord keeper of our privy ſeal,
"and lord warden of our Cinque Ports, and Charles,
"earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral of England,
"and to our right truſty, and well-beloved counſel-
"lors, Edward, lord Zouch, and Edward, lord Wot-
"ton, comptroller of our houſhold; and to our
"truſty, and right well-beloved counſellors, Sir Julius
"Cæſar, Knight, chancellor, and under-treaſurer
"of

(*i*) Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 243.—Gentleman's England's Way to win Wealth, p. 341—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 18.

" of our exchequer; and to Sir Thomas Parry, knight,
" chancellor of our duchy of Lancaſter; and to our
" truſty, and well-beloved, Sir Edward Philips,
" knight, and to Sir John Doderige, knight, our ſer-
" jeants at law, Sir Henry Hobart, knight, our at-
" torney-general, Sir Francis Bacon, knight, our
" ſollicitor-general, Sir William Woade, knight, our
" lieutenant of our tower of London, Sir Chriſtopher
" Perkins, knight, Sir Robert Cotton, knight, Sir
" Thomas Crompton, knight, and to John Corbet, eſ-
" quire, one of the clerks of our privy council, greeting.
" Whereas we are informed, that very great, and in-
" tolerable abuſes, deceits, frauds, corruptions,
" negligences, miſdemeanors, and offences have been,
" and daily are, perpetrated, committed, and done,
" againſt the continual admonitions, and directions
" of you, our high-admiral, by other the officers
" of, and concerning our Navy Royal, and by the
" clerks of the prick, and check, and divers other in-
" ferior officers, miniſters, ſoldiers, mariners, and
" others, ſerving, working, or labouring, in, or about
" our ſaid Navy, or other things concerning the ſame,
" the great decay, hinderance, and weakening of
" our ſaid Navy Royal, and of our ſtores, and pro-
" viſions belonging to the ſame; being, under God's
" providence, one of the principal ſtrengths, and de-
" fences of our crown, and kingdoms, We, mind-
" ing that the ſaid intolerable abuſes, frauds, miſde-
" meanours, and offences, ſhall forthwith be inquired
" of, the offenders therein condignly puniſhed, and
" alſo to provide a ſpeedy reformation, of the ſame,
" for the time to come. And repoſing aſſured truſt,
" and confidence in your approved wiſdoms, fideli-
" ties, and circumſpections, have aſſigned, and ap-
" pointed you to be our commiſſioners, and do, by

" these presents, give and grant full and free liber-
" ty, power, and authority unto you, or any three,
" or more of you, as is aforesaid, as well the treasu-
" rer, comptroller, surveyor, clerk of the navy,
" purveyors, and other officers of the Navy, whatso-
" ever, that now are, as those that have been in the
" said offices, since the year one thousand, five
" hundred, and ninety-eight, and all, and every, or any
" of their servants, Deputies, officers, or substitutes,
" as all other such inferior officers, and ministers,
" whatsoever, having, or pretending to have, or that
" have had, or pretended to have, any office, charge,
" function, or Employment, whatsoever, in, or about
" our said Navy, and all other Persons, who have had
" any meddling, or dealing, with the buying, sel-
" ling, bringing-in, or carrying-forth, taking-in, or
" delivering-out, or any other kind of dealing, in,
" about, or concerning the stores, and provisions be-
" longing to our navy. And also all masters of ships,
" pursers, boatswains, shipwrights, artificers, la-
" bouring men, soldiers, mariners, and other per-
" sons whatsoever, that are, or have been, appointed
" to any charge, office, labour, employment, or
" business, in or about our said navy. And all other
" persons whatsoever, whom you, or any three, or
" more of you, as is aforesaid, shall think fit. And
" to inquire, search, discover, and find out, as well by
" the oaths of good, and lawful men, by whom the
" truth of the premises may be best known, as also
" by examination of witnesses, and by all other
" ways, and means, whatsoever, which to you, or
" any three, or more of you, as is aforesaid, shall seem
" convenient, all, and every the abuses, deceits,
" frauds, corruptions, negligences, misdemeanors,
" and offences aforesaid. And, also to cause all, and

" every

"every the ſaid officers of our navy, and other per-
"ſons, whom you, or any three, or more of you, as
"is aforeſaid, ſhall think fit, to bring, or cauſe to be
"brought, before you, or any three, or more of you,
"as is aforeſaid, all, and every their books of entry,
"books of office, regiſter-books, books of accounts,
"books of ſurvey, books of iſſues, both rough-
"books, and quarter books, of prick, and all other
"books, and writings, which they, or any of them,
"keep, or ought to keep, by reaſon of their ſeveral
"offices, and places. And to ſurvey, peruſe, caſt up,
"and examine all their ſaid books, accounts, and
"writings, and alſo to cauſe them, and every, or
"any of them, to ſhew unto you, or any three, or
"more of you, as is aforeſaid, all ſuch warrants, or
"diſcharges, as they, or any of them, can produce,
"for, or concerning any matter, or thing, by them,
"or any of them, done, touching, or concerning our
"ſaid navy, or touching, or concerning any proviſi-
"ons, victuals, ſtores, pay, or other things, belong-
"ing to our ſaid navy. And for your more eaſe,
"and expedition of this our commiſſion, our will,
"and pleaſure is, that you, or any three, or more of
"you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall appoint ſuch of our au-
"ditors, and clerks to attend upon you, or any three,
"or more of you, as is aforeſaid, for the caſting up
"of the ſaid accounts, and performance of ſuch other
"buſineſs, in and about the premiſes, as you, or any
"three, or more of you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall think fit,
"for the better expediting of our ſaid ſervice. For
"which purpoſe, we do alſo by theſe preſents,
"ſtrictly charge and command our ſaid auditors,
"and clerks, to be ready, and attendant upon you,
"or any three, or more of you, as is aforeſaid, as
"often as you ſhall require the ſame. And for that

"it may ſometimes fall out, that divers perſons, whoſe "examinations, depoſitions, and confeſſions are very "neceſſary to be had, for the diſcovery of the truth, "and certainty of the premiſſes, are either dwelling, or "abiding in far remote countries, and places, where-"by their teſtimony may be loſt, or their coming "up very chargeable; or are otherwiſe ſo ſick, or im-"potent, as they cannot travel. Therefore, We are "well pleaſed, for the eaſe of ſuch perſons, that every "note, or writing, ſubſcribed with the hands of "you, or any three, or more of you, as is aforeſaid, "and directed to the lord chancellor of England, or "to the lord keeper of the great ſeal of England, for "the time being, requiring therein, that a commiſ-"ſion, or commiſſions may be made forth, under "our great ſeal of England, unto ſuch perſon, or "perſons, as you, or any three, or more of you, as is "aforeſaid, ſhall think good, for the taking of the "confeſſions, examinations, or depoſitions of ſuch "perſon, or perſons, as you, or any three, or more of "you, as is aforeſaid, ſhall think fit to be examined, "touching the premiſes, or any part thereof, ſhall, "from time, to time, be a good, and ſufficient war-"rant, and diſcharge unto you, the ſaid lord Chan-"cellor, or lord keeper, of the great ſeal, for the "making forth of every ſuch commiſſion, and com-"miſſions, under our great ſeal, accordingly. And "our farther will, and pleaſure is, and We do here-"by ſtrictly charge, and command you, our ſaid "commiſſioners, or any three, or more of you, as is "aforeſaid, to certify unto us, from time, to time, "of your proceedings herein, to the end that we may "take ſuch farther order therein, as we ſhall think "meet. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe "our letters to be made patent. Witneſs ourſelf,

"at

" at Weſtminſter, on the thirtieth day of April, in the " ſixth year of our reign of England, France, and " Ireland, and of Scotland, the one and fortieth."

P bre de privato Sigillo.

On the twenty-fourth of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, captain David Middleton, ſailed, in the Expedition, from the Downs, for Java, and Banda. The particulars related concerning this voyage, which was the fifth made on the account of the Eaſt-India company, are confined chiefly to the perfidy of the Dutch, notwithſtanding whoſe intrigues, Middleton was ſo ſucceſsful to obtain, at Puloway, a large cargo of ſpices, at a period when his opponents were not able to procure a ſingle pound of the ſame commodity. For this ſucceſs he was indebted to that bravery which ſuggeſted to him the expediency of declaring to the governour, that he would trade with the natives, in ſpite of every attempt which might be made to prevent him. Intimidated by this menace, the Dutch, although their naval force was ten times ſuperior to that of Middleton, refrained from oppoſition, and ſuffered him to depart in triumph. At the commencement of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eleven, this officer arrived, with his veſſel, at the port of London (*k*).

The unfortunate expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to Newfoundland, which he, notwithſtanding, took poſſeſſion of in the name of Elizabeth, had made

(*k*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 99.——Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 238.——Lediard's naval Hiſtory, folio, V. 2. p. 422.——In May, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, James conferred on the Eaſt-India company an augmentation of their privileges, in a charter by which they were incorporated for ever.

ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of the Engliſh, that they could not endure the thought of tranſporting themſelves to an inhoſpitable ſhore, where it was judged difficult to procure the common neceſſaries of exiſtence. At length, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, Mr. John Guy, a merchant, and, afterwards, mayor of Briſtol, rouſed the intereſted paſſions of the multitude, by the publication of an ingenious treatiſe, which encouraged his fellow ſubjects to offer their aſſiſtance for the eſtabliſhment of a colony, at Newfoundland. His own ſolicitations for the advancement of this enterprize were crowned with ſuch ſucceſs that, on the twenty-ſeventh of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ten, the king made a grant of all that part of the iſland from Cape Bonaviſta, in the North, to Cape Saint Mary, in the South, to the earl of Southampton, lord keeper, Sir Lawrence Tanfield, lord chief-baron, Sir John Dodderidge, king's ſerjeant, Sir Francis Bacon, ſolicitor-general, Sir Daniel Donn, Sir Walter Cope, Sir Perceval Willoughby, Sir John Conſtable, John Weld, Eſquire, and others, who ſent over thither a colony, under the direction of Mr. Guy, who was appointed governour.

After a voyage of twenty days, this adventurer arrived at the place of his deſtination, and landed near Conception Harbour. Here, he, and his aſſociates, conſtructed huts, to ſerve as habitations during their ſtay. So courteous was the behaviour of the Engliſh, and their chief, to all the natives, that they intirely gained the friendſhip of the latter, and were permitted, without interruption, to carry thoſe meaſures into execution which were the moſt likely to accompliſh the eſtabliſhment of the colony. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe favourable occurrences, the moſt ſtrenuous endea-

endeavours of Mr. Guy, and his associates were of no avail; and they, at length, returned to England (*l*).

On the third of March, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nine, Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire, a gentleman descended from a noble house, proceeded, with several adventurers, from Dartmouth, to Guiana. The vessels employed on this voyage were the Rose, of the burthen of eighty tons, the Patience, a pinnace, of the burthen of thirty-six tons, and the Lily, a shallop, of the burthen of nine tons. In the Rose, were Mr. Harcourt, commander in chief, the captains, Edward Fisher, and Edward Harvey, Mr. Edward Gifford, Mr. Thomas Harcourt, thirty-one gentlemen, and others, landmen, two Indians, and twenty-three mariners. In the Patience, were captain Michael Harcourt, with twenty gentlemen, and others, landmen, and eleven sailors. In the Lily, of which Jasper Lily was the master, were one landman, and two mariners.

On the seventeenth of May, they arrived in the bay of Wiapoco, and soon afterwards, several Indians came in canoes, and demanded who they were. Being answered that England was their native country, they were instantly freed from all apprehension of hostilities, and leaping, without ceremony, on board, accosted their visitors with every mark of amity, and joy. Such were the favourable impressions which had been given to them by the liberal conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh, whose name they now mentioned with veneration. These Indians, who appeared happy to trade with the English, were the inhabitants of a town, called Caripo, and situated on the eastern side of the hill, at the mouth of the river Wiapoco. Their king,

(*l*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 860.——British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 3.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1876. Lediard's naval History, folio, V. 2. p. 422.

king, or chief lord, who had reſided, during ſome years, in England, was then the ſhipmate of Mr. Harcourt, but did not reveal his quality, until the joy of his ſubjects, at the ſight of him, had made him known. Amongſt the Indians who came firſt on board, was one who underſtood the Engliſh language, and, having lived, ſeveral years, in the ſervice of Sir John Gilbert, was well known to many of the crew. The Indian alſo who accompanied the king had reſided, during fourteen years, in London. Theſe two men proved, afterwards, of greater ſervice to the Engliſh.

When the firſt ceremonies were paſſed, captain Harcourt informed the Indians that he was come in order to eſtabliſh a colony, and take poſſeſſion of the country, in the name of the king of England, by virtue of a grant of it firſt made by their countrymen to Sir Walter Raleigh, and next by themſelves to captain Leigh. They were now ſolemnly aſſured by Harcourt, and his aſſociates, that it was not the intention of James, their ſovereign, either to uſurp over them an illegal power, or treat them as a people in a ſtate of ſervitude; but that he was determined to approve himſelf their ſteady friend, and continual protector, and by force of arms to deliver them from the inſolences, and oppreſſions of the Caribbees. After ſome debate, the Indians conſented that the Engliſh ſhould live amongſt them, and promiſed to ſupply them with all neceſſaries, and prepare for them convenient habitations. They could not, however, forbear expreſſing their apprehenſions that ſome of their aſſurances were inſincere, and apologized for their miſtruſt by obſerving that the inattention of Sir Walter Raleigh to the performance of his word, had made them leſs ſanguine in their reliance on the plighted faith of others.

When

When the neceſſary treaties were concluded, the Engliſh diſembarked, and were courteouſly received by the natives, who conducted them to dwellings within the town, and ſituated, in different parts, on the ſide of the hill, at the foot of which the veſſels rode at anchor. When the heavy rains, which continued during a whole month, had ceaſed to fall, captain Harcourt, proceeded in ſearch of the golden mountains, which were one of the chief objects of his enterprize. Arriving at the ſpot, he could not diſcover any traces of a mine, and reproached his guide, who, during the voyage, affirmed that the earth abounded with this precious metal, for an intention to deceive him. It appears, however, that the charge was not well-grounded, and the Engliſh had reaſon to be convinced that the country afforded gold, as well from the aſſurances given to them by the natives, who ſhewed them certain images which, after an aſſay, appeared to contain, at leaſt, one third of gold, as by ocular demonſtration of great quantities of the white ſpar in which the gold engenders, and which they found to contain both gold, and ſilver. On this occaſion, the ardour of the Engliſh was much abated by the conſideration that the mines, being ſituated in the higher parts of Guiana, were too diſtant, and, perhaps, ſo powerfully guarded that all attempts to enter them muſt prove dangerous, and ineffectual.

Theſe diſappointments had nearly excited a mutiny amongſt thoſe who quitted England with the ſole view of riſing ſuddenly into opulence; but the prudence, humanity, and reſolution of Harcourt, prevented their diſſentions from running into violent extremes. Leſt a ſtate of idleneſs ſhould have rouſed the turbulency of their diſpoſition, he judged it neceſſary to put them all in action, and, with ſome of his

his aſſociates, proceeded, in order to make diſcoveries, up the river of Wiapoco, whilſt his brother, attended by the reſt, ſailed, for the ſame purpoſes, to the river Arrawary, and diſembarked on the neighbouring land, which adjoined to the river of the Amazons. He alſo in the preſence of his own people, and of the Indians, took poſſeſſion, with the uſual ceremonies, of the mountain Gomeribo, which is the uttermoſt point of land to the northward of the river Wiapoco. The mountain was now aſſigned to an Indian, who was permitted to hold the ſame, for himſelf, and his heirs, of the king of England, paying the yearly duty of a tenth part of all tobacco, cotton-wool, annoto, and other commodities growing within the limits of the ſame.

The expedition of the captains Michael Harcourt, and Harvey, to the river Arrawary, was attended with great difficulties. Their paſſage by ſea to this river was nearly an hundred leagues, and through dreadful breaks upon the flats, and ſhoals. They ſailed, likewiſe, fifty leagues up the river, and, during their whole courſe, were in flat-bottomed canoes, ſomewhat longer, but not broader than the common wherries of the Thames.

The Indians, whom they met, on the banks of the river, plainly diſcovered that they had never ſeen the face of an European. It was with difficulty that they could be induced to trade, or even converſe with the Engliſh, notwithſtanding that they perceived Indians, in their company. At length, the ſight of ſeveral trinkets had a more fortunate effect, and they agreed to take them in exchange for a ſmall quantity of proviſions. With a ſupply ſo ſcanty, the Engliſh became ſoon in want of neceſſaries, and, therefore, after having taken poſſeſſion of the country, with the ſame

ſame forms obſerved at Gomeribo, they returned to Wiapoco.

An alarming incident now gave riſe to the departure of Mr. Harcourt. The maſter had neglected, when in England, to have the caſks bound with hoops of iron, and in this hot climate, the ſtaves ſtarted, and great quantities of beer, and freſh water, were intirely waſted. In order to obtain a ſufficient number of new, and proper caſks, the captain, on the eighteenth of Auguſt, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, proceeded homewards, after having appointed his brother commander in chief. To this officer, captain Harvey was joined as an aſſiſtant; and under them were Mr. Gifford, a lieutenant, and fifty men.

During the paſſage, Harcourt made ſeveral diſcoveries on the coaſts, and in many of the rivers. At length, on the twenty-ninth of November, he arrived in Ireland, and, ſoon afterwards, reached London, where, through the favour of Henry prince of Wales, he obtained a grant by patent, to him, and to his heirs, of all the coaſt called Guiana, together with the river of the Amazons; but he was ſo involved in troubles, as to be unable to ſupply his colony, and only ſent over a ſmall number of men, and certain Hollanders, whoſe attempts were, in general, unſucceſsful. Captain Harcourt, notwithſtanding, kept poſſeſſion of the place, during three years, and, in that ſpace of time, loſt only ſix of his aſſociates (*m*).

With-

(*m*) The particulars relating to the voyage to Guiana are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1267.—Harris's coll. Part 1. p. 715.—Appendix to Smith's General hiſtory of Virginia, p. 49—and Lediard's naval hiſtory, Folio. V. 2. p. 423, 424.

Without entering too diffuſely into the affairs of Virginia, it may be neceſſary to inform the reader that the company in London not finding the returns which they expected from their colonies, and rightly judging that theſe diſadvantages proceeded from neglects in adminiſtration, preſented a petition to the king, and obtained a new patent, with leave to appoint a governour.

They now ſent out nine ſhips, together with numbers of men, and a large ſupply of proviſions. Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and captain Newport, who, as joint governours, or commiſſioners, were inveſted with equal powers, ſailed at the ſame time; but the ſhip on board of which they were ſank (as we ſhall have occaſion to relate hereafter,) near the Bermudas. The reſt of this fleet, with the paſſengers, arrived at Virginia; but, as the coloniſts were without a chief, and refuſed to accept of any, ſuch diſorders aroſe as nearly threatened the deſtruction of the ſettlement, which, at this period, was deprived of one of its beſt ſupports, by the abſence of captain Smith, who was obliged to return to England, in order to obtain a cure of a ſevere illneſs, the conſequence of wounds which he had received, during the exploſion of a quantity of gunpowder. At his departure, he left ſix hundred men upon the ſpot, and it is remarkable that previous to the expiration of ſeven months, only ſixty remained alive. The reſt, who extravagantly waſted their proviſions, periſhed for want of neceſſaries; and the whole colony muſt have ſhared the ſame fate, if their relief had been delayed only eight days longer (*n*).

In

(*n*) Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 425.

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ten, the Eaſt-India company ſent out Sir Henry Middleton, on a ſixth voyage, for their account, with a larger fleet than had hitherto been employed on ſuch occaſions. It conſiſted of four ſhips; the Trade's Increaſe, admiral, and of the burthen of one thouſand tons; the Pepper-Corn, vice-admiral, of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons; the Darling, of the burthen of nineteen tons, and a victualling bark, of the burthen of one hundred, and eighty tons.

At the arrival of Sir Henry Middleton, at Moha, he delivered the letters, and preſents, from the king, to the baſhaw, and aga, and was received by them with every appearance of reſpect, and friendſhip. This courteous conduct was, notwithſtanding, a prelude to the violence of hoſtilities. The Mahometans having in vain attempted to intice the Engliſh to quit their ſhips, and diſembark with all their effects, attacked them, with great fury, on the tenth of November, ſlew eight, and deſperately wounded fourteen, whom, together with the admiral, they caſt into priſon, and inhumanly chained them to each other, by their necks.

The Mahometans next made an attempt on the Darling, but were gallantly repulſed by the crew, who killed all their adverſaries, excepting one. So complete a victory put a ſtop to the renewal of engagements, but ſeemed to heighten the perſecution againſt the Engliſh who were impriſoned. The admiral was now threatened with the loſs of his head if he did not deliver up the ſhips, but he choſe rather to ſacrifice his life, than honour, and bravely ſet the Mahometans at defiance. Having ſuffered an impriſonment of nearly ſix months, Sir Henry Middleton found means, at the beginning of May, in the year, one thou-

thouſand, ſix hundred, and eleven, to eſcape, with moſt of his aſſociates, to the ſhips, which had remained in a ſafe harbour, on the coaſt of Abyſſinia. He now enjoyed an opportunity of indulging his reſentment, and of triumphing in his turn. He, therefore, diſpatched a meſſage to the aga, informing him that if he did not inſtantly releaſe the remainder of the Engliſh, and make them ample ſatisfaction for the damages which they had ſuſtained, he would ſet fire to all the ſhips within the road, and reduce the town, and citadel, to aſhes. Theſe menaces had the deſired effect; the priſoners were delivered up; the pinnace was ſent back; and eighteen thouſand rials of eight were paid, in compenſation for the injuries which had been received.

In July, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eleven, the Engliſh quitted this inhoſpitable ſhore, and proceeded on their Indian voyage. At the commencement of September, they entered within the road of Deliſa, in the iſland of Socotora. From thence, continuing their courſe to Surat, they arrived, at the end of the ſame month, in Swally-road.

Here they received intelligence that the Portugueſe, with a formidable armament of twenty ſail, lay waiting at the bar of Surat, for the purpoſe either of intercepting them, or of obſtructing the progreſs of their trade. Sir Henry, who felt himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of loſing his voyage, or of fighting a paſſage through the fleet, reſolved to purſue the laſt expedient, and not only had the good fortune to ſail by his adverſaries, but greatly damaged their ſhips, took one frigate, and vanquiſhed the Portugueſe, in ſeveral actions on the land.

They now diſembarked, unreſiſted by the inhabitants, who, ſeduced by the groundleſs inſinuations of the

the Jesuits, were averse from trading with them. Perceiving, after repeated efforts, that it would be impossible to obtain any of the commodities of the country, the English prepared for their departure; and having taken on board the captains Hawkins, and Sharpey, together with the rest of the factory, and their effects, set sail for Dabul. On their arrival at this place, their commerce took a more successful turn; and they likewise enjoyed an opportunity of extending their resentments to the Portuguese, from whom they seized a ship, of the burthen of three hundred tons; and a frigate of the burthen of sixty tons. The former was laden with cocoes, tin, sugar, rackanuts, china-dishes, spices, wax, allum, and bast-ropes. The cargo of the latter consisted of rice, and tamarinds.

From Dabul, the English returned to the Red Sea, where they arrived towards the end of March, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twelve, and had an opportunity of obtaining satisfaction for the damages which they had suffered at Mocha, by seizing seventeen Indian ships, from the burthen of fifteen hundred, to that of two hundred tons; in the valuable cargoes of which the inhabitants of Mocha were deeply concerned. When the English had plundered the ships of those commodities which they most wanted, they accepted of a ransom for the rest; and, on this occasion, fifteen thousand rials of eight were paid to redeem only one vessel.

Sir Henry, and his associates, next proceeded to Bantam, from whence he dispatched the Darling, for Macassar, and the other places. After the departure of this last vessel, the admiral, who stayed to repair his ship, died, and left his associates in great distress, notwithstanding the advantages which they had

reaped from the ſeizure of ſuch valuably freighted veſſels, during the courſe of their voyage (o), (p).

We ſhall now proceed to inform the reader that immediately on the departure of the Engliſh from New-England, the French took up their reſidence within their limits. Alarmed, and irritated at this proceeding, the colony of Virginia immediately diſpatched Sir Samuel Argall, to diſplace them. This officer having taken poſſeſſion of the forts which they had conſtructed at Mount Manſel, Saint Croix, and Port Real, carried all their ordnance, proviſions, and even their ſhip, with them, and thus effectually fruſtrated the whole deſign which the French had formed of eſtabliſhing themſelves at that place. When ſome adventurers, in England, were informed of the expulſion of the French, they equipped a veſſel, and gave the command of it to the captains Hobſon, and Harley, who were ſupplied with men, arms, ammunition, and proviſions, and directed to attempt diſcoveries which might once more revive the ſpirit of colonization. With theſe adventurers ſailed (q) two Indians, the natives of the country, who had been in England, during ſome time, and were, on this occaſion, likely to prove

(o) The particulars relating to the voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 247.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 100.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 426, 427.

(p) On the ſeventeenth of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ten, Mr. Henry Hudſon proceeded on his fourth, and laſt voyage, for the diſcovery of a north-weſt-paſſage. About this period, alſo, captain Thomas Edge, and others, ſailed to Greenland, at the charge of the Muſcovy-Company. As their enterprizes were not attended, on this occaſion, by any remarkable event, it is on that account, unneceſſary to treſpaſs, by a tedious narrative, on the patience of the reader.

(q) A. D. 1611.

prove ſerviceable. It muſt be remarked that, previous to the arrival of Hobſon, and his aſſociates, one Hind, an Engliſhman, who, being of abandoned principles, was employed, as the fit inſtrument for the execution of the inhuman views of others, had ſeduced ſeveral natives on board of the veſſel which he commanded, caſt them underneath the hatches, and, having carried them away, ſold them afterwards for ſlaves. A conduct at once ſo treacherous, and cruel, had exaſperated the whole race of ſavages to ſuch a violent degree, that, aſſiſted by the two Indians who had arrived from England, (and who became equally incenſed,) they made a furious, and unexpected aſſault, on Hobſon, and his whole company, many of whom, notwithſtanding their brave defence, were deſperately wounded. The Engliſh, who now perceived that all the natives were in arms, and meditated a more ſure, and terrible revenge, judged it prudent to depart, and accordingly, weighing anchor, ſtood out to ſea, and, after a ſafe paſſage, arrived at Gravеſend (r).

On the fifth of February, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eleven, captain Anthony Hippon departed, in a ſhip called the Globe, from the Downs, on a ſeventh voyage, made at the expence, and for the benefit of the Eaſt-India company. Suffice it that (without entering into a detail of immaterial circumſtances,) we take notice of the only ſingular event in which this officer, and his aſſociates, were engaged. The king of Narſinga, who had given the Engliſh an invitation to eſtabliſh a factory in his country, dying whilſt they were there, the govern-

(r) Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 27.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 851.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 427, 428.

our took advantage of the confusion occasioned by that event, in order to evade the payment of a debt which was justly due to them. At the eve of their departure (s), and when they were convinced that all gentle attempts to obtain the money must prove of no effect, they privately conveyed some small arms on shore, resolving to seize either the governour, or his son, and to carry the prisoner on board, as a pledge for the demand. It was not long before they had an opportunity of executing their purpose. Observing that the son was standing near the custom-house, attended by a slight guard, they rushed forwards, and seized his person. As they were conveying him from the spot, a multitude of the inhabitants endeavoured to rescue him; but the English, in the sight of at least three thousand people, bore him in triumph to their ship, and from whence he was not released until the governour had paid the debt (t).

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eleven, the East-India company made preparations for another voyage, and, having equipped three vessels, the Clove, the Hector, and the Thames, gave the command of them to captain John Saris, who, on the eighteenth of April, sailed from the Downs, for the Red Sea, Java, the Moluccas, and Japan. The most important occurrence connected with this expedition was the first establishment of an English trade in the island of Japan. This great work was reserved for captain Saris, who, having visited the king of Firando, and Goto, (by whom he was courteously received,) went

(s) A. D. 1614. November 24th.

(t) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 314.—Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 110.—Lediard's Naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 428.

went by land to Suranga, the residence of the emperor, of whom he had an audience. Soon after the delivery of the letters, and presents from the king of England, Saris obtained a grant of privileges for the company, together with dispatches, and the most valuable productions of the country, which he was directed to deliver to his sovereign. He returned to Plymouth, in September, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fourteen (*u*).

The next naval expedition was undertaken (*x*) by Sir Thomas Button, at the instigation of Henry Prince of Wales, to whose household he belonged. This adventurer whose chief object was to make discoveries to the north-west, passed Hudson's Streight, and, leaving Hudson's Bay to the south, sailed more than two hundred leagues to the south-westward, and discovered a great continent, which he called North-Wales. Having endured great hardships, in consequence of sickness, intense cold, and a scarcity of provisions, he wintered at Port Nelson, and then carefully searched all the bay, (which from him is called Button's Bay,) and proceeded back nearly to Digg's-Island. He also discovered the great land, called Swan's Nest. The severest situation to which he found himself reduced, was at Port Nelson, in fifty-seven degrees, and ten minutes of north latitude, where many of his associates perished through excess of cold (*y*).

(*u*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 344—440.—Harris's Coll. Part 2. p. 116.—Lediard's naval History, folio, V. 2. p. 428, 429.

(*x*) A. D. 1611.

(*y*) Introd. to Coll. of voyages, 6 Vol. in folio, p. 56.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 465—711. and V. 4. p. 1882.—Lediard's naval History, folio, V. 2. p. 429.

In this year, alſo, the Muſcovy company fitted out the firſt ſhips which the Engliſh ever ſent to Greenland, for the purpoſe of obtaining whales. Theſe were the Mary-Margaret, of the burthen of one hundred, and ſixty tons, commanded by Thomas Edge, and the Elizabeth, of the burthen of ſixty tons, Jonas Poole, maſter. The company had engaged in their ſervice, ſix men of Biſcay, who were ſkilled in the whale-fiſhery, and from whom, the Engliſh firſt learned the art. About the twelfth of June, they killed a ſmall whale, which yielded twelve tons of oil, being the firſt that was ever made in Greenland. This voyage proved, in ſome reſpects, unfortunate. The largeſt ſhip was caſt away, and the other overſet (x), (a).

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to remind the reader that the ſhip, on board of which were Sir George Sommers, and Sir Thomas Gates, having been ſeparated, from the Virginia fleet, in a ſtorm, was driven aſhore, and daſhed to pieces, at the Bermudas. Theſe gentlemen, and the crew, were ſo fortunate as to reach the ſhore, where they refitted their ſhattered long-boat, and then ſent her, with nine able mariners, to Virginia, in order that they might procure ſhipping from that country. Unhappily, theſe men were never heard of afterwards.

Notwithſtanding the dangers to which they had lately been expoſed, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Som-,

(x) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 465.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. folio, p. 429.

(a) In this year alſo, a voyage (attended with no material events,) was made (in the ſhip, Amity, James Vadun, maſter, under the direction of William Gourdon, of Hull, pilot,) to the river, and town of Pechora, to Nova Nembla, and to the river Ob.

Sommers, were not united by any of those bonds of amity which so frequently connect the fellow-sufferers of misfortune, but preserved a perpetual Spirit of animosity, and even induced their associates to divide themselves in two factions. To such violent extremes did their dissentions, at length, proceed, that the contending parties declared themselves resolved not to embark together in the same vessel. Two, therefore, called the Patience, and the Deliverance, were constructed of cedar, and rigged with the materials of the old ship. Instead of pitch, and tar, they made use of fish-oil, and hogs-grease, mixed with lime, and ashes.

On the eleventh of May, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and ten, the English, amounting in number to an hundred, and fifty men, sailed, in the two vessels, from the Bermudas, and, after a passage of fourteen days, arrived in Virginia. Of this colony, Sir George Sommers was appointed admiral, and sent by lord Delaware, the governour, to the Bermudas, in order that he might procure such provisions as those islands afforded, and, especially, hogs, and turtles.

Sir George Sommers missed the coast, and fell in with that of Sagadahoc, in Norembegua, from whence, after having taken in fresh water, and provision, he sailed in search of the Bermudas. At length, he reached them; but, being overcome by excess of fatigue, and far stricken in year, his vital powers were exhausted, and he died, almost in the moment that he disembarked. His last advice to his associates was that they should return to Virginia; but they embraced a different resolution, and, having stored their cedar-ship with such provisions as they could obtain, set sail for England. On their arrival, they gave so

favourable an account of the country to the Virginia company, that they deemed it advantageous to establish a correspondence between it, and England. Accordingly, they sold these islands to an hundred, and twenty persons, of the same society, who, became proprietors of them, and obtained a charter from the king. Of this new erected company, Sir Thomas Smith was the first treasurer, and governour.

It hath been observed that when Sir George Sommers departed, after his first landing, from the Bermudas, two men, whose names were Christopher Carter, and Edward Waters, remained behind, having committed some enormous crime, for which they would have suffered death, had they gone to Virginia. When Sommers returned, they were still at the Bermudas, and had constructed a hut on the island of Saint George. They refused to attend the second company on their departure, and persuaded one Edward Chard to remain with them. Being now sole lords of the country, each disputed concerning the share of power which he imagined himself intitled to possess; and with such bitterness did they endeavour to support their claims to sovereignty, that Chard, and Waters, would have rested the justice of their cause, in the issue of a personal engagement; but Carter, although he hated both, with equal violence, interposed for his own sake, and, dreading lest he should be left alone, declared that in the moment that they attempted to fight, he would oppose the man who should commit the first hostility.

Necessity at length induced them to unite in friendship, and they proceeded together on enterprizes of discovery. Their first prize was an enormous lump of ambergrease, which lay in the rock, and, exclusive of the pieces that were broken from it, weighed eighty pounds. At sight of such a treasure, they grew

frantic

frantic with excefs of joy, and, eager to gain an opportunity of converting it into money, they refolved inftantly to build a boat in the beft manner that they were able, and fail either to Virginia, or to Newfoundland, according as the wind, or weather fhould permit.

Before they could put fo extravagant a project into execution, a fhip arrived from England. She was called the Plough, and had, on board, fixty perfons, fent by the new Bermudas company, for the purpofe of eftablifhing a fettlement, at the head of which was placed Mr. Richard Moor, a faithful, brave, and experienced officer.

This governour chofe a plain on the ifland of Saint George, for the refidence of his wife, and family. When his affociates obferved that he had conftructed a hut with palmeto-leaves, they followed his example; and thus, arofe a kind of little village, which, in procefs of time, became Saint George's town, all the houfes of which were built with cedar, and all the forts of hewn ftone, according to the firft plan which had been executed by Moor.

In a year after the arrival of the governour, a fhip entered the harbour, from England, with a recruit of provifions, and thirty paffengers. At this period, one of the three perfons who had found, and hitherto concealed the ambergreafe, difcovered it to Moor, who feized it as belonging to the proprietors of the colony. He fent one third of it to the company at London, by the veffel which brought the fupplies; and the reft forwarded foon afterwards, in the fame proportions. This acquifition fo encouraged the adventurers, that they continued to fupply the coloniftS with provifions, ftores, and more men, until they were in a condi-

condition to defend, and support themselves. The governour, on his side, made ample, and valuable returns in ambergrease, drugs, cedar, tobacco, and the other products of the island. Such was the first prosperous state of this plantation.

The governour continued upon the spot, during three years, and from time, to time, was reinforced by men, until the whole number of inhabitants amounted to more than six hundred, who builded several forts, and other places of defence. The great quantities of Rats, supposed to have been bred from those which quitted the ship, and got ashore, had almost consumed the provisions of the colonists. During the course of four years, they devoured all the growth of the country, notwithstanding that every possible means was used for their destruction. At length, they disappeared, but in what manner, none could tell. The colonists related one astonishing circumstance as a fact: during this plague of rats, a number of ravens were observed in the islands. The birds departed when these destroying animals disappeared, and neither was ever seen again (*b*).

In

(*b*) The particulars relative to the establishment of the first colony in the Bermudas * are taken from Smith's general history of Virginia, p. 174.—Harris's Coll Part 1. p. 848.—Introduction to a Coll. of voyages, 6 Vol. in folio, p. 56.—British empire in America, V. 2. p. 362.—and Lediard's naval History, V. 2. folio, p. 430, 431, 432.

* The Bermudas are a cluster of small islands, amounting to at least five hundred. Some are larger than others; and all are situated within the circuit of six, or seven leagues. They lie in about thirty-two degrees of north latitude, and are distant some hundred leagues from any land. Cape Hattorask, in Carolina, is the nearest. From England, they are distant sixteen hundred leagues.—Lediard.

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twelve, the East-India company fitted out two ships, the Dragon, and the Osiander, and gave the command of them to captain Thomas Best (*c*). On the fifth of February, he departed from Gravesend, and, after a prosperous passage, arrived, on the eighth of the month of June following, at the Cape of Good Hope, where he went ashore, and, as many of the crew were sick, caused tents to be pitched, for their reception.

On the twenty-eighth of June, they departed from the bay of Soldania, and proceeded on their course, with favourable wind, and weather, until the thirteenth of August, when they crossed the Equinoctial Line.

On the fourth of September, they arrived within four leagues of the bar of Surat, and, on the thirteenth, sailed up to the city, where they were courteously received by the governour and the chief inhabitants.

Here, they remained, engaged in commerce, until the twenty-ninth of November, when they descried a Portuguese fleet, amounting to two hundred, and forty sail, in the service of the merchants, and bound for Cambaya. They were, next, alarmed by a letter, which informed them that another Portuguese fleet was on the passage for the purpose of expelling them from those seas, notwithstanding that they had obtained, from the Great Mogul, the privilege of establishing a trade, and erecting factories, in the cities of Surat, Cambaya, Amadavar, or any other part, or parts of that country, within his dominions (*d*). On the tenth of November, four Portuguese galleons, and twenty-four frigates, came in sight of the Dragon, and the Osian-

(*c*) Two vessels, the James, and Solomon, were also equipped by the East-India Company for other voyages.

(*d*) A copy of the treaty is in Harris's Collection.

Osiander. Captain Best, immediately weighed anchor, and encouraged his men not to dread adversaries, howsoever superior they might be in force, but to convince them that the English were too intrepid, and experienced in the art of war, to be vanquished in a moment. He then directed his course towards the admiral, and vice-admiral ships, firing one shot as he approached. He next, passed between them, and poured into each a broad-side, attended by a volley of small arms, which occasioned them to sheer off, nor did they venture, during the remainder of the day, to approach the Dragon. The night now advanced, and as the long-boat of this last ship had been sunk by a cannon-ball, captain Best judged it necessary to cast anchor. The remainder of the Portuguese fleet was not yet come up, neither had the Osiander an opportunity of engaging, during the whole day. The captain, officers, and mariners belonging to this last vessel, acquired, by their intrepidity, and good conduct, a share of honour, in the battle on the ensuing morning, which fully indemnified them for the loss of it, when the Dragon only was in action. For the space of three hours, the contest was maintained with equal fury by the English, and the Portuguese. At length, three galleons, in the service of the enemy, were driven on the sands, when the Osiander, drawing but little water, approached, and kept up a continual fire, which proved fatal to numbers of the Portuguese. In the afternoon, the galleons, assisted by the frigates, and availing themselves likewise of the flood-tides, stood out farther from the shore, and furiously renewed the fight. Such, however, was the superiority preserved by the gallant, and well-directed exertion of the crews belonging to the Dragon, and the Osiander, that, during four hours, the adverse fleet was not only much disa-

disabled, but incapable of gaining the least material advantage.

As the night was now advanced, every vessel came to an anchor, and no attempts were made for the renewal of hostilities. In two days, after this event, captain Best and his associates sailed over to the other side of the bay, and cast anchor at a short distance from the spot where Sardar Chaune, a noble chief of the Moguls, at the head of two thousand horse, was besieging a castle, belonging to a people who, previous to the conquest of Guyserat, were the capital lords of that country, but, at this period, subsisted by committing depredations on travellers. Sardar Chaune gave a courteous reception to the English, and presented captain Best, with a valuable horse, and splendid furniture.

On the twenty-second of September, and when the English had remained at this place, nearly ten days, engaged in trade with several of the inhabitants, the Portuguese galleons, and frigates, reinforced with men, and ammunition, advanced towards them. Sardar Chaune, notwithstanding that he had been informed of the brave resistance made, during the last action, by the English, yet, considering the superiour force of their adversaries advised Best, and his associates, instantly to make sail, and, standing out to sea, avoid an action which, if begun, could end only in their defeat. He was answered by these intrepid seamen that unless Heaven was against them, the Portuguese would rue the moment in which they ventured to attack them. Soon afterwards the English weighed anchor, and began so furious an engagement that their adversaries closed an ineffectual resistance of four hours, by crouding every sail, and retreating with the greatest precipitation, and disorder. The English

now

now purſued, nor gave up the chace until the Portugueſe were out of ſight. Returning, they caſt anchor amidſt the acclamations of multitudes of the inhabitants, who extolled and wondered at their reſolution.

When Sardar Chaune had reduced the caſtle, and made the rebels priſoners, he repaired to the court of the Great Mogul, to whom he related the particulars of this remarkable naval fight. That prince grew loud in his commendations of the bravery of the Engliſh, and he was the more ſurprized at the brilliancy of their ſucceſſes, becauſe he had hitherto ſuppoſed that no nation was ſo formidable, on the ocean, as the Portugueſe.

On the twenty-ſeventh of December, the Dragon, and the Oſiander returned, and entered the port of Swally, having loſt in the actions with the Portugueſe, only three mariners. But one perſon, likewiſe, who had the misfortune to loſe his arm, was wounded. The enemy, as the Engliſh were afterwards informed, had one hundred, and ſixty men ſlain.

In April, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirteen, captain Beſt, and his aſſociates, arrived, with their ſhips, at Achen, where he obtained a Ratification of the treaty which had formerly been made in the preſence of captain Lancaſter, between the Engliſh, and the ſovereign of that place (*e*). When theſe

(*e*) The prince particularly intreated captain Beſt to apply to James, the firſt, for his permiſſion, that two of the faireſt women within his kingdom ſhould make a voyage to Achen. "If (added he,) either of them ſhould bring "me a ſon, he ſhall be the ſovereign of Priaman, and of "the whole country from which you procure pepper. "Thus, you ſhall not need to viſit me, but may apply, for "this commodity, to an Engliſh king."

these matters were adjusted, the Dragon, and the Osiander, prepared for sailing, and in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fourteen, returned to England (*f*).

We now turn back to a brief relation of a voyage undertaken at the expence of several merchant-adventurers, amongst whom were Sir George Lancaster, Sir Thomas Smith, and Mr. James Hall. The latter, who was instructed to attempt the discovery of a North-West passage, went as chief commander of the vessels equipped, on the occasion. These were the Patience, of the burthen of one hundred, and forty tons, and having on board forty men, and boys; the Heart's Ease, of the burthen of sixty tons, her crew amounting to twenty men, and boys. On the twenty-second of May, they departed from the Humber, and when, at his arrival among the Indians, the commander disembarked, he was overpowered by these savages, and barbarously massacred. By this calamitous event, the purpose of the voyage was intirely frustrated (*g*).

It

(*f*) The particulars relating to this voyage to the East-Indies are taken from Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 137.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 466—482.—MS. Journal of Nicholas Withington, Factor, during the voyage.—Lediard's naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 432, 433.

(*g*) The farther, but uninteresting particulars relative to this expedition, may be found in the collection of voyages, V. 6. p. 245, where is a Journal, written by John Gatonbe, quarter-master of one of the ships—and in Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 831. where is another Journal that had been kept by William Baffin.

At this period, also, the Muscovy-Company sent to their Greenland fishery two ships, the crews of which catched seventeen Whales. It was now that the Dutch, and Spaniards, employing Englishmen who had basely deserted the service of their own country, sent their first vessel to this Fishery.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 466.

It is now neceſſary that we ſhould return to the affairs of Virginia, and inform the reader that the arrival of the lord Delaware, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ten, had greatly contributed to at leaſt a partial reſtoration of the proſperity of the colony, and that all circumſtances tended to the eſtabliſhment of unanimity. On the tenth of June, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eleven, Sir Thomas Dale, who had been appointed marſhal-general, arrived at Virginia, with three ſhips, which brought ſupplies of men, cattle, and hogs. Obſerving that the coloniſts had been ſhamefully inattentive to the culture of corn, and relied intirely on their ſtores, which then contained proviſions for only three months, he perſuaded them to ſow that valuable grain, and, notwithſtanding that the ground was unprepared for its reception, until the middle of the month of May, the crops ariſing from it were tolerably abundant. It was from the indefatigable, and well-directed exertion of the peculiar abilities of this illuſtrious adventurer, that the felicity of the plantation acquired a degree of permanency, which became ſtrengthened by the erection of a new town, called Dale's Gift, at his own expence.

In the month of Auguſt, in the ſame year, Sir Thomas Gates, arrived at James-Town, with ſix ſhips, on board of which were a large ſupply of hogs, an hundred head of cattle, a great quantity of fowls, together with ammunition, cloathing, tools, implements of huſbandry, and all articles particularly neceſſary for the advancement of a colony in its infant ſtate. At this period, the adventurers having been reinforced by three hundred, and fifty choſen men, ſettled in a new town, at Arrahatuck, nearly fifty miles above James-Town, paling in the neck more than

two

two miles from the point, and from one extremity of the river to the other. Here, they constructed forts, fixed sentry-boxes, and, in honour of Henry, Prince of Wales, named the whole place, Henricopolis. Whilst matters proceeded in this successful train, the mother-country liberally, and affectionately interfered. Such large, and general supplies, were sent from England, and so wisely were they employed, that the lands became fertile from assiduous cultivation, the colonies were considerably extended, private individuals possessed plantations; and churches were erected, schools founded, and preachers beneficed, in consequence of the large pecuniary collections which had been made for these salutary purposes in England.

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twelve, more supplies arrived, in two vessels. When captain Argal, the commander of one of these, proceeded to Potowmeck, in order to purchase Corn, he obtained an interview with Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, the sovereign of the country. Having prevailed on this princess to go on board (*h*), and partake of an entertainment, he detained her a prisoner, and conveyed her to James-Town, in hopes that her father would chearfully purchase her liberty, at the price of peace with the English. The king, incensed at this act of treachery, declared that not even the violence of his affection for his daughter, whom he so eagerly wished to have restored, should induce him to accede to any terms with men whom he now doubly considered in the light of adversaries, and threatened that his whole life should be employed in perpetual hosti-

 lities

(*h*) It is affirmed that she was betrayed on board by her uncle, who sold her for a copper tea-kettle.—Smith's general history of Virginia.

lities against the English. At the expiration of two years from this event, a marriage was proposed between Mr. John Rolfe, a colonist, and the princess. Her father, who considered this offer as one of the truest tests of friendship, consented to it without reluctance, and, although he would not honour the wedding with his presence, expressed his warmest wishes for the termination of the war.

The celebration of the nuptials of Rolfe, and Pocahontas (*i*), was attended with the conclusion of peace between the colonists, and Powhatan. The English, and the Indians now imagined that their situation was intirely secure; and the former, although neither inwardly loved, nor respected, by the Chickahominese, a neighbouring tribe, received the homage of that people, who had been brought under an absolute subjection to Powhatan, and frequently experienced the terrible effects of his tyrannical disposition (*k*).

In the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twelve, a ship, called the Solomon, sailed from England, on a voyage undertaken for the benefit of the East-India company. As but few of the occurrences which arose during the passage, are deserving of attention, let it be sufficient if we inform the reader, that, on the twenty-seventh of April, the crew discovered an island, hitherto unknown to them, and situated in the southern latitude of nineteen degrees, and thirty-four minutes; and that to the eastward of this, they observed the islands of Santa Maria d'Agosta, and of Martin Vaz; and that, on the twenty-seventh of March, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirteen, they

(*i*) A. D. 1613.
(*k*) Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 109.—British Empire in America, V. 1. p. 229.—Lediard's naval Hist. Folio. V. 2. p. 434, 435.

they saw another island, which, likewise, was unknown to them (*l*).

At the commencement of the month of January, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirteen, a ship, named the Expedition, and of the burthen of two hundred, and sixty tons, set sail, under the command of captain Christopher Newport, from Gravesend. On board, were Sir Robert Shirley, the ambassador to Persia, and Sir Thomas Powell, with a magnificent retinue, all of whom were to disembark on the coast of that country. Few remarkable events occurred during the course of this voyage; and, perhaps, the only extraordinary circumstance was a short, but violent contention with the Baluches, a people tributary to the Persians, and who had formed a conspiracy to seize on the effects, and person of the ambassador. The English, forewarned of this design, proved too powerful for their adversaries. Soon afterwards, they set sail, and, on the tenth of July, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fourteen, returned to England, and anchored in the Downs (*m*).

At this period, the Muscovy company, having obtained from the King, a patent under the broad seal, which forbad foreigners, and all others not included in it, to frequent the coast of Greenland, equipped seven vessels, and directed the commanders of them to repair to those parts for the purpose of carrying on the fishery. At their arrival, they found nineteen sail of ships. Of these, four were English, and unlicensed; two Dutch, and the rest French, Spanish, and Flemish.

 After

(*l*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 188.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 140.—Lediard's naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 435.

(*m*) Ibid.

After a long, and violent opposition, they drove these invaders from the coast; but previous to this success, the time prescribed for the duration of their voyage was almost elapsed. They, notwithstanding, catched sixteen whales, and obliged the foreigners to procure more for them. They also discovered Hope Island, and other islands to the Eastward (*n*).

We next proceed to a relation of the most material occurrences during the first voyage, of which the expence was defrayed with a part of the united stock of the East-India company (*o*). The fleet equipped on this occasion consisted of four ships; the New-Year's Gift, admiral, of the burthen of six hundred, and fifty tons, and commanded by Nicholas Downton; the Hector, vice-admiral, of the burthen of five hundred tons; the Merchant's Hope, of the burthen of three hundred tons, and the Solomon, of the burthen of two hundred tons.

At the commencement of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fourteen, Downton sailed with this naval armament from England, and, in the month of October, arrived at Surat, where, as the Indians had declared open war against the Portuguese, he found himself reduced to the painful Alternative of either bearing a share in it, or relinquishing all hopes of trading with the natives. On the eighteenth of January, in the year,

(*n*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 466.—713—716.—Lediard's naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 435, 436.

(*o*) Harris stiles it the first East-India voyage set forth by the united Stocks of the East-India Company; and adds; "Note that now the order of reckoning the voyages is altered: those that are remaining being not set forth by "particular ships, stocks, or Factories; but, by a joint "stock, in which the whole company was concerned; so "that we call this the first voyage upon the joint stock."

year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifteen, the Portugueſe vice-roy came in ſight with his fleet, and, towards the evening, the Engliſh diſcovered that it conſiſted of ſix galleons, three ſhips, two gallies, and ſixty frigates. Notwithſtanding the vaſt ſuperiority of this force, Downton, and his brave aſſociates, prepared for an attack. In the moment that the ſignal was made, the Merchant's Hope bore down alone upon the enemy, and was at once oppoſed by three ſhips, two gallies, and nearly all the frigates, to the aſſiſtance of which the galleons were haſtening with crouded ſails. The Portugueſe boarded the Merchant's Hope; but, no ſooner did they perceive that the other three Engliſh ſhips were advancing to engage than, with a puſillanimity which is ſcarcely to be credited, they leaped into the ocean, whilſt their whole fleet bore away from the ſcene of action. Multitudes of the Portugueſe periſhed amidſt the waves; and ſeveral, amongſt whom were the chief officers, loſt their lives in their encounter on board the Hope.

The Portugueſe mortified by the conſequences of an action which had proved ſo inglorious to themſelves, and anxious to be revenged of adverſaries againſt whom ſuperior numbers were hitherto of no avail, ſent for a conſiderable reinforcement to their naval armaments; yet, on their arrival, could not raiſe up a ſpark of reſolution, but, with their wonted puſillanimity, avoided coming to a cloſe engagement, and only turned adrift ſome fire-ſhips, in order that they might fall foul of, and deſtroy the veſſels of the Engliſh. Unſucceſsful in his deſigns, the vice-roy made a ſignal for his whole fleet to avoid an action, and get under ſail; and, ſoon afterwards, every ſhip was out of ſight. In the accounts which the Engliſh received from Damon, it was obſerved that the dead bo-

dies of three hundred and fifty of the Portuguese, who had been slain in the engagement, had been carried to that place for interment; and, it appeared, also, from a moderate computation, that not less than an hundred more (exclusive of those who had been drowned,) were either killed, or burnt in the ships. When the commercial negociations of the English were concluded, they set sail from Surat, and, on the third of March, a period not far distant from their departure, observed that they were pursued by another fleet of Portuguese men of war. They suffered themselves to be chased, during some time, and then lay to, and prepared for battle. In the moment that their adversaries became sensible of their resolution, they basely sheered off, and with a degree of cowardice, which scarcely can be paralleled, left the sea open to a naval force so much inferior to their own, that it consisted but of one ship, to ten (*p*). The English proceeded, in triumph, on their course.

In

(*p*) The following is a list of the Portuguese fleet, from the papers of Domingo Francisco, who was taken prisoner in Swally-Road.

SHIPS.

Names.	Bruthen.	Guns.	Men.
Saint Peter	200 tons	8	150
Pinnace	120 tons	4	80
Saint Paul	200 tons	8	150

GALLEONS.

All Saints	800 tons	28	300
Saint Bennet	700 tons	20	150
Saint Lawrence	600 tons	18	160
Saint Christopher	600 tons	18	159
Saint Jeronimo	500 tons	16	180
Saint Antonio	400 tons	14	140

There

In June, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifteen, and when the Merchant's Hope had sailed for England, the Hector, and the Solomon arrived at Bantam (q), where they procured mace, and a quantity of silk sufficient for the full lading of the Solomon, now bound for Masulipatan. When the merchants who were on board arrived at this place, they were informed that the English factors, dwelling at Macassar, had suffered greatly from the violent persecutions of the Dutch. We have now presented the reader with a detail of the most material occurrences of this voyage, and need only add that the Hector, and the Solomon, having compleated their cargoes, departed from Bantam, and, in October of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and sixteen, returned to England (r).

Notwithstanding the violent opposition to which the subjects of James had been exposed in New-England, during the year one thousand, six hundred, and eleven, it was judged expedient once more to attempt the establishment of that peace, and commerce, from which an unfortunate concurrence of events had hitherto excluded them. Accordingly, two vessels were equipped at the expence of the captains Roydon, and Langham, Mr. Bully, and Mr. Skelton. These sailed, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirteen, under the command of captain Smith, who had been president of the Southern colony, in Virginia. On

There were also two gallies, the companies of which amounted to one hundred men; sixty frigates, carrying thirty-six oars, and having on board twenty soldiers; two Indian ships, each of the burthen of two hundred tons; two junks, and eight fire ships.

(q) Here it was that the gallant captain Downton died.

(r) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 500.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 143.—Lediard's naval Hist. V. 2. Folio. p. 436, 437.

his arrival at New-England, this celebrated adventurer traded with the inhabitants, and, attended by only eight men, ranged the coaſt, and ſurveyed, and took a plan of the adjoining country. Whilſt he was on ſhore, the natives gave him in Exchange for European articles of trifling value, ten thouſand beverſkins, one hundred Martens, and the ſame number of otters. Having availed himſelf of every favourable opportunity to engage in commerce, he returned to England, with the ſmalleſt of his veſſels, leaving directions that the other ſhould proceed to Malaga, where her cargo of dried fiſh was afterwards purchaſed by the Spaniards.

On this expedition, Smith was engaged during the ſpace of ſix months, and cleared almoſt fifteen hundred pounds, in conſequence of the ſale of the otter, and beavers-ſkins, of ſalt-fiſh, train-oil, and other commodities. The merchant-adventurers who employed him were not only ſufficiently indemnified for their expences, but reaped great emoluments from the produce of their ſhares in the cargoes of the two veſſels (*s*).

At this period the Muſcovy company ſent thirteen large ſhips, and two pinnaces, not only for the purpoſe of employing the crew in the fiſheries, at Greenland, but, in order that they might oppoſe the Dutch in an attempt to rob them of a part of this advantageous branch of commerce. This fleet proved too feeble for an oppoſition; and eighteen ſail of large veſſels, four of which were men of war, mounting thirty

(*s*) Smith preſented to the court of managers of the north Virginia company, his draught of the country, and had it called New-England.—Smith's general hiſtory of Virginia, p. 204.—Britiſh empire in America, V. 1. p. 27.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 437.

thirty guns, and all in the ſervice of the Dutch, were conſequently ſuffered to fiſh, unreſiſted, on the coaſt. One of the ſhips belonging to the Engliſh company, in which were employed Thomas Sherwin, and William Baffin, proceeded to the northward of Greenland, as far as eighty degrees, and ſome minutes (*t*).

The hiſtorians of the naval tranſactions during the years, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fourteen; and one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifteen, obſerve that two voyages were made, at the expence of the Muſcovy Company, by Robert Fotherby, for the purpoſe of diſcovering ſeas, lands, and iſlands to the northwards. We preſent the reader, nearly in the words of the commander, with an account of the ſole memorable event which aroſe during the courſe of this expedition.

"In the month of June, and in the year, one thou-
"ſand, ſix hundred, and fourteen, I went, with the
"ſhallop, into Maudlin Sound, there to ſet up the
"arms of king James, and, under it, a piece of
"ſheet-lead, with the mark of the Muſcovy compa-
"ny, of the day of the month, and of the year.
"Then, cutting up a piece of earth, I carried it on
"board, and in the preſence of the men, ſpoke to
"this effect:"

"I take this piece of earth, as the ſign of lawful
"Poſſeſſion of king James's New-land, and of this
"particular place, which I name Trinity Harbour, ta-
"ken on behalf of the company of merchants, called
"the merchants of new trades, and diſcoveries, for,
"the uſe of our ſovereign lord, James, by the grace
"of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland,
"whoſe

(*t*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 466—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 437.

"whose royal arms are here set up, to the end that all "people who shall here arrive, may take notice of "his majesty's right, and title to this country, and "to every part thereof. GOD save King James!"

It doth not appear that Fotherby commanded any ship, during the first voyage. He, probably, was an officer of the Thomasine, one of the ships belonging to the Greenland fleet. When he proceeded on the second voyage, he had been appointed to the command of a pinnace, of the burthen of twenty tons, called the Richard, of London (*u*).

At the commencement of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fifteen, the East-India company, defraying the expences out of the joint stock, equipped two vessels; the Expedition, under the command of captain Peyton, together with the Dragon, Lion, and Pepper-Corn, under the command of captain Keeling: with these officers, went Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from James, to the Great Mogul. The only particular relative to this voyage which can merit the attention of the reader is the establishment of a factory, at Crangador, pursuant to an agreement made by captain Keeling, with the Great Samorian, or King of Callecut, who invested the English with several privileges which greatly contributed to the freedom of their commerce (*x*).

At this Period, also, four ships, on board of which were crews who had sailed with captain Smith, and thoroughly understood the business of navigating vessels to those parts, were fitted out at the expence of the

(*u*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 590.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 720—Lediard's naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 437.

(*x*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 149.—Purchas, V. 1. p. 603.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 539.

the Virginia company, and proceeded to New-England. At the expiration of ſix months, they returned with a full cargo of fiſh, train-oil, and furs (*y*).

It was in this year, alſo, that captain Smith departed on his ſecond expedition to New-England, with two ſhips, the largeſt of which ſprung her maſts, during the violence of a ſtorm, and was obliged to return to Plymouth, whilſt the ſmalleſt veſſel purſued her courſe, and, after a proſperous voyage, came back to England. Still anxious to ſet ſail, Smith, attended by thirty men, procured a bark, of the burthen of ſixty tons, but was ſcarcely out at ſea, when he was intercepted, and taken by nine French Pirates, who conveyed him to France (*z*); but his aſſociates eſcaped in their own veſſel. His detention did not hinder one of the four ſhips, which was deſigned for him, from proceeding on the voyage; and ſhe, afterwards, returned valuably freighted to the port of London (*a*).

At

(*y*) Smith lamented that he was ſo unfortunate as not to have undertaken this voyage, and imputes the diſappointment to his miſtaken conduct, at Plymouth, where, when he arrived from his laſt expedition, he engaged with perſons who deceived him, notwithſtanding that, on their account, he had refuſed his ſervice to the merchants of the port of London.

(*z*) Yet, from his own relation, it appears that he was not carried a priſoner thither; but, after having been concerned with them in ſeveral adventures, during the whole ſummer, he availed himſelf, near Rochelle, of an opportunity to eſcape, and, alone, entered a boat, in which he endured a violent tempeſt, at a time when many veſſels were caſt away. He had the good fortune to reach the ſhore, in ſafety.

(*a*) Smith's general hiſtory of Virginia, p. 205.—221.—Harris's coll. Part 1. p. 851.—Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 28.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. Folio. V. 2. p. 439.

At this æra, the Muſcovy company, whoſe whole force, at Greenland, conſiſted of two ſhips, and two pinnaces, felt themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting patiently to the ſuperior power of the Dutch, who had ſent to the fiſhery fourteen large veſſels, three of which were men of war, and prepared in all reſpects for oppoſition (*b*).

It was, likewiſe at this period, that the Danes, under the conduct of an Engliſhman who had deſerted the ſervice of his country, made their firſt voyage to Greenland, and immediately on their arrival, with three men of war, had the inſolence to demand from the Engliſh a toll for what they termed the liberty of fiſhing. The latter peremptorily refuſed to comply with an order which was at once ſo unwarrantable, and abſurd, and the Danes departed peaceably, without having made the leaſt attempt to force them to obedience.

In the courſe of this year, the Engliſh alſo endeavoured once more to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage. As few remarkable events aroſe during the voyage, let it ſuffice if we inform the reader that it was unſucceſsful (*c*).

We now proceed to the relation of a memorable engagement, and ſhall inſert it nearly in the words of a gallant ſeaman (*d*), who ſignalized himſelf on the occaſion.

"Hav-

(*b*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 466.—Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, folio, V. 2. p. 439.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 836.—Ibid. 439.

(*d*) The Extract is taken from a pamphlet, publiſhed in the year one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſeventeen, under the inſpection of the maſter, by an officer belonging to the Dolphin. In the works of Taylor, the water-poet, this

"Having finiſhed our buſineſs, at Zant, we de-
"parted thence, towards the latter end of the year,
"one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſixteen, being
"bound, with our loading, for England. Our ſhip,
"named the Dolphin, from London, was of the burthen
"of two hundred, and twenty tons (*e*), having in her
"about nineteen pieces of caſt ordnance, and five
"murtherers (*f*), and being manned with thirty-ſix
"men, and two boys. Her maſter was Mr. Edward
"Nichols, a man of great ſkill, courage, induſtry,
"and proved experience, who making for England,
"we got clear of the iſland, on the firſt of January,
"in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſeven-
"teen. The wind being north and by eaſt, a proſpe-
"rous gale, by the eighth, in the morning, we had a
"ſight of the iſland of Sardinia."

"The wind being then come weſterly, on the
"ninth, in the morning, we ſtood in for Callery;
"and, at noon, the wind being ſoutherly, we ſailed
"cloſe by two little watch-towers, from whence two
"ſhot were fired at us, to give warning, that they
"would ſpeak to us; but the approaching night pre-
"vented them. If we could have ſent aſhore to
"them, their intention was, as we heard after-
"wards, to have informed us of the Turkiſh men of
"war, which we afterwards met withal, to our coſt,
"and peril, as well as theirs, for theſe towers were
"not above two leagues from the place where we
"made our fight. This night, the wind growing
"calm, we ſailed towards Cape Pola. On the tenth,
"we

this performance (if we except ſome particular paſſages,) appears to have been copied, verbatim.

(*e*) In Taylor's work, the burthen mentioned is two hundred, and eighty tons.

(*f*) According to Taylor, nine.

"we had very little wind, or none at all, until it was "two of the clock in the afternoon, which drove us "above three leagues eastward from the Cape. Here "we espied a fleet of ships upon the main of Sardinia, "near unto the road called Callery, belonging to the "king of Spain."

"On the twelfth of January, during the morning "watch, about four o'clock, we had a sight of a "sail, making from the shore, towards us, which put "into our minds some doubt, and fear, and, as she "came near unto us, we discovered her to be a sattie, "which is a ship much like unto an argosey, of a very "great burthen, and bigness. She stood in, to get be-"tween the shore, and us, which perceiving, we ima-"gined some more ships not to be far off, whereupon "our master sent one of our company up into the "main-top, who discovered five sail of ships, one "after another, coming up before the wind, which "was then at west-south-west. With his perspective-"glass, he perceived them to be Turkish men of "war, the first of them booming by himself, be-"fore the wind, with his flag in the main-top, and "all his sails gallantly spread abroad. After him, "came the admiral, and the vice-admiral, of greater "burthen than the first, and after him two more, "the rear-admiral, larger than all the rest, and his "companion."

"They seemed all prepared for any desperate as-"sault, whereupon we immediately made ready our "ordnance, and small shot, and with no little resolu-"tion prepared ourselves to withstand them. This "being done, we went to prayers, and then to din-"ner, where our master gave us such noble encou-"ragement, that our hearts even thirsted to prove the "success, and being in readiness for the fight, our

"master

"master went upon the poop, and spake to us in the "following manner."

"Countrymen! and Fellows! You see into what "an exigency it hath pleased God to suffer us to fall: "let us remember that we are but men, and must, of "necessity, die. When, where, and how, is alone in "the knowledge, and appointment of God; but if it "be his pleasure, that this must be the last of our "days, his will be done, and let us for his glory, "our soul's welfare, our country's honour, and the "credit of ourselves, fight valiantly to the last gasp. "Let us prefer a noble death before a slavish life; "and if we die, let us die to gain a better life. For "my part I will see, if we escape this danger, that, "if any be hurt, and maimed in the fight, they shall "be carefully provided for, for their health and "maintenance, as long as they live. Be, therefore, "resolute; stand to it; here is no shrinking. We "must be either men, or slaves. Die with me, or, "if you will not, by the grace of God, I will die "with you."

"This done, he waved his sword, three times, "shaking it with such dauntless courage, as if he had "already won the victory. Hereupon, we seconded "him with like forwardness, and he causing his "trumpets to sound, gave unto us much more encou-"ragement than before, and being within shot of "them, our master commanded his gunner to make "his level, and to shoot, which he did, but missed "them all. At this, the foremost of them bore up "apace, for he had the wind of us, and returned us "worse than we sent; for, their first shot killed one "of our men."

"Then ensued, for a great space, a most fierce en-"counter betwixt us, and they having the advantage

"of

"of us, by reason of the wind, by about eleven, or "twelve o'clock, they had torn our ship in such a "manner, that we used our guns clear of the ports, "they having left us no ports on the quarters, but "all open. We were, however, not in their debt, "for, we had not left them one man alive from "their main-mast forward. Besides, we dismounted "their ordnance, and tore them so near the water, "that their chief commanders were forced, with their "cutlasses, to beat their own men, and to drive them "to their duty. By this time, they laid us aboard, "with one of their ships, which was the burthen of "two hundred tons (*g*), or thereabouts, and had in "her twenty-five pieces of ordnance (*h*), and about "two hundred and fifty men. The captain thereof "was one Walsingham, who seemed, by his name, "to be, as we afterwards found that he was, an English-"man, and admiral of the fleet; for so it signified by "the flag in his main-top. Having, as I said, board-"ed our ship, he entered on the larboard-quarter, "his men armed, some with sabres, which we called "faulchions, some with hatchets, and some with half "pikes, where they stayed half an hour, or thereabouts, "tearing up our nail-boards upon the poop, and the "trap-hatch; but we having a murtherer in the "round-house, kept the larboard side clear, whilst "our men, with the other ordnance, and musquets, "and a murtherer in our trap-hatch, played upon their "ship; yet, for all this, they plied our gallery with "small shot, in such sort, that we stood in great dan-"ger to yield."

"At the last, we shot them quite through and "through, and they us, likewise; but they, being "afraid

(*g*) Or, according to Taylor, three hundred.
(*h*) Or thirty-five. Taylor.

"afraid that they ſhould have been ſunk by us, bore "ahead of our ſhip; and, as they paſſed along, we "gave them a broad-ſide, ſo that they were forced to "lay by the lee, and to ſtop their leaks. This fight "continued during more than two hours, by our "glaſs, and ſo near the ſhore, that the dwellers there-"upon ſaw all the beginning, and the ending, and "what danger we ſtood in; for, on the ſhore was "a little houſe, wherein was likewiſe turned a glaſs, "all the time, during the fight, which meaſured "the hours as they paſſed; and this was Walſingham's "part of the fight."

"The next engagement was with captain Kelley's "ſhip, which came likewiſe up with his flag, in the "main-top, and another ſhip, with his flag in the "fore-top, each of which ſhips were at leaſt of the "burthen of three hundred tons, and mounted twen-"ty-eight, or thirty pieces of ordnance (*i*), having "alſo on board nearly two hundred, and fifty men. "They laid us aboard, one on the ſtarboard-quarter, "and the other on the larboard, where entering our "ſhip, in multitudes, with their ſcimitars, hatchets, "half-pikes, and other weapons, they put us in great "danger, both of the loſs of our ſhip, and of our "lives; for they exerted much manhood, and ran "many perilous hazards. Of theſe, was an inſtance "in one of their company, who deſperately went up "into our main-top, to fetch down our flag, which "being eſpied by the ſteward of our ſhip, he preſent-"ly ſhot with his muſket, in ſo unerring a direction "that he fell upon our deck, and was ſhortly after-"wards, caſt into the ſea, leaving the flag behind him."

"Thus, theſe men fought with us, with great re-"ſolution, playing upon us with their ordnance, and

(*i*) Twenty-five.—Taylor.

" ſmall ſhot, for the ſpace of an hour, and a half, of " whom we received ſome hurt, and likewiſe they " of us; but when they ſaw that they could not pre- " vail, nor any way make us to yield, they bore up, " and paſſed from us, to lay their ſhips by the lee, to " ſtop their leaks, for, we had grievouſly torn, and " battered them, with our great ordnance; and this " was the ſecond attempt which they made upon us."

" Now, for the third. There came two more of " captain Kelley's ſhips, each of the burthen of two " hundred, and fifty tons, mounting twenty-two " pieces of ordnance, and having on board, at the " leaſt, two hundred men, all well provided as might " be, which was (as we thought,) too great a num- " ber for us, being ſo few in our ſhip; but GOD, that " was our friend, gave us ſuch ſtrength, and ſucceſs, " that they little prevailed againſt us; for at their firſt " coming up, notwithſtanding all their multitude of " men, we ſhot one of their ſhips quite through, and " through, and laid her, likewiſe, by the lee, as we " had done the others before. But the other ſhip (*k*) " remaining, laid us aboard on the ſtarboard ſide, " and, in that quarter, they entered our ſhip, with " their ſcimitars, fauchions, half-pikes, and other " weapons, running to, and fro upon the deck, cry- " ing ſtill in the Turkiſh tongue, Yield yourſelves! " Yield yourſelves! promiſing that we ſhould be well " uſed, and have one third part of our goods deliver- " ed back."

" One of our company now told the maſter of the " large offer which the Turks had made, and adviſed " him

(*k*) This was probably, the rear-admiral, which was larger than all the reſt, and of the burthen of five hundred tons, and having on board ſix hundred, and fifty men.

" him to yield; but the maſter replied: Away! vil-
" lain! I will never give them either part, or quarter,
" whilſt I have any quarters to my body. Whereupon,
" he, lending no ear to them, ſtood bravely in our
" defence, chuſing rather to die, than to yield, as it
" is ſtill the nature, and condition of all Engliſhmen;
" and, being thus reſolved, ſome of our men played
" our ordnance againſt them, whilſt others fired
" ſmall ſhot; ſome fought with different weapons,
" as ſwords, and half pikes, and ſuch like. In the
" midſt of this ſkirmiſh, it ſo happened, by ill
" chance, that our ſhip was ſet on fire (*l*), and in
" great danger to be loſt, and caſt away, had not the
" LORD, in his mercy, preſerved us, and ſent us
" means happily to quench it; but, now, mark the
" accident! The fire being perceived by our ene-
" mies to burn outrageouſly, and the Turks thinking that
" our ſhip would have been ſuddenly conſumed, to the
" water's edge, left us to our fortunes, falling aſtern
" from us, and ſo we put to the ſhore, under the lit-
" tle houſe, for ſome ſuccour. Here, we let an an-
" chor fall, thinking to ride there all night; which we
" had no ſooner done, but we ſaw another ſhip bear
" down upon us, whereupon we were ſore frighted, and
" ſo forced to let our anchor ſlip, and ſet ſail, to get
" better ſuccour, the enemy, at the ſame time, be-
" ing weary of our company, and hoiſting out their
" boats, to ſtop their leaks. We, for our parts, put
" into the road, between the two little forts, where
" we lay five days, mending the bruiſes, and leaks
" of our ſhip. The loſs which we received in the

 " afore-

(*l*) In one account, it is obſerved to have been ſet on fire, purpoſely, by the enemy, with fire-balls, and in three places, at once.

" aforesaid fights, was that of six men, and one boy, " who were killed outright, and there were hurt, eight " men and one boy more; but it is not known what " damage we put them to, and what number we " slew in their ships."

" The master of our ship being at the helm, was " shot twice betwixt the legs; and, as the surgeon " was dressing the wounds of one of our men, a ball " of wild-fire fell into his bason, which he suddenly " cast into the sea (*m*), otherwise it had greatly endan- " gered us. The Turks were aboard, and sounded " their trumpets, notwithstanding which, our men " assaulted them so fiercely, that they forced them " off, and the boatswain, (seeing them flee,) most un- " dauntedly, with a whistle, dared them to the skir- " mish, if so they durst. The captains of three of " their ships were Englishmen, who took part with the " Turks, thus to rob and spoil upon the ocean; and " their names were Walsingham, Kelley, and Sampson."

" Upon the thirteenth of January, there came aboard " certain Spaniards, in the morning betimes, to wit- " ness what hurts we had received, who seeing that " some of our men were dead, went ashore with us, " and shewed us where we might bury them; but, " as we were busy in making their graves, and co- " vering the bodies with earth, there came sailing by " a Flemish ship of the burthen of two hundred, and " forty tons, and laden with nearly six thousand " pounds. She had been chased by those men of war, " that had fought with us before, and therefore, the " crew

(*m*) In one account, the words are, " He, thinking to " cast it overboard, it fell upon the deck, upon which, he " resolutely, fell upon it himself, and smothered it with his " body."

" crew brought, in a long-boat, all the money, to the " ſhore, and left, in the ſhip, only a few men, and " boys, who afterwards, within two days, brought " the ſaid ſhip into the road, not any thing at all en- " dangered."

" On the fifteenth of the ſame month, when we " came from the interment of our men, and had " reſted ourſelves in our ſhip, about two hours, the " wind began to blow a ſtrong gale, and by little, " and little, grew to a terrible tempeſt, through which, " from Sunday-night, until Friday in the evening, " we were in ſuch extremity of weather, as rain, " wind, lightening, and thunder, that we thought we " ſhould never have gotten clear from the road where " we lay. During this ſtorm, and tempeſt, there " died one of our men, that had been hurt in the " fight, whoſe body we caſt overboard, into the ſea, " without any other burial, and ſo, when the wind, " and ocean were a little calmed, we ſet up ſail, and " came forward. Within three days afterwards, " we buried three men more in the ſea; and in the " afternoon, we arrived at the road of Callery, and " lay at anchor, where, again ſearching our ſhip, we " found it rent, and torn in four ſeveral places; one in " the gun room, another between the decks, the " third in the ſteerage, and the fourth in the maſter's " round-houſe. At Callery, we repaired our ſhip, " and hired certain men there to help us to ſtop her " leaks. Having all things moſt fitting for our " voyage homewards, upon the thirtieth of January, " we committed our fortune again unto the ſea, " and ſo, leaving Callery, we came forward with a " Frenchman, who was bound to a place called Oraſone, " about thirty leagues from Callery, where, after the " expiration of two days, we left his company, be-

"ing the first of February, and, then, putting for-
"wards, till towards England, we arrived safe in the
"Thames."

Notwithstanding that the public still bore in remembrance those calamities which had marked some enterprizes of captain Smith, yet his success in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and thirteen, together with the equal good fortune of other adventurers, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and fourteen, and one thousand, six hundred, and fifteen, had impressed the merchants with so favourable an opinion of the advantages which might result from a commercial intercourse with New-England, that four ships were sent thither from the port of London, and the like number from Plymouth. During the passage few remarkable events occurred; and we need only inform the reader that the English freighted their ships, on their arrival at their destined place, with fish, and train oil, which they sold, at very high prices, in Spain, and the Canary islands (*n*).

At this period, and during the following year (*o*), the crews of the several ships belonging to the Muscovy company were prosperous in their enterprizes at Greenland. To the Eastward of it, they made considerable discoveries; by the prudence, and intrepidity of their conduct, they defeated the artifices, and checked the insolence of the Dutch, who, now appeared with only a small number of ships, and fished in unfrequented places, at a considerable distance from the English (*p*).

We,

(*n*) Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 851.—Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 228.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. folio. p. 444.

(*o*) A. D. 1616, 1617.

(*p*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 3. p. 467.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. folio. p. 444.

We, at length enter on the continuation of a detail relative to the occurrences at Virginia, a colony against which the Spaniards were suspected to have made some hostile preparations. Not long before Sir Thomas Dale returned to England (q), a ship was observed to lie to, within a league of Cape Comfort. Soon afterwards her boat was manned, and rowed towards the shore, where an officer of the party requested the assistance of a pilot. On being informed by the inhabitants, that one should immediately attend, three of the Spaniards disembarked under pretence of treating with the pilot, who was persuaded to enter the boat, and concluded that they would follow him. On a sudden, the Spaniards who had not landed, put off to sea, leaving their three companions on the shore. As this proceeding occasioned much distrust, the men were strictly examined. The sole confession at first obtained from them was, that having lost their admiral, they had been obliged to proceed towards Cape Comfort, and that two of them were captains of the fleet. During a second examination, it appeared that one of them was an Englishman, and had been pilot to the Spanish armada, in the year, one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, and was, at the very time whilst he related these circumstances, in treaty with some disaffected Virginian colonists, who were to effect his escape, and, likewise, attend him, in a small bark. On the discovery of this plot, care was taken to apprehend the criminals, and of these the most daring were led to execution. The Englishman, in the service of the Spaniards, in hopes that a more open confession might entitle him to mercy, acknowledged that several of the latter were at sea, in two ships, and had been directed to make every possible inquiry concern-

(q) A. D. 1616.

ing the ſtate of the Engliſh colony. They were, notwithſtanding, forbidden to open their commiſſion until they ſhould have arrived within the bay; a circumſtance which rendered him unable to be more particular in his relation. One of the Spaniards died, but the other was ſent to London. The Engliſhman obtained a reprieve, yet, during the voyage homewards, was hanged, at ſea, in purſuance of an order from Sir Thomas Dale. Whether he ſuffered for his former crimes, or for one more recently committed, our hiſtorians do not mention.

With Sir Thomas, Mr. Rolfe, and his wife Pocahontas (who had been converted to chriſtianity, and baptiſed Rebecca,) departed from Virginia, for England. When captain Smith was informed of the arrival of the latter, he, in grateful return for the ſervices which he had received from her, drew up a memorial deſcriptive of her many virtues, and the obligations which ſhe had conferred, not only on himſelf, but on all the Engliſh who viſited her country. Having preſented it to the queen, he was directed to invite her to the court, and, on the day following, ſhe was introduced there by the lady Delaware. Her viſits were now more frequent, and the reception which ſhe met with from the royal family was gracious to an extreme. In public, ſhe was entertained as the daughter of a prince, and ſhe appeared at plays, balls, and other elegant diverſions, attended by the chief ladies of the court, who treated her with the moſt aſſiduous reſpect. On all occaſions, ſhe conducted herſelf with ſuch ſtrict propriety, and maintained a dignity ſo unaffected, that every individual who approached her confeſſed that the encomiums which had been paid her, by Smith, were no more than equal to her deſerts.

When

When preparing for her departure, ſhe expreſſed a grateful ſenſe of the honours which ſhe had received, and aſſerted that it was her firm intention to avail herſelf of every meaſure that could effect the eſtabliſhment of an uninterrupted harmony betwixt the Engliſh and the Indians. She did not, however, live to gratify her wiſhes, and prove a generous mediatrix. A fit of ſickneſs which ſeized her, at Graveſend, proved fatal, after the expiration of a few days, and ſhe died, rejoicing at having been inſtructed in the principles of the chriſtian faith. She left iſſue a ſon, named Thomas Rolfe, whoſe deſcendants were lately, (and, unleſs they have been rendered a ſacrifice to thoſe civil wars, before which, not only properties, but lives muſt fall,) are, perhaps, ſtill exiſting in good repute at the colony of Virginia. They claimed, and held lands, as being of the ſame lineage with Pocahontas.

In the following year, the government of Virginia was intruſted to Sir Samuel Argall, who, on his arrival, diſcovered that the number of coloniſts had been reduced nearly to four hundred perſons, of whom not more than half were ſufficiently robuſt, and healthy, for the purpoſes of labour. Mean while, the Indians, aſſociating with the Engliſh, who, from the celebration of the nuptials between Rolfe, and Pocahontas, were leſs upon their guard, obtained preſents of fire-arms, in the uſe of which they became extremely ſkilful. Argall, apprehenſive of the conſequences which might reſult from the increaſing military knowledge of an intrepid race of Indians, confined the uſe of fire-arms, chiefly to his own coloniſts; and, by the purdence of his adminiſtration, not only ſecured the peace of the ſettlement, but introduced a proſperity which pervaded

vaded all departments, and, until that period, had been but little felt by any of the Engliſh (*r*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſixteen, Alexander Child made a voyage from England to Surat, and from thence to Jaſquez, in Perſia. Our naval hiſtorians do not obſerve whether it was in the ſervice of the company, or of private traders, that he engaged in enterprizes which were marked by a ſeries of calamities. On the paſſage, he was attacked by the admiral of the Portugueſe carracks, when a battle enſued, that laſted during three days, at the expiration of which the veſſel ran aground, between two ſteep rocks, and was ſet on fire. Whether this miſfortune proceeded from accident, or deſign, the writer (*s*), from whom the account is taken, doth not mention.

It is now neceſſary to inform the reader that as the commiſſion granted to Mr. Moor was to remain in force only during three years, that officer, when the expiration of his government approached, prepared for a return to England, and was ſucceeded by captain Daniel Tucker, under whoſe careful ſuperintendance the colony of the Bermudas acquired a degree of vigour which ſeemed to promiſe a conſiderable increaſe of its proſperity. In conſequence of an attention to the arts of agriculture, the ſoil was rendered fertile; the fields, and woods were cleared of noxious plants, and, in their place, roſe fruit trees, and tobacco. The huts which had been conſtructed with the leaves of

(*r*) Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 119.—Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 26.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. folio. p. 444, 445.

(*s*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 606.

of the palmeto, were now exchanged for edifices of ſtone, and a regular ſyſtem of polity was eſtabliſhed throughout all departments. Although theſe ſalutary meaſures had received the approbation of all the coloniſts, yet ſo ſevere was the diſcipline maintained by Tucker, that five of the Engliſh, who grew impatient of reſtraint, had ſecretly determined to quit the iſland.

The Names of theſe diſaffected perſons were Richard Sanders, William Goodwin, Thomas Harriſon, James Barker, and Henry Puett. Having been informed that Tucker had frequently expreſſed an inclination to ſail out to ſea, and partake of the diverſion of fiſhing, but was deterred by the apprehenſion that (as the boats uſed for this purpoſe had been frequently overſet, and the crews drowned, during the violence of the tempeſt,) his life might be in danger, they propoſed to build, for his particular uſe, a boat of the burthen of three tons, decked, and capable of being navigated in any weather. The governour agreeing, they fixed on a private place for the execution of their deſigns, under pretence that there they could conveniently procure timber, and launch the boat. When Tucker was informed that it was finiſhed, he ſent ſome mariners to Sanders, and his aſſociates, from whom they might receive it, and return immediately, in order to convey him in it to the ſhip, which, at that period, was preparing to ſail for England. When they arrived at the place, they were unable to diſcover either the boat, or the builders, but, on inquiry, received information that the former was finiſhed before the cloſe of the preceding night, and that the latter put off to ſea in it, to try how it would ſail. At length, ſome letters were perceived lying on the ground. They were opened, and found to contain a declaration that the five Engliſhmen

liſhmen had reſolved to proceed immediately to their own country.

Theſe brave adventurers, after having borrowed a compaſs, went on board of the veſſel which was bound for England, and, in exchange for various commodities, procured a quantity of proviſions from the crew. To the maſter, and mate, Goodwin obſerved that although he, and his confederates were forbidden to ſail in that ſhip, yet they hoped to reach their native country before them. Returning to their boat, this little company began their voyage, and, for the ſpace of twenty-one days, enjoyed a favourable wind, and fair weather. At the expiration of this period, they were expoſed, during forty-eight hours, to a dreadful tempeſt, and, being obliged to bear up before it, were driven to the weſtward, when the wind ſhifted into its former quarter, and continued there fourteen days.

Availing themſelves of this circumſtance, they crouded every ſail, but were, at length, intercepted by a French privateer, the commander of which plundered them of the greater, and moſt valuable part of their effects, and had the cruelty to diſmiſs them, without reſtoring their inſtruments of navigation. Thus dreadfully diſtreſſed, They proceeded on their courſe, and ſoon became ſo much enfeebled that they fainted under their attempts to execute their neceſſary labours. Their proviſions were almoſt expended; their fire-wood, a part of which (ſuch was the conſequence of their calamity!) had been the knees of their little veſſel, was intirely conſumed; no freſh water remained; nor was there even food ſufficient to laſt during another day. At this alarming criſis, when death appeared inevitable, they were ſo fortunate

nate as to descry the coast of Ireland, and, soon afterwards, they disembarked at a small port, in the county of Cork, and were hospitably entertained by the earl of Thomond, to whom they related the occurrences of their voyage, that included forty-two days, a space of time in which they had sailed nearly two thousand leagues. The boat was preserved, and hung upon a naval pillar, there to remain a monument of so remarkable an enterprize (*t*).

In April, of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and seventeen, the East-India company fitted out five ships; the James-Royal, of the burthen of a thousand tons; the Ann-Royal, of the burthen of nine hundred tons; the New Year's-Gift, of the burthen of eight hundred tons; the Bull, of the burthen of four hundred tons; and the Bee, of the burthen of one hundred, and fifty tons. These were under the chief command of captain Martin Pring.

We should trespass too far beyond the necessary limits of this work, if our inquiries extended to the occurrences of a voyage which, considering the frequent detachment of single ships to particular places, may be represented as having lasted until the close of the year, one thousand, six hundred, and twenty-one. Let it be sufficient to remark that during the greater part of this period, the English were perpetually engaged either in disputes, or skirmishes with the Dutch, who were generally defeated. At length, a cessation of hostilities was introduced, in consequence of a treaty concluded between the two nations, at Japan (*u*).

In

(*t*) Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 183.—British Empire in America, V. 2. p. 366.—Lediard's naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 445, 446.

(*u*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 182.—Lediard's naval History, V. 2. Folio. p. 446, 447.

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen, four ſhips were fitted out from Plymouth, by the New-England company; but the proprietors engaged in frivolous altercations, until the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced that only two ſet ſail. One veſſel, which was of the burthen of two hundred tons, returned, after a proſperous voyage of five months, with a rich cargo, to the port of Plymouth. The other veſſel, of the burthen of eighty tons, proceeded to Bilboa, with dried fiſh, which were ſold at advantageous prices.

At this period, alſo, the lord Delaware was again ſent, as governour, to Virginia, but neither that nobleman, nor twenty-nine perſons out of the two hundred who accompanied him, ſurvived the voyage. Nearly at the ſame time, died Powhaton, an event not unfavourable to the Engliſh, as the ſucceſſor of this king entered immediately into a ſincere, and a full renewal of the peace with them.

Sir Samuel Argall, at once too powerful, and reſpected to dread an oppoſition from the Indians, embraced every favourable occaſion of advancing the proſperity of the colony. For this purpoſe, he departed on a coaſting voyage to the northward, and reſolved to view the places where the Engliſh had ſo often landed, unleſs ſome particular obſtacle ſhould intervene. In the latter caſe, it was his intention to proceed to the fiſheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and there to eſtabliſh a commercial correſpondence. Arriving at Cape Cod, he received information from the Indians, that ſeveral Europeans had fixed their dwellings to the northward, on the coaſt of the neighbouring nations. Alarmed at this event, and eager to defend from an invaſion on their privileges, the coloniſts who were the ſubjects of king James, he repaired immediately to the place. Here, he found a ſettlement, and, within the harbour, a ſhip

a ſhip belonging to the French, ſeveral of whom occupied a ſtrong poſt, at the ſummit of a ſmall mountain, ſituated to the north of New-England. Argall firſt ſeized the veſſel, and next attacked the fort, the troops in which, after a faint reſiſtance, fled in confuſion towards the woods. On the day following, they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners at diſcretion, and delivered their patent which had been granted by the king of France into the hands of Argall, who immediately cancelled it. At this juncture, a jeſuit became a traitor to his countrymen, and ſecretly informed the Engliſh that he was prepared to conduct them to another French ſettlement, at Port Royal, in Canada. His offer was accepted, and Argall, arriving at the ſpot, drove away the coloniſts, who had not only ſowed, and reaped, but erected mills, and granaries.

An account of theſe enterprizes was ſoon tranſmitted to the court of England; and, if we may form a judgment from the meaſures which were, ſhortly afterwards, purſued, the conduct of Sir Samual Argall was too ſpirited to ſuit the diſpoſition of the pacific James. In April, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nineteen, a ſmall veſſel, arrived at Virginia, and, having remained there only a ſufficient time to receive the governour on board, returned for England (*x*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen, the Dragon, and the Expedition, two ſhips in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company, were ſent, under the command of captain William Hore, from Surat, to Achen, Bantam, and other parts of the Eaſt-Indies. Be it

(*x*) Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 229.—Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 28.—Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 32. —Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 455, 456.

it sufficient to remark, as the only memorable circumstance of the voyage, that the Dragon, and three more ships belonging to the company, were attacked (when fully freighted, and soon after their departure from the port of Tecuo) by six Dutch men of war, and taken after a violent, but ineffectual resistance. The captors gratified the barbarity of their disposition, and exposed the English to the most inhuman insults (*y*), (*z*).

At this period the English, and the states of Holland were again involved in altercations concerning the right of fishing (*a*). The latter were the more violent in their remonstrances, and demands, as presuming on their maritime force, and the certainty that James was, even to an extreme of folly, averse from war. It is not improbable but that they had also formed the most sanguine ideas of the success which might result from the negociations of their minister, whose abilities were equal to the most ardous enterprizes; and that sooner, or later, could they protract the termination of the dispute, they should either pre-

(*y*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 1. p. 656.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 196.—Lediard's naval History. Folio. V. 2. p. 456.

(*z*) During this, and the following year, the Greenland trade was on the decline; a misfortune which resulted from the increasing power of the Dutch, and Zealanders, who severely oppressed the English, in those parts.

(*a*) Mr. Camden † observes that, on the thirty-first of December, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen, when the deputies of the States were admitted into the presence of James, they intreated that no restrictions might be established against the herring-fishery, as it was the great support of their commonwealth, and the only succour for the lower ranks of people, who at that Æra, endured the severest hardships which could result from intestine troubles.

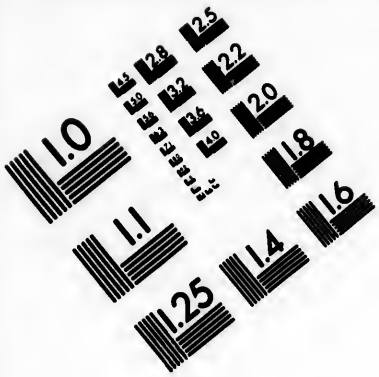
† Annals of the reign of king James.

prevail upon the king to relinquish his pretensions, or so frequently repeat their own ill-founded excuses, that, in the end, they might gain credit (*b*). At this juncture, individuals who disliked the English ministry, represented the differences with that republic, as rather of a criminal than an honourable nature; yet, when in the time of the long-parliament, they held the reins of government, they caused the letters of state, written during this dispute with the Dutch, to be taken out of the archives, and, without the smallest scruple, made them the foundation of that quarrel which they prosecuted with force of arms. A naval historian (*c*) after having expressed a wish that no occasion of the like nature may ever happen, adds that, as the letters are pertinent, and curious, some extracts may at once prove entertaining, and instructive.

EXTRACT of a LETTER addressed by SECRETARY NAUNTON, to SIR DUDLEY CARLETON, AMBASSADOR to the STATES-GENERAL, dated on the twenty-first of December, in the Year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen.

"I Must now let your lordship know, that the "states, commissioners, and deputies, both, having attended his majesty at Newmarket, and there "presented their letters of credence, returned to London, on Saturday was sevennight, and, upon Tuesday, "had audience in the council-chamber, where being "required to communicate the points of their commission, they delivered their meditated answer, at

(*b*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 20.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 21.



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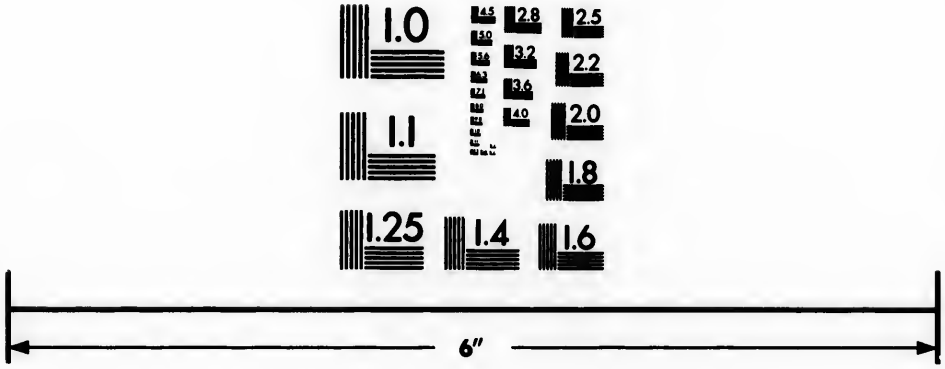

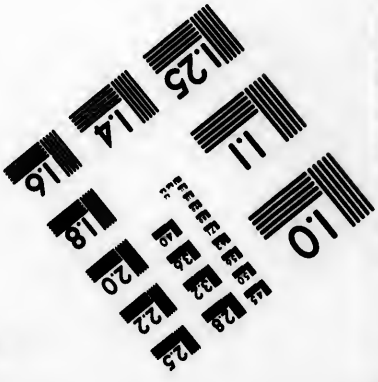

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" length. The lords, upon perusal of it, appointed
" the lord Biring, and me, to attend his majesty for
" directions, what reply to return to this answer of
" theirs, which we represented to their lordships, yes-
" terday, to this effect; that his majesty found it
" strange, that they, having been so often required
" by your lordship, his majesty's ambassador, as from
" himself, in their public assemblies, to send over
" commissioners fully authorized to treat, and con-
" clude, not only of all differences grown between the
" subjects of both states, touching the trade to the
" East-Indies, and the whale-fishing, and to regulate,
" and settle a joint, and an even traffick in those quar-
" ters; but, withal, to take order for a more indifferent course of determining other questions, growing
" between our merchants, and them, about their
" draperies, and the tare; and more especially, to de-
" termine his majesty's right, for the sole fishing,
" upon all the coasts of his three kingdoms, into which
" they had, of late times, incroached farther than of
" right they could; and, lastly, for the reglement,
" and reducing of their coins, to such a proportion,
" and correspondence, with those of his majesty, and
" other states, that their subjects might make no ad-
" vantage to transport our monies by inhancing their
" valuation there. All which they confessed, that
" your lordship had instanced them for in his ma-
" jesty's name, that after all this attent on his majes-
" ty's part, and so long deliberation on theirs, they
" were come at last to a proposition, to speak only
" to the two first points, and instructed thereunto with
" bare letters of credence only, which his majesty
" takes for an imperious fashion of procedure in
" them, as if they were come hither to treat of what
" themselves pleased, and to give law to his majesty
" in

" in his own kingdom, and to propose, and admit of " nothing, but what should tend merely to their own " ends."

" To the second, whereas they would decline all " debate of the fishing upon his majesty's coasts, " first, by allegations of their great losses, and the " fear of an esmeute of their people, who are all in- " terested in that question, and would, belike, break " out into some combustion, to the hazard of their " state, which hath lately escaped Naufrage, and is not " yet altogether calmed. What is this, but to raise an " advantage to themselves, out of their disadvan- " tage? But, afterwards, they professed their loth- " ness to call it into doubt, or question, claiming an " immemorial possession, seconded by the law of na- " tions; to which, his majesty will have them told, " that the kings of Spain have sought leave to fish " there, by treaty from this crown; and that the " king of France, a nearer neighbour to our coasts " than they, to this day, requests leave for a few " vessels to fish for provision of his own houshold; " that they being a state of so late a date, should be " the first that would presume to question his majesty's " ancient right, so many hundred years inviolably " possessed by his progenitors, and acknowledged by " all other ancient states, and princes; that themselves, " in their public letters of the last of June, sent by " your lordship, seemed them to confirm their imme- " morial possession, as they term it, with divers trea- " ties, as are that of the year, one thousand, five " hundred, and fifty, and another between his ma- " jesty's predecessors, and Charles, the fifth, as prince of " those provinces, and not by the law of nations. " To which, their last plea, his majesty would have " them told, that he, being a islander-prince, is

" not ignorant of the laws, and rights of his own " kingdom, nor doth expect to be taught the law of " nations, by them, or their Grotius, whose ill thriving might rather teach others to disavow his positions; and his honesty called in question, by themselves, might render his learning as much suspected " to them, as his person. This his majesty takes for an " high point in his sovereignty, and will not have it " slighted over, in any fashion whatsoever."

" Thus, I have particulated unto you, the manner of " our proceeding with them. Let them advise to seek " leave from his majesty, and acknowledge in him his " right, as other princes have done, and do, or it may " well come to pass, that they that will needs bear all " the world before them, by their mare liberum, may " soon come to have, neither terram, et solum, nor " rempublicam liberam."

EXTRACT of a LETTER from the said AMBASSADOR, to SECRETARY NAUNTON, dated at the HAGUE, on the thirtieth of December, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and eighteen.

" WHETHER the final resolution, here, will be " according to his majesty's desire, in that " point, concerning the fishing upon the coasts of his " three kingdoms, I cannot say; and by somewhat " which fell from the prince of Orange, by way of " discourse, when he took leave of me, on Monday " last, at his departure, I suspect it will not, in regard " the magistrates of these towns of Holland, being " newly placed, and yet scarce fast in their seats, who " do authorize the deputies, which come hither to the " assembly of the states, in all things, they are to " treat, and resolve, will not adventure, for fear of " the

" the people, to determine of a buſineſs, on which the " livelihood of fifty thouſand of the inhabitants of this " one ſingle province doth depend. I told the prince " that, howſoever his majeſty, both in honour of his " crown, and perſon, and the intereſts of his king- " doms, neither could, nor would any longer deſiſt " from having his right acknowledged by this ſtate, " as well as by all other princes, and commonwealths, " eſpecially finding the ſame openly oppugned, both by " their ſtateſmen, and men of war, as the writings of " Grotius, and the taking of John Brown, the laſt " year, may teſtify; yet this acknowledgement of a " right, and a due, was no excluſion of grace, and " favour; and that the people of this country, pay- " ing that ſmall tribute upon every one of their buſ- " ſes, which is not ſo much as diſputed by any other " nation whatſoever. Such was his majeſty's well- " wiſhing to this ſtate, that I preſumed of his permiſ- " ſion, to ſuffer them to continue their courſe of fiſh- " ing, which they might uſe thereby with more free- " dom, and leſs apprehenſion of moleſtation, and let, " than before, and likewiſe ſpare the coſt of ſome of " their men of war, which they yearly ſend out to " maintain that by force, which they may have of " courteſy."

" The prince anſwered, that for himſelf, at his re- " turn from Utrecht, he would do his beſt endeavours, " to procure his majeſty's contentment; but, he " doubted that the Hollanders would apprehend the " ſame effect in their payment for fiſhing, as they found " in the paſſage of the Sound, where at firſt an eaſy " matter was demanded by the king of Denmark, but " now, more exacted than they can poſſibly bear; " and touching their men of war, he ſaid, that they " muſt ſtill be at the ſame charge with them, becauſe

"of the pirates. Withal, he caſt out a queſtion to "me, whether this freedom of fiſhing, might not be "redeemed with a ſum of money. To which I an-"ſwered, that it was a matter of royalty, more than of "utility, although princes were not to neglect their "profit (*d*).

EXTRACT of a LETTER, addreſſed by SECRETARY NAUNTON, to the LORD AMBASSADOR CARLETON, dated on the twenty-firſt of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen.

"AS I had dictated thus far, I received direction "from his majeſty, to ſignify to the ſtates, com-"miſſioners here, that albeit their earneſt intreaty, "and his gracious conſideration of the preſent trou-"ble of their church, and ſtate, had moved his ma-"jeſty to conſent to delay the treaty of the great "fiſhing, until the time craved by the commiſſion-"ers; yet, underſtanding, by new, and freſh com-"plaints

(*d*) Yet, that whenſoever our court proceeded with due ſpirit, it had its effect, and brought even theſe ſubtile negociators to make conceſſions, which, in reality, deſtroyed all their pretenſions, at other times, will appear, from an extract of a letter dated on the fourteenth of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen, from Secretary Naunton, in which, he gives him to underſtand, "that having been expoſtulated with, but in a friendly "manner, by certain of the ſtates, about his late propoſi-"tion, as unſeaſonable and ſharp; they ſaid, that they "acknowledged that their commiſſioners went beyond their "limits, in their terms of immemorial poſſeſſion, (immu-"table droit de gens,) for which they had no order, that "he then deſired them to conſider what a wrong it was, "to challenge that upon right, which thoſe provinces had "hitherto enjoyed, either by connivance, or by courteſy, "and yet never without claim on his majeſty's ſide."

"plaints of his mariners, and fishers, upon the coasts "of Scotland, that within these four, or five last years, "the Low-Country fishers have taken so great advan-"tages of his majesty's toleration, that they have "grown nearer, and nearer, upon his majesty's coasts, "year, by year, than they did in preceding times, "without leaving any bounds for the country-people, "and natives to fish upon their prince's coasts, and "oppressed some of his subjects, of intent to continue "their pretended possession, and driven some of their "great vessels through their nets, to deter others, by "fear of the like violence, from fishing near them, "&c. His majesty cannot forbear to tell them, that "he is so well persuaded of the equity of the states, "and of the honourable respect which they bear unto "him, and to his subjects, for his sake, that they "will never allow so unjust, and intolerable oppres-"sions; for restraint whereof, and to prevent the in-"conveniencies which must ensue, upon the continu-"ance of the same, his majesty hath, by me, desired "them to write to their superiors to cause proclama-"tion to be made, prohibiting any of their subjects to "fish within fourteen miles of his majesty's coasts, "during this year, or in any time hereafter, until "orders be taken by commissioners, to be authorized "on both sides, for a final settling of the main busi-"ness. His majesty hath likewise directed me to "command you from him to make the like declara-"tion, and instance to the states there, and to certify "to his majesty of their answers, with what conveni-"ent speed you may."

What effect the negociation of the ambassador had on the states, appears by his letter, from the Hague, dated on the sixth of February, in the year, one thou-

ſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen, and addreſſed to king James.

"I find, likewiſe, in the manner of proceeding, that "treating by way of propoſition here, nothing can be "expected but their wonted dilatory, and evaſive an-"ſwers, their manner being to refer ſuch propoſitions "from the States-General, to the ſtates of Holland. "The ſtates of Holland take advice of a certain coun-"cil, reſiding at Delft, which they call the council "of the fiſhery, and from them, ſuch an anſwer "commonly comes as may be expected from ſuch an "oracle. The way, therefore, (under correction,) "to effect your majeſty's intent, is to begin with the "fiſhers, by publiſhing, againſt the time of their "going out, your reſolution at what diſtance you will "permit them to fiſh, whereby they will be forced to "have recourſe to their council of fiſhery, that coun-"cil to the ſtates of Holland, and thoſe of Holland, "to the States-General, who then, in place of being "ſought unto, will, for contentment of their ſubjects, "ſeek unto your majeſty."

A naval writer hath remarked (*e*) that theſe letters render it perfectly clear that James aſſerted his right, throughout the long courſe of this negociation, as clearly and as explicitly as it was poſſible; and that he brought the ſtates themſelves to an acknowledgement that theſe privileges had a juſt foundation. If it ſhould be aſked why, after matters had apparently been carried to ſuch violent extremities, they ſunk at once into oblivion, the moſt rational anſwer that can be given is that in the midſt of the diſpute, the prince of

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 28.

of Orange ſhrewdly demanded of Sir Dudley Carleton, whether this claim relative to the fiſhery might not be ſet aſide, for a ſum of money. The ambaſſador who was afterwards created viſcount Dorcheſter, appears from the advice given in the extract from the laſt letter to have been a man of honour; but whether ſome perſons in power might not have found a method of conveying, by agents of their own, an anſwer to ſo plain a queſtion, is more than, at this diſtance of time, can poſſibly be determined. By one hiſtorian *(f)*, we are informed that when diſputes aroſe concerning the honours which might be due to the Engliſh flag, the Dutch found a protector in the celebrated earl of Saliſbury; nor is it at all improbable that they might procure an advocate in this important buſineſs of the fiſhery. Under ſuch a circumſtance, the agreement muſt have been miniſterial, and not national, becauſe, in the ſucceeding reign, this claim was inſiſted upon as violently, and more effectually than in the reign of James *(g)*.

It may not, in this place, be improper to obſerve that by whatſoever means the diſputes relative to the fiſheries were adjuſted, during that period, no point was admitted which could in the leaſt affect the claim of right by the crown of Great Britain. As Carleton ſagaciouſly returned for anſwer to the queſtion propoſed by the prince of Orange, that it was a royalty, ſo, beyond all doubt, thoſe ancient, and immemorial prerogatives of the crown are unalienable; and although treaties may be made for explaining, regulating, and adjuſting them with our neighbours, yet this meaſure muſt be always underſtood as embraced for the purpoſe of obtaining them. Thoſe rights belong

(*f*) Sir William Monſon.
(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 29.

long to the crown, and not to the king, who, although bound by the duty of his office, to ſupport, and vindicate them, yet is, at the ſame time, reſtrained by that duty from an alienation of them; and therefore, whatſoever tolerations, connivances, or forbearances may ariſe, either in particular reigns, or from particular circumſtances, ſuch can never be urged in prejudice to the inherent rights of the crown, which remain continually, although they may not always be inſiſted upon. The reader hath already perceived that this doctrine was particularly urged, and applied in the caſe of the conteſted ſuperiority of the flag, when the Dutch were deſirous of availing themſelves of a precedent from the conduct of Elizabeth, who waved her right, at a time when it might have been imprudent to inſiſt on it; as the Dutch ſerved as auxiliaries in a fleet, commanded by an Engliſh admiral, and were, conſequently, treated as Engliſh ſubjects (*h*).

At this period, the merchants who maintained a traffic on the coaſt of Barbary, having inquired of the Moors, from whence they procured that gold which was coined into chequins, were informed that it was not produced from any mines either in Morocco, or Fez, but conveyed by the natives over extenſive deſarts. Hence, they concluded that it muſt have arrived from Ethiopia, and, therefore, reſolved to equip a veſſel for the purpoſe of diſcovering this valuable metal, in ſome of thoſe rivers which flow towards the ſouth-weſt, and there fall into the ocean.

Accordingly, in September, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen, captain George Thompſon was appointed to the command of a ſhip, and

(*h*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 30.

and received orders to enter the river Gambra, and ſail up it with ſuch ſhallops as ſhould attend him. This he punctually performed; but, during his abſence, the ſhip was taken by a ſmall party of the Portugueſe, who, having been admitted freely on board, ſlew all the Engliſh who were left to guard her. Thompſon, and his aſſociates, proceeded as far as Tinda, where, engaging in a quarrel with an officer in his ſervice, he was killed upon the ſpot (*i*).

Although we wander from a regular chronology, it cannot be improper to remark, in this plate, that the merchants, not diſcouraged by theſe calamitous events, diſpatched, on the fifth of October, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty, to the river Gambra, a ſhip of the burthen of two hundred tons, and a pinnace of the burthen of fifty tons, under the command of captain Jobſon, who, proceeding from Dartmouth, arrived, after the expiration of twenty days, at an harbour, ſituated four leagues beyond the mouth of the river. Here he traded with the inhabitants, for elephants teeth, cotton, and other commodities peculiar to the country; yet no mention is made of his having acquired any gold, the great object of this voyage; neither doth any narrative, relating to this enterprize, inform us at what period he returned to England (*k*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nineteen, ſeveral veſſels were equipped for the purpoſe of proceeding from Plymouth, to New-England, but, a violent altercation ariſing amongſt the proprietors, became the cauſe that only one departed on the voyage. This

(*i*) March, A. D. 1619.

(*k*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 384.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 2. p. 921.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, folio. V. 2. p. 457.

This was commanded by captain Dormer, whose enterprizes were so successful that, after having reserved to himself a just share of the acquisitions made, during the course of six months, he assigned to each of the sailors, as their lawful portion, exclusive of the full payment of their charges, the sum of seventeen pounds sterling. Scarcely less fortunate in his attempts to make discoveries to the northward, he found several extensive and convenient rivers, surrounded by fertile coasts, and filled with pleasant islands, from east to west. At one of these, he was surrounded by the savages, who treated him with such barbarity that, at his return to Virginia, he expired of the wounds which he received (*l*).

At this period, and during the following year, considerable supplies were sent from England, to the colonies in Virginia (*m*). So great also was the number of planters,

(*l*) Harris's Coll. part 1. p. 851.—Smith's general History of Virginia, p. 229.—Lediard's naval History, folio. V. 2. p. 457, 458.

(*m*) Here follows an account of the supplies.

Ships.	Burthen.	Persons.	Cows.	Mares.
	A. D. 1619. August.			
The Bona Nova	200 Tons	120		
	A. D. 1620. January.			
Duty	70 Tons	51		
	February.			
Jonathan	350 Tons	200		
Trial	200 Tons	40	16	
Falcon	150 Tons	36	52	4
	March.			
LondonMercht.	300 Tons	300	200	
Swan	100 Tons	71		
	April.			
Bonaventure	240 Tons	153		

All of these were dispatched by the treasurer, and company.

planters, that they were obliged to inhabit the old ſettlements which had been deſerted, and to extend their limits. Repreſentatives were now choſen for the ſeveral precincts; and theſe formed a general aſſembly, which ſate, attended by the governour, and the council, at James-Town, on the firſt of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty.

In the month of Auguſt following, a Dutch ſhip arrived at Virginia, with negroes, who were the firſt ſlaves brought thither from the coaſt of Guinea. Now, likewiſe, did the Engliſh fix the boundaries of James-Town; and, in different ſituations, the ground was marked out for the uſe of the company, and of the governour, and for the purpoſe of erecting colleges, churches, and other public edifices. New ſettlements were made, and various manufactures introduced; an æra of proſperity which we ſhall find ſucceeded by the bitterest calamity (*n*).

It may now be neceſſary to remind the reader that towards the concluſion of the reign of Elizabeth, and ſoon after the acceſſion of James, ſome merchant-adventurers of the port of London, engaged ſeparately in ſeveral attempts to eſtabliſh a trade to the coaſt of Africa, or Guinea. The reſult of theſe meaſures was barely a diſcovery of little conſequence, and a dearly-bought experience that, probably, an advantageous

The following were alſo ſent for private plantations.

		Ships.	Burthen.	Perſons.
A. D. 1619.	June.	The Garland	250 Tons	45
	September.	A Ship of Briſtol	80 Tons	45

And two other ſhips, having on board of each, one hundred, and fifty perſons.

(*n*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1776.—Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 235.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory. folio. V. 2. p. 458.

geous commerce might have been introduced into those parts, had they been possessed of pecuniary property, and power sufficient for that purpose. Exclusive of these obstacles, no physical means had been discovered for the preservation of the voyagers from the dreadful disorders introduced by the pestilential air, so common to the climate; neither were any measures taken to secure the English from the barbarous hostilities of the natives. Dispirited by these circumstances, the adventurers gradually withdrew from their engagements, and appeared to have declined all thoughts of listening to a renewal of them.

At length, in the year, one thousand, six hundred, and nineteen, the king granted a charter, under the great seal of England, to Sir Robert Rich, and other citizens of London, therein mentioned, together with such persons as they should think fit to assume, and incorporate into one body politic, for the purpose of raising a joint stock, in order to carry on a trade to Africa, exclusive of all the other subjects of James, who, offending in this case, should forfeit their ship, and cargo, to the use of, and for the encouragement of these joint adventurers.

Scarcely had the vessels in the service of this company made three voyages, when several private merchants, allured by prospects of future wealth, sent ships, with as much privacy as was possible, to the same parts. When discovered, they became involved in violent ruptures with the incorporated adventurers, who exclaimed against the invasion of their chartered privileges, and were answered that the enterprizes of the merchants were strictly defensible, and founded on a natural right. At length, both parties, harrassed by perpetual altercations, and suffering under severe losses, withdrew the shattered remains of their respective

tive ſtocks, and thus the trade ſank into a neglect from which, during a length of time, it was incapable of recovering (*o*).

(*o*) Coll. voyages, V. 5. p. 665.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 558, 459.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.