







A brief and perfect Dy

## JOURNAL

OF

The late Proceedings and Successe of the English Army in the WEST-INDIES,

Continued until June, the 24th. 1655.

TOGETHER WITH

Some Quæres inserted and Answered.

Published for satisfaction of all such who desire truly to be informed in these particulars.

By I. S. an Eye-witnesse.

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JOHN CARTER BROWN SALE (BUPLICATE



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A brief and perfect Journal of the late Proceedings and Successe of the English Army in the West-Indies, continued until June the 24th. 1655.

and transactions of Kingdoms and Nations) there is not to be seen more suitable successes attentending strange and occult proceedings, then lately in the West-Indies; and although the managing of so grand affairs (and matters of high concernment) were committed to some who had the repute of being well principled, valiant and politick in War, yet there wanted not means to frustrate the design, (and expectations of most men) the particulars whereof I shall deliver in as brief and true manner as possibly I may; but before I proceed surther, it will not be amisse to insert these Queries with their Resolutions.

1. Whether or not the setting forth of this Army were really intended for the glory of God, and propagation of the Gospel.

2. Whether those that were of this Army were fit instruments to be imployed in the exaltation of Gods work, and pulling down of Antichrist.

3. And lastly, whether the hand of Almighty God hath not been plain and manifestly seen in opposition to their actings and proceedings.

To the first is answered, That after divers serious debates and results (pro and con) it was at length resolved (by the Su-

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preme Authority and Councell of State) to fend an Army into the Western-Indies: what preparation was made, is not unknown to most of the Nation; but for what or against whom, was scarse understood by any (except some few superiors) and for this cause divers conscientious men (who preferred the service of God, before that of men; and treasure in Heaven, beyond riches and honour on Earth) scrupled the design, and deferted the service: For what zealous heart would willingly embrace an unknown enterprise, which might perhaps tend to his own destruction sooner then his Enemies, by-endevouring to pull that down which God hath fet up, and to fet up that which he never called him unto? Shall a multitude perish through means of some few particular men, (in fulfilling that proverb) by pinning their faith on others sleeves? hath not God conferred as much of the gifts of grace and nature on the mean men of the world, as on those of the greatest rank and dignity? doth honour adde zeal, riches, valour? or have the most eminent in office and command, alway the greatest eminency of wisdome and conduct? certainly we have found otherwise, for oftentimes such involve themselves in eminent and irrecoverable dangers, nor is it alwaies pregnancy of wit, valour and difcretion (although these be famous in war) that gives the victory, but God that worketh all in all, and who can fay, What dost thou?

To conclude the design to be altogether grounded on a wrong and corrupt principle, were to accuse our Grandees with folly, irreligion, and what not; when indeed it is beyond the ability of man to pry into the secret thoughts and intents of the heart, 'tis only the Almighty can do it; and although there may be a probable conjecture given of the intent of the workman, by the instrument he taketh in hand, yet God hath been sometimes pleased to make the wicked, instruments of good; but it doth not therefore follow, that such should be imployed in good works, neither the servants of God in bad; all created things move in their proper sphere; the natural man acts in his natural function, and mindeth onely the things of the world; and the spiritual man (although he be in the world) is not of the world, but mindeth the things of

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the Spirit, and the fulfilling of the glory of God, whose power and justice is as well seen in the destruction of the wicked, as

preservation of the righteous.

Now to return to the good intent of the Cause whereof I treat, if we restect upon the consequence of actions, it will soon appear, there was nothing lesse aimed at, then Gods glory, and establishment of the Gospel, nor nothing more coveted, then gain to themselves, and establishment in the rich possessions of others; but servants often disobey the command of their Masters, and act contrary to his will and pleasure, 'tispossible it might be so now, and that might cause their grea-

ter punishment.

If we look upon this expedition in reference to the lawfulness thereof (as it is in it self) we may finde (by these following confiderations) that it was both lawful, just, and warrantable by the Word of God, and Law of Nations. First, in regard those they went out against were Idolaters, Hereticks, and Members of the false Church. Secondly, For that they (some years fince) most wickedly and inhumanely murthered and dethroyed divers of our Nation that traded peaceably with them in the West-Indies. Thirdly, There was no breach of League in the profecution of this War, there being no Articles of peace or cessation in force betwixt both Nations, to the fouthward of the Tropick. Lastly, Conquest is free to all people, no Law of Nations can prohibit the power of the Sword, 'tis only God that fets its bounds and limits, and where his pleasure is, it should make a final conquest, there is it free inheritance to the Conqueror, and his successors. By that power did the Normans invade and conquer England, fince which time there hath no lesse then 25. Kings and Queens successively (although not successefully) reigned: by the same power was there lately a period put to that government. and a new established: by this power had the Kingdome of France been subject to the Crown of England, and by the same power again recovered; by this power are the Turks and Infidels (at this day) possessors of the best and fruitfullest parts of the earth; and by the same power Julius Casar became conqueror of the whole world; Many and incredible are the

the difficulties and admirable exploits run through and performed by this power, and that sometimes by a weak hand, for when the Omnipotent punisheth the wicked, and correcteth his own people, he often maketh choice of one and the same

means to be instrumental for both.

And thus much for the legality of the cause by which we must not measure the good intent; if we do, we may deceive our selves, for as hath been said, the very actions and deportments of this Army was such, that no good at all might be expected from them, either in their intent or proceeding: To condemn all, because many were guilty, were an act of much injustice, some might be better principled, otherwise of all Armies were they most miserable, but the byass of riches and honours many times carrieth men headlong to destruction.

A Common-wealth of people, is as mans body, some member may be corrupted, and iyet the vitals preserved, and the head not impaired; in such cases the skilful Chirurgeon, that takes care to keep and preserve the Microcosm, dismembreth that part from the rest of the body, that might otherwise de-

stroy the whole fabrick.

Those who are called unto high places, (and beare rule and dominion over Nations) ought not only to be repleat with true zeal and wisdome, but also valour and State policy, that so the gifts of Grace and Nature being united, they may (as pious Patrons, and good Chirurgeons) preserve the body of

the Nation, in spiritual and temporal health.

God hath already begunta good work amongst us, and let not England now despair of such a Governor, there are yet some consequences to be shewn, that the primary intents of our Grandees, were nothing sutable to the following actings, or rather misactings of this Army. Grapes could not be expected from thornes, nor sign from thisses, but rather that the bad tree should be cut down and cast into the sire. England is now very populous, and the abundance of fruitlesse trees so encumber the vines, that they cannot fructisie; the late Civill war hath yet lest some species of malignancy, the sores and corruptions of the Nation are not healed, because not cleansed, for the tincture of ungodliness is yet savoury in their

palats ;

palats; men of desperate fortunes have desperate means of remedy; they subsist not by sweat of their own brow, but reap the fruit of others labors, sowing the seed of sedition, and abominable wickedness in a Land where they have no right inheritance; Can a Christian Common-wealth sourish either in godliness, plenty, or peace, when it abounds with such profane vile caterpillers, and corrupters of all good manners? Is it not justice in God, and wisdome in man to expell such unworthy and unwelcome guests from among his people? Ireland hath already a sufficient share, and Barbadoes, (with the rest of those small Islands, subject to this Dominion, who were wont to be a receptacle for such vermin) are now so filled, that they womit forth of their supersuities into other places.

Could there be a leffe cruel, and more just means used then to imploy such in a Forain War? the Indies are spacious, pleasant and rich, too rich indeed for either the vicious inhabitants, or no lesse vicious invaders. But those whom England sent forth on this sirst expedition, were not many, their number was compleated elsewhere, and the design being advanced with much secresse (even to the Members of the Army it self) manifestly argueth what they were which were intended for that service; even such who willingly proceeded al-

though they knew not whither.

That which now remaineth, is the proof of the Cause, whether really intended for Gods glory, and propagation of the Gospel (as was first propounded) The arguments and consequences conducing to the confirmation hereof, are briefly comprehended in this, That if it had pleased God in mercy (for the righteous sake) to prosper the proceedings of the wicked, and to give the Spaniards and their rich possessions into the hands of those who were more sinful then themselves, that then there would be a fair gap opened for the enriching divers good people of the Nation, and utter extirpation of all idle, prosane and irreligious ones that should be sent over as souldiers and fervants into this new conquered Common-wealth, that so, (all impediments being removed) the glory of God (above all things else) might be exalted, and the Gospel have free passage and recourse throughout the Dominions.

Secondly,

Secondly, whether the instruments were sutable to the work, hath been in part already resolved, but more fully will appear in the following Journal, wherein is declared what and whence they were that acted, also what and where their actions were from time to time, together with the manner of success.

In the whole written Word of God may not be seen in any one instance; that ever he employed those of his people (in his intended work and service) which remained polluted in their sins and wickedness, but alwaies first brought them (by some means or other) unto true humiliation and repentance; and this was sometimes performed by giving part of them over to be destroyed of their enemies: in which is seen (that by Gods permission) good is sometimes acted by means of the wicked; good consequences may be drawn from bad subjects, as in the former sense; but that ever such should persevere in any good or godly work (as to the compleating thereof) is not sonly very improbable, but impossible, for that which is divided against it self, cannot stand: humane reason will also tell us that any rare and curious piece of work cannot be performed

by dull and unfit instruments.

But to return to the resolutions of the third and last Quare, That the hand of God hath been plain and manifestly seen in opposition to their actions, doth not only appear in the manner of fuccels, but also of proceeding, and that in so miraculous a manner, that scantly any age may parallel; God indeed confounds the counsels of the high and mighty, and turneth their wisdome into meer foolishness: That an Army so numerous, strong and well provided, should be so cow'd out, beaten, and shamefully repulsed, by lesse then a handful of men, in comparison, was certainly the work of God, and it is marvellous in our eyes. O that men could be sensible of the guilt of sin, and humble themselves by repentance before destruction sweep them hence that they be no more seen; or that they could take ensample by the destruction of others to persist no longer in the waies of wickedness! But such was the obdurate hearts, and feared consciences of this people, that neither blesfings nor curfings could mollifie; the golden Cilf was already fet up in their hearts, and although Aaron were present with

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them, yet there wanted a Moses to destroy it, and supplicate the Almighty to averthis just judgements from a people that were so exceeding finfull.

Now followeth the Journallit self, wherein is described each proceeding and action in due place as they happened (with all things pertinent thereunto). Whereby the judicious and impartiall Readers may be leasure give that solid and just construction of each particular matter according as the justnesse or unjustnesse of the cause requireth, which probably (through hast, multiplicity of businesse, and a troubled spirit) I may not have so well performed in resolution to

the former Quæres.

Fter it was absolutely resolved to send an Army into the West-Indies, preparations were accordingly made as well by Land as Sea; the Generals appointed for both were his Excellency Rob. Venables, and the Right Honourable William Pen; (men who had seen much of Gods actings for his people, in going in and out before them to their deliverance, and crowning their endevours with many glorious and triumphant Victories ) Divers good Ships and Friggots were victualed for this service, (had they been but as well Victualed and Manned ) and all Seamen that were willing to proceed in the service, received entertainment; but for want of a due complement, many Fresh-water Sailors, and others, were prest. Drums were also beaten up for fuch Voluntary Souldiers as were willing to ferve the Common wealth beyond Sea; which gave encouragement to severell who go by the name of Hectors, and Knights of the blade, with common Cheats, Theeves, Cutpurses and such like leud persons, who had long time lived by the fleight of hand, and dexterity wit, and were now making a fair progresse unto Newgate, from whence they were to proceed towards Tiborn; but considering the dangerousnesse of that passage, very politickly directed their course another way, and became Souldiers for the State. Some floathfull and theevish servants likewise (to avoid the punishment of the Law, and coveting a yet more idle life)followedafter in the same path; there was also drawn forth out of most of the old standing Regiments, (such as were

were newly enlifted) to compleat the number. For those who were better principled, and knew what fighting was, were (asit should seem) reserved for a better purpose, some few only excepted, which were as a mixture of little wine with much water, the one losing its proper frength and vigor, and the other thereby little imbettered. And thus went on the preparation by Land whilft the Ships were Rigging, Victualling and Manning; the generall Randevow for the Navy and Army was at Portsmeuth and thereabouts; where (by the 10. of November, 1654.) most of the Ships were arrived, and such proportions of Victuall and other necessaries ordered to be compleated, as each Vessell could conveniently store; some that was defective was also exchanged, notwithstanding there remained much in the Fleet. There likewise the Sailors and Souldiers received some wages for

better encouragement before their departure.

On the 18. of December following, divers Companies of Suldiers were shipped, and the Rear Admirall (having orders) fet sail accordingly with his Squadron the next day. Within few dayes after followed the Generals with the remainder of the Fleet and land Army, confifting in all of about 3000. men, divided into five Regiments, besides Commisfioners, Treasurers and other Officers of the States. The next Randevow appointed, was the Island of Barbadoes, whither it pleased God to grant them a fair passage and safe arrivall, and that within four dayes one of another, fo that the whole Fleet being about 30. sail, (one half being Victualers) were riding together in Calile Bay by the first day of February, there remaining behind only two Ships of the Common-wealths (the Great and Little Charity) which proved afterwards prejudiciall to the Army, in their proceeding, not only in respect of the proper signification of their names, (which indeed in that sense were both wanting) but quality of their loading, the one being ordered to carry Morter Pieces, Granado shels, and store of other Ammunition, and the other, Horses with Armes and furniture for Horsemen; but through what intent or policy they were left in England, more then an ordinary capacity cannot apprehend, and although

although expedition be said to be the life of Action, yet though inconsiderate rashnesse, many a gallant Designe and

Action are meerly overthrown.

Immediately after the arrivall of the Fleet (as aforesaid) the Souldiers were all put on shoar, and distributed into severall quarters on the Island, where they had allowed such diet as the Country afforded (which was none of the worst.) The Carpenters of each Ship were ordered to set up those Shallops with expedition which were broungs over in quarters out of England; and all the Coopers were buffed in trimming and fitting of water casks. In mean feafon, two Frigots with a Commissioner and others were dispatched to the Islands of Christophers and Meaves, for the raising of as many Volunteers there as was thought convenient; neither were the Colonels and other Officers at Barbadoes negligent in compleating their Regiments and Companies, and raising new: the Manders likewise contributed of free cost to fet forth a troop of gallant Horse, for the furtherance of this service, the carcasses whereof were afterwards (at the ( Mand of Hispaniola) either eaten for want of other food, or there left behind for the use of the enemy. During the aboad of the Fleet at Barbadses, divers Dutch Vessels (near 20. in number) were made prize, whereof some were there found at Anchor, others the Frigots that were a crufing tokat Sea, brought in, and that in regard they presumed to traffick thither with such commodities as were prohibited by the late Articles of peace concluded betwixt both Nations. The Viduallers taken was imployed to the use of the

Navy, and the Vessels for transportation of Souldiers. It's also remarkable, that in this mean time, there was an order for all Boyes belonging to the Fleet, (although not supernumeraries) to be cancelled out of the States Books, and for the future not to have any allowance of dyer, or wages, notwithstanding there was no care taken for their gransportation homewards, or disposall otherwise, they Mill remaining in the Ships, became burthen some to those on whom they had dependency, in participating of fuch Victuall as they had sparingly allowed for themselves, but

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the hand of providence (as it should seem) willing in part to ease them of this burthen, a Sharke sish devoured at one time two youths belonging to a States ship, as they were swimming near the Vessell; all that may be attributed to the good intent of this rigorous order, was for the better Husbanding of vitall provisions, and to prolong the time of Vicualling, but this, (with other matters) if it be not treason to speak it) might have been more seasonably performed at home.

The new Shallops being lanched, and the Fleet surnished with fresh water and other necessaries, were in a readinesse to depart, the field Army was also drawn down and shipped, they being now so numerous, that each Ships share were as

many as they could well carry.

March the 31. they set sail from that Island, and within two dayes passed betwixt the Islands of Martenico and Sancia Lasia, where they anchored that night; the day following they weighed from thence, and passing by the small Islands of D minica, Guardo Lupo, Monserat and Meaves; the 6. of Aprill came by the Lee under Christophers, where those Voluntary Souldiers that came off from that Island, and the next adjacent, were already shipped in prizes there taken, and awaited only the motion of the Fleet, the number of these were about 1300. which together with the other Barbarians (viz. men of Barbadoes) compleated 5000. besides Women and Children, whom (out of ill grounded confidence, and high presumption) they had brought along with them, which made them seem rather as a people that went to inhabit some Country already conquered, then to conquer: but for this perhaps they had too good a President.

What manner of Souldiers these Planters proved, may soon be imagined, for if we look with an impartiall eye, upon the major part of those that came out of England to be (as indeed they were) raw Souldiers, Vagabonds, Robbers and runagate servants, certainly these Islanders must be the very scum of scums, and meer dregs of corruption, and

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such upon whose endevours, it was impossible to expect a

bleffing.

But to return to the Fleet, who now shaped their course towards the Island of Hispaniola, conceiving it requisite to reduce that by the way, as well for refreshment of the Army; as to keep men in action untill (the long expected) arrivall of more Granado shels, and Morter pieces, there being only one in the Fieet, besides some woodden ones, lately made, which were deemed unfit for so great an enterprise as was intended.

Aprilithe 8: they passed by Sancta Cruse, and the day sollowing was ordered to be observed (throughout the Fleet) as a day of Humiliation for the good successe of the Army, but one day was not effectuall for the humbling of those who had remained so many years obdurate in wickednesse. The next Island was that of Saint John, and having gained the length of the Wester end thereof, the destance to Hispa-

niola was 22. Leagues.

The Colonels and other Officers were now ordered to get their men in readinesse to land, and to augment the number, there was drawn forth a Regiment of rugged Sailors, whose manners argued them better sed then either instructed in the principles of Christian Religion, or rudiments of marshall discipline.

April the 13. they came fair by the Island and plainly discovered the Town of Domingo, and after some consultation had (with the pretended Pilots and guides) for the better landing, and conduct of the Army to the Town) the Land Generall, with a Squadron of Ships, 7000 soot Souldiers, a Troop of Horse, and three dayes provision of Victuall) went farther to leeward and landed (the day sollowing) in safety, some ten leagues to the Westward of the Town.

No sooner were they all landed (having no opposition) but they began to promise to themselves mountains of gold, nothing busied their minds and thoughts more, then the riches of the place, their talke was all of the money, plate

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and gallane plunder they were like to have; but they were soon taken off from these vain hopes, Proclamation being then made (in the head of the Army) to this effect, That when they should enter into the Town (not including the pleasure of God in the businesse) they should not plunder any money, place or jewels, neither kill any tame Cattell, for

upon pain of death.

Thus may bee seen the Avaritious intents of some (more then ordinary) men, who desire rather to heap up to themselves abundance of treasure, Cenjoy fair houses, rich Plantations, & all things sutable thereunto) then to glorifie God in their actions, making the price of bloud their Inheritance, and that before they know whether they shall first obtain,

or afterward live to possesse.

The chiefest part of the Army thus landed, gained but evill encouragement by the late Proclamation, yet (after some fignals of discontents) on they marched in a way that directed through woods of incredible thicknesse, receiving little or no opposition, except the excessive heat of the Sun, and intolerable drought that oppressed them, having not had (in many miles march) one drop of water, those who took upon them to conduct the Army in the most commodious wayes and passages near water, proved but blinde guides, and deceived them, so that some became exceeding faint, scant able to march, (others were necessitated to drink their own Urine ) and all in generall so extreamly weakned, that it was wonderfull to behold.

The Ships that landed them, soon after turned up to Windward unto the Generall, who continued with the Fleet plying to and again within view of the Town, only one Squadron were commanded into a Bay two leagues to the Westward of the Town of Domingo, whereinto a large Freshwater River disburdeneth it self; there the remnant of the Army (being three Regiments) were landed, and that 3 - R within two dayes after the other, the place appointed for conjunction of both parties was at this River, notwithstanding Collonell Bullard with those Regiments, (without A any farther order) marched towards the Town, and (for want

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of water) foon retreated, performing not any thing worth the memory. By this time the Land Generall with the main body of the Army came up, and after some short refreshment at the River, proceeded also towards the Town, but before they came withing three miles thereof, a small party of the enemy suddenly encountred the forlorne hope (confishing of 500 men) and forced them to an unseemly retreat; the next Regiment (with some others) seconding, were also repulsed, and the Generall himself (left in a lone condition) very hardly escaped; the body of the Army coming up, the Spaniards at length retreated into a Fort of theirs, not far distant from thence, and some pursuing, were cut off with the great shot from the Fort, which was situate near the Sea side, and commanded that passage thorough the wood to the Town. In this exploit some were lost on either part, but the greatest number; slain were English, amongst which Captain Cox (the chief guide for that place) was one

The Generall taking into confideration the disability of the Army at that time, and exceeding want of water amongst them (there being none betwixt that and the Town, except in the former Fort, which as it was none of the strongest fortifications, being only a plain brick wall, triangular and 00- Spa: without flankers, yet was it furnished with nine piece of Cofogood Ordnance, and about 300. desperate fellowes to manage them, and there remained little hopes that those who even then received so much damage by lesse then half that number (in the high-way) should now storm and take the place by sudden assult, without eminent losse to the whole Army, being also unprovided of ladders, and other necesfaries for that purpose) whereupon a retreat was made unto the River in the Bay, where they refreshed with water and fuch provisions of victual as was daily brought on shore from the ships, preparation was also made for another march; a Mortar-piece was landed with Granado shels, and two fmall Drakes, scaling Ladders were likewise made, but never used, for being too ponderous for carriage, they were fent by water, and so to be landed in a convenient place near the town. All things being now in readinesse

readinesse (as was supposed) the 24. of April, the Army proceeded on their march, the guides promising to direct them in a way they had not yet known, which led to a fresh-water River, distant but two miles from the north part of the Town, whither they might passe without danger of any Fort. That there was fuch a path was known to be certain, but taking another to be it, they drew near ; the way they had formerly gone, advancing but flowly, by reason the Mortar-piece and smal Drakes (for want of horses and furniture) the Souldiers drew by turns.

The day following (before noon) they approached near the Fort (but with worse successe then before) for the enemy having charged the Forlorn-hope, beat then clearly

to the Generals Regiment, routed those also, executing them in the backs, in as great numbers as they lifted.

Major General Haines being then in the van of the Army, was most unworthily and shamefully deserted by the Souldiers, notwithstanding that he earnestly entreated that for Gods sake some few of them would stand by him, if but ten in number, but such was their vile cowardize and baseness of spirit, that not one man would doit, whereupon he faerificed his life (amongst the thickest of his enemies) at as velo cow dear a rate as became a stout Souldier and gallant Commander, who in his life time was as much beloved of his friends, as feared by his enemies, such was his worthiness, too worthy indeed to be a member of so Antichristian an Army.

The Spaniards pursuing this victory, made as great a flaughter as they were able, and that without the least refistance, near the one half of the Army flying before them, to the great amaze and discouragement of the rest that were not as then marched up. Some having broken off the head of their launces, continued stil the pursuit, knocking down some, beating and driving others along (with their Launce staves) and if like flaves and cow-hearted villains, until at length (being tired with flaughter, not able to proceed farther, like as the painful workman, after a laborious and hard daies labour goeth to rest) they returned to the Town, carrying with them. as fure Trophies of victory ) 7. English Colours.

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The number (at this time) flain out right, were no lesse then wof 600 men, besides 200. more that crept into bushes, and were lest behinde in the woods, whom the Negroes and Molattoes soon after dispatched; there were also near 300, wounded, whereof many were past recovery, most of them all receiving their hurts in the back parts. As for those that did all this spoyle and mischief (O miracle to believe, and shame to think it!) exceeded not in all the number of 50. men. The pursuit now ended, these running Regiments stood still, taking opportunity (with forrow and shame) to look back on their miferable fellowes, groaning with wounds, & weltring in bloud.

The Spaniards manner of onset was thus: After they had

fired their volly of smal shot out of the woods (being affisted by Negroes and Molattoes) most desperately fell in and charged with their sharp steel Launces, which (being directed by able bodies, and strong arms) found little opposition of the weak and feeble multitude, parched by the heat of the Sun, and half dead with thirst, no care being taken to supply this defect. The other disadvantages were these. The dis-equality betwixt the Launces were such, that the one being over long, and top-heavy, could not be managed with that dexterity, and to so good a purpose (especially in narrow waies and woods) as the Launce which is about three quarters of that length; neither are the English half-pikes of sufficient length to reach these Launces; the Spaniards also (by often use and practise) become more expert and ready in the use of these weapons then English men, who (although perhaps old fouldiers) never made use of Pike or Launce (except against horse) Divers likewise in this expedition, that were of more valour and strength then others, and would have fought, were so overwhelmed and trampled under foot (by the shamefull flight of the multitude that were about them) that they were not able to make resistance, but became a prey (with the rest) unto the mercilesse enemy. But (above all) the hand of the Almighty was much seen in the business, who struck so great a terror in their hearts, that they became the people of his wrath fitted to destruction. To be studied year ( har or die as fore Tropblet of richtery) of English Coloran.

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After this sad successe, and lamentable losse, the Army (that night drew up nearer the Fore, as if they intended to execute revenge upon that; and having found a convenient place within Musket-shot thereof, (where the Enemy could not bring any great Gun to beare) the Pioneers cut down the trees, and made a kinde of Breast-worke, (such as the time would permit) and there planted the Morter-piece, which being then in a readinesse to doe execution on the Fort; speedy Orders were given to mount it on another Carriage, (sit to be drawn off) and to burn that: which being performed, (and the Granado\*shells buried under ground) the Army began their march back to the old Watring-place in the Bay. But what ground there was for this action, or what the reall intent of the thing signified, let those determine who have power to punish offences and reward deferts.

In this mean season the Generall of the Navy (with divers Ships) anchored in the Road at such a distance as that the Forts could reach them with great shor, and they both the Forts and Town, and having discerned Parties of men passing to and fro without the Town, conceived them to be the English Army there encamped, and thereupon sent in divers Boats with provision of Victuall and other necessaries for their supply, who approaching neer the shore discovered their error, and sound them to be Spaniards, who (as it should seem) had the leisure to cast up out: Works) and so returned on board in safety, both going and coming underneath the Fort and bank sides, from danger of the shot, by which they manifestly sound how good and convenient a place it was to have landed an Army of men.

The Army lying in the Bay (as formerly) had not that supply of Victuals from the Ships as before, but were necessitated to go abroad in Parties through the Woods to seek for Cattell; and oftentimes meeting with some sew Negroes, were by them put to the rowt, and divers slain; others casting away their armes betook themselves to their heels, and so escaped the sury of these naked Pagans; and at some times, when neither men or beasts were neer, onely the leaves of trees making some little noise, and Crabs stirring in the woods, possessed them with such eminent fear that (leaving their Weapons behinde) they ran

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over Clifts into the Sea, but at length this bold Army was grown fo politick that they would no more adventure into the woods amongh these Cow-killers, (whose sable deformities had often strook as great a terrour in their hearts, as Pluto and all his Infernal rowt could doz, had they been there present to have tortured them) exercising their valour onely on Horses, Asse Necoes, and such like, making a staughter of all they met, greedily devouring skin, intrails, and all, to satiate their hungers; and thus were all the Troop-horses belonging to the Army by them eaten, the Generals own hardly escaping; this behaviour

and dier they continued for some daies.

What number of men had been lost in small Parties, and by strigling (besides at the total rowt) was not known, untilf by a generall Muster was found that of 9700 men first landed. there remained then onely 8000 (the Sea-Regiment included.) Many of these were fick and wounded, and most of them fainthearted, not fit for service. To have adventured a third time with such in the face of the Enemy, were an act of no lesse rash. nesse than madnesse, for had the Commanders been ever so valiant, able and worthy (except it had pleased God miraculously to perform the Work by them alone ) which could be as little expected as deserved) these sheep like Souldiers (I mean in courage, not innocence) would questionlesse have left them in the lurch, experience had already shewa it, and too true they should have found it; And again to have shipped this wretced rabble, not well knowing whither to go, or how to dispose of them, would also have been the destruction and loss of the whole Fleet, having provisions for a short time, for so great a multitude; of these two evils (it pleased Providence) that the least was chosen, and a place was now thought on, absolutely fix indeed for such an Army, where they might have food without fighting, and a Land to inhabit without opposition, and that within some few dayes sayle. This being resolved upon, care was taken to ship the men; the Morter-piece, two small Drakes, and two Iron Guns ( which ware placed in a fmall Fortification by them made at the mouth of the River for the better fecuring of the Watring-place.) Before the performance of these things. I should have declared how Adjutant Generall Jackson (this great

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great man of little courage) was cashiered for a Coward, and the ceremony performed of breaking his Sword over his head, for example to others; but my opinion is, that if all of like nature had been to dealt with, there would not have been many

whole Swords left in the Army.

The third of May, all were shipped, except the bodies of 1700 men (most of whose Armes, seven Field-Colours, with all their honours (if any they had) there left behinde : It is also obfervable that as at their landing they had no opposition, so neither at their shipping off, the Spaniards ( with their small numbers rather showed themselves defensive, than offensive, resting content with what they had already done, firongly fortifying for the future; whereas if they had taken but this last opportunity (by the disability, weaknesse, and cowardise of the Army) so have charged in with two or three hundred able resolute men (within few dayes before, or at their going off) certainly they had destroyed and spoiled the most part of them all, who were more willing and ready to run into the Sea, and there perish, than to oppose or look upon their Enemies:

All the benefit or good the Army had found in this place was onely at the first some few Cattel, and a good quantity of Sugar, Part whereof they made use of, casting the rest into the River to duleifie that ( fuch was their ignorance and folly ) but

this fweet diet had fowre fauce.

The Fleet also recruited with fresh water out of this faire and goodly River, (whose golden sands had bloudy price) And the Souldiers being all onboard (as aforefaid) they fet fayle that day before the wind, and before they had performed the least part of

their intent or defires.

Having now briefly, but truly related their manner of proceedings and successe on this unforrunate Island, it will not be altogether impertinent to describe the scituation of the Towns and Forts adjacent, with the nature and quality of the Country, which take as followeth. amended no fourthern wellerns

Mes commendation the Rivers of or lifes, the goods and ad I have West ) acould D the devera forte of distance Fall desir. in about ling, estable plecies of Gold minuted, walls it them

design true estillered for He Towne of Santla Demingo (Metropolis of Hispanirla, and Residence of the Spanish Viceroy) is scituate on the South file of the Mand, diftant from the Eaffermost Caps or Lands end, 28 Leaguss, having North Lititude, 18. deg: 28. Mn: It is well watted (and in some fort strengthened) by a great River which paffeth neere the North East part thereof, at the Mouth of this River is a Harbour, which although of no great Mignitude, yet capable of entertaining Ships of good burden. The entrance to the Harbor is through a Bay of realonable latitude, where there is good Anchorage, and a Road for Ships, on the larbord fide going in, is a Fort, ftrengthned with 13, or more good Gans which commandeth the Harbor and Southwest side of the Towne, the other parts thereof (on the Land file) have for their defence an old ruingted Will encompassed thick with Limetrees, which is (now lately) well repaired, and frongly fortified. Within one miles Circumference of the Towne, is open ground and plaine Fields, or S:vinars as they there call them, being made by industry and Art as are all their wayes and passages through the Woods, and Fields for Sugar Canes, with other open places for husbandry, the whole Land being naturally over-growne and Covered over with trees, amongst which of Limon, Orange, Coco, Cabage, Palmeeto, Cedar, Mistick and Lignum vite trees, there are The Fleet this recruited with fresh water out of this slqiboog

About two miles to the Westward of the Towns, (and neers the Bay fide) is placed another Fort, the description whereof, as also the dammage it did the Army in their march towards the

Towne, I have already declared.

thest intout of delices, Four mites farther to the West from thence, is that River and Bay form rly fpoken of, where the Army meamped, and the Fleet moke in fresh water, which place the Spaniards had not then forfeited, but it is to be supposed that in the strengthening of that (and all places else of consequence, in the West-Indies) they have not fince been negligent.

- The commodities these Rivers afford (besides the goodnesse of their Water) consists in the divers sorts of dainty Fish therein abounding, as also pieces of Gold mineralls, washed from forth of their bankes at certaine times, together with Sind? gold, a fmall quantity whereof was found by fome Engl fir Soldiers: The discommodities these Streames engender, are Allegators, which farther up in the Countrey are in too great

plenty.

The whole Land, (except some Hills of great ascent ) is cercainly very fruitfull, which although it produce not such Fruits and Corne as doth England and other more temperate Climats (the scorching hear of the Sun depriving it of that happinesse) yet of Sugar Canes, Olanges, Lemmons, Bonanoes, Bonuift, Plantans, Pine-Apples, Puttato, and Calladra Roots (whereof they make their bread, with divers other Roots and F. uits, there sentere eller e was good Ground, and deep Water, appropria

It is also replen in d with store of Oxin, and Cowes of good magnitude, as well wilde as tame. Sneep there are some, not many, and abundance of Hogs, and faire Horses, which last are there of little use or service in Warre, by reason of the xceeding thick Woods. But beyond all, the inclimable rich Mines of Gold and Silver (hidden w thin the bowells of that Land) maketh amends for all other def & . The North and West parts of the Island are scarcely at all inhabited, except by some few Cowkillers, Rogues that have been thither banish I for Murther, or some other villany, who make is their labour to kill and deltroy many Cattell, and that onely for their Tallow and Hides, which is fent in, to the Spaniards; As for the Fowes and Villages, in the habitable parts, they are neither faire not many, the chiefest whereof, I have already mentioned, which - doubtlesse (at the time of the E gl fh Armies being there) was very rich, for the neighbouring Villages and Plantations being allarumed by their Landing, they had the leifure to convey themfelves, with much Treasure, Plate and J wells thither, as to a place of their best strength and refuge. " It all the the to the

And thus much of Hispaniola. The Island of Jamaica wust now be the fubject of my following discourse, whicher the Fleck approaching; the 7. of May, was observed as another day of Humiliation, for all fuch, whom lunger, thirly, and the Sword of the Enemy, had not yet given a feeling tense of their presumptuous wickednesse, and disobedience cowards God.

And considering the great cowardise that had lately possessed them, it was also proclaimed to the whole Army, that whose ever should be found to turne his back to the Enemy, and run away, the next Officer (that brought up the rear of that Division) should immediately run him through, which if he failed to performe, himself was to suffer death without mercy. Which strict order, might have wrought better effect at Hispaniola, there being little probability of engaging with an Enemy in this place.

The 9. of May they drew nigh the Island, and having sailed about 16. League within the South fide thereof, the day following came to an Anchor in a spatious Harbour, called also famaica, where there was good Ground, and deep Water, and Manning all their small Vessells and Boats with Soldiers, soon landed the Army in a Bay, that lay yet farther within the Harbour, and that without the losse of one man, for the Spaniards having onely three or four small and sight Brest-workes, with some few Guns, and seeing so numerous an Army in readinesse to Land, made not many shot, but fled in hast to the Town of Oristano, which was altogether unfortified, and distance from thence six English miles, from whence they conveied away all things of value and concernment, together with their Families, and departed farther into the Countrey, for such was their weaknesse, and disability for resistance, that their whole number (on that part of the Island) exceeded not 500. Men, beside some Negro flaves, but what they could not act by force of Armes, they did by policy, as too foon will appeare.

The English Army being possessed of the Brest-works, and Guns that commanded the landing-place; A Forlorne hope was drawn forth, and sent towards the Town, who that night would not adventure to enter therein, untill the morrow following, at which time they found it destitute of Inhabitants, or any thing else necessary for their entertainment, or accommodation, except bare walls, bedsteds; chaires, and Cow-hides; Soon after the Generall with the whole Army, (consisting of about 7000 men) marched up thither, where there then came in divers Spaniards (which seemed to be of quality) to treat, bringing with them (as presents for the Generall) Wine, Poultry,

divers

divers sorts of Fruits, and other rarities that the Countrey yeilded) promising also to send in Beeves sufficient for the maintenance of the Army, with other large overtures, and high com-

plements.

This Treaty being continued for certain daies, the Enemy had free egresse and regresse aswell into the Town, and English Quarters, as elswhere, continuing their welcomed presents, bringing Cittell for the use of the Army, and behaving themselves with such civill and kinde (although feigned) deportment, that they invited divers Souldiers of the Army to visit them in their Quarters, where they had Wine given them, and were much made of; by which means they gained knowledge (by some overcoms with Liquor) that they had been at Hispaniola, and how they were there dealt withall, as also the extremities and wants they were driven to in their marches, for want of water and other necessaries in those hor Countreys, whereby they were much ? disabled: The Spaniards understanding this, and viewing the present weak condition of the Army, (by which they guessed at the future, if their wants were not supplied from time to time) were now animated to put in practice their uttermost endeavours for preservation of their goods and estates, and not to ftand to any Articles of agreement, to depart the Island, with some few clothes onely to their backs (as was expected) notwithstanding they fairly dissembled the matter, and to avoid all suspition, sent their Governour (as they pretended) an old decrepit Segnior, full of the French difeale, and brought in betwixt two in a Hammack) to figne the Articles of Agreement, which he (with some others) accordingly did.

In this means season, these subtill and slye Spaniards had conveyed farre away in the Woods, all their riches and belt goods, which (in some dayes after the Army was possessed of the Towne) remained in the Spanish quarters neere at hand) and might have been soone intercepted, they also gathered up all the ablest and best Horses (during the Treaty) as well in the English quarters, as their owne, and the time limited for their departure from the Island (according to to the Articles signed) being neere expired, they drove away most of all the Castell neere the Towne, and following after their Goods, Wives,

Children,

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Children, and servants (which were gone before at least three dayes Jou ney) swept and cleared the Countrey as they went of all vitall provisions, leaving their old pockie Governour as a

Hollige for their return.

And thus were they overcome by the subtilty and deceir of the Spania de at Jamaica, aswell as they had been lately vanou thed by their Launces at Hispaniola, and all the redresse that could be now thought on, was to fend a Party in pursuit after them; Colonel Bullard, (with 2000 men) was imployed on the businesse, part of which number were shipped in small vessels and shallops, and so conveyed by water unto a Bay ( 17 legues to the Eastward of that where the fleet lay ) where they came in conjunct on with the rest that had marched thither on foot, The politick intent of this grand designe being to surprise the Spaniards and their luggage (betwixt both parties) as they were shipping off for the Main, which was supposed would be at that place, but in that they deceived themselves, for the Enemy had no such intent, but rather directed their passage through bywaies, thick woods, and over high hills, and large Mountains, (of which there are plenty ) having Scouts and Sentinels abroad in each passible way and path, to discover the approach of any, It being almost an impossible thing for an Army (except well acquainted with the Countrey) to follow or finde them out, and again, the excessive heat of the Sun, the want of water in many places, with other defects and impediments naturally incident to the place, and disagreeing to English constitutions, more enweakeneth and difables them in ten miles march there, than forry in their own Countrey. But I shall now leave this pursuing party, to wander in the woods awhile, and there kill Cattell (if any they finde) to preserve life, rather than hazard it at fo great defidvantages against the Spaniards ) and shew in what posture and condicion those in the Town were in, who (after the departure of the Spanish Cators) were in so great wint that Dogs and Cars was the best part of their diet, with such forc of food as they had formerly talted at Hispaniola, as Horses, Aste Necoes, and such like, there being strict order that sclam; on pain of death none should presume to kill any Cowes or Oxin, and if at any time there went forth (,by especial order)

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foma small parky that brought in Baeves, they were distributed amongh the superious Officers of the Army, the Inferious men having onely inferiour meat, the often use whereof made them somewhat participate of the nature of the Bealts, sometimes living the life of Dogs, and at other times bearing the burthen of Alles, and what other encouragement or comfort could they have, that to ponder in their mindes, thus, Solamen miferis focios habuisfe dolores.

and the general wing, a generall Multer was taken of the official bou famaica Harbor, May the 245 W Min & boul

It was resolved (at a Councell of Warre) That the Generail of the Navy, and Reer Admirall, in the Ships Swiftfure and Paragon (with most of the Blemm sh ships) should return for England, Orders being given for their speedy ficting and rectuit with fresh water and other necessaries.

to be hoped that for the future they mey have an allowance of hed even gods now May the 25 and led mercen bes sound

There bapaed an ill accidenc in the Fleet the thip called the Dif covery (of the States ) a vessell of good force and burthen, was unhappily fixed by filing brandy-wine in the Steward-room. the flime of the candle taking hold of that combultible liquor. so vehemently increased the fury of the fire that there was no prevention. Wherefore ( to avoid fu ther danger ) most of the thips boats that could be had in readinesse, towed her off on a bank of fand some distance from the Fleer, where (after she had confumed about four howres) her Magazine of powder blew up. and did no more harm; the thip Smiftfure being then ready to carreen, had most of her best Guns there onboard, which were all afterward (by industry and art ) taken up, notwithstanding that they lay in above three fathoms water.

they continued thire daies) leaving their Magezine of powder be bio 'c, which the paid out and annes coshave blown up, but

Colonell Bullard (after a long march to little purpose) returnned with his party to the Town, bringing with him some Cattel. and giving notice of great abundance that are in the more remote parts of the Countrey; fince which time there hath gon forth divers Pastics, who have also brought in Droves of Cattell, and

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and amongst the rest a Spanish Lady (with some Attendants) who were she but as good as great, as virtuous as ponderous, and as fair as fat, certainly she would farre exceed any three Ladies of England in worth, weight, and beauty.

Fune the 6.

The ship Cardiffe set saile for England, as the Harbinger of the

rest of the Fleet which were to follow after.

And the 9th following, a generall Muster was taken of the Land Army, whose number was found to be much diminished of late, not so much by any pestilential or violent disease, as for meer want of usturalisustenance, which in common reason may seem strange that (of all men) Souldiers should starve in a Cooks shop (as the saying is) or perish for want of food in a Countrey so abounding with Fieth, Fish, and other vitall provisions; but it is to be hoped that for the suture they may have an allowance of better and more whossome diet than yet they have had, if the tyranny of their Commanders (or slothfulnesse of themselves, or both) prevent not.

There lately arrived at Jamaica divers V ctualers with provifions for the Fleet, also Armes and Ammunition for the Army,

but Hoes and Halchets were more ficter for them.

June the 20.

There came in hither three smal Vessels (Prizes) which were taken by the Selby and Grantham Frigots (who were ordered to lie plying to and agen off the Island of Hispaniela) some Spaniards (in them taken) reported that at the first appearance of the English Fleet before the Town of Dominge, the Inhabitants deserted the place, and went all into the woods (where they continued three daies) leaving their Magazine of powder behinge, which they had once intended to have blown up, but perceiving that in that time neither the ships approached the Harbor (which they much dreaded) nor any else came to molest them, they re-entred the Town, and being much encouraged and strengthned by those of the Countrey (who daily came in thither) fortified what they might, and blocking up the mouth

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mouth of their Harbour with some Vessels which they there sunk, resolved to use their uttermast endeavours to maintain the place.

Oristano, June the 24.

There was this day a rumour that Generall Venables was departed this life, which was but a rumour not reall; but his Excellency bath not been current fince his being at Hispaniela. The grand businesse that the Army is now upon, is to settle each Regiment in their severall Quarters, where they have parcels of Land equally aproportioned unto them, which being subdivided amongst the Officers, (according to their respective places) some small share is like to fall unto the Common Souldiers; but what improvement may be made thereof, or how it wil please Almighty God farther to deale with this Army, let time and truth manifest; the good hand of Providence having taken me from amongst them, that so (according to my earnest defires) I might no longer be a spectator or recorder of their actions. I shall therefore now conclude, only including a brief description of the Island of Jamaica, by comparing it (in divers respects) with Hispaniola, together with some few passeges by she way homeward.

The Island of Jamaica is scituate betwixe the Main, and the Ille Cuba, distant from the one 96. Leagues, and from the other 20, the center whereof lyeth directly in the same Lat: with the Town of Santta Domingo (in Hispaniola) already described, and hath Longitude West from thence, 2 deg: 18. Min: It's magnitude, is scantly one 3. of the said Islands being in length 46, and breadth 14. Leagues. Notwithstanding for the quality and quantity of Land, it is no lesse fruitfull, and altogether as plentiful in Fish, Fowle, and Cattell of all forts: It is more Mountainous and lesse Woody, Rivers there are divers, but the Spring-heads of some arising from Copper Mines, the Water is somewhat unholsome, and unsavory, unlesse corrected by boyling (which the Spaniards used.) Its chiefest defects and impediments are thefe. It produceth not any Mynes of Gold and Silver, as doth Hispaniola and other parts of the Indies. It is also ill scituated for Traffique, lying such a distance to Lee ward

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to Windward as to get cleane of the Munds and Rocks, and are therefore necessitated to make their passage thorough the Galle of Florida, which is accounted dangerous, except at some seasons of the yeare.

Jans the 25.

The Fleet bound for England, set saile from Iamaica, Vice-Admirall Goodson (in the Torrington Frigot) being less Admirall of that Squadron, ordered to remaine in the Indies, they consisting of all the English Frigots of this Fleet, also three of the best sayling Flemish Ships, which compleated the number of 12 sayle, besides victualers and prizes there remaining.

description & July the 8. 3 and ; the trace durat bas The Fleet gained the length of Cape St. Anthonia (being the Westermost Cape of the Isle Cuba) and the thirteenth Foll: they plying to Windward (having a fresh gale E sterly) came neer under the Tropick, and short of the Cape of Florida, about thirty Leagues, where there happed another sid disaster. The Paragon Navy (a Ship of the second ranke, and (at that time Reare-Admirall) cook fire, and confamed to her Powder-room, and so blew up, the Reare-Admirall Dakins (and some others) with much danger and difficulty escaped, divers Ships Bozts, (which were neerest) coming in to their affistance, notwith-Randing there perished about one hundred and forty Men. By what meanes this lamentable accident was fielt occasioned, is not yet certainly knowne, but too certains it is, that the chiefe neglect was in the Stewards rooms, from whence the fire brake forth, violently encreasing (past remedy) as the people were assembled together at Divine Exercise in the forenoon.

Having hitherto had (the Weather variously inclined) many calmes, and some stormes, with diversity of Winds (but all of short continuance) the Fleet now entred the Guise of Florida, and the 22 Foll: passed forth of the same, the extent thereof (being

being (in length) from the Caps of Florida to the uttermost "Islands North of Cuba 68 Leagues, and in breadth from those Islands to the main 20 Leagues, the current there setting N:N:E. the swiftnesse or sickness whereof dependeth on the falling of the Raines, (which about the Month of August are constantly very great) many exceeding large American Rivers (being aug. mented thereby) the spacious Bry of Mexico, becomes their receptacle, and fo disburtheneth its swelling Floods, through this narrow strait, into the Virgivian Ocean, it is therefore of some called the Guife of Mexico,

August the 4.

The Fleet gained the length of the Barmudas, fices when (for the generalisy) being favoured with faire Windes and feasonsble weather. The 22. of this instant, they had also the length of the Westerne Islands.

August the 30.

They discried the English Shore (neer Lyzard) and has ving a strong gale S.S.W. the day following, the Fleet Anchored at Spithead, (neer Portsmouth.) three sayle having been separated from the rest by obscure weather in the night (before their entrance into the Gulfe) came in hither also this day, some few houres before the other.

And now for ever blessed be the Divine Creator, who hath dealt thus mercifully with us, the unworthiest of his Servants, giving us so large experience of his abundant goodnesse towards us, and bringing us once more unto the Land of our Nagivity. The Lord in mercy so encline the hearts of this Nation, that those grand sinnes of Presumption and Covetousnesse, may Strong of no longer reigne amongst them, lest seeking after shadows, they Author of lose the reall substance; or coveting the good or Gold of others, words they incurre the high displessure of Almighty God upon themselves, and so become the scorne and derission of their Enemies, and a by-word to other Nations. Avertat Deus.

the state of the s en de la companya de En la companya de la companya the Raines of the should be not been as a first of the restriction of Figure 1) , had the work of the first of the color was a sub-The second secon entities a line of any war 19 to old to the Old VC strate of the oracle on the commended and Labrarian and a second of the Steerman year factority regulard her brok light may appropriate the the Download state of the state of the state of The best to be the North, seeded the letter



