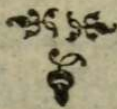




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A TRVE Coppie of a Dif-

course written by a Gentleman,
employed in the late Voyage of
Spaine and Portingale:



Sent to his particular friend, and
by him published, for the better satisfacti-
on of all such, as hauing been sedu-
ced by particular report, haue entred in-
to conceipts tending to the dis-
credit of the enterprife, and
Actors of the
same.



AT LONDON
Printed for Thomas Woodcock
dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at
the signe of the blacke Beare.

1589.

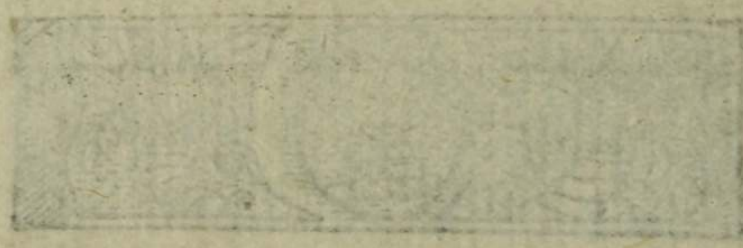
A TRAVE
Coppie of a Dis

g. 406.69

course written by a Gentleman
employed in the late Voyage of
Spain and Portugal.

Josiah H. Benton Ft.
Jan. 30, 1741
BA

Sent to his particular friend, and
by him published, for the better satisfaction
on of all such as having been led
and particular report, have caused in
to conceive tending to the dis-
credit of the country, and
Acess of the
June



Printed for Thomas Woodcock
dwelling in Parker Churchyard, at
the sign of the black bear.
1741

To the Reader.



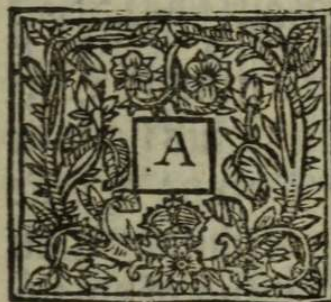
Some holding opinion, that it is onely proper to men of learning (whose Arte may grace their dooings) to write of matter worthie to be committed to the view of future Ages, may iudge the publication of such Discourses as are contained in this Pamphlet, to be an aduventure too great for a professed Souldier to vndertake: but I, more respecting the absolute trueth of the matter, than the faire shew that might be set thereon; and preferring the high reputation of the Actors in this Iourney before the request of my particular friend, haue presumed to present vnto you a report of the late *Voyage into Spaine and Portingall*, sent vnto me almost 4. moneths sithence frō a Gentleman my verie nere friend employed in the same; who, as it appeareth in his obseruations, hath aduisedlie seene into euerie action thereof: and because I haue often conferred with manie that were in the same Iourney, verie nere vpon euerie particular of his relation, and finde as much confirmed as I haue receiued, I presume to deliuer it vnto you for true & exact. Howbeit, forasmuch as it came vnto my hands with his earnest request to reserue it to my selfe, I had almost consented thereunto; had not the desire I haue to reconcile the contrarietie of opinions that be held of that action, & to make it known what honour the cause hath laid vpon our whole Nation, mooued me to publish the same: whereof sith there may growe a greater benefit in publique, (for that manie shall partake thereof) than the pleasure can be to him in smothering the labors he hath

To the Reader.

bestowed in setting downe the Discourse, I doubt not but he esteeming a cōmon good before his private fancie, will pardon me herein. In the behalfe of whom, I beseech you to whose viewe and reading the same is offered, not so curiousslie to looke vpon the forme, as vpon the matter; which I present vnto you as he sent it, naked and vnpolished. And you that were companions with him of the Iourney, if anie of you may thinke your selues not fully satisfied in the report of your deseruings, let me intreate you to excuse him, in that he indeuouring to write thereof briefly for my particular vnderstanding, did onely take notice of them who cōmaunded the seruices in chiefe, as being of greatest marke, and lay the blame vpon me, who can by no meanes auoyd it: sauing that from the fault I haue committed, (if it be a fault) I hope there may some good proceed. It hath satisfied me in many things, whereof I beeing ignorant, was led into an erroneous conceipt of the matter and of the persons: and I hope it shall both confirme others who maie remaine doubtfull of either; and reforme them that hauing been seduced, are become sectaries agaynst the same. I will therefore commend the man and matter to your friendly censure, forbearing to notifie his name, least I might increase mine offence against him; & be namelesse my selfe for other good considerations: which I leaue friendly Reader to thy best construction.



THE TRVE COPIE
of a letter sent from a Gentleman, who was in al the seruices that were in the late Journey of *Spaine*, and *Portingall*, to a friend of his.



Although the desire of aduancing my reputation, caused me to withstand the manie perswasions you vled, to hold me at home, and the pursute of honorable actions drew me (contrarie to your expectation) to neglect that aduise, which in loue I know you gaue me: yet in respect of the manie assurances you haue yeilded me of your kindest friendship, I can not suspect that you wil either loue or esteeme me the lesse, at this my returne: and therefore will not omit anie occasion which may make me appeare thankfull, or discharge anie part of that dutie I owe you; which now is none other, than to offer you a true discourse how these warres of *Spaine* and *Portingall* haue passed since our going out of *England* the xviii. of *Aprill*, till our returne which was the first of *Iuly*. Wherein I wil (vnder your fauourable pardon) for your further satisfaction, as well make relation of those reasons which confirmed me in my purpose of going abroad, as of these accidents which haue happened during our abode there; thereby hoping to perswade you, that no light fancie did draw me from the fruition of your dearest friendship, but an earnest desire by following the warres, to make my selfe moze wortheie of the same.

Having therefore determinately purposed to put on
 this habit of a Souldiour, I grewe doubtfull whether to
 imploy my time in the warres of the Lowe Countreyes,
 which are in auxiliarie manner mainteined by her Maie-
 stie; or to follow the fortune of this voyage, which was an
 aduventure of her and manie honozable personages, in re-
 uenge of vnsupportable wrongs offered vnto the estate of
 our Countrey by the *Castilian* King: in arguing where-
 of, I finde that by how much the Challenger is reputed
 befoze the defendant, by so much is this iorney to be pre-
 ferred befoze those defensiu warres. For had the Duke
 of *Parma* his turke been to defend, as it was his good for-
 tune to inuade, from whence could haue proceeded that
 glorious honoz which these late warres haue laid vppon
 him, or what could haue been said moze of him, than of a
 Respondent (though neuer so valiant) in a priuate Du-
 ell: Euen, that he hath done no moze than by his honour
 he was tied vnto. For the gaine of one Towne or anie
 small defeate giueth moze renoume to the Assailant, than
 the defence of a Countrey, or the wichstanding of twen-
 tie encoounters can yeld any man who is bound by his place
 to gard the same: whereof as well the particulers of our
 age, especially in the *Spaniard*, as the reports of former hi-
 stories may assure vs, which haue still laid the fame of all
 warres vpon the Inuadoz. And do not ours in these daies
 liue obscured in *Flanders*, either not hauing wherewithall
 to manage anie warre, or not putting on Armes, but to
 defend themselves when the Enemy shall procure them?
 Whereas in this short time of our Aduenture, wee haue
 wonne a Towne by escalade, battred and assaulted ano-
 ther, ouerthrowen a mightie Princes power in the field,
 landed our Armie in thre severall places of his Kingdom,
 marched ieuen daies in the hart of his Countrey, lpen
 thre nights in the Suburbes of his principall Citie, bea-
 ten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of
 his frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof moze par-
 ticularly appeare: whereby I conclude, that going with
 an

an Inuadour, and in such an action as euerie daie giueth new experience, I haue much to vaunt of, that my fortune did rather carrie me thither, than into the warres of *Flanders*. Notwithstanding the vehement perswasions you vsed with me to the contrarie, the ground whereof sithence you receiued them from others, you must giue me leaue to acquaint you with the erroꝝ you were lead into by them, who labouring to bring the world into an opinion, that it stood moze with the safetie of our Estate to bend all our forces against the Prince of *Parma*, than to followe this action, by looking into the true effects of this Journey, will iudicially conuince themselues of mistaking the matter. For, may the Conquest of these Countreyes against the Prince of *Parma*, bee thought moze easie for vs alone now, than the defence of them was xi. yeares agoe, with the men and money of the Queene of *England*? the power of the Monsieur of *France*? the assistance of the principall States of *Germanie*? and the Nobilitie of their owne Countrey? Could not an Armie of more than 20000. horse and almost 30000. foote, beate Don Iohn de Austria out of the Countrey, who was possessed of a verie few frontier Townes? And shall it now be laid vpon her Maiesties shoulders to remoue so mightie an Enemie, who hath left vs but 3. whole parts of 17. vncōquered? It is not a Journey of a few months, noꝝ an auxillarie warre of few yeres that can damnifie the King of *Spaine* in those places, where we shall māete at euerie 8. or 10. miles end with a Towne, which will cost moze the winning, than will yearly pay 4. or 5000. mens wages, where all the Countrey is quartred by Riuers, which haue no passage vnfortefied: and where most of the best Souldiers of Chyristendome that be on our aduerse partie be in pencion. But our Armie which hath not cost her Maiestie much aboue the third part of one yeares expences in the Lowe Countries, hath alreadie spoyled a great part of the provision he had made at the *Groyne* of all sorts, for a newe voyage into *England*; burnt 3. of his ships, whereof one

was the second in the last yeares expedition, taken from him aboue 150. peeces of good artillarie, cut off moze than 60. hulkes, and 20. French ships well manned, fit & ready to serue him for men of warre against vs, laden for his stoze with cozne, victualls, masts, cables, and other merchandizes; slaine and taken the pzincipall men of warre hee had in *Galitia*; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusmañ, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his Forces in *Portingall*, shamefullie runne at *Penicha*; laide a long of his best Commaunders in *Lisbone*: and by these fewe aduentures discovered how easelie her Maiestie may without any great aduenture in short time pull the Tirant of the World vpon his knées, as well by the disquieting his vsurpation of *Portingall* as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his *Indies* from him, by sending an armie so accomplished, as may not bee subiect to those extremities which we haue endured: except he draw for those defences, his forces out of the Lowe countries and disfurnish his garisons of *Naples* and *Milan*, which with safetie of those places he may not doo. And yet by this meane shall rather be inforced thereunto, than by any force that can be vsed there against him: wherefore I directly conclude, that this proceeding is the most safe and necessarie way to be held against him; and therefore moze importing, than the warre in the Lowe Countries.

Yet hath the iourney (I know) been much misliked by some, who either thinking too worthely of the Spaniards valour, too indifferently of his purposes against vs, or too vnworthely of them that vnderooke this iourney against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceede by inuasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subiects of their qualitie to vndertake. And therefore did not so aduance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe thereof.

The chaunces of warres bee things most vncertaine: for what people soeuer vndertake them, they are in déede
but

but as chastizements appointed by God for the one side or the other. For which purpose it hath pleased him to give some victories to the Spaniards of late yeares against some whome he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what warres they be that haue made their name so terrible, we shall finde them to haue been none other, than against the barbarous *Moores*, the naked *Indians*, and the unarmed *Netherlanders*: whose yielding rather to the name than act of the *Spaniards*, hath put them into such a conceipt of their mightines, as they haue considerately vnderaken the conquest of our Monarchie, consisting of a people vnited and alwaies held sufficiently warlike: against whom, what successe their inuincible Armie had the last yeare, as our verie childzen can wicnes, so I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made knowne, what they are euen vpon their owne dounghill: which had it been set out in such sort as it was agreed vpon by their first demand, it might haue made our Nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8. of the 12. pæces of Artillerie which was promised vnto the Adventure, lost her Maiestie the possession of the *Groyne*, and many other places, as hereafter shal appeare; whose defensible Rampiers were greater than our batterie (such as it was) cold force: and therefore were left vnattempted.

It was also resolved to haue sent 600. English horse of the Lowe Countries, wherof we had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the Armie assembled at *Puente de Burgos* thanke God of, as well as the forces of *Portingall*: who foreranne vs sixe daies together: Did wee not want seauen of y^e thirténe old Companies, we should haue had from thence: foure of the ten dutch Companies: & sixe of their men of warre for the sea, from the *Hollanders*: which I may iustly say we wanted, in that we might haue had so many good souldiers, so many good shippes, and so many able bodies moze than we had:

Did there not, vpon the first thinking of the Journey

diuers gallant Courtiers put in their names for aduenturers to the summe of 10000 li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, advised themselves better, and laid the want of so much money upon the Journey?

Was there not moreover a round summe of the adventure spent in Ieueng, furnishing, and mainteyning three moneths 1500. men for the seruice of *Berghen*: with which companies the Dutinies of *Ostend*, was suppressed: a seruice of no small moment?

What miserie the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should haue been the first of Februarie, did lay upon vs, too many can witness: and what extremitie the want of that moneths victualls which we did eate, during the moneth wee lay at *Plimoth* for a winde, might haue driuen vs vnto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men doe liue by, had not God giuen vs in the end a more prosperous winde and shorter passage into *Galitia*, then hath been often seen; where our owne force and fortune reuictualled vs largely: of which crosse windes that held vs two daies after our going out, the Generalls being wearie, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely choosing rather to attend the change thereof there; than by being in harbourough to lose any part of the better when it should come by hauing their men on shoare: in which two daies 25. of our companies shipped in parte of the flecte, were scattered from vs, either not being able or willing to double *Vshant*.

These burthens laid upon our Generalls before their going out, they haue patientlie endured, and I thinke they haue thereby much enlarged their honoz: for hauing done thus much with the want of our Artillarie, 600. horse, 3000. fote, 20000 li. of their adventure, and one moneths victualls of their propoztion, what may bee coniectured they would haue done with their full compliment?

For the losse of our men at Sea, since we can lay it on none but the will of GOD, what can be saide more, than that it is his pleasure, to turne all those impediments to the honour of them, against whome they were intended:

and

and he will still shew himselfe the God of hostes in doing great things by them, whome many haue sought to obscure: who if they had let the action fall at the height thereof in respect of those defects, which were such especially for the seruice at land, as would haue made a mightie subiect scoope vnder them; I doe not see, how any man could iustly haue laide any reproach vpon him who commanded the same: but rather haue lamented the iniquitie of this time, wherein men whom forreign Countries haue for their conduct in seruice worthily esteemed of, should not only in their own Countrey not be seconded in their honourable ende- uors, but mightily hindred, euen to the impairing of their owne estates, which most willingly they haue aduentured for the good of their Countries: whose worth I will not valew by my report, least I should seeme guiltie of flatterie, (which my soule abhorreth,) and yet come short in the true measure of their praise. Duely for your instruction, against them who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you ought to holde of such men, you shall understand that Generall Norris from his booke was trained vp in the warres of the Admirall of *France*: and in verie young yeares had charge of men vnder the Erle of Essex in *Ireland*: which with what commendations he then discharged, I leaue to the reporte of them who obserued those seruices. Upon the breach betwixt Don Iohn and the States, he was made Colonell Generall of all the *English* forces there present, or to come, which he continued two yeares: hee was then made Marshall of the field, vnder Conte Hohenlo: and after that, Generall of the armie in *Frisland*: at his comming home in the time of Monsiers gouernement in *Flanders*, hee was made Lord President of *Monster* in *Ireland*: which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeare he was sent for, and sent Generall of the *English* forces her Maiestie then lent to the *Lowe* Countries: which hee held till the Earle of *Leicesters* going ouer. And hee was made Marshall of the field in *England*, the enimie being vpon our Coast, and when it was expected

ted the Crowne of *England* should haue been tried by bat-
taile. All which places of commandement which neuer a-
ny English-man successiuelly attained vnto in foraine
Warres, and the high places her Maiestie hath thought
him worthe of, may suffice to perswade you, that he was
not altogether unlikely to discharge that which he vnder-
tooke.

What fame Generall Drake hath gotten by his iour-
ney about the world, by his aduentures to the west *Indies*:
and the scourges he hath laid vpon the *Spanish* Nation, I
leauē to the *Southerne* parts to speak of, and referre you to
the booke extant in our own language treating of the same;
and beseech you, considering the waightie matters they
haue in all the course of their liues with wonderfull repu-
tation managed, that you will esteeme them not well in-
formed of their proceedings, that thinke them insufficient
to passe through that which they vndertooke, especiallie ha-
uing gone thus farre in the viewe of the world, through so
many incombrances, and disappointed of those agrē-
ments which led them the rather to vndertake the seruice.
But it may be you wil thinke me herein either too much o-
pinionated of the Voiage, or conceited of the Commanders,
that labouring thus earnestly to aduance the opinion of
them both, haue not so much as touched any part of the
misorders, weakenes and wants that haue been amongst
vs, whereof, they that returned did plentifully report.
True it is, I haue conceived a great opinion of the Jour-
ney, and doo thinke honorably of the Commanders: for we
finde in greatest antiquities, that many Commanders
haue beene receiued home with triumph for lesse merite,
and that our owne Countrey hath honoured men hereto-
fore with admiration, for aduentures vnequall to this: it
might therefore in those daies haue seemed superfluous to
extend any mans commendations by particuler remem-
brances, for that then all men were readie to giue eue-
rie man his due. But I holde it most necessarie in these
daies sithence euerie vertue findeth her direct opposit, and
actions

actions worthy of all memory, are in danger to be enuiously obscured to denounce the praises of the action, and actors to the full, but yet no further than with sinceritie of truth, and not without grieuing at the iniurie of this time, wherein is enforced a necessitie of Apologies for those men, & matters, whichall former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest applause that might be. But to answer the reports which haue been giuen out in reproch of the actors & action by such as were in the same. Let no man think otherwise, but that they who fearing the casual accidents of warre had any purpose of returning, did first aduise of some occasion that should moue them thereunto: and hauing found any what so euer did thinke it sufficiently iust, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seek out matter that might colour their comming home.

Of these there were some, who hauing noted the late Flemmish warres, did finde that many young men haue gone ouer and safely returned Soldiers within fewe Moneths, in hauing learned some words of Art, vsed in the warres, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst vs: which being expired they began to quarrell at the great Mortallitie that was amongst vs.

The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to be drunk with the plentie of Wines.

The scarletie of Surgions.

The want of Carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penurie of victualls in the Campe.

Thereupon diuining that there would be no good done. And that therfore they could be content to lose their time, and aduenture to returne home againe.

These men haue either conceiued well of their owne wits (who by obseruing the passages of the warre: were become sufficient Soldiers in these fewe weekes) and did long to be at home, where their discourses might be wondered at, or missing of their Portegues and Milrayes they dreamed on in *Portingall*, would rather returne to their former manner of life, than attend the end of the

Journey. For seeing that one hazard brought on another: and that though one escaped the bullet this day it might light upon him to morrow, the next day, or any day; & that y^e warre was not confined to any one place, but that euerie place brought forth new enemies, were glad to see some of the poore Soldiers fall sicke, that they fearing to be infected by them might iustly desire to goe home.

Answer to the
first.

The sicknes I confesse was great, because any is too much. But hath it been greater than is ordinarie amongst *Englishmen* at their first entrance into the warres, whether soeuer they goe to want the fulnes of their flesh pots? Haue not ours decayed at al times in *France*, with eating young fruites and drinking new wines? haue they not abundantly perished in the *Lowe Counteries* with cold, and rawnes of the Ayre, even in their *Garrisons*? haue there not more died in *London* in sixe Moneths of the *Plague*, than double our Armie being at the strongest? And could the *Spanish* Armie the last yeare (who had all provisions that could bee thought on for an Armie, and toke the fittest season in the yeare for our Climate) auoide sicknes amongst their Soldiers? May it then be thought that ours could escape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to distemper them withal?

But can it bee, that wee haue lost so many as the common sort perswade themselves we haue? It hath been proued by strickt examinations of our musters, that wee were neuer in our fulnes befoze our going from *Plymoth* 11000. Soldiers, nor about 2500. *Harriners*. It is also euident that there returned about 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the severall payments made to them since our conning home. And I haue truely shewed you that of these number verie neare 3000. forsooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into *France* and the rest returned home. So as wee neuer being 13000. in all, and hauing brought home about 6000. with vs, you may see how the world hath been seduced, in believing that wee haue lost 16000. men by sicknes.

To them that haue made question of the gouernment of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth therunto in that ther were so many drūkarde amongst vs) I answer, *Answer to the second.* that in their gouernment of shires & parishes, yea in their verie houtholdes, themselues can hardlie bide their vassalls from that vice. For we see it a thing almost impossible, at any your faires or publique assemblies to finde any quarter thereof sober, or in your Townes any Alepoles vnfrequented: And we obserue that though any man hauing any disordered persons in their houses, doo locke vp their drinke and set butlers vpon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes steale themselues drunke from their Masters tables, or runne abroad to seeke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Iustices, Mayors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for euerie pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doo they thinke that those base disordered persons whome themselues sent vnto vs, as liuing at home without rule, who hearing of wine do long for it as adainetie that their purses could neuer reach to in *England*, & hauing it there without money euē in their houses where they lie & hold their garde thay can be kept from being drunke: and once drunke held in any order or tune, except we had for euerie drunckard an officer to attend him. But who be they that haue runne into these disorders: Euen our newest men, our youngest men, and our idlest men, and for the most parte, our slouenly prest men, whome the Iustices (who haue alwaies thought vnworthely of any warre) haue sent out as the scumme and dregges of their Countrey. And those were they, who distempering themselues with these hot wines, haue brought in that sicknes, which hath infected honest men than themselues. But I hope (as in other places) the recouerie of their diseases dooth acquaint their bodies with the ayre of the Countries where they be; so the remainder of these which haue either recouered, or past without sicknes will proue most fit for Martiall seruises.

If we haue wanted Surgions, may not this rather be *Answer to the third.*

laide vpon the Captaines : who are to provide for their severall Companies, than vpon the Generalls, whose care hath been more generall. And how may it be thought that euerie Captaine, vpon whome most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an aduventure could provide themselves of all things expedient for a warre, (which was alwaies wont to be maintained by the purse of the Prince :) But admit euerie Captaine had his Surgion : yet were the want of curing neuer the lesse, for our English Surgions (for the most) part be vnexperienced in hurts that come by shot ; because *England* hath not knowen warres, but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope will warne those that heereafter goe to the warres to make preparation of such as may better preserve mens liues by their skill.

Answer to the fourth.

From whence the want of carriages did proceede, you may coniecture in that we marched through a Countrey, neither plentifull of such provisions, nor willing to parte from any thing : yet this I can assure you that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place vnprovided for. And that the General commanded all the Mules & Asses, that were laden with any baggage, to be vnburdened and taken to that vse : and the Earle of Essex and hee, for money hired men to carrie men vpon Pikes. And the Earle (whose true vertue and Nobilitie, as it dooth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw his owne stuffe : I meane apparrell and necessaries which he had there from his owne carriages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and sicke men vpon them. Of whose most honorable deservings : I shall not neede here to make any particuler discourse, for that many of his actions doe hereafter giue mee occasion to obserue the

Answer to the fifth.

And the great complaint that these men make for the want of victualls : may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the warre ; for if to feede vpon good beeces

beeues, mutton and goats, be to want, they haue indured great scarcitie at land; whereunto they neuer wanted two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, noz bread to eate with their meate (in some quantitie), except it were such as had bowed rather to starue, than to stirre out of their places for food: of whom we had too manie; who if their time had serued for it, might haue seene in manie *Campes* in the most plentifull *Countries* of the world for victualls, men daylie die with want of bread and drinke, in not hauing money to buy, noz the *Countrie* yeelding anie good or healthfull water in anie place; whereas both *Spaine* and *Portingall*, do in euerie place afford the best water that may be, and much moze healthfull than any wine for our drinking.

And although some haue most iniurioullie exclaimed against the small prouisions of victualls for the *Sea*, rather grounding the same vppon an euill that might haue fallen, than anie that did light vppon vs: yet knowe you this, that there is no man so forgetfull, that will say they wanted befoze they came to the *Groyn*e; that whosoever made not verie large prouisions for himselfe and his company at the *Groyn*e, was verie improuident, where was plentifull store of wine, beefe, and fish, and no man of place prohibited to laye in the same into their shippes; wherewith some did so furnish themselues, as they did not onely in the *Journey* supplie the wants of such as were lesse prouident than they, but in their return home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at *Cascais* there came in such store of prouisions into the *Fleete* out of *England*, as no man that would haue vled his diligence could haue wanted his due proportion thereof: as might appeare by the Remainder that was returned to *Plymouth*, and the plentifull sale thereof made out of the *Merchants* ships after their comming into the *Thames*.

But least I should seeme vnto you too studious in confuting idle opinions, or answering friuolous questions, I

will addresse me to the true report of those actions that haue passed there: wherein I protest, I will neither hide anie thing that hath happened against vs, nor attribute moze to anie man or matter, than the iust occasions thereof leadeth vnto: wherein it shall appeare, that there hath been nothing left vndone by the Generalls which was before our going out vnder taken by them; but that there hath been much moze done than was at the first required by Don Antonio, who should haue reaped the fruite of our Aduenture.

After 6. daies sailing from the Coast of *England*, and the first after we had the winde good, beeing the 20. of *April* in the euening, we landed in a Bay moze than an *English* mile from the *Groyn*e, in our long Boates and *Pinnacles* without anie impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the *Towne*, within one halfe mile whereof we were encountred by the *Enemie*, who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our *Armie* lay in the villages, houses and milles next adioyning, and verie neare round about the *Towne*, into the which the *Galeon* named *Saint Iohn* (which was the second of the last yeres *Fleete* against *England*) one hulk, two smaller ships, and two *Gallies* which were found in the *Rode*, did beate vpon vs and vpon our Companies, as they passed too and fro that night and the next morning.

Generall Norris hauing that morning before day viewed the *Towne*, found the same defended on the land side (for it standeth vpon the neck of an *Iland*) with a wal vpon a drie ditch: wherupon he resolved to trie in two places what might be done against it by *escalade*, and in the meane time aduised for the landing of some *Artillarie* to beat vpon the ships & *Gallies*, that they might not annoy vs: which being put in execution, vpon the planting of the first peece the *Gallies* abandoned the *Road*, and betooke them to *Farroll*, not farre from thence: and the *Armado* being beaten with the *artillary* & *musketers* that was pla-

ced upon the next shoare, left her playing upon vs. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the Companies, & other provisions readie for the surprize of the Base towne, which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200. men under the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Viceadmirall, on that side next fronting vs by water in long boates and pynnises, wherein were placed manie peeces of artillarie to beate upon the Towne in their approach; at the corner of the wall which defended the other water side, were appointed Captain Richard Wingfeild Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake to enter at lowe water with 500. men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the escalade, for they had also ladders with them; at the other corner of the wall which ioyned to that side, that was attempted by water, were appoynted Colonell Vmpton, and Colonell Brett with 300. men to enter by escalade. All the Companies which should enter by boate being imbarked befoze the lowe water: and hauing giuen the Alarme, Captaine Wingfeild and Captaine Sampson betooke the to the escalade, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boates landed without anie great difficultie: yet had they some men hurt in y landing. Colonell Bret & Col. Vmpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding anie defence made against them: for Captain Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his first entrie (with some of his owne Companie whom he trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which he cleered befoze that they offered to enter, & so still scoured the wall) till he came on the backe of them who mainteined the fight against Capteine Wingfeild & Captaine Sampson; who were twice beaten from their ladders, and found verie good resistance, till the Enemies perceiuing ours entred in two places at their backs, were driuen to abandon the same. The reason why that place
was

was longer defended than the other, is (as Don Iuan de Luna who commanded the same affirmeth) that the Enemy that day had resolved in council how to make their defences, if they were approached: and therein concluded, that if we attempted it by water, that it was not to be helde, and therefore vpon the discouerie of our Boates, they of the high Towne should make a signall by fier frō thence, that al the low Towne might make their Retreat thither: but they, (whither troubled with the sodaine terror we brought vpon them, or forgetting their decreē) omitted the fier, which made them gard that place till wee were entred on euerie side.

Then the Towne being entred in threē severall places with an huge crie, the inhabitants betooke them to the high Towne: which they might with lesse perrill doe: for that ours being strangers ther, knew not the way to cut thē of. The rest that were not put to the sword in furie, fled to the Rockes in the Island, and hid themselues in chambers and sellers, which were euerie day found out in great nūbers.

Amongst those Don Iuan de Luna a man of verie good commandement, hauing hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yēld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a Commissarie of bittels called Iuan de vera, who confessed that there were in the *Groyn*e at our entrie 500. Soldiers being in seauen companies which returned verie weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the Journey of *England*, namely.

Under Don Iuan deluna.

Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of *Santa Chroche*; his companie was that night in the *Galeon*.

Don Antonio de Herera then at *Madriill*.

Don Pedro de Mauriques Brother to the Earle of *Paxides*.

Don Ieronimo de Mourray of the order of Saint Iuan, with some of the Towne were in the fort.

Don

Don Gomer de Caramasal then at *Madrid*.
 Captaine Mouson, Caucafo de Socas.

Also there came in that day of our landing from *Retanzas* the companies of Don Iuan de Mosalle, and Don Petropoure de leon.

Also hee saith that there was order giuen for baking of 300000. of Bisquet, some in *Bataneas*, some in *Rinadea*, and the rest there.

There was then in the Towne 2000. pipes of wine, and an 150. in the ships.

That there was lately come vnto the Marquis of *Seralba* 300000. ducats.

That there was 1000. Barres of oyle.

A great quantitie of beanes, pease, wheate, and fish.

That there was 3000. quintells of beefe.

And that not 20. dayes before there came in three Barques laden with match and harquebuses.

Some others also found fauour to bee taken prisoners, but the rest falling into the hands of the common Soldiers, had their throates cut: to the number of 500. as I coniecture first and last after wee had entred the Towne; and in the enterie thereof, there was found euerie celler full of Wine, whereon our men by inordinate drinking, both grewe themselues for the present senceles of the danger of the shot of the Towne, which hurt many of them being drunke, and tooke, the first ground of their sicknes, for of such was our first and chiefeest mortalitie. There was also abundant store of victualls, salt and all kinde of prouision for shipping and the warre: which was confessed by the sayd Commissarie of victualls taken there to be the beginning of a Magasin of all sorts of prouision for a new Voiage into *England*: whereby you may coniecture what the spoile thereof hath aduantaged vs, and preiudiced the King of *Spaine*.

The next morning about eight of the clocke, the Enemye abandoned their Shippes. And hauing ouercharged

the Artillarie of the Gallion, left her on fier, which burnt in terrible sozt two daies together, the fier and ouercharging of the peeces being so great, as of 50. that were in her, ther wer not aboute 16. taken out whole, the rest with ouer charge of the powder beeing broken and molten, with heat of the fire, was taken out in broken peeces into diuerse Shippes. The same day was the Cloister on the south side of the Towne entered by vs, which ioyned very neare to the wall of the Towne, out of the Chambers and other places whereof wee beate into the same with our Musquetiers.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe some 2000. men gathered together out of the countrie, euen to to the gates of the towne, as resolutlie (led by what spirit I knowe not) as though they would haue entered the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the gard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they toke them to their heeles in the same disorder they made their appproach, and with greater speede than ours were able to followe; Notwithstanding, we followed after them moze than a mile. The second day Col. Huntley was sent into the countrie with three or foure hundred men, who brought home verie great stoze of Cowes and Sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night the Generall had in purpose to take a long Munition house builded vpon their wall, opening towards vs, which would haue giuen vs great aduantage against them; but they knowing the commoditie thereof for vs, burnt it in the beginning of the euening: which put him to a newe counsell, for hee had likewise brought some Artillarie to that side of the towne. During this time, there happened a verie great fire in the lower end of the towne; which had it not been by the care of the Generals heedilie seen vnto, and the furie thereof preuented, by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next vnto them, had burnt all the provisions we found there, to our wonderfull hinderance.

The 4. day were planted under the garde of the Cloyster two demie Canons, and two Culuerings against the towne, defended or gabbioned with a crosse wall, through the which our batterie lay; the first & second tyze whereof shooke al the wall downe, so as the ordnance lay al open to the enemye, by reason whereof some of y^e Canoniers were shot & some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordnance Master Spencer was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valoz being accompanied with an honorable care of defending that trust committed vnto him, he neuer left that place, till he receiued direction from the Generall his brother to cease the Batterie which hee presently did, leauing a guard vpon the same for that day: and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the Batterie, as after there were verie fewe or none annoyed therein. That day Captain Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be giuen to the Towne, he should make a proffer of an escalade on the other side, where hee helde his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that should haue been giuen) attempted the same long befoze the assault, & was shot in the mouth. The same daye the Generall hauing planted his Ordnance readie to batter, caused the towne to be sommoned, in which sommons, they of the Towne shot at our Drum: immediately after that there was one hanged ouer the wall, and a parley desired, wherein they gaue vs to vnderstand, that the man hanged, was he that shot at the Drum befoze; wherein also they intreated to haue faire warrs, with promise of the same on their parts: the rest of the parley was spent in talking of Don Iuan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rendering of the Towne, but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris hauing by his skilfull viewe of the Towne (which is almost all seated vpon a Rocke) found one place thereof myneable, & did presently set workmen in hand withal: who after 3. daies labor, (& the seuenth after

wē were entred the base Towne) had bedded their powder, but indeed not farre inough into the wall. Agaynst which time y^e breach made by y^e cannon being thought assaultable, and Companies appoynted as wel to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blowen by by the Wyne: namely, to that of the Cannon, Captaine Richard Wingfeild, and Captaine Philpot, who lead the Generalls foote Companie; with whom also Captaine Yorke went, whose principall Commandment was ouer the hozsmen. And to that of the Wyne, Captaine Iohn Sampson, and Captain Anthonie Wingfeild Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordnance, with certain selected out of diuers Regiments. All these Companies being in Armes, and the assault intended to be giuen in all places at an instant, fier was put to the train of the Wyne: but by reason the powder brake out backwards in a place where the caue was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time, Captaine Hinder was sent with some chosen out of euerie Companie into the countrie for prouisions, whereof hee brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day Captaine Anthonie Sampson was sent out with some 500. to fetch in prouisions for the Armie, who was encountered by them of the Countrie: but he put the to flight, & returned with good spoyle. The same night the Wyners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought verie wel into the foundation of the wall. Agaynst which time the Companies aforesaid being in readines for both places (Generall Drake on the other side with 2.02 300. men in Pinnaces, making profer to attempt a strong Fort vpon an Island before the Towne, where he left more than 30. men) fier was giuen to the trayne of the Wyne, which blew by halfe the Tower vnder which the powder was planted. The Assaultants hauing in charge vpon the effecting of the Wyne presently to giue the assault, which they did accordingly; but too soone, for hauing entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of
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the Tower, which with the first force of the powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell vppon our men: vnder which were buried about 20. or 30. then being vnder that part of the Tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terroz came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the Wyne. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthonie Wingfeild, were shot in the Breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generalls by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfeilds by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell vpon, was Captaine Sydnam pitifully lost: who hauing thre or foure great stones vpon his lower parts, was helde so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor anie reasonable Companie recouer him. Notwithstanding the next daye being found to be aliue, ther was 10. or 12. lost in attempting to relieue him.

The breach made by the Cannon, was wonderful well assaulted by them that had the charge therof, who brought their men to the push of the pike at the top of the Breach. And being readie to enter, the loose earth (which was indeede but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwards from vnder their fete. Whereby did appeare halfe the wal vnbattered. For let no man thinke that Culuerine or Demie Cannon can sufficiently batter a defensible Rampier: and of those peeces we had, the better of the Demi Canons at the second shot brake in her cariages, so as the battrie was of lesse force, being but of thre pieces.

In our Retreat (which was from both breaches thoro we a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who serued verie well that day, was hurt in the verie Breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, & of such as were of best iudgement, was the fall of the Wyne: which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approach was vnlouked for by the Enemy in that place, and therefore not

so much defence made there as in the other. Which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: For finding that two dayes batterie had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knewe in his experience, there was no good to be done that way: which I thinke he first put in pꝛofe, to trie if by that terror he could get the vpper Towne, hauing no other waie to put it in hazard so speedelie, and which in my conscience had obtained the Towne, had not the Defendants been in as great perill of their liues by the displeasure of their King in giuing it vp, as by the bullet or sword in defending the same. For that day befoze the assault, in the view of our Armie, they burnt a Cloyster within the Towne, and manie other houses adioyning to the Castle, to make it the moze defencible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselues had of holding it against vs, had not God (who would not haue vs sodainly made pꝛoud) laid that misfortune vpon vs.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure Cannons, and other pieces of batterie promised to the iourney, and not perfozmed, might haue made her Maiestie Distres of the *Groyne*: for though the Mine were infortunate, yet if the other breach had been such as the earth would haue helde our men thereon, I doo not thinke but they had entred it thzoughly at the first assault giuen: which had been moze than I haue heard of in our age. And being as it was, is no moze than the Prince of *Parma* hath in winning of all his Townes endured, who neuer entred anie place at the first assault, noꝛ aboue thzee by assault.

The next day, the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an Armie of 8000. at *Puente de Burgos*, sixe miles from thence in the way to *Petance*, which was but the beginning of an Armie: in that there was a greater leauie readie to come thether vnder the Conde de Altemira, either in purpose to relieue the *Groyne*, or to encamp themselves where the place of our embarking, there to hinder
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the same; for to that purpose had the Marques of Seralba written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissarie taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the Countrey, (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoyled, and brought in victualls plentifully. The Generall, I say, hearing of this Armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, against whom he carried but nine Regiments: in the Vanguard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaille, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk: and in the Rereward, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leaving the other five Regiments with Generall Drake, for the garde of the Cloyster and Artillarie. About tenne of the clocke the next day, being the first of May, halfe a mile from the Campe, wee discouering the Enemye, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the Vanguard in chiefe, appoynted his Lieutenant Colonell, Captaine Anthonie Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who deuided the into three troupes; the one he appoynted to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand: another to Captaine Errington to take the way on the right hand, and the bodie of them (which were Musketers) Captaine Wingfield tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way helde by Captaine Wingfield, so as he giuing the first charge vpon the Enemye, was in the instant seconded by Captaine Wingfield, who beate them from place to place (they hauing verie good places of defence, and crosse walles which they might haue held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is ouer a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of stone vpon Arches. On the foote of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the Enemye verie stronglie entrenched, who with our
shot

shot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the pikes, without stay passed to the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and diuers others, who found the way cleere ouer y^e same, but through an incredible bolie of shot; for that the shot of their Armie flanked vpon both sides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrells: but they who should haue garded the same, seeing the proude approach wee made, forsooke the defence of the Barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with verie earnestnes in ouerthrusting, fell, and was grieuousslie hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honozablie reskued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder also hauing his Caske shot off, had five wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Captaine Fulford was shot into the left arme at the same counter: yet were they so throughlie seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to giue encouragement to the attempt, (which was of wonderful difficultie) as their brauest men that defended that place being ouerthrowne, their whole Armie fell presentlie into route, of whom our men had the chase thzee miles in foure sondrie waies, which they betooke themselues vnto. There was taken the Standerd with the Kings Armes, and bozne before the Generall. How many, two thousand men (for of so many consisted our Vanguard) might kill in pursuit of 4. sundrie parties, so many you may imagine fell before vs that day. And to make the number moze great, our men hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their stands, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his Regiment thzee miles further to a Cloyster, which he burnt and spoyled, wherein he found two hundred moze and put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onlie Captaine Cooper

per, and one private souldier: Captaine Barton was also hurt vpon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong Baracades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would haue thought it a rare resolution of ours to giue so braue a charge vpon an Armie so strongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall sent the Vanguard one way, and the Battell another, to burne and spoyle; so as you might haue seen the countrie moze than thzee miles compasse on fire. There was found verie good store of Ordnition and Victuals in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort left behind, they were so hotlie pursued. Our Sailors also landed in an Island next adioyning our shippes, where they burnt and spoyled all they found. Thus we returned to the *Groyne*, bringing small comfort to the enemye within the same, who shot many times at vs as wee marched out, but not once in our comming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our Artillarie landed for the Batterie, and of the rest taken at the *Groyne*, which had it been such as might haue given vs any assurance of a better batterie, or had there been no other purpose of our Journey but that, I thinke the Generall would haue spent some moze time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights, there were that vndertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builded vpon the wall by the water side: but they within suspecting as much, made so good defence against vs, as they preuented the same. In our departure there was fire put into euerie house of the lowe towne, in somuch as I may iustlie say, there was not one house left standing in the Base towne, or the Cloyster.

The next day, being the eight of May, wee embarked our Armie without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the Enemye at *Puente de Burgos*) had been impossible to haue done; for that without doubt they would haue at-

tempted something against vs in our imbarking : as appeared by the report of the Commissarie aforesayd, who confessed, that the first night of our landing, the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, & to Terneis de Santisso, to bring all the forces against vs that they could possiblie raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bring an armie thether, wherewithall they might either besiege vs in their Base towne, if we should get it, or to lie betwene vs and our place of imbarking, to fight with vs vpon the advantage ; for they had about 15000, souldiers vnder their commandements.

After wee had put from thence, wee had the winde so contrarie, as wee could not vnder nine daies recouer the *Burlings* : in which passage on the 13. day, the Earle of Essex, and with him Master Walter Deuereux his brother (a Gentleman of wonderful great hope), Sir Roger Williams, Colonell generall of the foot men, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwaies been most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the *Fleete*. The Earle hauing put himselfe into the Journey against the opinion of the world, and as it seemed to the hazard of his great fortune, though to the great aduancement of his reputation, (for as the honorable cariage of himselfe towards all men, doth make him highlie esteemed at home; so did his exceeding forwardnes in all seruices, make him to be wondred at amongst vs) who, I say, put off in the same winde from *Famouth*, that wee left *Plymouth* in, where he lay, because he would auoide the importunitie of messengers that were daylie sent for his returne, and some other causes moze secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had been as farre as *Cales* in *Andalofia*, and lay vp and downe about the South Cape, where he toke some ships laden with *Cozne*, and brought them vnto the *Fleete*. Also in his returne from thence to meeete with our *Fleete*, he fell with the *Ilands* of *Bayon*; and on that side of the
river

riuer which *Cannas* standeth vpon: he, with Sir Roger Williams, & those Gentlemen that were with him went on shore, with some men out of the ship he was in, whom the enimie that held gard vpon the Coast, would not abide, but fled vp into the country. After his coming into the fleet (to the great reioycing of vs all) he demaunded of the Generalls, that after our Armie should come on shore, he might alwaies haue the leading of the vanguard, which they easilie yelded vnto: as being desirous to satisfie him in all things, but especially in matters so much tending to his honor as this did; so as from the time of our first landing in *Portingall*, hee alwaies marched in the poynt of the vanguard, accompanied with Sir Roger Williams (except when the necessitie of the place hee held) called him to other seruices.

The 16. day we landed at *Penicha* in *Portingall*, vnder the shot of the Castle, and aboue the waile in water, more than a mile from y^e towne, wherein many were in peril of drowning, by reason the wind was great, & the Sea went high, which ouerthrew one boat wherein 25. of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The Enemie, being five companies of *Spaniards* vnder the commaundement of y^e Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against vs, & in our landing made their approach close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex, wth Sir Roger Williams & his brother, hauing landed sufficient number to make 2. troupes, left one to hold the way by the water side, and led y^e other ouer the Sandhills: which the Enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we conjectured, to encounter vs, but in dede to make their speedie passage away: notwithstanding they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by y^e Colonell generall vnder Captaine Iacson, they stood the same euen to the push of the pike: in which charge & at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The Enemie being fled further thā we had reason to follow them, al our companies were drawn to the towne: which being vnfortified in any place, we found vndefended by anie man against vs. And therefore the Generall caused the castle to bee somoned y^e night: which being abandoned by him that commaunded it, a *Portingall*, named *Anto-*

nio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, wherupon he would deliver y^e same, which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the castle 100. shot & pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his *Portingals* withall, & 20. barrells of powder: so as possessing both y^e towne & the castle, we rested there one day; wherin some *Friers* & other poore men came vnto their newe King, promising in the name of their Countrie next adiourning, that within two daies he should haue a good supplie of horse & foote for his assistance. That day we remained there, the Generals company of horses were vnshipped.

The Generals hauing there resolved y^e the Armie should march ouer land to *Lisbone* vnder y^e conduct of generall Norris: & that general Drake should meet him in the riuer thereof wth the flæete: that there should be one company of foote left in gard of the castle, & 6. of the ships: also y^e the sicke and hurt should remaine there wth p^{ro}uisions for their cures. The General, to trie y^e euent of the matter by expedition, the next day began to march on this sort: his owne regiment, & the regiments of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonel Lane, & Colonel Medkerk, in the Vanguard: Generall Drake, Colonel Deuereux, S. Edward Norris, & Colonel Sidneis in y^e Battaile: S. James Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonell Vmptons, Colonell Huntleis, & Colonell Brets in the arreward. By that time our armie was thus marshalled, general Drake, who though he were to passe by sea, yet to make known the honorable desire he had of taking equal part of al fortunes wth vs, stood v^{pon} the ascent of an hil, by y^e which our Battalions must of necessitie march, & with a pleasing kindnes tooke his leaue seuerally of the cōmaunders of euerie regiment, wishing vs al happy successe in our iourney ouer the land, with a coustant promise y^e he would, if the iniury of y^e wether did not hinder him, meet vs in the riuer of *Lisbone* with our flæete. The want of carriages the first day was such, as they were enforced to carrie their Munition vpon mens backes, which was the next day remedied.

In this march Captaine Crispe, the Prouost Marshall, caused one who (contrarie to the proclamation published

at our arriuall in *Portingall*) had broken by a house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death vpon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example prouidentlie giuen in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be moze respectiue- lie regarded all the iourney after, by them whom feare of punishment doth onlie hold within compasse. The Camp lodged that night at *Lorignia*: The next day we had intelligence al the way that the enemy had made head of horse and foote against vs at *Toras Vedras*, which wee thought they would haue held: But comming thither the seconde day of our march, not two houres befoze our Vanguard came in, they lefte the Towne and Castle to the possession of Don Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victualls, especiallye of bread, vpon a Commandement giuen from the Generall, that no man should spoyle the Countrey, or take anie thing from anie Portugall: which was moze respectiue- ly obserued, than I thinke would haue been in our owne Countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the Countrey (contrarie to promise) hauing neglected the prouision of victualls for vs, whereby we were dri- uen for that time into a great scarcitie. Which moued the Colonell Generall to call all the Colonels together, and with them to aduise for some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to aduertise y^e king what necessi- tie we were in, befoze we shuld of our selues alter the first institution of abstinence: the Colonell generall hauing ac- quainted the General herewith, with his very good allow- ance therof, went to the King; who after some expostula- tions vsed, toke the moze carefull order for our men, and after that our Armie was moze plentifully relieved.

The third daye wee lodged our Armie in three sundrie villages, the one Battalion lying in *Enchara de los Caua- liers*, another in *Enchara de los Obisbos*, and the third in *San Sebastians*.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generals horse
company,

companie, in this march made triall of the valour of the horſemen of the Enemy; who by one of his Corporalls charged with 8. horſes through 40. of them, and himſelfe through more than 200. with ſome 40. horſe: who would abide him no longer than they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to *Loris*, and had diuers intelligences that the enemy would carrie vs there: for the Cardinall had made publique promise to them of *Lisbone*, that he would fight with vs in that place, which hee might haue done aduantageouſlie; for we had a bridge to paſſe ouer in the ſame place: but befoze our comming hee diſlodged, notwithstanding it appeared vnto vs that hee had in purpoſe to encampe there: for wee found the ground ſtaked out where their trenches ſhould haue been made: and their horſemen with ſome few ſhot ſhewed themſelues vpon a hill at our comming into that village. Whom Sir Henrie Norris (whole Regiment had the poſt of the Vanguard) thought to draw vnto ſome fight, and therefore marched without ſound of Drum, and ſomewhat faſter than ordinarie, thereby to get neere them befoze hee were diſcouered, for he was ſhadowed from them by an hill that was betwene him and them: but befoze he could draw his companies anie thing neere, they retired.

Generall Drakes Regiment that night for the commoditie of good lodging, drew themſelues into a Village, more than one Engliſh mile from thence, and neare the Enemy: who not daring to doe anie thing againſt vs in foure dayes befoze, tooke that occaſion, and in the next morning fell downe vpon that Regiment, crying, *Viva el Rey Don Antonio*, which was a generall ſalutation thorough all the Countrey as they came: whom our young Souldiers (though it were vpon their guard, and befoze the watch were diſcharged) began to entertaine kindly, but hauing got within their guard, they fell to cut their throates: but the Alarme being taken inwards, the Officers of the two next Companies, whole Captaines, (Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were lately
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dead at the *Groyne*, brought down their colours and pikes upon them in so resolute manner, as they presently draue them to retyze with losse: they killed of ours at their first entrance 14. and hurt sixe or seauen.

The next day we lodged at *Aluelana* within threé miles of *Lisbone*, where many of our Souldiers drinking in two places of standing waters by the waie, were poysoned, & thereon presently died: some doo thinke it came rather by eating of honnie, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by water or by honnie, the poore men were poysoned.

That night the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleuen of the clock with 1000. men to lye in Ambuscade neere the Towne, and hauing layd the same verie neere, sent some to giue the Alarme vnto the Enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the Enemy refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned as soone as it was light without doing anie thing, though he had in purpose, and was readie to haue giuen an honourable Charge on them.

The 25. of May in the euening we came to the Suburges of *Lisbone*: at the verie entrance whereof, Sir Roger Williams calling Captain Anthony Wingfield with him, tooke thirtie shot or thereabouts, and first scowzed al the streets till they came verie neare the Towne; where they found none but olde folkes and beggers, crying, *Viua el Rey Don Antonio*, and the houses shut vp: for they had carried much of their wealth into the Towne, and had fired some houses by the water side, ful of cozne and other prouisions of victualls, least we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in manie houses.

The foure Regiments that had the Vanguard that day which were Colonell Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sydneys and Generall Drakes whome I name as they marched, the Colonell Generall caused to holde
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guard in the nearest streates of the Suburbes: The Battaille and the arrierward stood in Armes al the night in the field neare to *Alcantara*. Before Morning Captaine Wingfield, by direction from y^e Colonel General Sir Roger Williams helde guard with Sir Edward Norris his Regiment in threë places verie neere the Towne wal, and so helde the same till the other Regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the Towne burnt all their houses that stood upon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them, might thereby greatly haue annoyed the Towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted, (but not without perill) to take a Church called *S. Antonio*, which ioyned to the wall of the towne, and woulde haue been a verie euill neighbour to the towne: but the Enemy hauing moze easie entrie into it than wee, gained it before vs. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the Battaille and arrierward in the Suburbes called *Bona vista*, & in placing Musquetiers in houses, to frunt their shot upon the wall, who from the same scowzed the great streates verie dangerousslie.

By this time our men being thzoughly wearie with our sixe dayes March: and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest: whereof the Enemy being aduertised, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the Town, and made their approach in threë seuerall streates upon vs, but chiefly in Colonell Bretts quarter: who (as most of the Armie was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, drew his men into Armes, and made head against them so thzoughly, as himselfe was slaine in the place, Captaine Carsey shot through the thigh, of which hurt he died within four dayes after, Captaine Carre slaine presently, and Captaine Caue hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his Regiment.

This resistance made as wel here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonel Medkerke commanded, put them to a sodaine fowle retreat: in so much, as the

the Earle of *Essex* had the chase of them euen to the gates of the high *Towne*, wherein they left behinde them many of their best *Commanders*: their *Troope* of *horsesmen* also came out, but being charged by *Captaine Yorke*, withdrew themselves againe. Manie of them also leste the *streates*, and betooke them to houses which they found open: For the *Serieant Maio*? *Captaine Wilson* slewe in one house with his owne hands threë or foure, and caused them that were with him to kil manie others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, aswell in qualitie as in quantitie.

During our march to this place, *Generall Drake* with the whole *Fleete* was come into *Cascais*, and possessed the *Towne* without anie resistance: manie of the inhabitants at their discouerie of our *Naue*, fled with their baggage into the *Hountaines*, and leste the *Towne* for anie man that would possesse it, till *Generall Drake* sent vnto them by a *Portingall Pilot* which he had on board, to offer them all peaceable kindnes, so farre forth as they would accept of their *King*, and minister necessaries to the *Armie* he had brought: which offer they ioyfully embraced, & presently sent two chiefe men of their *Towne*, to signifie their loyaltie to *Don Antonio*, and their honest affections to our people. Whereupon, the *Generall* landed his *Companies* not farre from the *Cloyster* called *San Domingo*, but not without perill of the shot of the *Castle*, which being guarded with sixtie five *Spaniards* helde still agaynst him.

As our *Fleete* were casting anker when they came first into that *Road*, there was a small ship of *Brasil* that came from thence, which bare too with them, and seemed by striking her sayles, as though she would also haue ankered: but taking her fittest occasion, hoysed againe, and would haue passed by the *Riuer*, but the *Generall* presently discerning her purpose, sent out a *Pinnace* or two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ranne her selfe vpon the *Rocks*: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading

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(being manie chests of sugar) was made nothing worth by the salt water. In his going thether also, he tooke ships of the Port of *Portingal*, which wer sent from thence, with fiftene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Serieant Maioꝝ of the same place, laden with men and victualls to *Lisbone*: the rest that escaped, put into *San Vues*.

The next day, it pleased General Norris to cal al y Colonells together, and to aduise with them, whether it were moze expedient to tarrie there to attend the Forces of the Portingall hoꝝe and foote wherof the King had made promise, and to march some conuenient number to *Cascais* to fetch our Artillarie and munition, which was all at our ships, sauing that, which foꝝ the necessitie of the Seruice, was brought along with vs: Whereunto, some carried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the Towne stood foꝝ vs, held it best to make our abode there, and to send some 3000. foꝝ our Artillarie: promising to themselues, that the Enemie being wel beaten the day befoꝝe, would make no moze sallies: Some others, (whose vnbeléeve was verie strong of anie hope from the Portingall) perswaded rather to march whollie away, than to be anie longer carried away with an opinion of things, wherof there was so little apparance. The Generall, not willing to leaue anie occasion of blott to be layd vpon him foꝝ his speedie going from thence, noꝝ to loose anie moze time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; tolde them, that though the Expedition of *Portingall* were not the onely purpose of their Journey, but an aduventure therin; which if it succéded prosperously, might make them sufficiently rich, & wonderfull honozable; and that they had done so much already in triall thereof, as what ende soeuer happened, could nothing impaire their credits: Yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that hee should haue that night 3000. men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not foꝝ that night dislodge. And if they came, thereby to make him so strong, that hee might send the like number foꝝ his munition, he would resolute

to trie his fortune for the Towne. But if they came not, he found it not conuenient to diuide his Forces, by sending anie to *Cascais*, and keeping a Remainder behinde, whence he saw them the day before so boldly sally vpon his whole Armie, and knew that they were stronger of Soldiers armed within the Towne, than hee was without: And that before our returne could be from *Cascais*, that they expected more supplies from all places of Souldiers, for the Duke of *Bragantia*, and Don Francisco de *Toledo* were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his conclusion was, that if the 3000. promised, came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may bee here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderlie regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an Armie against such an Enemy, before hee knewe either the fulnes of his owne strength, or certaine meanes how he should abide the place when he should come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decree made in the Councell at *Penicha*, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our Maie should meete vs in the riuer of *Lisbone*, in the which was the store of all our provisions, & so the mean of our tariance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no Munitiion left to entertaine a verie small fight. We are also to consider, that the King of *Portingall* (whether carried away with imagination by the aduertisements hee receiued from the *Portingalls*, or willing by any promise to bring such an Armie into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that vpon his first landing, there would be a reuolt of his subiects: wherof there was some hope giuen at our first entrie to *Penicha*, by the manner of the yielding of that Towne and Fort, which made the Generall thinke it most conuenient speedilie to march to the principall place, thereby to giue courage to the rest of the Countrey. The Friars also and the poore people that came vnto him, promised that within two daies y Gentle-

men and others of the countrie would come plentifully in: within which two daies came many moze Priestes, and some verie fewe Gentlemen on horsebacke; but not till we came to *Toras Vedras*, where they that noted y^e course of things how they passed, might somewhat discouer the weakenes of that people. There they tooke two daies moze: and at the ende thereof, referred him till our coming to *Lisbone*, with assurance, that so soone as our Armie should be seene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King and fall vpon the Spaniards.

After two nights tarriance at *Lisbone*, the King, as you haue heard, promised a supplie of 3000. foote, and some horse: but all his appoyntments being expired, euen to the last of a night, all his horse could not make a Coznet of 40. noz his foote furnish two Ensignes fullie, although they carried thzee oz foure Colours: and these were altogether such as thought to enrich themselues by the ruine of their neighbors: for they committed moze disorders in euerie place wher we came by spoyle, thā any of our own.

The Generall, as you see, hauing done moze than before his comming out of *England* was required by the King, and giuen credite to his many promises euen to the breach of the last, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine daies longer: in which time he might haue engaged himselfe further, than with any honoz he could come out of againe, by attempting a Towne fortified, wherein were moze men armed against vs, than wee had to oppugne them with all our Artillarie and Munition, being fiftene miles from vs, and our men then declining; for there was the first shewe of any great sicknes amongst them. Whereby it seemeth, that either his Prelacie did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two oz thzee daies he sawe no semblance: oz he like a fillie louer, who promiseth himselfe fauour by importuning a coy mistris, thought by our long being before his Towne, that in the ende taking pitie on him, they would let him in.

What end the Friers had by following him with such deuotion, I knowe not, but sure I am, the Laitie did respite their homage till they might see which way the victorie would sway; fearing to shewe themselves apparantlie vnto him, least the Spaniard should after our departure (if we preuailed not) call them to accompt: yet sent they vnder hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to saue their owne if he became King; but indeede verie well contented to see the Spaniards and vs trie by blowes, who should carrie away the Crowne. For they bee of so base a mould, as they can verie well subiect themselves to any gouernment, where they may liue free frō blowes, and haue libertie to become rich, being loath to endure hazard either of life or goods. For durst they haue put on anie minds througely to reuolt, they had thzee wonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselves did in generall confesse, that there were not aboue 5000. Spaniards in that part of the Countrie, of which number the halfe went out of the Towne till the last day of our march: during which time, how easilie they might haue preuailed against the rest, any man may conceiue. But vpon our approach they tooke them all in, and combined themselves in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thether when the sallie was made vpon vs by their most resolute Spaniards, how easilie might they haue kept them out, or haue giuen vs the Gate which was held for their retreat, if they had had any thought thereof.

And two daies after our comming to *Cascaies*, when 6000. Spaniards and *Portingalls* came against vs as farre as *S. Iulians* by land, as you shall presentlie heare, (all which time I thinke there were not many Spaniards left in the Towne) they had a moze fit occasion to shewe their deuotion to the King, than any could be offered by our tarrying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had shut them out, but that we would haue fought with them vpon that aduantage, hauing sought them in *Galitia* vpon

disadvantage to beate them: and hauing taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof wee gaue sufficient testimonie in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken so deepe impression within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them vpon anie hazard.

For, what ciuil Country hath euer suffred themselves to be conquered by so few men as they were; to be depriued of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized ouer thus long but they? And what Countrey liuing in slauerie vnder a stranger whom they naturally hate; hauing an Armie in the field to fight for them & their libertie, would lie still with the yoke vpon their neckes, attending if anie strangers would vnburthe them, with out so much as rousing themselves vnder it but they? They will promise much in speaches, for they bee great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, & therefore marched on into their Countrey: But they performed little in action, whereof wee could haue had no prooue without this thorough triall. Wherein hee hath discovered their weaknesse, and honorably performed more than could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these malingners who seeke occasions of slander, haue reported him to bee suspicious of a people, of whose infidelitie he had no testimonie: and to be fearfull without cause, if he had refused to giue credite to their promises without anie aduventure? Let no frivolous Questionist therefore further enquire, why he marched so manie dayes to *Lisbone*, and tarried there so small a while.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gaue order for our marching away; himselfe, the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the Stande that was made in the high streate, till the whole Armie was drawne into the field, and so marched out of the Towne, appoynting Captain Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield in the Arriere-ward of them with the shot; thinking that the Enemye
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(as it was most likelie) would haue issued out vpon our rising; but they were otherwise aduised. When we were come into the field, euerie Battalion fell into that order which by course appertained vnto them, and so marched that night vnto *Cascais*. Had wee marched through his Countrie as enemies, our Souldiers had been well supplied in all their wants: but had wee made enemies of the Suburbs of *Lisbone*, wee had been the richest Armie that euer went out of *England*: for besides the particuler wealth of euerie house, there were many warehouses by the water side full of all sorts of rich Marchandizes.

In our march that day, the Gallies which had somewhat, but not much, annoyed vs at *Lisbone*, (for that our way lay along the riuer) attended vs till we were past *S. Julians*, bestowing many shot amongst vs, but did no harme at all, sauing they strooke off a private Gentlemans legge, and killed the Sergeant Maiors moyle vnder him. The horsemen also followed vs a farre of, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to hold in march, nor we had carriage for.

After we had been two daies at *Cascais*, wee had intelligence by a Friar, that the Enemy was marching strongly towards vs, and then come as farre as *S. Julians*: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of *Essex* and the Generalls, as they offered euerie one of them to giue the messenger a hundred Crownes if they found them in the place: for the Generall desiring nothing moze than to fight with them in field rounge, dispatched that night a messenger with a Trompet, by whom he writ a Cartell to the Generall of their Armie, wherein he gaue them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we dislodged from *Lisbone* in disorder and feare of them (which indeede was most false) for that it was five of the clock in the morning before wee fell into Armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to followe out vpon vs. Also he challenged him therein, to meete him the nexte morning with his whole Armie, if he durst attend his comming,
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and there to trie out the iustnes of their quarrell by battaile: by whom also the Earle of *Essex* (who preferring the honoz of the cause, which was his Countries, befoze his owne safetie) sent a particuler Cartell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie: or if they would not admit of that, fixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoynt, should meeete so many of theirs in the head of our Battaille to trie their fortunes with them, and that they should haue assurance of their returne and honozable intreatie.

The Generall accordingly made all his Armie readie by thre of the clocke in the morning and marched euen to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a soudaine feare that we had been come vpon them, as the Generall was the next daye certainly informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to *Lisbone*, but could not get other answer to either of his letters, but threating to be hanged, for daring to bring such a message: howbeit the Generall had caused to be written vpon the backside of their pasport, that if they did offer any violence vnto the messengers, he would hang the best prisoners he had of theirs: which made them to aduise better of the matter and to returne them home, but without answer.

After our Armie came to *Cascais*, and the Castle summoned, the Castellan thereof graunted, that vpon five or sixe shot of the Cannon hee would deliuer the same, but not without sight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had been such for want of men or victualls as he could not hold it many daies, because he sawe it otherwise defencible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that necessitie, than to bring the Cannon, and therefore onlie set a gard vpon the same, least any supplie of those things which hee wanted should be brought vnto them. But he still standing vpon those conditions, the Generall about two daies befoze he determined to goe to Sea, brought thre or foure peeces of batterie

terie against it : vpon the first tire whereof he rendered, and compounded to goe away with his baggage and Armes : he had one Cannon, two Culuerings, one Basiliske, and threē or foure other field peeces, threescore and five Souldiers, verie good stoze of munition, and victuals enough in the Castle ; insomuch as hee might haue held the same longer than the Generall had in purpose to tarie there. One Companie of foot men was put into the garde thereof, til the Artillarie was taken out, & our Armie embarked ; which without hauing that Fort, we could not without great perill haue done. When we were readie to set saile (one halfe of the Fort being by order from the General blowne vp by myne) the Companie was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the Road, our Flēete began the second of Iune, and so continued sixe daies after to fetch in some Hulks to the number of 60. of *Dansik*, *Starren*, *Rastock*, *Lubec* and *Hamburgh*, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the Kings prouision, and going for *Lisbone* : their principall lading was Cozne, Maltes, Cables, Copper, and Ware : amongst which were some of great burthen wonderfull well buidged for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the Kings prouision, to reinforce his decayed Nauie : whereof there was the greater likelihood, in that the owner of the greatest of them, which carried two Misnes, was knowne to be verie inward with the Cardinall, who rather than hee would be taken with his ships, committed himselfe vnto his small boate, wherein he recouered *S. Sebastians*. Into the which our men, that before were in flēeboates, were shipped, and the flēeboates sent home with an offer of Cozne to the value of their hire. But the wind being good for them for *Rochel*, they chose rather to lose their Cozne than the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his horses with them, and from thence shipped them into *England*.

The third of June, Colonell Deuereux and Colonell Sidney, being both verie sicke, departed for *England*, who in the whole iourney had shewed themselues verie forward to all seruices, and in their departure verie unwilling to leaue vs: that day we embarked all our Armie, but lay in the Road vntill the eight thereof.

The sixth day the Earle of *Essex*, vpon receipt of letters from her Maiestie, by them that brought in the victualls, presentlie departed towards *England*, with whom Sir Roger Williams was verie desirous to goe, but found the Generalls verie unwilling he should do so, in y^e he bare the next place vnto them, and if they should miscarrie, was to commaund the Armie. And the same day there came vnto vs two small Barkes that brought tidings of some other shippes come out of *England* with victualls, which were passed bywards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after wee set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to goe to the Isles of *Acores*, the second day, which was the ninth, wee met with them comming backe againe towards vs, whose provision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding, we resolved to continue our course for the Islands.

About this time was the Marchant Royal, with three or foure other shippes sent to *Penicha*, to fetch away the Companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton hauing receiued letters from the Generalls that were sent ouerland, was departed befoze, not being able by reason of the enemies speedie marching thether, either to bring away the Artillarie, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gaue him; for hee was no sooner gone, than the Enemy possessed the Towne and Castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the Road.

At this time also was the Ambassadoz from the Emperour of *Moroco*, called Rays Hamet Bencasamp, returned, and with him Master Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and desert, was sent from Don Anthonio, and Captaine Ousley from the Generalls, to the Emperour.

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The next morning, the nine Gallies which were sent not five daies befoze out of *Andolosia* for the strengthe-ning of the riuer of *Lisbone* (which being ioyned with the other twelue that were there befoze, though wee lay hard by them at *S. Iulians*, durst neuer make any attempt against vs bypon our departure from thence) were returning home, and in the morning being a verie dead calme, in the dawning thereof fell in the winde of our Fléete, in the vttermost part whereof they assailed one stragling Barke of *Plymouth*, of the which Captaine Cauerley being Captaine of the land Companie, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Barriners abandoned the shippe, and betooke them to the ship boates, whereof one, in which the Master & the Captain wer, was ouerrun with the Gallies, and they drowned. There was also two Hulks stragled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to vs, nor we to them, though all the great ships towed with their boates to haue relieued them, but could not be recouered; in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his Companie, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not well discern, but might easilie iudge by his long and good fight, that the Enemy could not but susteine much losse, who setting also vpon one other Hulk wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he verie sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their Artillarie, and attempted to board her. And seeing also one other Hulke a league of, a sterne of vs, they made towards her; but finding that she made readie to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed their losse being great in the other fights, they were loath to procéed any further.

From that day till the 19. of June, our direction from the Generall was, that if the winde were Northerlie wée should plie for the *Acores*; but if Southerlie, for the Isles of *Bayon*. Wee lay with contrarie windes about that

place and the *Rocke*, till the Southerlie wind preuailing carried vs to *Bayon*, part of our ships to the number of 25. in a great winde which was two dayes befoze, hauing lost the Admiralls and Fløete, according to their direction, fell in the mozning of that day with *Bayon*, among whome, was Sir Henrie Norris in the *Ayde*: who had in purpose (if the Admiralls had not come in) with some 500. men out of them all to haue landed, and attempted the taking of *Vigo*. The rest of the Fløete helde with Generall Drake, who though he were two dayes befoze put vppon those *Islandes*, cast off againe to sea for the *Açores*: but remembzng how vnprouided he was for that *Journey*, & seeing that he had lost manie of his great ships, returned for *Bayon*, and came in there that night in the Euening, where he passed by the riuer more than a mile about *Vigo*.

The next mozning we landed as manie as were able to fight, which were not in the whole about 2000. men, (for in the 17. dayes wee continued on boord wee had cast manie of our men ouer boord) with which number the Colonell Generall marched to the Towne of *Vigo*, neare the which when hee approached, hee sent Captaine Anthonie Wingfield with a Troope of shot to enter one side of the same, who found vpon euerie strētes end a strong *Barriade*, but altogether abandoned: for hauing entered the Towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way befoze him to *Bayon*. On the other side of the Towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whose approach on that side (I thinke) made them leaue the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine ships sent with the *Vizeadmirall* to lye close befoze the Towne, to beate vpon the same with their artillarie.

In the afternoone were sent 300. vnder the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henrie Poure, to burne another village betwixt that & *Bayon*, called *Borsis*, & as much of the Countrey as the day would giue them leaue to do; which was a verie pleasant rich Valley, but they
burnt

burnt it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the Towne, both that and the next day, so as the Countrey was spoyled seven or eight miles in length. There was found great store of wine in the Towne, but not anie thing els: for the other daies warning of the ships that came first in, gaue them a respite to carrie all away.

The next morning by bzeake of the day, the Colouell Generall, (who in absence of the Generalls that were on boord their ships, commanded that night on shoare) caused all our Companies to be drawn out of the Towne, and sent in two Troops to put fire in euerie house of the same, which done we embarked againe.

This day, there were certaine Marriners (without anie direction) put themselues on shoare, on the contrarie side of the Riuer from vs, for pillage; who were beaten by the Enemye from their boates, and punished by the Generalls for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reasons why we attempted nothing against *Bayon*, were befoze shewed to bee want of artillarie, and may now be alledged to be the small number of our men: who should haue gone against so strong a place, manned with verie good souldiers, as was showed by Iuan de Vera taken at the *Groyn*e, who confessed that there were 600. olde Souldiers in Garrison there of *Flanders*, and the *Tercios* of *Naples*, lately also returned out of the Journey of *England*: vnder the leading of

Capitan Puebla.

Christofero Vasques de Viralta, a Souldier of *Flanders*.

Don Petro Camascho, de tercio de *Naples*.

Don Francisco de Cespedes.

Capt. Iuan de Solo, de tercio de *Naples*,

Don Diego de Cassaua.

Capt. Sanban.

Also he saith, there be 18. peeces of brasse, and foure of yron lately layd vppon the walls of the Towne, besides them that were there befoze.

The same day the Generalls seeing what weake estate our Armie was drawen into by sicknesse, determined to man and victuall 20. of the best ships for the Ilandes of *Acores* with Generall Drake, to see if he could meete with the Indian Fléete, and Generall Norris to returne home with the rest. And for the shifting of men and victualls accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Ilands of *Bayon* againe, and to remaine there that daye. But Generall Drake according to their appoyntment being vnder sayle, neuer stooke at the Ilandes, but put straight to sea; whom all the Fléete followed sauing 33. which being in the Riuer further than he, and at the entrance out of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast Anker there for that night: amongst whom, by good Fortune was the Foresight, and in her Sir Edward Norris. And the night following, Generall Norris being driuen from the rest of the Fléete by a great storme, (for all that daye was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came agayne into the Ilands, but not without great perill, hee being forced to trust to a Spanish Fisher-man (who was taken two dayes befoze at sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a Councell of as manie as he found there, holding the purpose he had befoze concluded with Sir Francis Drake the day befoze, and directed all their courses for *England*, tarying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were lefte in wonderfull distresse, by hauing the victualls that came last, carried away the day befoze to sea.

The next day he set sayle, & the tenth day after, which was the second of *July* came into *Plymouth*, where he found Sir Francis Drake, & all the Queenes ships, with manie of the others, but not all: for the Fléete was dispersed into other harbors; some lead by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the Hulkes, sought other Ports from their Generalls eye, wher they might make their priuate commoditie of them,

as they haue done to their great aduantage.

Presently vpon their their arriuall there, the Generalls dissolued all the Armie, sauing 8. Companies, which are yet held together, giuing euerie Souldier five shillings in money, and the Armes he bare to make money of, which was moze than could by anie meanes be due vnto the: for they were not in seruice thzee months, in which time they had their victualls, which no man will value at lesse than halfe their pay; for such is the allowance in her Maiesties Ships to her Marriners, so as there remained but ten shillings a month moze to be paid, for which there was not any priuate man but had apparell and furniture to his owne vse, so as euerie common Souldier discharged, receaued moze in money, victualls, apparell and furniture, than his pay did amount vnto.

Notwithstanding, there be euen in the same place wher those things haue passed, that either doe not or will not conceaue the Souldiers estate, by comparing their pauer- tie and the shortnesse of the time together, but lay some iniuries vpon the Generalls and the action. Where, and by the way, but especiallie here in *London*, I finde there haue been some false prophets gone befoze vs, telling straunge tales: For as our Countrey doth bring forth manie gallant men, who desirous of honour, doe put themselves into the actions thereof, so dooth it manie moze dull spirited, who though their thoughtes reach not so high as others, yet doe they listen how other mens acts doe passe, and eyther beleeuing what anie man will repozt vnto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted truth. The one sort of these do take their opinions from the high way side, or at the fardest goe no farther than *Paules* to enquire what hath been done in this Voyage: where, if they meeete with anie, whose capacitie befoze their going out could not make them liue, nor their valour maintain their reputation, and who went onely for spoyle, complayning on the hardnesse and miserie thereof, they thinke they are bound

bound to giue credite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in verie charitie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they are entred into, if they see anie of those malecontents (as euerie iourney yeldeth some) doe runne vnto them like tempting spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresawe befoze our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in believing euerie report, for you see there haue been many moze beholders of these things y^e haue passed, thā actors in the same; who by their experience, not hauing the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, haue thought that to lie hard, not to haue their meate well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slaine, was a miserable thing; and not hauing so giuen their minds to the seruice as they are any thing instructed thereby, doe for want of better matter discourse ordinarilie of these things: whereas the iourney (if they had with that iudgement seen into it, and as their places required) hath giuen them farre moze honozable purpose and argument of discourse.

These mens discontentments and mislikings befoze our comming home, haue made me labour thus much to instruct you in the certeintie of euerie thing, because I would not willingly haue you miscarried in the iudgements of them, wherein you shall giue me leaue somewhat to delate vpon a question, which I onlie touched in the beginning of my letter, namelie, whether it bee moze expedient for our estate to maintaine an offensiue warre against the King of *Spain* in the Lowe Countries, or as in this iourney, to offend him in his neerer Territories, seeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this iourney haue giuen vs.

There is no good subiect that will make question, whether it bee behouefull for vs to hold friendship with these
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neighbours of ours or no, aswell in respect of the infinite proportion of their shipping, which must stand either with vs, or against vs; as of the commoditie of their Harboz, especiallie that of *Ulishing*, by the fauour wherof our *Maie* may continuallie keepe the *Narrow Seas*, and which would harbour a greater *Fleete* against vs, than the *Spaniard* shall neede to annoy vs withall; who being now distressed by our common *Enemy*, I thinke it most expedient for our safetie to defend them, and if it may bee to giue them a reentrie into that they haue of late yeares lost vnto him. The one without doubt her *Maiestie* may do without difficultie, and in so honorable sort as he shall neuer be able to dispossesse her or them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the *Spaniard* may bee expelled from thence more speedilie, or conuenientlie by keeping an *Armie* there, than by sending one against him into his own *Countrie*: let him foresee of how many men and continuall supplies that *Armie* must consist, and what intollerable expences it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the *Duke of Alua*, when the *Prince of Orrenge* had his great *Armie* against him: and of *Don Ion*, when the *States* had their mightie assemblee against him, how this wise *Enemy*, with whom wee are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with vs, leaue vs occasions enough for our *Armie* within fewe moneths to mutine and breake; or by keeping him in his *Townes* leaue vs a spoyled field: where though our provision may be such of our owne as we starue not, yet is our weaknes in any strange *Countrie* such, as with sicknes and miserie we shall be dissolued. And let him not forget what a continuall burthen wee hereby lay vpon vs, in that to repossesse those *Countries* which haue been lately lost, will be a warre of longer continuance than wee shall be able to endure.

In the verie action whereof, what should hinder the *King of Spaine* to bring his forces home vnto vs? For it is certaine he hath long since set downe in *Councell*, that
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there is no way for him whollie to recover those Lowe Countries, but by bringing the warre vpon *England* it selfe, which hath alwaies assisted them against him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath been vehementlie vrged by the last yeeres losse he sustained vpon our Coasts, and the great dishonour this iourney hath laid vpon him; no doubt if we shall giue him respite to doe it, but he will mightelie aduance his purpose, for he is richlie able thereunto, and wonderfull desirous of reuenge.

To encounter wherewith, I wish euen in true and honest zeale to my Countrie, that wee were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to busie him with a well furnished Armie in *Spaine*, which hath so many goodlie Bayes open, as wee may land without impeachment as many men as shall be needfull for such an inuasion. And hauing an Armie of twentie thousand royallie furnished there, wee shall not neede to take much care for their payment: for shall not *Lisbone* be thought able to make so fewe men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches, as had we made enemie of them, they had largely intriched vs all? Which with what small losse it may be wonne, is not here to shewe; but why it was not wonne by vs, I haue herein shewed you. It is not the spoyle of *Cinill* sufficient to pay more than shall be needfull to be sent against it, whose defence (as that of *Lisbone*) is onlie force of men, of whom how many may for the present bee raised, is not to be esteemed, because wee haue discovered what kinde of men they bee; euen such as will neuer abide ours in field, nor dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours against them: for during the time wee were in many places of their Countrie, they cannot say that euer they made twentie of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfie our forces?

But admit that if vpon this Alarme that wee haue giuen him, he tending his naturall and nearest soyle before
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his further remoued off governments, do drawe his forces of old Souldiers out of the Low Countries for his own defence, is not the victorie then wonne by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we should haue kept an Armie there at a charge by many parts greater than this, and not stirred them?

Admit further our Armie bee impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea, and possessing his principall Roades, are wee not in possibilitie to meete with his Indian Merchants, and verie like to prevent him of his provisions coming out of the East Countries? without the which, neither the subiect of *Lisbone* is long able to liue, nor the King able to maintain his *Naue*: for though the countrey of *Portingall* doe some yeres finde themselves corne, yet are they neuer able to victuall the least part of that Citie. And albeit the King of *Spaine* be the richest Prince in *Chrystendome*, yet can he neyther draw cables, hew masts, nor make powder out of his metalls, but is to bee supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (some will holde opinion) it is no reason to make prize, because they be not our enemies: and that our disagreement with them, will impeach the trade of our Merchants, and so impouerish our Countrey. Of whose minde I can hardly be drawn to be: For, if my enemy fighting with me doe breake his sword, so as I therby haue the advantage against him; what shall I thinke of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kil me withal? And may it not be thought more fitting for vs in these times to loose our trades of cloath, than by suffering these mischiefes, to put in hazard, whether we shall haue a Countrey left to make cloth in, or no? And yet though neither *Hamburgh*, *Emden*, nor *Stode* doe receiue our cloth, the necessarie vse thereof in all places is such, as they will finde meanes to take it from vs, with our sufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impossible) that wee damnifie him neither at sea nor land (for vnlesse it bee with a much more mightie Armie than ours, he shall neuer be able to

withstand vs) yet that we by holding him at his home, free our selues from the warre at our owne walls: the benefite whereof let them consider, y^e best can iudge, & haue obserued the differēce of inuading, & being inuaded; the one giuing courage to the Souldier, in that it dooth set befoze him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearfull terror to the Countrey man, who if by chaunce hee play the man, yet is he neuer the richer: and who knowing manie holes to hide himselfe in, will trie them all befoze hee put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Inuadoz casteth vp his accompt befoze he goeth out, and being abroad must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place or strength to trust vnto. I will not say what I obserued in our Countrey men when the enimie offered to assaile vs here: but I wish that all *England* knewe what terror we gaue to the same people that frightened vs, by visiting them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great against the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirsted after the wealth of *Persia*, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knewe no safer waye to saue himselfe, than by fighting? Whereas the Persians, either trusting to continue still masters of their wealth by yeelding to the Inuadoz, began to practise against their owne King: or hauing moze inward hopes, did hide themselues euen to the last, to see what course the Conquerour would take in his Conquest. And did not the aduice of Scipio, though mightely impugned at the first, proue verie sound and honozable to his Countrey? Who, seeing the Romanes wonderfully amazed at the nearnesse of their enemies Forces, and the losses they dayly sustained by them, gaue counsaile, rather by way of diuersion to carrie an Armie into *Affricke*, & there to assaile, than by a defenciue warre at home to remaine subiect to the commō spoyles of an assailing Enemie. Which being put in execution, drew the Enemie from the Gates of *Rome*, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his
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beginnings at the first, were not so fortunate against the, as ours haue been in this small time against the Spaniard. The good successe whereof, maye encourage vs to take Armes resolutely against him. And I beseech God it may stirre vp all men that are particularly interellect therein, to bechinke themselves how small a matter will assure them of their safetie, by holding the Spaniard at a bay, so farre of: whereas if wee giue him leaue quietly to hatch and bring forth his preparations, it will bee with danger to vs all.

He taketh not Armes against vs by anie pretence of title to the Crowne of this Realme, noz led altogether with an ambitious desire to command our Countrey, but with hatred towards our whole Nation and Religion: Her Maiesties Scepter is already giuen by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewardes vpon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition soeuer, are offered for spoyle vnto the common Souldier. Let euerie man therefore in defence of the libertie and plentie hee hath of long enioyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the smallest part of their store for the assurance of the rest. It were not much for euerie Justice of peace, who by his blewe coate protecteth the properest and most seruiceable men at euerie muster from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of these idlemen doe put him to for one yere: noz for the Lawyer, who riseth by the dissentions of his neighbors, to take but one yeres giftes (which they call fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder euerie Officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Maiesties Courtes, who without checke doe sodainlie grow to great wealth, honestlie to bring forth the mysticall commoditie of one yeres profits? Or the Clergie, who looke precisely for the Tenth of euerie mans increase, simply to bring forth the Tenth of one yeres gathering, and in thankfulness to her Maiestie, (who hath continued for all our safeties, a most chargeable warre both at land and sea) bestowe the

same for her honour and their owne assurance, vpon an Armie which may make this bloodie Enemy, so to knowe himselfe and her Maiesties power, as hee shall bethinke him what it is to moue a stirring people? Who, though they haue receaued some small checke by the sicknesse of this last Journey, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowne, that the like Voyage were to be supported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of a moze ample prouision) but there would of all sortes most willingly put themselves into the same: some caried with an honorable desire to be in action, & some in loue of such, would affectionately follow their fortunes: some in thirsting to reuenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kindred, and friends: and some in hope of the plentiful spoyles to be found in those Countreyes, hauing been there already and returned poore, would desire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the last: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honor of our own, would with courage take Armes, to hazard their liues against them, whom euerie good English man is in nature bound to hate as an implacable Enemy to *England*, thirsting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring vs vnder the yoke of perpetuall slauerie.

Against them is true honour to be gotten, for that wee shall no sooner set foote in their land, but that euery steppe we tread will yeeld vs newe occasion of action, which I wish the gallantrie of our Countrie rather to regarde, than to followe those soft vnprofitable pleasures, wherein they now consume their time and patrimonie. And in two or thre Townes of *Spaine* is the wealth of all *Europe* gathered together, which are the Magasins of the fruits and profites of the *East* and *West Indies*: whereunto I wish our young able men, who against the libertie they are borne vnto, (terme themselves Seruing men) rather to bend their desires and affections, than to attend their double liuerie and fortie shillings by the yeare wages, and
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the reuerſion of the old Coppie-hold, for carrying a diſh to his maſters table. But let me here reprehend my ſelfe and craue pardon, for entring into a matter of ſuch ſtate and conſequence, the care whereof is alreadie laid vpon a moſt graue and honorable Councell, who will in their wiſedomes foreſee the dangers that may bee threated againſt vs. And why do I labour to diſquiet the ſecuritie of theſe happie Gentlemen, & the trade of thoſe honeſt Seruing men, by perſwading them to the warres, when I ſee the profeſſion therof ſo ſlenderlie eſtimated? For though al our hope of peace bee fruſtrate, and our quarells determinable by the ſword: though our Enemy hath by his own forces and his pencionaries induſtrie, confined the vnitied Provinces into a narrowe rounge, and almoſt diſunited the ſame: if he be now in a good way to harbour himſelfe in the principall Hauens of *France*, from whence he may frunt vs at pleaſure: yea though wee are to hope for nothing but a bloudie warre, nor can truſt to any helpe but Armes; yet how farre the common ſort are from reuerencing or regarding any perſons of conduction, was too apparant in the returne of this our iourney, wherein the baſe and common ſouldier hath been tollerated to ſpeake againſt the Captaine, and the ſouldier and Captaine againſt the Generalls, and wherein mechanicall and men of baſe condition doo dare to cenſure the dooings of them, of whoſe acts they be not worzhie to talke.

The auncient graue degree of the Prelacie is vphelde, though Martin rayle neuer ſo much, and the Lawyer is after the olde manner worſhipped, whoſoeuer inueigh againſt him: But the auncient English honour is taken from our Gen of Warre, and their Profeſſion in diſgrace, though neuer ſo neceſſarie. Either we commit Idolatrie to Neptune, and will put him alone ſtill to fight for vs as he did the laſt yere, or we be enchanted with ſome diuellish opinions, that trauaile nothing more than to diminiſh the reputation of them, vpon whoſe ſhoulders the burthen of our defence againſt the Enemy muſt lie when

occasion shall be offered. For whensoever he shall set foote vpon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remoue him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then must those men stand betwéene them and their perills, who are now thought vnworthie of any estimation.

May the burning of one Towne (which cost the King then being, sixe times as much as this hath done her Maiestie, wherein were lost seauen times as many men as in any one seruice of this iourney, and tarried not the tenth part of our time in the Enemies Countrey) bee by our elders so highly reputed, and sounded out by the histozie of the Realme; and can our voyage be so meanlie esteemed, wherein wee burned both Townes and Countries without the losse of fortye men in any such attempt?

Did our Kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for ouerthrowing a number of poore Scots, who after one battaile lost, were neuer able to reenforce themselves against him; and shall they in this time who haue ouerthrowne our mightie Enemy in battaile, and taken his royall Standerd in the field, besieged the Marques of *Saralva* fiftéene daies together, that should haue been the Generall of the Armie against vs, brought away so much of his Artillarie (as I haue before declared) be vnworthelie esteemed of?

Is it possible that some in some times should receiue their reward for looking vpon an Enemy, and ours in this time not receiue so much as thanks, for hauing beaten an Enemy at handie strokes?

But it is true, that no man shall be a Prophet in his Countrey; and for my owne part, I will lay aside my Armes till that profession shall haue more reputation, and liue with my friends in the Countrey, attending either some more fortunate time to vse them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But what? Shall the blind opinion of this Monster, a beast of many heads, (for so hath the generalltie of old been termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I challenge some reputation; or diminish my loue to my Countrey, which hetherto hath nourished mee? No, it was for her sake I first tooke Armes: and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall be able to vse them: not regarding how some men in priuate conuenticles doe measure mens estimations by their owne humours; nor how euerie populer person doth giue sentence on euerie mans actions by the worst accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dread Soueraigne, who neuer yett left vertue unrewarded: and depending vpon the iustice of her most rare and graue aduisors, who by their heedie looking into euerie mans worth, doe giue encouragement to the vertuous to exceede others in vertue: and assuring you that there shall neuer any thing happen moze pleasing vnto me, than that I may once againe be a partie in some honozable iourney against the Spaniard in his owne Countrie, I will cease my complaint: and with them that deserue beyond me, patiently endure the vnaduised censure of our malicious reprobours.

If I haue seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome vnto you in the discovering of those impediments; and answering the flanders which by the vulgar malicious and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes vpon the iourney, and reproaches vpon the Generalls (hauing indeede proceeded from other heads): let the necessitie of conseruing the reputation of the action in generall, and the honozs of our Generalls in particuler, be my sufficient excuse: the one hauing by the vertue of the other made our Countrie moze dreaded and renowned, than any act that euer *England* vnderooke befoze? Or if you haue thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end; let the affectionate desire of my Countries good bee therein answerable for me. And such as it is I pray you accept it, as onely recommended to your selfe, and not to bee deliuered to the

publique view of the world, least any man take offence thereat; which some particuler men may seeme iustlie to doe, in that hauing deserued verie well, I should not herein giue them their due commendations: whereas my purpose in this priuate discourse, hath been onelie to gratifie you with a touch of those principall matters that haue passed, wherein I haue onelie taken notes of those men who either commanded euery seruice, or were of chiefest marke: if therefore you shall impart the same to one, and hee to another, and so it passe through many hands, I knowe not what constructions would be made thereof to my pzeiudice; for that the Hares eares may happelie bee taken for hoznes. Howbeit, I hold it verie necessarie (I must confesse) that there should bee some true manifestation made of these things: but bee it farre from me to bee the authoz thereof, as verie vnfit to deliuer my censure of any matter in publique, and most vnwilling to haue my weaknes discovered in priuate. And so doe leaue you to the happie successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestlie wishing that there may bee some better acceptance made of the fruites of your studies, than there hath been of our hazards in the warres. From London the 30, of August, 1589.

F I N I S.

Errors in sundrie names must thus be read.

Pag. 16. lin. 31. reade *Santa Cruz*. lin. 23. reade at *Madrid*. Pag. 17. lin. 1. reade at *Madrid*. lin. 2. reade *Capt. Manço*. Pag. 21. lin. 12. reade *Cap. Sydenham*. Pag. 29. lin. 8. reade at *Lorina*. lin. 34. 35. reade *los Caualleros*. Pag. 34. lin. 6. reade *Sant'Vnés*. Pag. 45. lin. 29. 31. read *del Tercio de Napoles*. lin. 34. reade *Capt. Sauban*.



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