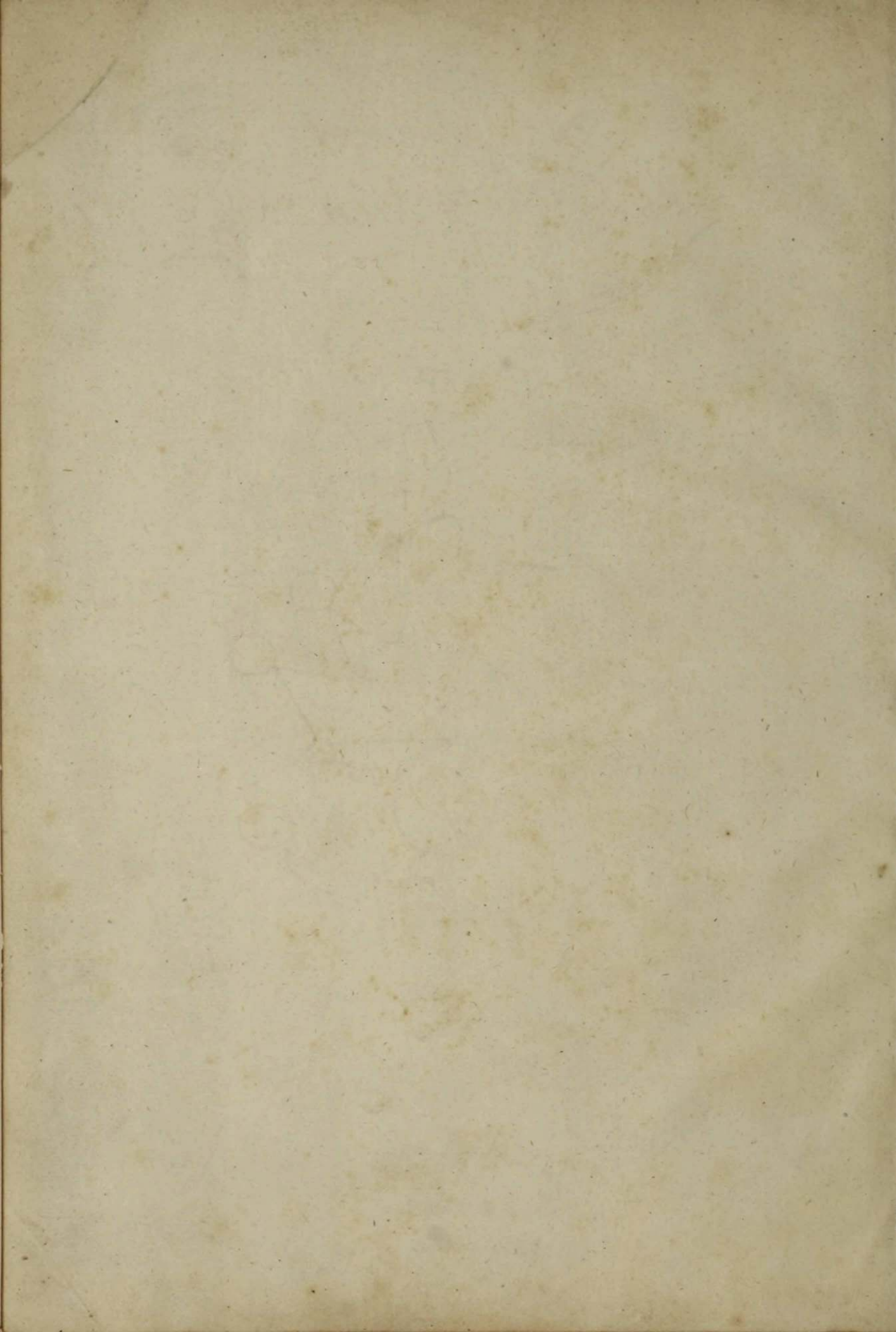




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THE
OBSERVATIONS
OF
S^{IR} RICHARD HAVV-
KINS KNIGHT, IN HIS
VOYAGE *FN* TO THE
South Sea.

Anno Domini 1593.

*Per varios Casus, Artem Experientia fecit,
Exemplo monstrante viam.—Manil.li.i.*



LONDON

Printed by I.D. for IOHN IAGGARD, and are to be
sold at his shop at the Hand and Starre in Fleete-streete,
nere the Temple Gate. 1622.

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THE
OBSERVATIONS
OF
SIR RICHARD HAVY
KING KNIGHT IN HIS
TOUR OF THE
WEST INDIES
IN THE YEAR 1783

B.H.
(12,528)

Mar. 5, 1890



LONDON
Printed by W. D. for J. GARDNER, 25, Abchurch Lane.

TO THE
MOST ILLVSTRIOVS
AND MOST EXCELLENT
Prince CHARLES, Prince of Wales,
DVKE of CORNEWALL, EARLE
of CHESTER, &c.



Mongst other *Neglects* preiudiciall to this *State*, I haue observed, that many the *worthy and Heroique Acts* of our Nation, haue beene buried and forgotten: The *Actors* themselues being desirous to shunne emulation in publishing them, and those which ouerlived them, fearefull to adde, or to dimnish from the *Actors* worth, Iudgement, and valour; haue forborne to write them: By which, succeeding ages haue beene deprived of the *Fruits*, which might haue beene gathered out of their *Experience*, had they beene committed to *Record*. To avoyd this *Neglect*, and for the *Good* of my Country, I haue thought it my duty to publish the *Observations* of my *South-sea-Voyage*; and for that vnto your Highnesse, you Heires, and Successors, it is most likely to be advantagious, (having brought on me nothing but losse and misery) I am bold to vse your *Name*, a protection vnto it, and to offer it with all humblenes and duty to your Highnesse approbation, which if it purchase, I haue attained my desire, which shall ever ayme to performe dutie.

*Your Highnesse humble
and devoted servant,*

RICHARD HAVKINS

T O T H E
M O S T I L L U S T R I O U S

A N D M O S T E X C E L L E N T

P R I N C E C H A R L E S, P R I N C E O F W A L E S,

D U K E O F C O R N W A L L, E A R L E

O F C H E S T E R, &c.

Most other Negatives prejudicial
to this State, I have observed, that
many the worst and most
our Nation, have been buried and
forgotten: The Actors themselves
being desirous to thence emanate
on publishing them, and those
which enriched them, to add, or to diminish
from the Actors worth, judgement and valour; have
forborne to write them: By which, succeeding ages
have been deprived of the fame, which might have
been gathered out of their Experiences, had they been
committed to Record. To avoid this Neglect, and for the
Good of my Country, I have thought it my duty to pub-
lish the Observation of my self, for your sake; and for that vi-
to your Highness, you Honour and Successors it is most
likely to be advantageous, (having brought on me no-
thing but loss and misery) I am bold to vie your Honour
a protection unto it, and to offer it with all hum-
bles and duty to your Highness approbation, which
if it purchaseth, I have attained my desire, which shall
ever yme to performe due.



Your Highness humble
and devoted servant

RICHARD HARRING

☞ To the Reader.



Ad that worthie Knight the Authour lived to haue seene this his Treatise published: he would perhaps himselfe haue giuen the account thereof: For by his owne directions it was put to the Presse, though it it pleased God to take him to his mercy during the time of the Impression. His purpose was to

haue recommended both it and himselfe vnto our most Excellent Prince CHARLES, and himselfe wrote the Dedication, which being imparted vnto me, I conceited that it stood not with my dutie to suppressse it.

Touching the discourse it selfe, as it is out of my element to iudge, so it is out of my purpose to say much of it. This onely I may boldly promise, that you shall heere find an expert Sea man, in his owne Dialect deliver a true relation of an vnfortunat Voyage: which howsoever it proved lamentable and fatall to the Actors, may yet proue pleasing to the Readers: it being an itcb in our natures to delight in newnes and varietie, be the subiect never so grievous. This (if there were no more) were yet worthy your perusall: and is as much as others haue with good acceptance afforded in relations of this nature. Howbeit besides the bare series and Context of the storie, you shall heere finde interweaved, sundry exact descriptions of Countries, Townes, Capes, Promontories, Rivers, Creekes, Harbors, and the like, not vnprofitable for Navigators: besides many notable observations, the fruites of a long experience, that may giue light touching Marine accidents, even to the best Captaines and Commaunders: who if they desire to learne by precepts shall here finde store: but if examples prevaile more with them, here are also aliena pericula, if you belieue mee not, reade and iudge. Farewell.

To the Reader.



and judge. Farewell.

There are also *alicia periculis*, if you believe not, some
by precept shall here finde here: but if examples prove more to
to the best Captains and Commanders: who if they desire to learn
a long experience, and in giving light to their own hearts, even
the best Navigators: besides many notable observations, the fruits of
Pioneers, Rivers, Creeks, Harbours, and the like, not proper
in general, hardly exact descriptions of Countries, Towns, Capes,
besides the true and correct of the State, you shall here finde
with good acquaintance afforded in relation of this nature. The
more) were yet worthy your perusal: and in as much as others have
written, be the subject never so grievous. This (if there were no
the Rivers: it being an itch in our nature to delight in newness and
grow inevitable and fatal to the Actors, may yet prove pleasing to
delivers a true relation of an important Voyage: which however is
wise, that you shall here find no respect to some Diabets
it is out of my purpose to say much of it. The only I may hold pro-
Touching the discourse it self, as it is out of my element to judge, I
ted to me, I contented that it stood not with my duty to suppress it.
CHARLES, and himselfe wrote the Dedication, which being im-
have recommended both in and himselfe into our most Excellent Prince
time of the Impression. This purpose was to
to take him to his journey during the
it was due to the Press, though it is pleased
count thereof: For by his own direction
would perhaps himselfe have given the ac-
to have seen his Treatise published: he
in that a worthy Knight the Author lived

SIR RICHARD HAWKINS



THE
OBSERVATIONS
OF SIR RICHARD HAWKINS,
KNIGHT, in his VOYAGE
into the South SEA,
ANNO DOMINI
1593.

SECT. I.



WITH the COUNSELLS consent,
and helpe of my Father, Sir *Iohn*
Hawkins, Knight, I resolved a
Voyage to be made for the Ilands
of *Iapan*, of the *Phillippinas*, and
Molucas, the Kingdomes of *China*,
and *East Indies*, by the way of the
Straites of Magelan, and the South
Sea.

The principall end of our De-
signements, was, to make a perfect
Discovery of all those parts, where

The necessary
use of Disco-
veries.

I should arriue, as well knowne as vnknowne, with their Longi-
tudes and Latitudes; the lying of their Coasts; their Head-lands;
their Ports, and Bayes; their Citties, Townes, and Peoplings; their
manner of Government; with the Commodities which the Coun-
tries yeilded, and of which they haue want, and are in neces-
sitie.

Of trauaile.

A

For

Of Shipping.

For this purpose in the end of Anno 1588. returning from the journey against the Spanish *Armado*, I caused a Ship to be builded in the river of *Thames*, betwixt three and foure hundred tunnes, which was finished in that perfection as could be required. For shee was pleasing to the eye, profitable for Stowage, good of Sayle, and well conditioned.

The day of her Lanching being appoynted, the Lady *Hawkins* (my Mother in Law) craued the naming of the Ship, which was easily granted her: who knowing what Voyage was pretended to be vnderaken, named her the *Repentance*: what her thoughts were, was kept secret to her selfe; And although many times I expostulated with her, to declare the reason for giving her that vncouth name, I could never haue any other satisfaction, then that repentance was the safest Ship we could sayle in, to purchase the haven of Heaven. Well, I know, shee was no Prophetesse, though a religious and most vertuous Lady, and of a very good vnderstanding.

Yet too propheticall it fell out by Gods secret Iudgements, which in his Wisedome was pleased to reveale vnto vs by so vnknowne a way, and was sufficient for the present, to cause me to desist from the Enterprize, and to leaue the Ship to my Father, who willingly tooke her, and paid the entire charge of the building and furnishing of her, which I had concorted or paid. And this I did not for any superstition I haue in names, or for that I thinke them able to further or hinder any thing; for that all immediately dependeth vpon the Providence of Almighty God, and is disposed by him alone.

Improper
Names for
Shipping.

The Revenge.

Yet advise I all persons ever (as neere as they can) by all meanes, and in all occasions, to presage vnto themselues the good they can, and in giving names to terrestriall Workes (especially to Ships) not to giue such as meerly represent the celestially Character; for, few haue I knowne, or seene, come to a good end, which haue had such attributes. As was plainely seene in the *Revenge*, which was ever the vnfortunatest Ship, the late *Queenes* Maiestie had during her Raigne; for comming out of *Ireland*, with *Sir Iohn Parrot*, shee was like to be cast away vpon the *Kentish* Coast. After in the Voyage of *Sir Iohn Hawkins* my Father, Anno 1586. shee stricke a-ground comming into *Plimouth*, before her going to Sea: Vpon the coast of *Spaine*, shee left her Fleete, readie to sinke with a great Leake: At her returne into the Harbour of *Plimouth*, shee beate vpon *Winter stone*; and after in the same Voyage, going out of *Portsmouth* Haven, shee ranne twice a-ground; and in the latter of them, lay twentic two houres beating vpon the shore, and at length
with

with eight foote of water in hold, shee was forced off, and presently ranne vpon the Oose: and was cause, that shee remained there (with other three Ships of her Maiesties) six moneths, till the Spring of the yeare; When comming about to bee decked, entering the river of *Thames*, her old Leake breaking vpon her, had like to haue drowned all those which were in her. In Anno 1591. with a storme of wind and weather, riding at her Moorings in the river of *Rocheſter*, nothing but her bare Maſts over head, shee was turned topſe-turvie, her Kele vppermoſt: And the coſt and loſſe ſhee wrought, I haue too good cauſe to remember; in her laſt Voyage, in which ſhee was loſt, when ſhee gaue *England* and *Spaine* iuſt cauſe to remember her. For the *Spaniards* themſelues confeſſe, that three of their Ships ſunke by her ſide, and was the death of aboute 1500. of their men, with the loſſe of a great part of their fleete, by a ſtorme which ſuddainly tooke them the next day. What *Engliſh* died in her, many living, are witneſſes: Amongſt which was Sir *Richard Greenfeild*, a noble and valiant Gentleman, Vice-admirall in her of her Maieſties Fleete. So that well conſidered, ſhee was even a Ship loaden, and full fraught with ill ſucceſſe.

See Maſter
Hacuits
Relations.

The like wee might behold in the *Thunderbolt* of *London*, who in one Voyage (as I remember) had her Maſt cleft with a Thunderbolt, vpon the Coaſt of *Barbary*. After in *Dartmouth*, going for Admirall of the Whaſtage, and guard of the Fleete for the River of *Bourdieux*, had alſo all her Poope blowne vp with fire ſodainly, and vntill this day, never could be knowne the cauſe, or manner how: And laſtly, ſhee was burned with her whole Companie in the River of *Bourdieux*, and Maſter *Edward Wilson*, Generall in her, flaine by his enemies, having eſcaped the fire.

The Thunder-
bolt of London.

The ſucceſſe of the *Ieſus* of *Lubecke*, in Saint *Iohn de Vlva*, in the *Nona Spania*, infamous to the *Spaniardes*; with my *Repentance* in the South Sea, taken by force, hath vtterly impoveriſhed, and overthrowne our houſe.

The Ieſus of
Lubeck.
The Repen-
tance.

The *Iourney* of *Spaine* pretended for *England*, Anno 1587. called the *Iourney* of *Revenge*, left the principall of their men and Ships on the Rockes of *Cape Finiſter*, and the reſt made a lamentable end, for the moſt part in the *Groyne*. No more for this poynt, but to our purpoſe.

The Iourney
of Spaine.

S E C T. II.



HE REPENTANCE being put in perfection, and riding at *Detford*, the Queenes Maiestie passing by her, to her Pallace of *Greenwych*, commanded her Bargemen to Row round about her, and viewing her from Post to Stemme, disliked nothing but her Name, and said, that shee would Christen her a new, and that thenceforth shee should be called the *Daintie*; which name shee brooked as well for her proportion and grace, as for the many happie Voyages shee made in her Maiesties services; Having taken (for her Maiestie) a great *Bysen*, of five hundred Tunnes, loaden with Iron, and other Commodities, vnder the conduct of Sir *Martin Furbussher*; A *Caracke* bound for the *East Indies*, vnder my Fathers charge, and the principall cause of taking the great *Caracke*, brought to *Dartmouth* by Sir *John Borrow*, and the Earle of *Cumberlands* Shippes, Anno 1592. with others of moment in her other Voyages. To vs, shee never brought but cost, trouble, and care. Therefore my Father resolved to sell her, though with some losse, which he imparted with me: and for that I had ever a particular loue vnto her, and a desire shee should continue ours, I offered to ease him of the charge and care of her, and to take her, with all her Furniture at the price he had before taken her of me; with resolution, to put in execution the Voyage, for which shee was first builded; Although it lay six moneths and more in suspence, partly, vpon the pretended Voyage for *Nombrededios* and *Panama*, which then was fresh a foote; and partly, vpon the *Caracke* at *Dartmouth*, in which I was imployed as a Commiffioner: but this Businesse being ended, and the other pretence waxing colde, the fift of March I resolved, and beganne to goe forward with the iourney, so often talked of, and so much desired.

Considerations for pretended Voyages.

And having made an estimate of the charge of Victualls, Munition, Imprests, Sea-store, and necessaries for the sayd Ship; con-sorting another of an hundred Tunnes, which I waited for daily from the Straites of *Giberalter*, with a *Pynace* of sixtie Tunnes, all mine owne: And for a competent number of Men for them; as also of all sorts of Marchandises for trade and traffique in all places where wee should come; I began to wage men, to buy all manner of victualls and provisions, and to lade her with them, and with all sorts of Commodities (which I could call to minde) fitting; and

and dispatched order to my servant in *Plimouth*, to put in a readinesse my *Pynace*; as also to take vp certaine Provisions, which are better cheape in those parts then in *London*, as Beefe, Porke, Bisket, and Sider. And with the diligence I vsed, and my Fathers furtherance, at the end of one Moneth, I was readie to set Sayle for *Plimouth*, to ioyn with the rest of my Shippes and Provisions. But the expecting of the comming of the *Lord high Admirall*, *Sir Robert Cecill*, principall Secretary to her Maiestie, and *Sir Walter Rawley*, with others, to honour my Shippe and me, with their presence and farewell, detayned me some dayes; and the rayne and vntemperate weather deprived me of the favour, which I was in hope to haue received at their hands; Wherevpon, being loath to loose more time, and the Winde serving according to my wish, the eight of Aprill 1593. I caused the Pilot to set Sayle from *Blackwall*, and to vayne downe to *Graues-end*, whether that night I purposed to come.

Provisions better provided at *Plimouth*, then at *London*.

Having taken my vnhappy last leaue of my Father *Sir John Hawkins*, I tooke my Barge, and rowed downe the River, and comming to *Barking*, wee might see my Ship at an Anchor, in the midt of the Channell, where Ships are not wont to more themselves: this bred in me some alteration. And comming aboard her, one and other began to recant the perill they had past of losse of Ship and goods, which was not little; for the winde being at East North-east, when they set sayle, and vered out Southerly; it forced them for the doubling of a point to bring their tacke aboard, and looffing vp; the winde freshing, sodenly the Shipp began to make a little hele; and for that shee was very deepe loaden, and her ports open, the water began to enter in at them; which no bodie having regard vnto, thinking themselves safe in the River, it augmented in such maner, as the waight of the water began to presse downe the side, more then the winde: At length when it was seene and the shete flowne, shee could hardly be brought vpriight. But God was pleased, that with the diligence and travell of the Company, shee was freed of that danger: which may be a gentle warning to all such as take charge of Shipping, even before they set sayle, eyther in River or Harbour, or other part, to haue an eye to their ports, and to see those shut and calked, which may cause danger; for avoyding the many mishaps, which dayly chance for the neglect thereof, and haue beene most lamentable spectacles and examples vnto vs: Experiments in the *great Harry*, Admirall of England, which was over-set and suncke at *Ports-mouth* with her Captaine. *Carew*,

Note.

and the most part of his company drowned in a goodly Summers day, with a little flawe of winde; for that her ports were all open, and making a small hele, by them entred their destruction; where if they had beene shut, no wind could haue hurt her, especially in that place.

In the River of *Thames*, Master *Thomas Candish* had a small Ship over-set through the same negligence. And one of the Fleete of *Syr Francis Drake*, in *Santo Domingo* Harbour, turned her keele vppward likewise, vpon the same occasion; with many others, which wee never haue knowledge of.

And when this commeth to passe, many times negligence is cloaked with the fury of the winde: which is a double fault; for the truth being knowne, others would bee warned to shun the like neglects; for it is a very bad Ship, whose Masts crackt not asunder, whose Sayles and tackling flie not in peeces, before shee over-set; especially if shee be English built. And that which over-setteth the Ship is the waight of the water, that preffeth downe the side, which as it entreth more and more, increaseth the waight, and the impossibilitie of the remedie: For the water not entring, with easing of the sheate, or striking the sayles, or putting the Ship before the winde or Sea, or other diligences, as occasion is offered (and all expert Mariners know) remedie is easily found.

With this mischaunce the Mariners were so daunted, that they would not proccede with the Ship any further, except shee were lighted, which indeede was needelesse, for many reasons which I gaue: but Mariners are like to a stiffe necked Horse, which taking the bridle betwixt his teeth, forceth his Rider to what him list mauger his will: so they hauing once concluded, and resolved, are with great difficultie brought to yeelde to the raynes of reason: And to colour their negligence, they added cost, trouble, and delay. In fine, seeing no other remedie, I dispatched that night a servant of mine to giue account to my Father of that which had past, and to bring mee presently some Barke of *London* to goe along with mee to *Plymouth*; which not finding, he brought me a Hoyer, in which I loaded some sixe or eight tunns, to giue content to the company; and so set sayle the 13. of Aprill, and the next day wee put in at *Harwich*, for that the winde was contrary, and from thence departed the 18. of the sayd Moneth in the morning.

When wee were cleere of the Sands, the winde vered to the South-west, and so we were forced to put into *Margat* Roade, whether

ther came presently after vs a Fleete of Hollanders of aboute an hundreth Sayle, bound for *Rochell* to loade salt: and in their companie a dozen ships of Warre; their wasters very good ships and well appointed in all respects. All which came alongst by our ship, and saluted vs, as is the custome of the Sea, some with three, others with five, others with more peeces of Ordinance.

The next morning the winde vering Easterly, I set sayle, and the Hollanders with me, and they with the flood in hand, went out at the North-sands-head, and I through the *Gulls* to shorten my way, and to set my Pilate ashore.

Comming neere the South-fore-land, the winde began to vere to the South-east and by south, so as we could not double the point of the Land, and being close about the shore, and putting our ship to stay, what with the chapping Sea, and what with the Tide vpon the Bowe, shee mist staying, and put vs in some daunger, before wee could flatt about; therefore for doubling the point of any land better is ever a short bourd, then to put all in perill.

Note.

Being tacked about we thought to anchor in the Downes, but the sayles set, we made a small bourd, and after casting about againe, doubled the foreland, and ran alongst the Coast till we came to the Ile of *Wight*: where being becalmed wee sent ashore Master *Thomson* of *Harwich* our Pilot, not being able before to set him on shore for the perversnes of the winde.

Being cleere of the *Wight*, the winde vered Southerly, and before wee came to *Port-land*, to the west, South-west, but with the helpe of the ebbe wee recovered *Port-land* roade, where we anchored all that night; and the next morning with the ebbe, wee set sayle againe, the winde at west South-west; purposing to beare it vp, all the ebbe, and to stop the flood being vnder sayle.

SECT. III.



The Fleete of Flemings which had beene in our company before, came towring into the road, which certainly was a thing worth the noting, to behold the good order the Masters observed in guard of their fleete.

The Providence of the Dutch.

The Admirall headmost the rest of the men of Warre, spread alongst to wind-ward, all saving the vice-Admirall and her consort, which were lee-most and stern-most of all, and except the Admirall, which was the first, that came to an Anchor; None of the o-

The English,
Authors of
Sea discipline.

ther men of warre anchored, before all the Fleete was in safetie; and then they placed themselues round about the Fleete; the Vice-Admirall Seamost and Leemoft; which we haue taught vnto most Nations, and they obserue it now a dayes better then we, to our shame, that being the Authors and reformers of the best Discipline and Lawes in Sea causes, are become those which doe now worst execute them.

By them a-
gainc neglec-
ted.

And I cannot gather whence this contempt hath growne, except of the neglect of Discipline, or rather in giuing commands for fauour to those, which want experience of what is committed to their charge; Or that there hath beene little curiositie in our countrey, in writing of the *Discipline of the Sea*; which is not lesse necessary for vs, then that of the *Law*; And I am of opinion, that the want of experience is much more tollerable in a *Generall* by Land, then in a *Gouernour* by Sea. For in the field the Lieutenant Generall, the Sergeant Maior, and the *Coronels* supply what is wanting in the Generall, for that they all command; and ever there is place for Counsell, which in the Sea by many accidents is denied: and the head is he that manageth all, in whom alone if there be defect, all is badly governed; for, by ignorance how can errors be iudged, or reformed? And therefore I wish all to take vpon them that, which they vnderstand, and refuse the contrary.

The modesty
of Sir Henry
Palmer.

As Sir *Henry Palmer*, a wise and valiant Gentleman, a great commander, and of much experience in Sea causes, being appoynted by the Queenes Maiesties Counsell, to goe for Generall of a Fleete for the coast of *Spaine*, Anno 1583. submitting himselfe to their Lordships pleasure, excused the charge, saying, that his trayning vp had beene in the narrow Seas; and that of the other, he had little experience. And therefore was in dutie bound to intreate their Honours, to make choice of some other person, that was better acquainted, and experimented in those Seas; that her Maiestie, and their Lordships might be the better served. His modestie and discretion is doubtlesse to be had in remembrance, and great estimation; For the ambition of many which cover the command of Fleetes, and places of government (not knowing their Compasse, nor how, nor what to command) doe purchase to themselues shame; and losse to those that employ them: Being required in a Commander at Sea, a sharpe wit, a good vnderstanding, experience in shipping, practise in mannagement of Sea busines, knowledge in Navigation, and in command: I hold it much better to deserue it, and not to haue it, then to haue it not deserving it.

Parts required
in a Com-
mander at
Sea.

S E C T.

S E C T. I V.



The fruits and inconveniences of the latter we daily partake of, to our losse and dishonor. As in the Fleete that went for *Burdieux*, Anno 1592. which had six Gallant Ships for Wasters. At their going out of *Plimouth*, the Vice-admirall that should have beene starnmost of all, was the headmost, and the Admirall the light, and he that did execute the office of the Vice-admirall, lanching off into the Sea, drew after him the greater part of the Fleete, and night comming on, and both bearing lights, caused a separation: so that the head had a quarter of the bodie, and the Fleete three quarters, and he that should goe before, came behinde. Whereof ensued, that the three parts meeting with a few Spanish Men of Warre, wanting their head, were a prey vnto them. For the Vice-admirall, and other Wasters, that should be the Shepherds to guard and keepe their flocke, and to carry them in safetie before them, were headmost, and they the Men who made most hast to flie from the Wolfe. Whereas if they had done as they ought, in place of losse and infamie, they had gained honor and reward.

The losse of
the *Burdieux*
Fleete, Anno
1592.

The cause.

This I haue beene enformed of by the *Spanish* and *English*, which were present in the occasion. And a ship of mine, being one of the Starnmost, freed her selfe, for that shee was in warlike manner, with her false Netting, many Pendants and Streamers, and at least 16. or 18. Peeces of Artillery; the enimie thinking her to be a Waster, or Ship of warre, not one of them durst lay her aboard: and this the Master and company vaunted of at their returne.

In the same Voyage, in the river of *Burdieux* (as is credibly reported) if the six Wasters had kept together, they had not onely not received damage, but gotten much Honour and Reputation. For the Admirall of the Spanish *Armado*, was a Flemish Shippe, of not aboue 130. Tunnes, and the rest Flie-boates and small shipping, for the most part.

The weaknes
of the enimy.

And although they were 22. Sayle in all, what manner of Ships they were, and how furnished and appoynted, is well knowne, with the difference.

In the Fleete of her Maiestie, vnder the charge of my Father Sir *John Hawkins*, Anno 1590. vpon the coast of *Spaine*, the Vice-admirall being a head one morning, where his place was to be a

The Voyage
of Sir *John*
Hawkins, An-
no 1590.

B

Sterne,

Sterne, lost vs the taking of eight men of Warre, loaden with Munition, Victuals, and Provisions, for the supplie of the Souldiers in *Brittaine*: and although they were seaven or eight Leagues from the Shore, when our Vice-admirall began to fight with them, yet for that the rest of our Fleete were some foure, some five Leagues, and some more distant from them, when we beganne to giue chase: the *Spaniards* recovered into the Harbour of *Monge*, before our Admirall could come vp to giue direction, yet well beaten, with losse of aboute two hundreth men, as they themselues confessed to me after.

And doubtlesse, if the winde had not over-blowne, and that to follow them, I was forced to shut all my lower ports, the ship I vnder-tooke, doubtles had never endured to come to the Port; but being double Fli-boates, and all good of Sayle, they bare for their liues, and we what we could to follow and fetch them vp.

Sir Richard
Greenfield at
Flores.

In this poynt, at the Ile of *Flores*, Sir *Richard Greenfield* got eternall honour and reputation of great valour, and of an experimented Souldier: chusing rather to sacrifice his life, and to passe all danger whatsoeuer, then to fayle in his Obligation, by gathering together those which had remained ashore in that place, though with the hazard of his ship and companie; And rather we ought to imbrace an honourable death, then to liue with infamie and dishonour, by fayling in dutie; and I account that he, and his Country, got much honor in that occasion: for one ship, and of the second sort of her Maiesties, sustained the force of all the Fleete of *Spaine*, and gaue them to vnderstand, that they be impregnable, for having bought deerely the boording of her, divers and sundry times, and with many ioyntly, and with a continuall fight of 14. or 16. houres, at length leaving her without any Mast standing, and like a Logge in the Seas, shee made notwithstanding, a most honourable composition of life and libertie, for aboute two hundreth and sixtie men, as by the Pay-booke appeareth: which her Maiestie of her free grace commanded in recompence of their service, to be given to every one his six moneths wages. All which may worthily be written in our Chronicles in letters of Gold, in memory for all Posterities, some to beware, and others by their example in the like occasions, to imitate the true valour of our Nation in these Ages.

Captaine
Pavise

In point of Providence, which Captaine *Pavise* in the foresight gaue also good prooffe of his valour, in casting about vpon the whole Fleete, notwithstanding the greatnesse and multitude of the Spanish *Armado*, to yeeld that succour which he was able; Although some doe say, and I consent with them, that the best valour

is

is to obey, and to follow the head, seeme that good or bad which is commanded. For God himselte telleth vs, that obedience is better then sacrifice. Yet in some occasions, where there is difficultie, or impossibilitie to know what is commanded; many times it is great discretion and obligation, iudiciously to take hold of the occasion, to yeeld succour to his associats, without putting himselte in manifest danger: But to our Voyage.

S E C T. V.



Being cleare of the race of *Portland*, the Wind began to fuffle with fogge and misling rayne, and forced vs to a short sayle, which continued with vs three dayes; the Wind never vering one poynt, nor the fogge suffering vs to see the Coast.

The third day in the fogge, we met with a Barke of *Dartmouth*, which came from *Rochell*, and demanding of them, if they had made any land, answered, that they had onely seene the *Edie stone* that morning, which lyeth thwart of the sound of *Plimouth*, and that *Dartmouth* (as they thought) bare off vs North North-east: which seemed strange vnto vs; for we made account that wee were thwart of *Exmouth*: within two houres after, the Weather beganne to cleare vp, and we found our selues thwart of the *Berry*, and might see the small Barke bearing into *Torbay*, having over-shot her port: which error often happeneth to those that make the land in foggie weather, and vse not good diligence by sound, by lying off the land, and other circumstances, to search the truth; and is cause of the losse of many a Ship, and the sweete liues of multitudes of men.

That evening, we anchored in the range of *Dartmouth*, till the flood was spent; and the ebbe come, wee set Sayle againe. And the next morning early, being the 26. of Aprill, wee harboured our selues in *Plimouth*.

My Ship at an Anchor, and I ashore, I presently dispatched a messenger to *London*, to advise my Father, Sir *John Hawkins*, what had past: which, not onely to him, but to all others, that vnderstood what it was, seemed strange; That the wind contrary, and the weather such as it had beene, wee could be able to gaine *Plimouth*; But doubtlesse, the *Daintie* was a very good Sea ship, and excellent by the winde; which with the neap streames, and our diligence to benefit our selues of all advantages, made sezible that, which almost was not to be beleevd.

Parts requisite
in a good
Mariner.

And in this occasion, I found by experience, that one of the principall parts required in a Mariner, that frequenteth our coastes of *England*, is to cast his Tydes, and to know how they set from poynt to poynt, with the difference of those in the Channell from those of the shore.

S E C T. VI.



Now presently I began to prepare for my Dispatch, and to hasten my Departure; and finding that my Ship which I expected from the *Straites*, came not; and that shee was to goe to *London* to discharge; and vncertaine how long shee might stay; I resolved to take another of mine owne in her place, though lesser, called the *Hawke*, onely for a Victualler; purposing in the coast of *Brasill*, or in the *Straites*, to take out her men, and Victualls, and to cast her off.

S E C T. VII.



With my continuall travell, the helpe of my good friends, and excessiue charge (which none can easily beleeeue, but those which haue proved it) towards the end of May, I was readie to set sayle with my three Ships, drawne out into the sound, and began to gather my Company aboard.

The 28. of May (as I remember) began a storme of winde Westerly; the two lesser shippes presently harboured themselves, and I gaue order to the master of the *Daintie* (called *Hugh Cornish*) one of the most sufficientest men of his coate, to bring her also into *Catt-water*, which he laboured to doe, but being neere the mouth of the harbour, and doubting least the Anchor being weighed, the Ship might cast the contrary way, and so run on some perill, entertained himselfe a while in laying out a warpe, and in the meane time, the wind freshing, and the ship riding by one Anchor, brake the flooke of it, and so forced them to let fall another: by which, and by the warpe they had layd out, they rydd. The storme was such, as being within hearing of those vpon the shore, we were not able by any meanes to send them succour, and the second day of the storme,

A cruell
Storme.

storme, desiring much to goe aboard, there ioyned with me Captaine *William Anthony*, Captaine *John Ellis*, and master *Henry Courton*, in a Light-Horsman which I had: all men exercised in charge, and of valour and sufficiencie, and from their youth bred vp in businesse of the Sea: which notwithstanding, and that wee laboured what we could, for the space of two houres against waues and wind, we could finde no possibilitie to accomplish our desire; which seene; we went aboard the other Shippes, and put them in the best securitie wee could; thus busied, we might see come driving by vs the mayne Mast of the *Daintie*: which made me to feare the worst, and so hasted a-shore, to satisfie my longing.

And therein
the effects of
courage and
advite.

And comming vpon *Catt-downe*, wee might see the Ship heave and sett, which manifestly shewed, the losse of the Mast onely, which was well imployed; for, it saved the ship, men, and goods. For had shee driven a ships length more, shee had (no doubt) beene cast away; and the men in that place could not chuse but run into danger.

And therein
the effects of
courage and
advite.

Comming to my house to shift me (for that we were all wett to the skinne) I had not well changed my Clothes, when a servant of mine, who was in the Pynace at my comming ashore, enters almost out of breath, with newes, that shee was beating vpon the Rockes, which though I knew to be remedlesse, I put my selfe in place where I might see her, and in a little time after shee sunke downe right: These losses and mischances troubled and grieved, but nothing daunted me; for common experience taught me, that all honourable Enterprises, are accompanied with difficulties and dangers; *Si fortuna me tormenta; Esperança me contenta*: Of hard beginnings, many times come prosperous and happie events. And although, a well-willing friend, wisely foretold me them to be presages of future bad successe, and so dissuaded me what lay in him, with effectuall reasons, from my Pretence, yet the hazard of my credite, and danger of disreputation, to take in hand that which I should not prosecute by all meanes possible, was more powerfull to cause me to goe forwardes, then his graue good counsell, to make me desist. And so the storme ceasing, I beganne to get in the *Daintie*, to Mast her a-new, and to recover the *Fancy*, my Pynace: which with the helpe and furtherance of my Wiues Father, who supplied all my wants, together with my credit (which I thanke God was vnspotted) in ten dayes put all in his former estate, or better. And so once againe, in Gods name, I brought my Shippes out into the sound, the Wind being Easterly, and beganne to take my leaue of my friends, and of my dearest friend, my second selfe, whose vnfey-

The losse of
the Pynace.

ned teares had wrought me vnto irresolution, and sent some other in my roome, had I not considered, that he that is in the Daunce, must needs daunce on, though he doe but hopp, except he will be a laughing stocke to all the lookers on: So, remembering that many had their eyes set vpon me, with diuerse affections, as also the hope of good successe, (my intention being honest and good) I shut the doore to all impediments, and mine care to all contrary counsell, and gaue place to voluntary banishment from all that I loued and esteemed in this life, with hope thereby better to serue my God, my Prince and Countrie, then to encrease my Tallent any way.

Abuses of
some Sea-fa-
ring men.

And so began to gather my companie aboard, which occupied my good friends, and the Iustices of the Towne two dayes, and forced vs to search all Lodgings, Tavernes, and Ale-houses. (For some would ever be taking their leaue and never depart:) some drinke themselves so drunke, that except they were carried aboard, they of themselves were not able to goe one steppe: others knowing the necessitie of the time, fayned themselves sicke; others, to be indebted to their Hostes, and forced me to ransome them; one his Chest; another, his Sword; another, his Shirts; another, his Carde and Instruments for Sea: And others, to benefit themselves of the Imprest given them, absented themselves; making a lewd liuing in deceiving all, whose money they could lay hold of: which is a scandall too rife amongst our Sea-men; by it they committing three great offences: 1. Robbery of the goods of another person; 2. Breach of their faith and promise; 3. and hinderance (with losse of time) vnto the Voyage; all being a common iniury to the owners, victuallers, and company; which many times hath bene an vtter overthrow, and vndoing to all in generall. An abuse in our Common-wealth necessarily to be reformed; And, as a person that hath both seene, and felt by experience these inconveniences, I wish it to be remedied; For, I can but wonder, that the late Lord high Admirall of England; the late Earle of Cumberland; and the Lord Thomas Howard, now Earle of Suffolke, being of so great authoritie, having to their costs and losse so often made experience of the inconveniences of these lewd proceedings, haue not vnited their Goodnesses and Wisedomes, to redresse this dis-loyall and base absurditie of the Vulgar.

Master Thomas
Candish.

Master Thomas Candish in his last Voyage, in the sound of *Plim-
mouth*, being readie to set Sayle, complained vnto me, that persons
which had absented themselves in Imprests, had cost him aboue
a thousand and five hundred pounds: These Varlets within a few
dayes

dayes after his departure, I saw walking the streetes of *Plimouth*, whom the Iustice had before sought for with great diligence, and without punishment. And therefore it is no wonder that others presume to doe the like. *Impunitas peccandi illecebra.*

The like complaint made master *George Reymond*; and in what sort they dealt with me, is notorious, and was such, that if I had not beene provident, to haue had a third part more of men, then I had need of, I had beene forced to goe to the Sea vnmanned; or to giue over my Voyage. And many of my company, at Sea vaunted, how they had coloned the Earle of *Cumberland*, master *Candish*, master *Reymond*, and others, some of five poundes, some of ten, some of more, and some of lesse. And truely, I thinke, my Voyage prospered the worse, for theirs and other lewd persons company, which were in my Ship: which, I thinke, might be redressed by some extraordinary, severe, and present Iustice to be executed on the offenders by the Iustice in that place, where they should be found. And for finding them, it were good that all Captaines, and Masters of Shippes, at their departure out of the Port, should giue vnto the head Iustice, the names and signes of all their runnawayes, and they presently to dispatch to the nigher Ports the advise agreeable, where meeting with them, without further delay or proesse, to vse Marti-
all Law vpon them. Without doubt, seeing the Law once put in execution, they and all others would be terrified from such villanies.

It might be remedied also by vtter taking away of all Imprests, which is a thing lately crept into our Common-wealth, and in my opinion of much more hurt then good vnto all; and although my opinion seeme harsh, it being a deed of charitie to helpe the needy, (which I wishe ever to be exercised, and by no meanes will contradict) yet for that such as goe to the Sea (for the most part) consume that money lewdly before they depart, (as common experience teacheth vs:) and when they come from Sea, many times come more beggerly home, then when they went forth, having received and spent their portion, before they imbarked themselues; and having neither rent nor maintenance more then their travell, to sustaine themselues, are forced to theeue, to cosen, or to runne away in debt. Besides, many times it is an occasion to some to lye vpon a Voyage a long time; whereas, if they had not that Imprest, they might perhaps haue gayned more in another imployment, and haue beene at home againe, to serue that which they waite for. For these, and many more weightie reasons, I am still bold, to maintaine my former Assertions.

The inconuenience of Imprests.

The true vse
of Imprests.

Those onely vsed in his Maiesties Shippes I comprehend not in this my opinion: neither the Imprests made to married men, which would be given to their Wiues monethly in their absence, for their reliefe. For that is well knowne, that all which goe to the Sea now a-dayes, are provided of foode, and house-roume, and all things necessary, during the time of their Voyage; and in all long Voyages, of apparell also: so that nothing is to be spent during the Voyage. That money which is wont to be cast away in Imprestes, might be employed in apparell, and necessaries at the sea, and given to those that haue need, at the price it was bought, to be deducted out of their shares or wages at their returne, which is reasonable and charitable. This course taken, if any would runne away, in Gods name fare him well.

Some haue a more colourable kinde of cunning to abuse men, and to sustaine themselues. Such will goe to Sea with all men, and goe never from the shore. For as long as boord-wages last, they are of the Company, but those taking end, or the ship in readinesse, they haue one excuse or other, and thinke themselues no longer bound, but whilst they receiue money, and then plucke their heads out of the coller. An abuse also worthie to be reformed.

S E C T. V I I I.



He greater part of my Companie gathered aboard, I set sayle the 12. of Iune 1593. about three of the Clocke in the afternoone, and made a bound or two off and in, wayting the returne of my boat, which I had sent a-shore, for dispatch of some businesse: which being come aboard, and all put in Order, I looft neere the shore, to giue my farewell to all the Inhabitants of the Towne, whereof the most part were gathered together vpon the *Howe*, to shew their gratefull correspondency, to the loue and zeale which I, my Father, and Predecessors, haue ever borne to that place, as to our naturall and mother Towne. And first with my noyse of Trumpets, after with my waytes, and then with my other Musicke, and lastly, with the Artillery of my Shippes, I made the best signification I could, of a kinde farewell. This they answered with the Waytes of the Towne, and the Ordinance on the shore, and with shouting of voyces; which with the fayre evening and silence of the night, were heard a great distance off. All which
taking

taking end, I sent Instructions and Directions to my other Ships. Which is a poynt of speciall importance; for that I haue seene Commanders of great name and reputation, by neglect and omission of such solemnities, to haue runne into many inconveniences, and thereby haue learnt the necessitie of it. Whereby I cannot but advise all such, as shall haue charge committed vnto them, ever before they depart out of the Port, to giue vnto their whole Fleete, not onely Directions for civill government, but also where, when, and how to meete, if they should chance to loose company, and the signes how to know one another a-far off, with other poynts and circumstances, as the occasions shall minister matter different, at the discretion of the wise Commander.

The consequence of Instructions at departure.

But some one may say vnto me, that in all occasions it is not convenient to giue Directions: for that, if the enemy happen vpon any of the Fleete, or that there be any treacherous person in the company, their Designements may be discovered, and so prevented.

To this I answer, that the prudent Governour, by good consideration may avoyde this, by publication of that which is good and necessarie for the guide of his Fleete and people; by all secret instructions, to giue them sealed, and not to be opened, but coming to a place appoynted, (after the manner of the Turkish direction to the *Bashawes*, who are their Generalls;) and in any eminent perill to cast them by the boord, or otherwise to make away with them. For he that setteth Sayle, not giving directions in writing to his Fleete, knoweth not if the night or day following, he may be separated from his Company, which happeneth sometimes: and then, if a place of meeting be not knowne, he runneth in danger not to ioyne them together againe.

And for places of meeting, when seperation happeneth, I am of opinion, to appoynt the place of meeting in such a height, twentie, or thirtie, or fortie Leagues off the Land, or Iland. East, or West, is not so fitting, if the place afford it, as some sound betwixt Ilands, or some Iland, or Harbour.

It may be alledged in contradiction, and with probable reason, that it is not fit for a Fleete to stay in a Harbour for one Ship, nor at an Anchor at an Iland, for being discovered, or for hinderance of their Voyage.

Obiections against meeting in Harbours.

Yet it is the best; for when the want is but for one or two ships, a Pynace or Ship may wayte the time appoynted, and remaine with direction for them. But commonly one Ship, though but a bad Sayler, maketh more hast then a whole Fleete, and is at the meeting place first, if the accident be not very important.

Answered.

The place of meeting, if it might be, would be able to giue, at the least, retreshing of water and wood.

S E C T. I X.



Anching out into the Channell, the wind being at East and by South, and East South East, which blowing hard, and a flood in hand, caused a chapping Sea, and my Vice-admirall bearing a good Sayle made some water, and shooting off a peece of Ordnance, I edged towards her, to know the cause; who answered me, that they had sprung a great Leake, and that of force they must returne into the sound, which seeing to be necessary, I cast about, where Anchoring, and going aboard, presently found, that betwixt Wind and Water, the Calkers had left a seame vncalked, which being filled vp with Pitch onely, the Sea labouring that out, had beene sufficient to haue sunke her in short space, if it had not beene discovered in time.

False Calking.

And truely there is little care vsed now adaiies amongst our countymen in this Profession, in respect of that which was vsed in times past, and is accustomed in *France*, in *Spaine*, and in other parts. Which necessitie will cause to be reformed in time, by assigning the portion that every workeman is to Calke; that if there bee damage through his default, he may be forced to contribute towards the losse, occasioned through his negligence.

For prevention thereof.

And for more securitie I hold it for a good custome vsed in some parts, in making an end of calking and pitching the ship, the next tide to fill her with water, which will vndoubtedly discover the defect, for no pitch place without calking, can suffer the force and peaze of the water. In neglect whereof, I haue seene great damage and danger to ensue. The *Arke Royall* of his Maiesties, may serue for an example: which put all in daunger at her first going to the Sea, by a trivuell-hole left open in the post, and covered onely with pitch. In this point no man can be too circumspect, for it is the security of ship, men, and goods.

Example.

S E C T.

S E C T. X.



His being remedied, I set sayle in the morning and ran South-west, till we were cleere of *Vsbent*; and then South south-west, till we were some hundred Leagues off, where wee met with a great *Hulke*, of some five or sixe hundred tunnes, well appointed, the which my company, (as is naturall to all Mariners) presently would make a prize, and loaden with Spaniards goods, and without speaking to her, wished that the Gunner might shoote at her, to cause her to amaine. Which is a bad custome received and vsed of many ignorant persons, presently to gun at all whatsoever they discover, before they speake with them; being contrary to all discipline, and many times is cause of dissention betwixt friends, and the breach of Amitie betwixt Princes; the death of many, and sometimes losse of Shippes and all, making many obstinate, if not desperate: whereas in vsing common courtesie, they would better bethinke themselues, and so with ordinarie proceeding (iustified by reason, and the custome of all well disciplined people) might perhaps many times breede an increase of Amitie, a succour to necessity, and excuse divers inconveniencies and sutes, which haue impoverished many: for it hath chanced by this errour, that two English ships, neither carrying flag for their perticular respects, to change each with other a dozen payre of shott, with hurt to both, being after too late to repent their follie. Yea a person of credit hath told mee, that two English men of Warre in the Night, haue layd each other aboard willingly, with losse of many men, and dammage to both, *onely for the fault*, of not speaking one to the other; which might seeme to carrie with it some excuse, if they had beene neere the shore, or that the one had beene a Hull, and the other vnder sayle, in feare shee should haue escaped; not knowing what shee was (though in the night it is no wisdome to bourd with any ship) but in the maine Sea, and both desiring to ioyne, was a sufficient declaration, that both were seekers: and therefore by day or night, he that can speake with the Ship hee seeth, is bound, vpon payne to bee reputed *voyd of good Governement*, to hayle her before hee shoote at her. Some man may say, that in the meane time, shee

Advise for
shooting at
Sea.

Sundry mis-
chances for
neglect thereof

Object:

Answer:

ty giveth exception to all Lawes; and experience teacheth what is fit to bee done.

Master *Thomas Hampton*

Master *Thomas Hampton* once Generall of a Fleete of *Wasters*, sent to *Rochell*, Anno 1585. with secret instructions, considering (and as a man of experience) wisely vnderstanding his place and affaires, in like case shut his Eare to the instigations and provocations of the common sort, preferring the publique good of both Kingdomes before his owne reputation with the vulgar people: And as another *Fabius Maximus*, *cunctando restituit rem, non ponendo rumores ante salutem*. The French Kings Fleete comming where he was, and to winde-ward of him, all his Company were in an uproare; for that, hee would not shoote presently at them, before they saw their intention: wherein had beene committed three great faults: the first and principall, the breach of Amitie, betwixt the Princes and Kingdomes: the second, the neglect of common curtesie, in shooting before hee had spoken with them: and the third, in shooting first, being to lee-wards of the other.

The French and English Fleete salute one another.

Besides there was no losse of reputation, because the French Kings Fleete was in his owne Sea; and therefore for it to come to winde-ward, or the other to goe to lee-ward, was but that, which in reason was required, the Kingdomes being in peace and Amitie: For every Prince is to bee acknowledged and respected in his iurisdiction, and where hee pretendeth it to be his.

The French Generall, likewise seemed well to vnderstand what hee had in hand, for though he were farre superiour in forces, yet vsed hee the termes which were required; and comming within speech hayled them, and asked if there were peace or warre betwixt *England* and *France*: whereunto answer being made, that they knew of no other but peace; they saluted each other after the maner of the Sea, and then came to an Anchor all together; as and friends visited each other in their ships.

The English carryvp their flagg in the French Seas,

One thing the French suffered (vpon what occasion or ground I know not) that the English alwayes carried their flagg displayed; which in all other partes and Kingdomes is not permitted; at least in our Seas, if a Stranger Fleete meete with any of his Maiesties ships, the forraigners are bound to take in their flags, or his Maiesties ships to force them to it, though thereof follow the breach of peace or whatsoever discommodity. And whosoever should not be iealous in this point, hee is not worthy to haue the command of a Cock-boat committed vnto him: yea no stranger ought to open his flag in any Port of England, where there is any shipp, or Fort of his Maiesties; vpon penaltie to loose his flagg, and to pay

The honour of his Maiesties ships.

pay for the powder and shott spend vpon him. Yea, such is the respect to his Maiesties Shippes in all places of his Dominions, that no English Ship displayeth the Flagge in their presence, but runneth the like daunger, except they be in his Maiesties service; and then they are in predicament of the Kings Ships. Which good discipline in other Kingdomes is not in that regard as it ought, but sometimes through ignorance, sometimes of malice, neglect is made of that dutie and acknowledgement which is required, to the cost and shame of the ignorant and malicious.

In *Queene Maries* Raigne, King *Philip* of *Spaine* comming to marry with the *Queene*, and meeting with the Royall Navie of *England*, the Lord *William Howard*, High Admirall of *England*, would not consent, that the King in the narrow Seas should carrie his Flagge displayed, vntill he came into the Harbour of *Plimouth*.

Practised at the comming in of King *Philip* into *England*.

I being of tender yeares, there came a Fleete of *Spaniards* of aboute fiftie sayle of Shippes, bound for *Flaunders*, to fetch the *Queene*, *Dona Anna de Austria*, last wife to *Philip* the second of *Spaine*, which entred betwixt the Iland and the Maine, without vaying their Top-sayles, or taking in of their Flags: which my Father, Sir *John Hawkins*, (Admirall of a Fleete of her Maiesties Shippes, then ryding in *Catt-water*) perceiving, commanded his Gunner to shoot at the flagge of the Admirall, that they might thereby see their error: which notwithstanding, they persevered arrogantly to keepe displayed; wherevpon the Gunner at the next shott, laet the Admirall through and through, whereby the *Spaniards* finding that the matter beganne to grow to earnest, tooke in their Flags and Top-sayles, and so ranne to an Anchor.

And in the passage of *Dona Anna de Austria*.

The Generall presently sent his Boat, with a principall personage to expostulate the cause and reason of that proceeding; But my Father would not permit him to come into his Ship, nor to heare his Message: but by another Gentleman commanded him to returne, and to tell his Generall, That in as much as in the *Queenes* Port and Chamber, he had neglected to doe the acknowledgment and reverence, which all owe vnto her Maiestie, (especially her Ships being present) and comming with so great a Navie, he could not but giue suspition by such proceeding of malicious intention, and therefore required him, that within twelue houres he should depart the Port: vpon paine to be held as a common enemy, and to proceed against him with force.

Which answered the Generall vnderstanding, presently embarked himselfe in the same Boat, and came to the *Iesus of Lubecke*, and craved licence to speake with my Father: which at the first was

denied him, but vpon the second intreatie was admitted to enter the Ship, and to parley. The *Spanish* Generall began to demand, if there were Warres betwixt *England* and *Spaine*; who was answered, that his arrogant manner of proceeding, vsurping the Queene his Mistresses right, as much as in him lay, had given sufficient cause for breach of the Peace; And that he purposed presently, to giue notice thereof to the Queene, and her Counsell; and in the meane time, that he might depart. Wherevnto the *Spanish* Generall replied, that he knew not any offence he had committed, and that he would be glad to know, wherein he had mis-behaved himselfe. My Father seeing he pretended to escape by ignorance, beganne to put him in mind of the custome of *Spaine* and *Fraunce*, and many other parts, and that he could by no meanes be ignorant of that, which was common Right to all Princes in their Kingdomes; Demanding, if a Fleete of *England* should come into any Port of *Spaine* (the Kings Maiesties Ships being present) if the *English* should carry their Flags in the toppe, whether the *Spanish* would not shoot them downe; and if they persevered, if they would not beate them out of their Port. The *Spanish* Generall confessed his fault, pleaded ignorance, not malice, and submitted himselfe to the penaltie my Father would impose: but intreated, that their Princes (through them) might not come to haue any jarre. My Father a while (as though offended) made himselfe hard to be intreated, but in the end, all was shut vp, by his acknowledgement, and the auncient amitie renewed, by feasting each other aboard and ashore.

As also in her
repassage.

The selfe same Fleete at their returne from *Flaunders*, meeting with her Maiesties Shippes in the Channell, though sent to accompany the aforesaid Queene, was constrained during the time that they were with the English, to vayne their Flagges, and to acknowledge that which all must doe that passe through the English Seas.

But to our Voyage.

(* *)

S E C T. XI.



Comming within the hayling of the *Hulke*, wee demanded whence shee was? Whether shee was bound? and what her loading? Shee answered, that shee was of *Denmarke* comming from *Spaine*, loaden with Salt: we willed her to strike her Top-sayles, which shee did, and shewed vs her Charter-parties, and Billes of loading, and then saluted vs, as is the manner of the Sea, and so departed.

S E C T. XII.



He next day the wind became Southerly, and somewhat too much, and my Shippes being all deepe loaden, began to feele the Tempest, so that wee not able to lye by it, neither a hull, nor a try, and so with an easie Sayle bare vp before the Wind, with intent to put into *Falmouth*; but God was pleased that comming within tenne leagues of *Sylly*, the wind vered to the North-east, and so we went on in our Voyage.

Thwart of the *Flees* of *Bayon*, wee met with a small Ship of Master *Wattes* of *London*, called the *Elizabeth*, which came out of *Plimouth* some eyght dayes after vs: of whom wee enformed our selues of some particularities, and wrote certaine Letters to our Friends, making Relation of what had past till that day, and so tooke our farewell each of the other. The like we did with a small *Carvell* of *Plimouth*, which wee mett in the height of the *Rocke* in *Portingall*.

From thence wee directed our course to the *Ilands* of *Madera*, and about the end of *June*, in the sight of the *Ilands*, we descryed a Sayle some three leagues to the East wards, and a league to Windward of vs, which by her manner of working, and making, gaue vs to vnderstand, that shee was one of the Kings *Frigatts*. For shee was long and snugg, and spread a large Clewe, and standing to the West-wards, and wee to the East-wards to recover her Wake, when we cast about, shee beganne to vere there, and to goe away lasking, and within two glasses, it was plainely seene, that

shee went from vs, and so we followed on our course, and shee seeing that, presently stroke her Topsayles, which our Pynace perceiving, and being within shot continued the Chase, till I shot off a Peece and called her away; which fault many runne into, thinking to get thereby, and sometimes loose themselves by being too bold to venture from their Fleete; for it was impossible for vs, being to leeward, to take her, or to succour our owne, shee being a Ship of about two hundreth Tunnes.

The dutie of
Pynaces.

And Pynaces to meddle with Ships, is to buy Repentance at too deare a rate. For their office is, to wayte vpon their Fleete, in calmes (with their Oares) to follow a Chase, and in occasions to Anchor neere the shore, when the greater Ships cannot, without perill; Aboue all, to be readie and obedient at every call. Yet will I not, that any wrest my meaning; neither say I, that a Pynace, or small Ship armed, may not take a great Ship vnarmed; for daily experience teacheth vs the contrary.

The Madera
Ilands.

The *Madera* Ilands are two: the greater, called *La madera*, and the other *Porto Santo*; of great fertilitie, and rich in Sugar, Conserues, Wine, and sweet Wood, whereof they take their name. Other commodities they yeeld, but these are the principall. The chiefe Towne and Port is on the Souther side of the *Madera*, well fortified; they are subiect to the Kingdome of *Portingall*; the Inhabitants and Garrison all *Portingalles*.

Canarie Ilands.

The third of Iuly, we past along the Ilands of *Canaria*, which haue the name of a Kingdome, and containe these seauen Ilands, *Grand Canaria*, *Tenerifa*, *Palma*, *Gomera*, *Lancerota*, *Forteventura*, and *Fierro*. These Ilands haue abundance of Wine, Sugar, Conserues, Orcall Pitch, Iron, and other Commodities, and store of Cattell and Corne, but that a certaine Worme, called *Gorgosho* breedeth in it, which eateth out the substance, leaving the huske in manner whole. The head Iland, where the Iustice, which they call *Audiencia*, is resident, and whither all sutes haue their appealation, and finall sentence, is the *Grand Canaria*, although the *Tenerifa* is held for the better, and richer Iland, and to haue the best Sugar; and the Wine of the *Palma* is reputed for the best. The Pitch of these Ilands melteth not with the Sunne, and therefore is proper for the higher workes of Shipping. Betwixt *Forteventura* and *Lancerota* is a goodly fount, fit for a meeting place for any Fleete. Where is good Anchoring, and abundance of many sorts of Fish. There is water to be had in most of these Ilands, but with great vigilance. For the naturalls of them are venturous and hardie, and many times clime vp and downe the steepe
Rockes

Gorgosho.

Rockes and broken hills, which seeme impossible, which I would hardly haue beleaved, had I not seene it, and that with the greatest art and agilitie that may be: Their Armes for the most part, are Lances of nine or ten foote, with a head of a foote and halfe long, like vnto Boare-Speares, saue that the head is somewhat more broad.

Two things are famous in these Ilands, the Pike of *Tenerifa*, which is the highest Land in my iudgement that I haue seene, and men of credit haue told they haue seene it more then fortie leagues off. It is like vnto a Sugar loafe, and continually covered with Snow, and placed in the midst of a goodly vallie, most fertile, and temperate round about it. Out of which, going vp the pike, the colde is so great, that it is insufferable; and going downe to the Townes of the Iland, the heate seemeth most extreame, till they approach neere the coast. The other is a Tree in the Iland *Fierro*, which some write and affirme, with the dropping of his leaues, to giue water for the sustenance of the whole Iland, which I haue not seene, although I haue bene on shoare on the Iland: but those which haue seene it, haue recounted this misterie differently to that which is written, in this maner; That this Tree is placed in the bottome of a Valley, ever flourishing with broad leaues, and that round about it are a multitude of goodly high Pynes, which over-top it, and as it seemeth were planted by the diuine providence, to preserue it from Sunne and Wind. Out of this Valley ordinarily rise every day, great vapours and exhalations, which by reason that the Sunne is hindered to worke his operation, with the height of the Mountaines towards the South-east, convert themselues into moysture, and so bedewe all the Trees of the Valley, and from those which over-top this Tree, drops downe the dewe vpon his leaues, and so from his leaues into a round Well of Stone, which the Naturals of the land haue made to receiue the water; of which the people and cattle haue great reliefe: but sometimes it raineth and then the Inhabitants doe reserue water for many dayes to come in their Cisterns and Tynaxes, which is that they drinke of, and wherewith they principally sustaine themselues.

The Description
of *Tenerif*.

Of a Tree
in *Fierro*.

Excellence
of the South
wards of the
Iland.

The City of the *Grand Canaria*, and chiefe Port is on the west side of the Iland; the head Towne and Port of *Tenerifa*, is towards the south part, and the Port and Towne of the *Palma* and *Gomera*, on the East side.

In *Gomera*, some three Leagues south-ward from the Towne, is a great River of water, but all these Ilands are perilous to land in,

The first discoverers of these Ilands.

for the seege caused by the Ocean sea, which alwayes is forcible, and requireth great circumspection; whosoever hath not vrgent cause, is either to goe to the East-wards, or to the west-wards of all these Ilands, as well to avoyd the calmes, which hinder sometimes eight or ten dayes sayling, as the contagion which their distemperature is wont to cause, and with it to breede Calenturas, which wee call burning Fevers. These Ilands are sayd to be first discovered by a French-man, called *John de Betancourt*, about the yeare 1405. They are now a Kingdome subiect to Spaine.

S E C T. XIII.



Being cleare of the Ilands, wee directed our course for *Cape Blance*, and two howres before Sunne set, we had sight of a Carvell some League in the winde of vs, which seemed to come from *Gynea*, or the Ilands of *Cape de Verde*, and for that hee, which had the fery-watch, neglected to look out, being too lee-ward of the Ilands, and so out of hope of sight of any shipp, for the little trade and contrariety of the winde, that though a man will, from few places hee can recover the Ilands: comming from the south-wards, wee had the winde of her, and perhaps the possession also, whereof men of Warre are to haue particular care: for in an houre and place vnlookt for, many times chance accidents contrary to the ordinary course and custome, and to haue younkers in the top continually, is most convenient and necessary, not onely for descrying of sayles and land, but also for any sudden gust or occasion that may be offered.

Note.

Exercises vpon the South-wards of the *Canaries*.

Seeing my selfe past hope of returning backe, without some extraordinary accident, I began to set order in my Companie and victuals: And for that, to the south-wards of the *Canaries*, is for the most part an idle Navigation, I devised to keepe my people occupied, as well to continue them in health (for that too much ease in hott Countries is neither profitable nor healthfull) as also to divert them from remembrance of their home; and from play, which breedeth many inconveniences, and other bad thoughts and workes which idlenes is cause of; and so shifting my company, as the custome is, into Starboord and Larboord men, the halfe to watch and worke whilest the others slept, and take rest; I limited the three dayes of the weeke, which appertayned to each to be
 imploied

employed in this manner: the one for the vse and clenſing of their Armes, the other for roomeging, making of Sayles, Nettings, Decking, and Defences for our Shippes; and the third, for clenſing their bodies, mending and making their apparell, and neceſſaries, which though it came to be practiſed but once in ſeaven dayes, for that the Sabbath is ever to be reſerved for God alone, with the ordinary Obligation which each perſon had beſides, was many times of force to be omitted; And thus wee entertained our time with a fayre Wind, and in few dayes had ſight of the Land of *Barbary*, ſome dozen Leagues to the Northwards of *Cape Blacke*.

Before we came to the *Cape*, wee tooke in our Sayles, and made preparation of Hookes and Lines to Fiſh. For in all that Coaſt is great abundance of ſundry kinds of Fiſh, but eſpecially, of *Por-gus*, which wee call *Breames*; many *Portingalls* and *Spaniards* goe yearely thither to fiſh, as our Country-men to the *New-found-land*, and within *Cape Blacke* haue good Harbour for reaſonable ſhipping, where they dry their Fiſh, paying a certaine eaſie tribute to the Kings Collector. In two houres wee tooke ſtore of Fiſh for that day, and the next: but longer it would not keepe good; and with this refreshing ſet Sayle againe, and directed our courſe betwixt the Ilands of *Cape de Verd* and the *Maine*. Theſe Ilands are held to be ſituate in one of the moſt vnhealthieſt Climates of the world, and therefore it is wiſdome to ſhunne the ſight of them, how much more to make abode in them.

In two times that I haue beene in them, either coſt vs the one halfe of our people, with Fevers and Fluxes of ſundry kinds; ſome ſhaking, ſome burning, ſome partaking of both; ſome poſſeſt with frenſie, others with floath, and in one of them it coſt me ſix moneths ſickneſſe, with no ſmall hazard of life: which I attribute to the diſtemperature of the ayre, for being within foureteene degrees of the Equinoctiall lyne, the Sunne hath great force all the yeare, and the more for that often they paſſe, two, three, and foure yeares without rayne; and many times the earth burneth in that manner as a man well ſhodd, cannot endure to goe where the Sunne ſhineth.

With which extreame heate the bodie fatigated, greedily deſireth refreshing, and longeth the comming of the Breze, which is the North-eaſt winde, that ſeldome fayleth in the after-noone at foure of the clocke, or ſooner: which comming cold and freſh, and finding the poores of the body open, and (for the moſt part) naked, penetrateth the very bones; and ſo cauſeth ſudden diſtem-

Cape de Verd.

The vnwhol-
ſomneſſe
thereof.

The heate.

The Breze.

perature, and sundry manners of sicknesse, as the Subiects are divers wherevpon they worke.

Departing out of the Calmes of the Ilands, and comming into the fresh Brese, it causeth the like, and I haue scene within two dayes, after that we haue partaked of the fresh ayre, of two thousand men, aboue a hundreth and fiftie haue beene crazed in their health.

The remedie.

The Inhabitants of these Ilands vse a remedie for this, which at my first being amongst them, seemed vnto me ridiculous, but since, time and experience hath taught to be grounded vpon reason. And is, that vpon their heads they weare a Night-capp, vpon it a Moutero, and a Hat over that, and on their bodies a lute of thicke Cloth, and vpon it a Gowne, furr'd or lyned with Cotton, or Bayes, to defend them from the heate in that manner, as the Inhabitants of cold Countries, to guard themselues from the extremitie of the colde. Which doubtlesse, is the best diligence that any man can vse, and whosoever prooveth it, shall find himselfe lesse annoyed with the heate, then if he were thinly Cloathed, for that where the cold ayre commeth, it peirceth not so subtilly.

The influence of the Moone in hot Countries.

The Moone also in this Climate, as in the coast of *Guynes*, and in all hott Countries, hath forcible operation in the body of man; and therefore, as the Planet, most preiudiciall to his health, is to be shunned; as also not to sleepe in the open Ayre, or with any Scuttle or Window open, whereby the one, or the other, may enter to hurt.

For a person of credit told me, that one night in a river of *Guynes*, leaving his Window open in the side of his Cabin, the Moone shining vpon his shoulder, left him with such an extraordinary paine, and furious burning in it, as in aboue twentie houres, he was like to runne madde, but in fine, with force of Medicines and cures, after long torment, he was eased.

Some I haue heard say, and others write, that there is a Starre which never seperateth it selfe from the Moone, but a small distance; which is of all Starres the most beneficiall to man. For where this Starre entreth with the Moone, it maketh voyde her hurtfull influence, and where not, it is most perilous. Which if it be so, is a notable secret of the divine Providence, and a speciall cause amongst infinite others, to moue vs to continuall thankesgiuing; for that he hath so extraordinarily compassed and fenced vs from infinite miseries, his most vnworthie and vngratefull Creatures.

Of these Ilands are two pyles: the one of them lyeth out of the way

way of Trade, more Westerly, and so little frequented; the other lyeth some fourescore Leagues from the Mayne, and containeth six in number, to wit; *Saint Iago, Fuego, Mayo, Bonavisto, Sal,* and *Bravo*.

They are belonging to the Kingdome of Portingall, and inhabited by people of that Nation, and are of great trade, by reason of the neighbour-hood they haue with *Gwyne* and *Bynne*; but the principall is, the buying and selling of *Negros*. They haue store of Sugar, Salt, Rice, Cotton-wooll, and Cotton-Cloth, Amber-greece, Cyvit, Oliphants teeth, Brimstone, Pummy stone, Sponge, and some Gold, but little, and that from the mayne.

Saint Iago is the head Iland, and hath one Citie and two Townes, with their Ports. The Citie called *Saint Iago*, whereof the Iland hath his Name, hath a Garrison, and two Fortes, scituated in the bottome of a pleasant Valley, with a running streame of water passing through the middest of it, whether the rest of the Ilands come for Iustice, being the seat of the *Audiencia*, with his Bishop.

The other Townes are *Playa*, some three Leagues to the Eastwards of *Saint Iago*, placed on high, with a goodly Bay, whereof it hath his name: and *Saint Domingo*, a small Towne within the Land. They are on the Souther part of the Iland, and haue beene sacked sundry times in Anno 1582. by *Manuel Serades*, a *Portingall*, with a Fleete of French-men; in Anno 1585. they were both burnt to the ground by the English, Sir *Francis Drake* being Generall; and in Anno 1596. *Saint Iago* was taken, and sacked by the English, Sir *Anthony Shyrley* being Generall.

The second Iland is *Fuego*, so called, for that day and night there burneth in it a *Vulcan*; whose flames in the night are seene twentie Leagues off in the Sea. It is by nature fortified in that sort, as but by one way is any accessse, or entrance into it, and there cannot goe vp aboue two men a brest. The Bread which they spend in these Ilands, is brought from *Portingall* and *Spaine*, saving that which they make of Rice, or of Mayes, which wee call *Gwynne-wheate*.

The best watering is in the Ile of *Bravo*, on the west part of the Iland, where is a great River, but foule Anchoring, as is in all these Ilands, for the most part. The fruits are few, but substantiall, as *Palmitos*, *Plantanos*, *Patatos*, and *Coco Nutts*.

The *Palmito* is like to the Date tree, and as I thinke a kinde of it, but wilde. In all parts of *Afrique* and *America* they are found, and in some parts of *Europe*, and in divers parts different. In *Afrique*, and in the West *Indies* they are small, that a man may cut

them with a knife, and the lesser the better : But in *Brasill* they are so great, that with difficultie a man can fell them with an Axe, and the greater the better ; one foote within the top is profitable, the rest is of no value ; and that which is to be eaten is the pith, which in some is better, in some worse.

The *Plantane*.

The *Plantane* is a tree found in most parts of *Afrique* and *America*, of which two leaues are sufficient to cover a man from top to toe ; It beareth fruit but once, and then dryeth away, and out of his roote sprouteth vp others new. In the top of the tree is his truit, which groweth in a great bunch, in the forme and fashion of puddings, in some more, in some lesse. I haue seene in one bunch aboute foure hundred *Plantanes*, which haue weighed aboute fourscore pound waight. They are of diuers proportions, some great, some lesser, some round, some square, some triangle, most ordinarily of a spanne long, with a thicke skinne, that peelet h easily from the meate ; which is either white or yellow, and very tender like Butter ; but no *Conserue* is better, nor of a more pleasing taste. For I never haue seene any man, to whom they haue bred mis-like, or done hurt with eating much of them, as of other fruites.

Placentia.

The best are those which ripen naturally on the tree, but in most partes they cut them off in braunches, and hange them vp in their houses, and eat them as they ripe. For the Birds and Vermine presently in ripning on the tree, are feeding on them. The best that I haue seene are in *Brasill*, in an Iland called *Placentia*, which are small, and round, and greene when they are ripe : whereas the others in ripning become yellow. Those of the *West Indies* and *Guynne* are great, and one of them sufficient to satisfie a man ; the onely fault they haue is, that they are windie. In some places they eate them in stead of bread, as in *Panama*, and other parts of *Tierra firme*. They grow and prosper best when their rootes are ever covered with water ; they are excellent in *Conserue*, and good sodden in different manners, and dried on the tree, not inferior to *Suckett*.

The *Cocos*, and their kindes.

The *Coco nutt* is a fruit of the fashion of a *Hassell nutt*, but that it is as bigge as an ordinary *Bowle*, and some are greater. It hath two shells, the vttermost framed (as it were) of a multitude of threeds, one layd vpon another, with a greene skinne over-lapping them, which is soft and thicke ; The innermost is like to the shell of a *Hazell nutt* in all proportion, saving that it is greater and thicker, and some, more blacker. In the toppe of it is the forme of a *Munkies face*, with two eyes, his nose and a mouth. It containeth in it both meate and drinke ; the meate white as milke, and

and like to that of the kernell of a Nutt, and as good as Almonds blancht, and of great quantitie: The water is cleare, as of the fountaine, and pleasing in taste, and somewhat answereth that of the water distilled of Milke. Some say it hath a singular propertie in Nature, for conserving the smoothnesse of the skinne; and therefore in *Spaine* and *Portingall*, the curious Dames doe ordinarily wash their faces and neckes with it. If the holes of the shell be kept close, they keepe foure or six moneths good, and more; but if it be opened, and the water kept in the shell, in few dayes it turneth to Vineger.

They grow vpon high Trees, which haue no boughes; onely in the top they haue a great cap of leaues, and vnder them groweth the fruite vpon certaine twigs; And some affirme that they beare not fruite, before they be aboue fortie yeares old, they are in all things like to the Palme trees, and grow in many partes of *Asia*, *Afrique*, and *America*. The shels of these nuts are much esteemed for drinking cups, and much cost and labour is bestowed vpon them in carving, graving and garnishing them, with silver, gold and precious stones.

In the Kingdome of *Chile* and in *Brosill*, is another kinde of these, which they call *Coquillos*, as wee may interpret (little *Cocos*) and are as big as *Wal-nuts*; but round and smooth, and grow in great clusters: the trees in forme are all one, and the meate in the nut better, but they haue no water.

Another kinde of great *Cocos* groweth in the *Andes* of *Peru*, which haue not the delicate meate nor drinke, which the others haue, but within are full of Almonds, which are placed as the graines in the *Pomegrannet*, being three times bigger then those of *Europe*, and are much like them in tast.

In these Ilands are *Cyvet-Cats*, which are also found in parts of *Asia*, and *Afrique*; esteemed for the *Civet* they yeelde, and carry about them in a cod in their hinder parts, which is taken from them by force. Civet-Catts.

In them also are store of *Monkies*, and the best proportioned that I haue scene; and *Parrots*, but of colour different to those of the west *Indies*; for they are of a russet or gray colour and great speakers. Monkeyes.
Parrots.

S E C T. X I I I I.



With a faire and large winde we continued our course, till we came within five degrees of the Equinoctiall lync, where the winde tooke vs contrary by the Southwest, about the twentie of Iulie, but a fayre gale of wind and a smooth Sea; so that wee might beare all a taut: and to advantage our selues what wee might, wee stode to the East-wards, being able to lye South-east and by South; The next day about nine of the Clocke, my companie being gathered together to serue God, which wee accustomed to doe every morning and evening, it seemed vnto me that the colour of the Sea was different to that of the daies past, and which is ordinarily where is deepe water; and so calling the Captaine, and Master of my Ship, I told them that to my seeming the water was become very whitish, and that it made shewe of Sholde water. Wherevnto they made answere, that all the lynes in our Shippes could not fetch ground: for wee could not be lesse then threescore and tenne Leagues off the Coast, which all that kept reckoning in the Ship agreed vpon, and my selfe was of the same opinion. And so wee applyed our selues to serue God, but all the time that the service endured, my heart could not be at rest, and still me thought the water began to waxe whiter and whiter. Our prayers ended, I commanded a lead and a lync to be brought, and having the lead in foureteene fathoms wee had ground, which put vs all into a maze, and sending men into the toppe, presently discovered the land of *Guynne*, some five Leagues from vs, very low Land. I commanded a Peece to be shott, and lay by the lee, till my other Shippes came vp. Which hayling vs, wee demanded of them, how farre they found themselves off the Land; who answered, some threescore and tenne, or fourescore Leagues: when wee told them wee had sounded, and found but foureteene Fathomes, and that we were in sight of Land, they began to wonder; But having consulted what was best to be done, I caused my Shalop to be manned, which I towed at the Sterne of my Ship continually, and sent her and my Pynace a head to sound, and followed them with an easie Sayle, till we came in seaven and six fathome Water, and some two Leagues from the shore anchored, in hope by the Sea, or by the Land to find some refreshing. The Sea we found to be barren of Fish, and my Boates could not discover any landing place, though

a whole day they had rowed alongst the Coast, with great desire to set foote on shore, for that the sedge was exceeding great and dangerous. Which experienced, wee set sayle, notwithstanding the contrarietie of the winde, sometimes standing to the West-wards, sometime to the East-wards, according to the shifting of the wind.

S E C T. X V.



Ere is to be noted, that the error which we fell into in our accompts, was such as all men fall into where are currants that set East or West, and are not knowne, for that there is no certaine rule yet practised for triall of the longitude, as there is of the latitude, though some curious and experimented of our Nation, with whom I haue had conference about this poynt, haue shewed me two or three manner of wayes how to know it.

Note.

This, some yeares before was the losse of the *Edward Cotton*, bound for the Coast of *Brafill*, which taken with the winde contrary neere the lyne, standing to the East-wards, and making accompt to be fiftie or sixtie Leagues off the Coast, with all her Sayles standing, came suddenly a ground vpon the sholes of *Madrebomba*; and so was cast away, though the most part of their company saved themselues vpon *Raffes*; But with the contagion of the Countrie, and bad entreatie which the *Negros* gaue them, they died; so that there returned not to their Country about three or foure of them.

The losse of the *Edward Cotton*.

But God Almighty dealt more mercifully with vs in shewing vs our error in the day, and in time, that wee might remedie it; to him be evermore glory for all.

This current from the line Equinoctiall, to twentie degrees Northerly, hath great force, and setteth next of any thing East, directly vpon the shore; which we found by this meanes: Standing to the Westwards, the wind Southerly, when we lay with our Ships head West, and by South, we gayned in our heith more then it wee had made our way good west south-west; for that, the current tooke vs vnder the bow: but lying west, or west and by north, we lost more in twelue houres then the other way we could get in foure and twentie. By which plainly we saw, that the current did set East next of any thing. Whether this current runneth ever one way, or doth alter, and how, we could by no meanes vnderstand, but tract of

E

time

time and observation will discover this, as it hath done of many others in sundry Seas.

The current that setteth betwixt *New-found-land* and *Spaine*, runneth also East and West, and long time deceived many, and made some to count the way longer, and others shorter, according as the passage was speedie or slowe; not knowing that the furtherance or hinderance of the current, was cause of the speeding or slowing of the way. And in sea Cardes I haue seene difference of about thirtie Leagues betwixt the Iland *Tercera*, and the *Mayne*. And others haue recounted vnto me, that comming from the *Indias*, and looking out for the Ilands of *Azores*, they haue had sight of *Spaine*. And some haue looked out for *Spaine*, and haue discovered the Ilands.

The selfe same current is in the *Leuant* Sea, but runneth trade betwixt the *Maynes*, and changeable sometimes to the East-wards, sometimes to the West-wards.

In *Brasill* and the *South Sea*, the current likewise is changeable, but it runneth ever alongst the Coast, accompanying the winde: and it is an infallible rule, that twelue or twentie foure houres (before the Wind alters) the current begins to change.

In the *West Indies* onely the current runneth continually one way, and setteth alongst the Coast from the Equinoctiall lync towards the North. No man hath yet found that these currents keepe any certaine time, or run so many dayes, or moneths, one way as another, as doth the course of ebbing and flowing, well knowne in all Seas: onely neere the shore they haue small force; partly, becauie of the reflux which the coast causeth, and partly for the ebbing and flowing, which more or lesse is generall in most seas.

When the current runneth North or South, it is easily discovered by augmenting or diminishing the height, but how to know the setting of the current from East to West in the *mayne Sea*, is difficult; and as yet, I haue not knowne any man, or read any Authour, that hath prescribed any certaine meane or way to discover it. But experience teacheth that in the *mayne Sea*, for the most part it is variable; and therefore the best and safest rule to prevent the danger, (which the vncertainty and ignorance heereof may cause) is carefull and continuall watch by day and night, and vpon the East and west course ever to bee before the shipp, and to vse the meanes possible to know the errour, by the rules which newe Authours may teach: beating off and on, sometimes to the west-wards, sometimes to the East-wards, with a fayre gale of winde.

S E C T. XVI.



Being betwixt three or foure degrees of the Equinocti-
 all line, my Company within a few dayes began to fall
 sicke, of a disease which Sea-men are wont to call the
 Scurvey: and seemeth to be a kinde of dropsie, and
 raigneth most in this Climate of any that I haue
 heard or read of in the World; though in all Seas it is wont to
 helpe and increate the miserie of man; it possesseth all those of
 which it taketh hold, with a loathsome sloathfulnesse, *even to*
eat: they would be content to change their *sleepe and rest*, which
 is the most pernicious Enemy in this sickness, that is knowne. It
 bringeth with it a great desire to drinke, and causeth a generall
 swelling of all parts of the body, especially, of the legs and gums,
 and many times the teeth fall out of the iawes without paine.

The Scurvey.

The signes to know this disease in the beginning are divers, by
 the swelling of the gummies, by denting of the flesh of the legs
 with a mans finger, the pit remayning without filling vp in a
 good space: Others, show it with their lasinesse, Others, com-
 plaine of the cricke of the backe, &c. all which, are for the most
 part, certaine tokens of infection.

The signes.

The cause of this sickness, some attribute to sloath; some to
 conceite; and divers men speake diversly: that which I haue ob-
 served is, that our Nation is more subiect vnto it, then any other;
 because being bred in a temperate Clymate, where the naturall
 heate restrayned, giveth strength to the stomacke, sustayning it
 with meates of good nourishment, and that in an wholesome ayre,
 whereas comming into the hot Countries, (where that naturall
 heate is dispersed through the whole body, which was wont to be
 proper to the stomacke; and the meates for the most part, preser-
 ved with Salt, and its substance thereby diminished, and many
 times corrupted) greater force for digestion is now required, then
 in times past; but the stomacke finding lesse vertue to doe his office,
 in reparting to each member his due proportion in perfection,
 which either giveth it rawe, or remayneth with it indigested by his
 hardnes or cruditie; infeebleth the body, and maketh it vnlusty and
 vnfit for any thing, for the stomacke being strong, (though all parts
 els be weake) there is ever a desire to feede, and aptnes to per-
 forme whatsoever can be required of a man; but though all

The cause.

other members be strong and sound, if the Stomacke be oppressed, or squeemish, all the body is vnlustie, and vnfit for any thing, and yeeldeth to nothing so readily, as to sloathfulnes, which is confirmed by the common answer to all questions: As, will you eate? will you sleepe? will you walke? will you play? The answer is, I haue no stomacke: which is as much, as to say, no not willingly, thereby confirming that without a sound and whole stomacke, nothing can bee well accomplished, nor any sustenance well digested.

Seething of
meat in Salt
water.

Corruption of
victuall.
Vapours of
the Sea,

The seething of the meate in Salt water, helpeth to cause this infirmitie, which in long Voyages can hardly be avoyded: but if it may be, it is to be shunned; for, the water of the Sea to mans body is very vnwholsome. The corruption of the victuals, and especially of the bread, is very pernicious; the vapours and ayre of the Sea also is nothing profitable, especially, in these hot Countries, where are many calmes. And were it not for the moving of the Sea by the force of windes, tydes, and currants, it would corrupt all the world.

Azores.

The experience I saw in Anno 1590. lying with a Fleete of her Maiesties ships about the Islands of the *Azores* almost six moneths; the greatest part of the time we were becalmed: with which all the Sea became so replenished with severall sorts of gellyes, and formes of Serpents, Adders, and Snakes, as seemed wonderfull: some greene, some blacke, some yellow, some white, some of divers colours; and many of them had life, and some there were a yard and halfe, and two yards long; which had I not seene, I could hardly haue beleevved. And hereof are witnesses all the Companies of the Ships which were then present; so that hardly a man could draw a Buckett of water cleere of some corruption. In which Voyage, towards the end thereof, many of every Ship, (saving of the *Non-pereli*, which was vnder my charge, and had onely one man sicke in all the Voyage) fell sicke of this disease, and began to die apace, but that the speedie passage into our Country was remedie to the crazed, and a Preservative for those that were not touched. The best prevention for this disease (in my iudgement) is to keepe cleane the Shippe, to besprinkle her ordinarily with Vineger, or to burne Tarre, and some sweet favours, to feed vpon as few salt Meats in the hot Country as may be, and especially to shunne all kindes of salt Fish, and to reserue them for the cold Climates, and not to dresse any meat with salt water, nor to suffer the companie to wash their Shirts nor Cloathes in it, nor to sleepe in their Cloaths when they are wett. For this cause it is necessarily required, that

The remedies;

By dyet.

provisi-

provision be made of apparell for the Company, that they may haue wherewith to shift themselues. Being a common calamitie amongst the ordinary sort of Mariners, to spend their thrift on the shore, and to bring to Sea no more Cloaths then they haue backes; for the bodie of man is not refreshed with any thing more, then with shifting cleane Cloaths; a great preseruatue of health in hott Countries.

By shift.

The second Antidote is, to keepe the companie occupied in some bodily exercise of worke, of agilitie, of pastimes, of dauncing, of vse of Armes; these helpeth much to banish this infirmitie. Thirdly, In the morning at discharge of the watch, to giue every man a bit of bread, and a draught of drinke, either Beere, or Wine mingled with water (at the least, the one halfe) or a quantitie mingled with Beere, that the pores of the bodie may be full, when the vapours of the Sea ascend vp.

By labour.

By early eating and drinking.

The morning draught should be ever of the best, and choysest of that in the ship. Pure wine I hold to be more hurtfull, then the other is profitable. In this, others will be of a contrary opinion, but I thinke partiall. If not, then leaue I the remedies thereof to those Physitions and Surgeons who haue experience. And I wish that some learned man would write of it, for it is the plague of the Sea, and the spoyle of Mariners; doubtlesse, it would be a meritorious Worke with God and man, and most beneficiall for our Countrey, for in twentie yeares, since that I haue vsed the Sea, I dare take vp-on me, to giue accompt of ten thousand men consumed with this disease.

That which I haue seene most fruitfull for this sicknesse, is sower Oranges and Lemmons, and a water which amongst others (for my particular provision) I carryed to the Sea, called Doctor *Stevens* his Water, of which, for that his vertue was not then well knowne vnto me, I carryed but little, and it tooke end quickly, but gaue health to those that vsed it.

By sower Oranges and Lemmons.
By Doctor Stevens water.

The oyle of Vitry is beneficiall for this disease; taking two drops of it, and mingled in a draught of water, with a little Sugar. It taketh away the thirst, and helpeth to cleanse and comfort the stomacke: But the principall of all, is the ayre of the Land; for, the Sea is naturall for fishes, and the Land for men. And the oftner a man can haue his people to land, (not hindering his voyage) the better it is, and the profitablest course that he can take to refresh them.

By oyle of Vitry,

By the ayre of the land.

S E C T. XVII.

The company
sicke, and dis-
mayed.



Having stood to the westwards some hundreth leagues and more, the wind continuing with vs contrarie, and the sicknesse so fervent, that every day there dyed more or lesse: my Companie in generall began to dismay, and to desire to returne homewards which I laboured to hinder by good reasons, and perswasions: As, that to the West Indies, we had not aboue eight hundreth leagues, to the Ilands of *Azores* little lesse, and before we come to the Ilands of *Cape de Verde*, that we should meete with the *Breze*; for every night we might see the reach goe contrary to the winde which wee sayled by; verifying the old Proverbe amongst Mariners; *That he hath need of a long Mast, that will sayle by the Reach*; and that the neerest land and speediest refreshing wee could looke for, was the coast of *Brasill*; and that standing towards it with the winde we had, we shortned our way for the *Indies*; and that to put all the sicke men together in one Shippe, and to send her home, was to make her their graue. For we could spare but few sound men, who were also subiect to fall sicke, and the misery, notwithstanding, remediless; with which they were convinced, and remained satisfied. So leaving all to their choyse, with the consideration of what I perswaded, they resolved with me, to continue our course, till that God was pleased to looke vpon vs, with his Fatherly eyes of mercie.

Brasill.

Cape S. Augustine.

Farnambuca.

Todos Santos.

Pura de Vitoria.

As we approached neerer and neerer the coast of *Brasill*, the wind began to vere to the East-wardes, and about the middle of October, to be large and good for vs; and about the 18. of October, we were thwart of *Cape Saint Augustine*, which lyeth in sixe degrees to the Southwards of the lyne: and the 21. in the height of *Farnambuca*, but some fourescore leagues from the Coast; the twentie foure, in the height of *Bayea de todos Santos*; neere the end of October, betwixt 17. and 18. degrees, we were in 16. fathomes, sounding of the great Sholes, which lye alongst the Coast, betwixt the Bay of *todos Santos*, and the Port of *Santos alias pura senora de Vitoria*; which are very perilous.

But the divine Providence hath ordayned great flockes of small Birds (like Snytes) to liue vpon the Rockes, and broken lands of these Sholes, and are met with ordinarily twentie leagues before a man come in danger of them.

It shall not be amisse here to recount the Accidents which befell vs during this contrary winde, and the curiosities to be observed in all this time. Day and night we had continually a fayre gale of winde, and a smooth Sea, without any alteration; one day, the Carpenters having Calked the Decke of our Shippe, which the Sunne with his extreame heate had opened, craved licence to heate a little Pitch in the Cook-roume: which I would not consent vnto by any meanes; for that my Cook-roumes were vnder the Decke, knowing the danger; vntill the Master vndertooke, that no danger should come thereof. But he recommended the charge to another, who had a better name, then experience. He suffered the Pitch to rise, and to runne into the fire, which caused so furious a flame, as amazed him, and forced all to flie his heate; one of my Company, with a double payre of Gloues tooke off the Pitch-pot, but the fire forced him to let slip his hold-fast, before he could set it on the Hearth, and so overturned it, and as the Pitch began to runne, so the fire to enlarge it selfe, that in a moment a great part of the Shippe was on a light fire. I being in my Cabin, presently imagined what the matter was, and for all the hast I could make, before I came, the fire was aboute the Decke: for remedie whereof, I commanded all my Companie, to cast their Rugges into the Sea, with Ropes fastened vnto them. These I had provided for my people to watch in; for in many hott Countries the nights are fresh and colde; and devided one Gowne to two men, a Starboord and a Larboord man; so that he which watched had ever the Gowne: for they which watched not, were either in their Cabins, or vnder the Decke, and so needed them not. The Gownes being well soked, every man that could, tooke one, and assaulted the fire; and although some were singed, others scalded, and many burned, God was pleased that the fire was quenched, which I thought impossible; And doubtlesse, I never saw my selfe in greater perill in all the dayes of my life. Let all men take example by vs, not to suffer (in any case) Pitch to be heate in the Ship, except it be with a shott heate in the fire, which cannot breed daunger: nor to permit fire to be kindled, but vpon meere necessitie; for the inconvenience thereof (is for the most part) remediless.

Dangers of Fire.

By heating of Pitch.

With drinking of *Tobacco* it is said, that the *Roebucke* was burned in the range of *Dartmouth*.

By taking Tobacco.

The *Primrose* of *London* was fired with a Candle at *Tilbery-hope*, and nothing saved but her Kele.

And another Ship bound for *Barbary*, at *Wapping*.

The *Iesus of Lubecke* had her Gunner-roome set on fire with a Match, and had beene burnt without redemption, if that my Father, Sir *John Hawkins* Knight, then Generall in her, had not commaunded her Sloppers to be stopt, and the men to come to the Pumpes, whereof shee had two, which went with chaynes, and plying them, in a moment there was three or foure inches of water vpon the Decke, which with Scoopes, Swabbles, and Platters, they threw vpon the fire, and so quenched it, and delivered both Ship and men out of no small danger.

By Hooping
and Scutling
of Caske.

Great care is to be had also in cleaving of Wood, in Hooping or Scutling of Caske, and in any businesse where violence is to be vsed with instruments of Iron, Steele, or Stone; and especially, in opening of Powder, these are not to be vsed, but Mallets of Wood; for many mischances happen beyond all expectation.

I haue beene credibly enformed by diuers persons, that comming out of the *Indies*, with Scutling a Butt of water, the water hath taken fire, and flamed vp, and put all in hazard: And a servant of mine, *Thomas Gray* told me, that in the Shippe wherein he came out of the *Indies*, Anno 1600. there happened the like; and that if with Mantles they had not smothered the fire, they had bin all burned with a Pipe of Water, which in Scutling tooke fire.

By natures of
waters.

Master *John Hazlelocke* reported, that in the Arsenall of *Venice* happened the like, he being present. For mine owne part, I am of opinion, that some waters haue this propertie, and especially such as haue their passage by Mines of Brimstone, or other Mincralls, which (as all men know) giue extraordinary properties vnto the waters by which they runne: Or it may be that the water being in wine Caske, and kept close, may retayne an extraordinary propertie of the Wine. Yea, I haue drunke Fountaine, and River waters many times, which haue had a savour as that of Brimstone.

Three leagues from *Bayon* in *France*, I haue proved of a fountaine that hath this savour, and is medicinable for many diseases. In the South Sea, in a River some fiue Leagues from *Cape Saint Francisco*, in one degree and a halfe to the Northwardes of the lyne, in the Bay of *Atacames*, is a River of fresh water, which hath the like savour. Of this I shall haue occasion to speake in

another place, treating of the diuers properties

of Fountaines and Rivers; and there-

fore to our purpose.

(. . .)

S E C T.

S E C T. X V I I I.



We had no small cause to give God thanks and By Swearing.
 prayse for our deliverance, and so all our Ships
 once come together, wee magnified his glori-
 rious Name for his mercie towards vs, and tooke
 an occasion hereby, to banish swearing out of our
 Shippes, which amongst the common sort of Ma-
 riners, and Sea-faring men, is too ordinarily abused. So with a
 generall consent of all our companie, it was ordayned that in eve-
 ry Ship there should be a Palmer or Ferula, which should be in the
 keeping of him, who was taken with an oath, and that he who
 had the Palmer should give to every other that he tooke swearing
 in the Palme of the hand a *Palmada* with it, and the *Ferula*. And
 whosoever at the time of evening, or morning Prayer, was found to
 haue the Palmer, should haue three blowes given him by the Cap-
 taine, or Master, and that he should be still bound to free himselfe by
 taking another, or else to runne in daunger of continuing the pe-
 naltie; which executed, few dayes reformed the Vice; so that in
 three dayes together, was not one oath heard to be sworne. This
 brought both *Ferula's*, and swearing out of vse.

And certainly, in vices, custome is the principall sustenance; and
 for their reformation, it little availeth to give good counsell, or to
 make good Lawes and Ordenances, except they be executed.

S E C T. X I X.



In this time of contrary Wind, those of my Compa-
 ny which were in health, recreated themselues
 with Fishing, and beholding the Hunting and
 Hawking of the Sea, and the Battell betwixt the
 Whale and his enemies, which truely are of no
 small pleasure. And therefore for the curious, I
 will spend some time in Declaration of them.

Ordinarily such Ships as Navigate betweene the *Tropiques*, are
 accompanied with three sorts of Fish; The *Dolphin*, which the
Spaniards call *Dozado*; The *Bonito*, or Spanish *Makerell*: and the
Sharke, alias *Tiberune*.

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The

The *Dolphin*. The *Dolphin* I hold to be one of the swiftest Fishes in the Sea: He is like vnto a Breame, but that he is longer and thinner, and his scales very small. He is of the colour of the Rayn-bow, and his head different to other Fishes; for, from his mouth halfe a spanne it goeth straight vpright, as the head of a Wherry, or the Cut-water of a Ship. He is very good meate if he be in season, but the best part of him, is his head, which is great. They are some bigger, some lesser; the greatest that I haue seene, might be some foure foote long.

I hold it not without some ground, that the auncient Philosophers write, that they be *enamoured* of a man: for in meeting with Shipping, they accompany them till they approach to colde Climates; this I haue noted diuers times. For disembarking out of the West Indies, Anno 1583. within three or foure dayes after, we mett a Scole of them, which left vs not till we came to the Ilands of *Azores*, nere a thousand Leagues. At other times I haue noted the like.

But some may say, that in the Sea are many Scoles of this kinde of Fish, and how can a man know if they were the same?

Who may be thus satisfied, that every day in the morning, which is the time that they approach neerest the Ship, we should see foure, five, and more, which had (as it were) our care-marke, one hurt vpon the backe; another neere the tayle; another about the fynnes, which is sufficient prooffe that they were the same. For if those which had received so bad entertainment of vs would not forsake vs, much lesse those which we had not hurt; yet that which makes them most in loue with Ships and Men, are the scrappes and refreshing they gather from them.

The *Bonito*.

The *Bonito*, or Spanish Makerell, is altogether like vnto a Makerell, but that it is somewhat more growne; he is reasonable foode, but dryer then a Makerell. Of them there are two sorts; the one is this which I haue described; the other, so great, as hardly one man can lift him; At such times as wee haue taken of these, one sufficed for a meale for all my company. These, from the fynne of the tayle forwards haue vpon the chyne seven small yellow hillockes, close one to another.

The *Dolphins* and *Bonito's* are taken with certaine instruments of Iron, which we call *Vysgeis*, in forme of an Eele-speare, but that the blades are round, and the poynts like vnto the head of a broad Arrow; these are fastned to long Staues of ten or twelue foote long, with lynes tyed vnto them, and so shott to the Fish, from the Beake-head, the Poope, or other parts of the Shippe, as occasion is ministered.

stred. They are also caught with Hookees and Lynes, the Hooke being bayted with a redd Cloth, or with a white Cloth, made into the forme of a Fish, and sowed vpon the Hooke.

The *Sharke* or *Tiberune*, is a Fish like vnto those which wee call Dogge-fishes, but that he is farre greater. I haue seene of them eight or nine foote long; his head is flatt and broad, and his mouth in the middle, vnderneath, as that of the Scate; and he cannot byte of the bayte before him, but by making a halfe turne; and then he helpeth himselfe with his tayle, which serveth him in stead of a Rudder. His skinne is rough (like to the Fish which we call, a rough Hound) and russet, with reddish spottes, saving that vnder the belly he is all white: he is much hated of Sea-faring men, who haue a certaine foolish superstition with them, and say, that the Ship hath seldome good successe, that is much accompanied with them.

The Sharke.

It is the most ravenous Fish knowne in the Sea; for he swalloweth all that he findeth. In the Puch of them hath beene found hattes, cappes, shooes, shirts, leggs and armes of men, ends of Ropes, and many other things; whatsoever is hanged by the Shippes side, hee sheereth it, as though it were with a Razor; for he hath three rowes of teeth on either side, as sharpe as Nailles; some say, they are good for Pick-teeth. It hath chanced that a yonker casting himselfe into the Sea to swimme, hath had his legge bitten off about the knee by one of them. And I haue beene enformed, that in the *Tyger*, when Sir *Richard Greenfield* went to people *Virginia*, a *Sharke* cut off the legge of one of the companie, sitting in the Chaines, and washing himselfe. They spawne not, as the greatest part of Fishes doe, but Whelp, as the Dogge or Wolfe; and for many dayes after that shee hath whelped, every night, and towards any storme, or any danger which may threaten them hurt, the Damme receiveth her Whelpes in at her mouth, and preserveth them, till they be able to shift for themselues. I haue seene them goe in and out, being more then a foote and halfe long; and after, taking the Damme, we haue found her young ones in her belly.

Every day my Company tooke more or lesse of them, not for that they did eate of them (for they are not held wholesome; although the Spaniards, as I haue seene, doe eate them) but to recreate themselues, and in revenge of the iniuries received by them; for they liue long, and suffer much after they bee taken, before they dye.

At the tayle of one, they tyed a great logge of wood, at another, an emptie *Batizia* well stopped; one they yoaked like a Hogge; from another, they plucked out his eyes, and so threw them in-

to the Sea. In catching two together, they bound them tayle to tayle, and so set them a swimming; another, with his belly slit, and his bowels hanging out, which his fellowes would haue every one a snatch at; with other infinite inventions to entertayne the time, and to avenge themselves; for that they deprived them of swimming, and fed on their flesh being dead: they are taken with harping Irons, and with great hookes made of purpose; with Swyvels and Chaines; for no lyne, nor small rope can hold them, which they share not asunder.

There doth accompany this fish, divers little fishes, which are called Pilats fishes, and are ever vpon his fynnes, his head, or his backe, and feede of the scraps and superfluties of his prayes. They are in forme of a Trought, and streked like a Makerell, but that the strekes are white and blacke, and the blacke greater then the white.

The manner of Hunting and Hawking representeth that which wee reasonable creatures vse, saving onely in the disposing of the game. For by our industry and abilitie the Hound and Hawke is brought to that obedience, that whatsoever they seize, is for their Master; but here it is otherwise. For the game is for him that seizeth it. The *Dolphins* and *Bonitoes* are the hounds, and the *Alcatraces* the hawkes, and the flying fishes the game: whose wonderfull making magnifieth the Creator, who for their safetie, and helpe, hath given them extraordinary manner of fynnes, which serue in stead of wings, like those of the Batt or Rere-mouse; of such a delicate skinne, interlaced with small bones so curiously, as may well cause admiration in the beholders. They are like vnto *Pilchards* in colour, and making; saving that they are somewhat rounder, and (for the most part) bigger. They flie best with a side wind, but longer then their wings be wett, they cannot sustaine the waight of their bodies; and so the greatest flight that I haue seene them make, hath not beene aboue a quarter of a myle. They commonly goe in Scoles, and serue for food for the greater Fishes, or for the Foules. The *Dolphins* and *Bonitoes* doe continually hunt after them, and the *Alcatraces* lye soaring in the ayre, to see when they spring, or take their flight; and ordinarily, he that escapeth the mouth of the *Dolphin*, or *Bonito*, helping himselfe by his wings, falleth prisoner into the hands of the *Alcatrace*, and helpeth to fill his gorge.

Alcatrace. The *Alcatrace* is a Sea-fowle, different to all that I haue seene, either on the land, or in the Sea. His head like vnto the head of a Gull, but his bill like vnto a Snytes bill, somewhat shorter, and in all places alike. He is almost like to a Heronshaw, his leggs a good spanne

spanne long, his wings very long, and sharpe towards the poynts, with a long tayle like to a Pheasant, but with three or foure feathers onely, and these narrower. He is all blacke, of the colour of a Crow, and of little flesh; for he is almost all skinne and bones. He soareth the highest of any fowle that I have seene, and I have not heard of any, that haue seene them rest in the Sea.

Now of the fight betwixt the Whale and his contraries; which are the Sword fish and the Thresher. The Whale is of the greatest fishes in the Sea; and to count but the truth, vnlesse dayly experience did witness the relation, it might seeme incredible, hee is a huge vnwildlie fish, and to those which haue not seene of them, it might seeme strange, that other fishes should master him; but certaine it is, that many times the Thresher, and Sword fish, meeting him ioyntly, doe make an end of him. The fight of the Whale,

The Sword fish is not great, but strongly made, and in the top of his chine (as a man may say) betwixt the necke and shoulders, he hath a maner of Sword in substance, like vnto a bone of foure or five ynches broad, and aboue three foote long, full of prickles of either side, it is but thin, for the greatest that I haue seene, hath not beene aboue a finger thicke. with the Sword-fish,

The Thresher is a greater fish, whose tayle is very broad & thick, and very waightie. They fight in this maner; the Sword fish placeth himselfe vnder the belly of the Whale, and the Thresher vpon the Ryme of the water, and with his tayle thresheth vpon the head of the Whale, till hee force him to giue way, which the Sword fish perceiuing, receiveth him vpon his sword, and wounding him in the belly forceth him to mount vp againe: (besides that, he cannot abide long vnder water, but must of force rise vpp to breath) and when in such maner they torment him, that the fight is sometimes heard aboue three leagues distance, and I dare affirme, that I haue heard the blowes of the Thresher two leagues off, as the report of a peece of Ordinance, the Whales roaring being heard much farther. It also happeneth sundry times, that a great part of the water of the Sea round about them, with the blood of the Whale changeth his colour. The best remedy the Whale hath in this extremitie to helpe himselfe, is to get him to land, which hee procureth as soone as hee discoverth his aduersaries, and getting the shore, there can fight but one with him, and for either of them hand to hand, he is too good. The Whale is a fish not good to be eaten, hee is almost all fat, but esteemed for his trayne: and many goe to the *New-found-land*, *Greene-land*, and other parts onely to fish for them, which is in this maner: when they which seeke the Whale

The taking of
the Whale.

discover him, they compasse him round about with Pynaces or Shalops. In the head of every Boat is placed a man, with a harping Iron, and a long Lyne, the one end of it fastned to the harping iron, and the other end to the head of the Boat; In which it lyeth finely coyled; and for that he cannot keepe long vnder water, he sheweth which way he goeth, when rising neere any of the Boats, within reach, he that is neereft, darteth his harping Iron at him. The Whale finding himselfe to be wounded, swimmeth to the bottome, and draweth the Pynace after him; which the Fisher-men presently forsake, casting themselves into the Sea; for that many times he draweth the Boat vnder water: those that are next, procure to take them vp. For this cause all such as goe for that kinde of Fishing, are experimented in swimming. When one harping Iron is fastned in the Whale, it is easily discerned which way he directeth his course; and so ere long they fasten another, and another in him. When he hath three or foure Boats dragging after him; with their waight, his bleeding, and fury, he becommeth so over-mastred, that the rest of the Pynaces with their presence and terror, driue him to the place where they would haue him, nature instigating him to covet the shore.

Being once hurt, there is little need to force him to land. Once on the shore, they presently cut great peeces of him, and in great Cauldrons seeth them. The vppermost in the Cauldrons is the fatt, which they skimme off, and put it into Hogsheads and Pipes. This is that they call Whales oyle, or Traine oyle, accompted the best sort of Traine oyle. It is hard to be beleued, what quantitie is gathered of one Whale; Of the tongue, I haue beene enformed, haue many Pipes beene filled. The fynnes are also esteemed for many and sundry vses; as is his spawne for diuers purposes: This wee corruptly call *Parmacittie*; of the Latine word, *Sperma Ceti*.

Amber-greece.

And the precious *Amber-greece* (some thinke also) to be found in his bowells, or voyded by him; but not in all seas; yea, they maintaine for certaine, that the same is ingendred by eating an hearbe which groweth in the Sea. This hearbe is not in all Seas, say they, and therefore, where it wanteth, the Whales giue not this fruit. In the coast of the *East Indies* in many partes is great quantitie. In the coastes of *Guyne*, of *Barbary*, of the *Florida*, in the Ilands of *Cape de Verde*, and the *Canaries*, *Amber-greece* hath beene many times found, and sometimes on the coast of *Spaine* and *England*. Wherevpon it is presumed, that all these Seas haue not the hearbe growing in them. The cause why the Whale should eate this hearbe,

hearbe, I haue not heard, nor read. It may be surmised, that it is as that of the *Becunia*, and other Beasts, which breed the Beazar stone; The Beazar stone. who feeding in the valleyes and mountaines, where are many venemous Serpents, and hearbes; when they find themselues touched with any poyson, forthwith they runne for remedie to an hearbe, which the *Spaniards* call, *Contra yerva*, that is to say, contrary to poyson; which having eaten, they are presently cured: but the substance of the hearbe converteth it selfe into a medicinable stone; So it may be, that the Whale feeding of many sorts of fishes, and some of them (as is knowne) venemous, when he findeth himselfe touched, with this hearbe he cureth himselfe; and not being able to digest it, nature converteth it into this substance, provoketh it out, or dyeth with it in his belly; and being light, the Sea bringeth it to the Coast.

All these are imaginations, yet instruments to mooue vs to the glorifying of the great and vniversall Creatour of all, whose secret wisedome, and wonderfull workes, are incomprehensible.

But the more approved generation of the *Amber greece*, and which carrieth likeliest probabilitie is, that it is a liquor which issueth out of certaine Fountaines, in sundry Seas, and being of a light and thicke substance, participating of the ayre, suddenly becommeth hard, as the yellow *Amber*, of which they make Beads; which is also a liquor of a Fountaine in the *Germaine Sea*: In the bottome it is soft and white, and partaking of the ayre becommeth hard and stonie; Also the *Corrall* in the Sea is soft, but comming into the ayre, becommeth a stone. Amber greece.

Those who are of this former opinion, thinke the reason (why the *Amber greece* is sometimes found in the Whale) to be for that he swalloweth it, as other things, which he findeth swimming vpon the water; and not able to digest it, it remaineth with him till his death.

Another manner of fishing, and catching the Whale I cannot omit, vsed by the *Indians* in *Florida*; worthy to be considered, in as much as the barbarous people haue found out so great a secret, by the industry and diligence of one man, to kill so great and huge a Monster; it is in this manner. By the Indians.

The *Indian* discovering a Whale, procureth two round billets of wood, sharpneth both at one end, and so binding them together with a cord, casteth himselfe with them into the Sea, and swimmeth towards the Whale; if he come to him, the Whale escapeth not; for he placeth himselfe vpon his necke, and although the Whale goeth to the bottome, he must of force rise presently to breath, (for

which nature hath given him two great holes in the toppe of his head, by which every time that he breatheth, he spouteth out a great quantitie of water) the *Indian* forsaketh not his holde, but riseth with him, and thrusteth in a Logg into one of his Spowters, and with the other knocketh it in so fast, that by no meanes the Whale can get it out: That fastaed, at another opportunitie, he thrusteth in the second Logg into the other Spowter, and with all the force he can, keepeth it in.

The Whale not being able to breath, swimmeth presently ashore, and the *Indian* a cock-horse vpon him, which his fellowes discovering, approach to helpe him, and to make an end of him: it serveth them for their foode many dayes after.

Since the *Spaniards* haue taught them the estimation of Amber greece, they seeke curiously for it, sell it to them, and others, for such things as they best fancie, and most esteeme; which are (as I haue bene enformed) all sortes of edge-tooles, Copper, Glasses, Glasse-beads, red Caps, Shirts, and Pedlery ware. Vpon this subiect, diuers *Spaniards* haue discoursed vnto mee, who haue bene eye witnesses thereof, declaring them to be valorous, ventrous, and industrious: otherwise they durst not vndertake an enterprise so difficult and full of danger.

S E C T. X X.



Best times to
passe the lyne,
from the
North-wards
to the South-
ward.

From the Tropike of *Cancer* to three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall, the breze which is the North-east winde, doth raigne in our Ocean sea the most part of the yeare, except it be neere the shore, and then the winde is variable. In three or foure degrees of eyther side the line, the winde hangeth Southerly, in the moneths of Iuly, August, September and October: all the rest of the yeare from the *Cape bona esperança* to the Ilands of *Azores*, the breze raygneth continually; and some yeares in the other moneths also, or calmes, but he that purposeth to crosse the lyne from the North-wards to the South-wards, the best and surest passage is, in the moneths of Ianuary, February, and March. In the moneths of September, October and November is also good passage, but not so sure as in the former.

S E C T.

S E C T. X X I.



Et wixt nineteene and twenty degrees to the Southwards of the lyne, the winde tooke vs contrary, which together with the sicknes of my people made mee to seeke the shore, and about the end of October, we had sight of the Land, which presently by our height and the making of it, discovered it selfe to be the port of *Santos, alias nostra Senora de Victoria*, and is easie to be knowne, for it hath a great high hill over the Port, which (howsoever a man commeth with the land) riseth like a bell, and comming neere the shore presently is discovered a white Tower or Fort, which standeth vpon the top of a hill over the Harbour, and vpon the seamost land: It is the first land a man must compasse, before he enter the Port; comming within two Leagues of the shore we anchored, and the Captaynes and Masters of my other ships, being come aboard, it was thought convenient (the weakenes of our men considered, for wee had not in our three ships twenty foure men sound) and the winde vncertaine when it might change, we thought with pollicie to procure that, which wee could not by force; and so to offer traffique to the people of the shore, by that meanes to proue, if wee could attayne some refreshing for our sicke Company.

In execution whereof, I wrote a letter to the Governour in Latine, and sent him with it a peece of crymson Velvet, a bolt of fine Holland, with divers other things, as a present; and with it, the Captaine of my ship, who spake a little broken Spanish, giving the Governour to vnderstand, that I was bound to the East Indies, to traffique in those parts, and that contrary windes had forced me vpon that Coast: If that hee were pleased to like of it, for the commodities the Countrie yeilded in aboundance, I would exchange that, which they wanted. With these instructions my Captaine departed about nine of the clocke in the morning, carrying a flagge of truce in the head of the boate, and sixteene men well armed, and provided; guided by one of my Company which two yeares before had bene Captaine in that place, and so was a reasonable Pilot.

Entring the Port, within a quarter of a myle is a small Village, and three Leagues higher vp, is the chiefe Towne: where they haue two Forts, one on eyther side of the Harbour, and within them ride the Ships which come thither to discharge, or loade. In the small Village is ever a Garrison of a hundreth Souldiers, whereof

part assist there continually, and in the white Tower vpon the top of the hill, which commaundeth it.

Heere my Captaine had good entertainement, and those of the shore received his message and Letter, dispatching it presently to the Governour, who was some three Leagues off in another place: at least, they beare vs so in hand. In the time that they expected the Post, my Captaine with one other entertained himselfe with the Souldiers a shore, who after the common custome of their profession (except when they be *besonios*) sought to pleasure him, and finding that he craved but Oranges, Lemmons, and matters of smal moment for refreshing for his Generall, they suffered the women and Children to bring him what hee would, which hee gratified with double Pistolets, that I had given him for that purpose. So got hee vs two or three hundred Oranges and Lemmons, and some fewe Hennes.

All that day and night, and the next day, till nine of the clocke, wee waited the returne of our boate; which not appearing, bred in me some suspition; and for my satisfaction I man'd a light horseman which I had, and the *Fancie*, the best I could; shewing strength, where was weakenesse and infirmity, and so set sayle towards the Port; our Gunner taking vpon him to bee Pilote, for that hee had beene there some yeares before.

Thus, with them we entred the Harbour, my Captaine having notice of our being within the Barre, came aboard with the Boat, which was no small ioy to me; and more, to see him bring vs store of Oranges and Lemmons, which was that we principally sought for, as the remedie of our diseased Company. He made relation of that had past, and how they expected present answere from the governour. We anchored right against the village, and within two houres, by a Flagge of Truce, which they on the shore shewed vs, wee vnderstood that the Messenger was come: our Boat went for the answere of the governour, who said, he was sorry that he could not accomplish our desire, being so reasonable and good; for that in consideration of the warre betwixt *Spain* and *England*, he had expresse order from his King, not to suffer any *English* to trade within his iurisdiction, no, nor to land, or to take any refreshing vpon the shore. And therefore craved pardon, and that wee should take this for a resolute answere: And further, required vs to depart the Port within three dayes, which he said he gaue vs, for our courteous manner of proceeding; If any of my people from that time forwards, should approach to the shore, that he would doe his best to hinder and annoy them. With this answere wee resolved to depart;

part; and before it came, with the first faire wind, we determined to be packing: but the wind suffered vs not all that night, nor the next day. In which time, I lived in a great perplexitie, for that I knew our owne weaknesse, and what they might doe vnto vs, if that they had knowne so much. For any man that putteth himselfe into the enemies Port, had need of *Argus* eyes, and the wind in a bagge, especially, where the enemy is strong, and the tydes of any force. For, with either ebbe or flood, thole who are on the shore, may thrust vpon him inventions of fire; and with swimming, or other deviles may cut his Cables. A common practise in all hott Countries. The like may be effected with Raffles, Cannoas, Boates or Pynaces, to annoy and assault him; and if this had beene practised against vs, or taken effect, our Shippes must of force haue yeilded themselues; for they had no other people in them but sicke men; but many times opinion and feare preserveth the Shippes, and not the people in them.

Wherefore it is the part of a provident Governour, to consider well the daungers that may befall him, before he put himselfe into such places; So shall he ever be provided for prevention.

For preventi-
on of annoy-
ances, &c. in
Harbours.

In Saint *John de Vlva*, in the *New-Spaine*, when the *Spaniards* dishonoured their Nation with that foule act of periury, and breach of faith, given to my Father, Sir *John Hawkins* (notorious to the whole world) the *Spaniards* fired two great Shippes, with intention to burne my Fathers Admirall, which he prevented by towing them with his Boates another way.

The great *Armado* of *Spaine*, sent to conquer *England*, Anno 1588. was with that selfe same industry overthrowne; for the setting on fire of six or seaven shippes (whereof two were mine) and letting them drive with the flood, forced them to cut their Cables, and to put to Sea, to seeke a new way to *Spaine*. In which the greatest part of their best Shippes and men were lost and perished.

For that my people should not be dismayed, I dispatched presently my Light-horsman, with onely foure men, and part of the refreshing, advising them that with the first calme, or slent of wind, they should come off.

The next night, the wind comming off the shore wee set sayle, and with our Boates and Barkes sounded as we went.

It flowed vpon the Barre not aboute foure foote water, and once in foure and twentie houres (as in some parts of the *West Indies*) at full Sea there is not vpon the barre aboute 17. or 18. foote water. The harbour runneth to the South-westwards. He that will come into it, is to open the harbours mouth a good quarter of a league

before he beare with it, and be bolder of the wester side; for of the Easterland lyeth a great ledge of Rockes, for the most part, vnder water, which sometimes breake not, but with small shipping, a man may goe betwixt them and the poynt.

The vertue of
Oranges.

Comming aboard of our Shippes, there was great ioy amongst my Company, and many with the sight of the Oranges and Lemmons, seemed to recover heart; This is a wonderfull secret of the power and wisdom of God, that hath hidden so great and vnknowne vertue in this fruit, to be a certaine remedie for this infirmitie; I presently caused them all to be reparted amongst our sicke men, which were so many, that there came not aboue three or foure to a share; but God was pleased to send vs a prosperous winde the next day, so much to our comfort, that not any one dyed before we came to the Ilands, where we pretended to refresh our selues; And although our fresh water had fayled vs many dayes, (before we saw the shore) by reason of our long Navigation, without touching any land, and the excessiue drinking of the sicke and diseased, (which could not be excused) yet with an invention I had in my Shippe, I easily drew out of the water of the Sea, sufficient quantitie of fresh water to sustaine my people, with little expence of fewell; for with foure Billets I stilled a Hoghead of water, and therewith dressed the meat for the sicke and whole. The water so distilled, we found to be wholesome and nourishing.

Distilling of
Salt water.

S E C T. X X I I.



The Coast from *Santos*, to *Cape Frio* lyeth west and by South Southerly. So we directed our course West South-west. The night comming on, and directions given to our other Shippes, we sett the watch, having a fayre fresh gale of wind and large. My selfe, with the Master of our Ship, having watched the night past, thought now to giue Nature that which shee had beene deprived of, and so recommended the care of Steeridge to one of his Mates; who with the like travell past being drowsie, or with the confidence which he had of him at the Helme, had not that watchfull care which was required; he at the Helme steered West, and West and by South, and brought vs in a little time close vpon the shore; doubtlesse, he had cast vs all away, had not God extraordinarily delivered vs; for the Master being in his dead sleepe,

Vnskillfulnesse
of the Masters
Mate,

sleepe, was suddenly awaked, and with such a fright, that he could not be in quiet: wherevpon, waking his youth, which ordinarily slept in his Cabin by him, asked him how the watch went on; who answered, that it could not be aboue an houre since he layd himselfe to rest. He replied, that his heart was so vnquiet, that he could not by any meanes sleepe, and so taking his Gowne, came forth vpon the Decke, and presently discovered the Land hard by vs. And for that it was sandie and low, those who had their eyes continually fixed on it, were dazeled with the reflection of the Starres, being a fayre night, and so were hindered from the true discovery thereof. But he comming out of the darke, had his sight more forcible, to discern the difference of the Sea, and the shore. So that forthwith he commaunded him at the Helme, to put it close a starboard, and tacking our Ship, wee edged off; and sounding, found scant three fathome water, whereby we saw evidently, the miraculous mercie of our God; that if he had not watched over vs, as hee doth continually over his, doubtlesse, we had perished without remedie; To whom be all glory, and prayse everlastingly, world without end.

Providence of
God, and the
care of the
Master.

Immediatly we shot off a Peece, to giue warning to our other Shippes; who having kept their direct course, and far to windwards and Sea-wards, because we carried no light, for that we were within sight of the shore, could not heare the report; and the next morning were out of sight.

SECT. XXIII.



LN this poynt of Steeridge, the *Spaniards* and *Portin-* Care of Stee-
galls doe exceede all that I haue seene, I meane for ridge,
their care, which is chiefest in Navigation. And I
wilt in this, and in all their workes of Discipline
and reformation, we should follow their examples;
as also those of any other Nation.

In every Ship of moment, vpon the halfe decke, or quarter decke, they haue a chayre, or seat; out of which whilst they Navigate, the Pilot, or his *Adiutants* (which are the same officers which in our Shippes we terme, the Master and his Mates) never depart, day nor night, from the sight of the *Compass*; and haue another before them; whereby they see what they doe, and are ever witnesses of the good or bad Steeridge of all men that take the Helme.

Exquisite in
the *Spaniards*
and *Portin-*
galls.

This I haue seene neglected in our best Shippes, yet nothing more necessary to be reformed. For a good Helme-man may be overcome with an imagination, and so mis-take one poynt for another; or the Compasse may erre, which by another is discerned. The inconveniences which hereof may ensue, all experimented Sea-men may easily conceiue; and by vs take warning to avoyd the like.

S E C T. X X I I I I.



The next day about tenne of the Clocke, wee were thwart of *Cape Blanco*, which is low sandie Land, and perilous; for foure Leagues into the Sea (thwart it) lye banks of sand, which haue little water on them; on a sudden we found our selues amongst them, in lesse then three fathome water; but with our Boat and Shalope we went founding, and so got cleare of them.

Cape Blanco.

The next day following, we discovered the Ilands, where wee purposed to refresh our selues: They are two, and some call them *Saint James* his Ilands, and others, *Saint Annes*. They lie in two and twentic degrees and a halfe to the South-wards of the lyne; and towards the evening (being the fifth of *November*) we anchored betwixt them and the Mayne, in six fathome water, where wee found our other Shippes.

*Saint James
Ilands, alias
Saint Annes.*

All which being well Moored, we presently began to set vp Tents and Booths for our sicke men, to carry them a shore, and to vse our best diligence to cure them. For which intent our three Surgeans, with their servants and adherents, had two Boates to wayte continually vpon them, to fetch whatsoeuer was needfull from the Shippes, to procure refreshing, and to Fish, either with Netts, or Hookes, and Lynes. Of these implements wee had in abundance, and it yeilded vs some refreshing. For the first dayes, the most of those which had health, occupied themselves in romeing our Ship, in bringing a shore of emptie Caske, in filling of them, and in felling and cutting of Wood: which being many workes, and few hands, went slowly forwards.

Necere these Ilands, are two great Rockes, or small Ilands adioyning. In them we found great store of young *Gannetts* in their nests, which we reserved for the sicke, and being boyled with pickled Porke well watered, and mingled with Oatmeale, made reasonable

Gannett.

ble Pottage, and was good refreshing and sustenance for them. This provision fayled vs not, till our departure from them.

Vpon one of these Rocks also, we found great store of the hearbe Purflane, which boyled and made into Sallets, with oyle and vinegar, refreshed the sicke stomackes, and gaue appetite.

Purflane.

With the ayre of the shore, and good cherishing, many recovered speedily: Some died away quickly, and others continued at a stand. We found here some store of fruits; a kind of Cherry, that groweth vpon a tree like a Plum-tree, red of colour, with a stone in it, but different in making to ours, for it is not altogether round, and dented about: they haue a pleasing taste.

Cherries.

In one of the Ilands, we found *Palmito* trees, great and high, and in the toppe a certaine fruit like Cocos, but no bigger then a Wall-nut. We found also a fruit growing vpon trees in codd, like Beanes, both in the codd, and the fruit. Some of my Company proved of them, and they caused vomits and purging, as any medicine taken out of the Apothecaries shop, according to the quantitie received. They haue hudds, as our Beanes, which shaled off, the kernell parteth it selfe in two, and in the middle is a thin skinne (like that of an Onion) said to be hurtfull, and to cause exceeding vomits, and therefore to be cast away.

Palmitos.

Purgatiues.

Monardus writing of the nature and propertie of this fruit, as of others of the *Indies*, for that it is found in other parts, also calleth them *Kavas purgatiuas*, and sayth, that they are to be prepared, by peeling them first, and then taking away the skinne in the middle, and after beaten into powder, to take the quantitie of five or sixe, either with Wine or Sugar. Thus they are good against Fevers, and to purge grosse humors; against the Collicke, and payne of the ioynts; in taking them a man may not sleepe, but is to vse the dyet vsuall, as in a day of purging.

The vse of *Kavas purgatiuas*.

One other fruit we found, very pleasant in taste, in fashion of an Artechoque, but lesse; on the outside, of colour redd; within white, and compassed about with prickles; our people called them Prick-peares; no Conserue is better. They grow vpon the leaues of a certaineroote, that is like vnto that which we call *semper viva*; and many are wont to hang them vp in their houses: but their leaues are longer and narrower, and full of Prickes on either side. The fruit groweth vpon the side of the leafe, and is one of the best fruites that I haue eaten in the *Indies*. In ripening, presently the Birds or Vermine are feeding on them; a generall rule to know, what fruit is wholesome and good in the *Indies*, and other parts. Finding them to be eaten of the Beasts or Fowles, a man may boldly eate of them.

Artechoques, or Prick-peares.

A good note to take, or refuse vnkowne fruites.

The water of these Ilands is not good; the one, for being a standing water, and full of venemous Wormes and Serpents, which is neare a Butt-shot from the Sea shore, where we found a great Tree fallen, and in the roote of it the names of sundry *Portingalls, Frenchmen,* and others, and amongst them, *Abraham Cockes*; with the time of their being in this Island.

Contagious
water.

The other, though a running water, yet passing by the rootes of certaine trees, which haue a smell as that of Garlique, taketh a certaine contagious sent of them; Here two of our men dyed with swelling of their bellies: The accident we could not attribute to any other cause, then to this suspitious water. It is little, and falleth into the sand, and soketh through it into the Sea; and therefore we made a well of a Pipe, and placed it vnder the rocke from which it falleth, and out of it filled our Caske: but we could not fill aboue two Tunnes in a night and a day.

SECT. XXV.



After our people began to gather their strength, wee manned our Boates, and went over to the Mayne, where presently we found a great Ryver of fresh and sweete water, and a mightie Marish Countrie; which in the Winter seemeth to be continually over-flowne with this River, and others, which fall from the mountaynous Country adiacent.

We rowed some leagues vp the Ryver, and found that the further vp we went, the deeper was the River, but no fruit, more then the sweate of our bodies for the labour of our handes.

At our returne wee loaded our Boate with Water, and afterwardees from hence
wee made our Store.

(...)

S E C T.

S E C T. XXVI.



He sicknesse having wasted more then the one halfe of my people, we determined to take out the victualls of the *Hawke*, and to burne her; which wee put in execution. And being occupied in this Worke, we saw a Shippe turning to Windwards, to succour her selfe of the Ilands; but having dis-cryed vs, put off to Sea-wards.

Wast and losse
of men.

Two dayes after, the wind changing, we saw her againe running alongst the coast, and the *Daintie* not being in case to goe after her, for many reasons, we manned the *Fancie*, and sent her after her; who about the setting of the Sunne fetched her vp, and spake with her; when finding her to be a great Fly-boat, of (at least) three or foure hundreth Tunnes, with 18. Peeces of Artillery, would haue returned, but the wind freshing in, put her to Leewards; and standing in to succour her selfe of the land, had sight of another small Barke, which after a short chase shee tooke, but had nothing of moment in her, for that she had bin vpon the great Sholes of *Abreosios* in 18. degrees, and there throwne all they had by the board, to saue their liues.

This and the other chase were the cause that the *Fancie* could not beat it vp in many dayes: but before we had put all in a readinesse, the wind changing, shee came vnto vs, and made Relation of that which had past; and how they had given the small Barke to the *Portingalls*, and brought with them onely her Pilot, and a Marchant called *Pedro de escalante* of *Potosi*.

S E C T. XXVII.



In this Coast the *Portingalls* by industrie of the *Indians*, haue wrought many feats. At *Cape Fris* they tooke a great French Ship in the night, the most of her company being on the shore, with *Cannoas*, which they haue in this Coast so great, that they carry seventie and eightie men in one of them.

Industry of
the *Indians*;

They surpris
the French,

And in *Isla grand*, I saw one that was, aboue threescore foote long, of one tree, as are all that I haue seene in *Brasill*, with provisions in

H

them

San-sebastian. them for twentie or thirtie dayes. At the Iland of *San-sebastian*, neere Saint *Vincent*, the *Indians* killed about eightie of master *Candish* his men, and tooke his Boat, which was the overthrow of his Voyage.

kill the English,

and discover vs.

There commeth not any Ship vpon this Coast, whereof these Cannoas giue not notice presently to every place. And wee were certified in *Isla grand*, that they had sent an *Indian* from the River of *Ienero*, through all the Mountaines and Marishes, to take a view of vs, and accordingly made a Relation of our Shippes, Boates, and the number of men, which we might haue. But to prevent the like danger that might come vpon vs being carelesse and negligent, I determined one night, in the darkest and quietest of it, to see what watch our Company kept on the shore; man'd our Light-horsman, and Boat, armed them with Bowes and Targetts, and got a shore some good distance from the places where were our Boothes, and fought to come vpon them vndiscovered: wee vsed all our best endeoures to take them at vnawares, yet comming within fortie paces we were discovered; the whole and the sicke came forth to oppose themselues against vs. Which wee seeing, gaue them the Hubbub, after the manner of the *Indians*, and assaulted them, and they vs; but being a close darke night, they could not discerne vs presently vpon the Hubbub.

The events of good watch.

From our Shippe the Gunner shott a peece of Ordinance over our heads, according to the order given him, and thereof we tooke occasion to retyre vnto our Boates, and within a little space came to the Boothes and landing places, as though wee came from our Shippes to ayde them. They began to recount vnto vs, how that at the wester poynt of the Iland, out of certaine Cannoas, had landed a multitude of *Indians*, which with a great out-cry came vpon them, and assaulted them fiercely, but finding better resistance then they looked for, and seeing themselues discovered by the Shippes, tooke themselues to their heeles, and returned to their Cannoas, in which they imbarcked themselues, and departed. One affirmed, he saw the Cannoas; another, their long hayre; a third, their Bowes; a fourth, that it could not be, but that some of them had their payments. And it was worth the sight, to behold those which had not moved out of their beds in many Moneths, (vnlesse by the helpe of others) gotten, some a bow-shoot off into the Woods, others into the toppes of Trees, and those which had any strength, ioyned together to fight for their liues. In fine, the Booths and Tents were left desolate.

To colour our businesse the better, after we had spent some houre
in

in seeking out, and ioyning the Companie together, in comforting, animating, and commending them; I left them an extraordinary Guard for that night, and so departed to our Shippes, with such an opinion of the assault, given by the *Indians*, that many so possessed (through all the Voyage) would not be perswaded to the contrary. Which impressiō wrought such effect in most of my Companie, that in all places where the *Indians* might annoy vs, they were after most caretull and vigilant, as was convenient.

In these Ilands it heigheth and falleth some five or six foot water, and but once in two and twentie houres; as in all this Coast, and in many parts of the West *Indies*; as also in the coast of *Perew* and *Chely* (saving where are great Bayes or indraughts) and there the tydes keepe their ordinary course of twice in foure and twentie houres.

In the lesser of these Ilands, is a Caue for a small Ship to ride in, Land-lockt, and shee may moore her selfe to the trees of either side: this we called *Palmito* Iland, for the aboundance it hath of the greater sort of *Palmito* trees, the other hath none at all. A man may goe betwixt the Ilands with his Ship, but the better course is out at one end. *Palmito* Iland.

In these Ilands are many Scorpions, Snakes, and Adders, with other venemous Vermine. They haue Parotts, and a certaine kinde of fowle like vnto Phesants, somewhat bigger, and seeme to be of their nature. Here we spent aboue a moneth in curing of our sicke men, supplying our wants of Wood and Water, and in other necessary workes. And the tenth of December (all things put in order) we set sayle for *Cape Frio*, having onely six men sicke, with purpose there to set ashore our two Prisoners before named; and anchoring vnder the Cape, we sent our Boat ashore, but they could not finde any convenient place to land them in, and so returned: the Wind being Southerly, and not good to goe on our voyage, we succoured our selues within *Isla Grand*, which lyeth some dozen or foureteene Leagues from the Cape, betwixt the West, and by South and West South-west; the rather to set our Prisoners ashore.

In the mid way betwixt the Cape and this Iland, lyeth the River *Ienero*, a very good Harbour, fortified with a Garrison, and a place well peopled. *Ienero.* The *Isla Grand*, is some eight or ten Leagues long, and causeth a goodly Harbour for Shipping; It is full of great sandie Bayes, and in the most of them is store of good water; within this Iland are many other smaller Ilands, which cause diuers sounds and creekes; and amongst these little Ilands, one, for the pleasant scituation and fertilitie thereof, called *Placentia*. This is peopled, *Little* Iland.

all the rest desert: on this Iland our Prisoners desired to be put ashore, and promised to send vs some refreshing. Whereto we condescended, and sent them ashore, with two Boates well man'd and armed, who found few Inhabitants in the Iland; for our people saw not aboute foure or five houses, notwithstanding our Boats returned loaden with Plantynes, Pinias, Potatoes, Sugar-canes, and some Hennes. Amongst which they brought a kind of little Plantyne, greene, and round, which were the best of any that I haue seene.

With our people came a Portingall, who said, that the Iland was his; he seemed to be a *Mistecho*, who are those that are of a Spanish and an *Indian* brood, poorely apparelled and miserable; we feasted him, and gaue him some trifles, and he according to his abilitie answered our courtesie with such as he had.

Isla Grand.

The wind continuing contrary, we emptied all the water wee could come by, which we had filled in Saint James his Iland, and filled our Caske with the water of this *Isla Grand*. It is a wilder nesse covered with Trees and Shrubbes so thicke, as it hath no passage through, except a man make it by force. And it was strange to heare the howling and cries of wilde Beastes in these Woods day and night, which we could not come at to see by any meanes; some like Lyons, others like Beares, others like Hoggs, and of such and so many diversities, as was admirable.

Shells of mother of pearle.

Heere our Nets profited vs much; for in the sandy Bayes they tooke vs store of fish. Vpon the shore at full Sea-marke, we found in many places certaine shels, like those of Mother of Pearles, which are brought out of the East *Indies*, to make standing cups, called *Caracoles*; of so great curiositie as might moue all the beholders to magnifie the maker of them; And were it not for the brittlenes of them, by reason of their exceeding thinnes, doubtles they were to bee esteemed farre aboute the others; for, more excellent workmanship I haue not seene in shels.

Price of Negroes.

The 18. of December, wee set sayle the wind at North-east, and directed our course for the Straites of *Magalanes*. The twenty two of this moneth, at the going too of the Sunne, we descryed a Portingall ship, and gaue her chase, and comming within hayling of her, shee rendred her selfe, without any resistance, shee was of an hundred Tuns bound for *Angola* to load Negroes, to be carried and sold in the River of *Plate*; It is a trade of great profit, & much vsed, for that the Negroes are carried from the head of the river of *Plate*, to *Patosi*, to labour in the Mynes. It is a bad Negro, who is not worth there five or six hundreth peeces, every peece of tenne Ryals, which they receiue in Ryals of *Plate*, for there is no other Marchandize

dize in those partes. Some haue told me, that of late they haue found out the trade, and benefit of *Cochanillia*, but the River suffereth not vessels of burthen; for if they drawe aboue eight or seaven foote water, they cannot goe further, then the mouth of the River, and the first habitation is aboue a hundred and twenty leagues vp, whereunto many Barkes trade yearly, and carry all kinde of Marchandize serving for *Patosi* and *Paraguay*; the money which is thence returned, is distributed in all the Coast of *Brasill*.

The loading of this Ship was meale of *Cassavi*, which the Portingals call *Farina de Pau*. It served for Marchandize in *Angola*, for the Portingals foode in the ship, and to nourish the Negroes, which they should carry to the river of *Plate*; This meale is made of a certaine roote which the *Indians* call *Yuca*, much like vnto *Potatoes*. Of it are two kindes; the one sweete and good to be eaten (either roasted or sodden) as *Potatoes*, and the other of which they make their bread, called *Cassavi*, deadly poyson, if the liquor or iuyce bee not thoroughly pressed out. So prepared it is the bread of *Brasill*, and many parts of the *Indies*, which they make in this maner: first they pare the roote, and then vpon a rough stone they grate it as small as they can, and after that it is grated small, they put it into a bag or poke, and betwixt two Stones with great waight, they presse out the iuyce, or poyson, and after keepe it in some bag, till it haue no iuyce nor moysture left. Of this they make two sorts of bread, the one finer, and the other courser, but bake them after one maner. They place a great broad smooth stone vpon other foure, which serue in steede of a Trevet, and make a quicke fire vnder it, and so strawe the flower or meale a foote long, and halfe a foot broad. To make it to incorporate, they sprinkle now and then a little water, and then another rowe of meale, and another sprinkling, till it be to their minde; That which is to be spent presently, they make a finger thicke, and sometimes more thicke; but that which they make for store, is not aboue halfe a finger thicke, but so hard, that if it fall on the ground it will not breake easily: Being newly baked, it is reasonable good, but after fewe dayes it is not to be eaten, except it be soaked in water. In some partes they suffer the meale to become fenoed, before they make it into bread; and hold it for the best; saying, that it giveth a better tast, but I am not of that opinion; In other parts they mingle it with a fruite called *Agnanepes*, which are round, and being ripe are gray, and as big as an hazell nut, and grow in a cod like pease, but that it is all curiously wrought, first they parch them vpon a stone, and after beate them into powder, and then mingle them with the fine flower of *Cassavi*, and bake

Cassavi meale.

The preparing thereof for food.

them into bread, these are their Spice-cakes, which they call *Xan-xaw*.

Agnanapes.

The *Agnanapes* are pleasant, giue the bread a yellowish colour, and an Aromaticall savour in taste. The finer of this bread, being well baked, keepeth long time, three or foure yeares. In *Brafill*, since the *Portingalls* taught the *Indians* the vse of Sugar, they cate this meale mingled with remels of Sugar, or Malasses; and in this manner the *Portingalls* themselues feed of it.

But we found a better manner of dressing this *Farina*, in making Pancakes, and frying them with butter, or oyle; and sometimes with *Manteca de Puerco*; when, strewing a little Sugar vpon them, it was meate that our company desired aboue any that was in the Shippe.

And for
Beyverage.

The *Indians* also accustome to make their drinke of this meale, and in three severall manners.

First, is chewing it in their mouths, and after mingling it with water, after a loathsome manner, yet the commonest drinke that they haue; and that held best which is chewed by an old woman.

The second manner of their drinke, is baking it till it be halfe burned, then they beate it into Powder; and when they will drinke, they mingle a small quantitie of it with water, which giueth a reasonable good taste.

The third, and best, is baking it (as aforesaid) and when it is beaten into Powder, to seeth it in water; after that it is well boyled, they let it stand some three or foure dayes, and then drinke it. So, it is much like the Ale which is vsed in *England*, and of that colour and taste.

The manner
of planting
Iuca,

The *Indians* are very curious in planting and manuring of this *Iuca*; It is a little shrubb, and carryeth branches like Hazell wands; being growne as bigge as a mans finger, they breake them off in the middest, and so pricke them into the ground; it needeth no other art, or husbandry, for out of each branch grow two, three, or foure rootes, some bigger, some lesser: but first they burne and manure the ground, the which labour, and whatsoever els is requisite, the men doe not so much as helpe with a finger, but all lyeth vpon their poore women, who are worse then slaues; for, they labour the ground, they plant, they digge and delue, they bake, they brew, and dresse their meate, fetch their water, and doe all drudgerie whatsoever; yea, though they nurse a Childe, they are not exempted from any labour; their Childe they carry in a Wallet about their necke, ordinarily vnder one arme, because it may sucke when it will.

with the la-
bour of the
women.

The

The men haue care for nothing but for their Cannoas, to passe from place to place, and of their Bowes and Arrowes to hunt, and their Armes for the warre, which is a sword of heauie blacke wood, some foure fingers broad, an inch thicke, and an ell long, something broader towards the toppe then at the handle. They call it *Macana*, and it is carved and wrought with inlayd works very curiously, but his edges are blunt. If any kill any Game in hunting, he bringeth it not with him, but from the next tree to the Game, he breaketh a bough (for the trees in the *Indies* haue leaues for the most part all the yeare) and all the way as he goeth streweth little peeces of it, here and there, and comming home giueth a peece to his woman, and so sends her for it.

If they goe to the Warre, or in any iourney, where it is necessary to carry provision, or Marchandize, the women serue to carry all, and the men never succour, nor ease them; wherein they shew greater Barbarisme then in any thing (in my opinion) that I haue noted amongst them, except in eating one another.

In *Brasill*, and in the west *Indies*, the *Indian* may haue as many wiues as he can get, either bought or given by her friends: the men and women (for the most part) goe naked, and those which haue come to know their shame, cover onely their priue parts with a peece of cloth, the rest of their body is naked. Their houses resemble great Barnes, covered over, or thatched with Plantyne leaues, which reach to the ground, and at either end is the doore.

In one house are sometimes ten or twentie households: they haue little household stuffe, besides their beds, which they call *Hamacas*, and are made of Cotton, and stayned with diuers colours and workes. Some I haue seene white, of great curiositie. They are as a sheete laced at both ends, and at either of them long strappes, with which they fasten them to two posts, as high as a mans middle, and so sit rocking themselues in them. Sometimes they vse them for seates, and sometimes to sleepe

in at their pleasures. In one of them I

haue seene sleepe the man, his wife, and a childe.

(...)

Polygamy of the *Indians*; Their attire,

Their manner of housing,

And sleeping.

S E C T. XXVIII.



He tooke out of this Prize, for our provision, some good quantitie of this meale, and the Sugar shee had, being not aboute three or foure Chelts, after three dayes we gaue the Ship to the Portingalls, and to them libertie. In her was a Portingall Knight, which went for Governour of *Angola*, of the habit of Christ, with fiftie souldiers, and Armes for a hundreth and fiftie, with his wife and daughter. He was old, and complained, that after many yeares service for his King, with sundry mishapps, he was brought to that poore estate, as for the reliefe of his wife, his daughter, and himselfe, he had no other substance, but that he had in the Ship. It moved compassion, so, as nothing of his was diminished, which though to vs was of no great moment, in *Angola* it was worth good Crownes. Onely we disarmed them all, and let them depart, saying, that they would returne to *Saint Vincents*.

We continued our course for the *Straites*, my people much animated with this vnlookt for refreshing, and praised God for his bountie, providence, and grace extended towards vs. Here it will not be out of the way to speake a word of the particularities of the *Countrie*.

S E C T. XXIX.

The description
of *Brasill*.



BRASILL is accounted to be that part of *America*, which lyeth towards our North sea, betwixt the River of the *Amazons*, neere the lyne to the Norwards, vntill a man come to the River of *Plate* in 36. degrees to the Southwards of the lyne.

Its Havens.

This coast generally lyeth next of any thing South and by west; It is a temperate Countrie, though in some parts it exceedeth in heate; it is full of good succours for shipping, and plentifull for Rivers and fresh waters; The principall habitations, are *Farnambuca*, the Bay *De todos los Santos*, *Nostra Senora de victoria*, alias *Santos*, the River *Ienero*, *Saint Vincents*, and *Placentia*; every of them provided of a good Port. The winds are variable, but for the most part trade alongst the Coast.

The

The Commodities this Country yeeldeth, are the wood called *Brafill*, whereof the best is that of *Farnambuc*; (so also called, being vsed in most rich colours) good Cotton-wooll, great store of Sugar, Balsamom, and liquid Amber. Its Commo-
dities.

They haue want of all manner of Cloth, Lynnen, and Woollen, of Iron, and edge-Tooles, of Copper, and principally in some places, of Wax, of Wine, of Oyle, and meale, (for the Country beareth no Corne) and of all manner of Haberdashery-wares, for the *Indians*. Its wants.

The beasts that naturally breed in this Country, are Tygers, Lyons, Hoggs, Dogges, Deere, Monkeyes, Mycos, and Conies, like vnto Ratts, but bigger, and of a tawney colour, Armadilloes, Alagartoes, and store of venemous wormes and Serpents, as Scorpions, Adders, which they call *Vinoras*; and of them, one kind, which the diuine providence hath created with a bell vpon his head, that wheresoever he goeth, the sound of it might be heard, and so the Serpent shunned; for his stinging is without remedie. This they call the *Vynora* with the bell; of them there are many, and great store of Snakes, some of that greatnesse, as to write the truth, might seeme fabulous. The bestiall
thercot.

Another worme there is in this Country, which killed many of the first Inhabitants, before God was pleased to discover a remedie for it, vnto a religious person; It is like a Magot, but more slender, and longer, and of a greene colour, with a red head; This worme creepeth in at the hinder parts, where is the evacuation of our superfluities, and there (as it were) gleweth himselfe to the gutt, there feedeth of the bloud and humors, and becommeth so great, that stopping the naturall passage, he forceth the principall wheele of the clocke of our bodie to stand still, and with it the accompt of the houres of life to take end, with most cruell torment and paine; which is such, that he who hath beene thoroughly punished with the Collique can quickly decipher or demonstrate. The Antidote for this pernicious Worme is Garlique; and this was discovered by a Physitian to a religious person. The discom-
modities.

(::)

SECT. XXX.

Santa Catalina.



Et wixt 26. and 27. degrees neere the coast lieth an Iland; the *Portingalls* call it *Santa Catalina*, which is a reasonable Harbour, and hath good refreshing of wood, water, and fruit. It is desolate and serveth for those, who trade from *Brasill* to the River of *Plate*, or from the River to *Brasill*, as an Inne, or bayting place.

Variation of the Compasse.

In our Navigation towards the *Straites*, by our observation wee found, that our Compasse varied a poynt and better to the Eastwards. And for that divers haue written curiously and largely of the variation thereof, I referre them that desire the vnderstanding of it, to the Discourse of master *William Aborrawh*, and others; for it is a secret, whose causes well vnderstood are of greatest moment in all Navigations.

The overthrow of the Voyage.

In the height of the River of *Plate*, we being some fiftie leagues off the coast, a storme tooke vs Southerly, which endured fortie eight houres; In the first day about the going downe of the Sunne, *Robert Tharltou*, master of the *Fancie*, bare vp before the wind, without giuing vs any token or signe, that shee was in distresse. We seeing her to continue her course, bare vp after her, and the night comming on, we carryed our light; but shee never answered vs; for they kept their course directly for *England*, which was the overthrow of the Voyage, as well for that we had no Pynace to goe before vs, to discover any danger, to seeke out roades and anchoring, to helpe our watering and refreshing; as also for the victuals, necessaries, and men which they carryed away with them; which though they were not many, yet with their helpe in our fight, we had taken the Vice-admirall, the first time shee bourded with vs, as shall be hereafter manifested. For once we cleered her Decke, and had we beene able to haue spared but a dozen men, doubtlesse, we had done with her what we would; for shee had no close fights.

The cause,

Infidelitic.

Moreover, if shee had beene with me, I had not beene discovered vpon the coast of *Perew*. But I was worthy to be deceived, that trusted my Ship in the hands of an hypocrite, and a man which had left his Generall before in the like occasion, and in the selfe same place; for being with master *Thomas Candish*, master of a small Ship in the voyage wherein he dyed, this Captaine being aboard the Admirall, in the night time forsooke his Fleet, his Generall and Captaine, and returned home.

This

This bad custome is too too much vsed amongst Sea-men, and worthy to be severely punished; for doubtlesse the not punishing of those offenders, hath beene the prime cause of many lamentable events, losses, and overthrowes, to the dishonour of our Nation, and frustrating of many good and honourable Enterprises.

In this poynt of Discipline, the *Spaniards* doe farre surpasse vs; for whosoever forsaketh his Fleete, or Commander, is not onely severely punished, but deprived also of all charge or government for ever after. This in our Countrie is many times neglected; for that there is none to follow the cause, the principalls being either dead with griefe, or drowned in the gulfe of povertie, and so not able to wade through with the burthen of that suite, which in *Spaine* is prosecuted by the Kings Atturney, or Fiscall; or at least, a Iudge appoynted for determining that cause purposely.

Discipline of
the Spanish,

Yea, I cannot attribute the good successe the *Spaniard* hath had in his Voyages and peoplings, to any extraordinary vertue more in him then in any other man, were not Discipline, Patience, and justice far superior. For in valour, experience, and travell, he surpasseth vs not; In shipping, preparation, and plentie of victualls, hee commeth not neere vs; In paying and rewarding our people, no Nation did goe beyond vs; But God, who is a iust and bountifull rewarder, regarding obedience farre aboue sacrifice, doubtlesse, in recompence of their indurance, resolution, and subiection to commandement, bestoweth vpon them the blessing due vnto it. And this, not for that the *Spaniard* is of a more tractable disposition, or more docible nature then wee, but that justice halteth with vs, and so the old Proverbe is verified, *Pittie marreth the whole Cittie.*

the only cause
of their pro-
sperities.

Thus come we to be deprived of the sweet fruit, which the Rod of Discipline bringeth with it, represented vnto vs in auncient Verses, which as a Relique of experience I haue heard in my youth Recorded by a wise Man, and a great Captaine; Thus;

*The rod by power divine, and earthly Regall law,
Makes good men live in peace, and bad to stand in awe:
For with a severe stroke the bad corrected be,
Which makes the good to ioy such iustice for to see;
The rod of Discipline breeds feare in every part,
Reward by due desert doth ioy and glad the heart.*

The cunning
of Runna-
wayes.

These absentings and escapes are made most times onely to pilfer and steale, as well by taking of some prise when they are alone, and without commaund, to hinder or order their bad proceedings, as to appropriate that which is in their intrusted ship; casting the fault, if they be called to account, vpon some poore and vnknowne Mariners, whom they suffer with a little pillage, to absent themselues, the cunninglier to colour their greatest disorders, and robberies.

and ignoble
Captaines,

For doubtlesse, if he would, hee might haue come vnto vs with great facilitie; because within sixteene houres, the storme ceased, and the winde came fayre, which brought vs to the *Straites*, and dured many dayes after with vs at North-east. This was good for them, though naught for vs: If he had perished any Mast or Yard, sprung any leake, wanted victuals, or instruments for finding vs, or had had any other impediment of importance, hee might haue had some colour to cloake his lewdnes: but his Mastes and Yards being sound, his Shippe staunch and loaden with victuales for two yeares at the least, and having order from place to place, where to finde vs, his intention is easily seene to bee bad, and his fault such, as worthily deserved to bee made exemplary vnto others. Which he manifested at his returne, by his manner of proceeding, making a spoyle of the prise hee tooke in the way homewards, as also of that which was in the ship, putting it into a Port fit for his purpose, where he might haue time and commodity to doe what hee would.

verified at their
returnes.

Wee made account that they had beene swallowed vp of the sea, for we never suspected that any thing could make them forsake vs; So, we much lamented them. The storme ceasing, and being out of all hope, we set sayle and went on our course. During this storme, certaine great fowles, as big as Swannes, soared about vs, and the winde calming, setled themselues in the Sea, and fed vpon the sweepings of our Ship; which I perceiuing, and desirous to see of them, because they seemed farre greater then in truth they were, I caused a hooke and lyne to be brought me; and with a peece of a Pilchard I bayted the hook, & a foot from it, ryed a peece of corke, that it might not sinke deepe, and threw it into the Sea, which, our ship driving with the Sea, in a little time was a good space from vs, and one of the Fowles being hungry, presently seized vpon it, and the hooke in his vpper beake. It is like to a Faulcons bill, but that the poynt is more crooked, in that maner, as by no meanes he could cleare himselfe, except that the lyne brake, or the hooke righted: Plucking him towards the ship, with the waving of his wings he

Birds like
Swans

caught with
line and hooke

he eased the waight of his body; and being brought to the sterne of our ship, two of our Company went downe by the Ladder of the poope, and seized on his necke and wings; but such were the blowes he gaue them with his Pinions, as both left their hand-fast, being beaten blacke and blew; we cast a snare about his necke, and so tryced him into the Ship.

By the same manner of Fishing, we caught so many of them, as refreshed and recreated all my people for that day. Their bodies were great, but of little flesh and tender; in taste answerable to the food whereon they feed. Proue good refreshment.

They were of two colours, some white, some gray; they had three ioynts in each wing; and from the poynt of one wing, to the poynt of the other, both stretched out, was aboue two fathomes.

The wind continued good with vs, till we came to 49. degrees and 30. minuts, where it tooke vs Westerly, being (as we made our accompt) some fiftie leagues from the shore. Betwixt 49. and 48. degrees, is Port Saint *Julian*, a good Harbour, and in which a man may graue his Ship, though shee draw fifteene or sixteene foote water: But care is to be had of the people called *Pentagones*. They are treacherous, and of great stature, so the most giue them the name of Gyants. Care of the Pentagones.

The second of February, about nine of the Clocke in the morning, we discryed land, which bare South-west of vs, which wee looked not for so timely; and comming neerer and neerer vnto it, by the lying, wee could not coniecture what land it should be; for we were next of any thing in 48. degrees, and no Platt, nor Sea-card which we had, made mention of any land, which lay in that manner, neere about that height; In fine, wee brought our Larbord tacke aboard, and stood to the North-east-wardes all that day and night, and the Winde continuing Westerly and a fayre gale, wee continued our course alongst the coast the day and night following. In which time wee made accompt we discovered well neere threescore leagues off the coast. It is bold, and made small shew of dangers.

The land is a goodly Champion Country, and peopled; we saw many fires, but could not come to speake with the people; for the time of the yeare was farre spent to shoot the *Straites*, and the want of our Pynace disabled vs for finding a Port or Roade; not being discretion with a ship of charge, and in an vnknowne coast, to come neere the shore before it was founded; which were causes, together with the change of the winde, (good for vs to passe the *Straite*) that hindered the further discovery of this Land, with its secrets: A description of the vnknowne land.

A caveat for comming suddenly too neere an vnknowne land.

This I haue sorrowed for many times since, for that it had likelihood to be an excellent Countrie. It hath great Rivers of fresh waters; for the out-shoot of them colours the Sea in many places, as we ran alongst it. It is not mountainous, but much of the disposition of *England*, and as temperate. The things we noted principally on the coast, are these following; the westermost poynt of the land, with which we first fell, is the end of the land to the West-wardes, as we found afterwards. If a man bring this poynt South-west, it riseth in three mounts, or round hillockes: bringing it more Westerly, they shoot themselues all into one; and bringing it Easterly, it riseth in two hillocks. This we called poynt *Tremountaine*. Some twelue or foureteene leagues from this poynt to the East-wardes, fayre by the shore, lyeth a low flat Island of some two leagues long; we named it *Fayre island*; for it was all over as greene and smooth, as any Meddow in the spring of the yeare.

Poynt Tremountaine.

Fayre Island.

Condite head.

Some three or foure leagues Easterly from this Island, is a goodly opening, as of a great River, or an arme of the Sea, with a goodly low Countrie adiacent. And eight or tenne leagues from this opening, some three leagues from the shore, lyeth a bigge Rocke, which at the first wee had thought to be a Shippe vnder all her Sayles; but after, as we came neere, it discovered it selfe to be a Rocke, which we called *Condite-head*; for that howsoever a man commeth with it, it is like to the Condite heads about the Cittie of *London*.

Hawkins-maiden-land.

All this coast so farre as wee discovered, lyeth next of any thing East and by North, and West and by South. The land, for that it was discovered in the raigne of *Queene Elizabeth*, my soveraigne Lady and Mistris, and a maiden *Queene*, and at my cost and adventure, in a perpetuall memory of her chastitie, and remembrance of my endeouours, I gaue it the name of *HAWKINS-maiden-land*.

Bedds of Orewed, with white flowers.

Before a man fall with this land, some twentie or thirtie leagues, he shall meete with bedds of Orewed, driving to and fro in that Sea, with white flowers growing vpon them, and sometimes farther off; which is a good shew and signe the land is neere, whereof the Westermost part lyeth some threescore leagues from the neereft land of *America*.

Our comming to the Straites.

With our fayre and large Winde, we shapd our course for the *Straites*, and the tenth of February, we had sight of land, and it was the head land of the *Straites* to the North-wardes, which agreed with our height, wherein we found our selues to be, which was in thirtie two degrees and fortie minutes.

Within

Within a few houres we had the mouth of the *Straites* open, which lyeth in 52. degrees, and 50. minuts. It riseth like the North foreland in *Kent*, and is much like the land of *Margates*. It is not good to borrow neere the shore, but to giue it a fayre birth; within a few houres we entred the mouth of the *Straites*, which is some six leagues broad, and lyeth in 52. degrees, and 50. minutes; doubling the poynt on the Star-board, which is also flat, of a good birth, we opened a fayre Bay, in which we might discry the hull of a Ship beaten vpon the Beach. It was of the Spanish Fleete, that went to inhabite there, in Anno 1582. vnder the charge of *Pedro Sarmiento*, who at his retuine was taken Prisoner, and brought into *England*.

In this Bay the *Spaniards* made their principall habitation, and called it the Cittie of Saint *Philip*, and left it peopled; But the cold barrennes of the Countrie, and the malice of the *Indians*, with whom they badly agreed, made speedie end of them, as also of those, whom they left in the middle of the *Straites*, three leagues from *Cape Froward* to the East-wards, in another habitation.

Pedro Sarmiento
to buldeth
San-Philip.

We continued our course alongst this reach (for all the *Straites* is as a River altering his course, sometimes vpon one poynt, sometimes vpon another) which is some eight Leagues long, and lyeth West North-west. From this we entred into a goodly Bay, which runneth vp into the land Northerly many Leagues; and at first entrance, a man may see no other thing, but as it were, a maine Sea. From the end of this first reach, you must direct your course West South-west, and some foureteene or fifteene leagues lyeth one of the narrowest places of all the *Straites*; This leadeth vnto another reach, that lyeth west and by north some six leagues.

Here in the middle of the reach, the wind tooke vs by the north-west, and so we were forced to anchor some two or three dayes. In which time, we went a shore with our Boates, and found neere the middle of this reach, on the Star-boord side, a reasonable good place to ground and trimme a small Ship; where it higheth some nine or ten foote water. Here we saw certaine Hogges, but they were so farre from vs, that wee could not discerne, if they were of those of the Countrie, or brought by the *Spaniards*; these were all the Beasts which we saw in all the time we were in the *Straites*.

In two tydes we turned through this reach, and so recovered the Ilands of *Pengwins*; they lye from this reach foure leagues South-west and by west. Till you come to this place, care is to be taken of not comming too neere to any poynt of the Land; for being (for the most part) sandie, they haue sholding off them, and are some-

Note.

The Ilands
of *Pengwins*.

what dangerous. These Ilands haue beene set forth by some to be three; we could discover but two; And they are no more, except that part of the Mayne, which lyeth over against them, be an Iland; which carrieth little likelihood, and I cannot determine it. A man may sayle betwixt the two Ilands, or betwixt them and the Land on the larboord side; from which land to the bigger Iland is as it were a bridge or ledge, on which is foure or fiue fathome water; and to him that commeth neere it, not knowing thereof, may iustly cause feare: for it sheweth to be sheld water with his rypling, like vnto a race.

Good provi-
sion in the
Straites.

Betwixt the former reach, and these Ilands, runneth vp a goodly Bay into the Country to the North-wards. It causeth a great indraught, and aboue these Ilands runneth a great tide from the mouth of the Straites to these Ilands, the land on the larboord-side is low land and sandy, (for the most part, and without doubt, Ilands) for it hath many openings into the Sea, and forcible indraughts by them, and that on the starboord side, is all high mountaynous land, from end to end; but no wood on eyther side. Before wee passed these Ilands, vnder the lee of the bigger Iland we anchored, the wind being at North-east, with intent to refresh our selues with the fowles of these Ilands. They are of diuers sorts, and in great plentie, as *Pengwins*, wilde *Ducks*, *Gulles* and *Gannets*; of the principall we purposed to make provision, and those were the *Pengwins*; which in Welsh (as I haue beene enformed) signifieth a white head. From which derivation, and many other Welsh denominations given by the *Indians* (or their predecessors) some doe inferre, that *America* was first peopled with Welsh-men: and *Motexanna* King (or rather Emperour) of *Mexico*, did recount vnto the Spaniards (at their first comming) that his Auncestors came from a farre Countrie, and were white people. Which conferred which an auncient Cronicle, that I haue read many yeares since, may bee coniectured to bee a Prince of *Wales*, who many hundreth yeares since, with certaine shippes, sayled to the west-wards, with intent to make new discoveries. Hee was never after heard of.

The descrip-
tion of the
Pengwin.

The *Pengwin*, is in all proportion like vnto a Goose, and hath no feathers, but a certaine doune vpon all parts of his body: and therefore cannot flie, but avayleth himselfe in all occasions with his feete, running as fast as most men. He liveth in the Sea, and on the Land; feedeth on fish in the Sea, and as a Goose on the shore vpon grasse. They harbour themselues vnder the ground in burrowes, as the *Connies*; and in them hatch their young. All parts of the
Iland

Hand where they haunted were vndermined, saue onely one valley which (it seemeth) they reserved for their foode; for it was as green as any Medowe in the moneth of Aprill, with a most fine short grasse. The flesh of these *Pengwins* is much of the savour of a certaine fowle taken in the Ilands of *Lundey* and *Silley*, which wee call *Puffins*; by the tast it is easily discerned that they feede on fish. They are very fatt, and in dressing must be flead as the *Byter*; they are reasonable meate, roasted, baked, or sodden; but best roasted. We salted some dozen or 16. hogheads, which served vs (whilest they lasted) in steede of powdred beefe.

The hunting of them (as we may well terme it) was a great recreation to my Company and worth the sight; for in determining to catch them, necessarily was required good store of people, every one with a cudgell in his hand, to compasse them round about, to bring them, as it were, into a ring; if they chanced to breake out, then was the sport, for the ground being vndermined, at vnawares it fayled, and as they ran after them, one fell here, another there; another offering to strike at one, liting vp his hand, sunke vpp to the arme-pits in the earth, another leaping to avoyd one hole, fell into another. And after the first slaughter, in seeing vs on the shore, they shunned vs, and procured to recover the Sea; yea manytimes seeing themselves persecuted they would tumble downe from such high rocks & mountaines, as it seemed impossible to escape with life. Yet as soone as they came to the beach, presently wee should see them runne into the Sea, as though they had no hurt. Where one goeth, the other followeth, like sheepe after the Bel-wether; but in getting them once within the ring close together, few escaped, saue such as by chance hid themselves in the borrowes, and ordinarily there was no droue which yeelded vs not a thousand, and more: the maner of killing them which the hunters vsed, being in a cluster together, was with their cudgels to knocke them on the head; for though a man gaue them many blowes on the body, they died not: Besides the flesh brused is not good to keepe. The Massaker ended, presently they cut off their heads, that they might bleed well: such as we determined to keepe for store, wee saved in this maner. First, we split them, and then washed them well in sea water, then salted them, having layne some sixe howres in salt, wee put them in presse eight howres, and the blood being soaked out, we salted them againe in our other caske, as is the custome to salt beefe, after this maner they continued good, some two moneths, and served vs in stead of beefe.

Hunting the
Pengwin.

The keeping
for store.

The *Gulls* and *Gannets*, were not in so great quantitie, yet we wanted

ted not young Gules to eate all the time of our stay about these I-lands. It was one of the delicatest foodes, that I haue eaten in all my life.

Ducks.

The Ducks are different to ours, and nothing so good meate; yet they may serue for necessitie: They were many, and had a part of the Iland to themselues severall, which was the highest hill, and more then a Musket shott over.

In all the dayes of my life, I haue not seene greater Art and curiositie in creatures voyd of reason, then in the placing and making of their nestes; all the hill being so full of them, that the greatest *Mathematician* of the world, could not devise how to place one more then there was vpon the hill, leaving onely one path-way for a fowle to passe betwixt.

The hill was all leuell, as if it had beene smoothed by Art; the nestes made onely of earth, and seeming to be of the selfe same mould; for the nests and the soyle is all one, which, with water that they bring in their Beakes, they make into Clay, or a certaine dawbe, and after fashion them round, as with a Compasse. In the bottome they containe the measure of a foote; in the height about eight inches; and in the toppe, the same quantitie over; there, they are hollowed in, somewhat deepe, wherein they lay their eggs, without other prevention. And I am of opinion, that the Sunne helpeth them to hatch their young: their nestes are for many yeares, and of one proportion, not one exceeding another in bignesse, in height, nor circumference; and in proportionable distance one from another. In all this hill, nor in any of their nestes, was to be found a blade of grasse, a straw, a sticke, a feather, a moate, no, nor the filing of any fowle, but all the nestes and passages betwixt them, were so smooth and cleane, as if they had beene newly swept and washed.

All which are motiues to prayse and magnifie the vniversall Creator, who so wonderfully manifesteth his wisdome, bountie, and providence in all his Creatures, and especially for his particular loue to ingratefull mankinde, for whose contemplation and service, he hath
made them all.

(:·:)

SECT. XXXI.



One day having ended our hunting of *Pengwins*, one of our Mariners walking about the Iland, discovered a great company of Seales, or Sea-wolues (so called for that they are in the Sea, as the Wolues on the Land) advising vs, that he left them sleeping, with their bellies tossing against the Sunne ; wee provided our selues with staves, and other weapons, and sought to steale vpon them at vnawares, to surprise some of them, and comming downe the side of a hill, wee were not discovered, till we were close vpon them, notwithstanding, their Sentinell (before we could approach) with a great howle waked them : wee got betwixt the Sea and some of them, but they shunned vs not ; for they came directly vpon vs ; and though we dealt here and there a blow, yet not a man that withstood them, escaped the overthrow. They reckon not of a Musket shott, a sword peirceth not their skinne, and to giue a blow with a staffe, is as to smite vpon a stone : onely in giving the blow vpon his snowt, presently he falleth downe dead.

Of Seales, or Sea-wolues.

After they had recovered the water, they did, as it were, scorne vs, defie vs, and daunced before vs, vntill we had shot some Musket shott through them, and so they appeared no more.

This Fish is like vnto a Calfe, with foure leggs, but not aboue a spanne long : his skinne is hayrie like a Calfe ; but these were different to all that ever I haue scene, yet I haue scene of them in many parts ; for these were greater, and in their former parts like vnto Lyons, with shagge hayre, and mostaches.

They liue in the Sea, and come to sleepe on the Land, and they ever haue one that watcheth, who adviseth them of any accident.

They are beneficiall to man in their skinnes for many purposes ;

In their mostaches for Pick-tooths, and in their fatts to make Traine-oyle. This may suffice

for the Seale, for that he is well knowne.

(. .)

S E C T. XXXII.

Devifes in sudden accidents.



One day, our Boates being loaden with *Pengwins*, and comming aboard, a sudden storme tooke them, which together with the fury of the tyde, put them in such great danger, that although they threw all their loading into the Sea, yet were they forced to goe before the wind and Sea, to saue their liues. Which we seeing, and considering that our welfare depended vpon their safetie, being impossible to weigh our Anchor, fastned an emptie Barrell well pitched to the end of our Cable, in stead of a boy, and letting it slip, set sayle to succour our Boates, which in short space wee recovered, and after returned to the place where we ryd before.

The storme ceasing, we vsed our diligence by all meanes to seeke our Cable and Anchor, but the tyde being forcible, and the weeds (as in many partes of the *Straites*) so long, that riding in foureteene fathome water, many times they streamed three and foure fathomes vpon the ryme of the water; these did so inrole our Cable, that we could never set eye of our boy; and to sweepe for him was but lost labour, because of the weeds, which put vs out of hope to recover it.

And so our forcible businesse being ended, leaving instructions for the *Fancie* our Pynace, (according to appointment) where to finde vs, we inroled them in many folds of Paper, put them into a barrell of an old Musket, and stopped it in such manner as no wett could enter; then placing it anend vpon one of the highest hills, and the most frequented of all the Iland, wee imbarcked our selues, and set sayle with the wind at North-west, which could serue vs but to the end of that reach, some dozen leagues long, and some three or foure leagues broad. It lyeth next of any thing, till you come to Cape *Agreda*, South-west; from this Cape to Cape *Froward*, the coast lyeth West South-west.

The second
peopling of the
Spaniards.

Some foure leagues betwixt them, was the second peopling of the *Spaniards*: and this Cape lyeth in fiftie five degrees and better.

Thwart Cape *Froward*, the wind larged with vs, and we continued our course towards the Iland of *Elizabeth*; which lyeth from Cape *Froward* some foureteene leagues West and by South. This reach is foure or five leagues broad, and in it are many channells or openings into the Sea; for all the land on the Souther part of the *Straites* are Ilands and broken land; and from the beginning of
this

this reach to the end of the *Straites*, high mountaynous land on both sides, in most parts covered with snow all the yeare long.

Betwixt the Iland *Elizabeth*, and the *Mayne*, is the narrowest passage of all the *Straites*; it may be some two Musket shott from side to side. From this Straite to *Elizabeth bay*, is some foure leagues, and the course lyeth North-west and by west.

This bay is all sandie, and cleane ground on the Easter part; but before you come at it, there lyeth a poynt of the shore a good byrth off, which is dangerous. And in this reach, as in many parts of the *Straites*, runneth a quicke and forcible tyde. In the Bay it higheth eight or nine foote water. The Norther part of the Bay hath foule ground, and rocks vnder water: and therefore it is not wholsome borrowing of the mayne. One of master *Thomas Candish* his Pynaces (as I haue beene enformed) came a-ground vpon one of them, and he was in hazard to haue left her there.

Elizabeths Bay.

From *Elizabeth Bay* to the River of *Ieronimo* is some five leagues. The course lyeth West and by North, and West. Here the Wind scanted, and forced vs to seeke a place to anchor in. Our Boates going alongst the shore, found a reasonable Harbour, which is right against that which they call, River *Ieronimo*: but it is another channell, by which a man may disemboake the Straite, as by the other which is accustomed; for with a storme, which tooke vs one night, suddenly we were forced into that opening vnwittingly; but in the morning, seeing our error, and the wind larging, with two or three bourds wee turned out into the old channell, not daring for want of our Pynace to attempt any new discoverie.

The River of *Ieronimo.*

This Harbour we called *Blanches Bay*; for that it was found by *William Blanch*, one of our Masters mates. Here having moored our shippe, we began to make our provision of wood and water, whereof was plentie in this Bay, and in all other places from *Pengwin* Ilands, till within a dozen leagues of the mouth of the *Straites*.

Blanches Bay.

Now finding our Deckes open, with the long lying vnder the lyne, and on the coast of *Brasill*, the Sunne having beene in our Zenith many times, we calked our ship, within bourd and without, aboue the Decks. And such was the diligence we vsed, that at foure dayes end, we had aboue threescore Pipes of water, and twentie Boats of wood stowed in our Ship: no man was idle, nor otherwise busied but in necessary workes: some in felling and cleaving of wood; some in carrying of water; some in romaging; some in washing, others in baking; one in heating of pitch, another in gathering of Mussells; no man was exempted, but knew at evening, wherevnto he was to betake himselfe the morning following.

Obiection of
waft.

Some man might aske me, how we came to haue so many emptie Caske in lesse then two moneths; for it seemeth much that so few men in such short time, and in so long a Voyage should waste so much?

Answer.

Whereto I answer, that it came not of excessiue expence; for in health we never exceeded our ordinary; but of a mischance which befell vs vnknowne in the Iland of Saint *James*, or Saint *Anne*, in the coast of *Brafill*; where we refreshed our selues, and according to the custome layd our Caske a shore, to trimme it, and after to fill it, the place being commodious for vs. But with the water a certaine worme, called *Broma* by the *Spaniard*, and by vs *Arters*, entred also, which eat it so full of holes, that all the water soaked out, and made much of our Caske of small vse. This we remedied the best wee could, and discovered it long before we came to this place.

Warning a-
gainst wormes.

Hereof let others take warning, in no place to haue Caske on the shore, where it may be auyded; for it is one of the provisions, which are with greatest care to be preserved in long Voyages, and hardest to be supplied. These *Arters*, or *Broma*, in all hot Countries enter into the planks of Shippes, and especially where are Rivers of fresh water; (for the common opinion is, that they are bred in fresh water, and with the current of the Rivers are brought into the Sea) but experience teacheth, that they breed in the great Seas in all hott Clymates, especially neere the Equinoctiall lyne; for lying so long vnder and neere the lyne, and towing a Shalop at our sterne, coming to clense her in *Brazil*, we found her all vnder water covered with these wormes, as bigge as the little finger of a man, on the outside of the planke, not fully covered, but halfe the thicknes of their bodie, like to a gelly wrought into the planke as with a Gowdge. And naturall reason (in my iudgement) confirmeth this; for creatures bread and nourished in the Sea, comming into fresh water die; as those actually bred in Ponds, or fresh Rivers die presently, if they come into Salt water.

But some man may say; this fayleth in some Fishes and Beasts.

Which I must confesse to be true; but these eyther are part terrestriall, and part aquatile, as the Mare-maide, Sea-horse, and other of that kind, or haue their breeding in the fresh, and growth or continuall nourishment in the Salt water, as the Salmond, and others of that kinde.

Sheathing of
Shippes.

In little time, if the Shippe be not sheathed, they put all in hazard; for they enter in no bigger then a small Spanish Needle, and by little and little their holes become ordinarily greater then a mans finger. The thicker the planke is, the greater he groweth;
yea,

yea, I haue seene many Shippes so eaten, that the most of their planks vnder water haue beene like honey combes, and especially those betwixt wind and water. If they had not beene sheathed, it had bin impossible that they could haue swomme. The entring of them is hardly to be discerned, the most of them being small as the head of a Pinne. Which, all such, as purpose long Voyages, are to prevent by sheathing their Shippes.

And for that I haue seene diuers manners of sheathing, for the ignorant I will set them downe which by experience I haue found best.

In *Spaine*, and *Portingall*, some sheath their Shippes with Lead; which, besides the cost and waight, although they vse the thinnest sheet-lead that I haue seene in any place, yet it is nothing durable, but subiect to many casualties.

In *Spaine* and
Portingall,

Another manner is vsed with double planks, as thicke without as within, after the manner of furring; which is little better then that with Lead; for, besides his waight, it dureth little, because the worme in small time passeth through the one and the other.

with double
planks.

A third manner of sheathing hath beene vsed amongst some with fine Canvas; which is of small continuance, and so not to be regarded.

With Canvas.

The fourth prevention, which now is most accompted of, is to burne the vtter planke till it come to be in every place like a Cole, and after to pitch it; this is not bad.

With burne
planks.

In *China* (as I haue beene enformed) they vse a certaine Betane or Varnish, in manner of an artificiall pitch, wherewith they trim the outside of their shippes. It is said to be durable, and of that vertue, as neither worme, nor water peirceth it; neither hath the Sunne power against it.

In *China*
with Varnish.

Some haue devised a certaine Pitch, mingled with Glasse, and other ingredients, beaten into powder, with which if the Shippe be pitched, it is said, the worme that toucheth it, dyeth; but I haue not heard, that it hath beene vsfull.

But the most approved of all is the manner of sheathing vsed now adayes in *England*, with thin boards, halfe inch thicke; the thinner the better; and Elme better then Oake; for it ryveth not, it indureth better vnder water, and yeeldeth better to the Shippes side.

In *England*,

The invention of the materialles incorporated betwixt the planke and the sheathing, is that indeed which awayleth; for without it many planks were not sufficient to hinder the entrance of this worme; this manner is thus:

Best manner
of sheathing.

Before the sheathing board is nayled on, vpon the inner side of it they smere it over with tarre halfe a finger thicke, and vpon the tarre, another halfe finger thicke of hayre, such as the Whitelymers vse, and so nayle it on, the nayles not aboue a spanne distance one from another; the thicker they are driven, the better.

Some hold opinion, that the tarre killeth the worme; others, that the worme passing the sheathing, and seeking a way through, the hayre and the tarre so involue him, that he is choked therewith; which me thinkes is most probable; this manner of sheathing was invented by my Father; and experience hath taught it to be the best, and of least cost.

S E C T. XXXIII.



Such was the diligence we vsed for our dispatch to shoot the *Straites*, that at foure dayes end, wee had our water and wood stowed in our Shippe, all our Copper-worke finished, and our shippe Calked from Post to Stemme; the first day in the morning (the wind being fayre) we brought our selues into the Channell, and sayled towards the mouth of the *Straites*, praising God; and beginning our course with little winde, we descryed a fire vpon the shore, made by the *Indians* for a signe to call vs; which scene, I caused a Boat to be man'de, and we rowed ashore, to see what their meaning was, and approaching neere the shore, wee saw a Cannoa made fast vnder a Rocke with a wyth, most artificially made with the rindes of Trees, and sowed together with the fynnes of Whales; at both ends sharpe, and turning vp, with a greene bough in either end, and ribbes for strengthening it. After a little while, we might discerne on the fall of the mountaine (which was full of trees and shrubbes) two or three *Indians* naked, which came out of certaine Caues, or coates. They spake vnto vs, and made diuers signes; now poynting to the Harbour, out of which we were come; and then to the mouth of the *Straites*: But wee vnderstood nothing of their meaning. Yet left they vs with many imaginations, suspecting, it might be to advise vs of our Pynace, or some other thing of moment; but for that they were vnder covert, and might worke vs some treacherie (for all the people of the *Straites*, and the land nere them, vse all the villany they can towards white people, taking them for *Spaniards*, in revenge of the deceit that

that Nation hath vsed towards them vpon sundry occasions:) as also for that by our stay we could reape nothing but hinderance of our Navigation, wee hasted to our Shippe, and sayled on our course.

From *Blanches Bay* to long reach, which is some foure leagues, the course lyeth West South-west entring into the long reach; which is the last of the Straits, and longest. For it is some thirty two leagues, and the course lyeth next of any thing North-west. Long Reach.

Before the setting of the Sunne, wee had the mouth of the Straits open, and were in great hope the next day to be in the South sea; but about seaven of the clocke that night, wee saw a great cloud rise out of the North-east, which began to cast forth great flashes of lightnings, and sodainly sayling with a fresh gale of wind at north-east, another more forcible tooke vs aftayes; which put vs in danger: for, all our sayles being a tant, it had like to haue overset our ship, before we could take in our sayles. And therefore in all such semblances it is great wisdom to carry a short sayle, or to take in all sayles.

Heere we found what the *Indians* forwarned vs of; for they haue great insight in the change of weather, and besides haue secret dealing with the Prince of Darkeness, who many times declareth vnto them things to come; By this meanes and other witch-crafts, which he teacheth them, hee possesseth them, and causeth them to doe what pleaseth him. Note.

Within halfe an houre it began to thunder and raine, with so much winde as wee were forced to lye a hull, and so darke, that we saw nothing, but when the lightning came. This being one of the narrowest reaches of all the Straits, wee were forced, every glasse, to open a little of our fore-sayle, to cast about our ships head: any man may conceiue if the night seemed long vnto vs, what desire we had to see the day. In fine, Phœbus with his beautifull face lightned our Hemisphere, and reioyced our hearts (hauing driven aboue twenty foure leagues in twelue houres lying a hull: whereby, is to be imagined the force of the winde and current.)

We set our fore-sayle, and returned to our former harbour; from whence, within three or foure dayes, we set sayle againe with a faire winde, which continued with vs till we came within a league of the mouth of the Straite, here the winde tooke vs againe contrary, and forced vs to returne againe to our former port; where being ready to anchor, the winde scanted with vs in such maner, as wee were forced to make a bourd. In which time, the winde and tide put vs so farre to lee-wards, that we could by no meanes seize it: So we de-
L
terminated

terminated to goe to *Elizabeth Bay*, but before we came at it, the night overtook vs: and this reach being dangerous and narrow, we durst neither hll, nor trye, or turne to and againe with a short sayle, and therefore bare alongt in the middest of the channell, till we were come into the broad reach, then lay a hull till the morning.

English Bay.

When we set sayle and ran alongt the coast, seeking with our boate some place to anchor in; some foure leagues to the Westwards of *Cape Forward*, we found a goodly bay; which wee named *English bay*: where anchored, we presently went a shore, and found a goodly River of fresh water, and an old Canna broken to peeces, and some two or three of the houses of the *Indians*, with peeces of Seale stinking ripe. These houses are made in fashion of an Oven seven or eight foote broad, with boughes of trees, and covered with other boughes, as our Summer houses; and doubtles do serve them but for the Summer time, when they come to fish, and profit themselves of the Sea. For they retyre themselves in the Winter into the Country, where it is more temperate, and yeeldeth better sustenance: for on the Mayne of the Straits, we neyther saw beast, nor fowle, Sea fowle excepted, and a kind of Blacke-bird, and two hoggs towards the beginning of the Straites.

Sloth cause of imagination.

Here our ship being well moored, we began to supply our wood and water, that we had spent. Which being a dayes worke, and the winde during many dayes contrary, I endeavoured to keepe my people occupied, to divert them from the imagination which some had conceived; that it behooved, we should returne to *Brasill* and winter there, and so shoot the Straites in the spring of the yeare.

So one day, we rowed vp the River, with our boat and light horseman, to discover it, and the In-land: where having spent a good part of the day, and finding shold water, and many Trees fallen thwart it, and little fruite of our labour, nor any thing worth the noting, we returned.

Another day, we trayned our people a-shore, being a goodly sandie Bay: another, we had a hurling of Batchelers against married men; This day we were busied in wrestling, the other in shooting; so we were never idle, neyther thought we the time long.

(:)

S a c t.

S E C T. X X X I I I I.



After we had past here some seven or eight dayes, one Evening with a flawe from the shore, our Ship droue off into the channell, and before we could get vp our Anchor, and set our sayles, we were driven so farre to lee-wards, that we could not recover into the bay; and night comming on, with a short sayle, wee beate off and on till the morning. At the breake of the day conferring with the Captaine and Master of my ship, what was best to be done, we resolved to seeke out *Tobias Coue*, which lyeth over against *Cape Fryo*, on the Southerne part of the Straites, because in all the reaches of the Straites (for the most part) the winde bloweth trade, and therefore little profit to be made by turning to winde-wards. And from the Ilands of the *Pengwins* to the ende of the Straites towards the south Sea, there is no anchoring in the channell; and if we should be put to lee-wards of this Coue, we had no succour till we came to the Ilands of *Pengwins*; and some of our Company which had bin with master *Thomas Candish* in the Voyage in which he died, and in the same Coue many weekes, vnderooke to be our Pilots thither. Wherevpon we bare vp, being some two leagues thither, having so much winde as we could scarce lye by it with our course and bonnet of each; but bearing vp before the winde, wee put out our Topsayles and Spritsayle, and within a little while the winde began to fayle vs, and immediately our Shippe gaue a mightie blow vpon a Rocke, and stucke fast vpon it. And had wee had but the fourth part of the wind, which we had in all the night past, but a moment before we strucke the Rocke, our Shippe, doubtlesse, with the blow had broken her selfe all to peeces. But our provident and most gracious God which commaundeth wind and Sea, watched over vs, and delivered vs with his powerfull hand from the vnknowne danger and hidden destruction, that so we might prayse him for his fatherly bountie and protection, and with the Prophet *David* say, *Except the Lord keepe the Cittie, the watch-men watch in vaine*; for if our God had not kept our Shippe, we had bin all swallowed vp aliue without helpe or redemption, and therefore he for his mercies sake grant that the memoriall of his benefits, doe never depart from before our eyes, and that we may evermore prayse him for our wonderfull deliverance, and his continuall providence by day and by night.

Tobias Coue.

Setting of the
Ship vpon a
Rocke.

The company
dismayed.

Diligence to
free it.

To the labori-
ous God pro-
pitious,

and therefore
prayed.

Crabby Cove.

My company with this Accident were much amazed, and not without iust cause. Immediately we vsed our endeavour to free our selues, and with our Boates sounded round about our Shippe; in the meane time assaying our pumpe, to know if our Shippe made more water then her ordinary; we found nothing increased, and round about our Shippe deepe water, saving vnder the mid-shippe, for shee was a floate a head and a sterne: and bearing some fathome before the mayne Mast, and in no other part, was like to be our destruction; for being ebbing water, the waight in the head and sterne by fayling of the water began to open her planks in the middest; and vpon the vpper Decke they were gone one from another some two fingers, some more; which we sought to ease and remedie by lightning of her burden, and throwing into the Sea all that came to hand; and laying out an Anchor, we sought to wend her off: and such was the will and force we put to the Capsten and Tackles fastned vpon the Cable, that we plucked the ring of the Anchor out of the eye, but after recovered it, though not serviceable.

All our labour was fruitlesse, till God was pleased that the flood came, and then we had her off with great ioy and comfort, when finding the current favourable with vs, we stood over to *English bay*, and fetching it, we anchored there, having beene some three houres vpon the Rocke, and with the blow, as after we saw when our Ship was brought a ground in *Perico* (which is the Port of *Panama*) a great part of her sheathing was beaten off on both sides in her Bulges, and some foure foote long and a foote square of her false stemme, ioyning to the Keele, wrested a crosse, like vnto a Hogges yoake, which hindered her sayling very much.

Here we gaue God prayse for our deliverance, and afterward procured to supply our wood and water, which we had throwne overboard to ease our Shippe, which was not much: that supplied, it pleased God (who is not ever angry) to looke vpon vs with comfort, and to send vs a fayre and large wind, and so we set Sayle once againe, in hope to disemboke the *Strait*, but some dozen leagues before we came to the mouth of it, the wind changed, and forced vs to seeke out some Cove or Bay, with our Boates to ride in neere at hand, that we might not be forced to returne farre backe into the *Straites*.

They sounded a Cove some sixteene leagues from the mouth of the *Strait*, which after we called *Crabby Cove*. It brooked his name well for two causes; the one for that all the water was full of a small kinde of redd Crabbes, the other, for the crabbed mountaines which over-topped it; a third, we might adde, for the crabbed en-
ertaine-

tainement it gaue vs. In this Cove we anchored, but the wind freshing in, and three or foure hilles over-topping (like Sugar-loaues) altered and straightned the passage of the wind in such manner, as forced it downe with such violence in flawes and furious blustering, as was like to over-set our Shippe at an Anchor, and caused her to driue, and vs to weigh; but before we could weigh it, shee was so nere the Rockes, and the puffes and gusts of wind so sodaine and vncertaine, sometimes scant, sometimes large, that it forced vs to cut our Cable, and yet dangerous if our Shippe did not cast the right way. Here necessitie, not being subiect to any law, forced vs to put our selues into the hands of him that was able to deliver vs. We cut our Cable and Sayle all in one instant; And God to shew his power and gracious bountie towards vs, was pleased that our Shippe cast the contrary way towards the shore, seeming that he with his owne hand did wend her about; for in lesse then her length, shee flatted, and in all the Voyage but at that instant, shee flatted with difficultie, for that shee was long, the worst propertie shee had. On either side we might see the Rockes vnder vs, and were not halfe a Shippes length from the shore, and if she had once touched, it had beene impossible to haue escaped.

Magnified ever be our Lord God, which delivered *Ionas* out of the Whales belly; and his Apostle *Peter* from being overwhelmed in the waues; and vs from so certaine perishing.

S E C T. XXXV.

From hence we returned to *Blanches Bay*, and there Anchored, expecting Gods good will and pleasure. Here beganne the bitternesse of the time to increase with blustering and sharpe winds, accompanied with rayne and fleeting Snow, and my people to be dismayde againe, in manifesting a desire to returne to *Brafill*, which I would never consent vnto, no, nor so much as to heare of.

And all men are to take care, that they goe not one foote backe, more then is of mere force; for I haue not seene, that any who haue yeelded therevnto, but presently they haue returned home. As in the Voyage of master *Edward Fenton*, which the Earle of *Cumberland* set forth, to his great charge. As also in that of master *Thomas Candish*, in which he dyed. Both which pretended to shoote the *Straites of Magelan*, and by perswasion of some ignorant persons,

Voyages over-throwne by pretences.

Edward Fenton and master *Thomas Candish*.

being in good possibilitie, were brought to consent to returne to *Brafill*, to Winter, and after in the Spring to attempt the passing of the *Strait* againe. None of them made any abode in *Brafill*; for presently as soone as they looked homeward, one, with a little blustering wind takerh occasion to loose company; another complaineth that he wanteth victuals; another, that his shippe is leake; another, that his mastes, sayles, or cordidge fayleth him. So the willing never want probable reasons to further their pretences. As I saw once (being but young, and more bold then experimented) in Anno 1582. in a Voyage, vnder the charge of my Vnkle

Master William
Hawkins.

William Hawkins of *Plimouth*, Esquire, in the *Indies*, at the wester end of the Iland of *San Iuan de Portorico*. One of the Shippes (called the *Barke bonner*) being somewhat leake, the Captaine complained that she was not able to endure to *England*; wherevpon a Counsell was called, and his reasons heard, and allowed. So it was concluded, that the Victuall, Munition, and what was serviceable, should be taken out of her, and her men devided amongst our other Shippes; the Hull remaining to be sunke, or burned.

To which, I never spake word till I saw it resolved; being my part rather to learne, then to advise. But seeing the fatall sentence given, and suspecting that the Captaine made the matter worse then it was, rather vpon pollicy to come into another Ship, which was better of Sayle, then for any danger they might runne into. With as much reason as my capacitie could reach vnto, I dissuaded my Vnkle privately; And vrged, that seeing wee had profited the Adventurers nothing, wee should endeavour to preserue our principall; especially, having men and victualls. But seeing I pre-
vayled not, I went further, and offered to finde out in the same Shippe, and others, so many men, as with me would be content to carry her home, giving vs the third part of the value of the ship, as shee should be valued at, at her returne, by foure indifferent persons; and to leaue the Vice-admirall, which I had vnder my charge, and to make her Vice-admirall.

Wherevpon, it was condescended, that we should all goe aboard the Shippe, and that there it should be determined. The Captaine thought himselfe somewhat touched in Reputation, and so would not that further trial should be made of the matter; Saying, that if another man was able to carry the Shippe into *England*, he would in no case leaue her; neither would he forsake her till shee sunke vnder him.

The Generall commended him for his resolution, and thanked me for my offer, tending to the generall good; my intention being

to force those who for gaine could vnder-take to carry her home, should also doe it, gratis, according to their Obligation. Thus, this leake-ship went well into *England*; where, after shee made many a good Voyage in nine yeares, wherein shee was employed to and fro; and no doubt, would haue served many more, had shee not beene laid vp, and not vsed, falling into the hands of those which knew not the vse of Shipping. It were large to recount the Voyages, and worthy Enterprises, overthrowne by this pollicie, with the Shippes which haue thereby gone to wracke.

SECT. XXXVI.



BY this and the like experiences, remembring and knowing, that, if once I consented to turne but one foote backe, I should overthrow my Voyage, and loose my reputation, I resolved rather to loose my life, then to give care to such preiudiciall Counsell; And so as the Weather gaue leaue, we intertaind our selues the first dayes in necessary workes, and after in making of Coale, (for Wood was plentifull, and no man would commence an action of wast against vs) with intent (the wind continuing long contrary) to see, if wee could remedie any of our broken Anchors; a Forge I had in my Shippe, and of five Anchors which we brought out of *England*, there remained but one that was serviceable.

In the Islands of *Pengwins*, we lost one; in *Crabbie Cove*, another; of a third, vpon another occasion, we broke an arme; & the fourth, on the Rocke had the eye of his ring broken. This (one day devising with my selfe) I made to serue, without working him a new. Which when I tooke first in hand, all men thought it ridiculous: but in fine, we made it in that manner so serviceable, as till our ship came to *Callaw*, which is the Port of *Lyma*, shee scarce vsed any other Anchor; and when I came from *Lyma* to *Panama*, which was three yeares after, I saw it serue the Admirall in which I came, (a Ship of aboue five hundreth tunnes) without other art or addition, then what my owne invention contrived.

And for that in the like necessitie, or occasion, others may profit themselues of the industrie, I will recount the manner of the forging our eye without fire, or iron. It was in this sort.

From the eye of the shanke, about the head of the crosse, we gaue two turnes with a new strong Halser, betwixt three and foure inches,

Danger to
hearken vnto
reasons of re-
turne.

The mending
of an vnser-
viceable An-
chor.

ches, giving a reasonable allowance for that, which should be the eye, and served in stead of the ring; then we fastned the two ends of the Halser, so as in that part it was as strong, as in any other, and with our Capsten stretched the two byghtes, that every part might beare proportionably; then armed we all the Halser round about, with six yarne Synnets, and likewise the shanke of the Anchor, and the head with a smooth Matt made of the same Synnet: this done, with an inch Rope, wee woolled the two byghtes to the shanke, from the crosse to the eye, and that also which was to serue for the ring, and fitted the stocke accordingly. This done, those who before derided the invention, were of opinion, that it would serue for a need; onely they put one difficultie, that with the fall or pitch of the Anchor in hard ground, with his waight he would cut the Halser in sunder on the head; for prevention whereof, we placed a panch (as the Marriners terme it) vpon the head of the Anchor, with whose softnesse this danger was prevented, and the Anchor past for serviceable.

Entertainment of time, to avoyd idleness,

Some of our idle time we spent in gathering the barke and fruit of a certaine tree, which we found in all places of the *Straites*, where we found trees. This tree carrieth his fruit in clusters like a Hawthorne, but that it is greene, each berry of the bignesse of a Pepper corne, and every of them containing within foure or five graynes, twise as bigge as a Musterd-seed, which broken, are white within, as the good Pepper, and bite much like it, but hotter. The barke of this tree, hath the savour of all kinde of Spices together, most comfortable to the stomacke, and held to be better then any Spice whatsoever; And for that a learned Country-man of ours Doctor *Turner*, hath written of it, by the name of *Winters barke*, what I haue said may suffice. The leafe of this tree is of a whitish greene, and is not vnlike to the Aspen leafe.

In gathering of *Winters Barke*.

Other whiles we entertained our selues in gathering of Pearles out of Mussels, whereof there are aboundance in all places, from *Cape Froward*, to the end of the *Straites*.

Of Pearles.

The Pearles are but of a bad colour, and small, but it may be that in the great Mussels in deeper water, the Pearles are bigger, and of greater value; of the small seed Pearle, there was great quantitie, and the Mussels were a great refreshing vnto vs; for they were exceeding good, and in great plentie. And here let me craue pardon if I erre, seeing I disclaime from being a naturalist, by delivering my opinion touching the breeding of these Pearles, which I thinke to be of a farre different nature and qualitie to those found in the East and West *Indies*, which are found in Oysters; growing in the shell

shell, vnder the ruff of the Oyster, some say of the dewe, which I hold to be some old Philosophers conceit, for that it cannot bee made probable, how the dew should come into the Oyster; and if this were true, then, questionlesse, wee should haue them in our Oysters, as in those of the East and West *Indias*; but those Oysters, were, by the Creator, made to bring forth this rare fruite, all their shels, being (to looke to) pearle it selfe. And the other pearles found in our Oysters and Mussels, in diuers partes, are ingendred out of the fatnesse of the fish, in the very substance of the fish, so that in some Mussels, haue beene found twenty, and thirty, in severall partes of the fish, and these not perfect in colour, nor clearenes, as those found in the Pearle-Oysters, which are ever perfect in colour and clearenes, like the Sunne in his rising; and therefore called Orientall, and not (as is supposed) because out of the East, for they are as well found in the West, and no way inferior to those of the East *Indies*.

Other fish, besides Seales, and Crabbes, like Shrimpes, and one Whale with two or three Porpusses, wee saw not in all the *Straites*; heere we made also a surway of our victuals; and opening certaine Barrels of Oaten meale, wee found a great part of some of them, as also of our Pipes and Fatts of bread, eaten and consumed by the Ratts; doubtlesse, a fift part of my Company, did not eate so much, as these devoured, as wee found daily in comming to spend any of our provisions.

When I came to the Sea, it was not suspected, that I had a Ratt in my shippe; but with the bread in Caske, which we transported out of the *Hawke*, and the going to and againe of our boates vnto our prise, (though wee had diuers Catts and vsed other preventions) in a small time they multiplied in such a maner, as is incredible; It is one of the generall calamities of all long voyages; and would bee carefully prevented, as much as may bee. For besides that which they consume of the best victuals, they eate the sayles; and neither packe, nor chest, is free from their surprises. I haue knowne them to make a hole in a pipe of water, and saying the pumpe, haue put all in feare, doubting least some leake had beene sprung vpon the ship.

Prevention
of Rats.

The Calami-
ties they bring
to a ship.

Moreover, I haue heard credible persons report, that shippes haue beene put in danger by them to be sunke, by a hole made in the bulge. All which is easily remedied at the first, but if once they be somewhat increased, with difficulty they are to be destroyed. And although I propounded a reward for every Ratt which was taken, and sought meanes by poyson, and other inventions

to consume them, yet their increase being so ordinary and many; wee were not able to cleare our selues from them.

S E C T. XXXVII.

Backwardnes
in the Com-
panie,



and the conse-
quences there-
of.

AT the ende of fourteene dayes, one Evening being calme, and a goodly cleare in the Easter-boord, I willed our Anchor to be weyed, and determined to goe into the channell, whereof ensued a murmuring amongt my company, who were desirous to see the winde setled before we put out of the Harbour: and in part they had reason, considering how wee had beene canvased from place to place; yet on the other side, if wee went not out before night, wee should loose the whole nights sayling, and all the time which we should spend in warping out; which would be, doubtles, a great part of the fore-noone. And although the Master signified vnto mee, the disposition of my people, and Master *Henry Courton* (a discrete and vertuous Gentleman, and my good friend, who in all the voyage was ever an especial furtherer of all that ever I ordained or proposed) in this occasion sought to divert me, that all but my selfe, were contrarily inclined to that, which I thought fit: and though the common saying be, that it is better to erre with many, then all contradicting, alone to hit the right way, yet truth told mee, this proverbe to bee falsely founded; for that it was not to bee vnderstood, that for erring it is better, but because it is supposed that by hitting a man shall get emulation of the contradictors, I encountered it with another, that sayth, better to be envied then pitied, and well considering, that (being out of the Harbour, if the winde tooke vs contrary) to goe to *Elizabeth Bay* was better then to bee in the Port, (for a man must of force warpe in and out of it) and in the time that the Shippe could be brought forth into the Channell (the winde being good) a man might come from *Elizabeth Bay* to the Port, and that there we should haue the wind first, being more to the East-wardes, and in an open Bay, and moreover might set sayle in the night, if the wind should rise in the Evening, or in the Night; whereas, in the Port, of force, we must waite the light of the Day. I made my selfe deafe to all murmurings, and caused my commaund to be put in execution, and, doubtlesse, it was Gods gracious inspiration, as by the event was seene; for being gotten into the Channell, within an houre,
the

the winde came good, and we sayled merrily on our Voyage; and by the breake of the day, wee had the mouth of the Straites open, and about foure of the Clocke in the afternoone, wee were thwart of Cape *Desire*; which is the westermost part of the Land on the Souther side of the Straites.

S E C T. X X X V I I I.



Here such as haue command may behold the many miseries that befall them, not onely by vnexpected Accidents and mischances, but also by contradictions and murmurs of their owne people, of all calamities the greatest which can befall a man of discretion and valour, and as difficult to be overcome; for, to require reason of the common sort, is, as the Philosopher sayth, To seeke Counsell of a madd man. Herein, as I sayd before, they resemble a stiffe necked Horse, who taking the bridle in his teeth, carrieth the rider whether he pleaseth; so once possessed with any imagination, no reason is able to convince them. The best remedie I can propound, is to wish our Nation in this poynt to be well advised, and in especiall, all those that follow the Sea, ever having before their eyes the auncient Discipline of our Predecessors; who in conformitie and obedience to their Chieffes and Commanders, haue beene a mirror to all other Nations, with patience, silence, and suffering, putting in execution what they haue beene Commanded, and thereby gained the blessings due to such vertues, and leaving to posteritie, perpetuall memories of their glorious Victories. A iust recompence for all such as Conquer themselues, and subiect their most specious willes, to the will of their Superiors.

Advertisements for Commanders.

The advantage of obedience.

S E C T. XXXIX.



N apprehension whereof at land, I cannot forbear the Discipline thereof, as at this day, and in the dayes of late memory, it hath beene practised in the States of *Flanders*, *Fraunce*, and *Brittayne*, whereas the *Spaniards*, *Wallons*, *Switzers*, and other Nations, are daily full of murmurings and mutenies, vpon every sleight occasion.

The like I also wish should be imitated by those, who follow the Sea, that is, that those who are subiect to Command, presume no further then to that which belongeth vnto them; *Qui nescit parere, nescit imperare*, I speake this, for that I haue sometimes seene vnexpert and ignorant persons, yea, vnable to iudge of any poynt appertaining to government, or the guide of a Shippe, or company of men, presuming vpon their fine witts, and enamored of their owne conceits, contradict and dispute against graue, wise, and experimented Governours: many forward fellowes, thinking themselues better worthie to command, then to be commanded. Such persons I advise not to goe, but where they may command; or els looking before they leape, to consider well, vnder whom they place themselues, seeing (for the most part) it is in their choyce, to choose a Governour from whom they may expect satisfaction; but choyce being once made, to resolute with the patient wife in History; That, that day wherein shee married her selfe to an husband, that very day shee had no longer any will, more then the will of her husband, And so he that by Sea or Land placeth himselfe to serue in any action, must make reckoning that the time the journey endureth, he hath no other will, nor dispose of himselfe, then that of his Commander; for in the Governours hand is all power, to recompence and reward, to punish or forgiue.

Likewise those who haue charge and Command, must sometimes with patience or sufferance, overcome their fury and misconceits, according to occasions; for it is a great poynt of wisdom, especially in a generall murmuring, where the cause is iust, or that (as often times it happeneth) any probable accident may divert the minds of the discontented, and giue hope of remedie, or future event may produce Repentance, to turne (as they say) the deafe eare, and to winke at that a man seeth. As it is sayd of *Charles* the fifth Emperour of *Germany*, and King of *Spaine*; who
rounding

rounding his Campe, one night, disguised, heard some Souldiers rayle, and speake evill of him ; those which accompanied him were of opinion, that he should vse some exemplary punishment vpon them ; not so, sayth he, for these now vexed with the miseries they suffer, ease their hearts with their tongues ; but if occasion present it selfe, they will not sticke to sacrifice their liues for my safetie. A resolution worthy so prudent a Commander, and so magnanimous a Prince.

The like is written of *Fabius Maximus*, the famous *Romayne*, who endured the attribute of Coward, with many other infamies, rather then he would hazard the safetie of his Countrie by rash and incertaine provocations.

No lesse worthy of perpetuall memory was the prudent pollicie and government of our English Navie, in Anno 1588. by the worthy Earle of *Nottingham*, Lord high Admirall of *England* ; who, in like case, with mature and experimented knowledge, patiently withstood the instigations of many Couragious and Noble Captaines, who would haue perswaded him to haue laid them aboard ; but well he foresaw that the enemy had an Armie aboard ; he none ; that they exceeded him in number of Shipping, and those greater in Bulke, stronger built, and higher molded, so that they who with such advantage fought from aboue, might easily distresse all opposition below ; the slaughter peradventure proving more fatall, then the victory profitable ; by being overthrowne he might haue hazzarded the Kingdome, whereas by the Conquest (at most) he could haue boasted of nothing but Glorie, and an enemy defeated. But by sufferance, he alwayes advantaged himselfe of winde and tide ; which was the freedome of our COUNTRY, and securitie of our Navie, with the destruction of theirs, which in the eye of the ignorant, (who iudge all things by the externall appearance) seemed invincible ; but truely considered, was much inferior to ours, in all things of substance, as the event proved ; for we sunke, spoyled, and tooke of them many, and they diminished of ours but one small Pynace, nor any man of name, saue onely Captaine *Cocke*, who dyed with honour amidst his Company. The greatest dammage, that (as I remember) they caused to any of our Shippes, was to the *Swallow* of her Maiestie, which I had in that action vnder my Charge, with an Arrow of fire shott into her Beake-head, which we saw not, because of the sayle, till it had burned a hole in the *Rose* as bigge as a mans head : the Arrow falling out, and driving alongst by the Shippes side, made vs doubt of it, which after we discovered.

The patience
of the Earle of
Nottingham.

SECT. XL.

Mutenies not
alwayes to be
winked at.



UN many occasions, notwithstanding, it is most pre-
judiciall to dissemble the reprehension and pu-
nishment of murmurings and mutterings, when
they carry a likelihood to grow to a mutenie,
seeme to leane to a faction, or that a person of re-
gard or merite favoureth the intention, or con-
tradicteth the Iustice, &c. and others of like qualitie; The prudent
Governour is to cut off this *Hydra's* head in the beginning, and by
prevention to provide remedie with expedition; and this some-
times with absolute authoritie, although the best be ever to pro-
ceed by Counsell, if necessitie and occasion require not the
contrary; for passion many times over-ruleth, but that
which is sentenced and executed by consent, is
iustified, although sometimes erro-
nious. *March. 29. 1594.*

(* *)

SECT.

SECT. XLI.



From Cape *Desire*, some foure leagues North-west, lye foure Ilands, which are very small, and the middlemost of them is of the fashion of a Sugar-loafe. We were no sooner cleare of Cape *Desire*, and his ledge of Rockes (which lie a great way off into the Sea) but the wind tooke vs contrary by the North-west; and so we stood off into the Sea two dayes and two nights to the Westwards.

In all the Straites it ebbeth and floweth more or lesse, and in many places it higheth very little water, but in some Bayes, where are great indraughts, it higheth eight or ten foote, and doubtlesse, further in, more. If a man be furnished with wood and water, and the winde good, he may keepe the mayne Sea, and goe round about the Straites to the Southwards, and it is the shorter way; for besides the experience which we made, that all the South part of the Straites is but Ilands, many times having the Sea open, I remember, that Sir *Francis Drake* told me, that having shott the Straites, a storme tooke him first at North-west, and after vered about to the South-west, which continued with him many dayes, with that extremitie, that he could not open any Sayle, and that at the end of the storme, he found himselfe in fiftie degrees, which was sufficient testimony and prooffe, that he was beaten round about the Straites, for the least height of the Straites is in fiftie two degrees and fiftie minutes; in which stand the two entrances or mouths.

South part of
the Straites
Ilands.

And moreover, he sayd, that standing about, when the winde changed, he was not well able to double the Southermost Iland, and so anchored vnder the lee of it; and going a-shore, carried a Compasse with him, and seeking out the Southermost part of the Iland, cast himselfe downe vpon the vttermost poynt groveling, and so reached out his bodie over it. Presently he embarked, and then recounted vnto his people, that he had beene vpon the Southermost knowne land in the world, and more further to the Southwards vpon it, then any of them, yea, or any man as yet knowne. These testimonies may suffice for this truth vnto all, but such as are incredulous, & will beleue nothing but what they see; for my part, I am of opinion, that the Straite is navigable all the yeare long, although the best time be in *November*, *December*, and *January*, and

Sir *Francis Drake* imbraceth the Southermost point of the world.

then the winds more favourable, which other times are variable, as in all narrow Seas.

Mocha.

Baldivia.

Being some fiftie leagues a Sea-boord the Straites, the winde veering to the West-wards, we cast about to the North-wards; and lying the coast along, shaped our course for the Iland *Mocha*. About the fifteenth of Aprill, we were thwart of *Baldivia*, which was then in the hands of the *Spaniards*, but since the *Indians*, in Anno 1599. dispossessed them of it, and the *Conception*; which are two of the most principall places they had in that Kingdome, and both Ports.

Baldivia, had its name of a Spanish Captaine so called, whom afterwards the *Indians* tooke Prisoner, and it is said, they required of him the reason why he came to molest them, and to take their Country from them, having no title nor right therevnto; he answered, to get Gold; which the barbarous vnderstanding, caused Gold to be molten, and powred downe his throat; saying, Gold was thy desire, glut thee with it.

To the South

the Coast

abundant

It standeth in fortie degrees, hath a pleasant River and navigable; for a Ship of good burden may goe as high vp as the Cittie, and is a goodly wood Country.

Here our Beefe beganne to take end, and was then as good, as the day wee departed from *England*; it was preserved in Pickell, which, though it be more chargeable, yet the profit payeth the charge, in that it is made durable, contrary to the opinion of many, which hold it impossible, that Beefe should be kept good passing the Equinoctiall lyne. And of our Porke I ate in the house of *Don Beltran de Castro*, in *Lyma*, neere foure yeares old, very good, preserved after the same manner, notwithstanding, it had lost his Pickle long before.

To the South

the Coast

abundant

the Coast

abundant

Some degrees before a man come to *Baldivia* to the South-wards, as *Spaniards* haue told me, lyeth the Iland *Chule*, not easily to be discerned from the mayne; for he that passeth by it, cannot but thinke it to be the mayne. It is said to be inhabited by the *Spaniards*, but badly, yet rich of gold.

The 19. of Aprill, being Easter-euen, we anchored vnder the Iland *Mocha*. It lyeth in 39. degrees, it may be some foure leagues over, and is a high mountainous hill, but round about the foote thereof, some halfe league from the Sea-shore, it is Champion ground, well inhabited, and manured.

From the Straites to this Iland, we found, that either the coast is set out more westerly then it is, or that, we had a great current, which put vs to the west-wards; for we had not sight of land in

three

three

three dayes after. Our reckoning was to see it, but for that we coasted nor the land, I cannot determine, whether it was caused by the current, or lying of the land. But *Spaniards* which haue sayled alongst it, haue told me, that it is a bold and safe coast, and reasonable sounding of it.

In this Iland of *Mocha* we had communication and contratation with the inhabitants, but with great vigilancie and care; for they and all the people of *Chily*, are mortall enemies to the *Spaniards*, and held vs to be of them; and so esteemed Sir *Francis Drake*, when he was in this Iland, which was the first land also that he touched on this coast. They vsed him with so fine a trechery, that they possessed themselues of all the Oares in his Boate, saving two, and in striving to get them also, they slew, and hurt all his men; himselfe who had fewest wounds, had three, and two of them in the head. Two of his company which lived long after, had, the one seaventeene; his name was *John Bruer*, who afterward was Pilot with master *Candish*; and the other, aboue twentie, a *Negro*-servant to Sir *Francis Drake*.

And with me they vsed a pollicie, which amongst barbarous people was not to be imagined, although I wrought sure; for I suffered none to treat with me, nor with my people with Armes. We were armed, and met vpon a Rocke compassed with water, whether they came to parley and negotiate. Being in communication with the *Casiques*, and others, many of the *Indians* came to the heads of our Boats, and some went into them. Certaine of my people standing to defend the Boates with their Oares, for that there went a bad sege, were forced to lay downe their Musketts; which the *Indians* perceiving, endeoured to fill the barrells with water, taking it out of the sea in the hollow of their hands. By chance casting mine eye aside, I discovered their slynesse; and with a truncheon, which I had in mine hand, gaue the *Indians* three or foure good lamskines; the *Casiques* seeing it, began to giue me satisfaction, by vsing rigor towards those which had beene in the Boates; but I having gotten the refreshing I desired, and all I could hope from them, would haue no further conversation with them. At our first coming, two of their *Casiques* (who are their Lords or Kings) came aboard our Shippe (we leaving one of our companie ashore as a pledge) whom we feasted in good manner; they eat well of all that was set before them, and dranke better of our Wine: one of them became a little giddie headed, and marvayled much at our Artillery: I caused a Peece to be primed, and after to be shot off, whereat the one started, but the other made no shew of alteration;

Trechery of
the *Indians*.

after putting them ashore, loaden with toys and trifles, which to them seemed great riches; from all Ports of the Iland, the people came vnto vs, bringing all such things as they had, to wit, sheepe, Cockes, &c. (from Hennes they would not part) and diuers sorts of fruits, and rootes, which they exchanged with vs for Knives, Glasses, Combes, Belles, Beades, Counters, Pinnes, and other trifles. We saw little demonstration of Gold or Silver amongst them, though some they had; and for that we saw they made estimation of it, we would not make reckoning of it: but they gaue vs to vnderstand, that they had it from the Mayne.

Exchanges
of trifles.

Of Sheepe.

The sheepe of this Iland are great, good, and fatt; I haue not tasted better Mutton any where. They were as ours, and doubtlesse of the breed of those, which the *Spaniards* brought into the Country. Of the sheepe of the Country, we could by no meanes procure any one, although we saw of them, and vsed meanes to haue had of them; for they esteeme them much, as reason willeth, serving them for many vses; as in another place, God willing, I shall declare more at large. They haue small store of fish.

This Iland is scituate in the Province of *Arawca*, and is held to be peopled with the most valiant Nation in all *Chily*, though generally the Inhabitants of that Kingdome are very couragious.

Their apparell,

They are clothed after the manner of antiquitie, all of woollen; their Cassockes made like a Sacke, square, with two holes for the two armes, and one for the head; all open below, without lining or other art: but of them, some are most curiously wooven, and in colours, and on both sides alike.

and housing.

Their houses are made round, in fashion like vnto our Pigeon houses, with a laver in the toppe, to evacuate the smoake when they make fire.

They brought vs a strange kinde of Tobacco, made into little cakes, like Pitch, of a bad smell, with holes through the middle, and so laced many vpon a string. They presented vs also with two Spanish Letters, thinking vs to be *Spaniards*, which were written by a Captaine of a Frigate, that some dayes before had received courtesie at their hands, and signified the same to the Governour; wishing that the people of the Iland would become good subiects to the King, and that therefore he would receiue them into his fauour and protection, and send them some person as Governour; but none of them spake Spanish, and so we dealt with them by signes. The people of this Iland, as of all *Chily*, are of good stature, and well made, and of better countenance then those *Indians* which I haue seene in many parts. They are of good vnderstanding, and
agilitie,

People of *Chily*.

agilitie, and of great strength; Their weapons are bowes, and arrows and Macanas, their bowes short and strong, and their arrows of a small reede, or cane, three quarters of a yard long, with two feathers, and headed with a flint stone, which is loose, and hurting, the head remaineth in the wound, some are headed with bone, and some with hard wood, halfe burnt in the fire. Wee came betwixt the Iland and the mayne; On the south-west part of the Iland lyeth a great ledge of Rockes, which are dangerous; and it is good to bee carefull how to come too neere the Iland on all parts.

Their weapons.

Immediately when they discovered vs, both vpon the Iland, and the Maine, wee might see them make sundry great fires, which were to giue aduise to the rest of the people to be in a readinesse: for they haue continuall and mortall warre with the Spaniards, and the Shippes they see, they beleue to be their Enemies. The Citie Imperiall lyeth over against this Iland, but eight or tenne Leagues into the Countrey: for all the Sea coast from *Baldivia*, till 36. Degrees, the Indians haue now (in a manner) in their hands free from any Spaniards.

Their hate to the Spaniards.

SECT. XLII.



Having refreshed our selues well in this Iland, for that little time wee stayed, which was some 3. dayes wee set sayle with great ioy, and with a fayre winde sayled alongst the coast, and some eyght Leagues to the North-wards, we anchored againe in a goodly Bay, and tent our boates ashore, with desire to speake with some of the *Indians* of *Arawca*, and to see, if they would bee content to entertaine amitie, or to chop and change with vs. But all that night and the next morning appeared not one person, and so wee set sayle againe; and towards the Evening the winde began to change, and to blow contrary, and that so much, and the Sea to rise so sodainely, that we could not take in our boates, without spoyling of them. This storme continued with vs ten dayes beyond expectation, for that wee thought our selues out of the climate of fowle weather, but truly it was one of the sharpest stormes that ever I felt to endure so long.

A cruel storme

In this storme, one night haling, vp our boates to free the water out of them, one of our younkens that went into them for that

The important losse of a small vessel.

purpose, had not that regard (which reason required) vnto our light horseman: for with haling her vp, to step into her, out of the boate, he split her asunder, and so wee were forced to cut her off; which was no small heartes grieffe vnto me, for that I knew, and all my company felt, and many times lamented the losse of her.

Saint Maries.

The storme tooke end, and wee shaped our course for the Iland of Saint *Maries*, which lyeth in thirtie seaven Degreés and forty minuts, and before you come vnto the Iland some two leagues, in the trade way lyeth a rocke, which a farre off, seemeth to be a Shippe vnder sayle. This Iland is little and low, but fertill and well peopled, with *Indians* and some fewe Spaniards in it. Some

Citty of Conception.

ten leagues to the North-wards of this Iland, lyeth the Citty *Conception*, with a good Port; from this wee coasted alongst till wee came in thirty three degrees, and forty minutes. In which height

Ivan Fernandes

lay the Ilands of *Ivan Fernandes*, betwixt threescore and fourescore Leagues from the shore, plentifull of fish, and good for refreshing. I purposed for many reasons not to discover my selfe

Good to avoid discovery

vpon this coast, till wee were past *Lyma*, (otherwise called *Ciudad de los Reyes*, for that it was entered by the Spaniard the day of the three Kings;) but my Company vrged me so farre, that except I should seeme in all things to over-bear them, in not condescending to that which in the opinion of all (but my selfe) seemed profitable and best, I could not but yeelde vnto, though it carried a false colour, as the ende prooued, for it was our perdition. This all my Company knoweth to be true, whercof some are yet living, and can giue testimonie.

Wilfulnesse of Mariners.

But the Mariner is ordinarily so carried away with the desire of Pillage, as sometimes for very appearances of small moment, hee looseth his voyage, and many times himselfe. And so the greedines of spoyle, onely hoped for in shippes of trade, which goe too and fro in this coast, blinded them from forecasting the perill, whereinto wee exposed our voyage, in discovering our selues before wee past the coast of *Callao*, which is the Port of *Lyma*; To be short, wee haled the coast aboard, and that Evening we discovered the Port of *Balparizo*, which serueth the Citty of *Saint Iago*, standing some twenty leagues into the Countrey; when presently we descried foure shippes at an Anchor: wherevpon wee manned, and armed our boate, which rowed towards the Shippes: they seeing vs turning in, and fearing that which was, ran a shore with that little they could saue, and leaft vs the rest; whereof, we were Masters in a moment, and had the rifling of all the storehouses on the shoare.

They seize vpon 4. Ships.

This

This night, I set a good guard in all the shippes, longing to see the light of the next morning, to put all things in order; which appearing, I began to survey them, and found nothing of moment, save five hundred Botozios of Wine, two or three thousand of Hennes, and some refreshing of Bread, Bacon, dried Beefe, Waxe, Candles, and other necessaries. The rest of their lading was planks, Spares, and Tymber, for *Lyma*, and the valleyes, which is a rich trade; for it hath no Tymber, but that which is brought to it from other places. They had also many Packes of *Indian* Mantles, (but of no value unto vs) with much Tallow, and *Manteca de Puerco*, and abundance of great new Chests, in which wee had thought to be some great masse of wealth, but opening them, found nothing but Apples therein; all which was good Marchandize in *Lyma*, but to vs of small accompt. The Marchandize on shore, in their Store-houses was the like, and therefore in the same predicament. The owners of the Shippes gave vs to vnderstand, that at a reasonable price they would redeme their Shippes and loading, which I harkened unto; and so admitted certaine persons which might treat of the matter, and concluded with them for a small price, rather then to burne them, saving for the greatest, which I carryed with me, more to give satisfaction to my people, then for any other respect; because they would not be perswaded, but that there was much Gold hidden in her; otherwise shee would have yeelded vs more then the other three.

And the ware-
houses.

Being in this treatie, one morning, at the breake of day, came another Shippe touring into the Harbour, and standing into the shore, but was becalmed. Against her we manned a couple of Boates, and tooke her before many houres. In this Shippe, we had some good quantitie of Gold, which shee had gathered in *Baldivia*, and the *Conception*, from whence shee came. Of this Shippe was Pilot, and part owner, *Alonso Perezbueno*, whom we kept for our Pilot on this coast; till moved with compassion (for that he was a man charged with wife and children) we set him a shore betwixt *Santa* and *Truxillo*. Out of this Shippe we had also store of good Bacon, and some provision of Bread, Hennes, and other Victuall. And for that shee had brought vs so good a portion, and her owner continued with vs, the better to animate him to play the honest man (though we trusted him no further then we saw him, for we presently discovered him to be a cunning fellow) and for that his other partner had lost the greatest part of Gold, and seemed to be an honest man, as after he proved by his thankfulness, in *Lyma*; we gave them the ship, and the greatest part of her loading freely.

They seize
vpon another
Shippe,
and some gold.

Light Anchors brought from the North Sea,

And the first Artillerie.

Sayles of Cotton cloth.

Here we supplied our want of Anchors, though not according to that which was requisite, in regard of the burden of our Shippe; for, in the South Sea, the greatest Anchor for a Shippe of sixe or eight hundred Tunnes, is not a thousand waight; partly, because it is little subiect to stormes, and partly, because those they had till our comming, were all brought out of the North sea by land; for they make no Anchors in those Countries. And the first Artillerie they had, was also brought over land; which was small; the carriage and passage from *Nombre de Dios*, or *Porto Velo* to *Panama* being most difficult and steepe, vp hill and downe hill, they are all carried vpon *Negroes* backes.

But some yeares before my imprisonment, they fell to making of Artillery, and since they forge Anchors also. Wee furnished our Shippe also with a shift of Sayles of Cotton cloth, which are farre better in that Sea, then any of our double Sayles, for that in all the Navigation of that Sea, they haue little rayne and few stormes, but where rayne and stormes are ordinary, they are not good; for with the wett they grow so stiffe, that they cannot be handled.

SECT. XLIII.



Concluded the ransome of the Shippes with an auncient Captaine, and of Noble blood, who had his daughter there, ready to be imbarked to goe to *Lyma*, to serue *Donia Teruza de Castro*, the Vice-royes wife, and sister to *Don Beltran de Castro*. Her apparell and his, with diuers other things which they had imbarked in the greatest Shippe, we restored, for the good office he did vs, and the confidence he had of vs, comming and going onely vpon my word; for which he was ever after thankefull, and deserved much more.

Another that treated with me was Captaine *Iuan Contreres*, owner of one of the Shippes, and of the Iland *Santa Maria*, in thirtie seaven degrees and fortie minutes. In treating of the ransomes, and transporting and lading the provisions we made choyce of, wee spent some sixe or eight dayes; at the end whereof, with reputation amongst our enemies, and a good portion towards our charges, and our Shippe as well stored and victualled, as the day we departed from *England*, we set sayle.

The

The time wee were in this Port, I tooke small rest, and so did the Master of our Shippe, *Hugh Cornish*, a most carefull, orderly, and sufficient man, because we knew our owne weaknesse; for entring into the Harbour, we had but seaventie five men and boyes, five Shippes to guard, and every one moored by himselfe; which (no doubt) if our enemies had knowne, they would haue wrought some Stratagem vpon vs; for the Governour of *Chily* was there on shore in view of vs, an auncient *Flinders* souldier, and of experience, wisdom, and valour, called *Don Alonso de Soto Mayor*, of the habit of *Saint Iago*, who was after Captaine generall in *Terra firme*, and wrought all the inventions vpon the River of *Chagree*, and on the shore, when *Sir Francis Drake* purposed to goe to *Panama*, in the Voyage wherein he died; As also at my comming into *Spaine*, he was President in *Panama*, and there, and in *Lyma*, vsed me with great courtesie, like a noble Souldier, and liberall Gentleman; he confessed to me after, that he lay in ambush, with three hundred horse and foote, to see if at any time we had landed, or neglected our watch, with Balsas, which is a certaine Raffe made of Mastes or Trees fastened together, to haue attempted something against vs. But the enemy I feared not so much as the Wine; which, notwithstanding all the diligence and prevention I could vse day and night, overthrew many of my people. A foule fault, because too common amongst Sea-men, and deserveth some rigorous punishment, with severitie to be executed; for it hath beene and is daily the destruction of many good Enterprises, amidst their best hopes. And besides the ordinary fruites it bringeth forth, of beggery, shame, and sicknesse, it is a most deadly sinne. A drunkard is vnfit for any government, and if I might be hired with many thousands, I would not carry with me a man knowne to put his felicitie in that vice, instiling it with the name of good fellowship; which in most well governed Common-wealths, hath beene a sufficient blemish to depriue a man of office, of honour, and estimation. It wasteth our Kingdome more then is well vnderstood, as well by the infirmities it causeth, as by the consumption of wealth, to the impoverishing of vs, and the enriching of other Kingdomes.

And though I am not old, in comparison of other auncient men, I can remember Spanish wine rarely to be found in this Kingdome. Then hot burning Feavers were not knowne in *England*, and men lived many moe yeares. But since the Spanish Sacks haue beene common in our Tavernes, which (for conservation) is mingled with *Lyme* in its making, our Nation complaineth of *Calenturas*, of the Stone, the Dropsie, and infinite other Diseases, not heard of

They depart from *Lyma*,

and conceale their weaknes.

The noblenes of *Alonso de Soto*.

The enemy lesse dangerous then the Wine.

Spanish Wines and burning Feavers vnknowne in *England*.

And confu-
meth treasure.

before this Wine came in frequent vse, or but very seldome. To confirme which my beliefe, I have heard one of our learnedst Physicians affirme, that he thought there died more persons in *England* of drinking Wine, and vsing hot Spices in their meats and drinkes, then of all other diseases. Besides, there is no yeare, in which it wasteth not two millions of Crownes of our substance by conuayance into forraine Countries, which in so well a governed Commonwealth, as ours is acknowledged to be, through the whole world, in all other constitutions, in this onely remaineth to be looked into, and remedied. Doubtlesse, whosoever should be the Author of this reformation, would gaine with God an everlasting reward, and of his Country a Statua of Gold, for a perpetuall memory of so meritorious a Worke.

S E C T. XLIIII.

Description of
the Bay.



League or better before a man discover this Bay to the South-wards, lyeth a great Rocke, or small Iland, neere the shore; vnder which, for a need, a man may ride with his Shippe. It is a good marke, and sure signe of the Port, and discovering the Bay a man must giue a good birth to the poynt of the Harbour; for it hath perilous Rockes lying a good distance off. It neither ebbeth nor floweth in this Port, nor from this, till a man come to *Guayaquill*, which is three degrees from the Equinoctiall lyne to the South-wards; Let this be considered. It is a good Harbour for all windes, that partake not of the North; for it runneth vp South and by West, and South South-west, but it hath much fowle ground.

A new devise
for stopping a
Leake with-
out board.

In one of these Shippes wee found a new devise for the stopping of a sodaine Leake in a Shippe vnder water, without board, when a man cannot come to it within board; which eased vs of one, that we had from the day we departed from *Detford*, caused by the touching a-ground of our Shippe at low water, being loaden, and in the neape streames, comming a-ground in the sterne, the force of the tyde caused to cast thwart, wrested her slegg, and that in such sort, as it made a continuall Leake, though not much. And for that others may profit themselues of the like, I thinke it good to set downe the manner of it; which was, taking a round wicker Basket, and to fill it with peeces of a Iunke or Rope, chopped very small, and of an inch long, and after tozed all as Oacombe; the

then the Basket is to be covered with a Nett, the meshes of it being at the least two inches square, and after to be tied to a long Pike or Pole, which is to goe a crosse the Baskets mouth: and putting it vnder water, care is to be had to keepe the Baskets mouth towards the Shippes side; if the Leake be any thing great, the Oacombe may be somewhat longer, and it carrieth likelihood to doe good, & seemeth to be better then the stitching of a Bonnet, or any other diligence, which as yet I haue seene.

Another thing I noted of these Shippes, which would be also vsed by vs; that every Shippe carrieth with her a Spare Rudder, and they haue them to hange and vnchange with great facilitie: and besides, in some part of the Shippe, they haue the length, breadth, and proportion of the Rudder marked out, for any mischance that may betall them; which is a very good prevention.

Tenne leagues to the North-wards of this Harbour, is the bay of *Quintera*, where is good anchoring, but an open bay; where master *Thomas Candish* (for the good he had done to a *Spaniard*, in bringing him out of the Straits of *Magellan*, where, otherwise, he had perished with his company) was by him betrayed, and a dozen of his men taken and slaine: But the iudgement of God left not his ingratitude unpunished; for, in the fight with vs, in the Vice-admirall, he was wounded and maymed in that manner, as three yeares after, I saw him begge with Crutches, and in that miserable estate, as he had beene better dead, then aliue.

From *Balparizo*, wee sayled directly to *Coquinbo*, which is in thirtie degrees, and comming thwart the place, wee were becalmed, and had sight of a shippe: but for that shee was farre off, and night at hand, shee got from vs, and wee having winde entered the Port, thinking to haue had some shipping in it; but wee lost our labour: and for that the Towne was halfe a League vpp in the Countrey, and wee not manned for any matter of attempt, worthy prosecution, wee made no abode on the shore; but presently set sayle for the *Peru*. This is the best Harbour that I haue seene in the south sea, it is land-locked for all winds, and capeable of many shippes; but the ordinary place where the shippes lade, and unlade, and accommodate themselues, is betwixt a Rocke, and the Mayne on the wester-side; some halfe a league vp within the entrance of the Port, which lyeth south and south, and by East and North, and by west.

In the in-country, directly ouer the Port, is a round piked hill, like a sugar loafe, and before the entrance on the southern poynt of the port comming in, out of the Sea, it is a great Rocke, a good birth

Spare Rud-
ders.Bay of *Quin-*
tera.Nota verum
hispanum.*Coquinbo*.

birth from the shore; and these are the markes of the Port as I remember.

Arica in Chily,
much com-
mended.

Being cleere of this Port, wee shaped our course for *Arica*, and leaft the Kingdomes of *Chily*, one of the best Countries that the Sunne shineth on: for it is of a temperate clymate, and abounding in all things necessary, for the vse of man, with infinite rich mines of Gold, Copper, and sundry other mettals.

For all sorts
of fruites.

The poorest houses in it, by report of their Inhabitants, haue of their owne store, bread, wine, flesh, and fruite; which is so plentiful, that of their superfluitie they supply other partes; Sundry kindes of Cattell: as Horses, Goates, and Oxen brought thither by the Spaniards, are found in heardes of thousands, wilde, and without owner; besides those of the Countrey, which are common to most partes of *America*: in some of which are found the Bezar stones, and those very good and great.

Amongst others they haue little beastes, like vnto a Squirrell, but that hee is gray, his skinne is the most delicate soft, and curious furre that I haue seene, and of much estimation, (as is reason) in the *Peru*; few of them come into *Spaine*, because difficult to be come by, for that the Princes and Nobles laie waite for them, they call this beast *Chinchilla*, and of them they haue great abundance.

All fruites of *Spaine*, they haue in great plentie, saving stone fruite, and Almonds: for in no part of the *Indies*, haue I knowne, that Plumbes, Cherries, or Almondes haue borne fruit: but they haue certaine little round Cocos, as those of *Brasill*, of the bignesse of a Wall-nut, which is as good as an Almond: besides, it hath most of the fruites naturall to *America*, of which in another place I shall (God willing) speake particularly.

And plenty
of Gold.

The Gold they gather, is in two manners; the one is washing the earth in great Trays of wood in many waters; as the earth waiteth away, the Gold in the bottome remaineth. The other is, by force of Art, to draw it out of the Mynes, in which they finde it. In most partes of the Countrey, the earth is mingled with Gold; for the *Butzias* (in which the Wine was) which wee found in *Balparizo*, had many sparkes of Gold shining in them. Of it the Gold-smiths I carried with me (for like purposes) made experience.

When *Baldivia* and *Arawca* were peaceable, they yeilded greatest plentie, and the best: but now, their greatest Mynes are in *Coquinbo*; as also the Mines of Copper, which they carry to the *Peru*, and sell it better cheape, then it is ordinarily sold in *Spaine*.

The

The *Indians* knowing the end of the *Spaniards* molestation, to be principally the desire of their riches, haue enacted, that no man, vpon paine of death, doe gather any Gold.

The *Indians* forbid the search of gold.

In *Coquinbo* it rayneth seldome, but every showre of rayne, is a showre of Gold vnto them; for with the violence of the water falling from the Mountaines, it bringeth from them the Gold; and besides, giues them water to wash it out, as also for their ingenious to worke; so that ordinarily every weeke they haue Processions for rayne.

Every showre, a showre of gold.

In this Kingdome they make much linnen and woollen Cloth, and great store of *Indian* Mantles, with which they furnish other partes, but all is course stufte. It hath no Silke, nor Iron, except in Mynes, and those as yet not discovered. Pewter is well esteemed, and so are sinne linnen, woollen cloth, Haberdashers wares, edge-tooles, and Armes, or Munition.

Linnen and woollen cloth made in *Coquinbo*.

It hath his Governour, and *Audiencia*, with two Bishoppes: the one of *Saint Iago*, the other of the *Imperiall*, all vnder the Vice-roy, *Audiencia*, and Primate of *Lyma*. *Saint Iago* is the Metropolitan and head of the Kingdome, and the seate of Iustice, which hath his appellation to *Lyma*.

The people are industrious and ingenious, of great strength, and invincible courage; as in the warres, which they haue susteyned aboue fortie yeares continually against the *Spaniards*, hath beene experienced. For confirmation whereof, I will alledge onely two proofes of many; the one was of an *Indian* Captaine, taken prisoner by the *Spaniards*; and for that, he was of name and knowne to haue done his devoire against them, they cut off his hands, thereby intending to disenable him to fight any more against them; but he returning home, desirous to revenge this iniury, to maintaine his libertie, with the reputation of his Nation, and to helpe to banish the *Spaniard*, with his tongue intreated and incited them to persevere in their accustomed valour and reputation; abasing the enemy, and advancing his Nation; condemning their contraries of Cowardinesse, and confirming it by the crueltie vsed with him, and others his companions in their mishaps; shewing them his armes without hands, and naming his brethren, whose halfe feete they had cut off, because they might be vnable to sit on horsebacke with force, arguing, that if they feared them not, they would not haue vsed so great inhumanitie; for feare produceth crueltie, the companion of Cowardize. Thus encouraged he them to fight for their liues, limbes, and libertie, choosing rather to die an honourable death fighting, then to liue in seruitude, as fruitlesse members in

The valour of the *Arawcans*.

their Common-wealth. Thus, vsing the office of a Sergeant Maior, and having loaden his two stumpes with bundles of Arrowes, succoured those, who in the succeeding battaile had their store wasted, and changing himselfe from place to place, animated and encouraged his COUNTRY-men, with such comfortable perswasions, as it is reported, and credibly beleevd, that he did much more good with his words, and presence, without striking a stroake, then a great part of the Armie did with fighting to the vtmost.

The other prooffe is, that such of them as fight on horsebacke, are but slightly armed, for that their armour is a Beasts hide, fitted to their bodie, greene, and after worne till it be dry and hard. He that is best armed, hath him double; yet any one of them with these Armes, and with his Launce, will fight hand to hand with any *Spaniard* armed from head to foote. And it is credibly reported, that an *Indian* being wounded through the body by a *Spaniards* Launce, with his owne hands hath crept on vpon the Launce, and come to grapple with his aduersary, and both fallen to the ground together. By which is seene their resolution and invincible courage, and the desire they haue to maintaine their reputation and libertie.

S E C T. XLV.



Leaving the coast of *Chily*, and running towards that of *Peru*, my company required the third of the Gold we had gotten, which of right belonged vnto them; wherein I desired to giue them satisfaction of my iust intention, but not to deuide it till wee came home, and so perswaded them with the best reasons I could; alledging the difficultie to deuide the barres, and being parted, how easie it was to be robbed of them, and that many would play away their portions, and come home as beggerly as they came out; and that the shares could not be well made before our returne to *England*, because every mans merites could not be discerned nor rewarded till the end of the Voyage. In conclusion, it was resolved, and agreed, that the things of price, as Gold and Silver, should be put into Chests with three keys, whereof I should haue the one, the Master another, and the third some other person, whom they should name. This they yeelded vnto with great difficultie, and not without reason; for the bad correspondence vsed by many Captaines and owners with their companies vpon their returne, defrauding them,

them, or diminishing their rights, hath hatched many iealousies, and produced many disorders, with the overthrow of all good discipline and government, as experience teacheth; for where the Souldier and Marriner is vnpaide, or defrauded, what service or obedience can be required at his hands?

The covetous Captaine, or Commander, looseth the loue of those vnder his charge; yea, though he haue all the parts besides required in a perfect Commander, yet if he preferre his private profite before justice, hardly will any man follow such a Leader, especially, in our Kingdome, where more absolute authoritie and trust is committed to those who haue charge, then in many other Countries.

Most men vn-
willing to fol-
low covetous
Commanders.

And therefore in election of Chieftaines, care would be had in examination of this poynt. The shamefull fruites whercof (found by experience of many yeares, wherein I haue wandred the world) I leaue to touch in particular; because I will not diminish the reputation of any. But this let me manifest, that there haue bin and are certaine persons, who, before they goe to Sea, either robbe part of the provisions, or in the buying, make penurious, vnholosome, and avaritious penny-worths; and the last I hold to be the least; for they robbe onely the Victuallers and owners, but the others steale from owners, victuallers, and companie, and are many times the onely overthrowers of the Voyage; for the company thinking themselues to be stored with foure or sixe moneths Victualls, vpon suruay, they find their Bread, Beefe, or Drinke short, yea, perhappes all, and so are forced to seeke home in time of best hopes, and imployment. This mischiefe is most ordinary in great actions.

The mischiefs
of corrupt, or
scantie provi-
sions.

Lastly, some are so cunning, that they not onely make their voyage by robbing before they goe to Sea, but of that also which commeth home. Such gamsters, a wise man of our Nation resembled to the Mill on the River of *Thames*, for Grinding both with flood and ebbe; So, these at their going out, and comming home, will be sure to robbe all others of their shares: although this be a great abuse amongst vs, and but of late dayes practised, and by me spoken vnto by way of animadversion, either in hope of redresse, or for infliction of punishment; yet I would haue the world know, that in other Countries, the fault is farre more insufferable. And the principall cause which I can finde for it, is that our Country imployeth her Nobles, or men of credite in all actions of moment, who rather chuse to spend wealth, and gaine honor, then to gaine riches without reputation; whereas in *Spaine*, and other partes, the advancement of poore men and meane persons by favour and inte-

rest produceth no other end, but private and particular respects, to enrich themselves, yet the Nobilitie themselves (for the most part) in all occasions pretend rewards for any small service whatsoever, which with vs as yet is not in vse.

Of detayning
and def. au-
ding of wages.

But the greatest and most principall Robbery of all, in my opinion, is the defrauding, or detaining of the Companies thirdes or wages, accursed by the iust God, who forbiddeth the hyre of the labourer to sleepe with vs. To such I speake as either abuse themselves in detayning it; or else to such as force the poore man to sell it at vile and low prices; and lastly to such as vpon fained cavils and futes, doe deterre the simple and ignorant sort from their due prosecutions; which being too much in vse amongst vs, hath bred in those that follow the Sea a ieaousie in all imployments, and many times causeth mutenies and infinite inconveniences. A poynt deserving consideration and reformation, and which with great facilitie may be remedied, if vpright justice would put it selfe as stickler betwixt the owners and Company.

Of marriners
by challenge
of Pillage.

No lesse worthie of reformation are the generall abuses of Marriners and Souldiers, who robbe all they can, vnder the colour of Pillage, and after make Ordinance, Cables, Sayles, Anchors, and all aboute Deckes, to belong vnto them of right, whether they goe by thirdes or wages; this proceedeth from those pilfering warres, wherein every Gallant that can arme out a Shippe, taketh vpon him the name and office of a Captaine, not knowing what to command, nor what to execute. Such Commanders for the most part consort and ioyne vnto themselves disorderly persons, Pyrates, and Ruffians, vnder the title of men of valour and experience: they meeting with any Prise, make all vpon the Deckes theirs of dutie; viz. the best peece of Ordinance for the Captaine; the second, for the Gunner; the third, for his Mate; the best Cable and Anchor for the Master; the Maine topsayle, for the Botesman; the bonnetts, for the quarter Masters; and the rest of the Sayles for the company: The Cardes and Instruments of the Master, for the Master; the Surgeons Instruments and Chest, for the Surgeon; the Carpenters Tooles and Chest for the Carpenter; and so consequently of each officer, that answereth the other in the two Shippes.

If one happen vpon a bag of Gold, Silver, Pearle, or precious Stones, it is held well gotten; provided it be cleanly stolne, though the Shippe, and all her loading besides be not worth so much, little considering the common iniury, in defrauding the owners, victuallers, and whole Companie: and forgetting, that if himselfe were a jury-man vpon another in like case, he would adiudge him

to

to the Gallows. But I would advise such Novices to know, that our true and auncient Discipline of Warre is farre different, and being vnderstood, is much more better for the generall. Besides, it is grounded on Gods law, (from whence all Lawes should be derived) and true justice, which distributeth to every one that which to him belongeth of right, and that in due season.

In the time of warre in our Countrey, as also in others, by the lawes of *Oleron* (which to our auncient Sea-men were fundamentall) nothing is allowed for Pillage but Apparell, Armes, Instruments, and other necessaries belonging to the persons, in that shippe which is taken; and these too, when the shippe is gained by dint of sword; with a proviso, that if any perticular pillage, exceede the valew of sixe crownes, it may bee redeemed for that valew, by the generall stocke, and sould for the common benefit.

The lawes of
Oleron, concern-
ing pillage.

If the prise render it selfe without forcible entry, all in generall ought to be preserved and sould in masse, and so equally divided: yea though the shippe bee wonne by force and entry, yet whatsoever belongeth to her of tackling, sayles, or Ordinance, is to bee preserved for the generalitie: saving a peece of Artillery for the Captaine; another for the Gunner, and a Cable and Anchor for the Master, which are the rights due vnto them; and these to be delivered, when the shippe is in safety, and in Harbour, cyther vnloaden or sould: which law or custome well considered, will rise to be more beneficiall for the owners, victuallars, and company; then the disorders newly crept in and before remembered.

For the Sayles, Cables, Anchors, and hull, being sould (every one a part) yeelde not the one halfe, which they would doe, if they were sould altogether, besides the excusing of charges, and robberies in the vnloading and parting.

In the warres of *France*, in the time of *Queene Mary*, and in other warres (as I have heard of many auncient Captaines) the Companie had but the fourth part, and every man bound to bring with him the Armes, with which hee would fight: which in our time, I have knowne also vsed in *France*; and if the Company victualed themselves, they had then the one halfe, and the owners the other halfe for the Shippe, powder, shott, and munition. If any prise were taken, it was sould by the Tunne, shippe and goods, so as the loading permitted it; that the Marchant having bought the goods, hee might presently transport them whether-soever he would; By this manner of proceeding, all rested con-

tented, all being truly payd; for this was iust dealing; if any deserved reward, he was recompensed out of the generall stocke; If any one had filched or stolne, or committed offence; hee had likewise his desert: And who once was knowne, to be a disordered person, or a theefe, no man would receiue him into his shippe, whereas now a dayes many vaunt themselves of their thestes and disorders; yea I haue seene the common sort of Mariners, vnder the name of pillage, maintaine and iustifie their robberies most insolently, before the Queenes Maiesties commissioners, with arrogant and vnseemely termes, for that they would not condescend to their vnreasonable challenges: The demaunds being better worth then fise hundreth poundes, which some one pretended to be his; and that of the choysest Marchandize, and most of it robbed out of that part of the shippe, which they themselves, and all the world cannot but confesse to be Marchandize.

My opinion is, that such Malaperts, deserue most iustly to haue their spoyle taken from them, or some worse consideration, and afterwards to be severely punished, in prevention of greater prejudices, then can by paper be well declared.

But I must tell you withall (such hath bene the partialitie of some Commissioners in former times) that vpon information, in lieu of punishment, Opinion hath held them for tall fellowes, when, in truth, they never proue the best men in difficult occasions. For their mindes are all set on spoyle, and can bee well contented to suffer their associates to beare the brunt, whilest they are prolling after pillage, the better to gaine and mainetaine the aforesayd attributes, in Tavernes, and disorderly places.

For the orderly and quiet men, I haue ever found in all occasions to bee of best vse, most valiant, and of greatest sufficiency. Yet I condemne none: but those who will bee reputed valiant, and are not, examine the accusation.

What ought
to be reputed
pillage.

All what soever is found vpon the decke, going for Marchandize, is exempted out of the censure of pillage; Silkes, Linnen, or woollen cloth in whole peeces, apparell, that goeth to be sold, or other goods what soever (though they be in remnants,) manifestly knowne to be carryed for that end; or being comprehended in the Register, or bills of lading, are not to bee containd vnder the name of pillage.

Against the
disloyalties of
Captaines.

But as I haue sayd of the consort, so can I not but complaine of many Captaines and Governours, who overcome with like greedie desire of gaine, condescend to the smothering and suppressing of this auncient discipline, the cleulier to smother their owne disloyaltie,

disloyalties, in suffering these breake-bulks to escape, and absent themselves, till the heate be past, and partition made.

Some of these cause the bills of lading to bee cast into the Sea, or so to bee hidden, that they never appeare. Others send away their prisoners, who sometimes are more worth then the shippe and her lading, because they should not discover their secret stolne treasure; for many times, that which is leaft out of the Register or bills of lading, (with purpose to defraud the Prince of his Customes, (in their conceits, held to be excessiue) is of much more value, then that which the shippe and lading is worth. Yea I haue knowne shippes worth two hundreth thousand pounds, and better, cleane swept of their principall riches, nothing but the bare bulke being leaft vn sacked. The like may be spoken, of that which the disorderly Marriner, and the Souldier termeth pillage; yet all winked at, and vnpunished, although such prizes haue beene rendred without stroake stricken.

Concealement
of much more
value, then the
Trading.

This doubtlesse, cannot but be an hearts greife and discouragement to all those who vertuously, and truly desire to obserue the auncient discipline of our Nation, their owne honours, and the service of their Soueraigne.

But to prevent these vnknowne mischiefes, (and for his better discharge) I remember, that my Father Sir *John Hawkins* in his instructions, in actions vnder his charge, had this particular Article; That whosoever rendred, or tooke any shippe, should be bound to exhibite the bills of lading; to keepe the Captaine, Master, Marchants, and persons of account, and to bring them to him to be examined, or into *England*; If they should bee by any accident seperated from him, what soever was found wanting (the prisoners being examined) was to bee made good by the Captaine, and Company, which tooke the shippe, and this vpon great punishments. I am witnes, and avow, that this course did redownd much to the benefitt of the generall stocke; to the satisfaction of her Maiestie, and Counsell; the iustification of his government, and the content of his followers.

The preven-
tion of vndue
pillagings.

Thus much haue I set downe concerning these abuses, and the reformation thereof, for that, I haue neither seene them divulged by any, with whom I haue gone to Sea, neither yet recorded in writing, by any mans pen; let consideration, present them to the eares of the powerfull; But now to our Voyage.

P

S E C T.

SECT. XLVI.



Running alongst the coast, till wee came within few Leagues of *Arica*, nothing happened vnto vs of extraordinary noveltie, or moment, for we had the brese favourable, which seldome happeneth in this Climate, finding our selues in nineteene Degrees, wee haled the shore close about, purposing to see, if there were any shipping in the road of *Arica*. It standeth in a great large Bay, in eighteene degrees: and before you come to it, a league to the southwards of the roade and Towne, is a great round hill, higher then the rest of the land of the Bay, neere about the Towne: which wee having discoverd, had sight presently of a small Barke, close about the shore becalmed; manning our boate, wee tooke her, being loaden with fish from *Moormereno*; which is a goodly head-land, very high, and lyeth betwixt twenty foure, and twenty five Degrees, and whether ordinarily some barkes vse to goe a fishing every yeare.

In her was a *Spaniard* and sixe *Indians*; The *Spaniard*, for that hee was neere the shore, swam vnto the Rockes, and though wee offered to returne him his barke, and fish, (as was our meaning) yet hee refused to accept it, and made vs answer, that hee durst not, for feare least the Iustice should punish him. In so great subiection are the poore vnto those, who have the administration of Iustice in those partes, and in most partes of the Kingdomes and Countries subiect to *Spaine*. Insomuch, that to heare the Iustice to enter in at their doores, is to them destruction and desolation: for this cause wee carried her alongst with vs.

In this meane while, wee had sight of another tall shippe, comming out of the Sea, which wee gaue chase vnto, but could not fetch vpp, beeing too good of sayle for vs. Our small prize and boate standing off vnto vs, descryed another shippe, which they chased and tooke also, loaden with fish, comming from the Islands of *Juan Fernandes*.

After we opened the Bay and Port of *Arica*, but seeing it cleane without shipping, wee haled the coast alongst, and going aboard to visit the bigger prize, my company saluted mee with a volley of small shot. Amongst them, one Musket brake, and carryed away the hand of him that shot it, through his owne default, which for that I haue seene to happen many times, I thinke it necessary to
note

Arica.

The severity
of *Spaine*.

note in this place, that others may take warning by his harme.

The cause of the Muskets breaking, was the charging with two bullets, the powder being ordayned to carry but the waight of one, and the Musket not to suffer two charges of powder or shott. Overcharging
of Artileries. By this over-sight, the fire is restrayned with the overplus of the waight of shott, and not being able to force both of them out, breaketh all to peeces, so to find a way to its owne center.

And I am of opinion, that it is a great errour, to proue great Ordinance, or small shot, with double charges of powder, or shot, my reason is, for that ordinarily the mettall is proportioned to the waight of the shot, which the Peece is to beare, and the powder correspondent to the waight of the bullet: and this being graunted, I see no reason why any man should require to proue his peece with more, then is belonging to it of right: for I haue seene many goodly peeces broken with such tryals, being cleane without hony combes, cracke, flawe, or other perceavable blemish, which no doubt, with their ordinary allowance would haue served many yeares. Yea I haue beene certified by men of credit, that some Gunners haue taken a glory, for breaking many peeces in the tryall: which is easie to be done by sundry slights and meanes not fitt to bee published, much lesse to bee exercised, being prejudiciall to the seller, and chargeable to the Conscience of the practiser, therefore it were good, this excessiue tryall by double charges were cleane abolished. If I shoulde make choyce for my selfe, I would not willingly, that any peece should come into Fort, or Shippe, (vnder my charge) which had borne at any time more then his ordinary allowance, misdoubting, least, through the violence of the double charge, the Peece may bee crased within, or so forced, as at another occasion, with his ordinary allowance he might breake in peeces: how many men so many mindes: for to others, this may seeme harsh, for that the contrary custome hath so long time beene received, and therefore I submit to better experience, and contradict not but that in a demy Culvering, a man may put two Saker or Minion shots, or many of smaller waight: and so in a Muskett, two Calever shott, or many smaller, so they exceede not the ordinary waight, prescribed by proportion, Arte, and experience. These experiments, I hold convenient vpon many occasions, yea and most necessary; but the vaine custome of double charges, to cause their peeces thereby to giue a better report, I affirme can produce no other effect, but danger, losse and harme.

SECT. XLVII.

The amity of
the Indians.



Having visited our prizes, and finding in them nothing but fish, we tooke a small portion for our victualing, and gaue the bigger shippe to the *Spaniards* againe, and the lesser wee kept, with purpose to make her our *Pinnas*. The *Indians* (which wee tooke in her) would by no meanes depart from vs, but desired to goe with vs for England; saying that the *Indian* and *English* were brothers, and in all places where wee came, they shewed themselues much affectionated vnto vs, these were Natiues of *Moremoreno*, and the most brutish of all that ever I had seene; and except it were in forme of men and speech, they seemed altogether voyde of that which appertained to reasonable men. They were expert swimmers; but after the manner of *Spaniels*, they diue and abide vnder water a long time, and swallow the water of the Sea, as if it were of a fresh River, except a man see them, he would hardly belecue how they continue in the Sea, as if they were *Mermaides*, and the water their naturall Element.

Their Countrey is most barren, and poore of foode; If they take a fish aliue out of the Sea, or meete with a peece of salted fish, they will deuoure it without any dressing, as sauourelly as if it had beene most curiously sodden or dressed, all which makes me beleue, that they sustaine themselues of that, which they catch in the Sea.

The *Spaniards* profit themselues, of their labour and trauell, and recompence them badly, they are in worse condition then their slaues, for to those they giue sustenance, house-roume, and clothing, and teach them the knowledge of God; but the other they vse as beastes, to doe their labour without wages, or care of their bodies, or soules.

(...)

SECT.

S E C T. XLVIII.



Thwart of *Ariquipa*, the shippe we brought with vs from *Balparizo*, being very leake, and my Companie satisfied, that their hope to find any thing of worth in her, was vaine, having searched her from post to stemme, condiscended to fire her, and the rather, to keepe our Company together; which could not well suffer any devisiō, more then of meere necessity: so by generall accord we eased our selues of her, and continued our course alongst the coast, till we came thwart of the Bay of *Pisco*; which lyeth within 15. Degrees and 15. minuts.

Presently after wee were cleare of Cape *Saugalean*, and his Ilands, wee ranged this Bay with our Boate and Pinnace. It hath 2. small Ilands in it, but without fruite, and being becalmed, we anchored two dayes thwart of *Chilca*.

By Sea and by Land, those of *Chily* had given advise to *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoca*, Marquis of *Cavete*, Vice-Roy of *Peru*, resident in *Lima*, of our being on the Coast. Hee presently with all possible diligence, put out sixe shippes in warlike order, with well neere two thousand men, and dispatched them to seeke vs, and to fight with vs, vnder the conduct of *Don Beltrian de Castro Y delaluca*, his wiues brother; who departing out of the Port of *Callao*, turned to wind-ward, in sight over the shore, from whence they had dayly intelligence, where wee had beene discovered. And the next day after our departure out of *Chilca*, about the middle of May, at breake of day, wee had sight each of other, thwart of *Cavete*, wee being to wind-wards of the *Spanish Armado*, some two leagues, and all with little, or no winde. Our Pinnace or prise being furnished with Oares came vnto vs, out of which we thought to haue taken our men, and so to leaue her; but being able to come vnto vs at all times, it was held for better, to keepe her till necessity forced vs to leaue her: and so it was determind; that if we came to likelihood of boarding, shee should lay our Boate aboard, and enter all her men, and from thence to enter our shippe, and so to forsake her; Although by the event in that occasion, this proved good, notwithstanding I hold it to bee reproved, where the Enemie is farre superior in multitude and force, and able to come and board, if hee list: and that the surest course, is to fortifie the principall, the best that may bee, and to cut of all impediments,

Advise given
by Sea and
Land.

where a man is forced to defence; for that no man is assured to haue time answerable to his purpose and will, and vpon doubt whether the others in hope to saue themselves, will not leaue him in greatest extremitie.

SECT. XLIX.



WEE presently put our selues in the best order wee could, to fight, and to defend our selues: our prayers we made vnto the Lord God of battails, for his helpe and our deliverance, putting our selues wholly into his hands. About nine of the Clocke, the Brese began to blow, and wee to stand off into the Sea, the *Spaniards* cheeke by iole with vs, ever getting to the windwards vpon vs; for that the shipping of the South-sea, is euer moulded sharpe vnder water, and long; all their voyages depending vpon turning to wind-wardes, and the Brese blowing ever Southerly.

As the Sunne began to mount aloft, the wind began to fresh: which together with the Rowling Sea, that ever beateth vpon this Coast, comming out of the westerne-bourde, caused a chapping Sea, wherewith the Admirall of the *Spaniards* snapt his maine Mast asunder, and so began to lagge a sterne, and with him, other two shippes. The Vice-admirall split her maine-sayle, being come within shott of vs, vpon our broad side, but to le-wards: the Reare-admirall cracked her maine-yard asunder in the middest, being a head of vs. One of the Armado, which had gotten vpon the broad side of vs, to wind-wards, durst not assault vs.

With these disgraces vpon them, and the hand of God helping and delivering vs, night comming, we began to consult what course was best to be taken, to free our selues; wherein were diuers opinions; some sayd it was best to stand off to the Sea close by, all the night; others to lye it a hull; others to cast about to the shoarewards two glasses, and after all the night to stand off to Sea close by. The Admirall of the *Spaniards*, with the other two, were a sterne of vs, some foure leagues; the Vice-Admirall a mile right to le-wards of vs; the Reare-Admirall in a manner right a head, some Culvering shott; and one vpon our loofe, within shott also, the Moone was to rise within two houres. After much debating, it was concluded, that wee should beare vp before the winde, and
seeke

seeke to escape betwixt the Amirall, and the Vice-Admirall, which wee put in execution, not knowing of any other disgrace befallen them, but that of the Reare-Admirall: till after our Surrender, when they recounted vnto vs all that had past. In the Morning at breake of day, wee were cleere of all our Enemies, and so shaped our course alongst the Coast, for the Bay of *Atacames*, where we purposed to trim our Pinnace, and to renue our wood and water, and so to depart vpon our Voyage, with all possible speede.

The *Spanish* Armado, returned presently to *Callao*, which is the Port of *Lyma*, or of the City of the *Kings*.

It was first named *Lyma*, and retayneth also that name of the River, which passeth by the City called *Lyma*, the *Spanish* Armado being entred the Port, the people began to goe ashore, where they were so mocked, and scorned by the women, as scarce any one, by day would shew his face, they reviled them with the name of cowards and golnias, and craved licence of the Vice-roy, to bee admitted in their roomes, and to vndertake the surrendry of the *English* Shippe. I haue beene certified for truth, that some of them affronted their Souldiers with Daggers and Pistols by their sides.

This wrought such effects in the hearts of the disgraced, as they vowed eyther to recover their reputation lost, or to follow vs into *England*, and so with expedition, the Vice-roy commaunded two shippes and a Pinnace, to bee put in order, and in them placed the chiefe Souldiers and Marriners of the rest, and furnished them with victuals and munition.

The foresayd Generall is once againe dispatched to seeke vs; who ranged the Coastes and Ports, enforming himselfe what hee could; Some fiftie leagues to the North-wards of *Lyma*, in light of *Mongon*, wee tooke a shippe halfe loaden with wheate, sugar, miell de *Canas*, and Cordovan skins: which for that shee was leake, and sayled badly, and tackled in such maner (as the Marriners would not willingly put themselves into her) wee tooke what was necessary for our provision and fired her.

Thwart of *Truxillo*, wee set the companie of her a shoare, with the Pilot which wee had taken in *Balparizo*, reserving the Pilot of the burnt shippe, and a Greeke, who chose rather to continue with vs, then to hazard their lives in going a shore; for that they had departed out of the Port of *Santa*, (which is in eight Degrees) being required by the Iustice, not to weigh anchor, before the Coast was knowne to be cleere.

It is a thing worthy to be noted, and almost incredible, with how few men they vse to sayle a shippe in the south Sea, for in this prise, which was aboue an hundred Tuns, were but eight persons: and in a shippe of three hundreth Tuns, they vse not to put aboue foureteene or fisteene persons: yea I haue beene credibly enformed, that with foureteene persons, a shippe of five hundreth Tuns hath beene carried from *Guayaquil* to *Lyma*, deepe loaden: (which is aboue two hundreth Leagues) and are forced ever to gaine their Voyage by turning to wind-wards, which is the greatest toyle and labour that the Marriners haue; and slow sometimes in this voyage foure or five moneths, which is generall in all the navigations of this coast: But the security from stormes, and certainty of the Brese, (with the desire to make their gaine the greater) is the cause that every man forceth himselfe to the vttermost, to doe the labour of two men.

S E C T. L.

The Ilands
of *Salomon*.



IN the height of this Port of *Santa*, some seaven hundreth and fiftie leagues to the west-wards, lie the Ilands of *Salomon*, of late yeares discovered. At my being in *Lyma*, a Fleete of foure sayle was sent from thence to people them; which through the emulation, and discord that arose amongst them, being landed and settled in the Countrey, was vtterly overthrowne, onely one shippe, with some few of the people, after much misery, got to the *Philippines*. This I came to the knowledge of, by a large relation written from a person of credit, and sent from the *Philippines* to *Panama*: I saw it, at my being there, in my voyage towards *Spaine*.

Having edged neere the coast, to put the *Spaniards* on shore, a thicke fogge tooke vs, so that wee could not see the Land: but recovering our Pinnace and Boate, wee sayled on our course, till we came thwart of the Port called *Malabrigo*, It lieth in seaven Degrees.

In all this coast the currant runneth with great force, but never keepeth any certaine course; saving that it runneth alongst the coast, sometimes to the South-wards, sometimes to the North-wards; which now running to the North-wards, forced vs so farre into the Bay (which a point of the land causeth, that they call *Punta*

Punta de
Augusta.

de

de Auguffa) as thinking to cleere our felues by roving North-west, wee could not double this point, making our way, North North-west. Therefore speciall care is ever to bee had of the current: and doubtlesse, if the providence of Almighty God had not freede vs, wee had runne ashore vpon the Land, without seeing or suspecting any such danger; His name bee ever exalted and magnified, for delivering vs from the vnknowne daunger, by calming the winde all night: the Sunnes rising manifested vnto vs our errour and perill, by discovering vnto vs the Land, within 2 leagues, right a head. The current had caried vs without any wind, at the least 4. leagues; which seene, and the winde beginning to blow, wee brought our tackes abourd, and in short time cleared our felues.

Thwart of this point of *Auguffa*, lie two desert Ilandes; they call them *Illas de Lobos*, for the the multitude of Seales, which acustome to haunt the shore. In the bigger is very good harbour, and secure: they lie in sixe Degrees and thirtie minutes.

The next day after, wee lost sight of those Ilands, being thwart of *Payta*, which lyeth in five Degrees and having manned our Pinnace and Boate to search the Port, wee had sight of a tall shippe, which having knowledge of our being on the Coast, and thinking her selfe to be more safe at Sea, then in the harbour, put her selfe then vnder sayle: to her wee gaue chase all that night, and the next day, but in fine being better of sayle then wee, shee freed her selfe. Thus being too lee-ward of the Harbour, and discovered, we continued our course alongst the shore. That Evening, wee were thwart of the River of *Guayaquill*, which hath in the mouth of it two Ilands: the Souther-most and biggest, called *Puma*, in three Degrees, and the other, to the North-wards, *Santa clara*.

Puma is inhabited, and is the place where they build their principall shipping; from this River, *Lima* and all the valleys are furnished with Timber, for they haue none but that which is brought from hence, or from the kingdome of *Chile*. By this River passeth the principall trade of the Kingdome of *Quito*, it is Navigable some leagues into the Land, and hath great abundance of Timber.

Those of the *Peru*, vse to ground and trim their shippes in *Puma*, or in *Panama*, and in all other partes they are forced to carene their shippes. In *Puma*, it higheth and falleth, fifteene or sixteene foote water, and from this Iland, till a man come to *Panama*, in all the coast it ebbeth and floweth more or lesse; keeping the ordinarie course, which the Tides doe in all Seas. The water of this River, by experience, is medicinable, for all aches of the bones, for the
Q
stone,

stone, and strangurie; the reason which is given is, because all the bankes, and low land adioyning to this River, are replenished with *Salsaperillia*: which lying for the most part soaking in the water, it participateth of this vertue, and giveth it this force.

In this River, and all the Rivers of this coast, are great abundance of *Alagarto*s; and it is sayd that this exceedeth the rest, for persons of credit haue certified mee, that as small fishes in other Rivers abound in scoales, so the *Alagarto*s in this, they doe much hurt to the *Indians* and *Spaniards*, and are dreadfull to all whom they catch within their clutches.

S E C T. L I.



Some five or six Leagues to the North-wards of *Puma*, is *la Punta de Santa Elena*; vnder which is good anchoring, cleane ground, and reasonable succour. Being thwart of this point, wee had sight of a shippe, which we chased, but being of better saile then we, and the night comming on, we lost sight of her; and so anchored vnder the *Isla de plata*; to recover our Pinnace and Boate, which had gone about the other point of the Iland, which lyeth in two Degrees, and fortie minutes.

Puerto Viejo.

The next day we past in sight of *Puerto Viejo*, in two degrees ten minutes; which lying without shipping, wee directed our course for Cape *Passaos*. It lyeth directly vnder the Equinoctiall line; some fourescore leagues to the west-wards of this Cape, lyeth a heape of Ilands, the Spaniards call *Illas de los Galapagos*; They are desert and beare no fruite: from Cape *Passaos*, wee directed our course to Cape *Saint Francisco*, which lyeth in one degree to the North-wardes of the lyne; and being thwart of it, wee descried a small shippe, which wee chased all that day and night; and the next morning our Pinnace came to bourd her; but being a shippe of advise, and full of passengers, and our shippe not able to fetch her vp, they entreated our people badly, and freed themselues, though the feare they conceived, caused them to cast all the dispatches of the King, as also of particulars into the sea, with a great part of their loading, to bee lighter, and better of sayle, for the shippes of the South Sea loade themselues like lighters, or sand barges, presuming vpon the securitie from stormes.

S E C T.

S E C T. L I I.



Being out of hope to fetch vp this shippe, wee stode in with the Cape, where the Land beginneth to trend about to the East-wards. The Cape is high land, and all covered over with Trees, and so is the land over the Cape, and all the coast (from this Cape to *Panama*) is full of wood, from the Staites of *Magelan*, to this cape of *San Francisco*. In all the coast from head-land to head-land, the courses lye betwixt the North and north and by west, and sometimes more westerly, and that but seldome: It is a bolde Coast, and subiect to little foule weather, or alteration of windes, for the Brese, which is the southerly wind, bloweth continually from *Balparizo* to Cape *San Francisco*, except it be a great chance.

Trending about the Cape, wee haled in East North-east, to fetch the Bay of *Atacames*, which lyeth some seaven Leagues from the Cape. In the mid way (some three leagues from the shore) lyeth a banke of sand, whereof a man must haue a care; for in some parts of it, there is but little water.

The tenth of Iune, wee came to an anchor in the Bay of *Atacames*, which on the wester part hath a round hammock. It seemeth an Iland, and in high springes, I iudge, that the sea goeth round about it. To the East-wards it hath a high sandie cliffe, and in the middest of the Bay, a faire birth, from the shore lyeth a bigge black Rocke aboue water: from this Rocke, to the sandie cliffe, is a drowned Marsh ground, caused by his lownesse; And a great River, which is broad, but of no depth.

Manning our boate, and running to the shore, we found presently in the westerne bight of the Bay, a deepe River, whose indraught was so great, that we could not benefit our selues of it, being brackish, except at a low water; which hindred our dispatch, yet in fve dayes, wee filled all our emptie Caske, supplied our want of wood, and grounded and put in order our Pinnace.

Here, for that our *Indians* served vs to no other vse, but to consume our victuals, we eased our selues of them; gaue them hookes and lines which they craved, and some bread for a few dayes, and replanted them in a farre better countrey, then their owne, which fell out luckely for the Spaniards of the shippe which wee chased thwart of Cape *San Francisco*; for victuals growing short with her, having many mouthes, shee was forced to put a shore fiftie of her passengers

They dismishe
their *Indians*.

passengers, neere the Cape; wherof more then the one halfe dyed with famine, and continual wading through Rivers and waters: the rest (by chance) meeting with the *Indians*, which wee had put ashore, with their fishing, guide, and industry were refreshed, lusteyned, and brought to habitation.

S E C T. L I I I.



Our necessary busines being ended, wee purposed the fifteenth day of May, in the morning, to set sayle, but the foureteenth in the Evening, we had sight of a shippe, some three leagues to Sea wards; and through the importunitie of my Captaine and Companie, I condiscended that our Pinnas should giue her chase: which I should not haue done, for it was our destruction; I gaue them precise order, that if they stood not in againe at night, they should seeke mee at *Cape San Francisco*, for the next morning I purposed to set sayle without delay, and so seeing that our Pinnas slowed her comming, at nine of the clocke in the morning, wee weyed our Anchors, and stood for the Cape; where wee beate off and on two dayes; and our Pinnas not appearing, wee stood againe into the Bay, where wee descried her, turning in without a maine Mast, which standing off to the Sea, close by, with much winde, and a chapping Sea, bearing a taunt-sayle, where a little was too much (being too small purpose) sodainely they bare it by the bourd; and standing in with the shore, the winde, or rather God blinding them, for our punishment, they knewe not the land; and making themselues to bee to wind-wards of the Bay, bare vp and were put into the Bay of *San Mathew*; It is a goodly Harbour, and hath a great fresh River, which higheth fiftene or sixteene foote water, and is a good countrey, and well peopled with *Indians*, they haue store of Gold and Emeralds, heere the Spaniards from *Guayaquill*, made an habitation, whilst I was prisoner in *Lyma*, by the *Indians* consent; but after not able to suffer the insolencies of their guests, and being a people of stomacke and presumption, they suffered themselues to bee perswaded, and led by a *Molato*. This leader many yeares before had fled vnto them from the Spaniards, him they had, long time, held in reputation of their Captaine Generall, and was admitted also vnto a chiefe Office by the Spaniards, to gaine him vnto them.

The *Indians*
led by a *Molato*

But

But now the *Indians* vniting themselues together, presuming that by the helpe of this *Molato*, they should force the Spaniards out of the Countrey, put their resolution in execution, droue their Enemies into the woods, and slue as many as they could lay hands on, some they killed, few escaped with life; and those who had that good happe, suffered extreame misery, before they came to *Quito*; the place of neereft habitation of Spaniards.

To this Bay, as soone as our people in the *Pynnas* saw their error, they brought their tackes abourd, and turned and tyded it vp, as they could. As soone as we came to Anchor, I procured to remedie that was amisse; in two daies we dispatched all we had to doe, and the next morning we resolued to set sayle and to leaue the coast of *Peru* and *Quito*.

The day appearing, we began to weigh our Anchors, and being a Pike ready to cut sayle, one, out of the toppe, descryed the Spanish Armado, comming about the Cape: which by the course it kept, presently gaue vs to vnderstand, who they were: though my company (as is the custome of Sea men,) made them to be the Fleete bound for *Panama*, loden with treasure, and importuned, that in all hast, we should cut sayle & stand with them, which I contradicted, for that, I was assured, that no shipping would stirre vpon the coast, till they had securitie of our departure (except some Armado, that might be sent to seeke vs,) and that it was not the time of the yeare to carry the treasure to *Panama*. And besides in Riding still at an Anchor, they euer came neerer vnto vs, for they stood directly with vs, and we kept the weather gage; where if we had put our selues vnder sayle (the ebbe in hand) we should haue giuen them the aduantage, which we had in our power, by reason of the point of the Bay. And being the Armado (as it was) we gained time to fit our selues, the better to fight. And truly (as before, to a stiffe-necked horse,) so now againe, I cannot but resemble the condition of the Marriner to any thing better, then to the current of a furious Riuer, repressed by force or art, which neuerthelesse ceaseth not to seeke a way to ouerthrow both fence and banke: Euen so the common sort of Sea-men, apprehending a conceite in their imaginations, neither experiment, knowledge, examples, reasons nor authority can alter or remoove them from their conceited opinions. In this extremitie, with reason I laboured to conuince them, and to contradict their pretences; But they altogether without reason, or against reason, breake out, some into vaunting and bragging, some into reproaches of want of courage, others into wishings, that they had neuer come out of their country,

The vnadvised courage of the multitude.

trey, if we should refuse to fight with two shippes whatsoeuer. And to mend the matter, the Gunner (for his part) assured me that with the first tire of shott: he would lay the one of them in the sods: And our Pynace, that she would take the other to taske. One promised, that he would cut downe the mayne yard, another that he would take their flagge; And all in generall shewed a great desire to come to tryall with the enemy. To some I turned the deafe care, with others I dissembled, and armed my selfe with patience (hauing no other defence nor remedie for that occasion) soothing and animating them to the execution of what they promised, and perswaded them to haue a little sufferance, seeing they gained time, and aduantage by it.

And to giue them better satisfaction I condescended, that our Captaine with a competent number of men, should with our Pinnace goe to discouer them; with order, that they should not engage themselues in that manner, as they might not be able to come vnto vs, or we to succour them. In all these divisions and opinions, our Master *Hugh Dormish* (who was a most sufficient man for gouernment and valour, and well saw the errors of the multitude) vsed his office, as became him; and so did all those of best vnderstanding.

In short space, our Pinnace discouered what they were, and casting about to returne vnto vs, the Vice-admirall (being next her) began with her chace to salute her with three or foure peeces of Artilery, and so continued chasing her, and gunning at her. My company seeing this, now began to change humour; And I, then, to encourage, and perswade them to performe the execution of their promises and vaunts of valour, which they had but euen now protested, and giuen assurance of, by their proferres and forwardnesse.

The beginning of the fight.

And that we might haue Sea-roume to fight, we presently weighed Anchor, and stood off to Sea with all our sayles, in hope to get the weather gage of our contraries. But the winde scanting with vs, and larging with them, we were forced to leeward. And the Admirall weathering vs, came some vpon vs: which being within Musket shott, we hayled first with our noise of Trumpets, then with our Waytes, and after with our Artilery: which they answered with Artilery; two for one. For they had double the Ordinance we had, and almost tenne men for one. Immediately they came shoring about of vs, vpon our lee quarter contrary to our expectation, and the custome of men of Warre. And doubtlesse, had our Gunner bene the man he was reputed to be, and as the world sould him to me, shee had receiued great hurt by that manner of
bourding;

The inexperience of the Spaniards.

bourding: But contrary to all expectation, our stearne peeces were vnprimed, and so were all those, which we had to leward (saue halfe one in the quarter) which discharged wrought that effect in our contraries as that they had five or sixe foot water in hold, before they suspected it.

And careles-
nesse of the
English.

Hereby all men are to take warning by me, not to trust any man in such extremities, when he himselfe may see it done: and comming to fight, let the Chiefetaine himselfe be sure to haue all his Artilery in a readinesse, vpon all occasions. This was my ouersight, this my ouerthrow. For I, and all my company, had that satisfaction of the sufficiencie, and care of our Gunner, as not any one of vs euer imagined there would be any defect found in him. For my part, I, with the rest of our Officers, occupied our selues in cleering our deckes, lacing our nettings, making of Bulwarkes, arming our toppes, fitting our waist-cloathes, tallowing our pikes, slinging our yards, doubling our sheetes, and tackes, placing and ordering our people, and procuring that they should be well fitted and prouided of all things; leauing the Artilery, and other instruments of fire, to the Gunners dispose and order, with the rest of his Mates and adherents: which (as I said) was part of our perdition. For bearing me euer in hand, that he had five hundred Cartreges in a readinesse, within one houres fight, we were forced to occupie three persons, only in making and filling Cartreges, and of five hundreth Elles of Canvas and other Cloth giuen him for that purpose, at sundry times, not one yard was to be found. For this we haue no excuse, and therefore could not avoyde the danger, to charge and discharge with the ladell, especially in so hotte a fight. And comming now to put in execution the sinking of the shippe, as he promised, he seemed a man without life or soule. So the Admirall comming close vnto vs, I my selfe, and the Master of our Shippe, were forced to play the Gunners.

How farre a
Commander
is to trust his
officers.

Those instruments of fire, wherein he made me to spend excessively (before our going to Sea) now appeared not; Neither the brasse Balles of Artificiall fire, to be shott with flurbowes, (whereof I had six bowes, & two hundreth bals, and which are of great account & seruice, either by Sea or Land) he had stowed them in such manner, (though in double barrells) as the salt water had spoyled thē all; so that comming to vse them, not one was serviceable. Some of our Company had him in suspicion, to be more friend to the Spaniards, then to vs; for that he had served some yeares in the *Tercera*, as Gunner, and that he did all this of purpose. Few of our peeces were cleere, when we came to vse them, and some had the

Deceit of the
Gunner, and
his extreme
carelesnesse,
and suspitious
disloyalty.

shot first put in, and after the powder. Besides, after our surrendry; it was laid to his charge, that he should say; he had a brother that served the King in the *Peru*, and that he thought he was in the *Armado*; and how he would not for all the world, he should be slaine. Whether this were true or no, I know not, but I am sure all in generall gave him an ill report, and that he, in whose hands the chiefe execution of the whole fight consisted, executed nothing as was promised and expected.

Admonitions
for Commanders.

The grieffe and remembrance of which oversights once againe inforceth me to admonish all Captaines and Commanders hereby to take aduice, now and then to survey their officers and store-rooms; the oftener, the better; that so their defects and wants may be supplied in time; Neuer relying too much vpon the vulgar report, nor giuing too much credite to smooth tongues and boasting Companions. But to performe this taske, it is requisite that all Captaines, and Commanders were such, and so experimented in all offices, that they might be able as well to controule as to examine all manner of errors in officers. For the government at Sea hardly suffereth a head without exquisite experience. The deficiency whereof hath occasioned some ancient Sea-men, to straighten the attribute of *Marriner* in such sort, as that it ought not to be giuen, but to the man, who is able to build his shippe, to fit and prouide her of all things necessary, and after to carry her about the world: the residue, to be but saylers. Hereby giuing vs to vnderstand, that though it is not expedient, that he should be an Axe-Carpenter, to hewe, cut, frame, and mould each timber piece, yet that he should know the parts and peeces of the shippe, the value of the timber, planke and yron-worke, so to be able as well to build in proportion, as to procure all materials at a iust price. And againe though it be not expected, that he should *sowe* the sayles, arme the shrowds, and put the tackling over head, yet is it requisite that should know how to cut his sayles, what length is Competent to every Roape, and to be of sufficiency to reprehend and reforme those who erre, and doe amisse. In providing his shippe with victualls, munition and necessaries, of force it must be expected that he be able to make his estimate, and (that once provided, and perfected) in season, and with expedition to see it loden and stowed commodiously, with care and proportion. After that, He is to order the spending thereof, that in nothing he be defrauded at home, and at Sea, euer to know, how much is spent, and what remaineth vnspent.

Who to be accounted a true
Marriner.

His knowledge for Materials.

For provisions.

For Navigati.
on.

In the Art of Navigation, he is bound also to know, so much, as
to

to be able to giue directions to the Pilote and Master; and consequently to all the rest of inferiour officers.

SECT. LIIII.



MY meaning is not that the Captaine (or Gouverneur) should be tyed to the actuall toyle, or to intermeddle with all offices, (for that were to binde him to impossibilities, to diminish and abase his authoritic, and to deprivie the other officers of their esteemes and of that that belongeth vnto them, which were a great absurditie.) But my opinion is, that he should be more then superficially instructed and practised in the employments. Yea I am verily perswaded, that the more absolute authoritic any Commander giveth to his vnder officers, being worthy of it, the sweeter is the Command, and the more respected and beloued the Commander.

For in matter of guide and disposing of the Saylers, with the tackling of the Shippe, and the workes which belong thereunto, within board and without, all is to be committed to the Masters charge.

Office of the
Master.

The Pilote is to looke carefully to the Sterridge of the Shippe, to be watchfull in taking the heights of Sunne and Starre; to note the way of his Shippe; with the augmenting and lessening of the winde, &c.

Office of the
Pilot.

The Boateswayne is to see his Shippe kept cleane; his Mastes, yards and tacklings well coated, matted and armed; his shroudes and stayes well set; his sayles repayred, and sufficiently prevented with martnets, blayles, and Caskettes; his boate fitted with Sayle, Oares, thogts, tholes danyd, windles and rother; His Anchors well boyed, safely stopped and secured, with the rest to him appertaining.

The Boate-
swaine.

The Steward is to see the preservation of Vittayles and necessaries, committed vnto his charge; and by measure and weight, to deliuer the portions appointed, and with discretion and good tearmes, to giue satisfaction to all.

The Steward

The Carpenter is to veiw the mastes and yards, the sides of the Shippe, her deckes and cabines; her pumpes and boate; and moreouer to occupie himselfe in the most forceible workes, except he be otherwise commanded.

The Carpen-
ter.

The Gunner. The Gunner is to care for the britching and tackling of his Artillery; the fitting of his shott, Tampkins, coyne, crones and linstockes, &c. To be provident in working his fire workes, in making and filling his Cartreges; in accomodating his ladles, Sponges and other necessaries; in sifting and drying his powder; in cleaning the armes, munition, and such like workes, intrusted vnto him.

In this manner every officer, in his office, ought to be an absolute Commander, yet readie in obedience and loue, to sacrifice his will to his superiours command: This cannot but cause vnitie; and vnitie cannot but purchase a happie issue to dutifull trauelles.

Directions in
secret.

Lastly, except it be in vrgent and precise cases, the Head should neuer direct his command to any, but the officers, and these secretly, except the occasion require publication; or that, it touch all in generall.

Such orders would be (for the most part) in writing, that all might know what in generall is commanded and required.

S E C T. L V.

Parts requisite
in a good hus-
bandman.



And as the wise husband-man, in walking from ground to ground, beholdeth one plowing; another harrowing; another sowing; and lopping; another pruning; one hedging; another threshing; and divers occupied in severall labours: Some he commendeth, others he reproacheth; others he adviseth; and to another he saith nothing, (for that he seeth him in the right way: and all this; for that he knoweth and vnderstandeth what they all doe, better then they themselues, though busied in their ordinary workes;) euen so, a worthy Commander at Sea, ought to haue the eyes, not only of his body, but also of his vnderstanding, continually, set (with watchfull care) vpon all men, and all their workes vnder his charge; imitating the wise husband-man; first to know, and then to command; and lastly, to will their obedience voluntary, and without contradiction. For who knoweth not that ignorance many times commandeth that, which it vnderstandeth not; which the Artist perceiving, first disdaineth, afterwards disesteemeth, and finally in these great actions, which admit no temporizing, either he wayueth the respect of dutie, or faintly performeth the behest of his superiour, vpon euery flight occasion, either in
publike

The like in a
good Chiefe-
tainc.

publike opposing, or in private murmuring: the smallest of which, is most pernicious, Thus much (not amisse) for Instruction.

S E C T. L V I.



He reason why the Admirall came to leewardes, (as after I vnderstood) was for that her Artillery being very long, and the wind fresh, bearing a taunt sayle, to fetch vs vp, and to keepe vs company, they could not vse their Ordinance to the weather of vs, but lay shaking in the wind: And doubtlesse, it is most proper for shippes, to haue short Ordinance, except in the sterne or chafe. The reasons are many: *viz.* easier charging, ease of the shippes side, better traversing, and mounting, yea, greater security of the Artillery, and consequently of the ship. For the longer the peece is, the greater is the retention of the fire, and so the torment and danger of the peece the greater.

Why the Spanish Admirall came to leewardes.

But here will be contradiction by many, that dare avouch that longer peeces are to be preferred; for that they burne their powder better, and carrie the shott further, and so necessarily of better execution; whereas the short Artillery many times spends much of their powder without burning, and workes thereby the slenderer effect.

To which I answere, that for Land service, Fortes, or Castles, the long peeces are to bee preferred; but for shipping, the shorter are much more serviceable. And the powder in them, being such as it ought, will be all fiered long before the shott can come forth; and to reach farre in fights at sea, is to little effect: For hee that purposeth to annoy his Enemie, must not shoote at randome, nor at point blanke, if hee purpose to accomplish with his devoire, nether must he spend his shott, nor powder, but where a pot-gun may reach his contrary; how much the neerer, so much the better: and this duely executed, the short Artillery will worke its effect, as well as the long; otherwise, neither short, nor long are of much importance: but here, my meaning is not, to approue the overshott peeces, devised by some persons, which at every shott they make, daunce out of their cariages, but those of indifferent length, and which keepe the meane, betwixt seaven and eight foote.

S E C T. XLVII.

Entertainment
of Spaniards.

He entertainment wee gaue vnto our contraries, being otherwise then was expected, they fell off, & ranged a head, having broken in peeces all our gallerie : and presently they cast about vpon vs, and being able to keepe vs company, with their fighting sayles lay a weather of vs, ordinarily within Musket shott; playing continually with them and their great Artillerie; which we endured, and answered as we could.

Our Pinnace engaged her selfe so farre, as that before shee could come vnto vs, the Vice-admirall had like to cut her off, and coming to lay vs aboard, and to enter her men, the Vice-admirall boarded with her: so that some of our company entred our ship over her bow-sprit, as they themselues reported.

We were not a little comforted with the sight of our people in safetie, within our shippe, for in all, wee were but threescore and fiftene, men, and boyes, when we began to fight, and our Enemies thirteene hundred men and boyes; little more or lesse, and those of the choise of *Peru*.

The English,
75.
The Spaniards,
1300.

S E C T. LVIII.

The Spanish
discipline.

Here it shall not be out of the way, to discourse a little of the Spanish Discipline, and manner of their government in generall; which is in many things different to ours. In this expedition came two Generals, the one *Don Beltran de Castro*, who had the absolute aūthoritie and commaund: The other *Michael Angell Filipon*, a man well in yeares, and came to this preferment by his long and painefull service, who though he had the title of Generall by sea, I thinke it was rather of courtesie then by Patten; and for that hee had beene many yeares Generall of the south Sea, for the carriage and wastage of the silver from *Lyma* to *Panama*; Hee seemed to bee an assistant, to supply that with his counsell, advice, and experience, whereof *Don Beltran* had never made tryall (for hee commanded not absolutely, but with the confirmation of *Don*

Beltran

Beltran) for the Spaniards neuer giue absolute authoritie to more then one. A custome that hath beene, and is approoued in all Empires, Kingdomes, Common-wealthes, and Armies, rightly disciplined: the mixture hath been seldome scene to prosper, as will manifestly appeare, if we consider the issue of all actions and iourneys committed to the government of two, or more generally.

The famous victory of *Hanniball* against the Romane Consuls *Paulus Emillius* and *Terrentius Varro*, was attributed to their equality of government. The vnhappie ouerthrow, giuen by the Turke *Amurate* to the Christian Princes, in the Iourney of *Nicapolis*, is held to haue proceeded from the difference betwixt the Heads; euery one leaning to his owne opinion. The ouerthrow in reuerie of the Holy land, vndertaken by King *Richard of England*, and King *Philip of France*, sprang from the like differences and dissentions. The victory of the Emperour *Charles the fifth*, against the Protestant Princes of *Germanie*, is imputed to their disstructures arising from parity in command. If we looke into our owne actions, committed to the charge of two *Generals*, the effects and fruits which they haue brought forth, (for the most part,) will be found to be little better: yea, most of them through emulation, envie and pride, overthrowne, and brought to nought; though to couer their confusions, there haue neuer beene wanting cloakes and colours. The most approoued writers reprocue, and call it a monster with two heads, and not without reason. For if the Monarchy be generally approoued, for strongest, soundest, and most perfect, and most sufficient to sustaine it selfe; And the Democracie and Aristocracie, vtterly reprooued, as weake, feeble and subiect to innovations and infirmities; it cannot be but error, confusion, and imperfection to differ or dissent from it. For where the supream government is divided betwixt two or more, the Authority is diminished, and so looseth his true force, as a fagget of stickes, whose bond being broken, the entire strength is easily dissolved: but all vnder correction.

The Spaniards in their Armadoes by Sea, imitate the discipline, order and officers, which are in an Army by land, and divide themselues into three bodies; to wit Souldiers, Marriners and Gunners.

Their Souldiers, ward and watch, and their officers in every Shippe round, as if they were on the shoare; this is the only taske they vndergoe, except cleaning their Armes, wherein they are not ouer curious. The Gunners are exempted from all labour and care, except about the Artillery.

Two Chieftaines ioyned in Commission on dangerous.

to be done by the Souldiers.

Mr. De Witt.

Prising of the Spaniards in the Souldier.

The Gunner.

And these are either *Almaynes, Flemmings*, or strangers; for the Spaniards are but indifferently practised in this Art. The Marriners are but as slaues to the rest, to moyle and to toyle, day and night, and those but few and bad, and not suffered to sleepe, or harbour themselues, vnder the deckes. For in faire or fowle weather, in stormes, sunne or raine, they must passe voyde of couert or succour.

Officers in a shippe of War. Captaine of the shippe. Captaine of the Souldiers.

Mr. Del Campo, &c.

There is ordinarily in every shippe of Warre, a Captaine; whose charge is, as that of our Masters with vs, and also a Captaine of the Souldiers, who commandeth the Captaine of the Shippe, the Souldiers, Gunners and Marriners in her; yea, though there be diuers Captaines, with their companies in one shippe, (which is vsuall amongst them,) yet one hath the supreme authoritie, and the residue are at his ordering and disposing. They haue their *Mastros de Campo*, Seargeant, Master, Generall (or Captaine) of the Artillery, with their *Alfere Maior*, and all other officers, as in a Campe.

If they come to fight with another Armado, they order themselues as in a battell by land; In a Vanguard, rereward, maine battell, and wings, &c. In every particular shippe the souldiers are set all vpon the deckes; their forecastle they account their head Front, or Vanguard of their company; that abaft the Mast, the rereward; and the waste, the mayne battell; wherein they place their principall force, and on which they principally relye; which they call their *placa de armas* or place of Armes: which taken, their hope is lost.

The Gunners fight not, but with their great Artillery: the Marriners attend only to the tackling of the shippe, and handling of the sayles; and are vnarmed, and subiect to all misfortunes; not permitted to shelter themselues, but to be still aloft, whether it be necessary or needlesse. So ordinarily, those which first fayle, are the Marriners and Saylers; of which they haue greatest neede. They vse few close fights or fireworkes; and all this proceedeth (as I iudge) of errour in placing land Captaines, for Governours and Commanders by Sea; where they seldome vnderstand what is to be done or commanded.

Prying of the Spaniards into our Discipline.

Their imitation of our discipline.

Some that haue beene our prisoners, haue perfited themselues of that, they haue seene amongst vs: and others disguised, vnder colour of treaties, for ransoming of prisoners, for bringing of presents, and other Imbassages, haue noted our forme of shipping, our manner of defences, and discipline: Sithence which espi- all, in such actions as they haue beene imployed in, they seeke to imitate our gouernment, and reformed discipline at Sea: which doubt

doubtlesse is the best, and most proper, that is at this day knowne, or practised in the whole world, if the execution be answerable to that which is knowne and receiued for true and good amongst vs.

In the Captaine (for so the Spaniards call their Admirall) was an English Gunner, who to gaine grace with those vnder whom hee serued, preferred himselfe, and offered to sinke our shippe with the first shott he made: who, by the Spaniards relation, being trave-ling of a peece in the bowe, to make his shott, had his head carryed away with the first, or second shott, made out of our shippe. It slew also two or three of those which stood next him.

Which may be a good and gentle warning for all those, who mooned either with couetousnesse, or with desire of reuenge, or in hope of worldly promotion, or other respect whatsoever; doe willingly and voluntarily serue the enemy, against their owne nation: *nulla causa iusta videri potest, aduersus patriam arma capiendi.*

And if we consider the end of those, who haue thus erred, wee shall finde them for the most part lamentable, and most miserable. At the least, those whom I haue knowne, haue liued to be pointed at, with detestation, and ended their liues in beggery, voyde of reputation.

The ends of
Fugitiues.

S E C T. L I X.

THE fight continued so hott on both sides, that the Artillery and Muskets neuer ceased playing. Our contraries, towards the euening, determined the third time to lay vs about, with resolution to take vs, or to hazard all. The order they set downe for the execution hereof, was, that the Captaine (or Admirall) should bring himselfe vpon our weather bowe, and so fall about of vs, vpon our broad side: And that the Viceadmirall, should lay his Admirall about vpon his weather quarter, and so enter his men into her; that from her, they might enter vs, or doe as occasion should minister.

The Captaine of the Viceadmirall, being more hardy then considerate, and presuming with his shippe and company to get the price, and chiefe honour; wayted not the time to put in execution the direction giuen, but presently came about to wind-wards vpon our broad side. Which doubtlesse was the great and especiall providence of Almighty God, for the discouraging of our ene-

The Spaniards
pay deere-ly
for their rash-
nesse.

mies

mies, and animating of vs. For although shee was as long, or rather longer then our shippe, being rarely built, and vtterly without fights or defence; what with our Muskets, and what with our fire-works we cleered her deckes in a moment; so that scarce any person appeared. And doubtlesse if we had entred but a dozen men, we might haue enforced them to haue rendred vnto vs, or taken her, but our company being few, and the principall of them slaine, or hurt, we durst not, neither was it wisdome, to aduenture the separation of those, which remained: and so held that for the best and soundest resolution, to keepe our forces together in defence of our owne.

The Viceadmirall seeing himselfe in great distresse, called to his Admirall for succour: who presently laid him abourd, and entred a hundreth of his men, and so cleered themselues of vs.

And take a
new resolution

In this bourding the Viceadmirall had at the least thirtie and fixe men hurt, and slaine; and amongst them his Pilote shot through the body, so as he dyed presently. And the Admirall also receiued some losse; which wrought in them a new resolution; only with their Artillery to batter vs; and so with time to force vs to surrender, or to sinke vs; which they put in execution; and placing themselues within a Musket shott of our weather quarter, and sometimes on our broad side, lay continually beating vpon vs without intermission; which was doubtlesse the best and securest determination they could take, for they being rare shippes, and without any manner of close fights, in bourding with vs, their men were all open vnto vs, and we vnder couert and shelter. For on all parts our shippe was Musket free, and the great Artillery of force must cease on either side (the shippes being once graped together) except we resolved to sacrifice our selues together in fire. For it is impossible, if the great Ordinance play (the shippes being bourded) but that they must set fire on the shippe they shoote at; and then no surety can be had to free himselfe, as experience daily confirmeth. For a peece of Artillery most properly resembleth a thunderclap, which breaking vpwards, or on the side, hurteth not; for that the fire hath scope to dispence it selfe without finding resistance, till the violence which forceth it taketh end, and lo it mounts to its center: but breaking downe right or stooping downwards, and finding resistance or impediment (before the violence that forceth it take end, being so subtill and penetrable a substance) passeth and pierceth so wonderfully, as it leaueth the effect of his execution in all points answerable to his leuell and nighnesse. For if the clouds be nigh the earth (as some are higher, some lower) and
breake

breake down-wards, the violence wherewith the fire breaketh out is such, and of so strange an execution, that men haue beene found dead, without any outward signe in their flesh, and yet all their bones burnt to dust. So the blade of the sword hath beene found broken all to peeces in the scabard, and the scabard whole without blemish: And a cristall glasse all shiuered in peeces, his couer and case remaining sound, which commeth to passe, for that in the flesh, in the scabard, and in the case, the fire being so subtil of nature, findeth easie passage without resistance, but the bones, the blade, the Cristall, being of substance more solide, maketh greater resistance, and so the fire with the more fury worketh the more his execution in its obiects. As was seene in the Spanish Admirall (or Captaine) after my imprisonment, crossing from *Panama* to *Cape san Francisco*, a Rayo (for so the Spaniards call a thunder-clappe) brake ouer our shippe, killed one in the fore-toppe, astonished either two or three in the shroudes, and split the Mast in strange manner; where it entred, it could hardly be descerned, but where it came forth, it draue out a great splinter before it; and the man slaine, was cleane in a manner without signe or token of hurt, although all his bones turned to powder, and those who liued, and recouered, had all their bodies blacke, as burnt with fire, which plainly declareth and confirmeth that aboue said, and may serue to iudge in such occasions of persons hurt with thunder: for if they complaine of their bones, and haue little signe of the fire, their hazard of death is the greater, then when the fire hath left greater impressions outward. The fire out of a cloude worketh like effect only, where it leueleth directly, as experience daily teacheth; killing those who are opposite, hurting those who are neere, And only terrifying those who are further distant.

In like manner the peece of Ordinance hurteth not those which stand aside, nor those which stand a slope from his mouth, but those alone which stand directly against the true point of his leuell: though sometimes the winde of the shott ouerthroweth one, and the splinters (being accidents) mayne and hurt others. But principally where the peece doth resemble the thunderclappe, as when the shippes are boured. For then, although the Artillery be discharged without shott, the fury of the fire, and his piercing nature is such, as it entreth by the seames, and all parts of the ships sides, and meeting with so fit matter as Pitch, Tarre, Ocombe, and sometimes with powder, presently conuerteth all into flames.

For auoyding whereof, as also the danger and damage which

may come by pikes and other inventions of fire, and if any shippe be oppressed with many shippes at once, and subiect by them to be bourded; I hold it a good course to strike his fire and mayne yards close to his decke, and to fight with sprit-saile, and mylon, and top-sayles loose: so shall he be able to hinder them from oppressing him.

Pollicies to a voyde bourdings.

Some haue thought it a good pollicy to launce out some ends of Mastes or yards by the ports or other parts: but this is to be vsed in the greater shippes, for in the lesser, though they be neuer so strong, the waight of the bigger will beate out the opposite sides, and doe hurt, and make great spoyle in the lesser. And in bourding, ordinarily the lesser shippe hath all the harme, which the one shippe can doe vnto the other.

Dispute concerning ships of Trade.

Here is offered to speake of a point much canvassed amongst Carpenters, and Sea Captaines, diversly maintained, but yet vndetermined: that is, whether the race or loftie built shippe, bee best for the Merchaat, and those which imploy themselues in trading: I am of opinion, that the race shippe is most conuenient; yet so, as that every perfect shippe ought to haue two deckes, for the better strengthening of her; the better succouring of her people; the better preserving of her Merchandize and victuall, and for her greater safetic from sea and stormes.

Concerning the Prince his shippes.

But for the Princes shippes, and such as are imployed continually in the warres, to be built loftie I hold very necessary for many reasons. First for Maiestie and terrour of the enemy; secondly, for harbouring of many men; thirdly for accommodating more men to fight; fourthly, for placing and vsing more Artillery; fifthly, for better strengthening and securing of the shippe, sixthly for ouertopping and subiecting the enemy; seuenthly, for greater safeguard and defence of the ship and company. For it is plaine, that the ship with three deckes, or with two and a halfe, shewes more pomp then another of her burthen with a decke and halfe, or two deckes, and breedeth greater terror to the enemy, discovering her selfe to be a more powerfull ship as she is, then the other; which being indeed a ship of force, seemeth to be but a Barke, and with her low building hideth her burthen. And who doubteth, that a decke and a halfe cannot harbour that proportion of men, that two deckes, and two deckes and a halfe can accommodate to fight; Nor carry the Artillery so plentifully, nor so commodiously. Neither can the ship be so strong with a decke and a halfe, as with two deckes; nor with two, as with three; nor carry her Mastes so taunt; nor spread so great a clue; nor contriue so many fightes, to answer

one

one another, for defence and offence. And the aduantage the one hath of the other, experience daily teacheth.

In the great expedition of eightie eight, did not the *Elizabeth*, *Jonas*, the *Triumph*, and the *Beare*, shew greater maiestie then the *Arke Royall* and the *Victorie*, being of equall burthens? did they not cause greater regard in the enemy? did they not harbour and accommodate more then men? and much better? did they not beare more Artillery? And if they had come to boord with the Spanish high-charged ships, it is not to be doubted but they would haue mustred themselues better, then those which could not with their prowesse nor props, haue reached to their waistes. The strength of the one cannot be compared with the strength of the other: but in bourding, it goeth not so much in the strength, as in weight and greatnesse. For the greater ship that bourdeth with the lesser; with her Mastes, her Yards, her Tacklings, her Anchors, her Ordinance, and with her sides bruseth and beateth the lesser to peeces, although the lesser be farre stronger according to proportion.

All ships of warre are not to be low built

Particular re-
specte must
be had to
the Generall

The *Fore-sight* of his Maiesties, and the *Daintie*, were shippes in their proportions farre more stronger, then the *Carake* which was taken by them, and their consorts, *Anno 92.* (For she had in a manner no strong building nor binding, and the others were strenghtened and bound, as art was able to affoord;) and yet both bourding with her, were so brused, broken, and badly handled, as they had like to haue sunke by her side, though bourding with aduantage to weather-wards of her. But what would haue become of them, if she should haue had the wind of them, and haue come aboard to windward of them? In small time no doubt, she would haue beaten them vnder water.

An. 90. in the fleet vnder the charge of *S^r Iohn Hawkins* my father, coming from the South-wards, the *Hope* of his Maiesties gaue chase to a French ship, thinking her to be a Spaniard. She thought to haue freed her selfe by her sailing, and so would not auaille, but endured the shooting of many peeces, and forced the *Hope* to lay her aboard; of which issued that mischiese which before I spake off. For in a moment the French ship had all her Mastes, Yards, and Sailes in the Sea; and with great difficultie the *Hope* could free her selfe from sinking her.

In the selfe same voyage, neere the Ilands of *Flores* and *Corvo*, the *Raine-bow* and the *Fore-sight* came foule one of another, the *Raine-bow* (being the greater shippe) left the *Fore-sight* much torne; and if God had not beene pleased to seperate them, the lesser

Particular re-
spects must
giue place to
the Generall.

(doubtlesse) had sunke in the Sea: but in these incounters, they received little or no hurt. The boording of the *Raine-bow* and *Fore-sight*, (as I was enformed) proceeded of the obstinacie and selfe will of the Captaine or Master of the *Fore-sight*, who would not set Sayle in time, to giue Sea roome to the other, comming driuing vpon her, for that shee was more stotie. This pride I haue seene many times to be the cause of great hurt, and is worthy of seuerer punishment: for being all of one Company, and bound euery one to helpe and further the good of the other, as members of one bodie, their ought to be no straying of courtesie, but all are bound to suppress emulation and particular respect, in seeking the generall good of all, yea of euery particular more ingeniously, then that of his owne.

But in equitie and reason, the le-ward shippe ought euer to giue way to the weather most, in hulling, or trying, without any exception. First, for that shee *aduantageeth* the other in hulling or trying: which is manifest, for that shee to wind-wards driues vpon her to le-wards. Secondly, for that the windermost shippe, by opening her sayle, may be vpon the other before shee be looked for, either for want of steridge, not being vnder way, or by the rowling of the Sea, some one Sea casting the shippe more to le-wards then ten others. And thirdly, for that the windermost shippe being neere, and setting sayle, is in possibilitie to take away the winde from her to le-wards comming within danger. And this by way of Argument, for a hull and vnder-sayle in stormes and sayre weather, in Harbour, or at Sea.

Humanitie and courtesie are euer commendable and beneficiall to all, whereas arrogancie and ambition are euer accompanied with shame, losse and repentance.

Arrogancy of
a Spanish Ge-
nerall.

And though in many examples (touching this point) I haue beene an eye witnesse, yet I will record but one, which I saw in the Riuer of *Civill*, at my comming out of the *Indies* amongst the Galleons loaden with siluer. For their wafting, the King sent to the *Tercera*, eight new Galleons, vnder the charge of *Villa viciosa*: who entring the Barre of *Saint Luar* ioyntly, the shippes loaden with siluer Anchored in the middest of the Riuer in the deeper water, and the wafters on either side, neere the shoare. The Admirall of the wafters rode close by the Galleon, in which I was, and had moored her selfe in that manner, as her streame, Cable, and Anchor overlaid our land-most. And winding vp with the first of the flood, shee her selfe in one of her Cables; which together with the great currant of the ebbe, and force of the winde which blew fresh, caused

sed her to driue, and to dragge home her Anchors; and with that which over-lay ours, to caule vs to doe the like. Whereupon on both sides, was crying out, to veere cable: we for our part had lost all our Cables in the *Terceras*, sauing those which were a ground, and those very short, and vered to the better end. The Admirall strained courtesie, thinking the other (though loaden with siluer) bound to let slippe one, so to giue him way; and the Generall standing in his Gallery, saw the danger which both shippes ranne into, being in a manner bourd and bourd, and driuing vpon the point of the shoare: yet he commanded to hold fast, and not to vere Cable, till he was required and commanded in the Kings name, by the Captaine of our shippe; protesting, the damage (which should ensue thereof, to the King and Merchants) to runne vpon the Admirals accompt; and that in his shippe he had no other Cable, but those which were a ground; And that they had vered as-much as they could: which the Generall knowing, and at last better considering, willed to vere his Cable end for end, and so with some difficultie and dispute, the punto was remedied, which if he had done at first, he had preuented all other danger, inconuenience, and dispute, by only weighing of his Cable and Anchor; after the gust was past, and letting it fall in a place more commodious: whereas his vaine-glory, stoutnesse, and selfe-will, had put in great perill two of the Kings shippes, and in them aboue two Millions of treasure. And it may be, if he had beene one of the ignorant Generals, (such as are sometimes imployed) whereas he was one of best experience, I doubt not, but they would haue stood so much vpon their puntos, as rather then they would haue consented to vere theyr Cables, (for that it seemed a diminution of authoritie,) they would rather haue suffered all to goe to wracke, without discerning the danger and damage.

But to returne to my former point of aduantage, which the greater shippe hath of the lesser; I would haue it to be vnderstood according to occasion, and to be vnderstood of ships of warre, with shippes of warre: It being no part of my meaning to maintaine, that a small man of warre, should not bourd with a great shippe, which goeth in trade. For I know, that the war-like shippe, that seeketh, is not only bound to bourd with a greater, but were shee sure to hazzard her selfe, shee ought to bourd where any possibility of surprising may be hoped for. Witnesse the Biscaine shippes of five hundreth tunnes, taken by shippes of lesse then a hundreth; Such were those which were taken by Captaine *George Reymond*, and Captaine *Greenfield Halse*; both wonne by bourding and

Doubts and
obiections re-
solved.

And the duty
of a small ship
against a grea-
ter.

force of Armes. And did not *Markes Berry* with a shippe of fourescore tunnes, by bourding and dent of sword, take a shippe, which came from the *Noua Hispania* of neere foure hundreth tunnes? to recount all such as haue beene in this sort taken by our Countrey-men, as also those of great worth which they haue lost, for not hazarding the bourding, were neuer to make an end.

Yet discretion is euer to be vsed: for a man that in a small barke goeth to warre-fare is not bound to bourd with a Carake, nor with a shippe, which he seeth prouided with Artillery and other preuentions farre aboute his possibilitie.

Vain-glory of
the Spanish.

The Spaniards confesse vs to aduantage them in our shipping, and attribute all our victories to that which is but a masse of dead wood, were it not managed and ordered by Art and experience, affirming; that if we came to handie strokes and bourding, they should goe farre beyond vs, which to any person of reasonable vnderstanding, cannot but seeme most vaine-glorious; for we leaue not to bourd with them vpon occasion, when otherwise we cannot force them to surrender, but I conclude it to be great error, and want of discretion in any man, to put himselfe, his shippe, and company in perill, being able otherwise to vanquish his enemy.

This imagination so vaine, and voyde of ground, hath growne from the ignorance of some of our common sort of Marriners, and vulgar people, which haue beene prisoners in *Spaine*: Who being examined and asked, why her Maiesties shippes in occasions bourd not? haue answered, and enformed; That it is the expresse order of her Maiestie and Counsell; in no case to hazard her shippes by bourding: yea I haue knowne some Captaines of our owne, (to colour their faint proceedings) haue auerred as much, which is nothing so. For in the houre, that her Maiestie, or Counsell committeth the charge of any her shippes to any person, it is left to his discretion to bourd, or not to bourd, as the reason of seruice requireth. And therefore let no man hereafter pretend ignorance, nor for this vanitie leaue to doe his duty, or that which is most probable to redound to the honour and seruice of his Prince and Countrey, and to the damage of his enemy. For in case, he excuse himselfe with this allegation, it cannot but redound to his condemnation and disreputation; And I assure all men, that in any reasonable equalitie of shipping, we cannot desire greater aduantage, then we haue of the Spaniards, by bourding. The reasons why, I hold it not conuenient to discourse in perticular, but experience and tract of time, with that which I haue seene amongst them, hath taught me this knowledge; and those who
haue

have seene their discipline, and ours, cannot but testifie the same.

SECT. LX.



Gainie, all that which hath beene spoken of the danger of the Artillery in bourding, is not to be wrested, nor interpreted, to cut of vterly the vse of all Artillery, after bourding, but rather I hold nothing more conuenient in shippes of warre, then fowlers and great bases in the cage workes, and Murderers in the Cobridge heads; for that their execution and speedie charging and discharging, is of great moment.

Courses for
Artillery after
bourding.

Many I know haue left the vse of them, and of sundry other preuentions, as of sherehookes, stones in their toppes, and arming them; Pikebolts in their wales and diuers other engines of Antiquitie. But vpon what inducement, I cannot relate, vnlesse it be because they neuer knew their effects and benefit; and may no doubt be vsed without the inconueniences before mentioned in great Ordinance. As also such may be the occasion, that without danger some of the great Artillery may be vsed, and that with great effect, which is in the discretion of the Commanders and their Gunners, as hath beene formerly seene and daily is experimented in the *Reuenge* of her Maiesties, good experience was made; who sunke two of the Spanish Armado lying about her.

Disuse of en-
gines of Anti-
quitie.

SECT. LXI.



IN these bourdings, and Skirmishes, diuers of our men were slaine, and many hurt, and my selfe amongst them receiued sixe wounds; one of them in the necke very perillous; another through the arme perishing the bone, and cutting the *sinewes* close by the Arme-pit; the rest not so dangerous. The Master of our shippe had one of his eyes, his nose, and halfe his face shott away. Master *Henry Courton* was slaine; on these two, I principally relyed for the prosecution of our voyage, if God by sicknesse, or otherwise, should take me away.

The

The Spaniards parley.

The Spaniards with their great Ordinance lay continually playing vpon vs, and now and then parled and inuited vs to *surrender our selues a Buena Querra*. The Captaine of our shippe, in whose direction and guide, our liues, our honour, and welfare now remained; seeing many of our people wounded and slaine, and that few were left to sustaine, and maintaine the fight, or to resist the entry of the enemy (if he should againe board with vs) and that our contraries offered vs good pertido: came vnto me accompanied with some others, and began to relate the state of our shippe, and how that many were hurt, and slaine, and scarce any men appeared to trauesse the Artillery, or to oppole themselues for defence, if the enemy should board with vs againe: And how that the Admirall offered vs life and liberty, and to receiue vs *a Buena querra*, and to send vs into our owne countrey. Saying, that if I thought it so meete, he and the rest were of opinion that we should put out a flagge of truce, and make some good composition. The great losse of blood had weakned me much. The torment of my wounds newly receiued, made me faint, and I laboured for life, within short space expecting I should giue vp the *ghost*.

But this parly pearced through my heart, and wounded my soule; words failed me wherewith to expresse it, and none can conceiue it, but he which findeth himselfe in the like agonie: yet grieffe and rage ministred force, and caused me to breake forth into this reprehension and execution following.

Great is the Crosse, which Almighty God hath suffered to come vpon me; That assaulted by our professed enemies, and by them wounded (as you see) in body, lying gasping for breath,) those whom I reputed for my friends to fight with me, those which I relyed on as my brethren to defend me in all occasions; Those whom I haue nourished, cherished, fostered and loued as my children, to succour me, helpe me, and to sustaine my reputation in all extremities, are they who first draw their swords against me; are they which wound my heart, in giuing me vp into mine enemies hands, whence proceedeth this ingratitude? whence this faintnesse of heart? whence this madnesse? is the cause you fight for, vniust? is the honour and loue of your Prince and Countrey buried in the dust? your sweete liues, are they become loathsome vnto you? will you exchange your liberty for thraldome, will you consent, to see that, which you haue sweat for, and procured with so great labour and aduenture, at the dispose of your enemies? can you content your selues to suffer my blood spilt before your eyes? and my life bereft me in your presence? with the blood and liues
of

of your deere brethren to be vnreuedged? is not an honourable death to be preferred before a miserable and flauish life? The one susteining the honour of our nation, of our predecessours, and of our societie; the other ignominious to our selues, and reproachfull to our nation. Can you be perswaded that the enemy will performe his promise with you, that neuer leaueth to breake it with others, when he thinketh it advantagious? and know you not, that with him, all is conuenient that is profitable? Hold they not this for a *maxime*; that, *nulla fides est seruanda cum hereticis*. In which number they accompt vs to be. Haue you forgotten their faith violated with my father, in *St. Iohn de Vlva*, the conditions and capitulations being firmed by the *Viceroy*, and twelue Hostages, all principall personages giuen for the more securitie of eicher party to other? Haue you forgotten their promise broken with *Iohn Vibao*, and his company in *Florida*, hauing conditioned to giue them shipping and victuals, to carry them into their Countrey? immediately after they had deliuered their weapons and armes, had they not their throates cut? haue you forgotten how they dealt with *Iohn Oxnam*, and his Company, in this Sea, yeeldeth vpon composition? and how after a long imprisonment, and many miseries (being carryed from *Panama* to *Lyma*) and there hanged with all his Company, as Pyrates, by the Iustice? And can you forget how dayly they abuse our noble natures, which being voyde of malice, measure all by sinceritie, but to our losse? for that when we come to demand performance, they stoppe our mouthes; Either with laying the *inquisition* vpon vs; or with deliuering vs into the hands of the ordinary Iustice; or of the Kings ministers. And then vrged with their promises, they shrinke vp to the shoulders; and say, That they haue now no further power ouer vs; They sorrow in their hearts, to see their promise is not accomplished; but now they cannot doe vs any good office, but to pray to God for vs, and to entreat the ministers in our behalfe.

Came we into the South-sea to put out flagges of truce? And left we our pleasant *England*, with all her contentments, with intention or purpose to auayle our selues of white ragges? and by banners of peace to deliuer our selues for slaues into our enemies hands? or to range the world with the English, to take the law from them, whom by our swords, prowesse, and valour, we haue alwaies heretofore bin accustomed to purchase honour, riches and reputation? If these motiues be not sufficient to perswade you, then I present before your eyes, your wines and children, your parents and friends, your noble and sweete countrey, your gracious

T

Soueraigne:

Soueraigne: of all which accompt your selues for euer deprived, if this proposition should be put in execution; But for all these, and for the loue and respect you owe me, and for al besides that you esteeme and hold deare in this world, and for him, that made vs and all the world, banish out of your imagination, such vaine and base thoughts; and according to your woonted resolution, prosecute the defence of your shippe, your liues, and libertie, with the liues and libertie of your companions; who by their wounds and hurts are disabled and deprived of all other defence and helpe, saue that which lyeth in your discretions and prowesse. And you Captaine, of whom I made choise amongst many, to be my principall assistant, and the person to accomplish my dutie, if extraordinary casualtie should disable me, to performe and prosecute our voyage. Tender your obligation, and now in the occasion giue testimony, and make prooffe of your constancie and valour, according to the opinion and confidence, I haue euer held of you.

Whereunto he made answer; my good Generall, I hope you haue made experience of my resolution, which shall be euer to put in execution, what you shall be pleased to command me; and my actions shall giue testimonie of the obligation wherein I stand bound vnto you. What I haue done, hath not proceeded from faintnesse of heart, nor from a will to see imaginations put in execution (for besides the losse of our reputation, liberty, and what good else we can hope for.) I know the Spaniard too too well, and the manner of his proceedings, in discharge of promises, but only to giue satisfaction to the rest of the Company, which importuned me to mooue this point. I condescended to that, which now I am ashamed of, and grieue at, because I see it disliking to you. And here I vowe to fight it out, till life or lymmes fayle me. Bee you pleased to recommend vs to Almighty God, and to take comfort in him, whom I hope will giue vs victory, and restore you to health and strength, for all our comforts, and the happy accomplishing and finishing of our voyage, to his glory.

I replied: this is that which beseemeth you; this sorteth to the opinion I euer held of you; and this will gaine you (with God and man) a iust reward. And you the rest (my deere companions and friends) who euer haue made a demonstration of desire to accomplish your duties, remember, that when we first discryed our enemy, you shewed to haue a longing to prooue your valours against him: Now that the occasion is offered, lay hold of the forelocke. For if once shee turne her backe, make sure accompt neuer after to see her face againe; and as true English men, and followers
of

of the steppes of our forefathers, in vertue and valour, sell your bloods and liues deerely, that Spaine may euer record it with sadnesse and grieffe. And those which suruiue, reioyce in the purchase of so noble a victory with so small meanes agaaist so powerfull an enemy.

Hereunto they made answer; that as hitherto they had beene conformable to all the vndertakings, which I had commanded or counselled, so they would continue in the selfe same durie and obedience to the last breath: vowing either to remaine Conquerours and Free-men, or else to sell their liues at that price, which their enemies should not willingly consent to buy them at. And with this resolution, both Captaine and company tooke their leaue of me, euery one particularly, and the greater part with teares, and and imbracings, though we were forthwith to depart the world, and neuer see one the other againe, but in heauen; promising to cast all forepassed imaginations into oblivion, and never more to speake of surrendry.

In accomplishment of this promise and determination, they persevered in sustaining the fight, all this night, with the day and night following, and the third day after. In which time the Enemy never left vs, day nor night, beating continually vpon vs, with his great and small shott. Saving that every morning an howler before breake of day, hee edged a little from vs, to breath, and to remedie such defects as were amisse; as also to consult, what they should doe the day and night following.

They resolue
to fight it out.

The Enemy
breatheth,

This time of interdiction, we imployed, in repayring our sayles, and tacklings, in stopping our leakes, in fishing and wolling our mastes and yards, in mending our pumpes, and in fitting and providing our selues for the day to come: though this was but little space for so many workes, yet gaue it great reliefe and comfort vnto vs, and made vs better able to endure the defence: for otherwise, our shippe must of force haue suncke before our surrendry, having many shot vnder water, and our pumpes shot to peeces every day: In all this space, not any man of either part tooke rest or sleepe, and little sustenance; besides bread and wine.

The English
repaire their
defects.

In the second dayes fight, the Vice-admirall comming vpon our quarter, *William Blanch*, one of our Masters mates, with a luckie hand, made a shot vnto her, with one of our sterne peeces; it cari- ed away his maine Mast close by the decke: wherewith the Admirall beare vp to her, to see what harme shee had received, and to giue her such succour, as shee was able to spare: which we seeing, were in good hope, that they would haue now left to molest vs a-

Advantages
omitted.

ny longer, having wherewithall to entertaine themselves in redressing their owne harmes. And so we stood away from them, close by as we could: which wee should not haue done, but prosecuted the occasion, and brought our selues close vpon her weather gage, and with our great and small shot hindered them from repairing their harmes: if we had thus done, they had beene forced to cut all by the bourd; and it may bee (lying a hull, or to le-wards of vs) with a few shot, wee might haue suncke her. At the least, it would haue declared to our enemies, that wee had them in little estimation, when able to goe from them, we would not: and perhaps bin a cause to haue made them to leaue vs.

But this occasion was let slip, as also, that other to fight with them, sayling quarter winds, or before the winde: for having stood off to Sea, a day and a night, we had scope to fight at our pleasure, and no man having sea roome, is bound to fight as his enemy will, with disadvantage, being able otherwise to deale with equalitie: contrariwise, every man ought to seeke the meanes hee can, for his defence, and greatest advantage, to the annoyance of his contrarie.

The difference
of shot.

Their effects.

Now wee might with our fore-saile, low set, haue borne vpp before the winde, and the enemy of force must haue done the like, if hee would fight with vs, or keepe vs company: and then should wee haue had the advantage of them. For although their Artillery were longer, waightier, and many more then ours, and in truth did pierce with greater violence; yet ours being of greater bore, and carrying a waightier and greater shot, was of more importance and of better effect for sinking and spoyling: for the smaller shot passeth through, and maketh but his whole, and harmeth that which lyeth in his way; but the greater shaketh and shivereth all it meeteth, and with the splinters, or that which it encountreth, many times doth more hurt, then with his proper circumference: as is plainely seene in the battery by land, when the Saker, the Demmy-Colverin, the Colverin, and demi-Canon, (being peeces that reach much further point blanke then the Cannon) are nothing of like importance for making the breach, as is the Cannon; for that this shot being ponderous pierceth with difficultie, yea worketh better effects, tormenting, shaking and overthrowing all; whereas the others, with their violence, pierce better, and make onely their hole, and so hide themselves in the Wooll or Rampire.

Besides (our Ship being yare and good of steeridge) no doubt but we should haue played better with our Ordinance, and with

more

more effect, then did our enemies; which was a great error, being able to fight with lesse disadvantage, and yet to fight with the most that could be imagined, which I knew not off, neither was able to direct, though I had knowne it; being in a manner senselesse, what with my wounds, and what with the agony of the surrendry propounded, for that I had seldome knowne it (spoken of, but that it came afterwards to be put in execution.

Errors in
Fight,

The Generall not being able to succour his Vice-admirall, except he should vtterly leaue vs, gave them order, to shift as well as they could for the present, and to beare with the next Port, and there to repayre their harmes. Himselfe presently followed the Chate, and in short space fetched vs vp, and beganne a fresh to batter vs with his great and small shott. The Vice-admirall (having saved what they could) cutt the rest by the board, and with Foresayle and Myson came after vs also, and before the setting of the Sunne, were come vpon our broad side, wee bearing all our Sayles, and after kept vs company, lying vpon our weather quarter, and annoying vs what shee could.

Here I hold it necessary, to make mention of two things, which were most preiudiciall vnto vs, and the principall causes of our perdition, the errors and faults of late dayes, crept in amongst those who follow the Sea, and learned from the *Flemings* and *Easterlings*. I wish that by our misfortunes others would take warning, and procure to redresse them, as occasions shall be offered.

Learned from
the *Flemings*
and *Easter-*
lings.

The one, is to fight vnarmed, where they may fight armed. The other, is in comming to fight, to drinke themselves drunke. Yea, some are so madd, that they mingle Powder with Wine, to giue it the greater force, imagining that it giueth spirit, strength, and courage, and taketh away all teare and doubt. The latter is for the most part true, but the former is false and beastly, and altogether against reason. For though the nature of Wine, with moderation, is to comfort and revieue the heart, and to fortifie and strengthen the spirit; yet the immoderate vse thereof worketh quite contrary effects.

1. To fight vnarmed.
2. To drinke to excess.

In fights, all receipts which adde courage and spirit, are of great regard, to be allowed, and vsed; and so is a draught of Wine, to be given to euery man before he come to action, but more then enough is pernicious; for, exceeding the measure, it offendeth, and infeebleth the senses, converting the strength (which should resist the force of the enemy) into weakenesse: it dulleth and blindeth the vnderstanding, and consequently depraueth any man of true valour. For that he is disenabled to iudge and apprehend the occa-

sion, which may be offered, to assault, and retyre in time convenient; the raynes of reason being put into the hands of passion and disorder. For after I was wounded, this *nimium* bred great disorder and inconvenience in our Shippe; the pott continually walking, infused desperate and foolish hardinesse in many, who blinded with the fume of the liquor, considered not of any danger, but thus and thus would stand at hazard; some in vaine glory, vaunting themselves; some other rayling vpon the *Spaniards*; another inviting his companion to come and stand by him, and not to budge a foote from him; which indiscreetly they put in execution, and cost the liues of many a good man, slaine by our enemies Muskettiers, who suffered not a man to shew himselfe, but they presently overthrew him with speed and watchfullnesse; For prevention of the second errour, although I had great preparation of Armour, as well of prooffe, as of light Corseletts, yet not a man would vse them; but esteemed a pott of Wine, a better defence then an Armour of prooffe. Which truly was great madnesse, and a lamentable fault, worthy to be banished from amongst all reasonable people, and well to be weighed by all Commanders. For if the *Spaniard* surpasseth vs in any thing, it is in his temperance, and suffering: and, where he hath had the better hand of vs, it hath beene (for the most part) through our owne folly, for that we will fight vnarmed with him being armed. And although I haue heard many men maintaine, that in Shipping, Armour is of little profit; All men of good vnderstanding, will condemne such desperate ignorance. For besides, that the sleightest Armour securreth the parts of a mans body (which it covereth) from Pike, Sword, and all hand weapons: it likewise giueth boldnesse and courage; a man Armed, giueth a greater and a waightier blow, then a man vnarmed; he standeth faster, and with greater difficultie is to be overthrowne.

The *Spaniard* surpasseth vs onely in temperance.

The vse and profit of arming,

And I neuer read, but that the glistering of the Armour hath beene by Authors obserued, for that (as I imagine) his show breedeth terror in his contraries, and despayre to himselfe if he be vnarmed. And therefore in time of warre, such as devote themselves to follow the profession of Armes (by Sea or by Land) ought to covet nothing more, then to be well Armed; for as much as it is the second meanes, next Gods protection, for preseruing, and prolonging many mens liues.

exactly obserued by the Spanish.

Wherein the Spanish nation deserveth commendation aboue others, euery one from the highest to the lowest, putting their greatest care in providing faire and good Armes. He which cannot
come

come to the price of a Corſlet, will have a coate of Mayle, a Iackett, at leaſt, a Buſſe-jerkin, or a privie Coate. And hardly will they be found without it, albeit, they live, and ſerve (for the moſt part) in extreame hott Countries.

Whereas I have knowne many bred in cold Countries, in a moment complaine of the waight of their Armes, that they ſmoother them, and then caſt them off, chuſing rather to be ſhott through with a Bullet, or lanced through with a Pike, or thruſt through with a Sword, then to endure a little travaile and ſuffering. But let me giue theſe lazie ones this leſſon, that he that will goe a warrefare, muſt reſolve himſelfe to fight; and he that putteth on this reſolution, muſt be contented to endure both heate and waight, firſt, for the ſafeguard of his life, and next for ſubduing of his enemy; both which are hazarded, and put into great danger, if he fight vnarmed with an enemy armed.

Now for mine owne opinion, I am reſolved that Armour is more neceſſary by Sea, then by Land, yea, rather to be excuſed on the ſhore, then in the Shippe. My reaſon is, for that on the ſhore the Bullet onely hurteth, but in the Shippe, I have ſcene the Splinters kill and hurt many at once, and yet the ſhott to have paſſed without touching any perſon. As in the *Galeon*, in which I came out of the *Indies*, in Anno 1597. in the rode of *Tercera*, when the Queenes Maieſties Shippes, vnder the charge of the Earle of *Effex*, chaſed vs into the rode, with the ſplinters of one ſhott, were ſlaine, maymed, and ſore hurt, at the leaſt a dozen perſons, the moſt part whereof had beene excuſed, if they had beene Armed.

Armes more
neceſſary by
Sea, then at
Land.

And doubtleſſe, if theſe errours had beene foreſcene, and remedied by vs, many of thoſe who were ſlaine and hurt, had beene on foote, and we inabled to have ſuſtained and maintained the fight much better and longer; and perhaps at laſt had freed our ſelves. For if our enemy had come to bourd with vs, our cloſe fights were ſuch, as we were ſecure, and they open vnto vs. And what with our Cubridge heads, one anſwering the other, our hatches vpon bolts, our brackes in our Deckes, and Gunner roome, it was impoſſible to take vs as long as any competent number of men had remained, twentie perſons would have ſufficed for defence; and for this, ſuch Shippes are called *Impregnable*, and are not to be taken, but by ſurrender, nor to be overcome, but with bourding or ſinking, as in vs by experience was verified: and not in vs alone, but in the *Revenge* of the Queenes Maieſtie, which being compaſſed round about with all the *Armado* of *Spaine*, and bourded ſundry times by many at once, is ſaid, to have ſunke three of the *Armado* by her ſide.

And in this conflict, having lost all her Mastes, and being no other then a logge in the Sea, could not, bee taken with all their force and pollicie, till shee surrendred her selfe by an honourable composition.

By these presidents, let Governours by Sea take speciall care aboute all, to preferue their people, in imitation of the French; who carrie many Souldiers in their shippes of Warre, and secure them in their holdes, till they come to entring, and to proue their forces by the dint of Sword.

A difference
for Comman-
ders,

But here the discrete Commaunders are to put difference, betwixt those which defend, and those which are to offend, and betwixt those which assault, and those which are assaulted. For (as I haue sayd) no government whatsoever, better requireth a perfect and experimented Commaunder, then that of the Sea. And so no greater error can bee committed, then to commend such charges to men vnexperimented in this profession.

Race-ships of
Warre disliked

A third and last cause, of the losse of sundry of our men, most worthy of note for all Captaines, owners, and Carpenters: was the race building of our shippe; the onely fault shee had; and now a dayes, held for a principall grace in any shippe: but by the experience which I haue had, it seemeth for sundry reasons verie preiudiciall for shippes of Warre, For in such, those which tackle the sayles, of force must bee vpon the deckes, and are open without shelter, or any defence: yet here it will be obiected; That for this inconvenience, wast clothes are provided, and for want of them, it is vsuall to lace a bonnet, or some such shadow for the men; worthily may it bee called a shadow, and one of the most pernicious customes, that can be vsed, for this shadow, or defence, being but of linnen or wollen cloth, emboldeneth many; who without it would retire to better securitie, whereas now thinking themselues vnseene, they become more bould, then otherwise they would, and thereby shot through, when they least thinke of it; Some Captaines observing this error, haue sought to remedie it, in some of his Maiesties shippes: not by altering the building, but by devising a certaine defence, made of foure or fiew inch planckes of fiew foote high, and sixe foote broad, running vpon wheelles, and placed in such partes of the shippe, as are most open. These they name blenders, and made of Elme for the most part; for that it shivers not with a shot, as Oake and other Timber will doe, which are now in vse and service, but best it is, when the whole side hath one blender, and one armour of prooffe, for defence of those, which of force must labour, and be aloft.

Wast-clothes
not so vsfull,

as other devi-
ses,

This

This race building, first came in, by overmuch homing in of our shippes; and received for good, vnder colour of making our ships thereby the better sea-shippes, and of better advantage to hull and trye: but in my iudgement, it breedeth many inconveniences, and is farre from working the effect they pretend, by disfinabling them for bearing their cage worke correspondent, to the proportion and mould of the shippe, making them tender sided, and vnable to carry sayle in any fresh gale of winde, and diminishing the play of their Artillery, and the place for accommodating their people to fight, labor, or rest.

And I am none of those, who hold opinion, that the over-much homing in, the more the better, is commodious and easier for the shippe; and this out of the experience, that I haue learned; which with forcible reasons, I could proue to be much rather discomodious and worthy to be reformed. But withall I hold it not necessary to discourse here of that particularitie, but leaue the consequence to men of vnderstanding, and so surcease.

S E C T. L X I I.



ALl this second day, and the third day and night, our Captaine and company susteined the fight, notwithstanding the disadvantage where with they fought; The enimie being ever to wind-ward, and wee to lee-ward, their shott much damnifying vs, and ours liette annoying them, for whensoever a man encountreth with his enimie at sea, in gayning the weather gage, hee is in possibilitie to sinke his contrary; but his enimie cannot not sinke him; and therefore hee which is forced to fight with this disadvantage, is to procure by all meanes possible to shoote downe his contraries Masts or Yards, and to teare or spoylr his tackling and sayles; for which purpose, billets of some heaue wood fitted to the great Ordinance, are of great importance. And so are Arrowes of fire, to bee shot out of slur-bowes, and cases of small shot ioyned two and two together, with peeces of wyer of five or six ynches long, which also shot out of muskets are of good effect, for tearing the sayles, or cutting the tackling.

Some are of opinion, that crosse barres and chaine-shot, are of moment for the spoyling of Masts and Yards, but experience dayly teacheth, them not to be of great importance, though neere

The disadvantage of Ships to lee-ward.

And
the best remedie.

at hand, I confesse, they worke great execution: but the round shott, is the onely principall and powerfull meane, to breake Mast or Yard.

The Spaniards
fore-mast
thrice shot
through.

And in this our fight, the Admirall of the Spaniards, had his fore-mast shot through with two round shott, some three yardes beneath the head; had either of them entred but foure ynches further into the heart of the Mast, without all doubt, it had freed vs, and perhaps put them into our hands. The third day in the after-noon which was the 22. of Iune 1594. according to our computation, and which I follow in this my discourse, our sayles being torne, our Mastes all perished, our pumpes rent, and shot to peeces, and our shippe with foureteene shott vnder water, and seven or eight foote of water in hold; many of our men being slaine, and the most part of them (which remayned) sore hurt, and in a manner altogether fruiteles, and the enemy offering still to receaue vs a *buena guerra*, and to giue vs life and libertie, and imbarcation for our countrey; Our Captaine, and those which remayned of our Company, were all of opinion that our best course was to surrender our selues, before our shippe suncke. And so by common consent agreed the second time, to send a seruant of mine *Thomas Sanders*, to signifie vnto mee the estate of our shippe and company; And that it was impossible by any other way to expect for hope of deliverance, or life, but by the miraculous hand of God, in vsing his Almighty power; or by an honourable surrender: which in every mans opinion was thought most convenient. So was I desired by him, to giue also my consent, that the Captaine might capitulate with the Spanish Generall, and to compound the best *partido* he could by surrendring our selues into his hands: vpon condition of life and libertie. This hee declared vnto me, being in a manner voyd of sence, and out of hope to liue or recover, which considered, and the circumstances of his relation, I answered as I could, that hee might iudge of my state, readie every moment to giue vp the Ghost, and vnable to discern in this cause what was convenient, except I might see the present state of the shippe. And that the honour or dishonour, the wel-fare or misery, was for them, which should be partakers of life; At last, for that I had satisfaction of his valour and true dealing, in all the time, hee had served me, and in correspondence of it, had given him (as was notorious) charge and credit in many occasions, I bound him, by the loue and regard, hee ought me, and by the faith and duty to Almighty God, to tell me truely, if all were as he had declared. Whereunto hee made answere, that hee had manifested vnto

vnto mee the plaine and naked truth, and that hee tooke God to witnesse of the same truth; with which receiving satisfaction, I forced my selfe what I could, to perswade him to animate his companions, and in my name to intreate the Captaine, and the rest to persevere in defence of their libertie, liues, and reputation, remitting all to his discretion: not doubting, but he would be tender of his dutie, and zealous of my reputation, in preferring his liberty, and the liberty of the Company aboue all respects whatsoever. As for the welfare hoped by a surrender, I was altogether vnlikely to be partaker thereof, Death threatening to deprive me of the benefit, which the Enemy offered; but if God would bee pleased to free vs, the ioy and comfort I should receiue, might perhaps giue me force and strength to recover health.

Which answer being delivered to the Captaine, hee presently caused a flagge of truce, to be put in place of our Ensigne, and began to parley of our surrendry, with a Spaniard, which *Don Beltran* appointed for that purpose, from the poepe of the Admirall, to offer in his name, the conditions before specified; with his faithfull promise and oath, as the King Generall, to take vs a *buena guerra*, and to send vs all into our owne Countrey. The promise hee accepted, and sayd, that vnder the same, hee yeilded, and surrendered himselfe, shippe, and company. Immediately, there came vnto me another servant of mine, and told me, that our Captaine had surrendered himselfe, and our shippe; which vnderstood, I called vnto one *Iuan Gomes de Pineda*, a Spanish Pilote, which was our prisoner, and in all the fight we had kept close in hold, and willed him to goe to the Generall *Don Beltran de Castro* from mee, to tell him, that if he would giue vs his word, and oath, as the Generall of the King, and some pledge for confirmation, to receiue vs a *buena guerra*, and to giue vs our liues and libertie, and present passage into our owne Countrey, that we would surrender our selues, and shippe into his handes; Otherwise, that hee should never enioy of vs, nor ours, any thing, but a resolution every man to dye fighting.

With this Message I dispatched him, and called vnto me all my Company, and encouraged them to sacrifice their liues fighting, and killing the Enemy, if he gaue but a filip to any of our companions. The Spaniards willed vs to hoise out our boate, which was shott all to peeces; and so was theirs. Seing that hee called to vs to amaine our sayles, which wee could not well doe, for that they were slung, and wee had not men inough to hand them. In this parley, the Vice-admirall comming vp on our quarter, and

The English
surrender.

not knowing of what had past, discharged her two chafe peeces at vs, and hurt our Captaine very sore in the thigh, and maimed one of our Masters Mates, called *Hugh Maires*, in one of his Armes, but after knowing vs to be rendred, hee secured vs: And we satisfying them that wee could not hoise out our boate, nor strike our sayles the Admirall layd vs aboard, but before any man entred, *Iohn Gomes* went vnto the Generall, who receiued him with great curtesie, and asked him what we required; whereunto he made answere that my demaund was that in the Kings name, he should giue vs his faich and promise, to giue vs our liues, to keepe the Lawes of fayre warres and quarter, and to send vs presently into our countrey; and in confirmation hereof, that I required some pledge, whereunto the Generall made answere; that in the Kings Maiesties name his Master, hee received vs a *buena querra*, and swore by God Almighty, and by the habit of *A'cautara*, (whereof he had received knight hood, and in token whereof, hee wore in his breast a greene crosse, which is the ensigne of that order) that he would giue vs our liues with good entreatie, and send vs as speedily as he could, into our owne countrey. In confirmation whereof, he tooke of his gloue, and sent it to mee, as a pledge.

With this message *Iohn Gomes* returned, and the Spaniards entred, and tooke possession of our shippe, every one crying *buena querra, buena querra, oy por in maniana por ti*: with which our Company began to secure themselues.

The Generall, was a principall Gentleman, of the ancient Nobilitie of Spaine, and brother to the *Conde de Lemos*, whose intention no doubt was according to his promise; and therefore considering that some bad intreaty, and insolency, might be offered vnto me in my shippe, by the common Souldiers, who seldome haue respect to any person in such occasions, especially in the case I was, whereof hee had enformed himselfe; for prevention, hee sent a principall Captaine, brought vp long time in Flaunders, called *Pedro Alueres de Pulgar*, to take care of me, and whilest the shippes were one aboard the other, to bring me into his ship: which hee accomplished with great humanitie and courtesie; despising the barres of gold which were shared before his face; which hee might alone haue enjoyed, if hee would; And truely hee was, as after I found by tryall, a true Captaine; a man worthy of any charge, and of the noblest condition, that I haue knowne any Spaniard.

The mildnes
of a Generall
after victorie

The Generall received me with great courttesie and compassion even with teares in his eyes, and words of great consolation, and
com-

commaunded mee to bee accommodated in his owne Cabbine, where hee sought to cure and comfort mee the best he could; the like hee vsed with all our hurt men, fixe and thirtie at least. And doubtlesse as true courage, valour, and resolution, is requisit in a Generall, in the time of battle. So humanitie, mildnes, and courtesie, after victorie.

S E C T. L X I I I.



Whilst the shippes were together, the maine-mast of the *Daintie* fell by the board, and the people being occupied in ransacking and seeking for spoile and Pillage, neglected the principall; whereof ensued, that within a short space the *Daintie* grew so deepe with water, which increased for want of prevention, that all who were in her, desired to forsake her, and weaved and cryed for succour to bee saved; being out of hope of her recovery.

Whereupon, the Generall calling together the best experimented men hee had, and consulting with them what was best to bee done: it was resolved, that Generall *Michaell Angell* should goe about the *Daintie*, and with him threescore Marriners, as many Souldiers; and with them, the English men who were able to labour to free her from water, and to put her in order, if it were possible: and then to recover *Perico*, the port of *Panama*, for that, of those to wind-wards, it was impossible to turne vp to any of them, and neerer then to le-ward was not any, that could supply our necessities and wants; which lay from vs, east north east, about two hundred leagues.

The *Daintie* in danger of perishing.

Michaell Angell, being a man of experience, and care, accomplished that he tooke in hand, although in clearing and bayling the water, in placing a pumpe, and in fitting, and mending her fore-saile, he spent about fixe and thirtie howers.

Michaell Archangell recovered the Ship.

During which time, the shippes lay all a hull; but this worke ended, they set sayle, & directed their course for the Iles of Pearles; And for that the *Daintie* sayled badly, what for want of her maine-saile, and with the advantage, which all the south-sea shippes haue of all those built in our North sea: The Admirall gaue her a tawe; which notwithstanding, (the wind calming with vs, as we approached neerer to the land) twelue dayes were spent, before we could

fetch sight of the Ilands; which lye alongst the coast, beginning some eight leagues, West south-west from *Panama*, and run to the south-wards neere thirtie leagues. They are many, and the most vnhabited, and those which haue people, haue some Negroes, slaues vnto the Spaniards, which occupie themselues in labour of the land, or in fishing for Pearles,

Fishing for
Pearles.

In times past, many enriched themselues with that trade, but now it is growne to decay. The maner of fishing for Pearles is, with certaine long Pinaces or small barkes, in which, there goe foure, fve, fixe, or eight Negroes, expert swimmers, and great deeuers, whom the Spaniards call *Busos*; with tract of time, vse, and continuall practise, having learned to hold their breath long vnder water, for the better atchieving their worke. These throwing themselues into the Sea, with certaine instruments of their art, goe to the botome, and seeke the bankes of the Oysters, in which the Pearles are ingendered; and with their force and art, remoue them from their foundation, in which they spend more or lesse time, according to the resistance the firmenes of the ground affordeth. Once loosed, they put them into a bagge vnder their armes, and after bring them vp into their boates; having loaden it, they goe to the shoare: there they open them, and take out the Pearles: they lie vnder the vttermost part of the circuite of the Oyster, in rankes and proportions, vnder a certaine part, which is of many pleights and folds, called the Ruffe, for the similitude, it hath vnto a Ruffe.

The Pearles increase in bignes, as they be neerer the end or ioynt of the Oyster: The meate of those, which haue these pearles, is milkie, and not very wholesome to be eaten.

In *Anno*, 1583. In the Iland of *Margarita*, I was at the dregging of Pearle Oysters, after the maner we dregge Oysters in England; and with mine owne hands I opened many, & tooke out the pearles of them; some greater, some lesse, and in good quantitie.

How the Pearle is ingendred in the Oyster, or Mussell (for they are found in both) divers and sundry are the opinions, but some ridiculous; whereof, because many famous and learned men haue written largely, I will speake no more, then hath beene formerly spoken, but referre their curious desires to *Pliny*, with other Ancient, and moderne Authors.

The places
where pearle
are found.

They are found in divers partes of the world, as in the west *Indies*, in the *South sea*, in the east *Indian sea*, in the Straites of *Magellane*, and in the *Scottish Sea*.

Those found neere the Pooles, are not perfect, but are of a thick colour; whereas such as are found neere the line, are most orient & transparent;

transparent: the curious call it their water: and the best is a cleare white shining, with fierie flames. And those of the east *India* haue the best reputation, though as good are found in the west *India*, the the choice ones, are of great valew and estimation, but the greatest, that I haue read or heard of, was found in these Ilands of Pearles; the which King *Phillip* the second of *Spaine*, gaue to his daughter *Elizabeth*, wife to *Albertus*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, and Governour of the States of *Flaunders*: in whose possession it remaineth, and is called, *la Peregrina*, for the rarenes of it; being as bigge, as the pomell of a Poniard.

S E C T. L X I I I I.



IN this Navigation, after our surrender, the Generall tooke especial care for the good intreaty of vs, and especially of those who were hurt. And God so blessed the hands of our Surgians (besides that they were expert in their Art) that of all our wounded men not one died, that was aliue the day after our surrendry: The number whereof was neere fortie; and many of them with eight, ten, or twelue wounds, and some with more. The thing that ought to moue vs to giue God Almighty especiall thankes and prayles, was, that they were cured in a manner without instruments or salues: For the chests were all broken to peeces, and many of their simples and compounds throwne into the Sea; those which remained, were such, as were throwne about the shippe in broken pots and baggs, and such as by the Diuine providence were reserued, at the end of three dayes, by order from the Generall, were commaunded to be sought and gathered together. These with some instruments of small moment, bought and procured from those, who had reserued them to a different end, did not onely serue for our cures, but also for the curing of the Spaniards, being many more, then those of our Company.

The Generall continueth his honourable v-
sage, towards
the sicke and
wounded,

For the Spanish Surgians were altogether ignorant in their profession, and had little or nothing wherewith to cure. And I haue noted, that the Spaniards in generall are nothing so curious, in accommodating themselues, with good and carefull Surgeans, nor to fitt them with that which belongeth to their profession, as other Nations are, though they haue greater neede then any, that I doe know.

At the time of our surrendcr, I had not the Spanish tongue, and so was forced to vse an interpreter, or the Latine, or French; which holpe me much for the vnderstanding of those, which spake vnto me in Spanish; together with a little smattering I had of the Portugall.

Through the noble proceeding of *Don Beltran* with vs, and his particuler care towards me, in curing and comforting me, I began to gather heart, and hope of life, and health; my seruants which were on foote, advised me ordinarily of that which past. But some of our enemies, badly inclined, repined at the proceedings of the Generall; and sayd, he did ill to vse vs so well; that wee were *Lutherans*; and for that cause, the faith which was given vs, was not to be kept nor performed: Others, that we had fought as good Souldiers, and therefore deserved good quarter. Others, nicknamed vs with the name of *Corсарios*, or Pirats; not discerning thereby, that they included themselues within the same imputation. Some were of opinion, that from *Panama*, the Generall would send vs into Spaine; Others sayd, that he durst not dispose of vs, but by order from the Vice-roy of *Peru*, who had given him his authority. This hit the nayle on the head.

To all I gaue the hearing, and laid vp in the store-house of my memory, that which I thought to be of substance, and in the store-house of my consideration, endeoured to frame a proportionable resolution to all occurrants, conformable to Gods most holy will. Withall I profitted my selfe of the meanes, which should bee offered, and beare greatest probabilitie to worke our comfort, help, and remedie. And so, as time ministred oportunitie, I began, and endeoured to satisfie the Generall, and the better sort in the points I durst intermeddle. And especially to perswade (by the best reasons I could) that wee might be sent presently from *Panama*: Alleaging the promise given vs, the cost and charges ensuing, which doubtles would be such as deserued consideration and excuse: besides that, now whilest he was in place, and power and authority in his hands, to performe with vs, that hee would looke into his honour, and profit himselfe of the occasion, and not put vs into the hands of a third person; who perhaps being more powerfull then himselfe, he might be forced to pray and intreate the performance of his promise; whereunto hee gaue vs the hearing, and bare vs in hand, that hee would doe, what hee could.

The Generall, and all in generall, not onely in the *Peru*, but in all *Spaine*, and the Kingdomes thereof (before our surrendry) held all English men of Warre, to be *Corсарios*, or Pirats; which I laboured

to reforme, both in the *Peru*, and also in the Counsels of *Spaine*, and amongst the Chieftaines, souldiers, and better sort, with whom I came to haue conversation; Alleadging that a Pirate, or *Corfario*, is he, which in time of peace, or truce spoyleth, or robbeth those, which haue peace or truce with them: but the English haue neyther peace nor truce with *Spaine*, but warre; and therefore not to be accounted Pirats. Besides, *Spaine* broke the peace with *England*, and not *England* with *Spaine*; and that by *Ymbargo*, which of all kinds of defiance, is most reprov'd, and of least reputation; The ransoming of prysoners, and that by the Cannon, being more honorable, but aboue all, the most honorable, is with Trumpet and Herald, to proclaime and denounce the warre by publicke defiance. And to if they should condemne the English for Pirats, of force, they must first condemne themselues.

What a Pirate is.

3. Sorts of defiance.

Moreover, Pirats are those, who range the Seas without licence of their Prince; who when they are met with, are punished more severely by their owne Lords, then when they fall into the hands of strangers: which is notorious to be more severely prosecuted in *England* (in time of peace) then in any the Kingdomes of *Christendome*.

But the English haue all licence, either immediately from their Prince, or from others therevnto authorized, and so cannot in any sence be comprehended vnder the name of Pirats, for any hostility vndertaken against *Spaine*, or the dependancies thereof.

And so the state standing as now it doth; if in *Spaine* a particular man should arme a shippe, and goe in warre-fare with it against the English, and happened to be taken by them: I make no question, but the Company should bee intreated according to that manner, which they haue ever vsed since the beginning of the Warre: without making further Inquisition.

The Custome of Spaine for of warre.

Then if hee were rich or poore, to see if hee were able to giue a ransome, in this also they are not very curious. But if this spanish shippe should fall a thwart his Kings Armado, or Gallies, I make no doubt but they would hang the Captaine and his Companie for Pirats. My reason is, for that by a speciall law, it is enacted: that no man, in the kingdomes of *Spaine*, may arme any shippe, and goe in warre-fare, without the Kings speciall licence and commission; vpon paine to be reputed a Pirate, and to bee chastised with the punishment due to *Corfarios*. In *England* the case is different, for the warre once proclaimed, every man may arme that will, and hath wherewith; which maketh for our greater exemption, from being comprehended within the number of Pirats.

The Custome of England.

With these, and other like Arguments to this purpose, (to avoid tediousnes) I omitt; I convinced all those whom I heard to harpe vpon this string; which was of no small importance for our good entreatie, and motiues for many, to further and favour the accomplishment of the promise lately made vnto vs.

S E C T. LXV.



A disputation
concerning
Buena guerra.

On the day after dinner, (as was the ordinary custome) The Generall, his Captaines, and the better sort of his followers, being assembled in the Cabbin of the Poope in conference, an eager contention arose amongst them, touching the capitulation of *Buena Querra* and the purport thereof. Some sayd, that onely life and good entreatie of the prisoners, was to be comprehended therein; Others enlarged, and restrained it, according to their humors and experience. In fine my opinion was required, and what I had seene, and knowne, touching that point: wherein I pawsed a little, and suspecting the worst, feared that it might bee a baite layd to catch me withall, and so excused my selfe; saying, that where so many experimented souldiers were ioyned together, my young iudgement was little to be respected; whereunto the Generall replied: That knowledge was not alwayes incident to yeares, (though reason requireth, that the Aged should bee the wisest) but an Art, acquired by action, and management of affaires. And therefore they would be but certified, what I had seene, and what my iudgement was in this point, vnto which, seeing I could not well excuse my selfe, I condescended; and calling my wits together, holding it better, to shoote out my boulte, by yeelding vnto reason, (although I might erre) then to stand obstinate, my will being at warre with my consent, and fearing my deniall might be taken for discourtesie, which peradventure might also purchase me mislike with those, who seemed to wish me comfort and restitution. I submitted to better iudgement, the reformation of the present Assembly; saying, Syr, vnder the capitulation of *Buena guerra*, (or fayre warres) I haue ever vnderstood, and so it hath bene observed in these, as also in former times, that preservation of life, and good entreatie of the prisoner, haue bene comprehended: and further by no meanes to be vrged to any thing contrary to his conscience, as touching his Religion; nor to be seduced, or menaced from the
allegiance

The Resolu-
tion &c.

allegiance due to his Prince and Countrey: but rather to ransom him for his moneths pay. And this is that which I have knowne practised in our times, in generall amongst all civill and noble Nations. But the English, haue enlarged it one point more towards the Spaniards rendred a *Buena guerra*, in these warres; haue ever delivered them, which haue beene taken vpon such compositions, without rancome: but the covetousnes of our Age hath brought in many abuses, and excluded the principall Officers from partaking of the benefit of this priviledge, in leaving them to the discretion of the Victor, beeing many times poorer, then the common Souldiers, their qualities considered, whereby they are commonly put to more, then the ordinary rancome, and not being able of themselues to accomplish it, are forgotten of their Princes, and sometimes suffer long imprysonment, which they should not.

The noble
vsage of the
English,

But abused in
these dayes,

With this, *Don Beltran* sayd, This ambiguitie you haue well resolved; And like a worthie Gentleman (with great courtesie and liberalitie) added; *Let not the last point trouble you: but bee of good comfort, for I heere giue you my word anew, that your rancome (if any shall bee thought due) shall be but a cople of Grey-hounds for mee; and other two for my Brother, the Conde de Lemes, And this I sweare to you by the habit of Alcautera.* Provided alwayes, that the King my Master leaue you to my dispose, as of right you belong vnto me.

Don Beltran
satisfied
And
answereth,

For amongst the Spaniards in their Armadoes, if there bee an absolute Generall, the tenth of all is due to him, and he is to take choise of the best: where in other Countries, it is by lot, that the Generallstenth is given; And if they be but two shippes, he doth the like, and being but one, shee is of right the Generalls. This I hardly believed, vntill I saw a Letter, in which the King willed his Vice-roy, to giue *Don Beltran* thanks for our shippe and Artillerie, which he had given to his Maiestie.

I yeelded to the Generall, most heartie thanks for his great favour, wherewith hee bound mee ever to seeke how to serue him, and deserue it.

X 2

S I C K.

S E C T. L X V I.

Short arrowes
for Muskets.



IN this discourse Generall *Michaell Angell* demanded, for what purpose served the little short Arrowes, which wee had in our shippe, and those in so great quantitie: I satisfied them, that they were for our Muskets. They are not as yet in vse amongst the Spaniards, yet of singular effect and execution as our enemies confessed: for the vpper worke of their shippes being Muskets prooffe, in all places they passed through both sides with facilitie, and wrought extraordinary disasters, which caused admiration, to see themselues wounded with small shott, where they thought themselues secure; and by no meanes could find where they entred, nor come to the sight of any of the shott.

Hereof they proved to profit themselues after, but for that they wanted the tampkings, which are first to be driven home, before the arrow be put in, & as then vnderstood not the secret, they reiectred them, as vncertaine, and therefore not to be vsed, but of all the shot vsed now a dayes, for the annoying of an Enemie in fight, by Sea, few are of greater moment for many respects: which I hold not convenient to treate of in Publique.

S E C T. L X V I I.



Little to the South-wards of the Iland of Pearle, betwixt seven and eight degrees, is the great River of *Saint Buena Ventura*. It falleth into the South Sea with three mouthes, the head of which, is but a little distant from the North Sea. In *Anno 1575. or 1576.* one *Iohn Oxman* of *Plymouth*, going into the west *Indies*, ioyned with the *Symarons*.

Iohn Oxmans
Voyage to the
South Sea.

What the *Sy-*
marons are.

These are fugitiue Negroes, and for the bad intreatie which their Masters had given them, were then retyred into the mounraines, and lived vpon the spoyle of such Spaniards, as they could master, and could never be brought into obedience, till by composition they had a place limmitted them for their freedome, where they should liue quietly by themselues. At this day they haue a
great

great habitation neere *Panama*, called *Saint Iago de los Negros*, well peopled, with all their Officers and Commaunders of their owne, saue onely a Spanish Governour. Their habitation.

By the assistance of these *Symarons*, hee brought to the head of this River, by peecemeale, and in many iourneyes a small pinnace, hee fitted it by time in warlike manner, and with the choice of his Company, put himselfe into the South Sea, where his good hap, was to meeete with a cople of shippes of trade, and in the one of them a great quantitie of gold. And amongst other things two peeces of speciall estimation, the one a Table of massie gold, with Emeralds, sent for a present to the King; the other a Lady of singular beautie, married, and a mother of Children. The latter grewe to be his perdition: for hee had capitulated with these *Symarons*, that their part of the bootie, should be onely the prisoners, to the ende to execute their malice vpon them, (such was the rancor they had conceived against them, for that they had beene the Tyrants of their libertie.) But the Spaniards not contented to haue them their slaves; who lately had beene their Lords, added to their seruitude, cruell intreaties. And they againe to feede their insatiable revenges, accustomed to rost and eate the hearts of all those Spaniards, whom at any time they could lay hand vpon. Their assistance.

John Oxman (I say) wastaken with the loue of this Lady, and to winne her good will, what through her teares and perswasions, and what through feare and detestation of their barbarous inclinations; breaking promise with the *Symarons*, yeelded to her request, which was, to giue the prysoners liberty with their ships; for that they were not vsfull for him: notwithstanding *Oxman* kept the Lady, who had in one of the restored shippes, eyther a Sonne, or a Nephew. This Nephew with the rest of the Spaniards, made all the hast they could to *Panama*, and they vsed such diligence, as within fewe howers, some were dispatched to seeke those, who little thought so quickly to bee overtaken. The pursuers approaching the River, were doubtfull by which of the afore-remembered three mouths, they should take their way. John Oxman capitulateth with them.

In this wavering, one of the Souldiers espied certaine feathers, of Hennes, and some boughes of trees, (which they had cut off to make their way) swimming downe one of the Outlets. This was light sufficient, to guide them in their course, they entred the River, and followed the tracke, as farre as their Frigats had water sufficient; and then with part of their Souldiers in their boatés, and the rest on the bankes on eyther side, they marched day and night in pursuite of their enemies; and in fine came vpon them vnexpected at the His folly.

And

Breach of promise.

His pursuite.

And evill Fortune.

head of the River, making good cheare in their Tents, and de-
 vided in two partialities about the partition, and sharing of their
 gold. Thus were they surpris'd, and not one escaped.

He flyeth to
 the Symarons

Some say that *John Oxman*, fled to the *Symarons*, but they vtterly
 denyed to receiue, or succour him, for that he had broken his pro-
 mise; the onely Obiection they cast in his teeth, was, that if he had
 held his word with them, hee never had fallen into this extremi-
 tie.

In fine hee was taken; and after, his shippe also was possessed by
 the Spaniards; which he had hid in a certaine Coue, and cove-
 red with boughes of trees, in the guard and custodie of some foure
 or five of his followers. All his Company, were conveyed to *Pa-
 nama*, and there were ymbarked for *Lyma*; where a proceffe was
 made against them, by the Iustice, and all condemned and han-
 ged as Pirates.

Breach of faith
 never unpuni-
 shed.

This may be a good example to others in like occasions: first,
 to shunne such notorious sinnes, which cannot escape punish-
 ment in this life, nor in the life to come: for the breach of faith
 is reputed amongst the greatest faults, which a man can commit.
 Secondly, not to abuse another mans wife; much lesse to force
 her, both being odious to God and man. Thirdly to beware of
 mutenies, which seldome or never are seene to come to better
 ends; for where such trees flourish, the fruite of force, must ey-
 ther bee bitter, sweete, or very sower. And therefore, see-
 ing wee vaunt our selues to bee Christians and make
 profession of his law, who forbiddeth all such va-
 nities; let vs faithfully shunne them, that wee
 may partake the end of that hope which
 our profession reacheth and
 promiseth.

S I C T.

S E C T. L X V I I I.



Comming in sight of the Ilands of Pearles, the winde began to fresh in with vs, and wee profited our selues of it : but comming thwart of a small Iland, which they call *la Pacheta*, that lyeth within the Pearle Ilands, close about the mayne, and some eight or ten Leagues south and by west from *Panama*, the wind calmed againe.

This Iland belongeth to a private man, it is a round humock, *La Pacheta* conteyning not a league of ground, but most fertile. Insomuch that by the owners industrie, and the labour of some fewe slaues, who occupie themselves in manuring it; and two barkes, which hee imployeth in bringing the fruit it giveth, to *Panama*; it is sayd to bee worth him every weeke, one with another, a barre of silver; valued betwixt two hundreth and fiftie, or three hundreth pezos: which in English money, may amount to fiftie or threescore pounds: and for that, which I saw at my being in *Panama*, touching this, I hold to be true.

In our course to fetch the Port of *Panama*, we put our selues betwixt the Ilands and the Maine: which is a goodly Channell, of three, foure, and five leagues broad, and without danger; except a man come too neare the shoare on any side; and that is thought the better course, then to goe a sea-board of the Ilands, because of the swift running of the tydes, and the advantage to stop the ebbe: As also for succour, if a man should happen to bee becalmed at any time beyond expectation; which happeneth sometimes.

The seaventh of Iuly wee had sight of *Perico*; they are two little Ilands, which cause the Port of *Panama*, where all the shippes vse to ride; It is some two Leagues west north-west of the Cittie, which hath also a *Pere* in it selfe for small Barkes, at full sea, it may haue haue some sixe or seaven foote water, but at low water it is drie.

The ninth of Iuly we anckored vnder *Perico*, and the Generall presently advised the *Audiencia*, of that which had succeeded in his Journey: which vnderstood by them, caused bonfires to be made, and every man to put luminaries in their houses; the fashion is much vsed amongst the Spaniards in their feastes of ioy, or for glad

The Generall certifieth the *Audiencia* of his successe.

The great ioy
of the Spaniards.

tidings; placing many lights in their Churches, in their windowes, and Galleries, and corners of their houses; which being in the beginning of the night, and the Cittie close by the sea shore, showed to vs (being farre off) as though the Cittie had beene on a light fire.

About eight of the clocke all the Artillerie of the Cittie was shott off, which wee might discerne by the flashes of fire, but could not heare the report: yet the Armado being advised thereof, and in a readinesse, answered them likewise with all their Artillery: which taking ende (as all the vanities of this earth doe) The Generall setled himselfe to dispatch advise for the King, for the Vice-roy of *Peru*, and for the Vice-roy of the *Nova Spana*, for hee also had beene certified of our being in that sea, and had fitted an Armado to seeke vs, and to guard his coast.

Note

But now for a farewell, (and note it) Let me relate vnto you this Secret; How *Don Beltran* shewed mee a Letter from the King his Master, directed to the Vice-roy, wherein he gaue him particular relation of my pretended voyage; of the shippes; their burden; their munition; their number of men, which I had in them, as perfectly as it he had scene all with his owne eyes, Saying vnto me: *Heereby, may you discerne, whether the King my Master haue friends in England, and good and speedie advice of all that passeth.*

Whereunto I replied; It was no wonder, for that he had plentie of gold and silver, which worketh this and more strange effects: for my iourney was publique and notorious to all the Kingdome, whereunto hee replied, that if I thought it so convenient, leaue should be given me to write into England to the Queenes Maiestie my Mistresse, to my Father, and to other personages, as I thought good; and leaving the Letters open; that hee would send some of them, in the Kings Packet, others to his Vncle *Don Rodrigo de Castro*, Cardinall and Archbishoppe of *Sevill*, and to other friendes of his: Not making any doubt but that they would be speedily in England. For which I thanked him, and accepted his courtesie, and although I was my selfe vnable to write, yet by the hands of a seruant of mine, I wrote three or foure coppies of one letter to my Father, *Sir John Hawkins*. In which I briefly made relation of all that had succeeded in our voyage.

The dispatches of *Spaine* and *new Spaine*, went by ordinary course in shippes of advise; but that for the *Peru* was sent by a kinsman of the Generalls, called *Don Francisco de la Cuena*.

Which being dispatched, *Don Beltran* hasted all that ever hee could, to put his shippes in order, to returne to *Lyma*. Hee caused the

the *Daintie* to be grounded, and trimmed, for in those Ilands, it higheth and falleth some fifteene or sixteene foote water.

And the Generall with his Captaines, and some Religious men being aboard her, and new naming her, named her the *Visitation*; for that shee was rendred on the day, on which they celebrate the visitation of the blessed Virgin *Mary*. In that place the ground being plaine and without vantage, (whereby to helpe the tender sided and sharpe shippes) they are forced to shore them on either side. In the midst of their solemnity, her props and shores of one side fayled and so shee fell over vpon that side suddenly, intreating many of them (which were in her) very badly, and doubtles had shee bin like the shippes of the South Sea, shee had broken out her bulge: but being without Mastes and empty, (for in the South Sea, when they bring a ground a shippe, they leaue neither mast, balast, nor any other thing aboard, besides the bare hull) her strength was such, as it made no great show to haue received any damage, but the feare shee put them all into was not little, and caused them to runne out of her faster then a good pace.

In these Ilands is no succour, nor refreshing; onely in the one of them, is one house of strawe, and a little spring of small moment. For the water, which the shippes vse for their provision; they fetch from another Iland, two Leagues west north-west of these; which they call *Tabaga*, having in it some fruite and refreshing, and some fewe *Indians* to inhabite it.

What succeeded to mee, and to the rest during our Imprisonment; with the rarities and particularities of the *Peru*, and *Tierra firme*, my voyage to *Spaine*, and the successe, with the time I spent in pryson in the *Peru*, in the *Tercera*, in *Sevill*, and in *Madrid*, with the accidents which befell me in them; I leaue for a second part of this discourse, if God giue life, and convenient place and rest, necessary for so tedious and troublesome a worke: desiring God, that is

Almightie, to giue his blessing to this and the rest of my intentions: that it and they may bee fruitfull, to his glory, and the good of all: then shall my desires be accomplished; and I account my selfe most happie. To whom be all glory, and thankes from all eternitie

(. . .)

F I N I S.

the Dukes to be grounded, and named, for in those hands, it
light and shall some time or late be water.
And the General with his Captains, and some Religion men
being aboard her, and now naming her, named her the *Virgin*;
for that she was tended on the day, on which they celebrated the
virginity of the blessed Virgin Mary. In that place the ground be-
ing plain and without vantage, which by to be the tender, had



Errata sic corrige.

Folio 5. for *recant*, read *recount*. fol. 7. and 9. for *wasters*, read *wasters*. fol. 9.
line 7. for *light*, read *last*. fol. 15. for *serue* read *sane*. fol. 23. for *we not*,
read *we were not*. for the River of *Ieromino*, read *Ienero*. for *rose*, read *nose*.
The litteralls are commended to favour.



In these hands is no account, nor is there any thing
of them, is one house of them, and a little of them, and
for the water, which the ships use for their provision, they
from another hand, two of which well worth the notice, and
they call *Taske*, having in some parts and remaining, and some
two ways to inhabit in.
What succeeded to mee, and to the rest, during our imprisonment,
with the rick and parts of the *Taske* and *Taske* was
voyage to *Taske*, and the rest, with the time, spent in *Taske*,
in the *Taske*, in the *Taske*, in *Taske*, and in *Taske*, with the ac-
dears which bestell me in them: I leave for a second part of
discourse, if God give life, and convenient place and rest, to
try for to receive and trouble some a while: delaying God, that is
Almighty, to give his blessing to this, and thereby to try in
reasons: that it is, they may see himself, to his
glory, and the good of all: then shall my de-
ires be accomplished: and I account
my self most happy. To whom
be all glory, and thanks
from all certain

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