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The British Council

HAKLUYT'S VOYAGES
VOLUME SIX



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

*From "Portraits of Illustrious Personages of
Great Britain," by Edmund Lodge (1821)*

THE PRINCIPAL
NAVIGATIONS VOYAGES
TRAFFIQUES & DISCOVERIES
OF THE ENGLISH NATION

MADE BY SEA OR OVERLAND TO THE REMOTE
AND FARTHEST DISTANT QUARTERS OF THE
EARTH AT ANY TIME WITHIN THE COMPASS
OF THESE 1600 YEARS · BY RICHARD HAKLUYT

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY JOHN MASEFIELD
FULLY ILLUSTRATED WITH SIXTY-FOUR DRAWINGS BY
THOMAS DERRICK ∴ & MANY REPRODUCTIONS FROM CON-
TEMPORARY PORTRAITS, ENGRAVINGS, Etc. ∴ IN 8 VOLS.



VOLUME SIX

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CONTENTS.

THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS OF THE ENGLISH NATION:	PAGE
The voyage of Sir Humfrey Gilbert to Newfoundland, An. 1583,	1
Orders agreed upon by the Captaines and Masters, to bee observed by the fleete of sir Humfrey Gilbert,	9
A briefe relation of Newfound-land, and the commodities thereof,	19
Reckonings of the Master and Masters mate of the Admirall of sir Humfrey Gilbert in their course from cape Race to cape Briton, and to the Isle of Sablon,	27
The maner how the sayd Admirall was lost,	27
A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth master of the ship called The Delight, which went as Admirall of sir Humfrey Gilberts fleete for the discoverie of Norumbega 1583: written in excuse of the casting away the sayd ship and the men, imputed to his oversight,	38
A discourse of the necessitie and commoditie of planting English colonies upon the North partes of America,	42
A letter of the right honourable sir Francis Walsingham to master Richard Hakluyt then of Christchurch in Oxford, encouraging him in the studie of Cosmography, and furthering of new discoveries 1582,	78
A letter of the right honourable sir Francis Walsingham to master Thomas Aldworth marchant, and at that time Mayor of the citie of Bristol, concerning their adventure in the Westerne discoverie 1582,	79
A letter written from master Aldworth marchant and mayor of the citie of Bristol, to the right honourable sir Francis Walsingham, concerning a voyage intended for the discoverie of the coast of America lying to the Southwest of cape Briton 1583,	79
A briefe and summarie discourse upon a voyage intended to the hithermost parts of America, written by master Christopher Carlile 1583,	80

THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS— <i>Continued.</i>	PAGE
A letter sent to the right honourable sir William Cecil Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England &c. from master Thomas James of Bristol, concerning the discoverie of the Isle of Ramea 1591,	91
A briefe note of the Morse, and of the use thereof,	92
The voyage of the ship called The Marigolde of M. Hill of Redriffe, unto Cape Briton and beyond, to the latitude of 44 degrees and a halfe, Anno 1593,	93
The voyage of M. George Drake of Apsbam, to the isle of Ramea, in the yeere 1593,	96
The voyage of The Grace of Bristoll, up into the gulfe of S. Laurence to the Northwest of Newfoundland, as far as the isle of Assumption or Naticotec, Anno 1594,	98
The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and divers others, to Cape Briton and the isle of Ramea, 1597,	100
Certaine observations touching the countries and places where master Charles Leigh touched in his voyage to cape Briton, and to the Isle of Ramea anno 1597,	113
The letters patents granted by the Queenes Majestie to sir Walter Raleigh, for the discovering, and planting of new lands and countries, Anno 1584,	115
The first voyage made to the coast of Virginia by M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlow, 1584,	121
The second voyage made to Virginia by sir Richard Grinvile for sir Walter Raleigh, Anno 1585: at what time the first colonie of English was there left under the government of M. Ralfe Lane, now knight,	132
The names of those, aswell gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in Virginia, under the government of M. Ralph Lane,	138
An extract of M. Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple from Virginia 1585,	140
An account of the particular employments of the Englishmen left in Virginia by S. Richard Grinvile under M. Ralph Lane their generall, from the 17. of August 1585. untill the 18. of June 1586. at which time they departed the countrey,	141
The third voyage to Virginia made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586. for the reliefe of the colonie planted in Virginia, at the sole charges of sir Walter Raleigh,	162

Contents

vii

THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS—Continued.

PAGE

A briefe and true report of the commodities aswell marchantable as others, which are to be found and raised in the country of Virginia, written by M. Thomas Harriot: together with Master Ralph Lane his approbation thereof in all points,	164
A description of the nature and maners of the people of Virginia,	186
The fourth voyage made to Virginia with 3. ships, Anno 1587. wherein was transported the second colonie,	196
The names of all the men, women, and children which safely arrived in Virginia, and remayned to inhabite there Anno 1587,	209
A letter of M. John White to M. Richard Hakluyt written in February 1593,	211
The fifth voyage to Virginia made by master John White in the yeere 1590,	213
An Epistle Dedicatorie to sir Walter Raleigh, prefixed by master Richard Hakluyt before the history of Florida, which he translated out of French 1587,	227
A description of the West Indies in general, but more chiefly & particularly of Florida,	232
The voyage and course which sir Francis Drake held from the haven of Guatulco, on the backside of Nueva Espanna, to the Northwest of California, as far as 43 degrees, & from thence backe againe to 38 degrees, where in a very good harbour he graved his shippe, entrenched himselfe on land, called the country by the name of Nova Albion, and tooke possession thereof on the behalfe of her Majestie,	240
The voyage of Robert Tomson merchant into New Spaine, in the yere 1555,	246
The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham to Sant Juan de Ullua in the bay of Mexico, and from thence to the city of Mexico, Anno 1564,	263
The memorable voyage of M. John Chilton to all the principall parts of Nueva Espanna, and to divers places in Perú, begun from Cadiz in Andaluzia, in March 1568,	264
The voyage of Henrie Hawks merchant to Nueva Espanna (in which country he travelled for the space of five yeres, and observed many notable things) written at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt of Eytton in the county of Hereford esquire, 1572,	279

THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS— <i>Continued.</i>	PAGE
The voyage of Miles Philips one of the company put on shore by sir John Hawkins, 1568, a little to the North of Panuco; from whence he traveled to Mexico and, afterward to sundry other places, having remained in the countrey 15 or 16 yeeres together, & noted many things most worthy the observation,	296
The travels of Job Hortop set on land by sir John Hawkins 1586 in the bay of Mexico, somewhat to the North of Panuco before mentioned,	336
A relation of the haven of Tecuanapa, a most convenient place for building of ships, situate upon the South sea not farre from Nicaragua,	354

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

SIR WALTER RALEIGH	Frontispiece
<i>From "Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain," by Edmund Lodge (1821).</i>	
SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM	facing page 4
<i>From an Engraving in "Herologia Anglica," by Henry Holland (1620).</i>	
WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY	" 87
<i>Drawn by Thomas Derrick from an Engraving in "Herologia Anglica," by Henry Holland (1620).</i>	
MAP OF VIRGINIA	" 102
<i>From G. Mercator's Atlas (1606).</i>	
THE MANNER OF MAKING BOATES	" 126
<i>Drawn by Thomas Derrick.</i>	
THE TOWN OF SECOTON	" 133
<i>From an original drawing by John White in the Print Room of the British Museum.</i>	
A CHIEF LADY OF POMEIOCK	" 136
<i>Drawn by Thomas Derrick.</i>	
ENGLISHMEN LANDING AT VIRGINIA	" 146
<i>Drawn by Thomas Derrick, from T. De Bry's "America" (1590).</i>	
THE METHOD OF BROILING FISH	" 182
<i>Drawn by Thomas Derrick.</i>	
A WEROAN OR GREAT CHIEF OF VIRGINIA	" 186
<i>Drawn by Thomas Derrick.</i>	
CAPTAIN RENÉ LAUDONNIERE	" 226
<i>Drawn by Thomas Derrick from "The Effigies Regum" of Crispin de Passe (1598).</i>	
JOHN VERRAZZANO	" 232
<i>Drawn by Thomas Derrick from "The History and Antiquities of Boston, by S. G. Drake (1857).</i>	
CUSCO	" 283
<i>From "Navigationi et Viaggi," by G. B. Ramusio (1556).</i>	
MAP OF THE NEW WORLD	" 298
<i>From the "De Orbo Novo" of Peter Martyr (1587).</i>	

THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS OF THE ENGLISH NATION

A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place convenient, upon those large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of Florida, lying under very temperate Climes, esteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actual possession of any Christian prince, written by M. Edward Haie gentleman, and principall actour in the same voyage, who alone continued unto the end, and by Gods speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.

MANY voyages have bene pretended, yet hitherto never any thorowly accomplished by our nation of exact discovery into the bowels of those maine, ample and vast countreys, extended infinitely into the North from 30 degrees, or rather from 25 degrees of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment upon the same, as well may appeare both by the little we yet do actually possesse therein, & by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those lands, which unto this day we know chiefly by the travell and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they can not challenge such right and interest unto the sayd countreys as we, neither these many yeeres have had opportunity nor meanes so great to discover and to plant (being vexed with the calamities of intestine warres) as we have had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace: yet have they both waies performed more, and had long since attained a sure possession and settled government of many provinces in those Northerly parts of America, if

their many attempts into those forren and remote lands had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

The first discovery of these coasts (never heard of before) was well begun by John Cabot the father, and Sebastian his sonne, an Englishman borne, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the cape of Florida unto those Islands which we now call the Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed unto the crowne of England. Since when, if with like diligence the search of inland countreys had bene followed, as the discovery upon the coast, and out-parts therof was performed by those two men: no doubt her Majesties territories and revenue had bene mightily enlarged and advanced by this day. And which is more; the seed of Christian religion had bene sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might have brought foorth a most plentiful harvest and copious congregation of Christians; which must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way: or els whatsoever is builded upon other foundation shall never obtaine happy successe nor continuance.

And although we can not precisely judge (which onely belongeth to God) what have bene the humours of men stirred up to great attempts of discovering and planting in those remote countreys, yet the events do shew that either Gods cause hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet revealed unto those infidels before the appointed time.

But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectuall and compleat discovery & possession by Christians both of those ample countreys and the riches within them hitherto concealed: whereof notwithstanding God in his wisdom hath permitted to be revealed from time to time a certaine obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cause) and thereby to prepare us unto a readinesse for the execution of his will against the due time ordeined, of calling those pagans unto Christianity.

In the meane while, it behooveth every man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination unto this

attempt, to examine his owne motions : which if the same proceed of ambition or avarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can not have confidence of Gods protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistable) both of sea, and infinite perils upon the land; whom God yet may use an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build upon so bad a foundation.

Otherwise, if his motives be derived from a vertuous & heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captived by the devill, tyrannizing in most woonderfull and dreadfull maner over their bodies and soules; advancement of his honest and well disposed countreyemen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions; reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed : all these be honorable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherwith he is well pleased, who will assist such an actour beyond expectation of man. And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himselfe, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely never) the time is compleat of receiving also these Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raise him an instrument to effect the same : it seeming probable by event of precedent attempts made by the Spanyards and French sundry times, that the countreys lying North of Florida, God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation. For not long after that Christopher Columbus had discovered the Islands and continent of the West Indies for Spaine, John and Sebastian Cabot made discovery also of the rest from Florida Northwards to the behoofe of England.

And whensoever afterwards the Spanyards (very prosperous in all their Southerne discoveries) did attempt any thing into Florida and those regions inclining towards the North, they proved most unhappy, and were at length discouraged utterly by the hard and lamentable successe of many both religious and valiant in armes, endeavouring to bring those Northerly regions also under the Spanish jurisdiction; as if God had prescribed limits unto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed : as by their owne gests recorded may be aptly gathered.

The French, as they can pretend lesse title unto these

Northerne parts then the Spanyard, by how much the Spanyard made the first discovery of the same continent so far Northward as unto Florida, and the French did but review that before discovered by the English nation, usurping upon our right, and imposing names upon countreys, rivers, bayes, capes, or headlands, as if they had bene the first finders of those coasts; which injury we offered not unto the Spanyards, but left off to discover when we approached the Spanish limits: even so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establish a possession permanent upon anothers right, notwithstanding their manifolde attempts, in which the issue hath bene no lesse tragicall then that of the Spanyards, as by their owne reports is extant.

Then seeing the English nation onely hath right unto these countreys of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the privilege of first discovery, unto which Cabot was authorised by regall authority, and set forth by the expense of our late famous king Henry the seventh: which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalfe by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withstanding the enterprises of other nations: it may greatly incourage us upon so just ground, as is our right, and upon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right and intent being meet foundations for the same) to prosecute effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countreys appertaining unto the crowne of England: the same (as is to be conjectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approaching) being now arrived unto the time by God prescribed of their vocation, if ever their calling unto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the revolution and course of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath moved from the East, towards, & at last unto the West, where it is like to end, unlesse the same begin againe where it did in the East, which were to expect a like world againe. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophesie of Christ, whereby we gather, that after his word preached thorowout the world shalbe the end. And as the Gospel when it descended Westward began in the South, and afterward spread into the North of Europe: even so, as the same hath begunne in the South countreys of America, no lesse hope may be gathered that it will also spread into the North.



*Te Franciscus Cæsar Cæsarum cum deseris exul
Pectore Cæsar meritis Cæsarum digna capis*

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM

From an Engraving in "Herologia Anglica,"
by Henry Holland (1620)

These considerations may helpe to suppress all dreads rising of hard events in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heavy successe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and government in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leave unto God, and judge charitably both of the cause (which was just in all preferce) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deserving honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expense of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby nevertheless, least any man should be dismayd by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as my selfe was an eye witsse, to deliver the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so infortunately incumbred with wants, and woorse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare judgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires, was subjected to tolerate abuses, & in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to uphold credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed.

The issue of such actions, being alwayes miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition (being the first attempt by our nation to plant) unto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter not to be discouraged from it: but to make men well advised how they handle his so high and excellent matters, as the cariage is of his word into those very mighty and vast countreys. An action doubtlesse not to be intermedled with base purposes; as many have made the same but a colour to shadow actions otherwise scarce justifiable: which doth excite Gods heavy judgements in the end, to the terrifying of weak mindes from the cause, without pondering his just proceedings: and doth also incense forren princes against our attempts how just soever, who can not but deme the sequele very dangerous unto their state (if in those parts we should grow to strength) seeing the very beginnings are entred with spoile.

And with this admonition denounced upon zeale towards Gods cause, also towards those in whom appeareth disposition honourable unto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of America (unto whom I wish all happinesse) I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage undertaken with sir Humfrey Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended adversely.

When first Sir Humfrey Gilbert undertooke the Western discovery of America, and had procured from her Majesty a very large commission to inhabit & possess at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many privileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew unto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow unto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by sea: neverthesse, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were divers, which bred a jarre, and made a division in the end, to the confusion of that attempt even before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a maner prepared, & men ready upon the coast to go aboard: at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended: Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he adventured to sea: where having tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driven to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his griefe) of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.

Having buried onely in a preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impaired, his minde yet not dismaid, he continued his former designment & purpose to revive this enterprise, good occasion serving. Upon which determination standing long, without meanes to satisfy his desire; at last he granted certaine assignments out of his commission to sundry persons of meane ability, desiring the privilege of his grant, to plant & fortifie in the North parts of America about the river of Canada, to whom if God gave good successe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected)

the same (he thought) would greatly advance the hope of the South, & be a furtherance unto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course might be excused without prejudice unto him by the former supposition, that those North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a possession taken in any parcell of those heathen countreys, by vertue of his grant, did invest him of territories extending every way two hundred leagues: which induced sir Humfry Gilbert to make those assignments, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expire after six yeres, if in that space he had not gotten actuall possession.

Time went away without any thing done by his assignes: insomuch that at last he must resolve himselfe to take a voyage in person, for more assurance to keepe his patent in force, which then almost was expired, or within two yeres.

In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, sir George Peckam knight shewed himselfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his advice & in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability joynd unto him, resolving to adventure their substance & lives in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victual, men, and things requisit, some of them continued the charge two yeres compleat without intermission. Such were the difficulties and crosse accidents opposing these proceedings, which tooke not end in lesse then two yeres: many of which circumstances I will omit.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in Causet bay neere unto Plimmouth: then resolved to put unto the sea with shipping and provision, such as we had, before our store yet remaining, but chiefly the time and season of the yeere, were too farre spent. Neverthelesse it seemed first very doubtfull by what way to shape our course, and to begin our intended discovery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

The first, that is, beginning South, without all controversie was the likeliest, wherein we were assured to have commodity of the current, which from the cape of Florida setteth Northward, and would have furthered greatly our navigation, discovering from the foresayd cape along towards cape Briton, and all those lands lying to the North.

Also the yere being farre spent, and arrived to the moneth of June, we were not to spend time in Northerly courses, where we should be surprised with timely Winter, but to covet the south, which we had space enough then to have attained; and there might with lesse detriment have wintred that season, being more milde and short in the South then in the North where winter is both long and rigorous.

These and other like reasons alleged in favour of the Southerne course first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred: that forasmuch as both our victuals, and many other needfull provisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage, and for the wintering of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply; and that was to take the Newfoundland in our way, which was but seven hundred leagues from our English coast. Where being usually at that time of the yere, and untill the fine of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieved abundantly with many necessaries, which after the fishing ended, they might well spare, and freely impart unto us.

Not staying long upon that Newland coast, we might proceed Southward, and follow still the Sunne, untill we arrived at places more temperate to our content.

By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this Northerly course, obeying unto necessity, which must be supplied. Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approach of Winter, bringing with it continuall fogge, and thicke mists, tempest and rage of weather; also contrariety of currents descending from the cape of Florida unto cape Briton and cape Rase, would fall out to be great and irresistable impediments unto our further proceeding for that yeere, and compell us to Winter in those North and colde regions.

Wherefore suppressing all objections to the contrary, we resolved to begin our course Northward, and to follow directly as we might, the trade way unto Newfoundland: from whence after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay (by Gods permission) to proceed into the South, not omitting any river or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of search. Immediatly we agreed upon the maner of our course and orders to be observed in our voyage; which were delivered in writing unto the

captaines and masters of every ship a copy in maner following.

Every shippe had delivered two bullets or scrowles, the one sealed up in waxe, the other left open: in both which were included severall watch-words. That open, serving upon our owne coast or the coast of Ireland: the other sealed, was promised on all hands not to be broken up untill we should be cleere of the Irish coast; which from thencefoorth did serve untill we arrived and met altogether in such harbors of the Newfoundland as were agreed for our Rendez vous. The sayd watch-words being requisite to know our consorts whensoever by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet dispersed should come together againe; or one should hale another; or if by ill watch and steerage one ship should chance to fall aboard of another in the darke.

The reason of the bullet sealed was to keepe secret that watch-word while we were upon our owne coast, lest any of the company stealing from the fleet might bewray the same: which knowen to an enemy, he might board us by night without mistrust, having our owne watch-word.

Orders agreed upon by the Captaines and Masters to be observed by the fleet of Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

FIRST the Admirall to cary his flag by day, and his light by night.

2 Item, if the Admirall shall shorten his saile by night, then to shew two lights untill he be answered againe by every ship shewing one light for a short time.

3 Item, if the Admirall after his shortening of saile, as aforesayd, shall make more saile againe: then he to shew three lights one above another.

4 Item, if the Admirall shall happen to hull in the night, then to make a wavering light over his other light, wavering the light upon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered by weather, or other mishap, then so soone as one shall descry another, to hoise both toppe sailes twice, if the weather will serve, and to strike them twice againe; but if the weather serve not, then to hoise the maine top saile twice, and forthwith to strike it twice againe.

6 Item, if it shall happen a great fogge to fall, then presently every shippe to beare up with the admirall, if

there be winde: but if it be a calme, then every ship to hull, and so to lie at hull till it be cleere. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to shoot off two pieces every evening, and every ship to answer it with one shot: and every man bearing to the ship, that is to leeward so neere as he may.

7 Item, every master to give charge unto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboard one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, every evening every ship to haile the admirall, and so to fall aterne him, sailing thorow the Ocean: and being on the coast, every ship to haile him both morning and evening.

9 Item, if any ship be in danger any way, by leake or otherwise, then she to shoot off a piece, and presently to hang out one light, whereupon every man to beare towards her, answering her with one light for a short time, and so to put it out againe; thereby to give knowledge that they have seene her token.

10 Item, whensoever the Admirall shall hang out her ensigne in the maine shrowds, then every man to come aboard her, as a token of counsell.

11 Item, if there happen any storme or contrary winde to the fleet after the discovery, whereby they are separated: then every ship to repaire unto their last good port, there to meet againe.

Our course agreed upon.

THE course first to be taken for the discovery is to beare directly to cape Rase, the most Southerly cape of Newfoundland; and there to harbour our selves either in Rogneux or Fermous, being the first places appointed for our Rendez vous, and the next harbours unto the Northward of cape Rase: and therefore every ship separated from the fleet to repaire to that place so fast as God shall permit, whether you shall fall to the Southward or to the Northward of it, and there to stay for the meeting of the whole fleet the space of ten dayes: and when you shall depart, to leave marks.

A direction of our course unto the Newfoundland.

BEGINNING our course from Silley, the neerest is by West-southwest (if the winde serve) untill such time as we

have brought our selves in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, because the Ocean is subject much to Southerly windes in June and July. Then to take traverse from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windes: and not to go to the Northward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrionall latitude by no meanes: if God shall not inforce the contrary; but to do your indeavour to keepe in the height of 46 degrees, so nere as you can possibly, because cape Rase lieth about that height.

Notes.

If by contrary windes we be driven backe upon the coast of England, then to repaire unto Silley for a place of our assembly or meeting.

If we be driven backe by contrary winds that we can not passe the coast of Ireland, then the place of our assembly to be at Beare haven or Baltimore haven.

If we shall not happen to meete at cape Rase, then the place of Rendez vous to be at cape Briton, or the neerest harbour unto the Westward of cape Briton.

If by meanes of other shipping we may not safely stay there, then to rest at the very next safe port to the Westward; every ship leaving their marks behinde them for the more certainty of the after commers to know where to finde them.

The marks that every man ought to leave in such a case, were of the Generals private device written by himselfe, sealed also in close waxe, and delivered unto every shippe one scroule, which was not to be opened untill occasion required, whereby every man was certified what to leave for instruction of after commers: that every of us comming into any harbour or river might know who had bene there, or whether any were still there up higher into the river, or departed, and which way.

Orders thus determined, and promises mutually given to be observed, every man withdrew himselfe unto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our shippes under saile, having a soft gale of winde, we began our voyage upon Tuesday the eleventh day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1583, having in our fleet (at our departure from Causet bay) these shippes, whose names and

burthens, with the names of the captaines and masters of them, I have also inserted, as followeth:

1 The Delight aliâs The George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her and part owner, and Richard Clarke master.

2 The Barke Raleigh set forth by M. Walter Raleigh, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice-admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Davis, of Bristoll master.

3 The Golden hinde, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare-admirall: in which went Edward Hayes captaine and owner, and William Cox of Limehouse master.

4 The Swallow, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was captaine Maurice Browne.

5 The Squirrill, of burthen 10 tunnes: in which went captaine William Andrewes, and one Cade master.

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action: also Minerall men and Refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allure-ment of the Savages, we were provided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horsse, and Maylike conceits to delight the Savage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdasherie wares to barter with those simple people.

In this maner we set forward, departing (as hath bene said) out of Causon bay the eleventh day of June being Tuesday, the weather and winde faire and good all day, but a great storme of thunder and winde fell the same night.

Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the evening (according to the order before specified) they signified unto us out of the Vizadmirall, that both the Captaine, and very many of the men were fallen sicke. And about midnight the Vizeadmirall forsooke us, notwithstanding we had the winde East, faire and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious sicknesse, and arrived greatly distressed at Plimmoth: the reason I could never understand. Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner

Master Raleigh in setting them forth: Therefore I leave it unto God.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieved with the losse of the most puissant ship in our fleete: after whose departure, the Golden Hind succeeded in the place of Vizadmirall, and removed her flagge from the mizon unto the foretop.

From Saturday the 15 of June untill the 28, which was upon a Friday, we never had faire day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the West northwest, whereby we were driven Southward unto 41 degrees scarce.

About this time of the yere the winds are commonly West towards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of West to the South or to the North, whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after June, which in March, Apriell & May, hath bene performed out of England in 22 dayes and lesse. We had winde alwayes so scant from West northwest, and from West southwest againe, that our traverse was great, running South unto 41 degrees almost, and afterward North into 51 degrees.

Also we were incmbred with much fogge and mists in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe so well together, but were dissevered, losing the companie of the Swallow and the Squirrill upon the 20. day of July, whom we met againe at severall places upon the Newfound land coast the third of August, as shalbe declared in place convenient.

Saturday the 27 of July, we might descry not farre from us, as it were mountaines of yce driven upon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were caried Southward to the weather of us: whereby may be conjectured that some current doth set that way from the North.

Before we come to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this side, we passe the banke, which are high grounds rising within the sea and under water, yet deepe enough and without danger, being commonly not lesse then 25 and 30 fadome water upon them: the same (as it were some vaine of mountaines within the sea) doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, beginning Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, & do extend into the South infinitely. The bredth of this banke is somewhere more, and somewhere lesse: but we found

the same about 10 leagues over, having sounded both on this side thereof, and the other toward Newfoundland, but found no ground with almost 200 fadome of line, both before & after we had passed the banke. The Portugals, and French chiefly, have a notable trade of fishing upon this banke, where are sometimes an hundred or more sailes of ships: who commonly beginne the fishing in Apriell, and have ended by July. That fish is large, alwayes wet, having no land neere to drie, and is called Corre fish.

During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is upon the banke, by the incredible multitude of sea foule hovering over the same, to pray upon the offalles & garbish of fish throwen out by fishermen, and floting upon the sea.

Upon Tuesday the 11 of June, we forsooke the coast of England. So againe Tuesday the 30 of July (seven weekes after) we got sight of land, being immediatly embayed in the Grand bay, or some other great bay: the certainty whereof we could not judge, so great hase and fogge did hang upon the coast, as neither we might discern the land well, nor take the sunnes height. But by our best computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude.

Forsaking this bay and uncomfortable coast (nothing appearing unto us but hideous rockes and mountaines, bare of trees, and voide of any greene herbe) we followed the coast to the South, with weather faire and cleare.

We had sight of an Iland named Penguin, of a foule there breeding in abundance, almost incredible; which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much lesse then a goose) and exceeding fat: which the French men use to take without difficulty upon that Iland, and to barrell them up with salt. But for lingering of time we had made us there the like provision.

Trending this coast, we came to the Iland called Bacalaos, being not past two leagues from the maine: to the South therof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5 leagues distant from Baccalaos, between which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar sort called the bay of Conception. Here we met with the Swallow againe, whom we had lost in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: wherof it seemed their store was so amended, that for

joy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast up into the aire and overboard, their caps & hats in good plenty. The Captaine albeit himselfe was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and desert: who for the most part were such as had bene by us surpris'd upon the narrow seas of England, being pirats and had taken at that instant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with salt. Both which we rescued, & tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the same ship now called the Swallow, following still their kind so oft, as (being separated from the Generall) they found opportunitie to robbe and spoile. And because Gods justice did follow the same company, even to destruction, and to the overthrow also of the Captaine (though not consenting to their misdemeanor) I will not conceale any thing that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of his judgements, for examples of others, perswaded that God more sharpely tooke revenge upon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others: by how much these went under protection of his cause and religion, which was then pretended.

Therefore upon further enquiry it was knowen, how this company met with a barke returning home after the fishing with his freight: and because the men in the Swallow were very neere scanted of victuall, and chiefly of apparell, doubtful withall where or when to find and meete with their Admiral, they besought the captaine they might go aboard this Newlander; only to borrow what might be spared, the rather because the same was bound homeward. Leave given, not without charge to deale favorably, they came aboard the fisherman, whom they rifled of tackle, sailes, cables, victuals, & the men of their apparell: not sparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to draw out else what they thought good. This done with expedition (like men skilfull in such mischief) as they tooke their cocke boate to go aboard their own ship, it was overwhelmed in the sea, and certaine of these men there drowned: the rest were preserved even by those silly soules whom they had before spoyled, who saved and delivered them aboard the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps destitute of sayles and furniture sufficient to carry them home (whither they had not lesse to runne

then 700 leagues) God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant: to reveale the fact, and justifie to the world Gods judgements inflicted upon them; as shalbe declared in place convenient.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our course Southward, untill we came against the harbor called S. John, about 5 leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found also the Frigate or Squirrill lying at anker. Whom the English marchants (that were & alwaies be Admirals by turnes interchangeably over the fleetes of fishermen within the same harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of so happy meeting both of the Swallow and Frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of August) we made readie our fights, & prepared to enter the harbor, any resistance to the contrarie notwithstanding, there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 sailes. But first the Generall dispatched a boat to give them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, having Commission from her Majestie for his voiage he had in hand. And immediatly we followed with a slacke gale, and in the very entrance (which is but narrow, not above 2 butts length) the Admirall fell upon a rocke on the larboord side by great oversight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke much above water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea gate. But we found such readinesse in the English Marchants to helpe us in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boates, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

Having taken place convenient in the road, we let fall ankers, the Captaines and Masters repairing aboard our Admirall: whither also came immediatly the Masters and owners of the fishing fleete of Englishmen, to understand the Generals intent and cause of our arrivall there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission, and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalfe of the crowne of England, and the advancement of Christian religion in those Paganish regions, requiring but their lawfull ayde for repaying of his fleete, and supply of some necessaries, so farre as conveniently might be afforded him, both out of that and other habors adjoining. In lieu whereof, he made

offer to gratifie them, with any favour and priviledge, which upon their better advise they should demand, the like being not to bee obeyned hereafter for greater price. So craving expedition of his demand, minding to proceede further South without long detention in those partes, he dismissed them, after promise given of their best indeavour to satisfie speedily his so reasonable request. The marchants with their Masters departed, they caused foorthwith to be discharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

It was further determined that every ship of our fleete should deliver unto the marchants and Masters of that harbour a note of all their wants : which done, the ships aswell English as strangers, were taxed at an easie rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne companie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adjoyning (for our English marchants command all there) to leavie our provision : whereunto the Portugals (above other nations) did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as we were presented (above our allowance) with wines, marmalads, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters and other fresh fish brought daily unto us. Moreover as the maner is in their fishing, every weeke to choose their Admirall a new, or rather they succede in orderly course, and have weekely their Admirals feast solemnized : even so the General, Captaines and masters of our fleete were continually invited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightfull, but after our wants and tedious passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was unexpected in that desolate corner of the world : where at other times of the yeare, wilde beasts and birds have only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of August, the Generall and his company were brought on land by English marchants, who shewed unto us their accustomed walks unto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe without art : who confusedly hath brought foorth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also

the like plentie of raspis berries, which doe grow in every place.

Munday following, the General had his tent set up, who being accompanied with his own followers, somoned the marchants and masters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countries. Before whom openly was read & interpreted unto the strangers his Commission: by vertue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of S. John, and 200 leagues every way, invested the Queenes Majestie with the title and dignitie thereof, had delivered unto him (after the custome of England) a rod & a turffe of the same soile, entring possession also for him, his heires and assignes for ever: And signified unto al men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe: authorised under her Majestie to possesse and enjoy it. And to ordaine lawes for the governement thereof, agreeable (so neere as conveniently might be) unto the lawes of England: under which all people coming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, should be subjected and governed. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed & delivered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That is to say: the first for Religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Majesties right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted prejudiciall, the partie or parties offending should be adjudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of her Majestie, he should loose his eares, and have his ship and goods confiscate.

These contents published, obedience was promised by generall voyce and consent of the multitude aswell of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and governement begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingraven in lead, and infixed upon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Majestie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assignes for ever: the

Generall granted in fee farme divers parcels of land lying by the water side, both in this harbor of S. John, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commoditie, being thereby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds convenient to dresse and to drie their fish, whereof many times before they did faile, being prevented by them that came first into the harbor. For which grounds they did covenant to pay a certaine rent and service unto sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for ever, and yeerely to maintaine possession of the same, by themselves or their assignes.

Now remained only to take in provision granted, according as every shippe was taxed, which did fish upon the coast adjoyning. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men unto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering together our supply and provisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation unto the Generall what eyther themselves could knowe by their owne travaile and experience, or by good intelligence of English men or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some observed the elevation of the pole, and drewe plats of the countrey exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each mans severall relation, I have drawn a briefe description of the Newfound land, with the commodities by sea or lande already made, and such also as are in possibilitie and great likelihood to be made: Neverthelesse the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did perish with the Admirall: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

A briefe relation of the New found lande, and the commodities thereof.

THAT which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of some) it consisteth of sundry Ilands and broken lands, situate in the North regions of America, upon the gulfe and entrance of the great river called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, navigation may be made both on the South and North side of this Iland. The land lyeth South and North, containing in length

betweene three & 400 miles, accounting from cape Race (which is in 46 degrees 25 minuts) unto the Grand bay in 52 degrees of Septentrionall latitude. The Iland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the knowen world.

The common opinion that is had of intemperature & extreme cold that should be in this countrey, as of some part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more colde then in countries of Europe, which are under the same elevation: even so it cannot stand with reason and nature of the clime, that the South parts should be so intemperate as the brute hath gone. For as the same doe lie under the climats of Briton, Anjou, Poictou in France, betweene 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ from the temperature of those countries: unlesse upon the outcoast lying open unto the Ocean and sharpe windes, it must in deede be subject to more colde, then further within the land, where the mountaines are interposed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defend and to resist the asperitie and rigor of the sea and weather. Some hold opinion, that the Newfound land might be the more subject to cold, by how much it lyeth high and neere unto the middle region. I grant that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany, Italy and Afrike, even under the Equinoctiall line, the mountaines are extreme cold, and seeldome uncovered of snow, in their culme and highest tops, which commeth to passe by the same reason that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneth them, it is found quite contrary. Even so all hills having their discents, the valleis also and low grounds must be likewise hot or temperate, as the clime doeth give in Newfound land: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be so forcible in the Newfound land, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Afrike: by how much the Sunne in his diurnall course from East to West, passeth over (for the most part) dry land and sandy countries, before he arriveth at the West of Europe or Afrike, whereby his motion increaseth heate, with little or no qualification by moyst vapours. Where, on the contrarie he passeth from Europe and Afrike unto America over the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance

of moyst vapours, which doe qualife and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reverberation upon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being so much to the Northward. Neverthelesse (as I sayd before) the cold cannot be so intollerable under the latitude of 46 47 and 48 (especiall within land) that it should be uninhabitable, as some doe suppose, seeing also there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in these South parts there be certaine beastes, Ounces or Leopards, and birdes in like maner which in the Sommer we have seene, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldnesse. Besides, as in the monethes of June, July, August and September, the heate is somewhat more then in England at those seasons: so men remaining upon the South parts neere unto Cape Rece, untill after Hollandtide, have not found the cold so extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of England. Those which have arrived there after November and December, have found the snow exceeding deepe, whereat no marvaile, considering the ground upon the coast, is rough and uneven, and the snow is driven into the places most declyning as the like is to be seene with us. The like depth of snow happily shall not be found within land upon the playner countries, which also are defended by the mountaines, breaking off the violence of winds and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in those South parts, above that with us here: it can not be so great as in Swedland, much lesse in Moscovia or Russia: yet are the same countries very populous, and the rigor of cold is dispensed with by the commoditie of Stoves, warme clothing, meats and drinckes: all which neede not to be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to inhabite.

In the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood have abandoned those coastes, the same being so much frequented by Christians: But in the North are savages altogether harmelesse. Touching the commodities of this countrey, serving either for sustentation of inhabitants, or for maintenance of traffique, there are & may be made divers: so y^t it seemeth Nature hath recompenced that only defect and incommoditie of some sharpe cold, by many benefits: viz. With incredible quantitie, and no lesse varietie of kindes of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as Trouts, Salmones and other fish to us unknowen: Also Cod, which alone draweth many

nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world. Abundance of Whales, for which also is a very great trade in the bayes of Placentia & the Grand bay, where is made Traine oiles of the Whale: Herring the largest that have bene heard of, and exceeding the Malstrond herring of Norway: but hitherto was never benefit taken of the herring fishing. There are sundry other fish very delicate, namely the Bonito, Lobsters, Turbut, with others infinite not sought after: Oysters having pearle but not orient, in colour: I tooke it by reason they were not gathered in season.

Concerning the inland commodities, aswel to be drawn from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adjoyning: there is nothing which our East and Northerly countries of Europe doe yeelde, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully by time and industrie: Namely, rosen, pitch, tarre, sopeashes, dealboord, mastes for ships, hides, fures, flaxe, hempe, corne, cables, cordage, linnen-cloth, mettals and many more. All which the countries will aford, and the soyle is apt to yeelde.

The trees for the most in those South parts, are Firretrees, Pine and Cypresse, all yeelding Gumme and Turpentine.

Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger than a small pease. Also peare trees, but fruitlesse. Other trees of some sorts to us unknowen.

The soyle along the coast is not deepe of earth, bringing foorth abundantly peason small, yet good feeding for cattel. Roses passing sweet, like unto our muske roses in forme, raspases, a berry which we call Hurts, good and holesome to eat. The grasse and herbe doth fat sheepe in very short space, proved by English marchants which have caried sheepe thither for fresh victuall and had them raised exceeding fat in lesse then three weekes. Peason which our countreyemen have sowen in the time of May, have come up faire, and bene gathered in the beginning of August, of which our Generall had a present acceptable for the rarenesse, being the first fruits comming up by art and industrie in that desolate and dishabited land.

Lakes or pooles of fresh water, both on the tops of mountaines and in the vallies. In which are said to be muskles not unlike to have pearle, which I had put in triall, if by mischance falling unto me, I had not bene

litted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

Foule both of water and land in great plentie and diversitie. All kind of greene foule: Others as bigge as Bustards, yet not the same. A great white foule called of some a Gaunt.

Upon the land divers sorts of haukes, as faulcons, and others by report: Partridges most plentiful larger then ours, gray and white of colour, and rough footed like doves, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were so fat and unable to flie. Birds some like blackbirds, linnets, canary birds, and other very small. Beasts of sundry kindes, red deare, buffles or a beast, as it seemeth by the tract & foote very large in maner of an oxe. Beares, ounces or leopards, some greater & some lesser, wolves, foxes, which to the Northward a litle further are black, whose furre is esteemed in some Countries of Europe very rich. Otters, bevers, marternes: And in the opinion of most men that saw it, the Generall had brought unto him a Sable alive, which he sent unto his brother sir John Gilbert knight of Devonshire: but it was never delivered, as after I understood. We could not observe the hundreth part of creatures in those unhabited lands: but these mentioned may induce us to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures serving for the use of man, though man hath not used a fift part of the same, which the more doth aggravate the fault and foolish slouth in many of our nation, chusing rather to live indirectly, and very miserably to live & die within this realme pestered with inhabitants, then to adventure as becommeth men, to obtaine an habitation in those remote lands, in which Nature very prodigally doth minister unto mens endeavours, and for art to worke upon.

For besides these already recounted and infinite moe, the mountaines generally make shew of minerall substance: Iron very common, lead, and somewhere copper. I will not averre of richer mettals: albeit by the circumstances following, more then hope may be conceived thereof.

For amongst other charges given to inquire out the singularities of this countrey, the Generall was most curious in the search of mettals, commanding the minerall

man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon borne, honest and religious, named Daniel. Who after search brought at first some sort of Ore, seeming rather to be yron then other mettall. The next time he found Ore, which with no small shew of contentment he delivered unto the General, using protestation, that if silver were the thing which might satisfie the Generall & his followers, there it was, advising him to seeke no further: the perill whereof he undertooke upon his life (as deare unto him as the Crowne of England unto her Majestie, that I may use his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

My selfe at this instant liker to die then to live, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne satisfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to have some part of the Ore, he replied: Content your selfe, I have seene ynough, and were it but to satisfie my private humor, I would proceede no further. - The promise unto my friends, and necessitie to bring also the South countries within compasse of my Patent neere expired, as we have alreadie done these North parts, do only perswade me further. And touching the Ore, I have sent it aboard, whereof I would have no speech to be made so long as we remaine within harbor: here being both Portugals, Biscains and Frenchmen not farre off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea prooffe shalbe made: if it be to our desire, we may returne the sooner hither againe. Whose answer I judged reasonable, and contenting me well: wherewith I will conclude this narration and description of the Newfound land, and proceede to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.

WHILE the better sort of us were seriously occupied in repairing our wants, and contriving of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of another sort & disposition were plotting of mischiefe. Some casting to steale away our shipping by night, watching oportunitie by the Generals and Captaines lying on the shore: whose conspiracies discovered, they were prevented. Others drew together in company, and caried away out of the harbors adjoyning, a ship laden with fish, setting the poore men on shore. A great many more of our people

stole into the woods to hide themselves, attending time and meanes to returne home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sicke of fluxes, and many dead: and in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminished, and many by the Generall licensed to returne home. Insomuch as after we had reviewed our people, resolved to see an end of our voyage, we grewe scant of men to furnish all our shipping: it seemed good therefore unto the Generall to leave the Swallowe with such provision as might be spared for transporting home the sicke people.

The Captaine of the Delight or Admirall returned into England, in whose stead was appointed Captaine Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallow: who also brought with him into the Delight all his men of the Swallow, which before have bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed upon fishermen there met at sea.

The Generall made choise to goe in his frigate the Squirrell (whereof the Captaine also was amongst them that returned into England) the same Frigate being most convenient to discover upon the coast, and to search into every harbor or creeke, which a great ship could not doe. Therefore the Frigate was prepared with her nettings & fights, and overcharged with bases and such small Ordinance, more to give a shew, then with judgement to foresee unto the safetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their overthrow.

Now having made readie our shipping, that is to say, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboard our provision, which was wines, bread or ruske, fish wette and drie, sweete oiles: besides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrellled, and such like: Also we had other necessary provisions for trimming our ships, nets and lines to fish withall, boates or pinnesses fit for discovery. In briefe, we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had bene in a Countrey or some Citie populous and plentifull of all things.

We departed from this harbour of S. Johns upon Tuesday the twentieth of August, which we found by exact observation to be in 47 degrees 40 minutes. And the next day by night we were at Cape Race, 25 leagues from the same harborough.

This Cape lyeth South Southwest from S. Johns: it is a

low land, being off from the Cape about halfe á league : within the sea riseth up a rocke against the point of the Cape, which thereby is easily knowen : It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes.

Under this Cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we layd out hookes and lines to take Codde, and drew in lesse then two houres, fish so large and in such abundance, that many dayes after we fed upon no other provision.

From hence we shaped our course unto the Island of Sablon, if conveniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape Briton.

Sablon lieth to the sea-ward of Cape Briton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to goe upon intelligence we had of a Portugal, (during our abode in S. Johns) who was himselfe present, when the Portugals (above thirty yeeres past) did put into the same Island both Neat and Swine to breede, which were since exceedingly multiplied. This seemed unto us very happy tidings, to have in an Island lying so neere unto the maine, which we intended to plant upon, such store of cattell, whereby we might at all times conveniently be relieved of victuall, and served of store for breed.

In this course we trended along the coast, which from Cape Race stretcheth into the Northwest, making a bay which some called Trepassa. Then it goeth out againe toward the West, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lieth in maner East and West. But this point inclineth to the North : to the West of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We sent men on land to take view of the soyle along this coast, whereof they made good report, and some of them had wil to be planted there. They saw Pease growing in great abundance every where.

The distance betweene Cape Race and Cape Briton is 87 leagues. In which Navigation we spent 8 dayes, having many times the wind indifferent good : yet could we never attaine sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindred by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of us escaped : where neverthesse we lost our Admiral with al the men and provision, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of skill to make conjecture, by our course and way we held from Cape Race thither (that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in sea Cards, for warn-

ing to others that may follow the same course hereafter) I have set downe the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Cox Master of the Hind, and John Paul his mate, both of Limehouse.

Reckonings kept in our course from Cape Race towards Cape Briton, and the Island of Sablon, to the time and place where we lost our Admirall.

August 22.	{	West,	14. leagues.	
		West and by South,	25.	
		Westnorthwest,	25.	
		Westnorthwest,	9.	
		Southsouthwest,	10.	
		Southwest,	12.	
		Southsouthwest,	10.	
August 29.	{	Westnorthwest,	12.	Here we lost our Admirall.
		Summe of these leagues, 117.		

The reckoning of John Paul Masters mate from Cape Race.

August 22.	{	West,	14. leagues.	
23		Northwest and by West,	9.	
24		Southwest and by South,	5.	
25		West and by South,	40.	
26		West and by North,	7.	
27		Southwest,	3.	
28		Southwest,	9.	
		Southwest,	7.	
		Westsouthwest,	7.	
29	{	Northwest and by West,	20.	Here we lost our Admirall.
		Summe of all these leagues, 121.		

Our course we held in clearing us of these flats was Eastsoutheast, and Southeast, and South 14 leagues with a marveilous scant winde.

The maner how our Admirall was lost.

UPON Tewsday the 27 of August, toward the evening, our Generall caused them in his frigate to sound, who found white sande at 35 fadome, being then in latitude about 44 degrees.

Wednesday toward night the wind came South, and wee bare with the land all that night, Westnorthwest, contrary to the mind of master Cox: neverthesse wee followed the Admirall, deprived of power to prevent a mischiefe, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold other course, alleaging they could not make the ship to worke better, nor to lie otherwaies.

The evening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or Delight, continued in sounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: also winding the Cornets, Haughtboyes: and in the end of their jolitie, left with the battell and ringing of dolefull knels.

Towards the evening also we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mighty Porpose, with a harping yron, having first striken divers of them, and brought away part of their flesh, sticking upon the yron, but could recover onely that one. These also passing through the Ocean, in heardes, did portend storme. I omit to recite frivolous reportes by them in the Frigat, of strange voyces, the same night, which scarred some from the helme.

Thursday the 29 of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at South and by East, bringing withal raine, and thicke mist, so that we could not see a cable length before us. And betimes in the morning we were altogether runne and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoale and deepe in every three or foure shippes length, after wee began to sound: but first we were upon them unawares, untill master Cox looking out, discerned (in his judgement) white cliffes, crying (land) withall, though we could not afterward descrie any land, it being very likely the breaking of the sea white, which seemed to be white cliffes, through the haze and thicke weather.

Immediatly tokens were given unto the Delight, to cast about to seaward, which, being the greater ship, and of burden 120 tunnes, was yet formost upon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger, before they felt the same, too late to recover it: for presently the Admirall strooke a ground, and had soone after her sterne and hinder partes beaten in pieces: whereupon the rest (that is to say, the Frigat in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde) cast

about Eastsoutheast, bearing to the South, even for our lives into the windes eye, because that way caried us to the seaward. Making out from this danger, wee sounded one while seven fadome, then five fadome, then foure fadome and lesse, againe deeper, immediatly foure fadome, then but three fadome, the sea going mightily and high. At last we recovered (God be thanked) in some despaire, to sea roome enough.

In this distresse, wee had vigilant eye unto the Admirall, whom wee sawe cast away, without power to give the men succour, neither could we espie any of the men that leaped overboord to save themselves, either in the same Pinnesse or Cocke, or upon rafters, and such like meanes, presenting themselves to men in those extremities: for we desired to save the men by every possible meanes. But all in vaine, sith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat up and downe as neere unto the wracke as was possible for us, looking out, if by good hap we might espie any of them.

This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chiefe shippe fraughted with great provision, gathered together with much travell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the losse of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundreth soules. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called thereof Budæus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discoverie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time.

Here also perished our Saxon Refiner and Discoverer of inestimable riches, as it was left amongst some of us in undoubted hope.

No lesse heavy was the losse of the Captaine Maurice Browne, a vertuous, honest, and discrete Gentleman, overseene onely in liberty given late before to men, that ought to have bene restrained, who shewed himselfe a man resolved, and never unprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that escaped this wracke miraculously, as shall bee hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recovering the

ship, and that men began to give over, and to save themselves, the Captaine was advised before to shift also for his life, by the Pinnesse at the sterne of the ship: but refusing that counsell, he would not give example with the first to leave the shippe, but used all meanes to exhort his people not to despaire, nor so to leave off their labour, choosing rather to die, then to incurre infamie, by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to have perished through his default, shewing an ill president unto his men, by leaving the ship first himselfe. With this mind hee mounted upon the highest decke, where hee attended imminent death, and unavoidable: how long, I leave it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his servants at such times.

In the meane season, certaine, to the number of foureteene persons, leaped into a small Pinnesse (the bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselves to Gods mercy, amidst the storme, and rage of sea and windes, destitute of foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh water. The boate seeming overcharged in foule weather with company, Edward Headly a valiant souldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished then all, made this motion to cast lots, and them to bee thrown overboord upon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which otherwayes seemed impossible to live, offred himselfe with the first, content to take his adventure gladly: which nevertheles Richard Clarke, that was Master of the Admirall, and one of this number, refused, advising to abide Gods pleasure, who was able to save all, as well as a few.

The boate was caried before the wind, continuing sixe dayes and nights in the Ocean, and arrived at last with the men (alive, but weake) upon the New found land, saving that the foresayd Headly, (who had bene late sicke) and another called of us Brasile, of his travell into those Countreys, died by the way, famished, and lesse able to holde out, then those of better health. For such was these poore mens extremitie, in cold and wet, to have no better sustenance then their owne urine, for sixe dayes together.

Thus whom God delivered from drowning, hee appointed to bee famished, who doth give limits to mans times, and

ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying : whom againe he will preserve, neither Sea, nor famine can confound. For those that arrivd upon the Newe found land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being upon that coast.

After this heavie chance, wee continued in beating the sea up and downe, expecting when the weather would cleere up, that we might yet beare in with the land, which we judged not farre off, either the continent or some Island. For we many times, and in sundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fadomes, and lesse. The ground comming upon our lead, being sometimes oazie sand, and otherwhile a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Our people lost courage dayly after this ill successe, the weather continuig thicke and blustering, with increase of cold, Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendement, settling an assurance of worse weather to growe upon us every day. The Leeside of us lay full of flats and dangers inevitable, if the wind blew hard at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulfed in the Bay of S. Laurence, the coast full of dangers, and unto us unknowen. But above all, provision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone, with losse of our Admirall.

Those in the Frigat were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly : Whereupon they besought the Generall to returne for England, before they all perished. And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made signes of their distresse, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and ragged : then immediately they also of the Golden Hinde, grew to be of the same opinion and desire to returne home.

The former reasons having also moved the Generall to have compassion of his poore men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of meanes fit to performe the action they came for, resolved upon retire : and calling the Capitaine and Master of the Hinde, he yeelded them many reasons, inforcing this unexpected returne, withall protesting himselfe, greatly satisfied with that hee had seene, and knew already.

Reiterating these words, Be content, we have seene enough, and take no care of expence past : I will set you fourth royally the next Spring, if God send us safe home. Therefore I pray you let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements.

Omitting circumstance, how unwillingly the Captaine & Master of the Hinde condescended to this motion, his owne company can testifie: yet comforted with the Generals promises of a speedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparant reasons, proving an impossibilitie, to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

So upon Saturday in the afternoone the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, even in winding about, there passed along betweene us and towards the land which we now forsooke a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair and colour, not swimming after the maner of a beast by mooving of his feete, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in sight, neither yet diving under, and againe rising above the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other fish: but confidently shewing himselfe above water without hiding: Notwithstanding, we presented our selves in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eies, and to bidde us a farewell (comming right against the Hinde) he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discern the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing, as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the Ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbear to deliver: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, rejoycing that he was to warre against such an enemie, if it were the devill.

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the sea rough, insomuch as the Frigate wherein the Generall went was almost swallowed up.

Munday in the afternoone we passed in the sight of Cape Race, having made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights backe againe, as before wee had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, unto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back againe, is to be imputed unto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our returne,

This munday the Generall came aboard the Hind to have the Surgeon of the Hind to dresse his foote, which he hurt by treading upon a naile: At what time we comforted ech other with hope of hard successe to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to cary out lights alwayes by night, that we might keepe together, he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be intreated to tarie in the Hind, which had bene more for his security. Immediatly after followed a sharpe storme, which we overpassed for that time. Prayed be God.

The weather faire, the Generall came aboard the Hind againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Master, and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning untill night. During which time there passed sundry discourses, touching affaires past, and to come, lamenting greatly the losse of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which hee was out of measure grieved, the same doubtles being some matter of more importance then his bookes, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumstance I gathered, the same to be ye Ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought unto him in the New found land. Whatsoever it was, the remembrance touched him so deepe, as not able to containe himselfe, he beat his boy in great rage, even at the same time, so long after the miscarying of the great ship, because upon a faire day, when wee were becalmed upon the coast of the New found land, neere unto Cape Race, he sent his boy aboard the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongst which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could never conveniently send againe aboard the great ship, much lesse hee doubted her ruine so neere at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diversly, and by sundry conjectures, which maketh me have the greater hope of this rich Mine. For where as the Generall had never before good conceit of these North parts of the world: now his mind was wholly fixed upon the New found land. And as before he refused not to grant assignements liberally to them that required the same into these North parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of S. Johns, which certaine English merchants made suite for,

offering to imploy their money and travell upon the same : yet neither by their owne suite, nor of others of his owne company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained.

Also laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for disposing of his voyage then to be re-attempted : he assigned the Captaine & Master of the Golden Hind, unto the South discovery, and reserved unto himselfe the North, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether.

Last, being demanded what means he had at his arrivall in England, to compasse the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next Spring : having determined upon two fletes, one for the South, another for the North : Leave that to mee (hee replied) I will aske a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings unto her Majesty, who wil be so gracious, to lend me 1000^o pounds, willing us therefore to be of good cheere : for he did thanke God (he sayd) with al his heart, for that he had seene, the same being enough for us all, and that we needed not to seeke any further. And these last words he would often repeate, with demonstration of great fervencie of mind, being himselfe very confident, and settled in believe of inestimable good by this voyage : which the greater number of his followers nevertheles mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the Generall kept unto himselfe. Yet all of them that are living, may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I have delivered.

Leaving the issue of this good hope unto God, who knoweth the trueth only, & can at his good pleasure bring the same to light : I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit up in the person of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance upon him, even so the vehement perswasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing availe, to divert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his Frigat, which was overcharged upon their deckes, with fights, nettings, and small artillerie, too cumbersome for so small a boate, that was to passe through the Ocean sea at that season of the yere, when by course we might expect much storme of foule weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Master,

and other his well willers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answer: I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils. And in very trueth, hee was urged to be so over hard, by hard reports given of him, that he was afraid of the sea, albeit this was rather rashnes, then advised resolution, to preferre the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life.

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the Hinde, such as was wanting aboard his Frigat. And so we committed him to Gods protection, & set him aboard his Pinnesse, we being more then 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of Açores South of us, yet wee then keeping much to the North, until we had got into the height and elevation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high Pyramid wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea, (as we see hilles and dales upon the land) upon which the seas doe mount and fall: or else the cause proceedeth of diversitie of winds, shifting often in sundry points: al which having power to move the great Ocean, which againe is not presently settled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had bene diversitie of windes. Howsoever it commeth to passe, men which all their life time had occupied the Sea, never saw more outrageous Seas. We had also upon our maine yard, an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an evill signe of more tempest: the same is usuall in stormes.

Munday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered: and giving foorth signes of joy, the Generall sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out unto us in the Hind (so oft as we did approach within hearing) We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land. Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a souldier, resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testifie he was.

The same Monday night, about twelve of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of us in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as

it were in a moment, we lost the sight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment, the Frigat was devoured and swallowed up of the Sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and ever after, untill wee arrived upon the coast of England: Omitting no small saile at sea, unto which we gave not the tokens betweene us, agreed upon, to have perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the Golden Hinde, which arrived in Falmouth, the 22 day of September, being Sondag, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw, comming from the Southeast, with such thicke mist, that we could not discern land, to put in right with the Haven.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, & lay there at anker before the Range, while the captaine went aland, to enquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, which sayling well, might happily have bene before us. Also to certifie Sir John Gilbert, brother unto the Generall of our hard successe, whom the Captaine desired (while his men were yet aboard him, and were witnesses of all occurrents in that voyage,) It might please him to take the examination of every person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithfull endeavour. Sir John Gilbert refused so to doe, holding himselfe satisfied with report made by the Captaine: and not altogether despairing of his brothers safetie, offered friendship and curtesie to the Captaine and his company, requiring to have his Barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was sent to helpe to tow her in.

Neverthesse, when the Captaine returned aboard his ship, he found his men bent to depart, every man to his home: and then the winde serving to proceede higher upon the coast: they demanded money to carie them home, some to London, others to Harwich, and elsewhere, (if the barke should be caried into Dartmouth, and they discharged, so farre from home) or else to take benefite of the wind, then serving to draw neerer home, which should be a lesse charge unto the Captaine, and great ease unto the men, having els farre to goe.

Reason accompanied with necessitie perswaded the Captaine, who sent his lawfull excuse and cause of his

sudden departure unto sir John Gilbert, by the boate of Dartmouth, and from thence the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. Al the men tired with the tediousnes of so unprofitable a voiage to their seeming: in which their long expence of time, much toyle and labour, hard diet and continuall hazard of life was unrecompensed: their Captaine neverthesse by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodnes of God, and his undoubted providence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies those at other times, whosoever have confidence in him alone. Yet have we more neere feeling and perseverance of his powerfull hand and protection, when God doth bring us together with others into one same peril, in which he leaveth them, and delivereth us, making us thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine.

Even so, amongst very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sicknesses, mortalitie, spoylings, and wracks by sea, which were afflictions, more then in so small a Fleete, or so short a time may be supposed, albeit true in every particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes living, it pleased God to support this company, (of which onely one man died of a maladie inveterate, and long infested): the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none els did accomplish, either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants, or prevented by death.

Thus have I delivered the contents of the enterprize and last action of sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meete to be published: wherein may alwaies appeare, (though he be extinguished) some sparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly, as was this, to discover, possesse, and to reduce unto the service of God, and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America, not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining unto the Crowne of England: unto the which, as his zeale deserveth high commendation: even so, he may justly be taxed of temeritie and presumption (rather) in two respects.

First, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine & determinate place of habitation selected, neither

any demonstration of commoditie there in esse, to induce his followers: nevertheles, he both was too prodigall of his owne patrimony, and too careles of other mens expences, to imploy both his and their substance upon a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his associates were promised, and made it their best reckoning to bee salved some other way, which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation.

Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credit, to performe his designements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes, which God might raise, he thrust himselfe againe into the action, for which he was not fit, presuming the cause pretended on Gods behalfe, would carie him to the desired ende. Into which, having thus made reentrie, he could not yeeld againe to withdraw, though hee sawe no encouragement to proceed, lest his credite foyled in his first attempt, in a secoñd should utterly be disgraced. Betweene extremities, hee made a right adventure, putting all to God and good fortune, and which was worst, refused not to entertaine every person and meanes whatsoever, to furnish out this expedition, the successe whereof hath bene declared.

But such is the infinite bountie of God, who from every evill deriveth good. For besides that fruite may growe in time of our travelling into those Northwest lands, the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors, which before we noted to bee in this Gentleman, and made unsavorie, and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues.

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing unto the image of God: so it pleased the divine will to resume him unto himselfe, whither both his, and every other high and noble minde, have alwayes aspired.

A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the Delight, going for the discovery of Norembega, with Sir Humfrey Gilbert 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his oversight.

DEPARTING out of Saint Johns Harborough in the New-found land the 20. of August unto Cape Raz, from thence we directed our course unto the Ile of Sablon or

the Isle of Sand, which the Generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert would willingly have seene. But when we came within twentie leagues of the Isle of Sablon, we fell to controverse of our course. The Generall came up in his Frigot and demanded of mee Richard Clarke master of the Admirall what course was best to keepe: I said that Westsouthwest was best: because the wind was at South and night at hand and unknowen sands lay off a great way from the land. The Generall commanded me to go Westnorthwest. I told him againe that the Isle of Sablon was Westnorthwest and but 15. leagues off, and that he should be upon the Island before day, if hee went that course. The Generall sayd, my reckoning was untrue, and charged me in her Majesties name, and as I would shewe my selfe in her Countrey, to follow him that night. I fearing his threatnings, because he presented her Majesties person, did follow his commaundement, and about seven of the clocke in the morning the ship stroke on ground, where shee was cast away. Then the Generall went off to Sea, the course that I would have had them gone before, and saw the ship cast away men and all, and was not able to save a man, for there was not water upon the sand for either of them much lesse for the Admirall, that drew fourteene foote. Now as God would the day before it was very calme, and a Souldier of the ship had killed some foule with his piece, and some of the company desired me that they might hoise out the boat to recover the foule, which I granted them: and when they came aboard they did not hoise it in againe that night. And when the ship was cast away the boate was a sterne being in burthen one tunne and an halfe: there was left in the boate one oare and nothing els. Some of the company could swimme, and recovered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they coulde: among the rest they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Master: They happened on my selfe being the master, but could never see the Captaine: Then they halled into the boate as many men as they could in number 16. whose names hereafter I will rehearse. And when the 16. were in the boate, some had small remembrance, and some had none: for they did not make account to live, but to prolong their lives as long as it pleased God, and looked every moment of an houre when the Sea would eate them up,

the boate being so little and so many men in her, and so foule weather, that it was not possible for a shippe to brooke halfe a coarse of sayle. Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nights, and that wee saw it pleased God our boate lived in the Sea (although we had nothing to helpe us withall but one oare, which we kept up the boate withall upon the Sea, and so went even as the Sea would drive us) there was in our company one master Hedly that put foorth this question to me the Master. I doe see that it doth please God, that our boate lyveth in the Sea, and it may please God that some of us may come to the land if our boate were not overladen. Let us make sixteene lots, and those foure that have the foure shortest lots we will cast overboord preserving the Master among us all. I replied unto him, saying, no, we will live and die together. Master Hedly asked me if my remembrance were good: I answered I gave God prayse it was good, and knewe how farre I was off the land, and was in hope to come to the lande within two or three dayes, and sayde they were but threescore leagues from the lande, (when they were seventie) all to put them in comfort. Thus we continued the third and fourth day without any sustenance, save onely the weedes that swamme in the Sea, and salt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly dyed and another moreover: then wee desired all to die: for in all these five dayes and five nights we saw the Sunne but once and the Starre but one night, it was so foule weather. Thus we did remaine the sixt day: then we were very weake and wished all to die saving onely my selfe which did comfort them and promised they should come soone to land by the helpe of God: but the company were very importunate, and were in doubt they should never come to land, but that I promised them the seventh day they should come to shore, or els they should cast me over boord: which did happen true the seventh day, for at eleven of the clocke wee had sight of the land, and at 3. of the clocke at afternoone we came on land. All these seven dayes and seven nights, the wind kept continually South. If the wind had in the meane time shifted upon any other point, wee had never come to land: we were no sooner come to the land, but the wind came cleane contrary at North within halfe an houre after our arrivall. But we were so weake that one could

scarcely helpe another of us out of the boate, yet with much adoe being come all on shore we kneeled downe upon our knees and gave God praise that he had dealt so mercifully with us. Afterwards those which were strongest holpe their fellowes unto a fresh brooke, where we satisfied our selves with water and berries very well. There were of al sorts of berries plentie, & as goodly a Countrey as ever I saw: we found a very faire plaine Champion ground that a man might see very farre every way: by the Sea side was here and there a little wood with goodly trees as good as ever I saw any in Norway, able to mast any shippe, of pyne trees, spruse trees, firre, and very great birch trees. Where we came on land we made a little house with boughes, where we rested all that night. In the morning I devided the company three and three to goe every way to see what foode they could find to sustaine themselves, and appointed them to meete there all againe at noone with such foode as they could get. As we went aboard we found great store of peason as good as any wee have in England: a man would thinke they had bene sowed there. We rested there three dayes and three nights and lived very well with pease and berries, wee named the place Saint Laurence, because it was a very goodly river like the river of S. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmons. When wee had well rested our selves wee rowed our boate along the shore, thinking to have gone to the Grande Bay to have come home with some Spanyards which are yeerely there to kill the Whale: And when we were hungry or a thirst we put our boate on land and gathered pease and berries. Thus wee rowed our boate along the shore five dayes: about which time we came to a very goodly river that ranne farre up into the Countrey and saw very goodly growen trees of all sortes. There we happened upon a ship of Saint John de Luz, which ship brought us into Biskay to an Harborough called The Passage. The Master of the shippe was our great friend, or else we had bene put to death if he had not kept our counsayle. For when the visitors came aboard, as it is the order in Spaine, they demaunding what we were, he sayd we were poore fishermen that had cast away our ship in Newfound land, and so the visitors inquired no more of the matter at that time. Assoone as night was come

he put us on land and bad us shift for our selves. Then had wee but tenne or twelve miles into France, which we went that night, and then cared not for the Spanyard. And so shortly after we came into England toward the end of the year 1583.

A true Report of the late discoveries, and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound Lands, By that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight.

Wherein is also briefly set downe, her highnesse lawfull Title thereunto, and the great and manifold commodities, that are likely to grow therby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the Adventurers in particular: Together with the easinesse and shortnesse of the Voyage.

Written by Sir George Peckham Knight, the chiefe adventurer, and furtherer of Sir Humfrey Gilberts voyage to Newfound Land.

The first Chapter, wherein the Argument of the Booke is contained.

It was my fortune (good Reader) not many dayes past, to meete with a right honest and discrete Gentleman, who accompanied that valiant and worthy Knight Sir Humfrey Gilbert, in this last journey for the Westerne discoveries, and is owner and Captaine of the onely vessell which is as yet returned from thence.

By him I understand that Sir Humfrey departed the coast of England the eleventh of June last past, with five sayle of Shippes, from Caushen bay neere Plimmouth, whereof one of the best forsooke his company, the thirteenth day of the same moneth, and returned into England.

The other foure (through the assistance of Almighty God) did arrive at Saint Johns Haven, in Newfound land, the 3. of August last. Upon whose arrivall all the Masters and chiefe Mariners of the English Fleet, which were in the said Haven before, endeavoring to freight themselves with fish, repaired unto Sir Humfrey, whom he made acquainted with the effect of his Commission: which being done, he promised to intreat them

and their goods well and honourably as did become her Majesties Lieutenant. They did all welcome him in the best sort that they could, and shewed him and his all such courtesies as the place could afford or yeelde.

Then he went to view the Countrey, being well accompanied with most of his Captaines and souldiers. They found the same very temperate, but somewhat warmer then England at that season of the yeere, replenished with Beasts and great store of Foule of divers kinds: And Fish of sundry sortes, both in the salt water, and in the fresh, in so great plentie as might suffice to victuall an Armie, and they are very easily taken. What sundry other commodities for this Realme right necessarie, the same doeth yeelde, you shall understand in this treatise hereafter, in place more convenient.

On Munday being the fift of August, the Generall caused his tent to be set upon the side of an hill, in the viewe of all the Fleete of English men and strangers, which were in number betweene thirtie and fourtie sayle: then being accompanied with all his Captaines, Masters, Gentlemen and other souldiers, he caused all the Masters, and principall Officers of the ships, aswell Englishmen as Spanyards, Portugales, and of other nations, to repayre unto his tent: And then and there, in the presence of them all, he did cause his Commission under the great Seale of England to bee openly and solemnly read unto them, whereby were granted unto him, his heires, and assignes, by the Queenes most excellent Majestie, many great and large royalties, liberties, and priviledges. The effect whereof being signified unto the strangers by an Interpreter, hee tooke possession of the sayde land in the right of the Crowne of England by digging of a Turffe and receiving the same with an Hasell wand, delivered unto him, after the maner of the law and custome of England.

Then he signified unto the company both strangers and others, that from thencefoorth, they were to live in that land, as the Territories appertayning to the Crowne of England, and to be governed by such Lawes as by good advise should be set downe, which in all points (so neere as might be) should be agreeable to the Lawes of England: And for to put the same in execution, presently he ordained and established three Lawes.

First, that Religion publicly exercised, should be

such, and none other, then is used in the Church of England.

The second, that if any person should bee lawfully convicted of any practise against her Majestie, her Crowne and dignitie, to be adjudged as traitors according to the Lawes of England.

The third, if any should speake dishonourably of her Majestie, the partie so offending, to loose his eares, his ship and goods, to be confiscate to the use of the Generall.

All men did very willingly submit themselves to these Lawes. Then he caused the Queenes Majesties Armes to be ingraved, set up, and erected with great solemnitie. After this, divers Englishmen made sute unto Sir Humfrey to have of him by inheritance, their accustomed stages, standings & drying places, in sundry places of that land for their fish, as a thing that they doe make great accompt of, which he granted unto them in fee farme. And by this meanes he hath possession maintained for him, in many parts of that Countrey. To be brieffe, he did let, set, give and dispose of many things, as absolute Governor there, by vertue of her Majesties letters patents.

And after their ships were repaired, whereof one he was driven to leave behind, both for want of men sufficient to furnish her, as also to carrie home such sicke persons as were not able to proceede any further: He departed from thence the 20. of August, with the other three, namely, the Delight, wherein was appointed Captaine in M. William Winters place, (that thence returned immediatly for England) M. Maurice Browne: the Golden Hinde, in which was Captaine and owner, M. Edward Hays: and the little Frigat where the Generall himselfe did goe, seeming to him most fit to discover and approach the shore.

The 21. day they came to Cape Race, toward the South partes whereof, lying a while becalmed, they tooke Cod in largenes and quantitie, exceeding the other parts of Newfoundland, where any of them had bene. And from thence, trending the coast West, toward the Bay of Placentia, the Generall sent certaine men a shore, to view the Countrey, which to them as they sayled along, seemed pleasant. Whereof his men at their returne gave great commendation, liking so well of the place, as they

would willingly have stayed and wintred there. But having the wind faire and good, they proceeded on their course towards the firme of America, which by reason of continuall fogs, at that time of the yeere especially, they could never see, till Cox Master of the Golden Hinde did discerne land, and presently lost sight thereof againe, at what time they were all upon a breach in a great and outrageous storme, having under 3. fathome water. But God delivered the Frigat and the Golden Hind, from this great danger. And the Delight in the presence of them all was lost, to their unspeakable grieffe, with all their chiefe victuall, munition, and other necessary provisions, and other things of value not fit here to be named. Whereupon, by reason also that Winter was come upon them, and foule weather increased with fogs and mists that so covered the land, as without danger of perishing they could not approch it: Sir Humfrey Gilbert and M. Hays were compelled much against their willes to retyre homewards: And being 300. leagues on their way, were after by tempestuous weather separated the one from the other, the ninth of September last, since which time M. Hays with his Barke is safely arrived, but of Sir Humfrey as yet they heare no certaine newes.

Upon this report (together with my former intent, to write some briefe discourse in the commendation of this so noble and worthy an enterprise) I did call to my remembrance, the Historie of Themystocles the Grecian, who (being a right noble and valiant Captaine) signified unto his Countreyemen the Citizens of Athens, that he had invented a devise for their common wealth very profitable: but it was of such importance and secrecie, that it ought not to be revealed, before private conference had with some particular prudent person of their choyse.

The Athenians knowing Aristides the Philosopher, to be a man indued with singular wisdom and vertue, made choyse of him to have conference with Themystocles, and thereupon to yeelde his opinion to the Citizens concerning the sayd devise: which was, that they might set on fire the Navie of their enemies, with great facilitie, as he had layde the plot: Aristides made relation to the Citizens, that the stratageme devised by Themystocles was a profitable practise for the common wealth but it was dishonest. The Athenians (without further demaund

what the same was) did by common consent reject and condemne it, preferring honesty and upright dealing before profite.

By occasion of this Historie, I drewe my selfe into a more deepe consideration of this late undertaken Voyage, whether it were as well pleasing to almightie God, as profitable to men: as lawfull, as it seemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Savages, as gainefull to the Christians. And upon mature deliberation I found the action to be honest and profitable, and therefore allowable by the opinion of Aristides if he were now alive: which being by me herein sufficiently proved, (as by Gods grace I purpose to doe) I doubt not but that all good mindes will endeavour themselves to be assistants to this so commendable an enterprize, by the valiant and worthy Gentlemen our Countrey men already attempted and undertaken.

Now whereas I doe understand that Sir Humfrey Gilbert his adherents, associates and friends doe meane with a convenient supply (with as much speede as may be) to maintaine, pursue and follow this intended voyage already in part perfourmed, and (by the assistance of almightie God) to plant themselves and their people in the continent of the hither part of America, betweene the degrees of 30. and 60. of septentrionall latitude: Within which degrees by computation Astronomicall and Cosmographicall are doubtlesse to bee found all things that be necessarie, profitable, or delectable for mans life: The clymate milde and temperate, neyther too hote nor too colde, so that under the cope of heaven there is not any where to be found a more convenient place to plant and inhabite in: which many notable Gentlemen, both of our owne nation and strangers, (who have bene travailers) can testifie: and that those Countries are at this day inhabited with Savages (who have no knowledge of God:) Is it not therefore (I say) to be lamented, that these poore Pagans, so long living in ignorance and idolatry, and in sort thirsting after Christianitie, (as may appeare by the relation of such as have travailed in those partes) that our hearts are so hardened, that fewe or none can be found which will put to their helping hands, and apply themselves to the relieving of the miserable and wretched estate of these sillie soules?

Whose Countrey doeth (as it were with armes ad-

vanced) above the climates both of Spaine and France, stretch out it selfe towards England only: In maner praying our ayde and helpe, as it is not onely set forth in Mercators generall Mappe, but it is also found to be true by the discoverie of our nation, and other strangers, who have oftentimes travailed upon the same coasts.

Christopher Columbus of famous memorie, the first instrument to manifest the great glory and mercie of Almighty God in planting the Christian faith, in those so long unknown regions, having in purpose to acquaint (as he did) that renowned Prince, the Queenes Majesties grandfather King Henry the seventh, with his intended voyage for the Westerne discoveries, was not onely derided and mocked generally, even here in England, but afterward became a laughing stocke to the Spaniards themselves, who at this day (of all other people) are most bounden to laude and prayse God, who first stirred up the man to that enterprise.

And while he was attending there to acquaint the King of Castile (that then was) with his intended purpose, by how many wayes and meanes was he derided? Some scorned the pildnesse of his garments, some tooke occasion to jest at his simple and silly lookes, others asked if this were he that lowts so lowe, which did take upon him to bring men into a Countrey that aboundeth with Golde, Pearle, and Precious stones? If hee were any such man (sayd they) he would cary another maner of countenance with him, and looke somewhat loftier. Thus some judged him by his garments, and others by his looke and countenance, but none entred into the consideration of the inward man.

In the ende, what successe his Voyage had, who list to reade the Decades, the Historie of the West Indies, the conquest of Hernando Cortes about Mexico, and those of Francisco Pizarro in Peru about Casamalcha and Cusco, may know more particularly. All which their discoveries, travailes and conquests are extant to be had in the English tongue. This devise was then accounted a fantastickall imagination, and a drowsie dreame.

But the sequele thereof hath since awaked out of dreames thousands of soules to knowe their Creator, being thereof before that time altogether ignorant: And hath since made sufficient prooffe, neither to be fantasticke nor vainely imagined.

Withall, how mightily it hath enlarged the dominions of the Crowne of Spaine, and greatly enriched the subjects of the same, let all men consider. Besides, it is well known, that sithence the time of Columbus his first discoverie, through the planting, possessing, and inhabiting those partes, there hath bene transported and brought home into Europe greater store of Golde, Silver, Pearle, and Precious stones, then heretofore hath bene in all ages since the creation of the worlde.

I doe therefore heartily wish, that seeing it hath pleased almightie God of his infinite mercy, at the length to awake some of our worthy Countrey men out of that drowsie dreame, wherein we have so long slumbered :

That wee may now not suffer that to quaille for want of maintenance, which by these valiant Gentlemen our Countreymen is so nobly begun & enterprised. For which purpose, I have taken upon me to write this simple short Treatise, hoping that it shall be able to perswade such as have bene, and yet doe continue detractors and hinderers of this journey, (by reason perhaps that they have not deliberately and advisedly entred into the judgement of the matter) that yet now upon better consideration they will become favourable furtherers of the same. And that such as are already well affected thereunto, will continue their good disposition: And withall, I most humbly pray all such as are no nigards of their purses in buying of costly and rich apparel, and liberall Contributors in setting forth of games, pastimes, feastings and banquets, (whereof the charge being past, there is no hope of publike profite or commoditie) that henceforth they will bestowe and employ their liberality (heretofore that way expended) to the furtherance of these so commendable purposed proceedings.

And to this ende have I taken pen in hand, as in conscience thereunto mooved, desiring much rather, that of the great multitude which this Realme doeth nourish, farre better able to handle this matter then I my selfe am, it would have pleased some one of them to have undertaken the same. But seeing they are silent, and that it falleth to my lotte to put pen to the paper, I will endeavour my selfe, and doe stand in good hope (though my skill and knowledge bee simple, yet through the assistance of almightie God) to prove that the Voyage lately enterprised for trade, traffique, and planting in

America, is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Majesties Dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall, profitable to the adventurers in particular, beneficiall to the Savages, and a matter to be attained without any great danger or difficultie.

And lastly, (which is most of all) A thing likewise tending to the honour and glory of Almighty God. And for that the lawfulnessse to plant in those Countreyes in some mens judgements seemeth very doubtfull, I will beginne the prooffe of the lawfulnessse of trade, traffique, and planting.

The second Chapter sheweth, that it is lawfull and necessarie to trade and traffique with the Savages: And to plant in their Countries: And divideth planting into two sorts.

AND first for traffique, I say that the Christians may lawfully travell into those Countries and abide there: whom the Savages may not justly impugne and forbidde in respect of the mutuall societie and fellowshippe betweene man and man prescribed by the Law of Nations.

For from the first beginning of the creation of the world, and from the renewing of the same after Noes flood, all men have agreed, that no violence should be offered to Ambassadors: That the Sea with his Havens should be common: That such as should fortune to be taken in warre, should be servants or slaves: And that strangers should not bee driven away from the place or Countrey whereunto they doe come.

If it were so then, I demaund in what age, and by what Law is the same forbidden or denied since? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Christians to use trade and traffique with Infidels or Savages, carrying thither such commodities as they want, and bringing from thence some part of their plentie?

A thing so commonly and generally practised, both in these our dayes, and in times past, beyond the memorie of man, both by Christians and Infidels, that it needeth no further prooffe.

And forasmuch as the use of trade and traffique (be it never so profitable) ought not to be preferred before the planting of Christian faith: I will therefore somewhat intreate of planting, (without which, Christian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers never so

carefull and diligent) which I meane to divide into two sortes.

The first, when Christians by the good liking and willing assent of the Savages, are admitted by them to quiet possession.

The second, when Christians being unjustly repulsed, doe seeke to attaine and mainteine the right for which they doe come.

And though in regard of the establishment of Christian Religion, eyther of both may be lawfully and justly exercised: (Whereof many examples may be found, as well in the time of Moyses and Josua, and other rulers before the birth of Christ, as of many vertuous Emperours and Kings sithence his incarnation:) yet doe I wish, that before the second be put in practise, a prooffe may be made of the first, saving that for their safetie as well against the Savages, as all other forreigne enemies, they should first well and strongly fortifie themselves: which being done, then by all fayre speeches, and every other good meanes of perswasion to seeke to take away all occasions of offence.

As letting them to understand, how they came not to their hurt, but for their good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongst them, and to trade and traffique with them for their owne commoditie, without molesting or grieving them any way: which must not be done by wordes onely but also by deedes.

For albeit, to maintaine right and repell injury, be a just cause of warre: yet must there hereof be heedefull care had, that whereas the Savages be fearefull by nature, and fond otherwise, the Christians should doe their best endeavour to take away such feare as may growe unto them by reason of their strange apparell, Armour, and weapon, or such like, by quiet and peaceable conversation, and letting them live in securitie, and keeping a measure of blamelesse defence, with as little discommoditie to the Savages as may bee: for this kinde of warre would be onely defensive and not offensive.

And questionlesse there is great hope and likelyhoode, that by this kinde of meanes we should bring to passe all effects to our desired purposes: Considering that all creatures, by constitution of nature, are rendred more tractable and easier wonne for all assayes, by courtesie and mildnesse, then by crueltie or roughnesse: and there-

fore being a principle taught us by naturall reason, it is first to be put in ure.

For albeit as yet the Christians are not so thoroughly furnished with the perfectnesse of their language, eyther to expresse their mindes to them, or againe to conceive the Savages intent: Yet for the present opportunitie, such policie may be used by friendly signes, and courteous tokens towards them, as the Savages may easily perceive (were their sences never so grosse) an assured friendship to be offered them, and that they are encountered with such a nation, as brings them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquillitie and safetie. To further this, and to accomplish it in deedes, there must bee presented unto them gratis, some kindes of our pettie marchandizes and trifles: As looking glasses, Belles, Beades, Bracelets, Chaines, or collers of Bewgle, Chrystall, Amber, Jet, or Glasse &c. For such be the things, though to us of small value, yet accounted by them of high price and estimation: and soonest will induce their Barbarous natures to a liking and a mutuall societie with us.

Moreover, it shall be requisite eyther by speeche, if it be possible, either by some other certaine meanes, to signifie unto them, that once league of friendship with all loving conversation being admitted betweene the Christians and them: that then the Christians from thenceforth will alwayes be ready with force of Armes to assist and defend them in their just quarrels, from all invasions, spoyles and oppressions offered them by any Tyrants, Adversaries, or their next borderers: and a benefite is so much the more to be esteemed, by how much the person upon whom it is bestowed standeth in neede thereof.

For it appeareth by the relation of a Countryman of ours, namely David Ingram, (who travelled in those countries xi. Moneths and more) That the Savages generally for the most part, are at continuall warres with their next adjoyning neighbours, and especially the Cannibals, being a cruell kinde of people, whose foode is mans flesh, and have teeth like dogges, and doe pursue them with ravenous mindes to eate their flesh, and devoure them.

And it is not to be doubted, but that the Christians may in this case justly and lawfully ayde the Savages against the Cannibals. So that it is very likely, that by this meanes we shall not only mightily stirre and inflame

their rude mindes gladly to embrace the loving company of the Christians, proffering unto them both commodities, succour, and kindnesse : But also by their franke consents shall easily enjoy such competent quantity of Land, as every way shall be correspondent to the Christians expectation and contentation, considering the great abundance that they have of Land, and how small account they make thereof, taking no other fruites thereby then such as the ground of it selfe doeth naturally yeelde. And thus much concerning the first sort of planting, which as I assuredly hope, so I most heartily pray may take effect and place.

But if after these good and fayre meanes used, the Savages neverthesse will not bee herewithall satisfied, but barbarously will goe about to practise violence eyther in repelling the Christians from their Ports & safe-landings, or in withstanding them afterwards to enjoy the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they have adventured themselves thither :

Then in such a case I holde it no breach of equitie for the Christians to defend themselves, to pursue revenge with force, and to doe whatsoever is necessarie for the attaining of their safetie : For it is allowable by all Lawes in such distresses, to resist violence with violence : And for their more securitie to increase their strength by building of Forts for avoyding the extremitie of injurious dealing.

Wherein if also they shal not be suffered in reasonable quietnesse to continue, there is no barre (as I judge) but that in stoute assemblies the Christians may issue out, and by strong hand pursue their enemies, subdue them, take possession of their Townes, Cities, or Villages, and (in avoyding murtherous tyrannie) to use the Law of Armes, as in like case among all Nations at this day is used : and most especially to the ende they may with securitie holde their lawfull possession, lest happily after the departure of the Christians, such Savages as have bene converted, should afterwards through compulsion and enforcement of their wicked Rulers, returne to their horrible idolatrie (as did the children of Israel, after the decease of Joshua) and continue their wicked custome of most unnaturall sacrificing of humane creatures.

And in so doing, doubtlesse the Christians shall no whit at all transgresse the bonds of equitie or civilitie,

forasmuch as in former ages; (yea, before the incarnation of Christ) the like hath bene done by sundry Kings and Princes, Governours of the children of Israel: chiefly in respect to begin their planting, for the establishment of Gods worde: as also since the Nativitie of Christ, mightie and puissant Emperours and Kings have performed the like, I say to plant, possesse, and subdue. For prooffe whereof, I will alledge you examples of both kindes.

Wee reade in the olde Testament, how that after Noes flood was ceased, restauration of mankinde began onely of those fewe of Noes children and familie as were by God preelected to bee saved in the Arke with him, whose seede in processe of time, was multiplied to infinite numbers of Nations, which in divers sortes divided themselves to sundry quarters of the earth. And forasmuch as all their posteritie being mightily encreased, followed not the perfect life of Noe their predecessour, God chose out of the multitude a peculiar people to himselfe, to whom afterwarde being under the government of Moyses in Mount Sinay, hee made a graunt to inherite the Land of Canaan, called the Land of promise, with all the other rich and fertile Countries next adjoyning thereunto. Neverthesse, before they came to possession thereof, having bene afflicted with many grievous punishments and plagues for their sinnes, they fell in despayre to enjoy the same.

But being encouraged and comforted by their Rulers, (men of God) they proceeded, arming themselves with all patience, to suffer whatsoever it should please God to send: and at last attaining to the Land, they were encountered with great numbers of strong people, and mighty Kings.

Notwithstanding, Josua their Leader replenished with the Spirite of God, being assured of the justnesse of his quarell, gathered the chiefe strength of the children of Israel together, to the number of 40000. with whom he safely passed the huge river Jordan, and having before sent privie spies for the discoverie of the famous citie Jerico, to understand the certaintie of the Citizens estate, he forthwith came thither, and environed it round about with his whole power the space of seven dayes.

In which respite, perceiving none of the Gentiles disposed to yeeld or call for mercie, he then commanded (as God before had appointed) that both the citie Jerico should

be burned, yea, and all the inhabitants, as well olde as young, with all their cattell should be destroyed, onely excepted Rahab, her kindred and familie, because shee before had hid secretly the messengers of Josua, that were sent thither as spies. As for all their golde, silver, precious stones, or vessels of brasse, they were reserved and consecrated to the Lords treasurie.

In like maner he burned the citie Hay, slew the inhabitants thereof, and hanged up their King. But for so much as the Gebionites (fearing the like event) sent Ambassadors unto Josua to intreate for grace, favour, and peace: hee commaunded that all their lives should bee saved, and that they should be admitted to the company of the children of Israel. Yet understanding afterwards they wrought this by a policie, he used them as drudges to hewe wood and to carie water, and other necessaries for his people. Thus beganne this valiant Captaine his conquest, which he pursued and never left till hee had subdued all the Hethites, Amorites, Cananites, Peresites, Hevites, and Jebusites, with all their princes and Kings, being thirtie and one in number, & divers other strange nations, besides whose lands & dominions he wholly divided among Gods people.

After that Josua was deceased, Juda was constituted Lord over the armie, who receiving like charge from God, pursued the proceedings of the holy captaine Josua, and utterly vanquished many Gentiles, Idolaters, and adversaries to the children of Israel, with all such Rulers or Kings as withstoode him, and namely Adonibezek the most cruell tyrant: whose thumbes and great toes he caused to be cut off, for so much as hee had done the like before unto seventie Kings, whom being his prisoners, he forced to gather up their victuals underneath his table. In this God shewed his justice to revenge tyrannie. We reade likewise, that Gedeon a most puissant and noble warriour so behaved himselfe in following the worthy acts of Josua and Juda, that in short time he not only delivered the children of Israel from the hands of the multitude of the fierce Madianites, but also subdued them and their Tyrants, whose landes he caused Gods people to possesse and inherite.

I could recite divers other places out of the Scripture, which aptly may be applyed hereunto, were it not I doe indeavour my selfe by all meanes to be briefe. Now in

like maner will I alledge some fewe Inductions out of the autentically writings of the Ecclesiasticall Historiographers, all tending to the like argument. And first to begin withall, we doe reade : That after our Saviour Jesus Christ had suffered his passion, the Apostles being inspired with the holy Ghost, and the knowledge of all strange languages, did immediatly disperse themselves to sundry parts of the world, to the preaching of the Gospel. Yet not in so generall a maner, but that there remained some farre remote Countries unvisited by them, among the which it is reported that India the great, called the uttermost India, as yet had received no light of the word. But it came to passe, that one Metrodorus a very learned and wise Philosopher in that age, being desirous to search out unknowen lands, did first discover the same, finding it wonderfull populous and rich, which upon his returne being published, and for certaine understood, there was another grave Philosopher of Tyrus called Meropius, being a Christian, who did resolve himselfe (following the example of Metrodorus) to travaile thither, and in a short time assisted but with a fewe, in a small Vessel arrived there, having in his company two yong youths, Edesius and Frumentius, whom (being his schollers) he had thoroughly instructed both in liberall Sciences, and christian Religion. Now after that Meropius somewhat staying there, had (as hee thought) sufficient understanding of the Indians whole estate : He determined to depart, and to bring notice thereof unto the Emperour, whom he meant to exhort to the conquest of the same.

But by misfortune he was prevented, for being in the midst of his course on the Sea homeward, a sore tempest arose, and perforce drove him backe againe, to an unknowen Port of the sayd land : where he by the most cruell barbarous Indians on the sudden was slaine with all his company, except the two young schollers aforesayde, whom the barbarous Indians, by reason they were of comely stature and beautifull personages, tooke, and forthwith presented them to their King and Queene : which both being very well liked of, the King courteously entreated, and ordeined Edesius to be his Butler, and Frumentius his Secretarie, and in few yeeres by reason of their learning and civill government, they were had in great favour, honour, and estimation with the Princes. But the King departing this life, left the Queene his

wife with her yong sonne to governe, and gave free scope and libertie to the two Christians, at their best pleasure to passe to their native soyles, allowing them all necessaries for the same. Yet the Queene who highly favoured them was very sorowfull they should depart, and therefore most earnestly intreated them to tarie and assist her in the government of her people, till such time as her yong sonne grewe to ripe yeeres, which request they fulfilled.

And Frumentius excelling Edesius farre in all wisdome, ruled both the Queene and her subjects at his discretion, whereby he tooke occasion to put in practise privily, that the foundation of Christian religion might be planted in the hearts of such as with whom he thought his perswasion might best prevaile, and that soonest would give eare unto him: which being brought to passe accordingly, hee then with his fellow Edesius tooke leave of the Queene to returne to his native cuntry. And so soon as he was arrived there, he revealed to the Emperour Constantine, the effect of all those events: who both commending his deedes and wholly allowing thereof, by the advise and good liking of Athanasius then Bishop of Alexandria, did arme and set forth a convenient power for the ayde of Frumentius, in this his so godly a purpose. And by this meanes came the Emperour afterwards by faire promises, and by force of armes together, unto the possession of all the Indians cuntry. The author of this storie Ruffinus received the trueth hereof from the very mouth of Edesius companion to Frumentius.

Moreover Eusebius in his Historie Ecclesiasticall in precise termes, and in divers places maketh mention how Constantine the great not onely enlarged his Empire by the subduing of his next neighbours, but also endeavoured by all meanes to subject all such remote Barbarous and Heathen nations, as then inhabited the foure quarters of the worlde. For (as it is written) the Emperour throughly ayded with a puissant armie of valiant souldiers whom he had before perswaded to Christian religion, in proper person himselfe came even unto this our country of England, then called the Island of Britaines, bending from him full West, which he wholly conquered, made tributarie, and settled therein Christian faith, and left behinde him such Rulers thereof, as to his wisdome seemed best. From thence hee turned his force towardes the North coast of the world, and there utterly subdued

the rude and cruell Nation of the Scythians, whereof part by friendly perswasions, part by maine strength, hee reduced the whole to Christian faith. Afterwards he determined with himselfe to search out what strange people inhabited in the uttermost parts of the South. And with great hazard and labour, making his journey thither, at last became victour over them all, even to the countrey of the Blemmyans, and the remote Æthiopians, that now are the people of Presbyter John, who yet till this day continue and beare the name of Christians.

In the East likewise, what Nation soever at that time he could have notice of, he easily wonne and brought in subjection to the Empire. So that to conclude, there was no region in any part of the world, the inhabitants whereof being Gentiles, though unknowen unto him, but in time he overcame and vanquished.

This worthy beginning of Constantine, both his sonnes succeeding his roome, and also divers other Emperours afterward to their uttermost endeavour followed and continued, which all the bookes of Eusebius more at large set foorth. Theodoretus likewise in his Ecclesiasticall historie maketh mention how Theodosius the vertuous Emperour employed earnestly all his time, as well in conquering the Gentiles to the knowledge of the holy Gospel, utterly subverting their prophane Temples and abominable Idolatry, as also in extinguishing of such usurping tyrants as with Paganisme withstood the planting of Christian religion. After whose decease his sonnes Honorius and Arcadius were created Emperours, the one of the East, the other of the West, who with all stout godlinesse most carefully imitated the foresteps of their Father, eyther in enlarging their territories, or increasing the christian flocke.

Moreover, it is reported by the sayd author, that Theodosius junior the Emperour, no whit inferiour in vertuous life to any of the above named Princes, with great studie and zeale pursued and prosecuted the Gentiles, subdued their tyrants and countries, and utterly destroyed all their idolatry, converting their soules to acknowledge their onely Messias and Creator, and their Countries to the enlargement of the Empire. To be briefe, who so listeth to read Eusebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodoritus, Hermia, Sozomen, and Euagrius Scholasticus, which all were most sage

Ecclesiasticall writers, shall finde great store of examples of the worthy lives of sundry Emperours, tending all to the confirmation of my former speeches.

And for like examples of later time, (yea even in the memorie of man) I shall not neede to recite any other then the conquest made of the West and East Indies by the Kings of Spaine and Portugall, whereof there is particular mention made in the last Chapter of this booke. Herein have I used more copy of examples then otherwise I would have done, saving that I have bene in place, where this maner of planting the Christian faith hath bene thought of some to be scarce lawfull, yea, such as doe take upon them to be more then meanelly learned. To these examples could I joyne many moe, but whosoever is not satisfied with these fewe, may satisfie himselfe in reading at large the Authors last above recited. Thus have I (as I trust) proved that we may justly trade and traffique with the Savages, and lawfully plant and inhabite their Countries.

The third Chapter doeth shew the lawfull title which the Queenes most excellent Majestie hath unto those Countries, which through the ayde of Almighty God are meant to be inhabited.

AND it is very evident that the planting there shal in time right amply enlarge her Majesties Territories and Dominions, or (I might rather say) restore to her Highnesse ancient right and interest in those Countries, into the which a noble and worthy personage, lineally descended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170. arrived and there planted himselfe and his Colonies, and afterward returned himselfe into England, leaving certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an ancient Welsh Chronicle, where he then gave to certaine Ilands, beastes, and foules sundry Welsh names, as the Iland of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the same.

There is likewise a foule in the saide countreys called by the same name at this day, and is as much to say in English, as Whitehead, and in trueth the said foules have white heads. There is also in those countreis a fruit called Gwynethes which is likewise a Welsh word. Moreover, there are divers other Welsh wordes at this

day in use, as David Ingram aforesaid reporteth in his relations. All which most strongly argueth, the sayd prince with his people to have inhabited there. And the same in effect is confirmed by Mutezuma that mightie Emperour of Mexico, who in an Oration unto his subjects for the better pacifying of them, made in the presence of Hernando Cortes used these speches following.

My kinsmen, friends, and servants, you doe well know that eighteene yeres I have bene your King, as my fathers and grandfathers were, and alwayes I have bene unto you a loving Prince, and you unto me good and obedient subjects, and so I hope you will remaine unto mee all the dayes of my life. You ought to have in remembrance, that either you have heard of your fathers, or else our divines have instructed you, that wee are not naturally of this countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, because our forefathers came from a farre countrey, and their King and Captaine, who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, saying that he would send such as should rule and governe us, if by chance he himselve returned not, &c.

These be the very wordes of Mutezuma set downe in the Spanish Chronicles, the which being throughly considered, because they have relation to some strange noble person, who long before had possessed those countreys, doe all sufficiently argue the undoubted title of her Majestie: forasmuch as no other Nation can truely by any Chronicles they can finde, make prescription of time for themselves, before the time of this Prince Madoc. Besides all this, for further prooffe of her highnesse title sithence the arrivall of this noble Briton into those parts (that is to say) in the time of the Queenes grandfather of worthy memory, King Henry the seventh, Letters patents were by his Majestie granted to John Cabota an Italian, to Lewis, Sebastian and Sancius, his three sonnes, to discover remote, barbarous and heathen Countreys, which discovery was afterwarde executed to the use of the Crowne of England, in the sayde Kings time, by Sebastian and Sancius his sonnes, who were borne here in England: in true testimony whereof there is a faire haven in Newfoundland, knowen, and called untill this day by the name of Sancius haven, which proveth that they first

discovered upon that coast from the height of 63 unto the cape of Florida, as appeareth in the Decades.

And this may stand for another title to her Majesty: but any of the foresayd titles is as much or more then any other Christian Prince can pretend to the Indies, before such time as they had actuall possession thereof, obtained by the discovery of Christopher Columbus, and the conquest of Vasques Nunnes de Balboa, Hernando Cortes, Francisco Pizarro, and others. And therefore I thinke it needlesse to write any more touching the lawfulness of her Majesties title.

The fourth chapter sheweth how that the trade, traffike, and planting in those countreys, is likely to prove very profitable to the whole realme in generall.

Now to shew how the same is likely to proove very profitable and beneficiall generally to the whole realme: it is very certaine, that the greatest jewell of this realme, and the chieftest strength and force of the same, for defence or offence in marshall matter and maner, is the multitude of ships, masters and mariners, ready to assist the most stately and royall navy of her Majesty, which by reason of this voyage shall have both increase and maintenance. And it is well knowen that in sundry places of this realme ships have beene built and set forth of late dayes, for the trade of fishing onely: yet notwithstanding the fish which is taken and brought into England by the English navy of fishermen, will not suffice for the expense of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of strangers. And the chieftest cause why our English men doe not goe so farre Westerly as the especiall fishing places doe lie, both for plenty and greatnesse of fish, is for that they have no succour and knowen safe harbour in those parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or neere thereabouts; whereas they now fish but for two moneths in the yeere, they might then fish so long as pleased themselves, or rather at their comming finde such plenty of fish ready taken, salted, and dried, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that salt may be found there) whereof David Ingram (who travelled in those countreys as aforesayd) sayth that there is great plenty: and withall the climate doth give great hope, that though there were none naturally growing, yet it might as well be made there

by art, as it is both at Rochel and Bayon, or elsewhere. Which being brought to passe, shall increase the number of our shippes and mariners, were it but in respect of fishing onely: but much more in regard of the sundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found, and had in great abundance.

Moreover, it is well knowen that all Savages, aswell those that dwell in the South, as those that dwell in the North, so soone as they shall begin but a little to taste of civility, will take marvelous delight in any garment, be it never so simple; as a shirt, a blew, yellow, red, or greene cotten cassocke, a cap, or such like, and will take incredible paines for such a trifle.

For I my selfe have heard this report made sundry times by divers of our countreyemen, who have dwelt in the Southerly parts of the West Indies, some twelve yeeres together, and some of lesse time; that the people in those parts are easily reduced to civility both in maners and garments. Which being so, what vent for our English clothes will thereby ensue, and how great benefit to all such persons and artificers, whose names are quoted in the margent, I do leave to the judgement of such as are discreet.

And questionlesse, hereby it will also come to passe, that all such townes and villages as both have beene, and now are utterly decayed and ruined (the poore people thereof being not set on worke, by reason of the transportation of raw wooll of late dayes more excessively then in times past) shal by this meanes be restored to their pristinate wealth and estate: all which doe likewise tend to the enlargement of our navy, and maintenance of our navigation.

To what end need I endeavour my selfe by arguments to prove that by this voyage our navie and navigation shalbe enlarged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest & late example of the neere neighbours to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portugall, who since the first discovery of the Indies, have not onely mightily enlarged their dominions, greatly enriched themselves and their subjects: but have also by just account trebled the number of their shippes, masters and mariners, a matter of no small moment and importance?

Besides this, it will proove a generall benefit unto our country, that through this occasion, not onely a great

number of men which do now live idly at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, & unprofitable to this realme, shall hereby be set on worke, but also children of twelve or fourteene yeeres of age, or under, may bee kept from idlenesse, in making of a thousand Kindes of trifling things, which wil be good merchandize for that countrey. And moreover, our idle women (which the Realme may well spare) shall also be imployed on plucking, drying, and sorting of feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, and in gathering of cotton, and divers things right necessary for dying. All which things are to be found in those countreys most plentifully. And the men may imploy themselves in dragging for pearle, woorking for mines, and in matters of husbandry, and likewise in hunting the Whale for Trane, and making caskes to put the same in: besides in fishing for cod, salmon, and herring, drying salting and barrelling the same, and felling of trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like worke, meete for those persons that are no men of Art or science.

Many other things may bee found to the great reliefe and good employments of no small number of the naturall Subjects of this Realme, which doe now live here idly to the common annoy of the whole state. Neither may I here omit the great hope and likelyhood of a passage beyond the Grand Bay into the South Seas, confirmed by sundry authours to be found leading to Cataia, the Moluccas and Spiceries, whereby may ensue as generall a benefite to the Realme, or greater then yet hath bene spoken of, without either such charges, or other inconveniences, as by the tedious tract of time and perill, which the ordinary passage to those parts at this day doeth minister.

And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowen to all men of sound judgement, that this voyage is of greater importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our countrey, then all other voyages at this day in use and trade amongst us.

The fift chapter sheweth, that the trading and planting in those countreis is likely to prove to the particular profit of all adventurers.

I MUST now according to my promise shew foorth some probable reasons that the adventurers in this journey are

to take particular profit by the same. It is therefore convenient that I doe divide the adventurers into two sorts: the noblemen and gentlemen by themselves, and the Merchants by themselves. For, as I doe heare, it is meant that there shall be one societie of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and another societie of the merchants. And yet not so divided, but that eche society may freely and frankely trade and traffique one with the other.

And first to bend my speech to the noblemen and gentlemen, who doe chiefly seeke a temperate climate, wholesome ayre, fertile soile, and a strong place by nature whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themselves, or such other persons as they shall thinke good to send to bee lords of that place and countrey: to them I say, that all these things are very easie to be found within the degrees of 30 and 60 aforesaid, either by South or North, both in the Continent, and in Islands thereunto adjoining at their choise: but the degree certaine of the elevation of the pole, and the very climate where these places of force and fertility are to be found, I omit to make publike, for such regard as the wiser sort can easily conjecture: the rather because I doe certainly understand, that some of those which have the managing of this matter, knowe it as well or better then I my selfe, and do meane to reveale the same, when cause shall require, to such persons whom it shall concerne, and to no other: so that they may seat & settle themselves in such climate as shall best agree with their owne nature, disposition, and good liking: and in the whole tract of that land, by the description of as many as have bene there, great plentie of minerall matter of all sorts, and in very many places, both stones of price, pearle and christall, and great store of beasts, birds, and fowles both for pleasure and necessary use of man are to be found.

And for such as take delight in hunting, there are Stagges, Wilde bores, Foxes, Hares, Cunnies, Badgers, Otters, and divers other such like for pleasure. Also for such as have delight in hauking, there are haukes of sundry kinds, and great store of game, both for land and river, as Fezants, Partridges, Cranes, Heronshawes, Ducks, Mallards, and such like. There is also a kinde of beast much bigger then an Oxe, whose hide is more then eightene foote long, of which sort a countreyman of ours, one Walker a sea man, who was upon that coast,

did for a trueth report in the presence of divers honourable and worshipfull persons, that he and his company did finde in one cottage above two hundred and fortie hides, which they brought away and solde in France for fortie shillings an hide; and with this agreeth David Ingram, and describeth that beast at large, supposing it to be a certaine kinde of Buffe; there are likewise beasts and fowles of divers kinds, which I omit for brevities sake, great store of fish both in the salt water and in the fresh, plentie of grapes as bigge as a mans thumb, and the most delicate wine of the Palme tree, of which wine there be divers of good credit in this realme that have tasted: and there is also a kind of graine called Maiz, Potato rootes, and sundry other fruits naturally growing there: so that after such time as they are once settled, they shall neede to take no great care for victuall.

And now for the better contentation and satisfaction of such worshipfull, honest minded, and well disposed Merchants, as have a desire to the furtherance of every good and commendable action, I will first say unto them, as I have done before to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, that within the degrees abovesayde, is doubtlesse to be found the most wholesome and best temperature of ayre, fertilitie of soyle, and every other commoditie or merchandize, for the which, with no small perill we doe travell into Barbary, Spaine, Portugall, France, Italie, Moscovie and Eastland. All which may be either presently had, or at the least wise in very short time procured from thence with lesse danger then now we have them. And yet to the ende my argument shall not altogether stand upon likelihoods and presumptions, I say that such persons as have discovered and travelled those partes, doe testifie that they have found in those countryes all these things following, namely:

<p>Of beasts for fures.</p> <p>Martens. Beavers. Foxes, black and white. Leopards.</p> <p>Of wormes.</p> <p>Silke wormes great & large.</p>	<p>Of Birds.</p> <p>Hawkes. Bitters. Curlewes. Hérons. Partridges. Cranes. Mallards. Wilde geese.</p>
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<p>Stocke dooves. Margaus. Blacke birds. Parrots. Pengwins. Of Fishes. Codde. Salmon. Seales. Herrings.</p>	<p>Of Trees. Palme trees yeelding sweet wines. Cedars. Firres. SasafRAS. Oake. Elme. Popler.</p>
<p>And sundry other strange Trees to us unknowen.</p>	

<p>Of fruites. Grapes very large. Muskemellons. Limons. Dates great. OrrengeS. Figges. Prunes. Raisins great and small. Pepper. Almonds. Citrons.</p>	<p>Of Mettals. Golde. Silver. Copper. Lead. Tinne. Of Stones. Turkeis. Rubies. Pearls great & faire. Marble, of divers kindes. Jasper. Christall.</p>
<p>Sundry other commodities of all sorts.</p>	

<p>Rosen. Pitch. Tarre. Turpentine. Frankincense. Honny. Waxe. Rubarbe. Oyle Olive. Traine oyle. Muske codde.</p>	<p>Salt. Tallow. Hides. Hempe. Flaxe. Cochenello & dies of divers sorts. Feathers of sundrie sorts, as for pleasure and filling of Feather-beds.</p>
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And seeing that for small costs, the trueth of these things may be understood (whereof this intended supply will give us more certaine assurance) I doe finde no cause to the contrary, but that all well minded persons should

be willing to adventure some competent portion for the furtherance of so good an enterprise.

Now for the triall hereof, considering that in the articles of the societie of the adventurers in this voyage, there is provision made, that no adventurer shall be bound to any further charge then his first adventure: and yet notwithstanding keepe still to himselfe his children, his apprentices and servants, his and their freedome for trade and traffique, which is a priviledge that adventurers in other voyages have not: and in the said articles it is likewise provided, that none other then such as have adventured in the first voyage, or shal become adventurers in this supply, at any time hereafter are to be admitted in the said society, but as redemptionaries, which will be very chargeable: therefore generally I say unto all such according to the olde proverbe, Nothing venture, nothing have. For if it do so fall out, according to the great hope and expectation had, (as by Gods grace it will) the gaine which now they reape by traffique into other farre countries, shal by this trade returne with lesse charge, greater gaine, and more safety: Lesse charge, I say, by reason of the ample and large deepe rivers at the very banke, whereof there are many, whereby both easily and quietly they may transport from the innermost parts of the main land, all kind of merchandize, yea in vessels of great burden, and that three times, or twise in the yere at the least. But let us omit all presumptions how vehement soever, and dwel upon the certainty of such commodities as were discovered by S. Humfrey Gilbert, & his assistants in Newfound land in August last. For there may be very easily made Pitch, Tarre, Rosen, Sope ashes in great plenty, yea, as it is thought, inough to serve the whole realme of every of these kindes: And of Traine oyle such quantity, as if I should set downe the value that they doe esteeme it at, which have bene there, it would seeme incredible.

It is hereby intended, that these commodities in this abundant maner, are not to be gathered from thence, without planting and setling there. And as for other things of more value, and that of more sorts and kindes then one or two (which were likewise discovered there) I doe holde them for some respects, more meete for a time to be concealed then uttered.

Of the fishing I doe speake nothing, because it is

generally known: and it is not to be forgotten, what trifles they be that the Savages doe require in exchange of these commodities: yea, for pearle, golde, silver, and precious stones. All which are matters in trade and traffique of great moment. But admit that it should so fall out, that the above specified commodities shall not happily be found out within this first yeere: Yet it is very cleere that such and so many may be found out as shall minister just occasion to thinke all cost and labour well bestowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one seat fit for fortification, of great safety, wherein these commodities following, especially are to be had, that is to say, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage, and other necessary things, and fish of farre greater sise and plenty, then that of Newfound land, and of all these so great store, as may suffice to serve our whole realme.

Besides all this, if credit may be given to the inhabitants of the same soile, a certaine river doth thereunto adjoyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich substance: I doe not hereby meane the passage to the Moluccaes, whereof before I made mention.

And it is not to be omitted, how that about two yeeres past, certaine merchants of S. Malo in France, did hyre a ship out of the Island of Jersey, to the ende that they would keepe that trade secret from their Countrey-men, and they would admit no mariner, other then the ship boy belonging to the sayd ship, to goe with them, which shippe was about 70. tunne. I doe know the shippe and the boy very well, and am familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage proved very beneficiall.

To conclude, this which is already sayd, may suffice any man of reasonable disposition to serve for a taste, untill such time as it shall please almighty God through our owne industrie, to send us better tydings. In the meane season, if any man well affected to this journey, shall stand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the same, he may satisfie himselfe with the judgement and liking of such of good calling and credite, as are principall dealers herein. For it is not necessary in this treatise, publikely to set forth the whole secrets of the voyage.

The sixt Chapter sheweth that the traffique and planting in those countries, shall be unto the Savages themselves very beneficiall and gainfull.

Now to the end it may appeare that this voyage is not undertaken altogether for the peculiar commodity of our selves and our countrey (as generally other trades and journeis be) it shall fall out in prooffe, that the Savages shall hereby have just cause to blesse the houre when this enterprise was undertaken.

First and chiefly, in respect of the most happy and gladsome tidings of the most glorious Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falshood to trueth, from darknesse to light, from the hie way of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatrie to sincere Christianity, from the devill to Christ, from hell to heaven. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yeelde us (were they many moe) that they should but receive this onely benefit of Christianity, they were more then fully recompenced.

But heereunto it may bee objected, that the Gospel must bee freely preached, for such was the example of the Apostles: unto whom although the authorities and examples before alledged of Emperors, Kings and Princes, aswel before Christs time as since, might sufficiently satisfie: yet for further answer, we may say with S. Paul, If wee have sowed unto you heavenly things, doe you thinke it much that we should reape your carnall things? And withall, The workman is worthy of his hire. These heavenly tidings which those labourers our countrey men (as messengers of Gods great goodnesse and mercy) will voluntarily present unto them, doe farre exceed their earthly riches. Moreover, if the other inferiour worldly and temporall things which they shall receive from us, be weighed in equall ballance, I assure my selfe, that by equal judgement of any indifferent person, the benefits which they then receive, shall farre surmount those which they shall depart withall unto us. And admit that they had (as they have not) the knowledge to put their land to some use: yet being brought from brutish ignorance to civilitie and knowledge, and made then to understand how the tenth part of their Land may be so manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary use of mans life, then the

whole now doeth: What just cause of complaint may they have? And in my private opinion, I do verily thinke that God did create land, to the end that it should by culture and husbandry yeeld things necessary for mans life.

But this is not all the benefit which they shall receive by the Christians: for, over and beside the knowledge how to till and dresse their grounds, they shal be reduced from unseemely customes to honest maners, from disordered riotous routs and companyes to a well governed common wealth, and withall, shalbe taught mechanically occupations, arts, and liberall sciences: and which standeth them most upon, they shalbe defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and blood sucking neighbors the Canibals, whereby infinite number of their lives shalbe preserved. And lastly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent children shall be preserved from the bloody knife of the sacrificer, a most horrible and detestable custome in the sight of God and man, now and ever heretofore used amongst them. Many other things could I heere alledge to this purpose, were it not that I doe feare lest I have already more then halfe tired the reader.

The seventh Chapter sheweth that the planting there, is not a matter of such charge or difficultie, as many would make it seeme to be.

Now therefore for prooffe, that the planting in these parts is a thing that may be done without the ayde of the Princes power and purse, contrary to the allegation of many malicious persons, who wil neither be actors in any good action themselves, nor so much as afoord a good word to the setting forward thereof: and that worse is, they will take upon them to make molehilles seeme mountaines, and flies elephants, to the end they may discourage others, that be very well or indifferently affected to the matter, being like unto Esops dogge, which neither would eate Hay himselfe, nor suffer the poore hungry asse to feede thereon:

I say and affirme that God hath provided such meanes for the furtherance of this enterprise, as doe stand us in stead of great treasure: for first by reason that it hath pleased God of his great goodnesse, of long time to hold his merciful hand over this realme, in preserving the people of the same, both from slaughter by the sword,

and great death by plague, pestilence, or otherwise, there are at this day great numbers (God he knoweth) which live in such penurie & want, as they could be contented to hazard their lives, and to serve one yeere for meat, drinke and apparell only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their estates: which is a matter in such like journeyes, of no small charge to the prince. Moreover, things in the like journeyes of greatest price and cost as victuall (whereof there is great plentie to be had in that countrey without money) and powder, great artillery, or corselets are not needefull in so plentifull and chargeable maner, as the shew of such a journey may present: for a small quantitie of all these, to furnish the Fort only, will suffice untill such time as divers commodities may be found out in those parts, which may be thought well worthy a greater charge. Also the peculiar benefit of archers which God hath blessed this land withall before all other nations, will stand us in great stead amongst those naked people.

Another helpe we have also, which in such like cases is a matter of marveilous cost, and will be in this journey procured very easily (that is to say) To transport yeerely aswell our people, as all other necessaries needfull for them into those parts by the fleet of merchants, that yeerely venture for fish in Newfound-land, being not farre distant from the countrey meant to be inhabited, who commonly goe with emptie vessels in effect, saving some litle freight with salt. And thus it appeareth that the souldiers wages, and the transportation may be defrayed for farre lesse summes of money then the detractors of this enterprise have given out. Againe, this intended voyage for conquest, hath in like maner many other singular priviledges wherewith God hath, as it were, with his holy hand blessed the same before all others. For after once we are departed the coast of England, we may passe straightway thither, without danger of being driven into any the countries of our enemies, or doubtfull friends: for commonly one winde serveth to bring us thither, which seldome faileth from the middle of Januarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleasure that they have in a few or none of other journeyes. Also the passage is short, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the most, having but an indifferent winde, and returne

continually in twenty or foure and twentie dayes at the most. And in the same our journey, by reason it is in the Ocean, and quite out of the way from the intercourse of other countreyes, we may safely trade and traffique without peril of piracy: neither shall our ships, people, or goods there, be subject to arrest or molestation of any Pagan potentate, Turkish tyrant, yea, or Christian prince, which heretofore sometimes upon slender occasion in other parts have stayed our ships and merchandizes, whereby great numbers of our countreyemen have bene utterly undone, divers put to ransome, yea, and some lost their lives: a thing so fresh in memorie as it needeth no prooffe, and is well worthy of consideration.

Besides, in this voyage we doe not crosse the burnt line, whereby commonly both beverage and victuall are corrupted, and mens health very much impayred, neither doe we passe the frozen seas, which yeelde sundry extreme dangers: but have a temperate climate at all times of the yeere, to serve our turnes. And lastly, there neede no delays by the way for taking in of fresh water and fewell, (a thing usually done in long journies) because, as I sayd above, the voyage is not long, and the fresh waters taken in there, our men here in England at their returne home have found so wholsome and sweete, that they have made choise to drinke it before our beere and ale.

Behold heere, good countreyemen, the manifold benefits, commodities and pleasures heretofore unknowen, by Gods especiall blessing not onely reveiled unto us, but also as it were infused into our bosomes, who though hitherto like dormice have slumbered in ignorance thereof, being like the cats that are loth for their prey to wet their feet: yet if now therefore at the last we would awake, and with willing mindes (setting frivolous imaginations aside) become industrious instruments to our selves, questionlesse we should not only hereby set forth the glory of our heavenly father, but also easily attaine to the end of all good purposes that may be wished or desired.

And may it not much encourage us to hope for good successe in the countrey of these Savages, being a naked kinde of people, voyde of the knowledge of the discipline of warre, seeing that a noble man, being but a subject in this realme (in the time of our king Henry the second) by name Strangbow, then earle of Chepstow in South

Wales, by himselfe and his allies and assistants, at their owne proper charges passed over into Ireland, and there made conquest of the now countrey, and then kingdome of Lynester, at which time it was very populous and strong, which History our owne chronicles do wnesse? And why should we be dismayed more then were the Spanyards, who have bene able within these few yeeres to conquer, possesse and enjoy so large a tract of the earth, in the West Indies, as is betweene the two tropikes of Cancer and Capricorne, not onely in the maine firme land of America, which is 47. degrees in latitude from South to North, and doth containe 2820. English miles at the least, that the king of Spaine hath there in actuall possession; besides many goodly and rich Islands, as Hispaniola, now called S. Domingo, Cuba, Jamaica, and divers other, which are both beautifull and full of treasure, not speaking any whit at all, how large the said land is from East to West, which in some places is accounted to be 1500. English miles at the least from East to West, betweene the one Sea and the other.

Or why should our noble nation be dismayed, more then was Vasques Nunnes de Valboa, a private gentleman of Spaine, who with the number of 70. Spaniards at Tichiri, gave an overthrow unto that mighty king Chemaccus, having an armie of an hundred Canoas and 5000. men, and the said Vasques Nunnes not long after, with his small number, did put to flight king Chiapes his whole armie.

Likewise Hernando Cortes, being also but a private gentleman of Spaine, after his departure from the Islands of Cuba and Acuzamil, and entring into the firme of America, had many most victorious & triumphant conquests, as that at Cyntla, where being accompanied with lesse then 500. Spanish footmen, thirteene horsemen and sixe pieces of Ordinance only, he overthrew 40000. Indians. The same Cortes with his sayd number of Spanyards, tooke prisoner that mighty Emperour Mutezuma in his most chiefe and famous citie of Mexico, which at that instant had in it above the number of 50000. Indians at the least, and in short time after obtained not onely the quiet possession of the said citie, but also of his whole Empire.

And in like maner in the Countrey of Peru, which the king of Spaine hath now in actuall possession, Francisco

Pysarro, with the onely ayd of Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luche, being all three but private gentlemen, was the principall person that first attempted discoverie and conquest of the large and rich cuntry of Peru, which through the ayd of the almighty, he brought to passe and atchieved in the Tambo of Caxamalca, (which is a large place of ground, enclosed with walles) in which place he tooke the great and mightie prince Atabalipa prisoner, amidst the number of 60000. Indians his subjects, which were ever before that day accounted to bee a warlike kind of people, which his great victorie it pleased God to grant unto him in the yeere of our Lord God 1533. he not having in his company above the number of 210. Spanyards, wherof there were not past threescore horsemen in all: after the taking of which prince Atabalipa, he offered unto Pysarro for his ransome, to fill a great large hall full of gold and silver, and such golde and silver vessels as they then used, even as high as a man might reach with his arme. And the sayd prince caused the same hall to be marked round about at the sayd height, which ransome Pysarro granted to accept. And after, when as this mighty prince had sent to his vassals & subjects to bring in gold and silver for the filling of the hall, as aforesaid, as namely to the cities or townes of Quito, Paciacama and Cusco, as also to the Calao of Lima, in which towne, as their owne writers doe affirme, they found a large and faire house, all slated and covered with gold: and when as the said hall was not yet a quarter ful, a mutinie arose amongst the Spanyards, in which it was commonly given out, that the said prince had politikely offered this great ransome under pretence to raise a much more mightie power, whereby the Spanyards should be taken, slaine and overthrowen: whereupon they grew to this resolution, to put the sayd prince to death, and to make partition of the golde and silver already brought in, which they presently put in execution. And comming to make perfect Inventorie of the same, as wel for the Emperour then king of Spaine, his fift part, as otherwise, there was found to be already brought in into the sayd hall, the number of 132425. pound weight of silver, and in golde the number of 1828125. pezos, which was a riches never before that nor since seene of any man together, of which there did appertaine to the Emperour for his fift part of golde

365625. pezos, and for his fift part of silver 26485. pound waight, and to every horseman eight thousand pezos of gold, and 67. pound waight of silver. Every souldiour had 4550. pezos of gold and 280. pound waight of silver. Every Captaine had some 30000. some 20000. pezos of gold and silver, proportionally answerable to their degrees and calling, according to the rate agreed upon amongst them.

Francis Pizarro as their generall, according to his decree and calling proportionally, had more then any of the rest, over and besides the massie table of gold which Atabalipa had in his Litter, which waighed 25000. pezos of gold: never were there before that day souldiours so rich in so small a time, and with so little danger. And in this journey for want of yron, they did shooe their horses, some with gold, and some with silver. This is to bee seene in the generall historie of the West Indies, where as the doings of Pizarro, and the conquest of Peru is more at large set forth.

To this may I adde the great discoveries and conquests which the princes of Portugall have made round about the West, the South, and the East parts of Africa, and also at Callicut, and in the East Indies, and in America, at Brasile and elsewhere in sundry Islands, in fortifying, peopling and planting all along the sayd coastes and Islands, ever as they discovered: which being rightly weyed and considered, doth minister just cause of encouragement to our Countreymen, not to account it so hard and difficult a thing for the subjects of this noble realme of England, to discover, people, plant and possesse the like goodly lands and rich countreys not farre from us, but neere adjoyning & offring themselves unto us (as is aforesayd) which have never yet heretofore bene in the actuall possession of any other Christian prince, then the princes of this Realme. All which (as I thinke) should not a little animate and encourage us to looke out and adventure abroad, understanding what large Countreys and Islands the Portugals with their small number have within these few yeeres discovered, peopled and planted, some part whereof I have thought it not amisse, briefly in particular to name both the Townes, Countreys & Islands, so neere as I could upon the sudden call them to remembrance: for the rest I doe referre the Reader to the histories, where more at large the same

is to be seene. First, they did winne and conquere from the princes of Barbary the Island of Geisera & towne of Arzila, not past an 140. mile distant from their Metropolitane & chiefe city of Fesse: and after that they wonne also from the said princes the townes of Tanger, Ceuta, Mazigam, Azamor, and Azaffi, all amongst the Sea coasts. And in the yeere of our Lord, 1455. Alouis de Cadomosta a Gentleman Venetian, was hee that first discovered for their use Cape Verd, with the Islands adjoyning, of which he then peopled and planted those of Bonavista and Sant Iago discovering also the river Senega, otherwise called Niger, and Cape Roxo & Sierra Leone, and in a few yeeres after they did discover the coast of Guinea, and there peopled and built the castle of Mina: then discovered they further to the countreys of Melegettes, Benin, and Congo, with the Ilands of Principe, da Nobon, S. Mattheue, and S. Thomas under the Equinoctiall line, which they peopled, and built in the said Island of S. Thomas the haven towne or port of Pavosan. After that, about the yeere of our Lord, 1494. one Bartholomew Dias was sent foorth, who was the first man that discovered and doubled that great and large Cape called de Bon Esperanze, & passing the currents that run upon the said coast, on the Southeast part of Africa, between the said maine land & the Island of S. Laurence, otherwise called of the ancients, Madagascar, he discovered to ye harbor named the River of ye Infant. After that since the yeere of our Lord God, 1497. and before the ful accomplishment of the yeere of Christ, 1510. through the travailes and discoveries of Vasques de Gama, Peter Alvares, Thomas Lopes, Andrew Corsale, John de Empoli, Peter Sintra, Sancho de Toar, and that noble and worthy gentleman Alonzo de Albuquerque, they did discover, people, and plant at Ceffala, being upon the East side of Africa, in the twenty degrees of latitude of the south Pole, and direct West from the Iland of S. Laurence (at which port of Ceffala, divers doe affirme that king Salomon did fetch his gold) as also upon the said East side of Africa, they did afterward discover, people, and plant at Mozambique, Quiola, Monbaza, and Melinde, two degrees of Southerly latitude, and so up to the streight of Babel-Mandell at the entring of the red sea, all upon the East coast of Africa, from whence they put off at the Cape of Guarda Fu, and past the great

gulfes of Arabia, and the Indian Sea East to Sinus Persicus, and the Island of Ormus, and so passing the large and great river Indus, where he hath his fall into the maine Ocean, in 23. degrees and an halfe, under the tropike of Cancer, of Septentrionall latitude, they made their course againe directly towards the South, and began to discover, people, and plant upon the West side of the hither India at Goa, Mangalor, Cananor, Calecut and Cochin, and the Island of Zeilam.

And here I thinke good to remember to you, that after their planting upon this coast, their forces grew so great that they were able to compell all the Moores, the subjectes of the mightie Emperour of the Turkes to pay tribute unto them, ever as they passed the gulfes of Arabia, from the port of Mecca in Arabia Fœlix, where Mahomet lieth buried, or any of the other portes of the sayd land, ever as they passed to and from the havens of Cochin, Calecut and Cananor, and by their martiall maner of dicipline practised in those partes, the great and mightie prince the Sophie Emperour of the Persians, and professed enemie to the Turke, came to the knowledge and use of the Caliver shot, and to enterlace and joyne footemen with his horsemen, sithence which time the Persians have growen to that strength and force, that they have given many mightie and great overthrowes to the Turke, to the great quiet of all Christendome.

And from the Island of Zeilam aforesayd, they also discovered more East in passing the gulfes of Bengala, and so passed the notable and famous river of Ganges, where hee hath his fall into the maine Ocean, under the tropike of Cancer, and to the Cape of Malaca, and unto the great and large Islands of Sumatra, Java major, Java minor, Mindanao, Palobane, Celebes, Gilolo, Tidore, Mathin, Borneo, Machian, Terenate, and all other the Islands of Molucques and Spiceries, and so East alongst the coasts of Cathaia, to the portes of China, Zaiton and Quinsay, and to the Island of Zipango and Japan, situate in the East, in 37. degrees of Septentrionall latitude and in 195. of longitude. These are their noble and worthie discoveries. Here also is not to bee forgotten, that in the yere of our Lord, 1501. that famous and worthy gentleman Americus Vespucius did discover, people, and plant to their use the holdes and forts which they have in Brasill, of whom (he being but a private

gentleman) the whole countrey or firme land of the West Indies, is commonly called and knowen by the name of America.

I doe greatly doubt least I seeme over tedious in the recitall of the particular discoveries and conquests of the East and West Indies, wherein I was the more bold to urge the patience of the Reader, to the end it might most manifestly and at large appeare, to all such as are not acquainted with the histories, how the king of Portugall, whose Countrey for popularity and number of people, is scarce comparable to some three shires of England, and the king of Spaine likewise, whose natural Countrey doth not greatly abound with people, both which princes by means of their discoveries within lesse then 90. yeeres past, have as it appeareth both mightily and marveilously enlarged their territories and dominions through their owne industrie by the assistance of the omnipotent, whose aid we shall not need to doubt, seeing the cause and quarell which we take in hand tendeth to his honour and glory, by the enlargement of the Christian faith.

To conclude, since by Christian dutie we stand bound chiefly to further all such acts as do tend to the encreasing the true flock of Christ by reducing into the right way those lost sheepe which are yet astray: And that we shall therein follow the example of our right vertuous predecessors of renomed memorie, and leave unto our posteritie a divine memoriall of so godly an enterprise: Let us I say for the considerations alledged, enter into judgement with our selves, whether this action may belong to us or no, the rather for that this voyage through the mighty assistance of the omnipotent God, shall take our desired effect (whereof there is no just cause of doubt.) Then shal her Majesties dominions be enlarged, her highnesse ancient titles justly confirmed, all odious idlenesse from this our Realme utterly banished, divers decayed townes repaired, and many poore and needy persons relieved, and estates of such as now live in want shall be embettered, the ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Christ, the innocent defended from their bloodie tyrannicall neighbours, the diabolicall custome of sacrificing humane creatures abolished.

All which (no man doubteth) are things gratefull in the sight of our Saviour Christ, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie. Bee of good cheere therefore,

for hee that cannot erre hath sayd : That before the ende of the world, his word shall bee preached to all nations. Which good worke I trust is reserved for our nation to accomplish in these parts : Wherefore my deere countrey-men, be not dismayed : for the power of God is nothing diminished, nor the love that he hath to the preaching and planting of the Gospell any whit abated. Shall wee then doubt he will be lesse ready most mightily and miraculously to assist our nation in this quarell, which is chiefly and principally undertaken for the enlargement of the Christian faith abroad, and the banishment of idlenes at home, then he was to Columbus, Vasques, Nunnes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro in the West : and Vasques de Gama, Peter Alvares, & Alonso de Albuquerque in the East? Let us therefore with cheerefull minds and couragious hearts, give the attempt, and leave the sequell to almightie God : for if he be on our part, what forceth it who bee against us? Thus leaving the correction and reformation unto the gentle Reader, whatsoever is in this treatise too much or too little, otherwise unperfect, I take leave, and so end.

A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to M. Richard Hakluyt then of Christchurch in Oxford, encouraging him in the study of Cosmographie, and of furthering new discoveries, &c.

I UNDERSTAND aswel by a letter I long since received from the Maior of Bristoll, as by conference with Sir George Pekham, that you have endeavoured, & given much light for the discovery of the Westernne partes yet unknowen : as your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same ; wishing you do continue your travell in these and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in private, but to the publike benefite of this Realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11. of March. 1582.

Your loving Friend,
FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to Master Thomas Aldworth merchant, and at that time Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, concerning their adventure in the Westerne discoverie.

AFTER my heartie commendations, I have for certaine causes deferred the answere of your letter of November last till now, which I hope commeth all in good time. Your good inclination to the Westerne discoverie I cannot but much commend. And for that sir Humfrey Gilbert, as you have heard long since, hath bene preparing into those parts being readie to imbarke within these 10. dayes, who needeth some further supply of shipping then yet he hath, I am of opinion that you shall do well if the ship or 2. barkes you write of, be put in a readinesse to goe alongst with him, or so soone after as you may. I hope this travell wil proove profitable to the Adventurers and generally beneficiall to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with these bearers, M. Richard Hackluyt, and M. Thomas Steventon, to whome I referre you: And so bid you heartily farewell. Richmond the 11. of March. 1582.

Your loving Friend,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A letter written from M. Thomas Aldworth merchant and Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, to the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham principall Secretary to her Majestie, concerning a Westerne voyage intended for the discovery of the coast of America, lying to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

RIGHT honourable, upon the receipt of your letters directed unto me and delivered by the bearers hereof M. Richard Hakluyt and M. Steventon, bearing date the 11. of March, I presently conferred with my friends in private, whom I know most affectionate to this godly enterprise, especially with M. William Salterne deputie of our company of merchants: whereupon my selfe being as then sicke, with as convenient speede as he could, hee caused an assembly of the merchants to be gathered: where after dutifull mention of your honourable disposition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters being directed unto me privatly, to be read in publike, and after some good light given by M. Hakluyt

unto them that were ignorant of the Countrey and enterprise, and were desirous to be resolved, the motion grew generally so well to be liked, that there was eftsoones set downe by mens owne hands then present, & apparently knowen by their own speach, and very willing offer, the summe of 1000. markes and upward: which summe if it should not suffice, we doubt not but otherwise to furnish out for this Western discovery, a ship of threescore, and a barke of 40. tunne, to bee left in the countrey under the direction and government of your sonne in law M. Carlile, of whom we have heard much good, if it shall stand with your honors good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are also willing to have M. Steventon your honours messenger, and one well knowen to us, as captains. And here in humble maner, desiring your honour to vouchsafe us of your further direction by a generall letter to my selfe, my brethren, and the rest of the merchants of this city, at your honors best and most convenient leisure, because we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voyage, any further then to the end of April next comming, I cease, beseeching God long to blesse and prosper your honourable estate. Bristoll. March 27. 1583.

A briefe and summary discourse upon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America: written by Captaine Carlile in April, 1583. for the better inducement to satisfie such Merchants of the Moscovian companie and others, as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge, doe demand forthwith a present returne of gaine, albeit their said particular disbursements are required but in very slender summes, the highest being 25. li. the second at 12. li. 10. s. and the lowest at 6. pound five shillings.

WHEN the Goldsmith desireth to finde the certaine goodnesse of a piece of golde, which is newly offered unto him, he presently bringeth the same to the Touchstone, where, by comparing the shewe or touch of this new piece with the touch or shew of that which he knoweth of old, he foorthwith is able to judge what the value is of that, which is newly offered unto him. After the example whereof I have thought it good to make some briefe repetition of the particular estate of many other forren voyages and trades already frequented and knowen

unto us, whereby we may be the better able to conceive and judge what certaine likelihood of good there is to be expected in the voyage, which is presently recommended unto your knowledge and resolution.

And first to lay downe that of Moscovia, whose beginning is yet in the remembrance of many: It is well knowen, that what by the charges of the first discovery, and by the great gifts bestowed on the Emperour and his Nobilitie, together with the leud dealing of some of their servants, who thought themselves safe enough from orderly punishment, it cost the company above fourescore thousand pounds, before it could be brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after so long a patience and so great a burthen of expences, the same began to frame to some good course and commoditie: It falleth to very ticklish termes, and to as slender likelihood of any further goodnesse, as any other trade that may be named.

For first the estate of those Countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by every body understood.

Next, the Dutchmen are there so crept in as they daily augment their trade thither, which may well confirme that uncertainty of the Emperors disposition to keepe promise with our nation.

Thirdly, the qualitie of the voyage, such as may not be performed but once the yeere.

Fourthly, the charges of all Ambassadors betweene that Prince and her Majesty, are alwayes borne by the merchants stocke.

And lastly, the danger of the king of Denmarke, who besides that presently he is like to enforce a tribute on us, hath likewise an advantage upon the ships in their voyage, either homewards or outwards whensoever he listeth to take the opportunitie.

The badde dealings of the Easterlings are sufficiently knowen to be such towards our merchants of that trade, as they doe not onely offer them many injuries overlong to bee written, but doe seeke all the meanes they can, to deprive them wholly of their occupying that way: and to the same purpose have of late cleane debarred them their accustomed and ancient priviledges in all their great townes.

The traffique into Turkie, besides that by some it is

thought a hard point to have so much familiaritie with the professed and obstinate enemie of Christ: It is likewise a voyage which can not be made but at the devotion, and as it were in the danger of many states, who for sundry respects are apt to quarell with us upon sudden occasions, and the presents to be given away in Turkie this yeere, cost little lesse then two thousand pounds.

As for the trades into all the partes of Italie, it may easily be considered by every one of judgement, that the same stand in the like termes touching the passages, as that of Turkie, and that many times our shippes being taken in the way by the Gallies of Alger, our poore Mariners after the losse of their goods and travell, are set at such excessive ransoms before they can bee freed of their slaverie, as for the most part they are no way able to discharge. As for example, at this instant there are some prisoners, poore ordinarie Mariners, for whose releasing there must be payed two hundred Duckets the man, for some three hundred, yea, foure or five hundred Duckets the man for some of them. And how enviously the Venetians doe already oppose themselves against our frequenting into their parts, may appeare by the late customs which they have imposed as well upon our English merchandize which we bring them, as also upon such their merchandize which we fetch from them.

The trade into Barbarie groweth likewise to worse termes then before times, and when it was at the best, our merchants have bene in danger of all their goods they had there, whensoever it happened the king to die. For untill a new were chosen, the libertie of all disordered persons is such, as they spoile and wrong whom they list, without any redresse at all.

Touching Spaine and Portugall, with whom wee have very great trade, and much the greater, by meanes of their venting a good part of our wares in their Indies, as also of the provision they have from the same, where-with are made many of our returnes from them againe: It falleth out that twise the yeere ordinarily we send our Fleetes into those parts: So that whensoever the king of Spaine listeth to take the opportunitie, hee may at these seasons deprive us not onely of a great number of our very good ships, but also of our honestest and ablest sort of Mariners that are to bee found in our whole Realme againe, which is a matter of no small conse-

quence: for it is to be noted, that when hee shall take a quarell in hand, though it be but his owne particularly, yet hath he the meanes to put in hazard as well those our shippes which are in his owne Countreys of Spaine and Portugall, as also all others which shall bee bound to any the partes of all Italie or of Turkie either. And further whosoever hee bee that is but meanelly affected in Religion, as of necessitie becommeth every ordinarie man and good Christian to be, cannot but be agrieved in his heart to consider, that his children and servants whom hee desireth to have well brought up, are in these trades of Spaine and Portugall, and all Italie, forced to denie their owne profession, and made to acquaint themselves with that which the Parents and Masters doe utterly deny and refuse, yea which many of them doe in their owne hearts abhorre as a detestable and most wicked doctrine.

But who shall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereabouts, of that hithermost part of America, shal find it hath as many points of good moment belonging unto it, as may almost be wished for.

1 As first it is to be understood, that it is not any long course, for it may be perfourmed too and fro in foure moneths after the first discoverie thereof.

2 Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the passage, whereas most of your other voyages of like length, are subject to 3. or 4. winds.

3 Thirdly, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yeere.

4 Fourthly, that the passage is upon the high sea, wherby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

5 Fiftly, that those parts of England and Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or homeward upon this voyage, are very well stored of goodly harbours.

6 Sixtly, that it is to bee accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any forreine prince or state, when it is compared with any the best of all other voyages before recited.

7 And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they.

their servants or children, shall have no instruction or confessions of Idolatrous Religion enforced upon them, but contrarily shall be at their free libertie of conscience, and shall find the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable unto their Parents and Masters.

As for the merchandising, which is the matter especially looked for, albeit that for the present we are not certainly able to promise any such like quantitie, as is now at the best time of the Moscovian trade brought from thence: So likewise is there not demanded any such proportion of daily expences, as was at the first, and as yet is consumed in that of Moscovia and other.

But when this of America shall have bene haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende, as the other hath bene, I doubt not by Gods grace, that for the tenne shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscovia, there shall in this voyage twice tenne be employed well, twice the yeere at the least. And if for the present time there doe fall out nothing els to bee found then the bare Fishing, yet doubt I not after the first yeeres planting, but by that matter only to serve halfe à dozen of your best sort of ships, although my supply of people doe not follow me so substantially, as in all reason may be well looked for.

But when it is asked what may be hoped from thence after some yeeres, it is first to be considered, that this situation in fourtie degrees, shall bee very apt to gather the commodities either of those parts which stand to the Southward of it, as also of those which are to the Northward.

In the Northerlie may be expected not onely an especial good fishing for Salmon, Codde, and Whales, but also any other such commodities, as the Easterne Countreys doe yeeld us now: as Pitch, Tarre, Hempe, and thereof cordage, Masts, Losshe hides, rich Furres, and other such like without being in any sort beholding to a king of Denmarke, or other prince or state that shall be in such sort able to command our shippes at their pleasure: as those doe at this day, by meanes of their strait passages and strong shipping.

As for those partes which lie West and to the Southwardes, it may well bee hoped they will yeeld Wines with a small helpe, since the grapes doe growe there of themselves alreadie very faire and in great abundance.

Olives being once planted, will yeelde the like Oyle as Spaine, Province and Italie. The Countrey people being made to know, that for Waxe and honie, we will give them such trifling things as they desire of us, and shewing them once the means how to provide the same, the labour thereof being so light, no doubt but in short time they will earnestly care to have the same in good quantitie for us. Besides, what great likelihoode there is of good meanes to make Salt, which may serve for the fishing of those partes, may well enough appeare unto them, who can judge the qualitie of such places as are required to make the same in.

Thus much for the beginning, because they may bee had with an easie kinde of travell: but when it may have pleased God to establish our people there any such time as they may have planted amongst them in sundry partes of the Countrey, and that by gentle and familiar entreating them, they bee made to see what is better for them then they doe as yet understand of, and that in so many sorts of occasions as were infinite to be set downe: It is to bee assuredly hoped, that they will daily by little and little forsake their barbarous and savage living, and growe to such order and civilitie with us, as there may be well expected from thence no lesse quantitie and diversitie of merchandize then is now had out of Dutchland, Italie, France or Spaine. And as the bordering neighbours are commonly the aptest to fall out with us, so these parts being somewhat remote, are the liker to take, or give lesse occasion of disquiet. But when it is considered that they are our own kindred, and esteemed our own countrey nation which have the government, meaning by those who shall be there planted, who can looke for any other then the dealing of most loving and most assured friends?

There are further to be considered these two poynts of good importance, concerning the matter of trade. The one is, that by the good prospering of this action, there must of necessitie fall out a very liberall utterance of our English Clothes into a maine Country, described to bee bigger then all Europe, the larger part whereof bending to the Northward, shall have wonderfull great use of our sayde English Clothes, after they shall come once to knowe the commodite thereof. The like will bee also of many other things, over many to bee reckoned, which

are made here by our Artificers and labouring people, and of necessitie must bee provided from hence.

The other is, if there be any possible meanes to finde a sea passage or other fresh water course, which may serve in some reasonable and convenient sort, to transport our marchandize into the East Indian Sea, through any of these Northerly partes of America, it shall be soonest and most assuredly perfourmed by these who shall inhabite and first grow into familiaritie with the Inland people.

What Minerall matter may fall out to bee found, is a thing left in suspence, untill some better knowledge, because there be many men, who having long since expected some profits herein, upon the great promises that have bene made them, and being as yet in no point satisfied, doe thereupon conceive that they be but wordes purposely cast out for the inducing of men to bee the more ready and willing to furnish their money towards the charge of the first discoverie.

But nowe to answeere some others who begin with an other objection, saying: That it is not for the Marchants purse to continue the charges of transporting and planting: and that since these hundred men which are nowe to bee planted, will cost foure thousand pound: It is then to bee thought, that the charge of a farre greater number, will bee also a farre greater summe of money.

Whereunto I answeere, that in all attemptes unknowen, especially such a one as this is, wherewith wee are presently in hand, the first charges are commonly adventured in more desperate kinde, then those that followe upon some better knowledge: and therewith it falleth out, that whereas one adventureth in the first enterprise, an hundred for that one will of themselves bee willing and desirous to adventure in the next, if there bee never so little more appearance, that the intended matter is by some knowledge of our owne, found true in some poynts of our first presumption.

The examples are many, and may easily bee remembered by those who be Marchants, even in their ordinarie and dayly trades, as well as in extraordinarie attempts, which of late yeeres have fallen into those termes of some likelyhood, as is aforesayde. So then no doubt, but when certaine reports shall bee brought by them who directly come from thence, that such a Countrey and



*Cecilivs fidei cultor Patriæque Thesauri
Custos. Spes miseris unica pauperibus.*

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY

*Drawn by Thomas Derrick, from an Engraving in
"Herologia Anglica," by Henry Holland (1620)*

people they have themselves seene, as is by us spoken of, but that then there will come forward a greater number of those, who nowe neither have heard any thing of the matter, as also of others, who presently make such frivolous scruple, and will not otherwise be satisfied, then by the report of Saint Thomas. I speake not this by the Marchants whom for their freedoms of trade I would not have pressed to any further charge then this first preparation, but rather by such as have great affection to hazard the changing of their estates, and would be well content to goe in the voyage if they might onely be assured that there is such a Countrey, & that their money should not be wasted to nothing in the preparations.

The right examination of this point must bee the contrary sequell of the common Proverbe that is used, Nothing venture, nothing have: so on the other side by venturing, many great good profites are found out, to the wonderfull benefite of the Common weale, and to those especially in private, who take on them the hazard of their life and travell, or substance in the first attempts: and therefore I would wish that they, who (God be thanked) are well able to spare that which is required of each one towards the undertaking of this adventure, be well content and willing to imploy the same, since the sequell in good and substantiall reason doth promise, not onely a great commoditie in particular to the Marchant, who shall here at home exercise the trade of Marchandise: but also to an infinite number of other, who presently live in poore estate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this discoverie, alter the same to a far better degree. Wherefore to make some conclusion upon this point of the Marchants misdoubt, who suspecteth lest this first disbursement without returne of present gaine, should not be all his charge, but that afterwards he might yet further be urged to continue the like again, as hath happened in the discovery of the Moscovian trade: It may suffice to consider, that this is not an action which concerneth onely the Marchants particularly, but a great deale more the generall sort of people throughout all England: And that when such relation shall be returned, as that it may bee found a matter worthy the following, the whole generalitie will not refuse to contribute towards the furtherance thereof, rather then it should sinke for want of any reasonable supply.

But as it is a very little time, since I have benee thoroughly resolved to trie my fortune in the matter, so it is more then time the preparation were in hand already, and therefore no fit time now to make any number of ignorant men to understand with reason the circumstance that belongeth to a matter of so great consideration and importance.

To those who have any forward mindes in well doing to the generalitie of mankind, I say thus much more, that Christian charitie doth as greatly perswade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may be layed before us, in as much as thereby wee shall not onely doe a most excellent worke, in respect of reducing the savage people to Christianitie and civilitie, but also in respect of our poore sorte of people, which are very many amongst us, living altogether unprofitable, and often times to the great disquiet of the better sort. For who knoweth not, how by the long peace, happie health, and blessed plentifulnesse, wherewith God hath endued this Realme, that the people is so mightily encreased, as a great number being brought up, during their youth in their parents houses, without any instruction how to get their livings after their parents decease, are driven to some necessitie, whereby very often for want of better education they fall into sundry disorders, and so the good sort of people, as I sayde before, are by them ordinarily troubled, and themselves led on to one shamefull ende or other, whereas if there might bee found some such kinde of employment as this would be, no doubt but a greater part of them would be withheld from falling into such vile deedes: and in steade thereof, proove greatly serviceable in those affaires, where they might be so employed.

This I speake of mine owne experience, having seene divers come over to the warres of the lowe Countreys during my residence in the same, who here had benee very evill and idle livers, and by some little continuance with us, have growen to be very industrious in their facultie, which I can assure you, was a more painefull maner of living then in this action is like to fall out, and withall to a purpose of farre lesse value, in respect of their particular recompence, then with an assured kind of good hope is looked for in this.

Thus you see in every point that may bee wished for in a good action and voyage, there is matter and reason

enough to satisfie the well disposed. But nowe to growe somewhat neerer the quicke, and to shewe you some greater appearance, then hath beene yet spoken of touching the trade which is the onely subject wherewith I doe meane to intermeddle at this time, because my addresse hereby is chiefly to men of such like facultie: you may understande by that which followeth, the circumstance of a little discourse, which doeth concerne these matters very directly.

In the yeere 1534. James Carthier, of S. Malo made his first discoverie of those partes of America, which lie to the Westwardes, and as it were on the backeside of Newfoundland. In which voyage his principall intention was to seeke out the passage, which hee presumed might have beene found out into the East Indian Sea, otherwise called the passage to Cathaya, but this yere he went no higher then the Island of the Assumption in the great bay of S. Laurence, and so returned backe into France.

The next yeere following hee went with greater provision into the Grand bay againe, where he keping the Northerly shoare, ran up the great River that comes downe from Canada and other places, untill at last with his small pinnesses, (having left his great shipping by the way) he arrived at Hochelaga towne, being three hundreth leagues within the entrance of the Grand bay. In which travaile he had spent so much of the yeere, that it was nowe the moneth of October, and therefore thought it convenient, for the better enforming himselfe at large in this discoverie, to winter it out in those partes, which he did at a place called by himselfe Holy Crosse. This winter fell out to bee a very long and hard winter, as many times the like happeneth with us in these partes, and the savage people, who for the most part make but a slender kinde of provision, even as it were from hande to mouth, fell into some scarcitie of victuals; yet did they not refuse to serve the Frenchmen, with any thing they had all the winter long, albeit at somewhat higher prices towards the ende when the neede was most, as with our selves the like happeneth at such times.

But when the French had their wants served all the yeere, and that as yet they sawe not any appearance of their intended matter, which was the discoverie of the passage, and yet imagining by the signes wherewith the willing people endeavoured to declare their knowledge in

that poynt, that some good matter might bee had from them, if they might have bene well understoode, they resoulded with themselves to take some of the sufficientest men of that countrey home into France, and there to keepe them so long, as that having once atchieved the French tongue, they might declare more substantially their minde, and knowledge in the sayde passage, concluding this to be the meane of least charge, of least travaile, and of least hazard.

And when they came to bethinke themselves, who might bee meetest for it, they determined to take the King, as the person who might bee best infourmed of such partes as were somewhat remote from his owne Countrey, as also that for the respect of him, the people would bee alwayes readie, and content to doe them any further service, when it should happen them to returne thither againe about the discoverie.

Thus the poore king of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions comming aboarde the French shippes, being required thither to a banquet; was traiterously caryed away into France, where hee lived foure yeeres, and then dyed a Christian there, as Thevet the French Kings Cosmographer doeth make mention. This outrage and injurious dealing did put the whole Countrey people into such dislike with the French, as never since they would admit any conversation or familiaritie with them, untill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to grow out of minde, and being the rather drawn on by gifts of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are as (I sayde) within these two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres since was begunne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose returne was found so profitable, as the next yeere following, being the last yeere, by those Marchants, who meant to have kept the trade secret unto themselves, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a shippe of fourescore tunnes out of the Isle of Jersey, but not any one Mariner of that place, saving a ship boy. This shippe made her returne in such sorte, as that this yeere they have multiplyed three shippes, to wit, one of nine score tunnes, another of an hundreth tunnes, and a third of foure score tunnes: which report is given by very substantiall and honest men of Plimmouth, who sawe the sayd shippes

in readinesse to depart on their voyage, and were aboard of some of them.

Here is at this instant in the towne a man of Gernsey, Lewis de Vike, who reporteth to have credibly heard, that by this last yeeres voyage the Frenchmen got foureteene or fifteene hundreth for every one hundreth: But how soever it be, it carrieth good likelihood of some notable profite, in asmuch as they doe so greatly, and thus suddenly encrease the burthen and number of their ships this present yeere.

Nowe, if in so little as two yeeres time this voyage of the Northerne partes bee growen to such good passe as hath bene declared unto you: it is worth the thinking on to consider what may be hoped for from the Southerne part, which in all reason may promise a great deale more. And so, as one who was never touched with any indirect meaning, I presume to wish and perswade you to some better taking of this matter to heart, as a thing which I do verely thinke will turne to your greater and more assured commodity, then you receive by any other voyage, as yet frequented of so short and safe a course as this hath: dealing herein no otherwise with you for your severall small summes, then I doe with my selfe, both for more of mine owne, then is required of any one of you: besides the hazard and travaile of my person, and the totall employment of my poore credit, which (I thanke God) hath hitherto passed cleare and unspotted in matters of greater importance and difficultie, then is like to fall out in this matter betweene you and me.

A letter sent to the right Honorable Sir William Cecill Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England &c. From M. Thomas James of Bristoll, concerning the discoverie of the Isle of Ramea, dated the 14 of September. 1591.

RIGHT Honourable, my humble duetie to your good Lordship done, I thought good humbly to advertise your honour of the discovery of an Island made by two smal shippes of Saint Malo; the one 8 daies past being prised neare Silley, by a ship of which I am part owner, called the Pleasure, sent by this citie to my Lord Thomas Howard, for her Majesties service. Which prise is sent backe to this Port by those of the sayd shippes, with

upwards of fortie tunnes of Traine. The Island lyeth in 47. degrees, some fiftie leagues from the grand Bay, neere Newfoundland: and is about twentie leagues about, and some part of the Island is flat Sands and shoulde: and the fish commeth on banke (to do their kinde) in April May & June, by numbers of thousands, which fish is very big: and hath two great teeth: and the skinne of them is like Buffes leather: and they will not away from their yong ones. The yong ones are as good meat as Veale. And with the bellies of five of the saide fishes they make a hogshead of Traine, which Traine is very sweet, which if it will make sope, the king of Spaine may burne some of his Olive trees. Humbly praying your Lordship to pardon herein my boldnes, betaking your Honour to the keeping of the Almightye. From Bristoll, this 14 of September. 1591.

Your Honours most humbly at commandement.
 THOMAS JAMES.

A briefe note of the Morsse and the use thereof.

In the first voyage of Jaques Carthier, wherein he discovered the Gulfe of S. Laurence and the said Isle of Ramea, in the yeere 1534, he met with these beasts, as he witnesseth in these words. About the said Island are very great beasts as great as oxen, which have two great teeth in their mouthes like unto Elephants teeth, and live also in the sea. Wee sawe one of them sleeping upon the banke of the water, and thinking to take it, we went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard us, he cast himselfe into the sea. Touching these beasts which Jaques Carthier saith to be as big as Oxen and to have teeth in their mouthes like Elephants teeth: True it is that they are called in Latin *Boves Marini*, or *Vaccæ Marinæ*, & in the Russian tongue *Morsses*, the hides whereof I have seene as big as any Oxe hide, and being dressed I have yet a piece of one thicker then any two Oxe or Bulls hides in England. The Leatherdressers take them to be excellent good to make light targets against the arrowes of the Savages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores use in Barbarie against arrowes and lances, whereof I have seene divers in her Majesties stately Armorie in the towre of London. The teeth of the sayd

fishes, whereof I have seene a dryfat full at once, are a foote and some times more in length: & have bene sold in England to the combe & knife-makers, at 8 groats and 3 shillings the pound weight, whereas the best Ivory is sold for halfe the money: the graine of the bone is somewhat more yellow then the Ivorie. One M. Alexander Woodson of Bristoll my old friend, an excellent Mathematician and skilful Phisition, shewed me one of these beasts teeth which were brought from the Isle of Ramea in the first prize, which was half a yard long or very litle lesse: and assured mee that he had made tryall of it in ministring medicine to his patients, and had found it as soveraigne against poyson as any Unicornes horne.

The voyage of the ship called the Marigold of M. Hill of Redriffe unto Cape Briton and beyond to the latitude of 44 degrees and an half, 1593 Written by Richard fisher Master Hilles man of Redriffe.

THE ship called the Marigold of 70 tunnes in burthen furnished with 20 men, wherof 10 were Mariners, the Masters name being Richard Strong of Apsham, the Masters mate Peter Langworth of Apsham, with 3 coopers, 2 butchers to flea the Morsses or sea Oxen (whereof divers have teeth above a cubit long & skinnes farre thicker then any buls hide) with other necessary people, departed out of Falmouth the 1 of June 1593 in consort of another ship of M. Drakes of Apsham, which upon some occasion was not ready so soone as shee should have bene by two moneths. The place for which these two ships were bound was an Island within the streights of Saint Peter on the backe side of Newfoundland to the Southwest in the latitude of fortie seven degrees, called by the Britons of Saint Malo the Isle of Ramea, but by the Savages and naturals of the Continent next adjoining, Menquit: On which Isle are so great abundance of the huge and mightie Sea Oxen with great teeth in the moneths of April, May and June, that there have bene fifteene hundreth killed there by one small barke, in the yeere 1591. The two English shippes aforesayde, lost companie before they came to Newfoundland: and never came after together in all their voyage.

The ship of M. George Drake fell first with Newfoundland, and afterward very directly came to the Isle Ramea, though too late in the yeere to make her voyage:

where shee found a shippe of Saint Malo three parts fraughted with these fishes: the men whereof enquiring whence our shippe was and who was the Master thereof, being answered that shee was belonging to Master George Drake of Apsham, fearing to bee taken as good prize being of a Leaguer towne, and at that time out of league with England, fled so hastily that present night that they left three and twentie men and three Shallops behinde them, all which our men seized upon and brought away, as good prises home.

Here our men tooke certaine Sea-oxen, but nothing such numbers as they might have had, if they had come in due season, which they had neglected. The shippe called the Marigolde fell with Cape Saint Francis in Newfoundland the eleventh of Julie, and from thence wee went into the Bay Rogneuse, and afterward doubled Cape Razo, and sayling toward the straight of Saint Peter (which is the entrance betweene Newfoundland and Cape Briton,) being unacquainted with the place, beate up and downe a very long time, and yet missed it, and at length over shot it, and fell with Cape Briton.

Here diverse of our men went on land upon the very Cape, where, at their arrivall they found the spittes of Oke of the Savages which had roasted meate a litle before. And as they viewed the countrey they sawe divers beastes and foules, as blacke Foxes, Deere, Otters, great Foules with redde legges, Pengwyns, and certaine others. But having found no people here at this our first landing wee went againe on shipboorde, and sayled farther foure leagues to the West of Cape Briton, where wee sawe many Seales. And here having neede of fresh water we went againe on shore. And passing somewhat more into the land, wee founde certaine round pondes artificially made by the Savages to keepe fish in, with certaine weares in them made to take fish. To these pondes wee repayred to fill our caske with water. Wee had not bene long here, but there came one Savage with blacke long hayre hanging about his shoulders who called unto us, weaving his handes downwarde towards his bellie, using these wordes, Calitogh Calitogh: as wee drewe towards him one of our mens musket unawares shot off: whereupon hee fell downe, and rising up suddenly againe hee cryed thrise with a loude voyce Chiogh, Chiogh, Chiogh. Thereupon nine or tenne of his fellowes

running right up over the bushes with great agilitie and swiftnesse came towardes us with white staves in their handes like halfe pikes, and their dogges of colour blacke not so bigge as a greyhounde followed them at the heeles; but wee retired unto our boate without any hurt at all received. Howbeit one of them brake an hoghead which wee had filled with fresh water, with a great branche of a tree which lay on the ground. Upon which occasion we bestowed halfe a dosen muskets shotte upon them, which they avoyded by falling flatte to the earth, and afterwarde retired themselves to the woodes. One of the Savages, which seemed to bee their Captaine, ware a long mantle of beastes skinnes hanging on one of his shoulders. The rest were all naked except their privities, which were covered with a skinne tyed behinde. After they had escaped our shotte they made a great fire on the shore, belike to give their fellowes warning of us.

The kindes of trees that wee noted to bee here, were goodly Okes, Firre trees of a great height, a kinde of tree called of us Quickbeame, and Cherie trees, and diverse other kindes to us unknowne, because wee stayed not long with diligence to observe them: and there is great shewe of rosen, pitch, and tarre. Wee found in both the places where wee went on land abundance of Raspeses, Strawberies, Hurtes, and herbes of good smell, and divers good for the skurvie, and grasse very ranke and of great length. Wee sawe five or sixe boates sayling to the Southwestwardes of Cape Briton, which wee judged to bee Christians, which had some trade that way. Wee sawe also, while wee were on shore, the manner of their hanging up of their fish and flesh with withes to dry in the ayre: they also lay them upon raftes and hurdles and make a smoake under them, or a softe fire, and so drie them as the Savages use to doe in Virginia.

While wee lay foure leagues South of Cape Briton wee sounded and had sixtie fathomes blacke ozie ground. And sayling thence Westwarde nine or ten leagues off the shore, we had twenty foure fathomes redde sande, and small whitish stones. Wee continued our course so farre to the Southwest, that wee brought our selves into the latitude of fourtie foure degrees and an half, having sayled fiftie or sixtie leagues to the Southwest of Cape Briton. We found the current betwene this Cape Briton

and Cape Rey to set put toward the Eastsoutheast. In our course to the West of Cape Briton we saw exceeding great store of seales, and abundance of Porposes, whereof we killed eleven. We sawe Whales also of all sortes aswell small as great: and here our men tooke many berded Coddess with one teate underneath, which are like to the Northeast Cods, and better then those of Newfoundland.

From our arrivall at the haven of Saint Francis in Newfoundland, (which was as is aforesayde the eleventh of July) we continued beating up and downe on the coast of Arambec to the West and Southwest of Cape Briton untill the twentie eight of September, fully by the space of eleven weekes: and then by the perswasion of our Master and certaine others wee shaped our course homeward by the Isles of the Açores, and came first to Corvo and Flores, where beating up and downe, and missing of expected pray, we sayled by Tercera, and from thence to Saint Michael, where we sought to boorde a Portugall shippe, which we found too well appointed for us to bring along with us, and so being forced to leave them behinde and having wasted all our victuals, wee were constrained against our willes to hasten home unto our narrowe Seas: but it was the two and twentieth of December before wee could get into the Downes: where for lacke of winde wee kept our Christmas with dry breade onely for dropping of our clothes. One thing very strange hapened in this voyage: to witte, that a mightie great Whale followed our shippe by the space of many dayes as we passed by Cape Razo, which by no meanes wee coulde chase from our ship, untill one of our men fell overboard and was drowned, after which time shee immediatly forsooke us, and never afterward appeared unto us.

A briefe note concerning the voyage of M. George Drake of Apsham to Isle of Ramea in the aforesayd yere 1593.

In the beginning of the former relation written by Richard Fisher servant to the worshipfull Master Hill of Redriffe is, as you reade, a briefe reporte of their loosing of their consort the shippe of Master George Drake of Apsham: which though shee came directly to the Isle of Ramea, yet because shee was not ready so soone by two moneths

as she ought to have bene, she was not onely the hinderance of her consort the Marigolde, & lost the season of the yere for the making of her voyage of killing the Morses or Sea Oxen, which are to be taken in Aprill, May, and June: but also suffered the fit places and harbours in the Isle which are but two, as farre as I can learne, to be forestalled and taken up by the Britons of Saint Malo and the Baskes of Saint John de Luz, by comming a day after the Fayre, as wee say. Which lingering improvidence of our men hath bene the overthrowe of many a worthy enterprize and of the undertakers of the same.

The relation of this voyage at large I was promised by the Authour himselfe: but the same not comming to my handes in tyme I am constrained to leave it out. The want whereof, for the better understanding of the state of the sayde Island, the frequenting of that gainefull trade by the aforesayd nations of the Britons and Baskes, may in part be supplied by the voyage of Master Charles Leigh to the sayde Island of Ramea: which also comming much too late thither, as Master George Drake had done, was wholly prevented and shutte out to his and his friendes no small detriment and mischief, and to the discouraging of others hereafter in the sayd gainefull and profitable trade.

Neverthelesse albeit hitherto the successe hath not answered our expectation through our owne default, as is abovesaid, yet I was very willing to set downe in briefe and homely stile some mention of these three voyages of our owne men. The first of M. George Drake, the second of M. Silvester Wyet, the third of M. Charles Leigh, because they are the first, for ought that hitherto is come to my knowledge, of our own Nation, that have conducted English ships so farre within this gulfe of S. Laurence, and have brought us true relation of the manifold gaine which the French, Britaynes, Baskes, and Biskaines do yerely returne from the sayd partes; while wee this long time have stood still and have bene idle lookers on, making courtisie who should give the first adventure, or once being given, who should continue or prosecute the same.

The voyage of the Grace of Bristol of M. Rice Jones, a Barke of thirty five Tunnes, up into the Bay of Saint Laurence to the Northwest of Newfoundland, as farre as the Isle of Assumption or Naticotec, for the barbes or fynnes of Whales and traine Oyle, made by Silvester Wyet, Shipmaster of Bristoll.

WEE departed with the aforesaid Barke manned with twelve men for the place aforesaid from Bristoll the 4 of Aprill 1594. and fell with Cape d'Espere on the coast of Newfoundland the nineteneth of May in the height of 47. We went thence for Cape Raz, being distant from thence 18 or 19 leagues, the very same day.

The 20. day we were thwart of Cape Raz.

Then we set our course Northwest for Cape S. Marie, which is distant from Cape Raz 19 leagues, and is on the Eastside of the great Bay of Placentia almost at the entrie thereof.

From thence we shaped our course for the Islands of S. Pedro passing by the broken Islands of the Martyers: and when we were thwart of the said Isles of the Martyers our course to the Isles of S. Pedro was West and by North. In these Isles of S. Pedro there is a faire harbour, which we went into with our barke, and found there 2 ships of Sibiburo fishing for Cod: where we stayed 2 dayes, and tooke in balest for our ship. There are as faire and tall firre trees growing therein, as in any other part of Newfoundland. Then wee departed thence, and as we came out of the harbours mouth we laid the ship upon the lee, and in 2 houres space we tooke with our hookes 3 or 4 hundred great Cods for our provision of our ship. Then we departed from the Isle of S. Pedro to enter into the gulffe of S. Laurence betwene Cape Briton and the said Isle, and set our course West North West, and fel with Cape de Rey which wee found to be distant from the Isles of S. Pedro 42 leagues. From Cape de Rey to Cape de Angullie we set our course Northnorthwest being distant thence 12 or 13 leagues. From the Cape de Angullie into the Bay of S. George we ran Northeast and by East some 18 or 19 leagues.

In this bay of Saint George, we found the wrackes of 2 great Biskaine ships, which had bene cast away three yeeres before: where we had some seven or eight hundred Whale finnes, and some yron bolts and chaines of their

mayne shrouds & fore shroudes : al their traine was beaten out with the weather but the caske remained still. Some part of the commodities were spoiled by tumbling downe of the cliffs of the hils, which covered part of the caske, and the greater part of those Whale finnes, which we understood to be there by four Spaniards which escaped, & were brought to S. John de Luz. Here we found the houses of the Savages, made of firre trees bound together in the top and set round like a Dovehouse, and covered with the barkes of firre trees, wee found also some part of their victuals, which were Deeres flesh roasted upon wooden spits at the fire, & a dish made of a ryne of a tree, sowed together with the sinowes of the Deere, wherein was oile of the Deere. There were also foules called Cormorants, which they had pluckt and made ready to have dressed, and there we found a wooden spoone of their making. And we discerned the tracks of the feete of some fortie or fiftie men, women and children.

When we had dispatched our businesse in this bay of S. George and stayed there ten dayes, wee departed for the Northren point of the said bay, which is nine or ten leagues broad. Then being enformed, that the Whales which are deadly wounded in the grand Bay, and yet escape the fisher for a time, are woont usually to shoot themselves on shore on the Isle of Assumption, or Naticotec, which lieth in the very mouth of the great river that runneth up to Canada, we shaped our course over to that long Isle of Naticotec, and wee found the distance of the way to the Estermost ende thereof to be about forty foure leagues : and it standeth in the latitude of 49. Here we arrived about the middest of June at the East end, and rode in eighteene fadome water in faire white sand and very good ankerage, and for tryall heaved a lyne overboorde and found wonderfull faire and great Cod fish : we went also seven of us on shore and found there exceeding fayre great woods of tall firre trees, and heard and sawe store of land and sea foules, and sawe the footing of divers beastes in the sand when we were on shore. From the Easter end we went to the Norther side of the Island, which we perceived to be but narrow in respect of the length thereof. And after wee had searched two dayes and a night for the Whales which were wounded which we hoped to have found there, and

missed of our purpose, we returned backe to the Southwarde, and were within one league of the Island of Penguin, which lyeth South from the Eastermost part of Naticotec some twelve leagues. From the Isle of Penguin wee shaped our course for Cape de Rey and had sight of the Island of Cape Briton: then returned wee by the Isles of Saint Pedro, and so came into the Bay of Placentia, and arrived in the Easterside thereof some ten leagues up within the Bay among the fishermen of Saint John de Luz and of Sibiburo and of Biskay, which were to the number of threescore and odde sayles, whereof eight shippes onely were Spaniardes, of whom we were very well used and they wished heartily for peace betweene them and us. There the men of Saint John and Sibiburo men bestowed two pinnesses on us to make up our voyage with fish. Then wee departed over to the other side of the Bay, where we arrived in an harbour which is called Pesmarck, and there made our stage and fished so long, that in the ende the Savages came, and in the night, when our men were at rest, cut both our pinnesse and our shippes boate away to our great hinderance of our voyage, yet it was our good fortune to finde out our pinnesses and get them againe. Then for feare of a shrewder turne of the Savages, we departed for Cape Saint Marie, and having passed Cape Raz, we passed Northwarde fourteene leagues and arrived in Farrillon, and finding there two and twentie sayles of Englishmen, wee made up our fishing voyage to the full in that harborough the twentieth foure of August to our good content: and departing thence we arrived first in Combe and staid there a seven night, and afterward in Hungrod in the river of Bristoll by the grace of God the 24 of September. 1594.

The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and divers others to Cape Briton and the Isle of Ramea.

THE Hopewell of London of the burthen of 120 tunnes, whereof was M. William Crafton, and the Chancewel of London of the burthen of 70 tunnes, wherof was M. Steven Bennet, bound unto the river of Canada, set to sea at the sole and proper charge of Charles Leigh and Abraham Van Herwick of London merchants (the saide Charles Leigh himselfe, and Steven Van Herwick brother to the sayd Abraham, going themselves in the said ships

as chiefe commanders of the voyage) departed from Graves-end on Fryday morning the 8 of April 1597. And after some hindrances, arriving at Falmouth in Cornewal the 28 of the said moneth put to sea againe. And with prosperous windes the 18 of May we were upon the banke of Newfoundland. The 19 we lost the Chancewel. The 20 we had sight of land and entred within the bay of Assumption, where our men contrary to my knowledge fought with a French ship: and afterwãrd in the same bay wee met with our consort. Whereupon we presently put to sea againe: and the next day we arrived at Caplen bay, where we remained by extremitie of foule weather, and to mend a pinnes of 7 or 8 tunnes (which was given us at Farrillon by M. Wil. Sayer of Dartmouth the Admiral of that place) untill the last of May. On which day departing from thence in the afternoone we put in to Rogneuse to seeke Shallops but could find none. The first of June we set saile from Rogneuse, and the second we put roome to a bay under the Northside of Cape Raz being inforced in by an extreme storme. The 4 we set saile, and this day we saw a great Island of yce. The 5 at night we lost the Chancewell in a fog at the mouth of the bay of Placentia. The 11 at Sunne setting we had sight of Cape Briton. And the 12 by reason of contrary windes we cast anker under the Northeast endè of the Isle of Menego to the North of Cape Briton in 16 fathome reasonable ground. In that placè we caught great store of Cods, which were larger and better fish then any in Newfoundland. The 13 wee weyed anker againe, and being becalmed about a league from the shore we fell to fishing where the Cods did bite at least 20 fathomes above ground, and almost as fast as we could hale them into the ship. The 14 we came to the 2 Islands of Birds, some 23 leagues from Menego: where there were such abundance of Birds, as is almost incredible to report. And upon the lesse of these Islands of Birds, we saw great store of Morsses or Sea Oxen, which were a sleepe upon the rockes: but when we approached nere unto them with our boate they cast themselves into the sea and pursued us with such furie as that we were glad to flee from them. The 16 we arrived at Brians Island, which lyeth 5 leagues West from the Island of Birds. About this Island ther is as great abundance of cods as in any place can be found. In

litle more then an houre we caught with 4 hooke 250 of them. Here we caught also a great Turbut which was an elle long and a yard broad: which was so great that the hooke could not hold her into the ship: but when she was above water she bent the hooke & escaped. In this Island we found exceeding good ground both for corne and meadow, & great store of wood, but of smal groweth. Springes of fresh water we found none in all the Island, but some standing pooles of raine water. The same day at night we weyed anker againe. The 17 we had stormy weather. The 18 we came to the Isle of Ramea, where we appointed to meet with our consort. And approching neere unto the harborough of Halabolina we cast anker in 3 fadomes water and sent our great boate into the harborough, with the masters mate and some dozen more of the company: who when they came in, found 4 ships. Namely 2 of Saint Malo in Britaigne, and two of Sibiburo adjoyning to Saint John de luz being the French Kings subjects, whom they supposed to have bene of Spaine, and so affirmed unto us. Whereupon wee went presently into harborough, finding but eleven foote and an halfe of water upon the barre and a mightie great current in, when wee had cast anker we sent presently to speake with the masters of all the ships: but those onely of Saint Malo came aboard, whom wee entertained very friendly, and demanded of whence the other two shippes were. They sayde as they thought of Saint John de Luz or Sibiburo. Then we presently sent our boate for the Masters of both the sayd shippes, to request them to come aboard, and to bring with them their Charters parties and other evidences, to the ende we might knowe of whence they were. At which message one of the sayde Masters came aboard, with the Pilote and Masters mate of the other shippe: whom when we had examined, they sayd that they were of Sibiburo, and the French Kings subjectes. We requested them for our better securitie in the harborough peaceably to deliver up their powder and munition: promising them that if we found them to be the French Kings subjectes it shoulde be kept in safetie for them without diminishing. But they woulde not consent thereunto: whereunto we replied, that unlesse they would consent thereunto we would hold them to be our enemies. They not consenting, we sent the boate well manned to fetch their powder



MAP OF VIRGINIA

From G. Mercator's Atlas (1606)

and munition from aboarde their ship: but straightly commanded our men not to touch any thing else in the ship upon their further perill: which they promised to performe. When they came aboarde the saide ships which were mored together, they were resisted by force of armes, but quickly they got the victorie: which done, they fell presently to pillaging of the Baskes, contrary to their promise: whereupon we sent another to forbidde them; but when he came to them, none was more ready of pillage then he. Whereupon I went my selfe, and tooke away from our men whatsoever they had pillaged, and gave it againe to the owners: onely I sent aboard our owne ship their powder and munition to be kept in safetie until we knew farther what they were. When I had done, I gave the Baskes possession of their shippe againe and tolde them they should not loose the valewe of one peny if they were the French Kings subjects. Then I caryed away all our men, and also tooke with me two or three of the chiefest of them, and when I came aboard went to examining of them, and by circumstances found one of the ships to belong to France: whereupon I tolde the master of the said ship, that I was throughly satisfied that he was of France and so dismissed him in peace. Of the other ship we had great presumption that she was of Spaine, but had no certaine prooffe thereof, wherefore wee dismissed them likewise in peace. After I had thus dismissed them, our ships company fell into a mutiny, and more then half of them resolved to cary one of those ships away. But they were prevented of their evill purpose by ayde which the saide ships received from their countrey men in the other harborough: For the next morning, which was the twentieth of June, very earely there were gathered together out of all the ships in both harboroughs, at the least 200 Frenchmen and Britons, who had planted upon the shore three pieces of Ordinance against us, and had prepared them selves in al readinesse to fight with us, which so soone as we had discried them gave the onset upon us with at least an hundred small shot out of the woods. There were also in a readines to assault us about three hundred Savages. But after we had skirmished a while with them, we procured a parley by one of the men of Saint Malo, whose ship rowed hard by us: In which parley they required some of our men to come on shore unto them:

whereupon wee requested M. Ralph Hill and the Boat-swaines mate to go on shore to them: whom when they had they detained as prisoners; and then required the powder and munition, which we had of the Baskes in possession; which we surrendred unto them in safetie as our intent alwayes was, which done, there came aboard unto us one Captaine Charles, who was captaine of the great ship of Saint Malo, which rode in the other harborough: who challenged our great boate which we had at Farrillon to be his. And while we were in talke with him about the two Baskes which at first we thought to be Spaniards, wee had almost bene betraied. For the said Captaine Charles with halfe a dozen more of his company kept themselves aboard of our ship and held us in a talke, while thirtie or fortie others should have entred our ship unawares from one of the ships of S. Malo, which professed to be our friend, & unto whom we shewed all courtesie. But we perceiving their treacherous intent, threatned to set fire on the said ship, which was then thwart our hawse, from which they would have entred. By which resolution of ours God did discourage them from effecting their mischievous purposes. Now the said captaine Charles when he saw himself prevented of his wicked intents, took his boat presently to go on shore, and promised that all things should be ended in peace betweene us, and that he would send us our two men againe. But when he was on shore he presently sent for our great boat which he claimed to be his, & withall commanded us out of the harborough; but he sent not our men as he promised, we being now the weaker side did not only deliver his boat but also determined to be gon and then requested them to help us with our anker which was on shore; but they would not. Then we desired them to cut the bent of the cable upon the anker on shore (for we durst not send our boat lest they should have kept from us both our boat and men) which they promised to do for us, as also to send our men; but when they were on shore, they would do neither. We therefore seeing their falshood in every thing, durst no longer tary for feare of farther treachery; wherefore we concluded to cut our cable in the hawse; which we did, & so departed the harborow about 9 of the clock, leaving two of our men with our cable & anker, and 20 fadoms of a new hawser behind us. And as we

were going away, they made great shewes of friendship, and dranke unto us from the shore; but more for feare then love, and requested us to come on shore for our men, whom then they delivered. The same morning in passing over the barre before the harborowes mouth, and by that time that we had all our men aboard, our ship came on ground upon the sands; where we lay some 8 houres: during which time, at low water we trimmed our ship without boord, and by the great providence of God found our leake which then we stopped. About six of the clocke at night we got our ship on float againe, and that night ankered within part of the barre, which then because of the wind we could not passe. But it pleased God to send us faire weather all that night, and the next day by noone we had gotten our ship cleane over the bar. The 21 day after we got over the barre the wind arose at east & eastsoutheast, we blew right into the bay: which if it had come before we were cleere of the bar, we had both ship and men perished in the sands. The same day, because the wind kept us within the bay, we went to the Isle Blanch, where the ships of the other harborow had their stages: but it was at least two leagues from their ships: where we hoped by friendship to procure a shallope & assurance of our cable and anker againe. But when we had approched nere the shore with our ship, & weaved them with a white flag, they in sted of comming unto us, sent their message by a bullet out of a piece of great ordinance, which they had placed on shore of purpose against us; so that they would neither speake with us, nor permit us to come nere them. Thus we departed, and would have put to sea that night: but there was much wind at East, which kept us within the bay, & inforced us to come to an anker under Isle Blanch. The next morning being the 22, we put to sea, and about 12 of the clocke the same day, the wind being at Northeast and foule weather, the master sayd he could not ply up to Grande Coste, because of the leeshore, & the wind against us, and therefore asked what we should do. I asked then how farre we had to the river of cape Briton: he sayd a little way. Then sayd I, If it be not farre, we were best to go thither to trade with the Savages while the wind is contrary, and to take in water & balist, which we wanted. To which the master sayd, that if I would he would cary

us thither. I thinking it to be the best course, sayd I was content, so farre forth as that from thence we tooke the first faire wind for Grande Coste. Hereupon the master willed him at the helme to keepe his course south-east and southeast and by south. Presently after I asked him how many leagues we had to the sayd river, and from the sayd river to Grande Coste. He then sayd that we had 40 leagues to the river, and from the river to Grande Coste 120 leagues. Hereupon I said I would not consent to go so far out of our way, but willed him to keep his directest course for Grande Coste; which he did. Within one halfe houre afterwards the 23 day the gunner and company of the ship presented me & the master with a request in writing to returne for England or to goe for the Islands of Açores for a man of war, for they would not proceed on their voyage to Grande Coste; and therefore do what I could they turned the helme home-wards. The 14 of June we sent our boat on shore in a great bay upon the Isle of Cape Briton for water. The 25 we arrived on the West side of the Isle of Menego, where we left some caske on shore in a sandy bay, but could not tary for foule weather. The 26 we cast anker in another bay upon the maine of Cape Briton. The 27 about tenne of the clocke in the morning we met with eight men of the Chancewell our consort in a shallope; who told us that their ship was cast away upon the maine of Cape Briton, within a great bay eighteene leagues within the Cape, and upon a rocke within a mile of the shore, upon the 23 of this moneth about one of the clocke in the afternoone: and that they had cleered their ship from the rocke: but being bilged and full of water, they presently did run her up into a sandy bay, where she was no sooner come on ground, but presently after there came aboard many shallops with store of French men, who robbed and spoiled all they could lay hands on, pillaging the poore men even to their very shirts, and using them in savage maner: whereas they should rather as Christians have aided them in that distresse. Which newes when we heard, we blessed God, who by his divine providence and unspeakeable mercy had not onely preserved all the men, but brought us thither so miraculously to ayd and comfort them. So presently we put into the road where the Chancewell lay; where was also one ship of Sibiburo, whose men that holpe to pillage the Chance-

well were runne away into the woods. But the master thereof which had dealt very honestly with our men stayed in his ship, and came aboard of us : whom we used well, not taking any thing from him that was his, but onely such things as we could finde of our owne. And when we had dispatched our businesse, we gave him one good cable, one olde cable and an anker, one shallop with mast, sailes, and other furniture, and other things which belonged to the ship. In recompense whereof he gave us two hogsheads of sider, one barrell of peaze, and 25 score of fish. The 29 betimes in the morning we departed from that road toward a great Biskaine some 7 leagues off of 300 tun, whose men dealt most doggedly with the Chancewels company. The same night we ankered at the mouth of the harborow, where the Biskain was. The 30 betimes in the morning we put into the harborow ; and approching nere their stage, we saw it uncovered, and so suspected the ship to be gone : whereupon we sent our pinnesse on shore with a dozen men, who when they came, found great store of fish on shore, but all the men were fled : neither could they perceive whether the ship should be gone, but as they thought to sea. This day about twelve of the clocke we tooke a Savages boat which our men pursued : but all the Savages ran away into the woods, and our men brought their boat on board. The same day in the afternoone we brought our ship to an anker in the harborow : and the same day we tooke three hogsheads and an halfe of traine, and some 300 of greene fish. Also in the evening three of the Savages, whose boat we had, came unto us for their boat ; to whom we gave coats and knives, and restored them their boat againe. The next day being the first of July, the rest of the Savages came unto us, among whom was their king, whose name was Itarey, and their queene, to whom also we gave coats and knives, and other trifles. These Savages called the harborow Cibo. In this place are the greatest multitude of lobsters that ever we heard of : for we caught at one hawle with a little draw net above 140. The fourth of July in the morning we departed from Cibo. And the fift we cast anker in a reasonable good harborow called New Port under an Island some eight leagues from Cibo, and within three leagues from the English port. At this place in pursuing certaine shallows of a ship of Rochel, one of them came

aboard, who told us, that the Biskainer whom we sought, was in the English port with two Biskainers more, and two ships of Rochel. Thereupon wee sent one of our men in the Rochellers shallop to parle with the admiral & others our friends in the English port, requesting them ayd for the recovery of our things, which the other ship called the Santa Maria of S. Vincent (whereof was Master Johannes de Harte, and Pilot Adame de Lauandote) had robbed from the Chancewell. To which they answered, that if we would come in unto them in peace, they would assist us what they might. This answer we had the sixth day: and the seventh in the fornoone we arrived in the English port, and cast anker aloofe from the other ships: which done, I went aboard the Admirall, to desire the performance of his promise: who sent for Johannes de Harte, who was contented to restore most of our things againe: whereupon I went aboard his ship to have them restored. This day and the eighth I spent in procuring such things as they had robbed; but yet in the end we wanted a great part thereof. Then we were briefe with them, and willed them either to restore us the rest of our things which they had, or els we would both inforce them to doe it, and also have satisfaction for our victuals and merchandises which by their meanes were lost in the Chancewell. The ninth in the morning wee prepared our ship to goe neere unto them. Whereupon their Admirall sent his boat aboard, and desired to speake with mee: then I went aboard unto him, and desired to have our things with peace and quietnesse, proffering to make him and the Masters of the two ships of Rochel our umpires, and what they should advise I would stand unto. Heereupon he went aboard the other ship to make peace; but they would heare no reason, neither yet condescend to restore any thing els which they had of ours. Then I desired that as I came in peace unto them, they would so set me aboard my ship againe: which they denied to doe, but most unjustly detained me and Stephen van Herwicke who was with me. A while after our shallop came with foure men to know how I did, and to fetch me aboard: but so soone as she came to the Admirals ships side, his men entred, and tooke her away, detaining our men also as prisoners with us. Then presently all the three Biskainers made toward our ship, which was not carelesse to get the winde

of them all: and having by the mercy of God obtained the same, shee then stayed for them: but when they saw they had lost their advantage, they presently turned their course, making as great haste in againe as they did out before. Afterwards I attempted twice to goe aboard, but was still enforced backe by the two other Biskainers, who sought our lives: so that in the end the Master of the Admirall was enforced to man his great boat to waft us: and yet notwithstanding they bent a piece of great ordinance at us: for we were to passe by them unto our ship: but we rescued our shallop under our Masters great boat; and by that meanes passed in safety. The next morning being the tenth of the moneth, we purposed if the winde had served our turne, to have made them to repent their evill dealing, and to restore us our owne againe, or els to have suncke their ships if we could. But the winde served not our turne for that purpose; but caried us to sea: so that the same morning wee tooke our course toward the bay of S. Laurence in Newfoundland: where wee hoped to finde a Spanish ship, which as we had intelligence, did fish at that place. The thirteenth day we had sight of S. Peters Islands. And the foureteenth day being foggy and misty weather, while we made towards the land, we sent our shallop before the shippe to discover dangers: but in the fogge, through the mens negligence which were in her, she lost us: yet we kept on our course, thinking that although we could not see them, yet they might see our ship: and comming into sixteene fathoms water we cast anker, supposing our selves to be neere the shore: and in the evening it pleased God to give us for the space of one quarter of an houre clere weather, by which we found our selves to be imbayed, and also had sight of our shallop, which was at the point of a land about one league from us. The same night we went further into the same bay, where we had very good riding. The fifteenth we went on shore, and in that place found footing of deere, and before we returned we killed one. The eighteenth we departed toward S. Laurence: the same evening we had sight of S. Laurence, and sent off our boat in the night with our Master and sixteene men to surprise the Spanyard, which lay in Litle S. Laurence; who presently upon the entrance of our men surrendred up their ship and goods. The nineteenth in the morning before day, the Master of our

ship with two more, and three Spanyards, tooke a boat and came foorth to meet our shippe, but being foggy, he cast anker by the mouth of the harborow (thinking in faire weather to put out to our ship, which through the current and foggy weather was put five or sixe leagues to leeward: & while they were at anker in the boat they were surprised again by certaine Basks of S. John de Luz who were in Great S. Laurence hard by. These Basks with their forces (having received intelligence by one of the Spanyards, who sleeping on shore, escaped unto them overland) on the sudden surprised the sayd boat with our Master and others: and then presently made unto the ship; but our men aboard defended them off. In the end they threatned that unlesse they would yeeld, they would kill M. Crafton and our other men before their eyes. So at last upon M. Craftons intreaty and our mens, to save their lives, they yeilded up the ship againe, upon condition, that they should not injury any of our men, but should let them all with their weapons peaceably depart: yet when our men had yeilded, they brake their covenant, profering them great violence, threatning to kill them, disarming them, stripping their clothes from their backs, and using them more like dogs then men. After they had thus robbed our men of their prize and weapons, they presently towed the shippe with their boats out of that harborow into Great S. Laurence, where their owne shippes did ride, and within lesse then an houre after they had caried our prize away, our shippe arrived in the bay: where after we had bene a while at anker, our shallop came aboard unto us, with most part of our sixteene men, who tolde us the whole story before recited, as also that captaine Laurence had caried away our Master, and Stephen van Herwicke prisoners, and turned the rest of our men on shore in the woods, without either meat, drinke, or almost any apparell. The 20 all our men came aboard, except the two prisoners: and the same day we tooke with our boats three of the Spanyards shallops, with five hogsheads of traine oile in ech of them, & in one boat foure Spanyards; but the men of the other two shallops fled on shore. The same day also we tooke the Master of one of the ships which was in the harborow with three other of his men, whom we detained prisoners to ransome M. Crafton & Stephen van Herwick. The 22 captaine Laurence sent them

aboard, and we also released all our prisoners, except one Spanyard, who was boatswaine of the Spanish ship, whom we kept with us: and the same day we set saile from thence. The 24 we had advice of our Spanyard of certain Leagers which were in the harborow of cape S. Mary. Whereupon the same night, being within five or six leagues of the harborow, I sent off our two shallops with thirty men to discover the harborow, and to surprise the enemy. The 25 in the morning we approched the harborow with our ship, and in the mouth thereof we espied three shallops, two whereof were ours, and the third of a ship of Rochel, which they had surprised with foure men in her: who told them that there were but two ships in the harborow, whereof one was of Rochel, and the other of Bell isle. And as we were discoursing with the Rochellers, we had sight of the ships: whereupon we sent our boat aboard the Rocheller to certifie him that we were his friends, and to request him not to hinder our fight with the enemy. This message being sent, we made all the haste we could unto the ship of Bell isle, which first began with us with three great shot, one whereof hit our maintopsaile, but both the other missed us. And we also sent one unto them: then being approched nere unto them ten or twelve of us went in a shallop to enter them, and we caried also a warpe with us to make fast unto their ship, whereby our ship might the better come up to ayd us. And when we boorded them in our boat, they betooke themselves to their close fights, playing chiefly upon us with shot & pikes out at two ports, between which we entred very dangerously, escaping neere dangers both by shot & pike. Some of our men were wounded, but no great harme was done. And mine owne piece in entring, was shot out of my hand into the sea; which shot also burst one side of the ladder, by which I entred. We had not long bene aboard, but through the helpe of God we caused them to yeeld unto our mercy. There were of them in the ship above forty men, most whereof we sent aboard of our shippe, there to be kept in holde, with order to our chyirurgion to dresse the wounded men, one of which was wounded unto death. That done, we had then time to view our prize, which we found of great defence, and a notable strong ship, almost two hundred tun in burden, very well appointed, and in all things fitted for a man of

warre. They had also foureteene or fifteene men more, which were then absent from the ship; otherwise we should have had the hoter fight. The same day we got our sailes to the yard, and our top masts on end, and rigged the shippe what we could. The 26 day we got some oile aboard, and there we taried untill the second of August, fitting our selves for the sea, and getting fish aboard as weather served us. During our abode there we divided our men, and appointed to ech ship their company, my selfe and my friends being resolved to take our passage in the prize; wherein when we were shipped, and the company, there arose great enmity against us by the other shippe, which afterward was quieted. The second day of August, having taken in water and wood, we put to sea from that harborow in company of the Hopewell, with purpose to go directly to Parlican, which is an harborow in the North part of Newfoundland, where we expected another prize. But when we came to sea we found our sailes so olde, our ropes so rotten, and our provision of bread and drinke so short, as that we were constrained to make our resolution directly for England: whereupon we drew out our reasons the fourth day of August, and sent them aboard the Hopewell, to certifie them the cause of our resolution for England: wherat they were generally offended, thinking and saying, that we in the prize went about to cousin and deceive them. To conclude, they sent us word that they would keepe us company for England. But I had given William Crafton commission before to go for the Islands of the Açores, and there to spend his victuals for a man of warre. The next day being the fift of August, having a faire winde, we put off from the coast of Newfoundland, and kept our course directly for England, the Hopewell keeping us company untill midday, whenas having lost us in a fogge, she shot off two pieces of ordinance, and we answered her with three: afterwards we spake not with her, supposing that she went for the Islands. The 27 of August, drawing neere the coast of England, we sounded and found ground at seventy fadoms. Some of the mariners thinking we were in Bristow channell, and other in Silly channell: so that through variety of judgments, and evill marinership we were faine to dance the hay foure dayes together, sometimes running to the Northeast, sometimes to the Southeast, then againe to

the East, and Eastnortheast. Thus did we spend faire winds, and lose our time untill the last of August. And then it pleased God that we fell with the Island of Lundy within the channel of Bristoll; from whence we shaped our course: and after divers dangers, the third of September we met with the Tramontane of the Queene off of Dartmouth; to the captaine whereof we gave certaine things that he had need of. The fift of September I landed on the outside of the Isle of Wight, and within few dayes after it pleased God to bring the ship in safety to London, where she was made prize as belonging to the enemies of this land.

Certaine observations touching the countreys and places where we travelled.

THE Newfoundland we found very subject to fogs and mists. The ground of it is very rocky: and upon it there is great store of firre trees, and in some places red; and about the shore it hath great abundance of cod-fish. We were on land in it in foure severall places: 1 At Caplin bay and Farrillon: 2 At Cape Rase: 3 At the harborow of Lano, which lieth foure leagues to the West beyond Cape Laurence: 4 At S. Marie port.

The Island of Menego for the soile is much like Newfoundland, but the fish about it, as also throwout the Grande Bay within Cape Briton, is much larger and better then that of the Newfoundland. This Island is scant two leagues long, and very narrow. In the midst of it, a great way within the wood is a great poole. Here we were thrise on shore: once at the East side, and twice at the West.

The three Islands of birds are sandy red, but with the multitude of birds upon them they looke white. The birds sit there as thicke as stones lie in a paved street. The greatest of the Islands is about a mile in compasse. The second is little lesse. The third is a very little one, like a small rocke. At the second of these three lay on the shore in the Sunshine about thirty or forty sea-oxen or morses: which when our boat came nere them, presently made into the sea, and swam after the boat.

Brions Island wee found to be very good, and sandy ground. It hath in it store of firre trees. It is somewhat more then a league long, and about three leagues in

compasse. Here we were on land once, and went from the one side of it to the other.

The Island of Ramea we tooke to be like ground as Brions Island, having also abundance of firre trees. It seemeth to be in length about twelve or thirteene leagues at least. We were there in harborow, but not on shore, which we much desired, and hoped to have bene: but the conflict which we had there with the Basks and Britons, mentioned before, prevented us.

The Isle Blanche likewise seemeth in quality of the ground and bignesse of it to be much like Brions Island aforesayd, but somewhat lesse. We were not on shore upon it, but rode before it at anker.

The land of Cape Briton we found to be somewhat like the Newfoundland, but rather better. Here toward the West end of it we saw the clouds lie lower then the hills: as we did also at Cape Laurence in Newfoundland. The Easterly end of the land of Cape Briton is nothing so high land, as the West. We went on shore upon it in five places: 1 At the bay where the Chancewell was cast away: 2 At Cibo: 3 At a little Island betweene Cibo and the New port: 4 At the New port: And 5 at Port Ingles, or the English port.

Concerning the nature and fruitfulnessse of Brions Island, Isle Blanche, and of Ramea, they do by nature yeeld exceeding plenty of wood, great store of wild corne like barley, strawberries, gooseberries, mulberies, white roses, and store of wilde peason. Also about the sayd Islands the sea yeeldeth great abundance of fish of divers sorts. And the sayd Islands also seeme to proffer, through the labour of man, plenty of all kinde of our graine, of roots, of hемpe, and other necessary commodities.

Charles Leigh.

The Voyages and Navigations of the English nation to Virginia, and the severall discoveries therof chiefly at the charges of the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh knight, from 33 to 40 degrees of latitude: together with the successe of the English colonies there planted: as likewise a description of the Countrey, with the Inhabitants, and the manifold commodities. Whereunto are annexed the patents, letters, discourses, &c. to this part belonging.

The letters patents, granted by the Queenes Majestie to M. Walter Raleigh, now Knight, for the discovering and planting of new lands and Countries, to continue the space of 6. yeeres and no more.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom these presents shal come, greeting. Know ye that of our especial grace, certaine science, & meere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors doe give and grant to our trusty and welbeloved servant Walter Raleigh Esquire, and to his heires and assignes for ever, free liberty & licence from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to discover, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreis, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heires and assignes, and to every or any of them shall seeme good, and the same to have, holde, occupy & enjoy to him, his heires and assignes for ever, with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, priviledges, franchises and pre-eminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate: and the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and all such as from time to time, by licence of us, our heires and successors, shal goe or travaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the discretion of the said Walter Raleigh, his heires & assignes, the statutes or act of Parliament made against fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence,

or any other statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and leade in the sayde voyage, and travaile thitherward, or to inhabite there with him or them, and every or any of them, such, and so many of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him or them, and every or any of them: and to whom also we doe by these presents, give full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe, and also to have, take and employ, and use sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations, and Navigations in that behalfe, so that none of the same persons or any of them be such as hereafter shall be restrained by us, our heires or successors.

And further that the said Walter Raleigh his heires and assignes, and every of them, shall have, holde, occupie and enjoy to him, his heires and assignes, and every of them for ever, all the soyle of all such landes, territories, and Countreis, so to be discovered and possessed as aforesayd, and of all such Cities, Castles, Townes, Villages, and places in the same, with the right, royalties, franchises, and jurisdictions, as well marine as other within the sayd landes, or Countreis, or the seas thereunto adjoyning, to be had, or used, with full power to dispose thereof, and of every part in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the same conveniently may be, at his, and their wil and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of us, our heires and successors: reserving alwayes to us, our heires and successors, for all services, dueties, and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of golde and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discoverie, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obtained: All which lands, Countries, and territories shall for ever be holden of the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, of us, our heires and successors, by homage, and by the sayd payment of the sayd fift part, reserved onely for all services.

And moreover, we do by these presents, for us, our

heires and successors, give and grant licence to the said Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and every of them, that he, and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repell and resist aswell by sea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatsoever, all and every such person and persons whatsoever, as without the especiall liking and licence of the sayd Walter Raleigh, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayde Countryes, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such Countryes as aforesayde (if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforesayd with the subjects of any Christian Prince being in amitie with us) where the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their associats or company, shall within sixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy, eyther by Sea or Lande the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giving, and graunting by these presents further power and authoritie to the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and every of them from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to take and surprize by all maner of meanes whatsoever, all and every those person or persons, with their Shippes, Vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayde Walter Raleigh, or his heires, or assignes, as aforesayd, shalbe found traffiquing into any Harbour, or Harbours, Creeke, or Creekes, within the limits aforesayd, (the subjects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with us, trading to the Newfound lands for fishing as heretofore they have commonly used, or being driven by force of a tempest, or shipwracke onely excepted:) and those persons, and every of them, with their shippes, vessels, goods, and furniture to deteine and possesse as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and every, or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amitie, of such Countryes, landes, and territories so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesayd with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and the

better encouragement of men to these enterprises : we doe by these presents, graunt and declare that all such Countreies, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall be of the allegiance to us, our heires and successours. And wee doe graunt to the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and to all, and every of them, and to all, and every other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our Courts of recorde within our Realme of England, that with the assent of the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, shall in his journeis for discoverie, or in the journeis for conquest hereafter travaile to such lands, countreies and territories, as aforesayd, and to their, and to every of their heires, and they, and every or any of them, being eyther borne within our sayde Realmes of England or Irelande, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the Lands, Countreies, and Territories, with such licence, (as aforesayd) shall and may have all the priviledges of free Denizens, and persons native of England, and within our allegiance in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were borne and personally resident within our said Realme of England, any law, custome, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch as upon the finding out, discovering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countreies, and territories as aforesaid, it shalbe necessary for the safety of all men, that shall adventure themselves in those journeyes or voyages, to determine to live together in Christian peace, and civill quietnesse eche with other, whereby every one may with more pleasure and profit enjoy that whereunto they shall atteine with great paine and perill, wee for us, our heires and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe give & grant to the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes for ever, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time for ever hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countreies, in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, have full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, governe, and rule by their and every or any of their good discretions and policies, aswell in causes capitall, or criminall, as civil, both marine and other, all such our subjects, as shal from time to time adventure themselves in the said

journeis or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreis, or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within 200. leagues of any of the sayde place or places, where the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within 6. yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances as shall be by him the sayd Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them devised, or established, for the better government of the said people as aforesaid. So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances may be, as nere as conveniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, government, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe any of the subjects or people of those lands or places from the alleagance of us, our heires and successours, as their immediate Sovereigne under God.

And further, we doe by these presents for us, our heires and successors, give and grant full power and authoritie to our trustie and welbeloved Counsaillour Sir William Cecill knight, Lorde Burghley, or high Treasurer of England, and to the Lorde Treasurer of England for us, our heires and successors for the time being, and to the privie Counsaile of us, our heires and successors, or any foure or more of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure or more of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, under his or their handes or Seales by vertue of these presents, authorise and licence the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and every or any of them by him, & by themselves, or by their, or any of their sufficient Atturneis, Deputies, Officers, Ministers, Factors, and servants, to imbarke & transport out of our Realme of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associats and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the sayde Lorde Treasurer, or foure or more of the privie Counsaile, of us our heires and successors for the time being (as aforesaid) shalbe from time to time by his or their wisdomes, or discretions thought meete and convenient, for the better reliefe and

supportation of him the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires, and assignes, and every or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associats and companies, any act, statute, law, or any thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, and our wil and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or doe any acte of unjust or unlawfull hostilitie, to any of the subjects of us, our heires or successors, or to any of the subjects of any the kings, princes, rulers, Governours, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with us, our heires and successours, and that upon such injurie, or upon just complaint of any such Prince, Ruler, Governour or estate, or their subjects, wee, our heires and successors, shall make open Proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, or any to whom these our Letters patents may extende, shall within the termes to bee limited, by such Proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such injuries done: so as both we and the said Princes, or other so complaining, may hold us and themselves fully contented: And that if the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly within such time so to be limited, that then it shall be lawful to us, our heires and successors, to put the sayde Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discovered (as is aforesaid) or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires, assignes and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our allegiance and protection, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subjects, nor by us any way to be avouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegiance any way belonging: for that expresse mention of the cleere yeerely value of the certaintie of the premisses, or any

part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by us, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said Walter Raleigh, before this time made in these presents, bee not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint to the contrary thereof, before this time, given, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In wisse whereof, wee have caused these our letters to be made Patents. Wisse our selves, at Westminster the five and twentie day of March, in the sixe and twentieth yeere of our Raigne.

The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, where in were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the Countrey now called Virginia, Anno 1584. Written by one of the said Captaines, and sent to sir Walter Raleigh knight, at whose charge and direction, the said voyage was set forth.

THE 27 day of April, in the yeere of our redemption, 1584 we departed the West of England, with two barks well furnished with men and victuals, having received our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions, and commandements delivered by your selfe at our leaving the river of Thames. And I thinke it a matter both unnecessary, for the manifest discoverie of the Countrey, as also for tediousnesse sake, to remember unto you the diurnall of our course, sayling thither and returning: onely I have presumed to present unto you this brieve discourse, by which you may judge how profitable this land is likely to succede, as well to your selfe, (by whose direction and charge, and by whose servantes this our discoverie hath bene performed) as also to her Highnesse, and the Common wealth, in which we hope your wisdom wilbe satisfied, considering that as much by us hath bene brought to light, as by those smal meanes, and number of men we had, could any way have bene expected, or hoped for.

The tenth of May we arrived at the Canaries, and the tenth of June in this present yeere, we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies, keeping a more Southeasterly course then was needefull, because wee doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, disbogging

betweene the Cape of Florida and Havana, had bene of greater force then afterwarde we found it to bee. At which Islands we found the ayre very unwholsome, and our men grew for the most part ill disposed: so that having refreshed our selves with sweet water, & fresh victuall, we departed the twelfth day of our arrivall there. These Islands, with the rest adjoyning, are so well knownen to your selfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

The second of July, we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of the same moneth we arrived upon the coast; which we supposed to be a continent and firme lande, and we sayled along the same a hundred and twentie English miles before we could finde any entrance, or river issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared unto us, we entred, though not without some difficultie, & cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the havens mouth, on the left hand of the same: and after thanks given to God for our safe arrivall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoyning, and "to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Majestie, as rightfull Queene, and Princesse of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesties grant, and letters patents, under her Highnesse great Seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandie and low towards the waters side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them, of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hills, as in the plaines, as well on every little shrubbe, as also climing towards the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and my selfe having seene those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

We passed from the Sea side towards the toppes of those hilles next adjoyning, being but of meane highth,

and from thence wee behelde the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both wayes. This lande lay stretching it selfe to the West, which after wee found to bee but an Island of twentie miles long, and not above sixe miles broade. Under the banke or hill whereon we stode, we behelde the vallyes replenished with goodly Cedar trees, and having discharged our harquebuz-shot, such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose under us, with such a cry redoubled by many ecchoes, as if an armie of men had showed all together.

This Island had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, even in the midst of Summer in incredible abundance. The woodes are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscovia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitles, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Ceders of the Açores, of the Indies, or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras, the Lentisk, or the tree that beareth the Masticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinamon, of which Master Winter brought from the streights of Magellan, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie. We remained by the side of this Island two whole dayes before we saw any people of the Countrey: the third day we espied one small boate rowing towardses us having in it three persons: this boat came to the Island side, foure harquebuz-shot from our shippes, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shoreside towards us, and wee being then all within boord, he walked up and downe upon the point of the land next unto us: then the Master and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, my selfe, and others rowed to the land, whose comming this fellow attended, never making any shewe of feare or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat & some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel: and after having viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his owne boat againe, which hee had left in a little Cove or Creeke adjoyning: assoone as hee was two bow shoot into the water, he fell to fishing, and in lesse then halfe an houre, he had laden his boate as deepe, as it could swimme, with which hee came againe

to the point of the lande, and there he devided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnesse: which, after he had (as much as he might) requited the former benefites received, departed out of our sight.

The next day there came unto us divers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civill as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the countrey Wingandacoa, and now by her Majestie Virginia. The maner of his comming was in this sort: hee left his boates altogether as the first man did a little from the shippes by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with fortie men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long matre upon the ground, on which he sate downe, and at the other ende of the matre foure others of his companie did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat a farre off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, hee never mooved from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor never mistrusted any harme to be offred from us, but sitting still he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set hee made all signes of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwarde on ours, to shewe wee were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of all love, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long speech unto us, wee presented him with divers things, which hee received very joyfully, and thankfully. None of the company durst speake one worde all the time: onely the foure which were at the other ende, spake one in the others eare very softly.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children revered: the King himselfe in person was at our being there, sore wounded in a fight which hee had with the King of the next countrey, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once cleane through the thigh, but yet he recovered: by reason whereof and for that hee lay at the chiefe towne of the countrey, being sixe dayes journey off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things

as we thought he liked, wee likewise gave somewhat to the other that sat with him on the matte: but presently he arose and tooke all from them and put it into his owne basket, making signes and tokens, that all things ought to bee delivered unto him, and the rest were but his servants, and followers. A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for Chamoys, Buffe, and Deere skinnes: when we shewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he sawe, a bright tinne dish most pleased him, which hee presently tooke up and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brimme thereof and hung it about his necke, making signes that it would defende him against his enemies arrowes: for those people maintaine a deadly and terrible warre, with the people and King adjoining. We exchanged our tinne dish for twentie skinnes, woorth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie skins woorth fifty Crownes. They offered us good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for knives, and would have given any thing for swordes: but wee would not depart with any. After two or three dayes the Kings brother came aboard the shippes, and dranke wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a few dayes overpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter and two or three children: his wife was very well favoured, of meane stature, and very bashfull: shee had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead shee had a bande of white Corall, and so had her husband many times: in her eares shee had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle, (whereof wee delivered your worship a little bracelet) and those were of the bignes of good pease. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either eare, and some of the children of the kings brother and other noble men, have five or sixe in either eare: he himselfe had upon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being unpolished we knew not what mettall it should be, neither would he by any meanes suffer us to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparell was as his wives, onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one.

They are of colour yellowish, and their haire black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine aburne, and chestnut coloured haire.

After that these women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, corall, divers kindes of dies very excellent, and exchanged with us : but when Granganimeo the kings brother was present, none durst trade but himselfe : except such as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himselfe : for that is the difference betweene the noble men, and the governours of countreys, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde cary more respect to their King, Nobilitie, and Governours, then these doe. The Kings brothers wife, when she came to us (as she did many times) was followed with forty or fifty women alwayes : and when she came into the shippe, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse and one or two more. The Kings brother alwayes kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the shippes, so many fires would hee make on the shore a farre off, to the end we might understand with what strength and company he approached. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine or of Pitch trees : a wood not commonly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They have no edge-tooles to make them withall : if they have any they are very fewe, and those it seemes they had twentie yeres since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wrake which happened upon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storme and outragious weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast upon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nayles and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boates is thus : they burne downe some great tree, or take such as are winde fallen, and putting gumme and rosen upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coale with their shels, and ever where they would burne it deeper or wider they lay on gummes, which burne away the timber, and by this meanes they fashion very fine boates, and such as will transport twentie men. Their



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Drawn by Thomas Derrick.

THE MANNER OF MAKING BOATES

oares are like scoopes, and many times they set with long pooles, as the depth serveth.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and divers other things which we had : and offered to lay a great boxe of pearle in gage for them : but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them knowe, that we esteemed thereof, untill we had understoode in what places of the countrey the pearle grew : which now your Worshippe doeth very well understand.

He was very just of his promise : for many times we delivered him merchandize upon his word, but ever he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent us every day a brase or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish the best of the world. He sent us divers kinde of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease, and divers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire and well tasted, and groweth three times in five moneths : in May they sow, in July they reape, in June they sow, in August they reape : in July they sow, in September they reape : onely they cast the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turfe with a wodden mattock, or pickeaxe : our selves proved the soile, and put some of our Pease in the ground, and in tenne dayes they were of fourteene ynches high : they have also Beanes very faire of divers colours and wonderfull plentie : some growing naturally, and some in their gardens, and so have they both wheat and oates.

The soile is the most plentiful, sweete, fruitfull and wholesome of all the worlde : there are above foureteene severall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are Bayes and such like : they have those Okes that we have, but farre greater and better. After they had bene divers times aboard our shippes, my selfe, with seven more went twentie mile into the River, that runneth towarde the Citie of Skicoak, which River they call Occam : and the evening following, wee came to an Island, which they call Raonoak, distant from the harbour by which we entred, seven leagues : and at the North end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially ; when wee came towardes it, standing neere unto the waters side, the wife of Gran-

ganimo the kings brother came running out to meete us very cheerefully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village; some of her people shee commanded to draw our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe: others she appointed to cary us on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing. When we were come into the utter roome, having five roomes in her house, she caused us to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dryed them againe: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and shee her selfe tooke great paines to see all things ordered in the best maner shee could, making great haste to dresse some meate for us to eate.

After we had thus dryed our selves, she brought us into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like furmentie, sodden Venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boyled, and roasted, Melons rawe, and sodden, rootes of divers kindes, and divers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water, but it is sodden with Ginger in it, and blacke Sinamon, and sometimes Sassaphras, and divers other wholesome, and medicinal hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindnesse, and with as much bountie (after their maner) as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the maner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soile affoordeth: there meate is very well sodden and they make broth very sweet and savorie: their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white and sweete, their dishes are wodden platters of sweet timber: within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worship, of whome they speake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, whom when wee espied, we beganne to looke one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons: but assoone as shee espied our mistrust, shee was very much mooved, and

caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the evening and would not tary all night, she was very sory, and gave us into our boate our supper halfe dressed, pottes and all, and brought us to our boate side, in which wee lay all night, remooving the same a prettie distance from the shoare: shee perceiving our jealousie, was much greived, and sent divers men and thirtie women, to sit all night on the banke side by us, and sent us into our boates five mattes to cover us from the raine, using very many wordes to intreate us to rest in their houses: but because wee were fewe men, and if wee had miscaried, the voyage had bene in very great danger, wee durst not adventure any thing, though there was no cause of doubt: for a more kinde and loving people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we have hitherto had triall.

Beyond this Island there is the maine lande, and over against this Island falleth into this spacious water, the great river called Occam by the inhabitants on which standeth a towne called Pomeiock, & sixe dayes journey from the same is situate their greatest citie, called Skicoak, which this people affirme to be very great: but the Savages were never at it, only they speake of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirme it to bee above one houres journey about.

Into this river falleth another great river, called Cipo, in which there is found great store of Muskles in which there are pearles: likewise there descendeth into this Occam, another river, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey is called Pooneno: this Pooneno is not subject to the king of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lord: beyond this country is there another king, whom they cal Menatonon, and these three kings are in league with each other. Towards the Southwest, foure dayes journey is situate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southermost towne of Wingandacoa, neere unto which, sixe and twentie yeres past there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saved, and those were white people, whom the countrey people preserved.

And after ten dayes remaining in an out Island

unhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the dwellers of Sequotan, fastened two boates of the countrey together & made mastes unto them, and sailes of their shirtes, and having taken into them such victuals as the countrey yeilded, they departed after they had remained in this out Island 3 weekes: but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boates were found upon the coast, cast a land in another Island adjoyning: other then these, there was never any people appavelled, or white of colour, either seene or heard of amongst these people, and these aforesaid were seene onely of the inhabitantes of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondred marvelously when we were amongst them at the whitenes of our skins, ever coveting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides they had our ships in marvelous admiration, & all things els were so strange unto them, as it appeared that none of them had ever seene the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an hargubuz, they would tremble thereat for very feare, and for the strangenesse of the same: for the weapons which themselves use are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of small canes, headed with a sharpe shell or tooth of a fish sufficient ynough to kill a naked man. Their swordes be of wood hardened: likewise they use wooden breastplates for their defence. They have besides a kinde of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharpe hornes of a stagge, or other beast. When they goe to warres they cary about with them their idol, of whom they aske counsel, as the Romans were woont of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towards the battell in stead of drummes and trumpets: their warres are very cruell and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their civill dissentions which have happened of late yeeres amongst them, the people are marvelously wasted, and in some places the countrey left desolate.

Adjoyning to this countrey aforesaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomovik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adjoyning towards the setting of the Sunne, and the countrey Newsiok, situate upon a goodly river called Neus: these kings have mortall warre with Wingina king of Wingandacoa: but about two yeeres past there was a peace made betweene the

King Piemacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we have brought with us to England, have given us to understand: but there remaineth a mortall malice in the Secotanes, for many injuries & slaughters done upon them by this Piemacum. They invited divers men, and thirtie women of the best of his cuntry to their towne to a feast: and when they were altogether merry, & praying before their Idol, (which is nothing els but a meer illusion of the devil) the captaine or Lord of the town came suddenly upon them, and slewe them every one, reserving the women and children: and these two have oftentimes since perswaded us to surprize Piemacum his towne, having promised and assured us, that there will be found in it great store of commodities. But whether their perswasion be to the ende they may be revenged of their enemies, or for the love they beare to us, we leave that to the tryall hereafter.

Beyond this Island called Roanoak, are maine Islands very plentifull of fruits and other naturall increases, together with many townes, and villages, along the side of the continent, some bounding upon the Islands, and some stretching up further into the land.

When we first had sight of this cuntry, some thought the first land we saw to bee the continent: but after we entred into the Haven, we saw before us another mighty long Sea: for there lyeth along the coast a tracte of Islands, two hundreth miles in length, adjoyning to the Ocean sea, and betweene the Islands, two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them (these Islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places sixe miles broad, in some places lesse, in fewe more) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in bredth in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles over, before you come unto the continent: and in this inclosed Sea there are above an hundreth Islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is sixteene miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly Cedars, and divers other sweete woods, full of Corrants, of flaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leasure to view. Besides this Island there are many, as I have sayd, some of two, or three, of foure, of five miles, some more, some lesse, most beautifull and pleasant to behold, replenished with Deere, Conies, Hares and

divers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.

Thus Sir, we have acquainted you with the particulars of our discovery, made this present voyage, as farre foorth as the shortnesse of the time we there continued would afford us take viewe of: and so contenting our selves with this service at this time, which wee hope hereafter to enlarge, as occasion and assistance shalbe given, we resolved to leave the countrey, and to apply our selves to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arrived safely in the West of England about the middest of September.

And whereas wee have above certified you of the countrey taken in possession by us, to her Majesties use, and so to yours by her Majesties grant, wee thought good for the better assurance thereof to record some of the particular Gentlemen, & men of accompt, who then were present, as witnesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cavill to the title of the countrey, in her Majesties behalfe may be prevented, which otherwise, such as like not the action may use and pretend, whose names are:

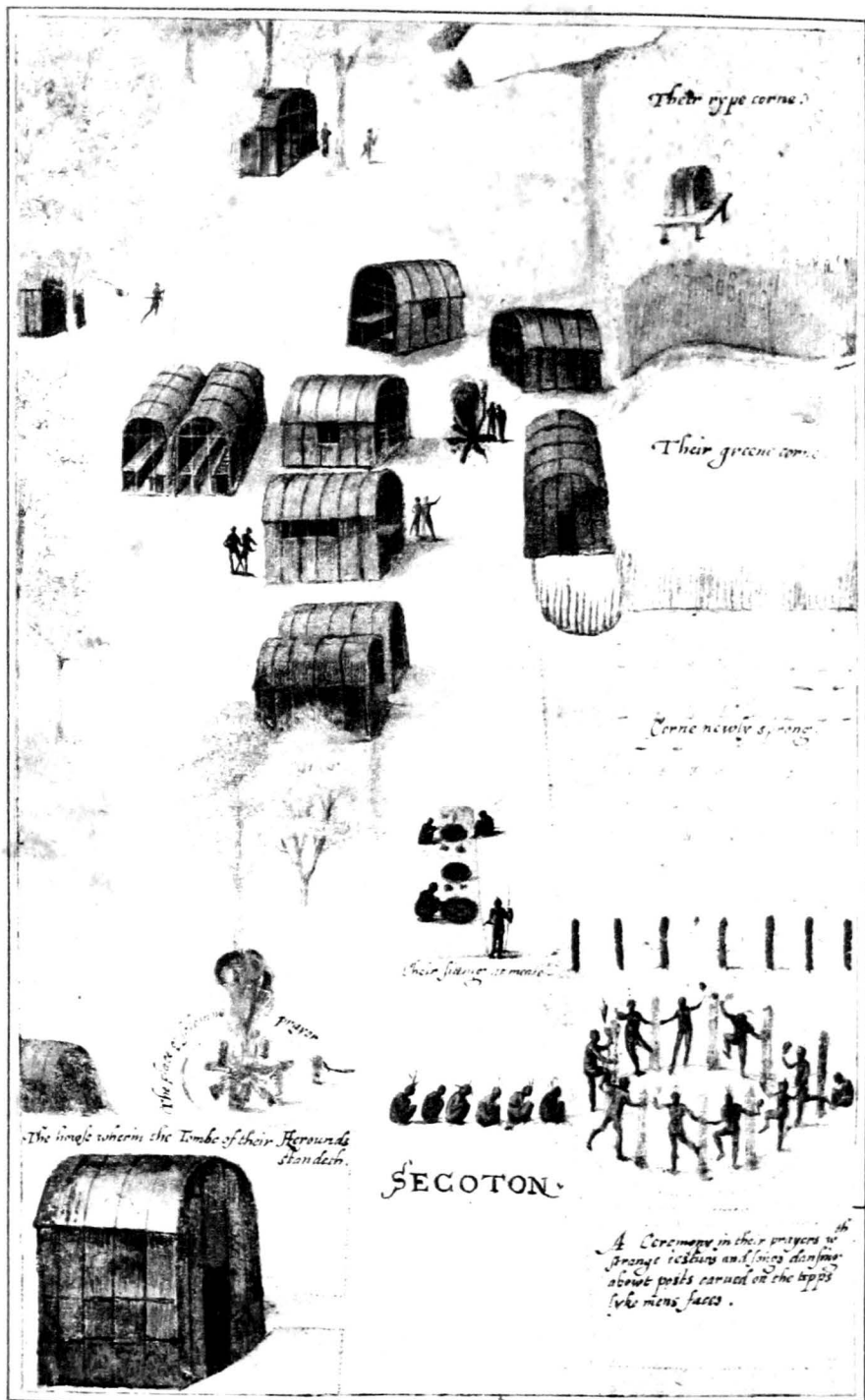
Master Philip Amadas, }
Master Arthur Barlow, } Captaines.

{ William Greenevile,
John Wood,
James Browewich,
Henry Greene,
Benjamin Wood,
Simon Ferdinando,
Nicholas Petman,
John Hewes, } Of the companie.

We brought home also two of the Savages being lustie men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo.

The voiage made by Sir Richard Greenevile, for Sir Walter Raleigh, to Virginia, in the yeere 1585.

THE 9. day of April, in the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Plymmouth, our Fleete consisting of the number of seven sailes, to wit, the Tyger, of the burden of seven score tunnes, a Flie-boat called the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyon of a hundred tunnes or thereabouts, the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes, and the Dorotheie, a small barke: whereunto were also adjoynd for speedy services,



THE TOWN OF SECOTON

From an original drawing by John White in the
Print Room of the British Museum

The English Voyages 133

two small pinnesses. The principall Gentlemen of our companie, werẽ these, M. Ralph Lane, M. Tomas Candish, M. John Arundell, M. Raymund, M. Stukeley, M. Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. John Clarke, and divers others, whereof some were Captaines, and other some Assistants for counsell, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14. day of Aprill wee fell with Lancerota and Forteventura, Isles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued our course for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the West India, wherewith we fell the 7. day of May, and the 10. day following wee came to an anker at Cotesa, a little Iland situate neere to the Iland of S. John, where we landed, and refreshed our selves all that day.

The 12. day of May wee came to an anker in the Bay of Moskito, in the Iland of S. John, within a Faulcon shot of the shoare: where our Generall Sir Richard Greenevil, and the most part of our companie landed, and began to fortifie very neere to the Sea side: the river ran by the one side of our forte, and the other two sides were invironed with woods.

The 13. day we began to build a new pinnesse within the Fort, with the timber that wee then felled in the countrey, some part whereof we fet three miles up in the land, and brought it to our Fort upon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make or offer resistance.

The 16. day there appeared unto us out of the woods eight horsemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our Fort, staying about halfe an houre in viewing our forces: but assoone as they saw ten of our shot marching towards them, they presently retired into the woods.

The 19. day Master Candish, who had bene separated from our fleete in a storme in the Bay of Portugall, arrived at Cotesa, within the sight of the Tiger: we thinking him a farre off to have bene either a Spaniard or Frenchman of warre, thought it good to weigh ankers, and to goe roome with him, which the Tiger did, and discerned him at last to be one of our consorts, for joy of whose comming our ships discharged their ordinance, and saluted him according to the maner of the Seas.

The 22. day twentie other Spanish horsemen shewed themselves to us upon the other side of the river: who being seene, our Generall dispatched 20. footemen towards

them, and two horsmen of ours, mounted upon Spanish horses, which wee before had taken in the time of our being on the Iland; they shewed to our men a flagge of truce, and made signes to have a parle with us: whereupon two of our men went halfe of the way upon the sands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offered very great salutations to our men, but began according to their Spanish proud humors, to expostulate with them about their arrivall and fortifying in their countrey, who notwithstanding by our mens discreet answers were so cooled, that (whereas they were told, that our principall intention was onely to furnish our selves with water and victuales, and other necessaries, wherof we stood in neede, which we craved might be yeilded us with faire and friendly meanes, otherwise our resolution was to practise force, and to relieve ourselves by the sworde) the Spaniards in conclusion seeing our men so resolute, yeilded to our requestes with large promises of all curtesie, and great favour, and so our men and theirs departed.

The 23. day our pinnesse was finished, and lanced: which being done, our Generall with his Captaines and Gentlemen, marched up into the Countrey about the space of 4. miles, where in a plaine marsh they stayed expecting the comming of the Spaniards according to their promise, to furnish us with victuals: who keeping their olde custome for perjurie and breach of promise, came not, whereupon our Generall fired the woods thereabout, and so retired to our Fort, which the same day was fired also, and each man came aboard to be ready to set saile the next morning.

The 29. day wee set saile from Saint Johns, being many of us stung before upon shoare with the Muskitos: but the same night wee tooke a Spanish Frigat, which was forsaken by the Spaniards upon the sight of us, and the next day in the morning very early we tooke another Frigat, with good and rich freight, and divers Spaniards of account in her, which afterwards wee ransomed for good round summes, and landed them in S. Johns.

The 26. day our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo bay upon the Southwest side of Saint Johns, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish Pilot: as soone as hee arrived there, hee landed with his men to the

number of 20. and intrenched himselfe upon the sandes immediatly, compassing one of their salte hills within the trench: who being seene of the Spaniards, there came downe towards him two or three troopes of horsemen and footmen, who gave him the looking, and gazing on, but durst not come neere him to offer any resistance, so that Master Lane maugre their troopes, caryed their salte aboard and laded his Frigat, and so returned againe to our fleete the 29. day, which road at S. Germans Bay. The same day we all departed, and the next day arrived in the Iland of Hispaniola.

June.

THE 1. day of June we anchored at Isabella, on the North side of Hispaniola.

The 3. day of June, the Governour of Isabella, and Captaine of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of sundry Spaniards, who had beene well intertained aboard our shippes by our Generall, that in our fleete were many brave and gallant Gentlemen, who greatly desired to see the Governour aforesayd, he thereupon sent gentle commendations to our Generall, promising within few dayes to come to him in person, which he perfourmed accordingly.

The 5. day the aforesayd Governour accompanied with a lusty Fryer, and twenty other Spaniards, with their servants, and Negroes, came downe to the Sea side, where our ships road at anker, who being seene, our Generall manned immediatly the most part of his boates with the chiefe men of our Fleete, every man appointed, and furnished in the best sort: at the landing of our Generall, the Spanish governour received him very courteously, and the Spanish Gentlemen saluted our English Gentlemen, and their inferiour sort did also salute our Souldiers and Sea men, liking our men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed to stand in feare of us, and of so many of our boates, whereof they desired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all feare and mistrust on the Spaniards part was abandoned.

In the meane time while our English Generall and the Spanish Governour discoursed betwixt them of divers matters, as of the state of the Countrey, the multitude

of the Townes and people, and the commodities of the Iland, our men provided two banquetting houses covered with greene boughes, the one for the Gentlemen, the other for the servaunts, and a sumptuous banquet was brought in served by us all in plate, with the sound of trumpets, and consort of musicke, wherwith the Spaniards were more then delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniardes in recompence of our courtesie, caused a great heard of white buls, and kyne to be brought together from the mountaines, and appoynted for every Gentleman and Captaine that would ride, a horse ready sadled, and then singled out three of the best of them to bee hunted by horsemen after their maner, so that the pastime grewe very pleasant for the space of three houres, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one tooke the Sea, and there was slaine with a musket. After this sport, many rare presents and gifts were given and bestowed on both parts, and the next day wee played the Marchants in bargaining with them by way of trucke and exchange of divers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kine, buls, goates, swine, sheepe, bull-hides, sugar, ginger, pearle, tabacco, and such like commodities of the Iland.

The 7. day we departed with great good will from the Spaniards from the Iland of Hispaniola: but the wiser sort doe impute this great shew of friendship, and courtesie used towards us by the Spaniards rather to the force that wee were of, and the vigilancie, and watchfulness that was amongst us, then to any heartie good will, or sure friendly intertainment: for doubtlesse if they had bene stronger then wee, wee might have looked for no better curtesie at their handes, then Master John Haukins received at Saint John de Ullua, or John Oxnam neere the streights of Dariene, and divers others of our Countrymen in other places.

The 8. day we ankred at a small Iland to take Seales, which in that place wee understood to have bene in great quantitie, where the Generall and certaine others with him in the pinnesse were in very great danger to have bene all cast away, but by the helpe of God they escaped the hasard, and returned aboard the Admirall in safetie.

The 9. day we arrived and landed in the Ile of Caycos, in which Iland we searched for salte-pondes, upon the advertisment and information of a Portugall: who in

A
Chief Lady
of
POMEIOCK.



Drawn by Thomas Derrick.

deede abused our Generall and us, deserving a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased us.

The 12. we ankered at Guanima, and landed:

The 15. and 16. we ankered and landed at Cyguateo.

The 20. we fell with the maine of Florida.

The 23. we were in great danger of a wracke on a breach called the Cape of Feare.

The 24. we came to anker in a harbour, where wee caught in one tyde so much fish as would have yeilded us twentie pounds in London: this was our first landing in Florida.

The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon.

The 29. wee weighed anker to bring the Tyger into the harbour, where through the unskilfulnesse of the Master whose name was Fernando, the Admirall strooke on ground, and sunke.

The 3. we sent word of our arriving at Wococon, to Wingina at Roanoak.

The 6. M. John Arundel was sent to the maine, and Manteo with him: and Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten the same day were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, some 20. dayes before.

The 8. Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten returned, with two of our men found by them, to us at Wocokon.

The 11. day the Generall accompanied in his Tilt boate with Master John Arundell, Master Stukeley, and divers other Gentlemen, Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Hariot, and twentie others in the new pinnesse, Captaine Amadas, Captaine Clarke, with ten others in a shipboat, Francis Brooke, and John White in another ship-boate, passed over the water from Wococon to the maine land victualled for eight dayes, in which voyage we first discovered the townes of Pomejok, Aquascogoc and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the Savages Paquipe, with divers other places, and so returned with that discovery to our Fleete.

The 12. we came to the Towne of Pomeiok.

The 13. we passed by water to Aquascogok.

The 15. we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the Savages.

The 16. wee returned thence, and one of our boates with the Admirall was sent to Aquascogok, to demaund a silver cup which one of the Savages had stollen from

us, and not receiving it according to his promise, wee burnt, and spoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people being fled.

The 18. we returned from the discovery of Secotan, and the same day came aboard our Fleete ryding at Wococon.

The 21. our Fleete ankering at Wococon, we wayed anker for Hatoraske.

The 27. our Fleete ankered at Hatorask, and there we rested.

The 29. Grangino brother to king Wingina came aboard the Admirall, and Manteo with him.

The 2. the Admirall was sent to Weapomeiok.

The 5. M. John Arundell was sent for England.

The 25. our Generall wayed anker, and set saile for England.

About the 31. he tooke a Spanish ship of 300 tunne richly loaden, boarding her with a boate made with boards of chests, which fell asunder, and sunke at the ships side, assoone as ever he and his men were out of it.

The 10. of September, by foule weather the Generall then shipped in the prize, lost sight of the Tyger.

The 6. the Tyger fell with the Landes end, and the same day came to anker at Falmouth.

The 18. the General came with the prize to Plymmouth, and was courteously received by divers of his worshipfull friends.

The names of those as well Gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in Virginia, under the Governement of Master Ralph Lane.

MASTER PHILIP AMADAS,
Admirall of the countrey.

Master Hariot.

Master Acton.

Master Edward Stafford.

Thomas Luddington.

Master Marvyn.

Master Gardiner.

Captaine Vaughan.

Master Kendall.

Master Prideox.

Robert Holecroft.

Rise Courtney.

Richard Gilbert.

Steven Pomarie.

John Brocke.

Bennet Harrie.

James Stevenson.

Charles Stevenson.

Christopher Lowde.

Jeremie Man.

James Mason.

David Salter.

Richard Ireland.

Thomas Bookener.

William Philips.

Master Hugh Rogers.	Randall Mayne.
Master Thomas Harvie.	James Skinner.
Master Snelling.	George Eseven.
Master Anthony Russe.	John Chandelier.
Master Allyne.	Philip Blunt.
Master Michael Polison.	Richard Poore.
John Cage.	Robert Yong.
Thomas Parre.	Marmaduke Constable.
William Randes.	Thomas Heskett.
Gefferey Churchman.	William Wasse.
William Farthow.	John Fever.
John Taylor.	Daniel.
Philip Robyns.	Thomas Taylor.
Thomas Philips.	Richard Humfrey.
Valentine Beale.	John Wright.
Thomas Foxe.	Gabriel North.
Darby Glande.	Bennet Chappell.
Edward Nugen.	Richard Sare.
Edward Kelley.	James Lacie.
John Gostigo.	Smolkin.
Erasmus Clefs.	Thomas Smart.
Edward Ketcheman.	Robert.
John Linsey.	John Evans.
Thomas Rottenbury.	Roger Large.
Roger Deane.	Humfrey Garden.
John Harris.	Francis Whitton.
Francis Norris.	Rowland Griffyn.
Matthew Lyne.	William Millard.
Edward Kettell.	John Twit.
Thomas Wisse.	Edward Seclimore.
Robert Biscombe.	John Anwike.
William Backhouse.	Christopher Marshall.
William White.	David Williams.
Henry Potkin.	Nicholas Swabber.
Dennis Barnes.	Edward Chipping.
Joseph Borges.	Silvester Beching.
Dougham Gannes.	Vincent Cheyne.
William Tenche.	Hance Walters.
Randall Latham.	Edward Barecombe.
Thomas Hulme.	Thomas Skeuelabs.
Walter Mill.	William Walters.

An extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia.

IN the meane while you shall understand, that since Sir Richard Greenvils departure from us, as also before, we have discovered the maine to be the goodliest oyle under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie have no greater, so many sorts of Apothecarie drugs, such severall kindes of flaxe, & one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there, as grasse is here. And now within these few dayes we have found here Maiz or Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400. upon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and unknowen greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely, and the climate so wholesome, that wee had not one sicke since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this already we finde, that what commodities soever Spaine, France, Italy, or the East partes doe yeeld unto us, in wines of all sortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankensence, corrans, sugers, and such like, these parts doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Savages that possesse the land, they know no use of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, have, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most courteous, and very desirous to have clothes, but especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canvas they also like well of, but copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H. I have joyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I love dearly well, and commending me most heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almightye. From the new Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585.

Your most assured friend RALPH LANE.

An account of the particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greenvill under the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. until the 18. of June 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey : sent and directed to Sir Walter Raleigh.

THAT I may proceede with order in this discourse, I thinke it requisite to divide in into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such parts of the Countrey within the maine, as our weake number, and supply of things necessarie did inable us to enter into the discovery of.

The second part shall set downe the reasons generally moving us to resolve on our departure at the instant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnesses, and boates with the Masters and Mariners meant by him to bee left in the Countrey, for the supply of such, as for a further time meant to have stayed there, were caryed away with tempest and foule weather: In the beginning whereof shall bee declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Savages of the maine to have cut us off, &c.

The first part declaring the particularities of the Countrey of Virginia.

FIRST therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey, you shall understand that our discoverie of the same hath bene extended from the Iland of Roanoak, (the same having bene the place of our settlement or inhabitation) into the South, into the North, into the Northwest, and into the West.

The uttermost place to the Southward of any discovery was Secotan, being by estimation fourescore miles distant from Roanoak. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the mayne, the same being without kenning of lande, and yet full of flats and shoalds: we had but one boate with foure oares to passe through the same, which boate could not carry above fifteene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for seven dayes at the most: and as for our pinnesse, besides that she drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stirre for an oare: for these and other reasons (winter

also being at hand) we thought good wholly to leave the discovery of those parts untill our stronger supply.

To the Northward our furthest discovery was to the Chesepians, distant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the bredth of the sound, and the little succour that upon any flawe was there to be had.

But the Territorie and soyle of the Chesepians (being distant fifteene miles from the shoare) was for pleasantnes of seate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea, besides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Sassafras, and Wallnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever.

There be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adjoining to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, which all came to visite the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

To the Northwest the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanook distant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our passage thither lyeth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the chanell of a great depth, navigable for good shipping, but out of the chanell full of shoalds.

The Townes about the waters side situated by the way are these following: Passaquenoke The womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, & Metackwem: all these being under the jurisdiction of the king of Weapomeiok, called Okisco: from Muscamunge we enter into the River, and jurisdiction of Chawanook: There the River beginneth to straighten untill it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betewene Westminster, and Lambeth.

Betwene Muscamunge and Chawanook upon the left hand as wee passe thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Savages called it Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corne field belonging unto it: it is subject to Chawanook.

Chawanook it selfe is the greatest Province & Seigniorie lying upon that River, and the very Towne it selfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the fiede, besides the force of the Province it selfe.

The King of the sayd Province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Savage, a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the disposition of his owne men; but also of his neighbours round about him as well farre as neere, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gave mee more understanding and light of the Countrey then I had received by all the searches and Savages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March last past 1586. Amongst other things he tolde me, that going three dayes journey in a Canoa, up his River of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within foure dayes journey to passe over land Northeast to a certaine Kings countrey, whose Province lyeth upon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is an Island situate, as hee described unto mee, in a Bay, the water round about the Island very deepe.

Out of this Bay hee signified unto mee, that this King had so great quantitie of Pearle, and doeth so ordinarily take the same, as that not onely his owne skinnes that hee weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the sayd Pearle, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see.

He shewed me that the sayd King was with him at Chawanook two yeeres before, & brought him certaine Pearle, but the same of the worst sort, yet was he faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought. Hee gave mee a rope of the same pearle, but they were blacke, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few amongst a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine, coming aboard Sir Francis Drake his Fleete: yet he tolde me that the sayd King had great store of Pearle that were white, great, and round, and that his blacke Pearle his men did take out of shallow water, but the white Pearle his men fished for in very deepe water.

It seemed to me by his speach, that the sayd King had traffique with white men that had clothes as we have, for these white Pearle, and that was the reason

that hee would not depart with other then with blacke Pearles, to those of the same countrey.

The king of Chawanook promised to give me guides to go over land into that kings countrey whensoever I would: but he advised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victuall, for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men into the field, which he sayd would fight very well.

Hereupon I resolved with my selfe, that if your supplie had come before the ende of Aprill, and that you had sent any store of boates or men, to have had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victuals to have found us untill the new corne were come in, I would have sent a small barke with two pinnesses about by Sea to the Northward to have found out the Bay he spake of, and to have sounded the barre if there were any, which should have ridden there in the sayd Bay about that Iland, while I with all the small boates I could make, and with two hundred men would have gone up to the head of the river of Chawanook with the guides that Menatonon would have given me, which I would have bene assured should have beene of his best men, (for I had his best beloved sonne prisoner with me) who also should have kept me companie in an handlocke with the rest, foote by foote, all the voyage over land.

My meaning was further at the head of the River in the place of my descent where I would have left my boates, to have raised a sconse with a small trench, and a pallisado upon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would have left five and twentie, or thirtie men, with the rest would I have marched with as much victuall as every man could have caried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two dayes journey. In the ende of my march upon some convenient plot would I have raised another sconse according to the former, where I would have left fifteene or twentie. And if it would have fallen out conveniently, in the way I would have raised my saide sconse upon some Corne fielde, that my company might have lived upon it.

And so I would have holden this course of insconsing

every two dayes march, untill I had bene arrived at the Bay or Port hee spake of: which finding to bee worth the possession, I would there have raised a maine fort, both for the defence of the harborough, and our shipping also, and would have reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harborough and port there (which by prooffe is very naught) unto this other beforementioned, from whence, in the foure dayes march before specified, could I at all times returne with my company back unto my boates riding under my sconse, very neere whereunto directly from the West runneth a most notable River, and in all those parts most famous, called the River of Moratoc. This River openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok. And whereas the River of Chawanook, and all the other Sounds, and Bayes, salt and fresh, shewe no current in the world in calme weather, but are mooved altogether with the winde: This River of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the West and Southwest, that it made me almost of opinion that with oares it would scarce be navigable: it passeth with many creekes and turnings, and for the space of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Green-wich and the Isle of dogges, in some place more, and in some lesse: the current runneth as strong, being entred so high into the River, as at London bridge upon a vale water.

And for that not onely Menatonon, but also the Savages of Moratoc themselves doe report strange things of the head of that River, and that from Moratoc it selfe, which is a principall Towne upon that River, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent streame: and further, that this huge rock standeth so neere unto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde comming outwardly from the sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish: I tooke a resolution with my selfe, having dismissed Menatonon upon a ransome agreed for, and sent his sonne into the Pinnesse to Roanoak, to enter presently so farre into that River with two double whirries, and fourtie persons one or other, as I could have victuall to cary us, until we could meete with more

either of the Moratoks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kinde of Savages, dwelling more to the Westward of the said River : but the hope of recovering more victuall from the Savages made mee and my company as narrowly to escape starving in that discoverie before our returne, as ever men did, that missed the same.

For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina upon the death of his brother Granganimo, had given both the Choanists, and Mangoaks worde of my purpose touching them, I having bene inforced to make him privie to the same, to bee served by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet hee did never rest to sollicite continually my going upon them, certifying mee of a generall assembly even at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of three thousand bowes, preparing to come upon us at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks also were joyned in the same confederacie, who were able of themselves to bring as many more to the enterprise : And true it was that at that time the assembly was holden at Chawanook about us, as I found at my comming thither, which being unlooked for did so dismay them, as it made us have the better hand at them. But this confederacie against us of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan himselfe, as Menatonon confessed unto me, who sent them continual word, that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them : on the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning towards us.

Hee in like sort having sent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to passe up into their River, and to kill them (as he saide) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before wee were entred into a league, and they had ever dealt kindly with us, abandoned their Townes along the River, and retired themselves with their Crenepos, and their Corne within the maine : insomuch as having passed three dayes voyage up the River, wee could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of Corne in any their Townes : whereupon considering with my selfe that wee had but two dayes victuall left, and that wee were then 160. miles from home, besides casualtie of contrary windes or stormes, and suspecting treason of our owne Savages in the discoverie of our voyage intended, though wee had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them, otherwise



T.D.
27

Virginia

W R

ENGLISHMEN LANDING AT VIRGINIA

Drawn by Thomas Derrick from T. De Bry's
"America" (1590)

then for our copper to have had corne of them: I at night upon the Corps of guard, before the putting foorth of Centinels, advertised the whole company of the case wee stode in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Savages, and of purpose drawn foorth by them upon vaine hope to be in the ende starved, seeing all the Countrey fled before us, and therefore while wee had those two dayes victuall left, I thought it good for us to make our returne homeward, and that it were necessary for us to get the other side of the Sound of Weopomeiok in time, where wee might be relieved upon the weares of Chypanum, and the womens Towne, although the people were fled.

Thus much I signified unto them, as the safest way: neverthesse I did referre it to the greatest number of voyces, whether wee should adventure the spending of our whole victuall in some further viewe of that most goodly River in hope to meete with some better happe, or otherwise to retire our selves backe againe. And for that they might be the better advised, I willed them to deliberate all night upon the matter, and in the morning at our going aborde to set our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholly was (and not three founde to bee of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was left but one halfe pinte of Corne for a man, wee should not leave the search of that River, and that there were in the companie two Mastives, upon the pottage of which with Sassafras leaves (if the worst fell out) the company would make shift to live two dayes, which time would bring them downe the current to the mouth of the River, and to the entrie of the Sound, and in two dayes more at the farthest they hoped to crosse the Sound and to bee relieved by the weares, which two dayes they would fast rather then be drawn backe a foote till they had seen the Mangoaks, either as friendes or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please mee, since it came of themselves, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to have bene rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to have some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to have had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the countrey, that

there is a Province to the which the said Mangoaks have recourse and trafique up that River of Moratoc, which hath a marveilous and most strange Minerall. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to the Savages dwelling up the said river, and also to the Savages of Chawanook, and all them to the Westward, but also to all them of the maine: the Countreis name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The Minerall they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador every mettall whatsoever: they say it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the saide mettall out of a river that falleth very swift from hie rockes and hils, and they take it in shallow water: the maner is this. They take a great bowle by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrappe a skinne over the hollow part thereof, leaving one part open to receive in the minerall: that done, they watch the comming downe of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop downe the said bowle with the skinne, and receive into the same as much oare as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowle will holde, which presently they cast into a fire, and fourthwith it melteth, and doeth yeelde in five parts, at the first melting, two parts of metall for three parts of oare. Of this metall the Mangoaks have so great störe, by report of all the Savages adjoining, that they beautifie their houses with great plates of the same: and this to be true, I received by report of all the countrey, and particularly by yong Skiko, the King of Chawanooks sonne my prisoner, who also himselfe had bene prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set downe all the particularities to me before mentioned: but hee had not bene at Chawnis Temoatan himselfe: for hee said, it was twentie dayes journey overland from the Mangoaks, to the said Mineral Countrey, and that they passed through certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said Countrey.

Upon report of the premisses, which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of, by all the Savages that dwelt towards those parts, and especially of Menatonon himselfe, who

in every thing did very particularly informe mee, and promised me guides of his owne men, who should passe over with me, even to the said Country of Chaunis Temoatan (for overland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one dayes journey from Sunne rising to Sunne setting, whereas by water it is seven dayes with the soonest :) These things, I say, made me very desirous by all meanes possible to recover the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yeilded to their resolution: But it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelyhood: for after two dayes travell, and our whole victuall spent, lying on shoare all night, wee could never see man, onely fires we might perceive made amongst the shoare where we were to passe, and up into the Countrey, untill the very last day. In the evening whereof, about three of the clocke wee heard certaine Savages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answeere them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betooke him to his piece, and tolde mee that they meant to fight with us: which worde was not so soone spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shoare, but there lighted a vollie of their arrowes amongst them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediatly, the other boate lying ready with their shot to skoure the place for our hand weapons to lande upon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steepe, the Savages forthwith quitted the shoare, and betooke themselves to flight: wee landed, and having faire and easily followed for a smal time after them, who had wooded themselves we know not where: the Sunne drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day if wee would pursue them, though we might happen to meete with them, yet wee should be assured to meete with none of their victuall, which we then had good cause to thinke of: therefore choosing for the company a convenient ground in safetie to lodge in for the night, making a strong Corps of guard, and putting out good Centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the Sunne to be going backe againe, if possibly we might recover the mouth of the

river, into the broad sound, which at my first motion I found my whole company ready to assent unto: for they were nowe come to their Dogges porredge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The ende was, we came the next day by night to the Rivers mouth within foure or five miles of the same, having rowed in one day downe the current, as much as in foure dayes wee had done against the same: we lodged upon an Iland, where we had nothing in the world to eate but pottage of Sassafras leaves, the like whereof for a meate was never used before as I thinke. The broad sound wee had to passe the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the winde blew so strongly, and the billow so great, that there was no possibilitie of passage without sinking of our boates. This was upon Easter eve, which was fasted very truely. Upon Easter day in the morning the winde comming very calme, we entred the sound, and by foure of the clocke we were at Chipanum, whence all the Savages that we had left there were fled, but their weares did yeelde us some fish, as God was pleased not utterly to suffer us to be lost: for some of our company of the light horsemen were farre spent. The next morning wee arrived at our home Roanoak.

I have set downe this Voyage somewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare unto you (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least amongst us, to have perfited this discoverie of the Mine: for that the discovery of a good Mine, by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing els can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discovery of either of the two above shewed, it will bee the most sweete and healthfullest climate, and therewithall the most fertile soyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Sassafras, and many other rootes and gummes there found make good merchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselves will not be worth the fetching.

Provided also, that there be found out a better harbourough then yet there is, which must be to the Northward, if any there bee, which was mine intention to have spent this Summer in the search of, and of the

Mine of Chawnis Temoatan : the one I would have done, if the barkes that I should have had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courtesie, had not bene driven away by storme : the other if your supply of more men, and some other necessities had come to us in any convenient sufficiency. For this river of Moratico promiseth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots the head of it by the description of the Countrey, either riseth from the bay of Mexico, or els from very neere unto the same, that openeth out into the South sea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doeth M. Youghan affirme, that though it be but copper, seeing the Savages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest Minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harborough found to the Northward, as before is saide, and from thence foure dayes overland, to the River of Choanoak sconses being raised, from whence againe overland through the province of Choanoak one dayes voyage to the first towne of the Mangoaks up the river of Moratico by the way, as also upon the said River for the defence of our boats like sconses being set, in this course of proceeding you shall cleare your selfe from al those dangers and broad shallow sounds before mentioned, and gaine within foure dayes travell into the heart of the maine 200. miles at the least, and so passe your discovery into that most notable countrey, and to the likeliest parts of the maine, with farre greater felicitie then otherwise can bee performed.

Thus Sir, I have though simply, yet truely set downe unto you, what my labour with the rest of the gentlemen, and poore men of our company (not without both paine and perill, which the Lord in his mercy many wayes delivered us from) could yeeld unto you, which might have bene performed in some more perfection, if the Lord had bene pleased that onely that which you had provided for us had at the first bene left with us, or that hee had not in his eternall providence now at the last set some other course in these things, than the wisdom of man coulde looke into, which truely the carying away by a most strange & unlooked for storme of all our provision, with Barks, Master, Mariners, and sundry also of mine owne company, al having bene so courteously supplied by the generall Sir Francis Drake, the same having bene most sufficient to have performed the greatest

part of the premisses, must ever make me to thinke the hand of God onely (for some his good purpose to my selfe yet unknowen) to have bene in the matter.

The second part touching the conspiracie of Pemisapan, the discovery of the same, and at the last, of our request to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.

ENSENORE a Savage father to Pemisapan being the onely friend to our nation that we had amongst them, and about the King, died the 20. of April 1586. He alone had before opposed himselfe in their consultations against all matters proposed against us, which both the King and all the rest of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to have preferred. And he was not onely by the meere providence of God during his life, a meane to save us from hurt, as poysonings and such like, but also to doe us very great good, and singularly in this.

The King was advised and of himselfe disposed, as a ready meane to have assuredly brought us to ruine in the moneth of March 1586. himselfe also with all his Savages to have runne away from us, and to have left his ground in the Iland unsowed: which if hee had done, there had bene no possibilitie in common reason, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee coulde have bene preserved from starving out of hande. For at that time wee had no weares for fish, neither coulde our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Corne for seede to put into the ground.

In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a brute among themselves, that I and my company were part slaine, and part starved by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starved, but the other false.

Neverthelesse untill my returne it tooke such effect in Pemisapans breast, and in those against us, that they grew not onely into contempt of us, but also (contrary to their former reverend opinion in shew, of the Almighty God of heaven, and Jesus Christ whom wee serve and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the only God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God, since hee suffered us to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name

all the inhabitants of the whole maine, of what province soever. Insomuch as olde Ensenore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his sake have no more credite for us: and it came so farre that the king was resolved to have presently gone away as is aforesaid.

But even in the beginning of this brute I returned, which when hee sawe contrary to his expectation, and the advertisement that hee had received: that not onely my selfe, and my company were all safe, but also by report of his owne 3. Savages which had bene with mee besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say, Tetepano, his sisters husband Eracano, and Cossine, that the Chanoists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude besides their valour is terrible to all the rest of the provinces) durst not for the most part of them abide us, and that those that did abide us were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his sonne that he best loved to Roanoak with mee, it did not a little asswage all devises against us: on the other side, it made Ensenores opinions to bee received againe with greater respects. For he had often before tolde them, and then renewed those his former speches, both to the king and the rest, that wee were the servants of God, and that wee were not subject to bee destroyed by them: but contrarywise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, should finde their owne, and not bee able to worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being alive: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their old men, as also, that they have bene in the night, being 100. miles from any of us, in the aire shot at, and stroken by some men of ours, that by sicknesse had died among them: and many of them holde opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe.

All these speches then againe grewe in ful credite with them, the King, and all, touching us, when hee sawe the small troupe returned again, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible unto them: But that which made up the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the rest was) the good providence of the Almightye for the saving of us, which was this.

Within certaine dayes after my returne from the sayd journey, Menatonon sent a messenger to visite his sonne the prisoner with me, and sent me certaine pearle for a present, or rather, as Pemisapan tolde mee, for the ransome of his sonne, and therefore I refused them: but the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signifie unto mee, that hee had commaunded Okisko King of Weopomiok, to yeelde himselfe servant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh: to perfourme which commandement received from Menatonon, the sayde Okisko joyntly with this Menatonons messenger sent foure and twentie of his principallest men to Roanoak to Pemisapan, to signifie that they were ready to perfourme the same, and so had sent those his men to let mee knowe that from that time forwarde, hee, and his successours were to acknowledge her Majestie their onely Sovereaigne, and next unto her, as is aforesayd.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his Savages in counsell then with him, it did for the time thorowly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward us: Insomuch as foorthwith Ensenore wanne this resolution of him, that out of hand he should goe about, and withall, to cause his men to set up weares foorthwith for us: both which he at that present went in hande withall, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantitie of ground, so much as had bene sufficient, to have fed our whole company (God blessing the growth) and that by the belly, for a whole yere: besides that he gave us a certaine plot of ground for our selves to sowe. All which put us in marveilous comfort, if we could passe from Aprill untill the beginning of July, (which was to have bene the beginning of their harvest,) that then a newe supply out of England or els our owne store would well ynough maintaine us: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, in which meane space if the Savages should not helpe us with Cassavi, and Chyna, and that our weares should faile us, (as often they did,) we might very well starve, notwithstanding the growing corne, like the starving horse in the stable, with the growing grasse, as the proverbe is: which wee very hardly had escaped but onely by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try us. For

within few dayes after, as before is saide, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but certaine of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese most principally, were in hand againe to put their old practises in ure against us, which were readily imbraced, and all their former devises against us, renewed, and new brought in question. But that of starving us, by their forbearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by having made the King all at one instant to sow his ground, not onely in the Iland, but also at Dasamonquepeio in the maine, within two leagues over against us. Neverthelesse there wanted no store of mischievous practises among them, and of all they resolved principally of this following.

First that Okisko king of Weopomeiok with the Mandoages should bee mooved, and with great quantitie of copper intertained to the number of 7. or 8. hundreth bowes, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok should be invited to a certaine kind of moneths minde which they doe use to solemnise in their Savage maner for any great personage dead, and should have bene for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesepians & their friends to the number of 700. of them, be armed at a day appointed to the maine of Dasamonquepeio, and there lying close at the signe of fiers, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troupe above named should have executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the maine forces of the rest should have come over into the Iland, where they ment to have dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to finde both dismayed and dispersed abroad in the Island, seeking of crabs and fish to live withall. The maner of their enterprise was this.

Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about Pemisapan, and very lustie fellowes, with twentie more appointed to them had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they ment should in this sort have been executed. In the dead time of the night they would have beset my house, and put fire in the reedes that the same was covered with: meaning (as it was likely) that my selfe would have come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without armes, upon

the instant whereof they would have knocked out my braines.

The same order was given to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Heriots: so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is saide, and that as well for them of the fort, as for us at the towne. Now to the ende that we might be the fewer in number together, and so bee the more easily dealt withall (for in deed tenne of us with our armes prepared, were a terrour to a hundred of the best sort of them,) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practise, that they should not for any copper sell us any victuals whatsoever: besides that in the night they should sende to have our weares robbed, and also to cause them to bee broken, and once being broken never to be repaired againe by them. By this meanes the King stood assured, that I must bee enforced for lacke of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to live upon shell fish, for so the Savages themselves doe, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corne growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreeme among us, or weares failing us of fish, that I was enforced to sende Captaine Stafford with 20. with him to Croatoan my Lord Admirals Iland to serve two turnes in one, that is to say, to feede himselfe and his company, and also to keepe watch if any shipping came upon the coast to warne us of the same. I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnesse to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the Provost Marshal to live there, and also to wait for shipping: also I sent every weeke 16. or 20. of the rest of the company to the maine over against us, to live of Casada and oysters.

In the meane while Pemisapan went of purpose to Dasamonquepio for three causes: The one to see his grounds there broken up, and sowed for a second crop: the other to withdrawe himselfe from my dayly sending to him for supply of victuall for my company, for hee was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durst hee in my presence but by colour and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reason, to give him the jumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had ever done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to have relied my selfe with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in trueth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there had given many tokens of earnest desire they had to joyne in perfect league with us, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeiok for making him beleeve such tales of us.

The third cause of this going to Dasamonquepeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomeiok, and to the Mandoages as aforesaid: all which he did with great imprest of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoile.

The answer within few dayes after came from Weopomeiok, which was devided into two parts. First for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the partie for himselfe, or any of his especiall followers, and therefore did immediatly retire himselfe with his force into the maine: the other was concerning the rest of the said province who accepted of it: and in like sort the Mandoags received the imprest.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10. of June: all which the premises were discovered by Skyco, the King Menatonon his sonne my prisoner, who having once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatning to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapans request: whereupon hee being perswaded that hee was our enemie to the death, he did not onely feed him with himselfe, but also made him acquainted with all his practises. On the other side, the yong man finding himselfe as well used at my hande, as I had meanes to shew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discovered al unto me, which also afterwards was reveiled unto me by one of Pemisapans owne men, that night before he was slaine.

These mischiefes being all instantly upon me and my company to be put in execution, it stood mee in hand to study how to prevent them, and also to save all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so farre from me: whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspition out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arrivall of our fleete, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for so good adventure,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his

men to fish for my company, & to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some foure dayes provision to serve for my voyage.

He sent me word that he would himselfe come over to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred, onely to bring the Weopomeioks with him & the Mandoags, whose time appointed was within eight dayes after. It was the last of May 1586 when all his owne Savages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his commandement sent abroad unto them, and I resolved not to stay longer upon his comming over, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolved to do the next day : but that night I meant by the way to give them in the Island a canvisado, and at the instant to seize upon all the canoas about the Island, to keepe him from advertisements.

But the towne tooke the alarme before I meant it to them: the occasion was this. I had sent the Master of the light horseman, with a few with him, to gather up all the canoas in the setting of the Sun, & to take as many as were going from us to Dasamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a Canoa going from the shore, and overthrew the Canoa, and cut off two Savages heads: this was not done so secretly but he was discovered from the shore; wherupon the cry arose: for in trueth they, privy to their owne villanous purposes against us, held as good espiall upon us, both day and night, as we did upon them.

The allarme given, they tooke themselves to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slaine with our shot: the rest fled into the woods. The next morning with the light horseman & one Canoa taking 25 with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Sergeant major, I went to Dasamonquepeio: and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne Savages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complaine unto him of Osocon, who the night past was conveying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlocke. Heereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding my selfe amidst seven or eight of his principall Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gave the watch-

word agreed upon, (which was, Christ our victory) and immediatly those his chiefe men and himselfe had by the mercy of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us. The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll, lying on the ground for dead, & I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started up, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he overran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronell. In the end an Irish man serving me, one Nugent, and the deputy provost, undertooke him; and following him in the woods, overtooke him: and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king & my man by our owne negligence to have beene intercepted by the Savages, wee met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand.

This fell out the first of June 1586, and the eight of the same came advertisement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Island, that he had discovered a great fleet of three and twenty sailes: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discerne. He advised me to stand upon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the sayd moneth he himselfe came unto me, having that night before, & that same day travelled by land twenty miles: and I must truly report of him from the first to the last; hee was the gentleman that never spared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to performe any service committed unto him.

He brought me a letter from the Generall Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountifull and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action wee were entred into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnesses, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned, and furnished to my contentation.

The tenth day he arrived in the road of our bad harborow: and comming there to an anker, the eleventh day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to performe that which in writing and message he had most curteously offered, he having aforehand propounded

the matter to all the captaines of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks unto him and his captaines for his care both of us and of our action, not as the matter deserved, but as I could both for my company and my selfe, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craved at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weake and unfit men for my good action, which I would deliver to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oare-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leave us so much shipping and victuall, as about August then next following would cary me and all my company into England, when we had discovered somewhat, that for lacke of needfull provision in time left with us as yet remained undone.

That it would please him withall to leave some sufficient Masters not onely to cary us into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harborow, if there were any, and especially to helpe us to some small boats and oare-men.

Also for a supply of calievers, hand weapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and such like.

He having received these my requests, according to his usuall commendable maner of government (as it was told me) calling his captaines to counsell; the resolution was that I should send such of my officers of my company as I used in such matters, with their notes, to goe aboard with him; which were the Master of the victuals, The Keeper of the store, and the Vicetreasurer: to whom he appointed forthwith for me The Francis, being a very proper barke of 70 tun, and tooke present order for bringing of victual aboard her for 100 men for foure moneths, with all my other demands whatsoever, to the uttermost.

And further, he appointed for me two pinnesses, and foure small boats: and that which was to performe all his former liberality towards us, was that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient experimented Masters as were any in his fleet, by judgement of them that knew them, with very sufficient gings to tary with me, and to imploy themselves most earnestly in the action, as I should appoint them, untill the terme which I promised of our returne into England againe. The

names of one of those Masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While these things were in hand, the provision aforesayd being brought, and in bringing aboard, my sayd Masters being also gone aboard, my sayd barks having accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the sayd Generall the 12 of the sayde moneth) the 13 of the same there arose such an unwoonted storme, and continued foure dayes, that had like to have driven all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand over them, and the Generall very providently fore-seene the woorst himselfe, then about my dispatch putting himselfe aboard: but in the end having driven sundry of the fleet to put to Sea the Francis also with all my provisions, my two Masters, and my company aboard, she was seene to be free from the same, and to put cleere to Sea.

This storme having continued from the 13 to the 16 of the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforesayd, the Generall comming ashore made a new proffer unto me; which was a ship of 170 tunne, called The Barke Bonner, with a sufficient Master and guide to tary with me the time appointed, and victualled sufficiently to cary me and my company into England, with all provisions as before: but he tolde me that he would not for any thing undertake to have her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leave her in the road, and to leave the care of the rest unto my selfe, and advised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliver presently unto him in writing what I would require him to doe for us: which being within his power, he did assure me aswell for his Captaines as for himselfe, should be most willingly performed.

Heereupon calling such Captaines and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as privy as my selfe to the Generals offer: their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weaknesse of our company, the small number of the same, the carying away of our first appointed barke, with those two especiall Masters, with our principall provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take us from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honourable of his

part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbour: seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Greenville, so undoubtedly promised us before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this yeere, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolve my selfe with my company to goe into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the Generall in all our names, that he would be pleased to give us present passage with him. Which request of ours by my selfe delivered unto him, hee most readily assented unto: and so he sending immediatly his pinnesses unto our Island for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, & the pinnesses so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with all our Cards, Books and writings were by the Sailers cast overboard, the greater number of the fleet being much agrieved with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankers (having bestowed us among his fleet) for the reliefe of whom hee had in that storme sustained more perill of wracke then in all his former most honourable actions against the Spanyards, with praises unto God for all, set saile the nineteenth of June 1586, and arrived in Portsmouth the seven and twentieth of July the same yeere.

The third voyage made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586, to the reliefe of the Colony planted in Virginia, at the sole charges of Sir Walter Raleigh.

In the yeere of our Lord 1586 Sir Walter Raleigh at his owne charge prepared a ship of an hundred tunne, freighted with all maner of things in most plentifull maner, for the supply and reliefe of his Colony then remaining in Virginia: but before they set saile from England it was after Easter, so that our Colony halfe despaired of the comming of any supply: wherefore every man prepared for himselfe, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life time in that countrey. And for the better performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessary for their reliefe in so plentifull a maner as

might have sufficed them two yeeres without any further labour. Thus trusting to their owne harvest, they passed the Summer till the tenth of June: at which time their corne which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping: but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his prosperous returne from the sacking of Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine, determined in his way homeward to visit his countrey men the English Colony then remaining in Virginia. So passing along the coasts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our English Colony inhabited: and having espied some of that company, there he ankered and went aland, where hee conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had past with them. They answered him that they lived all; but hitherto in some scarcity: and as yet could heare of no supply out of England: therefore they requested him that hee would leave with them some two or three ships, that if in some reasonable time they heard not out of England, they might then returne themselves. Which hee agreed to. Whilest some were then writing their letters to send into England, and some others making reports of the accidents of their travels ech to other, some on land, some on board, a great storme arose, and drove the most of their fleet from their ankers to Sea, in which ships at that instant were the chiefest of the English Colony: the rest on land perceiving this, hasted to those three sailes which were appointed to be left there; and for feare they should be left behinde they left all things confusedly, as if they had bene chased from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that countrey.

Immediately after the departing of our English Colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship abovementioned sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh and his direction, arrived at Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking our Colony up in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesayd provision into England.

About foureteene or fifteene dayes after the departure of the aforesayd shippe, Sir Richard Grinvile Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three shippes well appointed for the same voyage, arrived there; who not finding the

aforesayd shippe according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of our English Colony there seated, and left by him anno 1585, himselfe travelling up into divers places of the countrey, aswell to see if he could heare any newes of the Colony left there by him the yeere before, under the charge of Master Lane his deputy, as also to discover some places of the countrey: but after some time spent therein, not hearing any newes of them, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to loose the possession of the countrey which Englishmen had so long held: after good deliberation, hee determined to leave some men behinde to reteine possession of the Countrey: whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all maner of provision for two yeeres, and so departed for England.

Not long after he fell with the Isles of Açores, on some of which Islands he landed, and spoiled the townes of all such things as were woorth cariage, where also he tooke divers Spanyards. With these and many other exploits done by him in this voyage, aswell outward as homeward, he returned into England.

A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the commodities there found, and to be raised, aswell merchantable as others: Written by Thomas Heriot, servant to Sir Walter Raleigh, a member of the Colony, and there employed in discovering a full twelvemoneth.

Rafe Lane one of her Majesties Esquiers, and Governour of the Colony in Virginia, above mentioned, for the time there resident, to the gentle Reader wisheth all happinesse in the Lord.

ALBEIT (gentle Reader) the credit of the reports in this Treatise contained can little be furthered by the testimony of one as my selfe, through affection judged partiall, though without desert: neverthesse, forsomuch as I have bene requested by some my particular friends, who conceive more rightly of me, to deliver freely my knowledge of the same, not onely for the satisfying of them, but also for the true information of any other whosoever, that comes not with a prejudicate minde to the reading thereof: thus much upon my credit I am to affirme, that

things universally are so truly set downe in this Treatise by the authour thereof, an actor in the Colony; and a man no lesse for his honesty then learning commendable, as that I dare boldly avouch, it may very well passe with the credit of truth even amongst the most true relations of this age. Which as for mine owne part I am ready any way with my word to acknowledge, so also (of the certaintie thereof assured by mine owne experience) with this my publique assertion I doe affirme the same. Farewell in the Lord.

To the Adventurers, Favourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia.

SINCE the first undertaking by Sir Walter Raleigh to deale in the action of discovering of that countrey which is now called and knowne by the name of Virginia, many voyages having bene thither made at sundry times to his great charge; as first in the yere 1584, and afterwards in the yeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this last yeere 1587: there have bene divers and variable reports, with some slanderous and shamefull speeches bruted abroad by many that returned from thence: especially of that discovery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Grinvile in the yere 1585, being of all others the most principall, and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yere, when as in the other voyage before they stayed but sixe weeks, and the others after were onely for supply and transportation, nothing more being discovered then had bene before. Which reports have not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would have also favoured and adventured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, besides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themselves the dealers therein, as I hope by the sequel of events, to the shame of those that have avouched the contrary, shall be manifest, if you the adventurers, favourers and welwillers doe but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or having bene doubtfull, renew your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the woorthinesse thereof already found, and as you shall understand hereafter to be requisit. Touching which woorthinesse through cause of the diversity of relations and reports, many of your

opinions could not be firme, nor the minds of some that are well disposed be settled in any certaintie.

I have therefore thought it good, being one that have bene in the discoverie, and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants specially employed: and having therefore seene and knowen more then the ordinary, to impart so much unto you of the fruits of our labours, as that you may know how injuriously the enterprise is slandered, and that in publique maner at this present, chiefly for two respects.

First, that some of you which are yet ignorant or doubtfull of the state thereof, may see that there is sufficient cause why the chiefe enterpriser with the favour of her Majesty, notwithstanding such reports, hath not onely since continued the action by sending into the countrey againe, and replanting this last yeere a new Colony, but is also ready, according as the times and meanes will afford, to follow and prosecute the same.

Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and thereupon consider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may returne you profit and gaine, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwise in furthering thereof.

And least that the substance of my relation should be doubtfull unto you, as of others by reason of their diversitie, I will first open the cause in a few words, wherefore they are so different, referring my selfe to your favourable constructions, and to be adjudged of, as by good consideration you shall finde cause.

Of our company that returned, some for their misdemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey have bene there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures, have maliciously not onely spoken ill of their Governours, but for their sakes slandered the countrey it selfe. The like also have those done which were of their consort.

Some being ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their returne amongst their friends & acquaintance, and also others, especially if they were in company where they might not be gainsayd, would seeme to know so much as no men more, and make no men so great travellers as themselves. They stood so much, as it may seeme, upon their credit and reputation, that

having bene a twelvemoneth in the countrey, it would have bene a great disgrace unto them, as they thought, if they could not have sayd much, whether it were true or false. Of which some have spoken of more then ever they saw, or otherwise knew to be there. Other some have not bene ashamed to make absolute deniall of that, which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully known, & other some make difficulties of those things they have no skill of.

The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were never out of the Island where we were seated, or not farre, or at the least wise in few places els, during the time of our abode in the country: or of that many, that after gold & silver was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies: or of that many which had litle understanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requisite.

Some also were of a nice bringing up, only in cities or townes, or such as never (as I may say) had seene the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their old accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of downe or feathers, the countrey was to them miserable, and their reports thereof according.

Because my purpose was but in brieft to open the cause of the variety of such speeches, the particularities of them, and of many envious, malicious, and slanderous reports and devices els, by our owne countrey men besides, as trifles that are not worthy of wise men to be thought upon, I meane not to trouble you withall, but will passe to the commodities, the substance of that which I have to make relation of unto you.

The Treatise whereof, for your more ready view and easier understanding, I will divide into three speciall parts. In the first I will make declaration of such commodities there already found or to be raised, which will not onely serve the ordinary turnes of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants, but such an overplus sufficiently to be yeilded, or by men of skill to be provided, as by way of traffique and exchange with our owne nation of England, will enrich your selves the providers: those that shall deal with you, the enter-

prisers in generall, and greatly profit our owne countrey-men, to supply them with most things which heretofore they have bene faine to provide either of strangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for distinction sake, I call Merchantable.

In the second I will set downe all the commodities which we know the countrey by our experience doth yeeld of it selfe for victuall and sustenance of mans life, such as are usually fed upon by the inhabitants of the countrey, as also by us during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of such other commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall thinke behoovefull for those that shall inhabit, and plant there, to know of, which specially concerne building, as also some other necessary uses: with a briefe description of the nature and maners of the people of the countrey.

The first part of Merchantable commodities.

SILKE of grasse, or Grasse silke. There is a kind of grasse in the country, upon the blades whereof there groweth very good silke in forme of a thin glittering skin to be stript off. It groweth two foot & an halfe high or better: the blades are about two foot in length, and halfe an inch broad. The like groweth in Persia, which is in the selfe same climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke works that come from thence into Europe are made. Hereof if it be planted and ordered as in Persia, it cannot in reason be otherwise, but that there will rise in short time great profit to the dealers therein, seeing there is so great use and vent thereof aswel in our countrey as elsewhere. And by the meanes of sowing and planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentifull then it is. Although notwithstanding there is great store thereof in many places of the countrey growing naturally and wild, which also by prooffe here in England, in making a piece of Silke grogran, we found to be excellent good.

Worme silke. In many of our journeys we found Silke-wormes faire and great, as bigge as our ordinary Walnuts. Although it hath not bene our hap to have found such plenty, as elswhere to be in the countrey we have heard of, yet seeing that the countrey doth naturally breed and nourish them, there is no doubt but if arte

be added in planting of Mulberie trees, and others, fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding & nourishing, and some of them carefully gathered & husbanded in that sort, as by men of skil is knowen to be necessary: there wil rise as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Persians, Turks, Italians and Spanyards.

Flaxe and Hemepe. The trueth is, that of Hemepe and Flaxe there is no great store in any one place together, by reason it is not planted but as the soile doth yeeld of it selfe: and howsoever the leafe and stemme or stalke do differ from ours, the stuffe by judgement of men of skill is altogether as good as ours: and if not, as further prooffe should finde otherwise, we have that experience of the soile, as that there cannot be shewed any reason to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yeelded plentifully, seeing there is so much ground whereof some may well be applied to such purposes. What benefit heereof may grow in cordage and linnens who cannot easily understand?

Allum. There is a veine of earth along the sea coast for the space of forty or fifty miles, whereof by the judgement of some that have made triall here in England, is made good Allum, of that kind which is called Roch allum. The richnesse of such a commodity is so well knowen, that I need not to say any thing thereof. The same earth doth also yeeld White coprasse, Nitrum, and Alumen plumeum, but nothing so plentifully as the common Allum, which be also of price, and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth so called by the naturall inhabitants, very like to Terra sigillata, and having bene refined, it hath bene found by some of our Physicians and Chyrurgians, to be of the same kind of vertue, and more effectuall. The inhabitants use it very much for the cure of sores and wounds: there is in divers places great plenty, and in some places of a blew sort.

Pitch, Tarre, Rozen and Turpentine. There are those kinds of trees which yeeld them abundantly and great store. In the very same Island where we were seated, being fiteene miles of length, and five or sixe miles in breadth, there are few trees els but of the same kinde, the whole Island being full.

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most

rare vertues in physicke for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to be far better and of more uses then the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitæ. For the description, the maner of using, and the manifold vertues therof, I refer you to the booke of Monardes, translated and entituled in English, The joyfull newes from the West Indies.

Cedar. A very sweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if nests of chests be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweet and fine bedsteds, tables, desks, lutes, virginals, and many things els, (of which there hath bene prooffe made already) to make up freight with other principall commodities, will yeeld profit.

Wine. There are two kindes of grapes that the soile doth yeeld naturally, the one is small and sowre, of the ordinary bignesse as ours in England, the other farre greater and of himselfe lushious sweet. When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a principall commodity of wines by them may be raised.

Oile. There are two sorts of Walnuts, both holding oile; but the one farre more plentifull then the other. When there are mills and other devices for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised, because there are infinite store. There are also three severall kindes of berries in the forme of Oke-akornes, which also by the experience and use of the inhabitants, we find to yeeld very good and sweet oile. Furthermore, the beares of the countrey are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatnesse, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oile, and hath many speciall uses.

Furres. All along the Sea coast there are great store of Otters, which being taken by weares and other engines made for the purpose, wil yeeld good profit. We hope also of Marterne furres, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the countrey there are store, although there were but two skinned that came to our hands. Luzernes also we have understanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deers skinned dressed after the maner of Chamoes, or undressed, are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thousands yerely by way of traffike for trifles, and no more waste or spoile of Deere then is and hath bene ordinarily in time before.

Civet-cats. In our travels there was found one to have

bin killed by a Savage or inhabitant, & in another place the smel where one or more had lately bene before, whereby we gather, besides then by the relation of the people, that there are some in the country: good profit will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the countrey specially, one about fourescore, & the other six score miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found nere the water side the ground to be rocky, which by the triall of a Minerall man was found to holde iron richly. It is found in many places of the country els: I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labour & feeding of men, the infinite store of wood, the want of wood & deerensse thereof in England, and the necessity of ballasting of ships.

Copper. An hundred and fifty miles into the maine in two townes we found with the inhabitants divers small plates of Copper, that had bene made as we understood by the inhabitants that dwell further into the country, where as they say are mountaines and rivers that yeeld also white graines of mettall, which is to be deemed Silver. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our first arrivall in the countrey, I saw, with some others with me, two small pieces of Silver grosly beaten, about the weight of a testron, hanging in the eares of a Wiroans or chiefe lord that dwelt about fourescore miles from us: of whom through inquiry, by the number of dayes and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the same place or neere, where I after understood the Copper was made, and the white graines of metall found. The aforesayd Copper we also found by triall to holde Silver.

Pearle. Sometimes in feeding on Muscles we found some Pearle: but it was our happe to meet with ragges, or of a pide colour: not having yet discovered those places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from among the Savage people about five thousand: of which number he chose so many as made a faire chaine, which for their likenesse and uniformity in roundnesse, orientnesse, and pidenesse of many excellent colours, with equality in greatnesse, were very faire and rare: and had therefore bene presented to her Majesty, had we not by casualty, and through extremity of a storme

lost them, with many things els in comming away from the country.

Sweet gummes of divers kinds, and many other Apothecary drugges, of which we will make speciall mention, when we shall receive it from such men of skill in that kinde, that in taking reasonable paines shal discover them more particularly then we have done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had provided and gathered, and are now lost, with other things by casualty before mentioned.

Dies of divers kinds: There is Shoemake well knownen, and used in England for blacke: the seed of an herbe called Wasebur, little small roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge: which dies are for divers sorts of red: their goodnesse for our English clothes remaine yet to be proved. The inhabitants use them only for the dying of haire; and colouring of their faces, and mantles made of Deere skines: and also for the dying of rushes to make artificiall works withall in their mats and baskets: having no other thing besides that they account of, apt to use them for. If they will not proove merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there shall finde apt uses for them, as also for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad: a thing of so great vent and uses amongst English Diers, which can not be yeilded sufficiently in our owne country for spare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not to be doubted, when as in the Islands of the Açores it groweth plentifully, which are in the same climate. So likewise of Madder.

We caried thither Suger-canes to plant, which being not so well preserved as was requisite, and besides the time of the yeere being past for their setting when we arrived, we could not make that prooffe of them as we desired. Notwithstanding, seeing that they grow in the same climate, in the South part of Spaine, and in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue. So likewise for Orenge and Limmons. There may be planted also Quinses. Whereby may grow in reasonable time, if the action be diligently prosecuted, no small commodities in Sugars, Suckets, and Marmelades.

Many other commodities by planting may there also

be raised, which I leave to your discreet and gentle considerations: and many also may be there, which yet we have not discovered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certainty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raised and in short time to be provided, and prepared, I might have specified. So likewise of those commodities already set downe I might have sayd more: as of the particular places where they are found, and best to be planted and prepared: by what meanes, and in what reasonable space of time they might be raised to profit, and in what proportion: but because others then welwillers might be there withall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I have wittingly omitted them: knowing that to those that are well disposed, I have uttered, according to my promise and purpose, for this part sufficient.

The second part of such commodities as Virginia is knowen to yeeld for victuall and sustenance of mans life, usually fed upon by the naturall inhabitants; as also by us, during the time of our abode: and first of such as are sowed and husbanded.

PAGATOWR, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants: the same in the West Indies is called Mayz: English men call it Guiny-wheat or Turkey-wheat, according to the names of the countreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze, and not much different in forme and shape: but of divers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeeld a very white and sweet flowre: being used according to his kinde, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the same in the countrey some Mault, whereof was brewed as good Ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the helpe of Hops, therof may be made as good Beere. It is a graine of marvellous great increase: of a thousand, fiftene hundred, and some two thousand folde. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in eleven & twelve weeks at the most, sometimes in tenne, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalke about sixe or seven foot. The other sort is ripe in foureteene, and is about tenne foot high, of the stalks some beare foure heads, some three, some one, and some two: every head containing five, sixe, or seven hundred

graines, within a few more or lesse. Of these graines, besides bread, the inhabitants make victuall, either by parching them, or seething them whole untill they be broken: or boiling the flowre with water into a pap.

Okindgier, called by us Beanes, because in greatnesse and partly in shape they are like to the beanes in England, saving that they are flatter, of more divers colours, and some pide. The leafe also of the stemme is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peaze.

Wickonzowr, called by us Peaze, in respect of the Beanes, for distinction sake, because they are much lesse, although in forme they litle differ: but in goodnesse of taste much like, and are far better then our English Peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in ten weeks after they are set. They make them victuall either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole untill they be soft, and beginne to breake, as is used in England, either by themselves, or mixtly together: sometime they mingle of the Wheat with them: sometime also, being whole sodden, they bruse or punne them in a mortar, and therof make loaves or lumps of doughish bread, which they use to eat for variety.

Macoquer, according to their several formes, called by us Pompions, Melons, and Gourds, because they are of the like formes as those kinds in England. In Virginia such of severall formes are of one taste, and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are of two sorts: one is ripe in the space of a moneth, and the other in two moneths.

There is an herbe which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of those that I describe it unto take it to be a kinde of Orage: it groweth about foure or five foot high: of the seed thereof they make a thicke broth, and pottage of a very good taste: of the stalke by burning into ashes they make a kinde of salt earth, wherewithall many use sometimes to season their broths: other salt they know not. We our selves used the leaves also for pot-herbs.

There is also another great herbe, in forme of a Mari-golde, about sixe foot in height, the head with the floure is a spanne in breadth. Some take it to be *Planta Solis*: of the seeds hereof they make both a kinde of bread and broth.

All the aforesayd commodities for victuall are set or sowed, sometimes in grounds apart and severally by themselves, but for the most part together in one ground mixtly: the maner thereof, with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will note unto you the fertility of the soile, I thinke good briefly to describe.

The ground they never fatten with mucke, dung, or any other thing, neither plow nor digge it as we in England, but onely prepare it in sort as followeth. A few dayes before they sowe or set, the men with wooden instruments made almost in forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles: the women with short peckers or parers, because they use them sitting, of a foot long, and about five inches in breadth, doe onely breake the upper part of the ground to raise up the weeds, grasse, and olde stubbes of corne stalks with their roots. The which after a day or two dayes drying in the Sunne, being scrapt up into many small heaps, to save them labour for carying them away, they burne into ashes. And whereas some may thinke that they use the ashes for to better the ground, I say that then they would either disperse the ashes abroad, which wee observed they do not, except the heaps be too great, or els would take speciall care to set their corne where the ashes lie, which also wee finde they are carelesse of. And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they use.

Then their setting or sowing is after this maner. First for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines, with care that they touch not one another (about an inch asunder) & cover them with the molde againe: and so thorowout the whole plot making such holes, and using them after such maner, but with this regard, that they be made in ranks, every ranke differing from other halfe a fadome or a yard, and the holes also in every ranke as much. By this meanes there is a yard spare ground betweene every hole: where according to discretion here and there, they set as many Beanes and Peaze; in divers places also among the seeds of Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis.

The ground being thus set according to the rate by us experimented, an English acre containing forty pearches in length, and foure in breadth, doth there yeeld in crophe or ofcome of corne, Beanes and Peaze,

at the least two hundred London bushels, besides the Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis; when as in England forty bushels of our Wheat yeilded out of such an acre is thought to be much.

I thought also good to note this unto you, that you which shall inhabit, and plant there, may know how specially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: besides, the manifold wayes in applying it to victual, the increase is so much, that small labor & paines is needful in respect of that which must be used for ours. For this I can assure you that according to the rate we have made prooffe of, one man may prepare and husband so much ground (having once borne corne before) with lesse then foure and twenty houres labour, as shall yeeld him victual in a large proportion for a twelvemoneth, if he have nothing els but that which the same ground will yeeld, and of that kinde onely which I have before spoken of: the sayd ground being also but of five and twenty yards square. And if need require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the selvesame ground two harvests or ofcomes: for they sow or set, and may at any time when they thinke good, from the midst of March untill the end of June: so that they also set when they have eaten of their first croppe. In some places of the countrey notwithstanding they have two harvests, as we have heard, out of one and the same ground.

For English corne neverthelesse, whether to use or not to use it, you that inhabit may doe as you shall have further cause to thinke best. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for Barley, Oats, and Peaze, we have seene prooffe of, not being purposely sowed, but fallen casually in the woorst sort of ground, and yet to be as faire as any we have ever seene heere in England. But of Wheat, because it was musty, and had taken salt water, we could make no triall: and of Rie we had none. Thus much have I digressed, and I hope not unnecessarily: now will I returne againe to my course, and intreat of that which yet remaineth, appertaining to this chapter.

There is an herbe which is sowed apart by it selfe, and is called by the inhabitants Uppowoc: in the West Indies it hath divers names, according to the severall places and countreys where it groweth and is used: the

Spaniards generally call it Tabacco. The leaves thereof being dried and brought into powder, they use to take the fume or smoake thereof, by sucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and head; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body: by which meanes the use thereof not onely preserveth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they have not bene of too long continuance) in short time breaketh them: whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many grievous diseases, wherewithall we in England are often times afflicted.

This Uppowoc is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are marvellously delighted therewith: whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storme upon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some up into the aire and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set up, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding up of hands, and staring up into the heavens, uttering therewithall, and chattering strange words and noises.

We our selves, during the time we were there, used to sucke it after their maner, as also since our returne, and have found many rare and woonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by it selfe: the use of it by so many of late men and women of great calling, as els, and some learned Physicians also, is sufficient witness.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life, that I know and can remember, they use to husband: all els that follow, are found growing naturally or wilde.

Of Roots.

OPENAUKE are a kinde of roots of round forme, some of the bignesse of Walnuts, some farre greater, which are found in moist and marish grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat. Monardes calleth these roots, Beads or Pater nostri of Santa Helena.

Okeepenauk are also of round shape, found in dry grounds: some are of the bignesse of a mans head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground: for by reason of their drinesse they will neither rost nor seethe. Their taste is not so good as of the former roots: notwithstanding for want of bread, and sometimes for variety the inhabitants use to eat them with fish or flesh, and in my judgement they do as well as the housholde bread made of Rie here in England.

Kaishucpenauk, a white kinde of roots about the bignesse of hennes egges, and neere of that forme: their taste was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and therefore their place and maner of growing not so much cared for by us: the inhabitants notwithstanding used to boile and eat many.

Tsinaw, a kind of root much like unto that which in England is called the China root brought from the East Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the same kinde. These roots grow many together in great clusters, and do bring foorth a brier stalke, but the leafe in shape farre unlike: which being supported by the trees it groweth neerest unto, will reach or climbe to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh, being chopt into small pieces, and stampt, is strained with water a juice that maketh bread, and also being boiled, a very good spoonmeat in maner of a gelly, and is much better in taste, if it be tempered with oile. This Tsinaw is not of that sort, which by some was caused to be brought into England for the China root; for it was discovered since, and is in use as is aforesayd: but that which was brought hither is not yet knowen, neither by us nor by the inhabitants to serve for any use or purpose, although the roots in shape are very like.

Coscushaw some of our company tooke to be that kinde of root which the Spanyards in the West Indies call Cassavy, whereupon also many called it by that name: it groweth in very muddy pooles, and moist grounds. Being dressed according to the countrey maner, it maketh a good bread, and also a good spoonmeat, and is used very much by the inhabitants. The juice of this root is poison, & therefore heed must be taken before any thing be made therewithall: either the roots must be first sliced and dried in the Sunne, or by the

fire, and then being punned into floure, will make good bread: or els while they are greene they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and stamp: loaves of the same to be layd nere or over the fire untill it be sowre; and then being well punned againe, bread or spoonmeat very good in taste and holesome may be made thereof.

Habascon is a root of hote taste, almost of the forme and bignesse of a Parsnip: of it selfe it is no victuall, but only a helpe, being boiled together with other meats.

There are also Leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the countrey; of which, when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the naturall inhabitants never.

Of Fruits.

CHESTNUTS there are in divers places great store: some they use to eat raw, some they stampe and boile to make spoonmeat, and with some being sodden, they make such a maner of dough bread as they use of their beanes before mentioned.

Walnuts. There are two kinds of Walnuts, and of them infinite store: in many places, where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are Walnut trees. The one kinde is of the same taste and forme, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker shelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard shell: but the kernel great, very oily and sweet. Besides their eating of them after our ordinary maner, they breake them with stones, and punne them in morters with water, to make a milke which they use to put into some sorts of their spoonmeat: also among their sodde wheat, peaze, beanes and pompions, which maketh them have a farre more pleasant taste.

Medlars, a kinde of very good fruit: so called by us chiefly for these respects: first in that they are not good untill they be rotten, then in that they open at the head as our Medlars, and are about the same bignesse: otherwise in taste and colour they are farre different; for they are as red as cherries, and very sweet: but whereas the chery is sharpe sweet, they are lushious sweet.

Mutaquesunnauk, a kinde of pleasant fruit almost of

the shape and bignesse of English peares, but that they are of a perfect red colour aswell within as without. They grow on a plant whose leaves are very thicke, and full of prickles as sharpe as needles. Some that have bene in the Indies, where they have seene that kind of red die of great price, which is called Cochinile, to grow, doe describe his plant right like unto this of Metaquesunauk; but whether it be the true Cochinile, or a bastard or wilde kinde, it cannot yet be certified, seeing that also, as I heard, Cochinile is not of the fruit, but found on the leaves of the plant: which leaves for such matter we have not so specially observed.

Grapes there are of two sorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberies there are as good and as great as those which we have in our English gardens.

Mulberies, Applecrabs, Hurts or Hurtleberies, such as we have in England.

Sacquenumener, a kinde of berries almost like unto Capers, but somewhat greater, which grow together in clusters upon a plant or hearbe that is found in shallow waters: being boiled eight or nine houres according to their kinde, are very good meat and wholesome; otherwise if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantike or extremely sicke.

There is a kinde of Reed which beareth a seed almost like unto our Rie or Wheat; and being boiled is good meat.

In our travels in some places we found Wilde peaze like unto ours in England, but that they were lesse, which are also good meat.

Of a kinde of fruit or berry in forme of Acornes.

THERE is a kinde of berry or acorne, of which there are five sorts that grow on severall kindes of trees: the one is called Sagatemener, the second Osamener, the third Pummuckoner. These kinde of acornes they use to drie upon hurdles made of reeds, with fire underneath, almost after the maner as we dry Malt in England. When they are to be used, they first water them untill they be soft, and then being sod, they make a good victuall, either to eat so simply, or els being also punned to makes loaves or lumps of bread. These be also the three kinds, of

which I sayd before the inhabitants used to make sweet oile.

Another sort is called Sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taste like unto Chesnuts. They sometime also make bread of this sort.

The fift sort is called Mangummenauk, and is the acorne of their kinde of Oake, the which being dried after the maner of the first sorts, and afterward watered, they boile them, and their servants, or sometime the chiefe themselves, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fish or flesh.

Of Beasts.

DEERE, in some places there are great store: neere unto the Sea coast they are of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, and some lesse: but further up into the countrey, where there is better food, they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tailes are longer, and the snags of their hornes looke backward.

Conies. Those that we have seene, and all that we can heare of are of a gray colour like unto Hares: in some places there are such plenty that all the people of some townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the skinnes of those which they usually take.

Saquenuckot and Maquowoc, two kinds of small beasts greater then Conies, which are very good meat. We never tooke any of them our selves but sometime eat of such as the inhabitants had taken and brought unto us.

Squirels, which are of a grey colour, we have taken and eaten.

Beares, which are of blacke colour. The beares of this countrey are good meat. The inhabitants in time of Winter do use to take & eat many: so also sometime did we. They are taken commonly in this sort: In some Islands or places where they are, being hunted for, assoone as they have spiall of a man, they presently run away, and then being chased, they clime and get up the next tree they can: from whence with arrowes they are shot downe starke dead, or with those wounds that they may after easily be killed. We sometime shot them downe with our calievers.

I have the names of eight and twenty severall sorts of beasts, which I have heard of to be here and there dispersed in the countrey, especially in the maine: of

which there are only twelve kinds that we have yet discovered; and of those that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometime kill the Lion, and eat him: and we sometime as they came to our hands of their Woolves or Woolvish dogs, which I have not set downe for good meat, least that some would understand my judgement therein to be more simple then needeth, although I could alleage the difference in taste of those kinds from ours, which by some of our company have bene experimented in both.

Of Fowle.

TURKIE cocks and Turkie hennes, Stockdoves, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, and in Winter great store of Swannes and Geese. Of all sorts of fowle I have the names in the countrey language of fourescore and sixe, of which number, besides those that be named, we have taken, eaten, & have the pictures as they were there drawn, with the names of the inhabitants, of severall strange sorts of water fowle eight, and seventeene kinds more of land fowle, although we have seene and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose, could not be pictured: and after we are better furnished and stored upon further discovery with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants, and herbs, they shalbe also published.

There are also Parrots, Faulcons, and Marlin hauks, which although with us they be not used for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

Of Fish.

FOR foure moneths of the yeere, February, March, Aprill and May, there are plenty of Sturgeons. And also in the same moneths of Herrings, some of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, but the most part farre greater, of eighteene, twenty inches, and some two foot in length and better: both these kinds of fish in those moneths are most plentiful, and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

There are also Trouts, Porpoises, Rayes, Oldwives, Mulletts, Plaice, and very many other sorts of excellent good fish, which we have taken and eaten, whose names I know not but in the countrey language: we have the



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Drawn by Thomas Derrick.

THE METHOD OF BROILING FISH

pictures of twelve sorts more, as they were drawn in the country, with their names.

The inhabitants use to take them two maner of wayes; the one is by a kinde of weare made of reeds, which in that country are very strong: the other way, which is more strange, is with poles made sharpe at one end, by shooting them into the fish after the maner as Irish men cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats, or els as they are wading in the shallowes for the purpose.

There are also in many places plenty of these kinds which follow:

Sea-crabs, such as we have in England.

Oisters, some very great, and some small, some round; and some of a long shape: they are found both in salt water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt water are farre better then the other, as in our country.

Also Muscles, Scalops, Periwinkles, and Crevises.

Seekanauk, a kinde of crusty shel-fish, which is good meat, about a foot in bredth, having a crusty taile many legges like a crab, and her eyes in her backe. They are found in shallowes of waters, and sometime on the shore.

There are many Tortoises both of land and sea kinde, their backs and bellies are shelled very thicke; their head, feet, and taile, which are in appearance, seeme ougly, as though they were members of a serpent or venomous beasts; but notwithstanding they are very good meat, as also their eggs. Some have bene found of a yard in bredth and better.

And thus have I made relation of all sorts of victuall that we fed upon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselves, as farre forth as I know and can remember, or that are specially woorthy to be remembred.

The third and last part of such other things as are behovefull for those which shall plant and inhabite to know of, with a description of the nature and maners of the people of the Country.

Of commodities for building and other necessary uses.

THOSE other things which I am more to make rehearsal of, are such as concerne building, & other mechanicall

necessary uses, as divers sorts of trees for house and ship-timber, and other uses else: Also lime, stone, and bricke, least that being not mentioned some might have bene doubted of, or by some that are malicious the contrary reported.

Okes there are as faire, straight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and also great store, and in some places very great.

Walnut trees, as I have said before very many, some have bene seene excellent faire timber of foure and five fadome, and above fourescore foote streight without bough.

Firre trees fit for masts of ships, some very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kinde of trees so called that are sweete wood, of which the inhabitants that were neere unto us doe commonly make their boates or Canoas of the forme of trowes, onely with the helpe of fire, hatchets of stones, and shels: we have knowen some so great being made in that sort of one tree, that they have caried well 20. men at once, besides much baggage: the timber being great, tall, streight, soft, light, and yet tough ynough I thinke (besides other uses) to be fit also for masts of ships.

Cedar, a sweete wood good for seelings, chests, boxes, bedsteads, lutes, virginals, and many things els, as I have also said before. Some of our company which have wandered in some places where I have not bene, have made certaine affirmation of Cyprus, which for such and other excellent uses is also a wood of price and no small estimation.

Maple, and also Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants use to make their bowes.

Holly, a necessary thing for the making of birdlime.

Willowes good for the making of weares and weeles to take fish after the English maner, although the inhabitants use onely reedes, which because they are so strong as also flexible, doe serve for that turne very well and sufficiently.

Beech and Ashe, good for caske-hoopes, and if neede require, plowe worke, as also for many things els.

Elme.} {Sassafras trees.

Ascopo a kinde of tree very like unto Lawrell, the barke is hot in taste and spicie, it is very like to that

The English Voyages 185

tree which Monardes describeth to be *Cassia Lignea* of the West Indies.

There are many other strange trees whose names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is it so convenient for the present to trouble you with particular relation: seeing that for timber and other necessary uses, I have named sufficient. And of many of the rest, but that they may be applied to good use, I know no cause to doubt.

Now for stone, bricke, and lime, thus it is. Neere unto the Sea coast where wee dwelt, there are no kinde of stones to be found (except a few small pebbles about foure miles off) but such as have bene brought from further out of the maine. In some of our voyages we have seene divers hard raggie stones, great pebbles, and a kinde of gray stone like unto marble of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleave wood. Upon inquirie wee heard that a little further up into the Countrey were of all sorts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither have they use of any store whereupon they should have occasion to seeke any. For if every housholde have one or two to cracke nuts, grinde shels, whet copper, and sometimes other stones for hatchets, they have ynough: neither use they any digging, but onely for graves about three foote deepe: and therefore no marveile that they know neither quarries, nor lime-stones, which both may be in places neerer then they wot of.

In the meane time until there be discovery of sufficient store in some place or other convenient, the want of you which are & shalbe the planters therein may be as well supplied by bricke: for the making whereof in divers places of the Countrey there is clay both excellent good, and plentie, and also by lime made of oyster shels, and of others burnt, after the maner as they use in the Isles of Tenet and Shepy, and also in divers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knownen to be as good as any other. And of oyster shels there is plentie ynough: for besides divers other particular places where are abundance, there is one shallow Sound along the coast, where for the space of many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing els, being but halfe a foote or a foote under water for the most part.

Thus much can I say furthermore of stones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the side of a hill, was found by a Gentleman of our company, a great veine of hard ragge stones, which I thought good to remember unto you.

Of the nature and maners of the people.

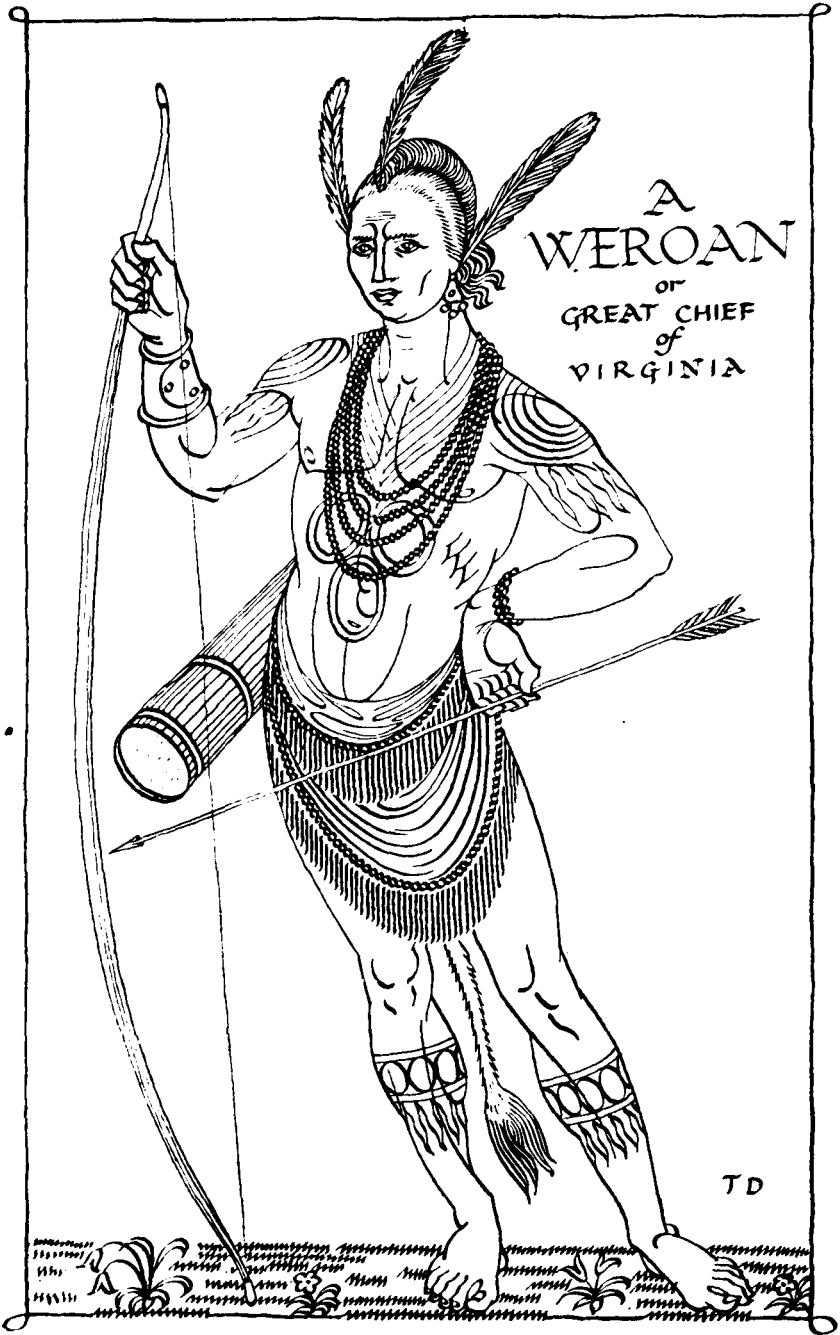
It resteth I speake a word or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners, leaving large discourse thereof until time more convenient hereafter: nowe onely so farre forth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall have cause both to feare and love us, that shall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinnes, and aprons of the same round about their middles, all els naked, of such a difference of statures onely as wee in England, having no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steele to offend us withall, neither knowe they how to make any: those weapons that they have, are onely bowes made of Witch-hazle, and arrowes of reedes, flat edged truncheons also of wood about a yard long, neither have they any thing to defend themselves but targets made of barkes, and some armours made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Their townes are but small, and neere the Sea coast but fewe, some contayning but tenne or twelve houses; some 20. the greatest that we have seene hath bene but of 30. houses: if they bee walled, it is onely done with barkes of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed upright, and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast at the tops in round forme after the maner as is used in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most townes covered with barkes, and in some with artificiall mats made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12. and 16. yards long, and in other some we have seene of foure and twentie.

In some places of the Countrey, one onely towne belongeth to the government of a Wiroans or chiefe Lord, in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, and more: the greatest Wiroans that yet wee had dealing



Drawn by Thomas Derrick.

with, had but eightene townes in his government, and able to make not above seven or eight hundreth fighting men at the most. The language of every government is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres amongst themselves is either by sudden surprising one an other most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone-light, or els by ambushes, or some subtile devises. Set battels are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may have some hope of defence, after the delivery of every arrow, in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any warres betweene us and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee having advantages against them so many maner of wayes, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and devises else, especially Ordinance great and small, it may easily bee imagined: by the experience wee have had in some places, the turning up of their heeles against us in running away was their best defence.

In respect of us they are a people poore, and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledg and use of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value: Notwithstanding, in their proper maner (considering the want of such meanes as we have), they seeme very ingenious. For although they have no such tooles, nor any such crafts, Sciences and Artes as wee, yet in those things they doe, they shew excellencie of wit. And by how much they upon due consideration shall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts to exceede theirs in perfection, and speede for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and love, and have the greater respect for pleasing and obeying us. Whereby may bee hoped, if meanes of good government be used, that they may in short time bee brought to civilitie, and the imbracing of true Religion.

Some religion they have already, which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.

They beleeve that there are many gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different sorts & degrees, one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all eternitie. Who, as they affirme, when hee purposed to make the

world, made first other gods of a principall order, to be as meanes and instruments to be used in the creation and government to follow, and after the Sunne, moone, and starres as pettie gods, and the instruments of the other order more principal. First (they say) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diversitie of creatures that are visible or invisible.

For mankinde they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought fourth children: And in such sort they say they had their beginning. But how many yeeres or ages have passed since, they say they can make no relation, having no letters nor other such meanes as we to keepe Records of the particularities of times past, but onely tradition from father to sonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewasowok, one alone is called Kewas: them they place in houses appropriate or temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many times offring unto them. In some Machicomuck we have seene but one Kewas, in some two, and in other some three. The common sort thinke them to be also gods.

They beleeeve also the immortalitie of the soule, that after this life as soone as the soule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either caried to heaven the habitacle of gods, there to enjoy perpetuall blisse and happinesse, or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to be in the furthest parts of their part of the world toward the Sunne set, there to burne continually: the place they call Popogusso.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde me two stories of two men that had bene lately dead and revived againe, the one happened but few yeeres before our comming into the Countrey of a wicked man, which having bene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the grave being seene to move, was taken up againe, who made declaration where his soule had bene, that is to say, very neere entring into Popogusso, had not one of the gods saved him, and gave him leave to returne againe, and teach his friends what they should do to avoyd that terrible place of torment. The other happened in the same yeere we were there, but in a towne that

was 60. miles from us, and it was told me for strange newes, that one being dead, buried, and taken up againe as the first, shewed that although his body had lien dead in the grave, yet his soule was alive, & had travailed farre in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, then ever hee had seene before, or was able to expresse, and at length came to most brave and faire houses, neere which he met his father that had bene dead before, who gave him great charge to goe backe againe, and shew his friendes what good they were to doe to enjoy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done he should after come againe.

What subtiltie soever be in the Wiroances and priestes, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it maketh them have great respect to their Governours, and also great care what they doe, to avoyd torment after death, and to enjoy blisse, although notwithstanding there is punishment ordeined for malefactours, as stealers, whoremongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatnesse of the facts.

And this is the summe of their Religion, which I learned by having speciall familiaritie with some of their priestes. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gave such credite to their traditions and stories, but through conversing with us they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more then wee had meanes for want of perfect utterance in their language to expresse.

Most things they sawe with us, as Mathematicall instruments, sea Compasses, the vertue of the load-stone in drawing yron, a perspective glasse whereby was shewed many strange sights, burning glasses, wilde firewoorkes, gunnes, hookes, writing and reading, spring-clockes that seeme to goe of themselves and many other things that wee had were so strange unto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the leastwise they had bene given and taught us of the gods. Which made many of them to have such opinion

of us, as that if they knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had from us whom God so specially loved, then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselves to be in comparison of us. Whereupon greater credite was given unto that wee spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in every towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set fourth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was contened the true doctrine of salvation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to utter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of it selfe was not of any such vertue, as I thought they did conceive, but onely the doctrine therein contened: yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heads, and stroke over all their body with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would bee glad many times to be with us at our Prayers, and many times call upon us both in his owne towne, as also in others whither hee sometimes accompanied us, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that meanes also expected.

Twise this Wiroans was so grievously sicke that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking hee was in such danger for offending us and thereby our God, sent for some of us to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might live, or after death dwell with him in blisse, so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their corne began to wither by reason of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased us, many would come to us and desire us to pray to our God of England, that he would preserve their Corne, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any strange sicknesse, losses, hurts, or any other crosse unto them, but that

they would impute to us the cause or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleasing us. One other rare and strange accident, leaving others, wil I mention before I end, which moved the whole Countrey that either knew or heard of us, to have us in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where wee had any subtil devise practised against us, wee leaving it unpunished or not revenged (because we sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse) but that within a few dayes after our departure from every such Towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some Townes about twentie, in some fourtie, and in one sixe score, which in trueth was very many in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learne, but where we had bin, where they used some practise against us, & after such time. The disease also was so strange, that they neither knewe what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the Countrey never happened before, time out of minde. A thing specially observed by us, as also by the naturall inhabitants themselves. Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends, and especially the Wiroans Wingina, had observed such effects in foure or five Townes to followe their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come neere them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had understanding that any of their enemies had abused us in our journeys, hearing that we had wrought no revenge with our weapons, and fearing upon some cause the matter should so rest: did come and intreate us that we would be a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with us might in like sort die, alleading how much it would bee for our credite and profite, as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would doe so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professed them.

Whose entreaties although wee shewed that they were ungodly, affirming that our God would not subject himselfe to any such prayers and requests of men: that indeede all things have bene and were to be done according to his good pleasure as he had ordeined: and that we to shewe our selves his true servants ought

rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might live together with us, be made partakers of his trueth, and serve him in righteousnesse, but notwithstanding in such sort, that wee referre that, as all other things, to bee done according to his divine will and pleasure, and as by his wisdome he had ordeined to be best.

Yet because the effect fell out so suddenly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought nevertheless it came to passe by our meanes, & that we in using such speeches unto them, did but dissemble the matter, and therefore came unto us to give us thanks in their maner, that although we satisfied them not in promise, yet in deedes and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This marvellous accident in all the Countrey wrought so strange opinions of us, that some people could not tell whether to thinke us gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sicknes, there was no man of ours knowen to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women amongst us, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many yeeres past, then risen againe to immortalitie.

Some would likewise seeme to prophecie that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done. Those that were immediatly to come after us they imagined to be in the aire, yet invisible and without bodies, and that they by our intreatie and for the love of us, did make the people to die in that sort as they did, by shooting invisible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Phisitions (to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease) would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple people beleeve, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherewithall the invisible bullets were tied and cast. Some also thought that wee shot them our selves out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any Towne that had offended us, as wee listed, howe farre distant from us soever it were. And other some said,

that it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we our selves have cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatsoever some doe, or may imagine to the contrary, specially some Astrologers, knowing of the Eclipse of the Sunne which we saw the same yeere before in our voyage thitherward, which unto them appeared very terrible. And also of a Comet which began to appeare but a fewē dayes before the beginning of the saide sicknesse. But to exclude them from being the speciall causes of so speciall an accident, there are further reasons then I thinke fit at this present to be alleadged. These their opinions I have set downe the more at large, that it may appeare unto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discreete dealing and government to the imbracing of the trueth, and consequently to honour, obey, feare and love us.

And although some of our company towards the end of the yeere, shewed themselves too fierce in slaying some of the people in some Townes, upon causes that on our part might easily ynough have bene borne withall; yet notwithstanding, because it was on their part justly deserved, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the most part concerning us is the lesse to be doubted. And whatsoever els they may be, by carefulnesse of our selves neede nothing at all to be feared.

The conclusion.

Now I have (as I hope) made relation not of so few and small things, but that the Countrey (of men that are indifferent and well disposed) may bee sufficiently liked: If there were no more knowen then I have mentioned, which doubtlesse and in great reason is nothing to that which remaineth to be discovered, neither the soyle, nor commodities. As we have reason so to gather by the difference we found in our travailes, for although al which I have before spoken of, have bene discovered and experimented not farre from the Sea coast, where was our abode and most of our travailling; yet sometimes as we made our journeys further into the maine and Countrey; we found the soile to be fatter, the trees greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firme and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer grasse, and as good as ever we saw any in England; in some places rockie and farre more high and hilly ground, more

plentie of their fruites, more abundance of beastes, the more inhabited with people, and of greater pollicie and larger dominions, with greater townes and houses.

Why may wee not then looke for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plentie, as well of other things, as of those which wee have already discovered? Unto the Spaniards happened the like in discovering the maine of the West Indies. The maine also of this Countrey of Virginia, extending some wayes so many hundreds of leagues, as otherwise then by the relation of the inhabitants wee have most certaine knowlledge of, where yet no Christian prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yeelde many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discovery have not yet seene.

What hope there is els to bee gathered of the nature of the Climate, being answerable to the Iland of Japan, the land of China, Persia, Jury, the Ilands of Cyprus and Candy, the South parts of Greece, Italy and Spaine, and of many other notable and famous Countreys, because I meane not to be tedious, I leave to your owne consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the aire there at all seasons, much warmer then in England, and never so vehemently hot, as sometimes is under and betweene the Tropikes, or neere them, cannot be knowen unto yqu without further relation.

For the holsomnesse thereof I neede to say but thus much: that for all the want of provision, as first of English victuall, excepting for twentie dayes, we lived onely by drinking water, and by the victuall of the Countrey, of which some sorts were very strange unto us, and might have bene thought to have altered our temperatures in such sort, as to have brought us into some grievous and dangerous diseases: Secondly the want of English meanes, for the taking of beastes, fish and foule, which by the helpe onely of the inhabitants and their meanes could not bee so suddenly and easily provided for us, nor in so great number and quantities, nor of that choise as otherwise might have bene to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also we had of clothes. Furthermore in al our travailes, which were most specially and often in the time of Winter, our lodging was in the open aire upon the ground. And

yet I say for all this, there were but foure of our whole company (being one hundreth and eight) that died all the yeere, and that but at the latter ende thereof, and upon none of the aforesaide causes. For all foure, especially three, were feeble, weake, and sickly persons before ever they came thither, and those that knew them, much marveled that they lived so long being in that case, or had adventured to travaile.

Seeing therefore the aire there is so temperate and holsome, the soyle so fertile, and yeelding such commodities, as I have before mentioned, the voyage also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented to be perfourmed twise a yeere with ease, and at any season thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Raleigh so liberall in large giving and granting lande there, as is already knowen, with many helpes and furtherances else: (The least that he hath granted hath bene five hundreth acres to a man onely for the adventure of his person) I hope there remains no cause whereby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither travaile to inhabite and plant bee but reasonably provided for the first yeere, as those are which were transported the last, and being there, doe use but that diligence and care, that is requisit, and as they may with ease: There is no doubt, but for the time following, they may have victuals that are excellent good and plentie ynough, some more English sorts of cattel also hereafter, as some have bene before, and are there yet remayning, may, and shall be (God willing) thither transported. So likewise, our kinde of frutes, rootes, and hearbes, may be there planted and sowed, as some have bene already, and prove well: And in short time also they may raise so much of those sorts of commodities which I have spoken of, as shall both enrich themselves, as also others that shall deale with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labours, that I have thought necessary to advertise you of at this present: What else concerneth the nature and maners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of such as have bene by Sir Walter Raleigh therein, and there employed, many worthy to be remembred, as of the first discoverers of the Countrey, of our Generall for the time Sir Richard Grinvil, and after his departure of our

Gouverneur there Master Ralph Lane, with divers other directed and imployed under their government: Of the Captaines and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation, of the Gouverneur and assistants of those already transported, as of many persons, accidents, and things els, I have ready in a discourse by it selfe in maner of a Chroniclè, according to the course of times: which when time shall be thought convenient, shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your favourable constructions, expecting good successe of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the authour and gouverneur, not onely of this, but of all things els, I take my leave of you, this moneth of February 1587.

The fourth voyage made to Virginia with three ships, in the yere 1587. Wherein was transported the second Colonie.

In the yeere of our Lord 1587. Sir Walter Raleigh intending to persevere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom hee appointed Gouverneur, and also appointed unto him twelve Assistants, unto whom hee gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Gouverneur and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia.

April.

OUR Fleete being in number three saile, viz. the Admirall a shippe of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, a Flie-boate, and a Pinnesse, departed the sixe and twentieth of April from Portesmouth, and the same day came to an ancker at the Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where wee stayed eight dayes.

May.

THE fift of May, at nine of the clocke at night we came to Plimmouth, where we remained the space of two dayes.

The 8 we weyed anker at Plimmouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16 Simon Ferdinando, Master of our Admiral, lewdly forsooke our Fly-boate, leaving her distressed in the Bay of Portugal.

June.

THE 19 we fell with Dominica, and the same evening we sayled betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21 the Fly-boat also fell with Dominica.

The 22 we came to an anker at an Island called Santa Cruz, where all the planters were set on land, staying there till the 25 of the same moneth. At our first landing on this Island, some of our women, and men, by eating a small fruit like greene Apples, were fearefully troubled with a suddén burning in their mouthes, and swelling of their tongues so bigge, that some of them could not speake. Also a child by sucking one of those womens breasts, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented for the time: but after 24 houres, it ware away of it selfe.

Also the first night of our being on this Island, we tooke five great Torteses, some of them of such bignes, that sixtene of our strongest men were tired with carying of one of them but from the sea side to our cabbins. In this Island we found no watring place, but a standing ponde, the water whereof was so evill, that many of our company fell sicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but wash their faces with that water, in the morning before the Sunne had drawen away the corruption, their faces did so burne and swell, that their eyes were shut up, and could not see in five or sixe dayes, or longer.

The second day of our abode there, we sent forth some of our men to search the Island for fresh water, three one way, and two another way. The Governour also, with sixe others, went up to the top of an high hill, to viewe the Island, but could perceiue no signe of any men, or beastes, nor any goodnes, but Parots, and trees of Guiacum. Returning backe to our cabbins another way, he found in the discent of a hill, certaine potsheards of savage making, made of the earth of that Island: whereupon it was judged, that this Island was inhabited with Savages, though Fernando had told us for certaine the contrary. The same day at night, the rest of our company very late returned to the Governour. The one company affirmed, that they had seene in a valley eleven Savages, and divers houses halfe a mile distant from

the steepe, or toppe of the hill where they stayed. The other company had found running out of a high rocke a very fayre spring of water, whereof they brought three bottels to the company: for before that time, wee drank the stinking water of the pond.

The same second day at night Captaine Stafford, with the Pinnesse, departed from our fleete, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Island, called Beake, lying neere S. John, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there find great plenty of sheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboard, and the next morning after, being the 25 of June we weyed anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The seven and twentieth we came to anker at Cottea, where we found the Pinnesse riding at our comming.

The 28 we weyed anker at Cottea, and presently came to anker at S. Johns in Musketos Bay, where we spent three dayes unprofitable in taking in fresh water, spending in the meane time more beere then the quantitie of the water came unto.

Julie.

THE first day we weyed anker at Musketoos Bay, where were left behind two Irish men of our company, Darbie Glaven, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the coast of S. Johns till evening, at which time wee fell with Rosse Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promised wee should take in salte, and had caused us before, to make and provide as many sakes for that purpose, as we could. The Governour also, for that hee understood there was a Towne in the bottome of the Bay, not farre from the salt hils, appointed thirty shot, tenne pikes, and ten targets, to man the Pinnesse, and to goe aland for salt. Ferdinando perceiving them in a readines, sent to the Governour, using great perswasions with him, not to take in salt there, saying that hee knew not well whether the same were the place or not: also, that if the Pinnesse went into the Bay, she could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any storme should rise, the Admirall were in danger to bee cast away. Whilest he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and having craftily brought the shippe in three fadome and a halfe water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in pieces,

dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare up hard, beare up hard: so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his meanes.

The next day sayling along the West end of S. John, the Governour determined to go aland in S. Germans Bay, to gather yong plants of Orenge, Pines, Mameas, and Plantanos, to set at Virginia, which we knew might easily be had, for that they grow neere the shore, and the places where they grew, well known to the Governour, and some of the planters: but our Simon denied it, saying: he would come to an anker at Hispaniola, & there land the Governour, and some other of the Assisstants, with the pinnesse, to see if he could speake with his friend Alanson, of whom he hoped to be furnished both of cattel, and all such things as we would have taken in at S. John: but he meant nothing lesse, as it plainly did appeare to us afterwards.

The next day after, being the third of July, we saw Hispaniola, and bare with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnesse should be prepared to goe for the place where Ferdinando his friend Alanson was: but that day passed, and we saw no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4 of July, sayling along the coast of Hispaniola, untill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet seene for the staying there, we having knowledge that we were past the place where Alanson dwelt, and were come with Isabella: hereupon Ferdinando was asked by the Governour, whether he meant to speake with Alanson, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promise, or not: but he answered that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Raleigh told him, the French Ambassador certified him, that the king of Spaine had sent for Alanson into Spaine: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day we left sight of Hispaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone.

The sixt of July we came to the Island Caycos, wherein Ferdinando sayd were two salt pondes, assuring us if they were drie, we might find salt to shift with, untill the next supply: but it proved as true as finding of sheepe at Baque. In this Island, whilst Ferdinando solaced

himselfe ashore, with one of the company, in part of the Island, others spent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Island, some to seeke the salt ponds, some fowling, some hunting Swans, whereof we caught many. The next day early in the morning we weyed anker, leaving Caycos, with good hope, that the first land that we saw next should be Virginia.

About the 16 of July we fel with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Ferdinando tooke to be the Island of Croatoan, where we came to anker, and rode there two or three dayes : but finding himselfe deceived, he weyed, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Ferdinando, we had bene all cast away upon the breach, called the Cape of Feare, for we were come within two cables length upon it : such was the carelesnes, and ignorance of our Master.

The two and twentieth of July wee arrived safe at Hatorask, where our ship and pinnesse ankered; the Governour went aboard the pinnesse, accompanied with fortie of his best men, intending to passe up to Roanoak foorthwith, hoping there to finde those fifteene Englishmen, which Sir Richard Grinvile had left there the yeere before, with whom hee meant to have conference, concerning the state of the Countrey, and Savages, meaning after he had so done, to returne againe to the flete, and passe along the coast, to the Bay of Chesepiok, where we intended to make our seate and forte, according to the charge given us among other directions in writing, under the hande of Sir Walter Raleigh : but assoone as we were put with our pinnesse from the ship, a Gentleman by the meanes of Ferdinando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the sailers in the pinnesse, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but to leave them in the Island, except the Governour, & two or three such as he approved, saying that the Summer was farre spent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Unto this were all the saylers, both in the pinnesse, and shippe, perswaded by the Master, wherefore it booted not the Governour to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak, and the same night at sunne-set went aland on the Island, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe that they had bene there, saving onely wee

found the bones of one of those fifteene, which the Savages had slaine long before.

The three and twentieth of July the Governour with divers of his company, walked to the North end of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to find some signes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, we found the fort rased downe, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were overgrown with Melons of divers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Melons: so wee returned to our company, without hope of ever seeing any of the fifteene men living.

The same day order was given, that every man should be employed for the repaying of those houses, which wee found standing; and also to make other newe Cottages, for such as should neede.

The 25 our Flyboate and the rest of our planters arrived all safe at Hatoraske, to the great joy and comfort of the whole company: but the Master of our Admirall Ferdinando grieved greatly at their safe comming: for hee purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the Master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he never had bene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of so many men of warre, as at that time were abroad, they should surely be taken, or slaine: but God disappointed his wicked pretenses.

The eight and twentieth, George Howe, one of our twelve Assistants was slaine by divers Savages, which were come over to Roanoak, either of purpose to espie our company, and what number we were, or else to hunt Deere, whereof were many in the Island. These Savages being secretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they find the Deere asleep, and so kill them, espied our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, save only a smal forked sticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and also being strayed two miles from his company, and shot at him in the water, where they gave him sixteen wounds with their arrowes: and after they had slaine him with their wooden swords, they

beat his head in pieces, and fled over the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of July Master Stafford and twenty of our men passed by water to the Island of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kinred dwelling in that Island, of whom wee hoped to understand some newes of our fifteene men, but especially to learne the disposition of the people of the countrey towards us, and to renew our old friendship with them. At our first landing they seemed as though they would fight with us: but perceiving us begin to march with our shot towardes them, they turned their backes, and fled. Then Manteo their countrey man called to them in their owne language, whom, assoone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes and arrowes, and some of them came unto us, embracing and entertaining us friendly, desiring us not to gather or spill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We answered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, should be diminished by any of us, and that our comming was onely to renew the old love, that was betweene us and them at the first, and to live with them as brethren and friends: which answer seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested us to walke up to their Towne, who there feasted us after their maner, and desired us earnestly, that there might bee some token or badge given them of us, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Island. They told us further, that for want of some such badge, divers of them were hurt the yeere before, being found out of the Island by Master Lane his company, whereof they shewed us one, which at that very instant lay lame, and had lien of that hurt ever since: but they sayd, they knew our men mistooke them, and hurt them in stead of Winginos men, wherefore they held us excused.

August.

THE next day we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secotan, Aquascogoc, & Pomeiok, willing them of Croatoan to certifie the people of those townes, that if they would accept our friendship, we would willingly receive them againe, and that all unfriendly dealings past on both parts, should be utterly

forgiven and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan answered, that they would gladly doe the best they could, and within seven dayes, bring the Wiroances and chiefe Governours of those townes with them, to our Governour at Roanoak, or their answeare. We also understood of the men of Croatoan, that our man Master Howe was slaine by the remnant of Winginos men dwelling then at Dasamonguepeuk, with whom Wanchese kept companie: and also we understood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15 Englishmen left at Roanoak the yeere before, by Sir Richard Grinvile, were suddenly set upon, by 30 of the men of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Dasamonguepeuk, in manner following. They conveyed themselves secretly behind the trees, neere the houses where our men carelesly lived: and having perceived that of those fifteene they could see but eleven only, two of those Savages appeared to the 11 Englishmen, calling to them by friendly signes, that but two of their chiefe men should come unarmed to speake with those two Savages, who seemed also to bee unarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefe of our Englishmen went gladly to them: but whilst one of those Savages traiterously imbraced one of our men, the other with his sworde of wood, which he had secretly hidden under his mantell, strooke him on the head and slew him, and presently the other eight and twenty Savages shewed them selves: the other Englishman perceiving this, fled to his company, whom the Savages pursued with their bowes, and arrowes, so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victuall, and weapons were: but the Savages foorthwith set the same on fire: by meanes wherof our men were forced to take up such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to runne foorth among the Savages, with whom they skirmished above an howre. In this skirmish another of our men was shotte into the mouth with an arrow, where hee died: and also one of the Savages was shot into the side by one of our men, with a wild fire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great advantage to the Savages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Savages through their nimblenes, defended themselves, and so offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being some of them hurt, retyred fighting to the water side, where their boat lay, with which they fled

towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their foure fellowes coming from a creeke thereby, where they had bene to fetch Oysters: these foure they received into their boate, leaving Roanoak, and landed on a little Island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remayned a while, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Having nowe sufficiently dispatched our businesse at Croatoan, the same day we departed friendly, taking our leave, and came aboard the fleete at Hatorask.

The eight of August, the Governour having long expected the comming of the Wiroanses of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc, Secota, and Dasamonguepeuk, seeing that the seven dayes were past, within which they promised to come in, or to send their answeres by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly also informed by those men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina his men, which were left alive, who dwelt at Dasamonguepeuk, were they which had slaine George Howe, and were also at the driving of our eleven Englishmen from Roanoak, hee thought to deferre the revenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the same night about midnight, he passed over the water, accompanied with Captaine Stafford, and 24 men, wherof Manteo was one, whom we tooke with us to be our guide to the place where those Savages dwelt, where he behaved himselfe toward us as a most faithfull Englishman.

The next day, being the 9 of August, in the morning so early that it was yet darke, we landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, & very secretly conveyed our selves through the woods, to that side, where we had their houses betweene us and the water: and having espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently set on them: the miserable soules herewith amazed, fled into a place of thicke reedes, growing fast by, where our men perceiving them, shot one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith we entred the reedes, among which we hoped to acquite their evill doing towards us, but we were deceived, for those Savages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corne & fruit of that place, because they understood our enemies were fled immediatly after they had slaine George Howe, and for haste had left all their corne, Tobacco, and

Pompions standing in such sort, that al had bene devoured of the birds, and Deere, if it had not bene gathered in time: but they had like to have payd deerely for it: for it was so darke, that they being naked, and their men and women apparelled all so like others, wee knew not but that they were al men: and if that one of them which was a Wiroances wife had not had a child at her backe, shee had bene slaine in stead of a man, and as hap was, another Savage knew master Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby hee was saved. Finding our selves thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered al the corne, Pease, Pompions, and Tabacco that we found ripe, leaving the rest unspoyled, and tooke Menatoan his wife, with the yong child, and the other Savages with us over the water to Roanoak. Although the mistaking of these Savages somewhat grieved Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne folly, saying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promise in comming to the Governour at the day appointed, they had not known that mischance.

The 13 of August our Savage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Raleigh, was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull service.

The 18 Elenor, daughter to the Governour, and wife to Ananias Dare one of the Assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sondag following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia. By this time our ships had unladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood, and fresh water, and to new calke and trimme them for England: the planters also prepared their letters and tokens to send backe into England.

Our two ships, the Lion and the Flyboat almost ready to depart, the 21 of August, there arose such a tempest at Northeast, that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to sea, where he lay beating off and on sixe dayes before he could come to us againe, so that we feared he had bene cast away, and the rather for that at the time that the storme tooke them, the most and best of their sailers were left aland.

At this time some controversies arose betweene the

Governour and Assistants, about choosing two out of the twelve Assistants, which should goe backe as factors for the company into England : for every one of them refused, save onely one, which all other thought not sufficient : but at length by much perswading of the Governour, Christopher Cooper only agreed to goe for England : but the next day, through the perswasion of divers of his familiar friends, hee changed his minde, so that now the matter stood as at the first.

The next day, the 22 of August, the whole company both of the Assistants and planters came to the Governour, and with one voice requested him to returne himselfe into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them : but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes, why he would not : the one was, that he could not so suddenly returne backe againe without his great discredite, leaving the action, and so many whome hee partly had procured through his perswasions, to leave their native countrey, and undertake that voyage, and that some enemies to him and the action at his returne into England would not spare to slander falsly both him and the action, by saying, hee went to Virginia, but politikely, and to no other end but to leade so many into a countrey, in which hee never meant to stay himselfe, and there to leave them behind him. Also he alleaged, that seeing they intended to remove 50 miles further up into the maine presently, he being then absent, his stuffe and goods might be both spoiled, & most of them pilfered away in the cariage, so that at his returne he should be either forced to provide himselfe of all such things againe, or else at his comming againe to Virginia find himselfe utterly unfurnished, whereof already he had found some prooffe, being but once from them but three dayes. Wherefore he concluded that he would not goe himselfe.

The next day, not onely the Assistants but divers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requests to the Governour againe, to take upon him to returne into England for the supply, and dispatch of all such things as there were to be done, promising to make him their bond under all their handes and seales for the safe preserving of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, so that if any part thereof were spoyled or lost, they would see it restored to him, or his Assignes, when-

soever the same should be missed and demanded: which bond, with a testimony under their hands and seales, they forthwith made, and delivered into his hands. The copie of the testimony I thought good to set downe.

May it please you, her Majesties subjects of England, we your friends and countrey-men, the planters in Virginia, doe by these presents let you and every of you to understand, that for the present and speedy supply of certaine our knowen and apparent lackes and needes, most requisite and necessary for the good and happy planting of us, or any other in this land of Virginia, wee all of one minde & consent, have most earnestly intreated, and uncessantly requested John White, Governour of the planters in Virginia, to passe into England, for the better and more assured help, and setting forward of the fore-sayd supplies: and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and wil labour and take paines in that behalfe for us all, and he not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour & maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunacie, yeelded to leave his governement, and all his goods among us, and himselfe in all our behalves to passe into England, of whose knowledge and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, we doe assure ourselves by these presents, and will you to give all credite thereunto, the 25 of August 1587.

The Governour being at the last through their extreame intreating constrainyed to returne into England, having then but halfe a dayes respite to prepare himselfe for the same, departed from Roanoak the seven and twentieth of August in the morning, and the same day about midnight, came aboard the Flieboat, who already had weyed anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither againe. The same day both the ships weyed anker, and set saile for England: at this weying their ankers, twelve of the men which were in the Flyboate were thrown from the Capstone, which by meanes of a barre and brake, came so fast about upon them, that the other two barres thereof strooke and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them never recovered it: neverthesse they assayed presently againe to wey their anker, but being so weakened with the first fling, they were not able to weye it, but were thrown downe and hurt the second time.

Wherefore having in all but fifteene men aboard, and most of them by this unfortunate beginning so bruised, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leese their anker. Neverthelesse, they kept company with the Admirall, untill the seventeenth of September, at which time wee fell with Corvo, and sawe Flores.

September.

THE eighteenth, perceiving of all our fifteene men in the Flyboate there remained but five, which by meanes of the former mischance, were able to stand to their labour: and that the Admirall meant not to make any haste for England, but to linger about the Island of Tercera for purchase: the Flyboate departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the help of God to arrive shortly: but by that time we had continued our course homeward about twenty dayes, having had sometimes scarce and variable windes, our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed, there arose a storme at North-east, which for sixe dayes ceased not to blowe so exceeding, that we were driven further in those sixe then we could recover in thirteene daies: in which time others of our saylers began to fall very sicke and two of them dyed, the weather also continued so close, that our Master sometimes in foure dayes together could see neither sunne nor starre, and all the beverage we could make, with stinking water, dregs of beere, and lees of wine which remayned, was but three gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine to perish at Sea.

October.

THE 16 of October we made land, but we knewe not what land it was, bearing in with the same land at that day: about sunne set we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pinnesse of Hampton riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe ashore, untill the pinnesse sent off their boate to us with 6 or 8 men, of whom we understood wee were in Smerwick in the West parts of Ireland: they also releevd us presently with fresh water, wine, and other fresh meate.

The 18 the Governour and the Master ryd to Dingen a. Cushe, 5 miles distant, to take order for the new victualling of our Flieboate for England, and for reliefe

of our sicke and hurt men, but within foure daies after the Boatswain, the Steward, and the Boatswains mate died aboard the Flieboat, and the 28 the Masters mate and two of our chiefe sailers were brought sicke to Dingen.

November.

THE first the Governour shipped himselfe in a ship called the Monkie, which at that time was ready to put to sea from Dingen for England, leaving the Flyboat and all his companie in Ireland. The same day we set sayle, and on the third day we fell with the North side of the lands end, and were shut up the Severne, but the next day we doubled the same for Mounts Bay.

The 5 the Governour landed in England at Martasew, neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

The 8 we arrived at Hampton, where we understood that our consort the Admiral was come to Portsmouth, and had bene there three weekes before: and also that Ferdinando the Master with all his company were not onely come home without any purchase, but also in such weaknesse by sicknesse, and death of their chiefest men, that they were scarce able to bring their ship into harbour, but were forced to let fall anker without, which they could not wey againe, but might all have perished there, if a small barke by great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that died are these, Roger Large, John Mathew, Thomas Smith, and some other saylers, whose names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.

The names of all the men, women and children, which safely arrived in Virginia, and remained to inhabite there. 1587. Anno regni Reginæ Elizabethæ. 29.

JOHN White.
 Roger Baily.
 Ananias Dare.
 Christopher Cooper.
 Thomas Stevens.
 John Sampson.
 Dyonis Harvie.
 Roger Prat.
 George How.
 Simon Fernando.

Nicholas Johnson.
 Thomas Warner.
 Anthony Cage.
 John Jones.
 William Willes.
 John Brooke.
 Cutbert White.
 John Bright.
 Clement Tayler.
 William Sole.

John Cotsmur.
 Humfrey. Newton.
 Thomas Colman.
 Thomas Gramme.
 Marke Bennet.
 John Gibbes.
 John Stilman.
 Robert Wilkinson
 John Tydway.
 Ambrose Viccars.
 Edmond English.
 Thomas Topan.
 Henry Berry.
 Richard Berry.
 John Spendlove.
 John Hemmington.
 Thomas Butler.
 Edward Powell.
 John Burden.
 James Hynde.
 Thomas Ellis.
 William Browne.
 Michael Myllet.
 Thomas Smith.
 Richard Kemme.
 Thomas Harris.
 Richard Taverner.
 John Earnest.
 Henry Johnson.
 John Starte.
 Richard Darige.
 William Lucas.
 Arnold Archard.
 John Wright.
 William Dutton.
 Mauris Allen.
 William Waters.
 Richard Arthur.
 John Chapman.
 William Clement.
 Robert Little.
 Hugh Tayler.
 Richard Wildye.
 Lewes Wotton.

Michael Bishop.
 Henry Browne.
 Henry Rufoote.
 Richard Tomkins.
 Henry Dorrell.
 Charles Florrie.
 Henry Mylton.
 Henry Paine.
 Thomas Harris.
 William Nichols.
 Thomas Phevens.
 John Borden.
 Thomas Scot.
 Peter Little.
 John Wyles.
 Brian Wyles.
 George Martyn.
 Hugh Pattenson.
 Martin Sutton.
 John Farre.
 John Bridger.
 Griffen Jones.
 Richard Shabedge.
 James Lasie.
 John Cheven.
 Thomas Hewet.
 William Berde.

Women.

Elyoner Dare.
 Margery Harvie.
 Agnes Wood.
 Wenefrid Powell.
 Joyce Archard.
 Jane Jones.
 Elizabeth Glane.
 Jane Pierce.
 Audry Tappan.
 Alis Chapman.
 Emme Merrimoth.
 Colman.
 Margaret Lawrence.
 Joan Warren.
 Jane Mannering.

The English Voyages

211

Rose Payne.
Elizabeth Viccars.

George How.
John Prat.
William Wythers.

Boyes and children.

Children borne in Virginia.

John Sampson.
Robert Ellis.
Ambrose Viccars.
Thomas Archard.
Thomas Humfrey.
Thomas Smart.

Virginia Dare.
Harvie.

Savages.

Manteo. } That were in England
Towaye. } and returned home in-
to Virginia with them.

To the Worshipful and my very friend Master Richard Hakluyt, much happinesse in the Lord.

SIR, as well for the satisfying of your earnest request, as the performance of my promise made unto you at my last being with you in England, I have sent you (although in a homely stile, especially for the contentation of a delicate eare) the true discourse of my last voyage into the West Indies, and partes of America called Virginia, taken in hand about the end of Februarie, in the yeare of our redemption 1590. And what events happened unto us in this our journey, you shall plainly perceive by the sequele of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to goe for the West Indies, at the speciall charges of M. John Wattes of London Marchant. But when they were fully furnished, and in readinesse to make their departure, a generall stay was commanded of all ships thorowout England. Which so soone as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted Sir Walter Raleigh therewith, desiring him that as I had sundry times afore bene chargeable and troublesome unto him, for the supplies and reliefes of the planters in Virginia: so likewise, that by his endeavour it would please him at that instant to procure license for those three ships to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were God's pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieved without further charges unto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained license of the Queenes Majestie, and order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ships should be bound unto Sir Walter Raleigh or his assignes, in 3000 pounds, that those 3 ships in consideration of their releasement should take in, &c.

transport a convenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessaries to be landed in Virginia. Nevertheless that order was not observed, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforesaid. But rather in contempt of the aforesaid order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to have any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, saving only my selfe & my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend upon me, although I made great sute, & earnest intreatie aswell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the said ships. Which crosse and unkind dealing, although it very much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarcy of time was such, that I could have no opportunity to go unto Sir Walter Raleigh with complaint: for the ships being then all in readinesse to goe to the Sea, would have bene departed before I could have made my returne. Thus both Governors, Masters, and sailers, regarding very smally the good of their countrey men in Virginia; determined nothing lesse then to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselves to seeke after purchase & spoiles, spending so much time therein, that sommer was spent before we arrived at Virginia. And when we were come thither, the season was so unfit, & weather so foule, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, having not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and 7 of our chiefest men: and also with losse of 3 of our ankers and cables, and most of our caskes with fresh water left on shore, not possible to be had aboard. Which evils & unfortunate events (as wel to their owne losse as to the hinderance of the planters in Virginia) had not chanced, if the order set downe by Sir Walter Raleigh had bene observed, or if my dayly & continuall petitions for the performance of the same might have taken any place. Thus may you plainly perceive the successe of my fift & last voiage to Virginia, which was no lesse unfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to my selfe. But I would to God it had bene as prosperous to all, as noysome to the planters; & as joyfull to me, as discomfortable to them. Yet seeing it is not my first crossed voyage, I remaine contented. And wanting my wishes, I leave off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will. Thus committing

the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe & comfort them, according to his most holy wil & their good desire, I take my leave: from my house at Newtowne in Kylmore the 4 of February, 1593.

Your most welwishing friend,

JOHN WHITE.

The fift voyage of M. John White into the West Indies and parts of America called Virginia, in the yeere 1590.

THE 20 of March the three shippes the Hopewell, the John Evangelist, and the Little John, put to Sea from Plymmouth with two small Shallops.

The 25 at midnight both our Shallops were sunke being towed at the ships sternes by the Boatswaines negligence.

On the 30 we saw a head us that part of the coast of Barbary, lying East of Cape Cantyn, and the Bay of Asaphi.

The next day we came to the Ile of Mogador, where rode, at our passing by, a Pinnesse of London called the Mooneshine.

April.

ON the first of Aprill we ankored in Santa Cruz rode, where we found two great shippes of London lading in Sugar, of whom we had 2 shipboats to supply the losse of our Shallops.

On the 2 we set sayle from the rode of Santa Cruz, for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4 we saw Alegranza, the East Ile of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5 of Aprill we gave chase to a double flyboat, the which, we also the same day fought with, and tooke her, with losse of three of their men slaine, and one hurt.

On Munday the 6 we saw Grand Canarie, and the next day we landed and tooke in fresh water on the Southside thereof.

On the 9 we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our course for Dominica.

The last of Aprill we saw Dominica, and the same night we came to an anker on the Southside thereof.

May.

THE first of May in the morning many of the Salvages came aboard our ships in their Canowes, and did traffique with us; we also the same day landed and entered their Towne from whence we returned the same day aboard without any resistance of the Salvages; or any offence done to them.

The 2 of May our Admirall and our Pinnesse departed from Dominica leaving the John our Vice-admirall playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take some Spaniard outwards bound to the Indies; the same night we had sight of three smal Ilands called Los Santos, leaving Guadalupe and them on our starboard.

The 3 we had sight of S. Christophers Iland, bearing Northeast and by East off us.

On the 4 we sayled by the Virgines, which are many broken Ilands, lying at the East end of S. Johns Iland: and the same day towards evening we landed upon one of them called Blanca, where we killed an incredible number of foules: here we stayed but three houres, & from thence stood into the shore Northwest, and having brought this Iland Southeast off us, we put towards night thorow an opening or swatch, called The passage, lying betwene the Virgines, and the East end of S. John: here the Pinnesse left us and sayled on the South side of S. John.

The 5 and 6 the Admirall sayled along the Northside of S. John, so neere the shore that the Spaniards discerned us to be men of warre; and therefore made fires along the coast as we sailed by, for so their custome is, when they see any men of warre on their coasts.

The 7 we landed on the Northwest end of S. John, where we watered in a good river called Yaguana, and the same night following we tooke a Frigate of tenne Tunne comming from Gwathanelo laden with hides and ginger. In this place Pedro a Mollato, who knewe all our state, ranne from us to the Spaniards.

On the 9 we departed from Yaguana.

The 13 we landed on an Iland called Mona, whereon were 10 or 12 houses inhabited of the Spaniards; these we burned & took from them a Pinnesse, which they had

drawen a ground and sunke, and carried all her sayles, mastes, and rudders into the woods, because we should not take him away; we also chased the Spaniards over all the Iland; but they hid them in caves, hollow rockes, and bushes, so that we could not find them.

On the 14 we departed from Mona, and the next day after wee came to an Iland called Saona, about 5 leagues distant from Mona, lying on the Southside of Hispaniola neere the East end: betweene these two Ilands we lay off and on 4 or 5 dayes, hoping to take some of the Domingo fleete doubling this Island, as a neerer way to Spaine then by Cape Tyburon, or by Cape S. Anthony.

On Thursday being the 19 our Viceadmirall, from whom we departed at Dominica, came to us at Saona, with whom we left a Spanish Frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other five daies betweene Saona and Mona to the ende aforesaid; then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was enformed that our men of the Viceadmirall, at their departure from Dominica brought away two young Salvages, which were the chiefe Casiques sonnes of that Countrey and part of Dominica, but they shortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz Iland, where the Viceadmirall landed to take in ballast.

On the 21 the Admirall came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the John Evangelist our Pinnesse staying for us: here we tooke in two Spaniards almost starved on the shore, who made a fire to our ships as we passed by. Those places for an 100 miles in length are nothing els but a desolate and meere wilderness, without any habitation of people, and full of wilde Bulles and Bores, and great Serpents.

The 22 our Pinnesse came also to an anker in Aligato Bay at cape Tyburon. Here we understood of M. Lane, Captaine of the Pinnesse; how he was set upon with one of the kings Gallies belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, who after he had fought with him 3 or 4 houres, gave over the fight & forsooke him, without any great hurt done on eyther part.

The 26 the John our Vizadmirall came to us to cape Tyburon, and the Frigat which we left with him at Saona. This was the appointed place where we should attend for the meeting with the Santo Domingo Fleete.

On Whitsunday Even at Cape Tyburon one of our

boyes ranne away from us, and at ten dayes end returned to our ships almost starved for want of food. In sundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon we found the bones and carkases of divers men, who had perished (as wee thought) by famine in those woods, being either stragled from their company, or landed there by some men of warre.

June.

ON the 14 of June we tooke a smal Spanish frigāt which fell amongst us so suddenly, as he doubled the point at the Bay of Cape Tyburon, where we road, so that he could not escape us. This Frigāt came from Santo Domingo, and had but 3 men in her, the one was an expert Pilot, the other a Mountainer, and the third a Vintener, who escaped all out of prison at Santo Domingo, purposing to fly to Yaguana which is a towne in the West parts of Hispaniola where many fugitive Spaniards are gathered together.

The 17 being Wednesday Captaine Lane was sent to Yaguana with his Pinnesse and a Frigāt to take a shippe, which was there taking in freight, as we understood by the old Pylot, whom we had taken three dayes before.

The 24 the Frigāt returned from Captaine Lane at Yaguana, and brought us word to cape Tyburon, that Captaine Lane had taken the shippe, with many passengers and Negroes in the same; which proved not so rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a Frenchman of warre had taken and spoyled her before we came. Neverthelesse her loading was thought worth 1000 or 1300 pounds, being hides, ginger, Cannafistula, Copperpannes, and Casavi.

July.

THE second of July Edward Spicer whom we left in England came to us at Cape Tyburon, accompanied with a small Pinnesse, whereof one M. Harps was Captaine. And the same day we had sight of a fleete of 14 saile all of Santo Domingo, to whom we presently gave chase, but they upon the first sight of us fled, and separating themselves scattered here and there: Wherefore we were forced to divide our selves and so made after them untill 12 of the clocke at night. But then by reason of the darknesse we lost sight of ech other, yet in the end

the Admirall and the Moonelight happened to be together the same night at the fetching up of the Vizadmirall of the Spanish flecte, against whom the next morning we fought and tooke him, with losse of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs 4 slaine and 6 hurt. But what was become of our Viceadmirall, our Pinnesse, and Prize, and two Frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

The 3 of July we spent about rifling, romaging and fitting the Prize to be sailed with us.

The 6 of July we saw Jamayca the which we left on our larboord, keeping Cuba in sight on our starboord.

Upon the 8 of July we saw the Iland of Pinos, which lieth on the Southside of Cuba nigh unto the West end or Cape called Cape S. Anthony. And the same day we gave chase to a Frigat, but at night we lost sight of her, partly by the slow sayling of our Admirall, & lacke of the Moonelight our Pinnesse, whom Captaine Cooke had sent to the Cape the day before.

On the 11 we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our consort the Moonelight and her Pinnesse abiding for our comming, of whom we understood that the day before there passed by them 22 saile, some of them of the burden of 300 and some 400 tunnes loaden with the Kings treasure from the maine, bound for Havana; from this 11 of July untill 22 we were much becalmed: and the winde being very scarce, and the weather exceeding hoat, we were much pestered with the Spaniards we had taken: wherefore we were driven to land all the Spaniards saving three, but the place where we landed them was of their owne choise on the Southside of Cuba neere unto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23 we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands therof called the Martires.

The 25 being S. James day in the morning, we fell with the Matanças, a head-land 8 leagues towards the East of Havana, where we purposed to take fresh water in, and make our abode two or three dayes.

On Sunday the 26 of July plying too and fro betweene the Matanças and Havana, we were espied of three small Pinnasses of S. John de Ullua bound for Havana, which were exceeding richly loaden. These 3 Pinnasses came very boldly up unto us, and so continued untill they came within musket shot of us. And we supposed them to be Captaine Harps pinnesse, and two small Frigats taken

by Captain Harpe: wherefore we shewed our flag. But they presently upon the sight of it turned about & made all the saile they could from us toward the shore, & kept themselves in so shallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gave them over with expence of shot & powder to no purpose. But if we had not so rashly set out our flagge, we might have taken them all three, for they would not have knowen us before they had bene in our hands. This chase brought us so far to leeward as Havana: wherefore not finding any of our consorts at ye Matanças, we put over again to the cape of Florida, & from thence thorow the chanel of Bahama.

On the 28 the Cape of Florida bare West of us.

The 30 we lost sight of the coast of Florida, and stood to Sea for to gaine the helpe of the current which runneth much swifter a farre off then in sight of the coast. For from the Cape to Virginia all along the shore are none but eddie currents, setting to the South and Southwest.

The 31 our three ships were clearly disbocked, the great prize, the Admirall, and the Mooneshine, but our prize being thus disbocked departed from us without taking leave of our Admirall or consort, and sayled directly for England.

August.

ON the first of August the winde scanted, and from thence forward we had very fowle weather with much raine, thundering, and great spouts, which fell round about us nigh unto our ships.

The 3 we stode againe in for the shore, and at midday we tooke the height of the same. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were within three leagues of the Low sandie Ilands West of Wokokon. But the weather continued so exceeding foule, that we could not come to an anker nye the coast: wherefore we stood off againe to Sea untill Monday the 9 of August.

On munday the storme ceased, and we had very great likelihood of faire weather: therefore we stood in againe for the shore: & came to an anker at 11 fadome in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the shore, where we went on land on the narrow sandy Iland, being one of the Ilandes West of Wokokon: in this Iland we tooke

in some fresh water and caught great store of fish in the shallow water. Betweene the maine (as we supposed) and that Iland it was but a mile over and three or foure foote deepe in most places.

On the 12 in the morning we departed from thence and toward night we came to an anker at the Northeast end of the Iland of Croatoan, by reason of a breach which we perceived to lie out two or three leagues into the Sea: here we road all that night.

The 13 in the morning before we wayed our ankers, our boates were sent to sound over this breach: our ships riding on the side thereof at 5 fadome; and a ships length from us we found but 4 and a quarter, and then deeping and shallowing for the space of two miles, so that sometimes we found 5 fadome, and by & by 7, and within two casts with the lead 9, & then 8, next cast 5, & then 6, & then 4, & then 9 againe, and deeper; but 3 fadome was the last, 2 leagues off from the shore. This breach is in 35 degr. & a halfe, & lyeth at the very Northeast point of Croatoan, wheras goeth a fret out of the maine Sea into the inner waters, which part the Ilandes and the maine land.

The 15 of August towards Evening we came to an anker at Hatorask, in 36 degr. and one third, in five fadom water, three leagues from the shore. At our first comming to anker on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Raonoak neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which smoake put us in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boates went a shore, & Captaine Cooke, & Cap. Spicer, & their company with me, with intent to passe to the place at Raonoak where our countrey men were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our Master gunner to make readie 2 Minions and a Falkon well loden, and to shoot them off with reasonable space betweene every shot, to the ende that their reportes might bee heard to the place where wee hoped to finde some of our people. This was accordingly performed, & our twoe boats put off unto the shore, in the Admirals boat we sounded all the way and found from our shippe untill we came within a mile of the shore nine, eight, and seven fadome: but before we were halfe way betweene our ships and the shore we saw

another great smoke to the Southwest of Kindrikers mountes: we therefore thought good to goe to that second smoke first: but it was much further from the harbour where we landed, then we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired before wee came to the smoke. But that which grieved us more was that when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this way to drinke. Being thus wearied with this journey we returned to the harbour where we left our boates, who in our absence had brought their caske a shore for fresh water, so we deferred our going to Roanoak untill the next morning, and caused some of those saylers to digge in those sandie hills for fresh water whereof we found very sufficient. That night wee returned aboard with our boates and our whole company in safety.

The next morning being the 17 of August, our boates and company were prepared againe to goe up to Roanoak, but Captaine Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by meanes whereof it was ten of the clocke aforenoone before we put from our ships which were then come to an anker within two miles of the shore. The Admirals boat was halfe way toward the shore, when Captaine Spicer put off from his ship. The Admirals boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea brake into our boat which filled us halfe full of water, but by the will of God and carefull styrage of Captaine Cooke we came safe ashore, saving onely that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and spoyled. For at this time the winde blue at Northeast and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admirals boate was halled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing up, and was halfe passed over, but by the rash and undiscreet styrage of Ralph Skinner his Masters mate, a very dangerous Sea brake into their boate and overset them quite, the men kept the boat some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade ashore; but the Sea still beat them downe, so that they could neither stand nor

swimme, and the boat twise or thrise was turned the keele upward, whereon Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung untill they sunke, & were seene no more. But foure that could swimme a litle kept themselves in deeper water and were saved by Captain Cookes meanes, who so soone as he saw their oversetting, stripped himselfe, and foure other that could swimme very well, & with all haste possible rowed unto them, & saved foure. They were a 11 in all, & 7 of the chieftest were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelley, Thomas Bevis, Hance the Surgion, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement & perswasion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and seeing the Captaine and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boates: but before we could get to the place, where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied towards the North end of the Iland ye light of a great fire thorow the woods, to the which we presently rowed: when wee came right over against it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the shore, & sounded with a trumpet a Call, & afterwarde many familiar English tunes of Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answer, we therefore landed at day-breake, and coming to the fire, we found the grasse & sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Iland directly over against Dasamongwepeuk, & from thence we returned by the water side, round about the North point of the Iland, untill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Salvages feet of 2 or 3 sorts troaden ye night, and as we entred up the sandy banke upon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carved these faire Romane letters C R O: which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon betweene them & me at my last departure from them, which was, that in any wayes they should not faile to

write or carve on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my comming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name, a Crosse ✝ in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And having well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fort-like, and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5 foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was graven CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entred into the palisado, where we found many barres of Iron, two pigges of Lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heavie things, throwen here and there, almost overgrown with grasse and weedes. From thence wee went along by the water side, towards the poynt of the Creeke to see if we could find any of their botes or Pinnisse, but we could perceive no signe of them, nor any of the last Falkons and small Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, some of our Saylers meeting us, tolde us that they had found where divers chests had bene hidden, and long sithence digged up againe and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoyled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the Savages knew any use of, undefaced. Presently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captaine Amadas: where wee found five Chests, that had bene carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne, and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; this could bee no other but the deede of the Savages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed,

digged up every place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieved me to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Savages of the Iland our friends.

When we had seene in this place so much as we could, we returned to our Boates, and departed from the shoare towards our Shippes, with as much speede as wee could: For the weather beganne to overcast, and very likely that a foule and stormie night would ensue. Therefore the same Evening with much danger and labour, we got our selves aboard, by which time the winde and seas were so greatly risen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would scarcely holde untill Morning: wherefore the Captaine caused the Boate to be manned with five lusty men, who could swimme all well, and sent them to the little Iland on the right hand of the Harbour, to bring aboard sixe of our men, who had filled our caske with fresh water: the Boate the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our Caske ready filled they left behinde, impossible to bee had aboard without danger of casting away both men and Boates: for this night proved very stormie and foule.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captaine and my selfe, with the Master and others, to wey anchor, and goe for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the winde was good for that place, and also to leave that Caske with fresh water on shoare in the Iland untill our returne. So then they brought the cable to the Capston, but when the anchor was almost apeecke, the Cable broke, by meanes whereof we lost another Anchor, wherewith we drove so fast into the shoare, that wee were forced to let fall a third Anchor: which came so fast home that the Shippe was almost aground by Kenricks mounts: so that wee were forced to let slippe the Cable ende for ende. And if it had pot chanced that wee had fallen into a chanell of deeper water, closer by the shoare then wee accompted of, wee could never have gone cleare of the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mounts. Being thus cleare of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some losse: for wee had but one Cable and Anchor left us of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler

and fouler; our victuals scarce, and our caske and fresh water lost: it was therefore determined that we should goe for Saint John or some other Iland to the Southward for fresh water. And it was further purposed, that if wee could any wayes supply our wants of victuals and other necessaries, either at Hispaniola, Sant John, or Trynidad, that then wee should continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with hope to make 2. rich voyages of one, and at our returne to visit our countrymen at Virginia. The captaine and the whole company in the Admirall (with my earnest petitions) thereunto agreed, so that it rested onely to knowe what the Master of the Moone-light our consort would doe herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany us in that new determination, they alledged that their weake and leake Shippe was not able to continue it; wherefore the same night we parted, leaving the Moone-light to goe directly for England, and the Admirall set his course for Trynidad, which course we kept two dayes.

On the 28. the winde changed, and it was sette on foule weather every way: but this storme brought the winde West and Northwest, and blewe so forcibly, that wee were able to beare no sayle, but our fore-course halfe mast high, wherewith wee ranne upon the winde perforce, the due course for England, for that wee were driven to change our first determination for Trynidad, and stode for the Ilands of Açores, where wee purposed to take in fresh water, and also there hoped to meete with some English men of warre about those Ilands, at whose hands wee might obtaine some supply of our wants. And thus continuing our course for the Açores, sometimes with calmes, and sometimes with very scarce windes, on the fifteenth of September the winde came South Southeast, and blew so exceedingly, that wee were forced to lye atry all that day. At this time by account we judged our selves to be about twentie leagues to the West of Cuervo and Flores, but about night the storme ceased, and fayre weather ensued.

On Thursday the seventeenth wee saw Cuervo and Flores, but we could not come to anker that night, by reason the winde shifted. The next Morning being the eighteenth, standing in againe with Cuervo, we escryed a sayle ahead us, to whom we gave chase: but when wee came neere him, we knew him to be a Spanyard,

and hoped to make sure purchase of him: but we understood at our speaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleete already taken by the John our consort, in the Indies. We learned also of this prize, that our Viceadmirall and Pinnesse had fought with the rest of the Domingo fleete, and had forced them with their Admirall to flee unto Jamaica under the Fort for succour, and some of them ran themselves aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and tooke out of some others so much as the time would permit. And further wee understood of them, that in their returne from Jamaica about the Organes neere Cape Saint Anthony, our Viceadmirall mette with two Shippes of the mayne land, come from Mexico, bound for Havana, with whom he fought: in which fight our Viceadmirals Lieutenant was slaine, and the Captaines right arme strooken off, with foure other of his men slaine, and sixtene hurt. But in the ende he entred, and tooke one of the Spanish shippes, which was so sore shot by us under water, that before they could take out her treasure she sunke; so that we lost thirteene Pipes of silver which sunke with her, besides much other rich marchandize. And in the meane time the other Spanish shippe being pearced with nine shotte under water, got away; whom our Viceadmirall intended to pursue: but some of their men in the toppe made certaine rockes, which they saw above water neere the shoare, to be Gallies of Havana and Cartagena, comming from Havana to rescue the two Ships; Wherefore they gave over their chase, and went for England. After this intelligence was given us by this our prize, he departed from us, and went for England.

On Saturday the 19. of September we came to an Ancre neere a small village on the North side of Flores, where we found ryding 5. English men of warre, of whom wee understood that our Viceadmirall and Prize were gone thence for England. One of these five was the Moonelight our consort, who upon the first sight of our comming into Flores, set sayle and went for England, not taking any leave of us.

On Sunday the 20. the Mary Rose, Admirall of the Queenes fleete, wherein was Generall Sir John Hawkins, stood in with Flores, and divers other of the Queenes ships, namely the Hope, the Nonpareilia, the Rainebow, the Swift-sure, the Foresight, with many other good

merchants ships of warre, as the Edward Bonaventure, the Marchant Royal, the Amitie, the Eagle, the Dainty of sir John Hawkins, and many other good ships and pinnesses, all attending to meete with the king of Spaines fleete, comming from Terra firma of the West Indies.

The 22. of September we went aboard the Raynebow, and towards night we spake with the Swift-sure, and gave him 3. pieces. The captaines desired our company; wherefore we willingly attended on them: who at this time with 10. other ships stood for Faial. But the Generall with the rest of the Fleete were separated from us, making two fleetes, for the surer meeting with the Spanish fleete.

On Wednesday the 23. we saw Gratirosa, where the Admirall and the rest of the Queens fleete were come together. The Admirall put forth a flag of counsel, in which was determined that the whole fleete should go for the mayne, and spred themselves on the coasts of Spaine and Portugal, so farre as conveniently they might, for the surer meeting of the Spanish fleete in those parts.

The 26. we came to Faial, where the Admirall with some other of the fleete ankred, othersome plyed up and downe betweene that and the Pico untill midnight, at which time the Antony shot off a piece and weyed, shewing his light: after whom the whole fleete stood to the East, the winde at Northeast by East.

On Sunday the 27. towards Evening wee tooke our leave of the Admirall and the whole fleete, who stood to the East. But our shippe accompanied with a Flyboate stoode in againe with S. George, where we purposed to take in more fresh water, and some other fresh victuals.

On Wednesday the 30. of September, seeing the winde hang so Northerly, that wee could not attaine the Iland of S. George, we gave over our purpose to water there, and the next day framed our due course for England.

October.

THE 2. of October in the Morning we saw S. Michaels Iland on our Starre board quarter.

The 23. at 10. of the clocke afore noone, we saw Ushant in Britaigne.



Drawn by Thomas Derrick from "The Effigies Regum" of Crispin de Passe (1598).

On Saturday the 24. we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth.

A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into Florida: Wherein the great riches and fruitfulnessse of the Countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, saving the last, by Monsieur Laudonniere, who remained there himselfe as the French Kings Lieutenant a yeere and a quarter:

Translated out of French into English by M. Richard Hakluyt.

To the right honourable Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, Captaine of her Majesties Gard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the County of Cornewall, R. H. wisheth true felicitie.

SIR, after that this historie, which had bene concealed many yeeres, was lately committed to print and published in France under your Name by my learned friend M. Martine Basanier of Paris, I was easily enduced to turne it into English, understanding that the same was no lesse gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to many great and worthie persons there. And no marvaile though it were very welcome unto you, and that you liked of the translation thereof, since no history hitherto set forth hath more affinitie, resemblance or conformitie with yours of Virginia, then this of Florida. But calling to minde that you had spent more yeeres in France then I, and understand the French better then my selfe, I forthwith perceived that you approoved mine endeavour, not for any private ease or commoditie that thereby might redound unto you, but that it argued a singular and especiall care you had of those which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you would have forewarned and admonished aswell to beware of the gross negligence in providing of sufficiency of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the French, with the great inconveniences that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps they might learne to prevent and avoyde the like, as also might be put in minde, by the reading of the manifold commodities and great fertilitie of the places herein at large described and so neere neighbours unto

our Colonies, that they might generally bee awaked and stirred up unto the diligent observation of every thing that might turne to the advancement of the action, wherinto they are so cheerefully entred. Many speciall poynts concerning the commodities of these partes, the accidents of the French mens government therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of the abandoning one of their forts, and the surprise of the other by the enemie are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I have annexed to the ende of the worke, it shall be needlesse to reckon up againe. And that the rather, because the same with divers other things of chiefest importance are lively drawne in colours at your no smal charges by the skillfull painter James Morgues, sometime living in the Black-fryers in London (whom Monsieur Chastillion then Admirall of France sent thither with Laudonniere for that purpose) which was an eye-witnesse of the goodnesse and fertility of those regions, and hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise: which since he hath published together with the purtraitures. These foure voyages I knew not to whom I might better offer then to your selfe, and that for divers just considerations. First, for that as I have sayd before, they were dedicated unto you in French: secondly because now foure times also you have attempted the like upon the selfe same coast neere adjoyning: thirdly in that you have persed as farre up into the maine and discovered no lesse secrets in the partes of your aboad, then the French did in the places of their inhabiting lastly considering you are now also ready (upon the late returne of Captaine Stafford and good newes which he brought you of the safe arrival of your last Colony in their wished haven) to prosecute this action more throughly then ever. And here to speake somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirme, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will proove farre more beneficiall in divers respects unto this our realme, then the world, yea many of the wiser sort, have hitherto imagined. The particular commodities whereof are wel knowen unto your selfe and some few others, and are faithfully and with great judgement committed to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers, which remained there about a twelvemonth

with your worshipful Lieutenant M. Ralph Lane, in the diligent search of the secrets of those Countreys. Touching the speedy and effectual pursuing of your action, though I wote well it would demaund a princes purse to have it throughly followed without lingring, yet am I of opinion, that you shall drawe the same before it be long to be profitable and gainful aswel to those of our nation there remaining, as to the merchants of England that shall trade hereafter thither, partly by certaine secret commodities already discovered by your servants, & partly by breeding of divers sorts of beasts in those large and ample regions, and planting of such things in that warme climat as wil best prosper there, and our realme standeth most in need of. And this I find to have bin the course that both the Spaniards and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their discoveries & conquests. For the Spaniards at their first entrance into Hispaniola found neither suger-canes nor ginger growing there, nor any kind of our cattel: But finding the place fit for pasture they sent kine & buls and sundry sorts of other profitable beasts thither, & transported the plants of suger-canes, and set the rootes of ginger: the hides of which oxen, with suger and ginger, are now the chiefe merchandise of that Island. The Portugals also at their first footing in Madera, as John Barros writes in his first Decade, found nothing there but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called the Island by that name. Howbeit the climate being favourable, they inriched it by their own industry with the best wines and sugers in the world. The like maner of proceeding they used in the Isles of the Açores by sowing therein great quantity of Woad. So dealt they in S. Thomas under the Equinoctial, and in Brasil, and sundry other places. And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but in due time they shall reape no lesse commoditie and benefit. Moreover there is none other likelihood but that her Majesty, which hath Christned, and given the name to your Virginia, if need require, will deale after the maner of honorable god-mothers, which, seeing their gossips not fully able to bring up their children themselves, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they find any towardlines or reasonable hope of goodnesse in them. And if Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Aragon, after her husband Ferdinando and she had emptied their cofers and

exhausted their treasures in subduing the kingdome of Granada and rooting the Mores, a wicked weed, out of Spayne, was neverthesse so zealous of Gods honour, that (as Fernandus Columbus the sonne of Christopher Columbus recordeth in the history of the deedes of his father) she layd part of her owne jewels, which she had in great account, to gage, to furnish his father foorth upon his first voyage, before any foot of land of all the West Indies was discovered; what may we expect of our most magnificent and gracious prince ELIZABETH of England, into whose lappe the Lord hath most plentifully throwne his treasures, what may wee, I say, hope of her forwardnesse and bounty in advancing of this your most honourable enterpryse, being farre more certaine then that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tending no lesse to the glorie of God then that action of the Spanyardes? For as you may read in the very last wordes of the relation of Newe Mexico extant nowe in English, the maine land, where your last Colonie meane to seate themselves, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, Which are of better wittes then those of Mexico and Peru, as hath bene found by those that have had some triall of them: whereby it may bee gathered that they will easily embrace the Gospell, forsaking their idolatrie, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped and intangled. A wise Philosopher noting the sundry desires of divers men, writeth, that if an oxe bee put into a medowe hee will seeke to fill his bellie with grasse, if a Storke bee cast in shee will seeke for Snakes, if you turne in a Hound he will seeke to start an Hare: So sundry men entring into these discoveries propose unto themselves severall endes. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part worldly and transitorie gaine, and that often times by dishonest and unlawfull meanes, the fewest number the glorie of God and the saving of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels. Yet because divers honest and well disposed persons are entred already into this your businesse, and that I know you meane hereafter to sende some such good Churchmen thither, as may truely say with the Apostle to the Savages, Wee seeke not yours but you: I conceive great comfort of the successe of this your action, hoping that the Lorde, whose power is wont to bee perfected in weakenesse, will blesse

the feeble foundations of your building. Onely bee you of a valiant courage and faint not, as the Lorde sayd unto Josue, exhorting him to proceede on forward in the conquest of the land of promise, and remember that private men have happily wielded and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser meanes then those which God in his mercie hath bountifully bestowed upon you, to the singuler good, as I assure my selfe, of this our Common wealth wherein you live. Hereof we have examples domesticall and forreine. Remember I pray you, what you find in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conquest of Ireland newly dedicated unto your selfe. Read you not that Richard Strangbow the decayed earle of Chepstow in Monmuthshire, being in no great favour of his soveraigne, passed over into that Island in the yere 1171. and accompanied only with certain of his private friends had in short space such prosperous successe, that he opened the way for king Henry the second to the speedy subjection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of England? The like conquest of Brasilia, and annexing the same to the kingdome of Portugall was first begun by meane and private men, as Don Antonio de Castillio, Ambassadour here for that realme, and by office keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoveries, assured me in this city in the yere 1581. Now if the greatnes of the maine of Virginia, and the large extension therof, especially to the West, should make you thinke that the subduing of it, were a matter of more difficulty then the conquest of Ireland, first I answere, that as the late experience of that skilfull pilote and Captaine M. John Davis to the Northwest (toward which his discovery your selfe have thrise contributed with the forwardest) hath shewed a great part to be maine sea, where before was thought to be maine land, so for my part I am fully perswaded by Ortelius late reformation of Culvacan and the gulfe of California, that the land on the backe part of Virginia extendeth nothing so far westward as is put downe in the Maps of those parts. Moreover it is not to be denied, but that one hundred men will do more now among the naked and unarmed people in Virginia, then one thousand were able then to do in Ireland against that armed and warlike nation in those daies. I say further, that these two yeres last experience hath plainly shewed, that we may spare 10000. able men without any misse.

And these are as many as the kingdome of Portugal had ever in all their garrisons of the Açores, Madera, Arguin, Cape verde, Guinea, Brasill, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Malaca, the Malucos, and Macao upon the coast of China. Yea this I say by the confession of singuler expert men of their own nation (whose names I suppress for certaine causes) which have bene personally in the East Indies, & have assured me that their kings had never above ten thousand natural borne Portugals (their slaves excepted) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforesaid territories. Which also this present yeere I saw confirmed in a secrete extract of the particular estate of that kingdome and of every governement and office subject to the same, with the several pensions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are so farre from want of people, that retyring daily home out of the Lowe Countreys they go idle up and downe in swarms for lack of honest intertainment, I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trained up thus long in service, then in the inward partes of the firme of Virginia against such stubborne Savages as shal refuse obedience to her Majestie. And doubtlesse many of our men will bee glad and faine to accept this condition, when as by the reading of this present treatie they shal understand the fertilitie and riches of the regions confining so neere upon yours, the great commodities and goodnesse wherof you have bin contented to suffer to come to light. In the meane season I humbly commend my selfe and this my translation unto you, and your selfe, and all those which under you have taken this enterprise in hand to the grace and good blessing of the Almighty, which is able to build farther, and to finish the good worke which in these our dayes he hath begun by your most Christian and charitable endeavour. From London the 1. of May 1587.

Your L. humble at commandement.

R. HAKLUYT.

The description of the West Indies in generall, but chiefly and particularly of Florida.

THAT part of the earth which at this day we call the fourth part of the world, or America, or rather the West India, was unknowen unto our ancestours by reason of the great distance thereof. In like maner all the Westernne Islands



JOHN VERRAZZANO

*Drawn by Thomas Derrick from "The
History and Antiquities of Boston,"
by S. G. Drake (1857).*

and fortunate Isles were not discovered but by those of our age. Howbeit there have bin some which have said that they were discoverd in the time of Augustus Cæsar, and that Virgil hath made mention thereof in the sixth booke of his *Æneidos*, when he saith, There is a land beyond the starres, and the course of the yeere and of the Sunne, where Atlas the Porter of heaven sustaineth the pole upon his shoulders : neverthelesse it is easie to judge that hee meaneth not to speake of this land, whereof no man is found to have written before his time, neither yet above a thousand yeeres after. Christopher Colon did first light upon this land in the yeere 1592. And five yeeres after Americus went thither by the commandement of the king of Castile, and gave unto it his own name, whereupon afterward it was called America. This man was very well seene in the Arte of Navigation and in Astronomie : whereby hee discovered in his time many lands unknowne unto the ancient Geographers. This Countrey is named by some, the land of Bresill, and the lande of Parots. It stretcheth it selfe, according unto Postell, from the one Pole to the other, saving at the streight of Magelan, whereunto it reacheth 53. degrees beyond the Equator. I will divide it for the better understanding into three principall parts. That which is toward the Pole Arcticke on the North is called new France, because that in the yeere 1524. John Verrazzano a Florentine was sent by King Francis the first, and by Madam the Regent his mother unto these newe Regions, where he went on land, and discovered all the coast which is from the Tropicke of Cancer, to wit, from the eight and twentieth unto the fiftieth degree, and father unto the North. Hee planted in this Countrey the Ensignes and Armes of the king of France : so that the Spaniardes themselves which were there afterwarde, have named this Countrey Terra Francesca. The same then extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the 25. degree unto the 54. toward the North : and in Longitude from 210. unto 330. The Easterne part thereof is called by the late writers The land of Norumbega, which beginneth at the Bay of Gama, which separateth it from the Isle of Canada, whither Jaques Carthier sayled the yeere 1535. About the which there are many Ilands, among which is that which is named Terra de Labrador stretching towarde Groenland. In the Westerne part there are many knowne Countreys,

as the Regions of Quivira, Civola, Astatlan, and Terlichichimici. The Southerne part is called Florida, because it was discovered on Palme-sunday, which the Spaniardes call Pascha Florida. The Northerne part is altogether unknown.

The second part of all America is called newe Spaine. It extendeth from the Tropicke of Cancer in twentie three degrees and a halfe, unto the ninth degree. In the same is situated the Citie of Themistitan, and it hath many Regions, and many Ilandes adjoynd unto it, which are called the Antilles, whereof the most famous and renoumed are Hispaniola and Isabella, with an infinite number of others. All this land, together with the Bay of Mexico, and all the Ilands aforesayd, have not in Longitude past seventie degrees, to wit, from the two hundreth and fortie, unto three hundreth and ten: it is also long and narrow as Italie. The third part of America is called Peru, it is very great, and extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the tenth degree unto the three and fiftieth beyond the Equator, to wit, as I have sayde before, unto the streight of Magelan. It is made in fashion like to an egge, and is very well knowen upon all sides. The part where it is largest hath threescore degrees, and from thence it waxeth narrower and narrower toward both the endes. In one part of this lande Villegagnon planted right under the Tropicke of Capricorne, and he called it France Antarctick, because it draweth toward the pole Antarctick, as our France doeth toward the Arctick.

New France is almost as great as all our Europe. Howbeit the most knowen and inhabited part thereof is Florida, whither many Frenchmen have made divers voyages at sundry times, insomuch that nowe it is the best knowen Countrey which is in all this part of newe France. The Cape thereof is as it were a long head of lande stretching out into the Sea an hundred leagues, and runneth directly toward the South: it hath right over against it five and twentie leagues distant the Isle of Cuba otherwise called Isabella, toward the East the Isles of Bahama and Lucaya, and toward the West the Bay of Mexico. The Countrey is flat, and divided with divers rivers, and therefore moyst, and is sandie towards the Sea shore. There groweth in those partes great quantitie of Pinetrees, which have no kernels in the apples which they beare. Their woods are full of Oakes,

Walnuttrees, blacke Cherrietrees, Mulberry trees, Lentiskes, and Chestnut trees, which are more wilde then those in France. There is great store of Cedars, Cypresses, Bayes, Palme trees, Hollies, and wilde Vines, which climbe up along the trees and beare good Grapes. There is there a kinde of Medlers, the fruite whereof is better then that of France, and bigger. There are also Plumtrees, which beare very faire fruite, but such as is not very good. There are Raspasses, and a little berrie which we call among us Blues, which are very good to eate. There growe in that Countrey a kinde of Rootes which they call in their language Hasez, whereof in necessitie they make bread. There is also there the tree called Esquine, which is very good against the Pockes and other contagious diseases. The Beastes best knowen in this Countrey are Stagges, Hindes, Goates, Deere, Leopards, Ounces, Luserns, divers sortes of Wolves, wilde Dogs, Hares, Cunnies, and a certaine kinde of beast that differeth little from the Lyon of Africa. The foules are Turkeycocks, Partridges, Parrots, Pignons, Ringdoves, Turtles, Blackbirdes, Crowes, Tarcels, Faulcons, Laynerds, Herons, Cranes, Storckes, wilde Geese, Malards, Cormorants, Hernshawes, white, red, blacke and gray, and an infinite sort of all wilde foule. There is such abundance of Crocodiles, that oftentimes in swimming men are assayled by them; of Serpents there are many sorts. There is found among the Savages good quantitie of Gold and Silver, which is gotten out of the shippes that are lost upon the coast, as I have understood by the Savages themselves. They use traffique thereof one with another. And that which maketh me the rather beleve it, is, that on the coast toward the Cape, where commonly the shippes are cast away, there is more store of Silver then toward the North. Neverthelesse they say, that in the Mountaines of Appalacoy there are Mines of Copper, which I thinke to be Golde. There is also in this Countrey great store of graynes and herbes, whereof might be made excellent good dyes and paintings of all kind of colours. And in trueth the Indians which take pleasure in painting of their skins, know very well how to use the same. The men are of an Olive colour, of great stature, faire, without any deformitie, and well proportioned. They cover their privities with the skinne of a Stagge well dressed. The most part of them have their

bodies, armes, and thighes painted with very faire devises : the painting whereof can never bee taken away, because the same is pricked into their flesh. Their haire is very blacke and reacheth even downe to their hips, howbeit they trusse it up after a fashion that becommeth them very well. They are great dissemblers and traitours, valiant of their persons & fight very well. They have none other weapons but their bowes and arrowes. They make the string of their bow of a gut of a Stag, or of a Stags skin, which they know how to dresse as well as any man in France, and with as different sorts of colours. They head their arrowes with the teeth of fishes and stone, which they worke very finely and handsomly. They exercise their yong men to runne well, and they make a game among themselves, which he winneth that hath the longest breath. They also exercise themselves much in shooting. They play at the ball in this maner : they set up a tree in the middest of a place which is eight or nine fathom high, in the top whereof there is set a square mat made of reedes or Bulrushes, which whosoever hitteth in playing thereat, winneth the game. They take great pleasure in hunting and fishing. The kings of the Countrey make great warre one against the other, which is not executed but by surprise, and they kill all the men they can take : afterward they cut of their heads to have their haire, which returning home they carry away, to make thereof their triumph when they come to their houses. They save the women and children and nourish them and keepe them alwayes with them. Being returned home from the warre, they assemble all their subjects, and for joy three days and three nights they make good cheare, they daunce & sing, likewise they make the most ancient women of the Countrey to dance, holding the haire of their enemies in their hands : and in dauncing they sing praises to the Sunne, ascribing unto him the honour of the victory. They have no knowledge of God, nor of any religion, saving of that which they see, as the Sunne and the Moone. They have their Priests to whom they give great credit, because they are great magicians, great soothsayers, and callers upon divels. These Priests serve them in stead of Physitions and Chirurgions. They carry alwayes about them a bag full of herbes and drugs to cure the sicke diseased which for the most part are sick of the pocks, for they love women & maidens

exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the Sunne : and some of them are Sodomites. They marry, and every one hath his wife, and it is lawfull for the King to have two or three : yet none but the first is honoured and acknowledged for Queene : and none but the children of the first wife inherite the goods and authoritie of the father. The women doe all the businesse at home. They keepe not house with them after they know they be with child. And they eate not of that which they touch as long as they have their flowers. There are in all this Countrey many Hermaphrodites, which take all the greatest paine, and beare the victuals when they goe to warre. They paint their faces much, and sticke their haire full of feathers or downe, that they may seeme more terrible. The victuals which they carry with them, are of bread, of hony, and of meale made of Maiz parched in the fire, which they keepe without being marred a long while. They carry also sometimes fish, which they cause to be dressed in the smoke. In necessitie they eat a thousand rifraffes, even to the swallowing downe of coales, and putting sand into the pottage that they make with this meale. When they goe to warre, their King marcheth first, with a clubbe in the one hand, and his bowe in the other, with his quiver full of arrowes. All his men follow him, which have likewise their bowes and arrowes. While they fight, they make great cries and exclamations. They take no enterprise in hand, but first they assemble oftentimes their Councill together, and they take very good advisement before they growe to a resolution. They meete together every morning in a great common house, whither their King repaireth, and setteth him downe upon a seate which is higher then the seates of the other : where all of them one after another come and salute him : and the most ancient begin their salutations, lifting up both their handes twise as high as their face, saying, ha, he, ya, and the rest answer ha, ha. Assoone as they have done their salutation, every man sitteth him downe upon the seates which are round about in the house. If there be any thing to intreate of, the King calleth the Jawas, that is to say, their Priestes, and the most ancient men, and asketh them their advise. Afterward he commaundeth Cassine to be brewed, which is a drinke made of the leaves of a certaine tree : They drinke this Cassine very hotte : he drinketh first, then he causeth to be given

thereof to all of them one after another in the same boule, which holdeth well a quart meásure of Paris. They make so great account of this drinke, that no man may taste thereof in this assembly, unlesse hee hath made prooffe of his valure in the warre. Moreover this drinke hath such a vertue, that assoone as they have drunke it; they become all in a sweate, which sweate being past, it taketh away hunger and thirst for foure and twenty houres after. When a King dyeth, they burie him very solemnly, and upon his grave they set the cuppe wherein he was wont to drinke: and round about the sayde grave they sticke many arrowes, and weepe and fast three dayes together without ceassing. All the kings which were his friends make the like mourning: and in token of the love which they bare him, they cut of more then the one halfe of their haire, as well men as women. During the space of sixe Moones (so they reckon their moneths) there are certaine women appoynted which bewaile the death of this King, crying with a loude voyce thrise a day, to wit, in the Morning, at Noone, and at Evening. All the goods of this King are put into his house, and afterward they set it on fire, so that nothing is ever more after to be seene. The like is done with the goods of the Priestes, and besides they burie the bodies of the Priests in their houses, and then they set them on fire. They sowe their Maiz twice a yere, to wit, in March and in June, and all in one and the same soyle. The sayd Maiz from the time that it is sowed untill the time that it be ready to be gathered, is but three moneths on the ground. The other 6. moneths they let the earth rest. They have also faire Pumpions, & very good Beanes. They never dung their land, onely when they would sowe, they set the weedes on fire, which grewe up the 6. moneths, and burne them all. They dig their ground with an instrument of wood which is fashioned like a broad mattocke, wherewith they digge their Vines in France, they put two graines of Maiz together. When the land is to be sowed, the King commaundeth one of his men to assemble his subjects every day to labour, during which labour the King causeth store of that drinke to be made for them, whereof we have spoken. At the time when the Maiz is gathered, it is all carried into a common house, where it is distributed to every man according to his qualitie. They sowe no more but that which they thinke will serve their turnes for sixe

The English Voyages 239

moneths, & that very scarcely. For during the Winter they retire themselves for three or foure moneths in the yeere into the woods, where they make little cotages of Palme boughes for their retraite, and live there of Maste, of Fish which they take, of Oisters, of Stagges, of Turkeycockes, and other beasts which they take. They eate all their meate broyled on the coales, and dressed in the smoake, which in their language they call Boucaned. They eate willingly the flesh of the Crocodile: and in deede it is faire and white: and were it not that it savoureth too much like Muske we would oftentimes have eaten thereof. They have a custome among them, that when they finde themselves sicke, where they feele the paine, whereas we cause ourselves to be let blood, their Physitions sucke them untill they make the blood follow.

The women are likewise of good proportion and tall, and of the same colour that the men be of, painted as the men be: Howbeit when they are borne, they be not so much of an Olive colour, and are farre whiter. For the chiefe cause that maketh them to be of this colour proceedes of annointings of oyle which they use among them: and they doe it for a certaine ceremonie which I could not learne, and because of the Sunne which shineth hote upon their bodies. The agilitie of the women is so great, that they can swimme over the great Rivers bearing their children upon one of their armes. They climbe up also very nimbly upon the highest trees in the Country.

Beholde in brieve the description of the Country, with the nature and customes of the Inhabitants: which I was very willing to write, before I entred any further into the discourse of my historie, to the end that the Readers might be the better prepared to understand that, which I meane hereafter to entreate of.

The course which Sir Francis Drake held from the haven of Guatulco in the South sea on the backe side of Nueva Espanna, to the North-west of California as far as fourtie three degrees: and his returne back along the said Coast to thirtie eight degrees: where finding a faire and goodly haven, he landed, and staying there many weekes, and discovering many excellent things in the countrey and great shewe of rich minerall matter, and being offered the dominion of the countrey by the Lord of the same, hee tooke possession thereof in the behalfe of her Majestie, and named it Nova Albion.

WEE kept our course from the Isle of Cano (which lyeth in eight degrees of Northerly latitude, and within two leagues of the maine of Nicaragua, where wee calked and trimmed our ship) along the coast of Nueva Espanna, untill we came to the Haven and Towne of Guatulco, which (as we were informed) had but seventeene Spaniards dwelling in it, and we found it to stand in fifteene degrees and fiftie minutes.

Assoone as we were entred this Haven we landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne house, where we found a Judge sitting in judgement, he being associate with three other officers, upon three Negroes that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Judges, and prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shippeboord, and caused the chiefe Judge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to avoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, wee ransaked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell full of royals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our companie, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the Towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of Gold about him, and other jewels, which we tooke and so let him goe.

At this place our Generall among other Spaniards, set a shore his Portugall Pilote, which he tooke at the Island of Cape Verde, out of a ship of Saint Marie port of Portugall, and having set them a shoare, we departed thence.

Our General at this place and time thinking himselfe both in respect of his private injuries received from the

Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our Countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and revenged: and supposing that her Majestie at his returne would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coastes, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes: the one, least the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose handes he being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Streights of the South side, with continuall stormes raining and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, wherefore he thought it not a good course to adventure that way: he resolved therefore to avoide these hazards, to goe forward to the Islands of the Malucos, and thence to saile the course of the Portugales by the Cape of Bona Sperança.

Upon this resolution, he began to thinke of his best way for the Malucos, and finding himselfe, where hee now was, becalmed, hee sawe that of necessitie hee must bee enforced to take a Spanish course, namely to saile somewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 800 leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sayled from the 16 of Aprill after our olde stile till the third of June.

The fift day of June being in fortie three degrees towards the pole Arcticke, being speedily come out of the extreame heate, wee found the ayre so colde, that our men being pinched with the same, complayned of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased upon us, whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, & we drew backe againe without landing, til we came within thirtie eight degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Bay, with a good winde to enter the same.

In this Bay wee ankered the seventeenth of June, and the people of the Countrey, having their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came unto us, they greatly wondred at the things which we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) curteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to cover their nakednesse, whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrary: the presentes which they sent unto our Generall were feathers, and calcs of net worke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and have from the uttermost brimmes of the circle cliffs of wood set upon them, joyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme.

Their bed is the ground with rushes strawed on it, and lying about the house, they have the fire in the midst. The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes and kembe them after the maner of hемpe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, having also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from us, they came and visited us the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for presents: And when they came to the toppe of the hil (at the bottome whereof wee had pitched our tents) they stayed themselves, where one appointed for speaker, wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes upon the hill and came downe with their presents.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceived that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time our Generall, with his companie, went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentive and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come unto us they restored againe unto us those things which before we had bestowed upon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the king himself, a man of a goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming were sent

two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their king was comming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send something by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might bee in peace: wherein our Generall having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their king; who marched to us with a princely Majestie, the people crying continually after their maner, and as they drewe neere unto us, so did they strive to behave themselves in their actions with comelinesse.

In the fore front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter, or mace before the king, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a merveilous length: the crownes were made of knit work wrought artificially with feathers of divers colours; the chaines were made of a bony substance and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some twelve, &c. Next unto him which bare the scepter, was the king himselfe, with his Guard about his person, clad with Conie skines, and other skines: after them followed the naked common sort of people, every one having his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, and having in their hands one thing or other for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching, a very warlike shewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the king, being informed by another, whome they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were given, the king with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselves in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, observing his measures in a dance, and that with a stately countenance, whom

the king with his Garde, and every degree of persons following, did in like maner sing and dance, saving onely the women which daunced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the king, and divers others made several orations, or rather supplication, that he would take their province and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making signes that they would resigne unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which to perswade us the better, the king and the rest, with one consent and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, did set the crowne upon his head, enriched his necke with all their chaines, and offered unto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reject, because hee knewe not what honour and profite it might bee to our countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the use of her Majestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne and dignitie of the said Countrey in his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The common sort of the people leaving the king and his Guardes with our Generall, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of every person; and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about offered their sacrifices unto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nayles, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee used signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwardes to the living God, whome onely they ought to worshipp. They shewed unto us their wounds, and craved helpe of them at our handes, whereupon wee gave them lotions, plaisters and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their deseases. Every thirde day they brought their sacrifices unto us, untill they understoode our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from us, but daily frequented our company to the houre of our departure,

which departure seemed so grievous unto them, that their joy was turned into sorrow. They intreated us, that being absent wee would remember them, and by stelh provided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his companie traueiled up into the Countrey to their villages, where we found heardes of Deere by a thousand in a companie, being most large and fat of body.

We found the whole countrey to bee a warren of a strange kinde of Conies, their bodyes in bignes as be the Barbary Conies, their heads as the heades of ours, the feet of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: under her chinne on either side a bagge, into the which shee gathereth her meate when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Our Generall called this countrey, Nova Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which ly towards the sea: and the other, because it might have some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

There is no part of earth here to bee taken up, wherein there is not some speciall likelihood of gold or silver.

At our departure hence our Generall set up a monument of our being there; as also of her Majesties right and title to the same, namely a plate nailed upon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingraven her Majesties name, the day and yeere of our arrivall there, with the free giving up of the Province and people into her Majesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peice of sixe pence of current English money under the plate, where under was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had never bene in this part of the countrey, neither did ever discover the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place.

Divers voyages made by Englishmen to the famous Citie of Mexico, and to all or most part of the other principall provinces, cities, townes and places throughout the great and large kingdom of New Spaine, even as farre as Nicaragua and Panama, & thence to Peru: together with a description of the Spaniards forme of government there: and sundry pleasant relations of the maners and customes of the natural inhabitants, and of the manifold rich commodities & strange rarities found in those partes of the continent: & other matters most worthy the observation.

The voyage of Robert Tomson Marchant, into Nova Hispania in the yeere 1555. with divers observations concerning the state of the Countrey: And certaine accidents touching himselfe.

ROBERT TOMSON borne in the towne of Andover in Hampshire began his travaile out of England in An. 1553. in the moneth of March: who departing out of the citie of Bristoll in a good ship called The barke yong, in companie of other Marchants of the sayde citie, within 8. dayes after arrived at Lisbone in Portugall, where the sayd Robert Tomson remained 15. dayes, at the end of which he shipped himselfe for Spaine in the sayd shippe, and within 4. dayes arrived in the bay of Cadiz in Andalusia, which is under the kingdom of Spaine, & from thence went up to the citie of Sivil by land, which is 20. leagues, and there hee repaired to one John Fields house an English Marchant, who had dwelt in the said city of Sivil 18. or 20. yeres married with wife and children: In whose house the said Tomson remained by the space of one whole yeere or thereabout, for two causes: The one to learne the Castillian tongue, the other to see the orders of the countrey, and the customes of the people. At the end of which time having seene the fleetes of shippes come out of the Indies to that citie, with such great quantitie of gold & silver, pearles, precious stones, suger, hides, ginger, and divers other rich commodities, he did determine with himselfe to seeke meanes and opportunitie to passe over to see that rich countrey from whence such great quantitie of rich commodities came. And it fell out that within short time after, the sayd John Field (where the sayd Tomson was lodged) did determine to

passee over into the West Indies, himselfe, with his wife, children, and familie, and at the request of the sayde Tomson, he purchased a licence of the King to passe into the Indies, for himselfe, his wife and children, and among them also for the sayde Tomson to passe with them: so that presently they made preparation of victuall and other necessarie provision for the voyage. But the shippes which were prepared to perforce the voyage being all ready to depart, upon certaine considerations by the kings commandement were stayed and arrested till further should bee knowen of the Kings pleasure. Whereupon the said John Field, with Robert Tomson departed out of Sivil and came down to S. Lucar 15. leagues off, and seeing the stay made upon the ships of the said fleet, & being not assured when they would depart, determined to ship themselves for the Isles of the Canaries, which are 250. leagues from S. Lucar, and there to stay till the said fleet should come thither: for that is continually their port to make stay at 6. or 8. daies, to take in fresh water, bread, flesh, & other necessaries.

So that in the moneth of February in An. 1555. the sayde Robert Tomson with the said John Field and his companie, shipped themselves out of the towne of S. Lucar in a carvel of the citie of Cadiz, and within 6. dayes they arrived at the port of the Grand Canaria, where at our comming the ships that rode in the said port began to cry out of all measure with loud voyces, in so much that the castle which stood fast by began to shoot at us, and shot 6. or 7. shot at us, and strooke downe our maine maste, before we could hoise out our boat to goe on land, to know what the cause of the shooting was, seeing that we were Spanish ships, and were comming into his cuntry. So that being on lande, and complaining of the wrong and damage done unto us; they answered, that they had thought we had bene French rovers, that had come into the said port to do some harme to the ships that were there. For that 8. dayes past there went out of the said port a carvell much like unto ours, laden with sugers and other marchandise for Spaine and on the other side of the point of the sayd Iland, met with a Frenchman of warre, who tooke the said carvell, & unladed out of her into the said French ship both men & goods. And being demanded of the said Spaniards what other ships remained in the port whence they came, they

answered that there remained divers other ships, & one laden with sugers (as they were) & ready to depart for Spaine: upon the which newes the Frenchmen put 30. tall men of their ship well appointed into the said carvel which they had taken, and sent her backe againe to the said port from whence she had departed the day before. And somewhat late towards the evening came into the port, not shewing past 3. or 4. men, and so came to an anker hard by the other ships that were in the said port, and being seene by the castle and by the said ships, they made no reconing of her, because they knew her, & thinking that she had found contrary windes at the sea, or had forgot something behinde them, they had returned backe againe for the same, and so made no accompt of her, but let her alone riding quietly among the other ships in the said port: So that about midnight the said carvel with the Frenchmen in her went aboard the other ship that lay hard by laden with sugers, and drove the Spaniards that were in her under hatches, & presently let slip her cables and ankers, and set saile & carried her cleane away, and after this sort deceived them: And they thinking or fearing that we were the like, did shoote at us as they did. This being past, the next day after our arrivall in the sayd port, wee did unbarke our selves and went on lande up to the citie or head towne of the great Canaria, where we remained 18. or 20. dayes: and there found certaine Englishmen marchants servants of one Anthony Hickman and Edward Castelin, marchants of the citie of London that lay there in traffique, of whom wee received great courtesie and much good cheere. After the which 20. dayes being past, in the which we had seene the countrey, the people, and the disposition thereof, wee departed from thence, and passed to the next Ile of the Canaries 18. leagues off, called Teneriffe, and being come on land, went up to the citie called La Laguna, where we remained 7. moneths, attending the comming of the whole fleete, which in the ende came, and there having taken that which they had neede of, wee shipped our selves in a ship of Cadiz, being one of the saide fleete, which was belonging to an Englishman married in the citie of Cadiz in Spaine, whose name was John Sweeting, and there came in the sayd ship for captain also an Englishman married in Cadiz, and sonne in law to the sayde John Sweeting, whose

name was Leonard Chilton: there came also in the said ship another Englishman which had bene a marchant of the citie of Exeter, one of 50. yeeres or thereabout, whose name was Ralph Sarre. So that wee departed from the sayd Ilands in the moneth of October the foresayd yeere, 8. ships in our companie, and so directed our course towards the bay of Mexico, and by the way towards the Iland of S. Domingo, otherwise called Hispaniola. So that within 32. dayes after we departed from the Iles of Canaries wee arrived with our ship at the port of S. Domingo, and went in over the barre where our ship knocked her keele at her entrie: and there our ship rid before the towne, where wee went on land, & refreshed our selves 16. dayes, where we found no bread made of wheat, but biscuit brought out of Spaine, and out of the bay of Mexico: for the countrey it selfe doeth yeelde no kinde of bread to make graine withall. But the bread they make there, is certaine cakes made of rootes called Cassavi, which is something substantiall, but it hath but an unsavorie taste in the eating thereof. Flesh of beefe and mutton they have great store: for there are men that have 10000. head of cattell, of oxen, bulles and kine, which they doe keepe onely for the hides: for the quantitie of flesh is so great, that they are not able to spend the hundreth part. Hogs flesh is there good store, very sweete and savorie, and so holsome, that they give it to sick folkes to eat in stead of hennes and capons, although they have good store of poultrie of that sort, as also of Guinycocks & Guinyhens. At the time of our being there, the citie of S. Domingo was not of above 500. housholds of Spaniards, but of the Indians dwelling in the suburbs there were more. The country is most part of the yere very hot, & very ful of a kind of flies or gnats with long bils, which do pricke & molest the people very much in the night when they are asleepe, in pricking their faces and hands, and other parts of their bodies that lie uncovered, & make them to swel wonderfully. Also there is another kind of small worme which creepeth into the soles of mens feet & especially of the black Moores and children which use to go barefoot, & maketh their feet to grow as big as a mans head, & doth so ake that it would make one run mad. They have no remedy for the same, but to open the flesh sometimes 3. or 4. inches & so dig them out. The countrey yeeldeth great store

of suger, hides of oxen, buls and kine, ginger, Cana fistula & Salsa perillia: mines of silver & gold there are none, but in some rivers there is found some smal quantitie of gold. The principal coine that they do trafique withal in that place, is blacke money made of copper & brasse: and this they say they do use not for that they lacke money of gold and silver to trade withall out of the other parts of India, but because if they should have good money, the marchants that deale with them in trade, would cary away their gold and silver, and let the countrey commodities lie still. And thus much for S. Domingo. So we were comming from the yles of Canaries to S. Domingo, & there staying until the moneth of December, which was 3. moneths. About the beginning of January we departed thence towards the bay of Mexico & new Spaine, toward which we set our course, and so sailed 24. dayes till we came within 15. leagues of S. John de Ullua, which was the port of Mexico of our right discharge: And being so neere our said port, there rose a storme of Northerly windes, which came off from Terra Florida, which caused us to cast about into the sea againe, for feare lest that night we should be cast upon the shoare before day did breake, and so put our selves in danger of casting away: the winde and sea grew so foule and strong, that within two houres after the storme began, eight ships that were together were so dispersed, that we could not see one another. One of the ships of our company being of the burthen of 500. tun called the hulke of Carion, would not cast about to sea as we did, but went that night with the land, thinking in the morning to purchase the port of S. John de Ullua, but missing the port went with the shoare and was cast away. There were drowned of that ship 75. persons, men, women and children, and 64. were saved that could swim, and had meanes to save themselves: among those that perished in that ship, was a gentleman who had bene present the yere before in S. Domingo, his wife and 4. daughters with the rest of his servants & houshold. We with the other 7. ships cast about into the sea, the storme during 10. dayes with great might, boisterous winds, fogs & raine: our ship being old and weake was so tossed, that she opened at the sterne a fadome under water, and the best remedy we had was to stop it with beds and pilobiers, and for feare of sinking we threw

and lightned into the sea all the goods we had or could come by: but that would not serve. Then we cut our maine mast and threw all our Ordinance into the sea saving one piece, which early in a morning when wee thought wee should have sunke, we shot off, and as pleased God there was one of the ships of our company neere unto us, which we saw not by meanes of the great fogge, which hearing the sound of the piece, & understanding some of the company to be in great extremitie, began to make towards us, and when they came within hearing of us, we desired them for the love of God to helpe to save us, for that we were all like to perish. They willed us to hoise our foresaile as much as we could & make towards them, for they would do their best to save us, and so we did: And we had no sooner hoised our foresaile, but there came a gale of winde & a piece of a sea, strooke in the foresaile, and caried saile & maste all overboard, so that then we thought there was no hope of life. And then we began to imbrace one another, every man his friend, every wife her husband, and the children their fathers and mothers, committing our soules to Almighty God, thinking never to escape alive: yet it pleased God in the time of most need when all hope was past, to aide us with his helping hand, and caused the winde a little to cease, so that within two houres after, the other ship was able to come aboard us, & tooke into her with her boat man, woman and child, naked without hose or shoe upon many of our feete. I do remember that the last person that came out of the ship into the boat, was a woman blacke Moore, who leaping out of the ship into the boat with a yong sucking child in her armes, lept too short and fell into the sea, and was a good while under the water before the boat could come to rescue her, and with the spreading of her clothes rose above water againe, and was caught by the coat & pulled into the boate having still her child under her arme, both of them halfe drowned, and yet her naturall love towards her child would not let her let the childe goe. And when she came aboard the boate she helde her childe so fast under her arme still, that two men were scant able to get it out. So we departed out of our ship & left it in the sea: it was worth foure hundreth thousand ducats, ship & goods when we left it. And within three dayes after we arrived at our port of S. John de Ullua

in New Spaine. I do remember that in the great and boysterous storme of this foule weather, in the night, there came upon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine maste, a certaine little light, much like unto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the Cuerpo santo, and saide it was S. Elmo, whom they take to bee the advocate of Sailers. At the which sight the Spaniards fell downe upon their knees and worshipped it, praying God and S. Elmo to cease the torment, and save them from the perill that they were in, with promising him that at their comming on land, they would repaire unto his Chappell, and there cause Masses to be saide, and other ceremonies to be done. The friers cast reliques into the sea, to cause the sea to be still, and likewise said Gospels, with other crossings and ceremonies upon the sea to make the storme to cease: which (as they said) did much good to weaken the furie of the storme. But I could not perceiue it, nor gave no credite to it, till it pleased God to send us the remedie & delivered us from the rage of the same, His Name be praised therefore. This light continued aboard our ship about three houres, flying from maste to maste, & from top to top: and sometime it would be in two or three places at once. I informed my selfe of learned men afterward what that light should be, and they said, that it was but a congelation of the winde and vapours of the Sea congealed with the extremitie of the weather, which flying in the winde, many times doeth chance to hit on the masts and shrowds of the ships that are at sea in foule weather. And in trueth I do take it to be so: for that I have seene the like in other ships at sea, and in sundry ships at once. By this men may see how the Papists are given to beleewe and worship such vaine things and toyes, as God, to whom all honour doth appertaine, and in their neede and necessities do let to call upon the living God, who is the giver of all good things.

The 16. of April in Anno 1556. we arrived at the port of S. John de Ullua in new Spaine, very naked and distressed of apparell, and all other things, by meanes of the losse of our foresaid ship and goods, and from thence we went to the new Towne called Vera Cruz, five leagues from the said port of S. John de Ullua, marching still by the sea side, where wee found lying upon the sands great quantitie of mightie great trees with rootes

and all, some of them of foure, five, and sixe cart load by our estimation, which, as the people tolde us, were in the great stormy weather, which we indured at sea, rooted out of the ground in Terra Florida, which is three hundreth leagues over by Sea, and brought thither. So we came to the saide Towne of Vera cruz, where wee remained a moneth: and there the said John Field chanced to meete with an olde friend of his acquaintance in Spaine, called Gonçalo Ruiz de Cordova, a very rich man of the saide Towne of Vera cruz: who hearing of his comming thither with his wife and family, and of his misfortune by Sea, came unto him and received him and all his household into his house, and kept us there a whole moneth, making us very good cheere, and giving us good intertainment, and also gave us that were in all eight persons of the said John Fields house, double apparell new out of the shop of very good cloth, coates, cloakes, hose, shirts, smocks, gownes for the women, hose, shoes, and al other necessary apparel, and for our way up to the Citie of Mexico, horses, moiles, and men, and money in our purses for the expences by the way, which by our accompt might amount unto the summe of 400. Crownes. And after wee were entred two dayes journey into the Countrey, I the saide Robert Tomson fell so sicke of an ague, that the next day I was not able to sit on my horse, but was faine to be caried upon Indians backes, from thence to Mexico. And when wee came within halfe a dayes journey of the Citie of Mexico, the saide John Field also fell sicke, and within three dayes after we arrived at the said Citie, hee died: And presently sickened one of his children, and two more of his household people, and within eight dayes died. So that within tenne dayes after we arrived at the Citie of Mexico, of eight persons that were of us of the saide company, there remained but foure alive, and I the said Tomson was at the point of death of the sicknes that I got upon the way, which continued with mee the space of sixe moneths. At the ende of which time it pleased Almightye God to restore me my health againe, although weake and greatly disabled. And being some thing strong, I procured to seeke meanes to live, and to seeke a way how to profite my selfe in the Countrey, seeing it had pleased God to sende us thither in safetie. Then by friendship of one Thomas Blake a Scottishman borne, who had dwelt and

had bene married in the said Citie above twentie yeeres before I came to the saide Citie, I was preferred to the service of a gentleman a Spaniard dwelling there, a man of great wealth, and one of the first conquerours of the said Citie, whose name was Gonçalo Cerezo, with whom I dwelt twelve moneths and a halfe. At the ende of which I was maliciously accused by the Holy house for matters of Religion, and so apprehended and caried to prison, where I lay close prisoner seven moneths, without speaking to any creature, but to the Jailer that kept the said prison, when he brought me my meat and drinke. In the meane time was brought into the saide prison one Augustin Boacio an Italian of Genoua also for matters of Religion, who was taken at Sacatecas 80. leagues to the Northwest of the Citie of Mexico: At the ende of the said seven moneths, we were both caried to the high Church of Mexico, to doe open penance upon an high scaffold, made before the high Altar, upon a Sunday, in the presence of a very great number of people, who were at the least five or sixe thousand. For there were that came one hundreth mile off, to see the saide Auto (as they call it) for that there were never none before, that had done the like in the said Countrey, nor could not tell what Lutheranes were, nor what it meant: for they never heard of any such thing before. We were brought into the Church, every one with a S. Benito upon his backe, which is halfe a yard of yellow cloth, with a hole to put in a mans head in the midst, and cast over a mans head: both flaps hang one before, and another behinde, and in the midst of every flap, a S. Andrewes crosse, made of red cloth, sowed on upon the same, and that is called S. Benito. The common people before they sawe the penitents come into the Church, were given to understand that wee were heretiques, infidels, and people that did despise God, and his workes, and that wee had bene more like devils then men, and thought wee had had the favour of some monsters, or heathen people. And when they saw us come into the Church in our players coates, the women and children beganne to cry out, and made such a noise, that it was strange to see and heare, saying, that they never sawe goodlier men in all their lives, and that it was not possible that there could be in us so much evill as was reported of us, and that we were more like Angels among men, then such persons

of such evill Religion as by the Priestes and friers wee were reported to be, and that it was great pitie that wee should bee so used for so small an offence. So that being brought into the saide high Church, and set upon the scaffold which was made before the high Altar, in the presence of all the people, untill high Masse was done, and the sermon made by a frier, concerning our matter, they did put us in all the disgrace they could, to cause the people not to take so much compassion upon us, for that wee were heretiques, & people that were seduced of the devill, & had forsaken the faith of the Catholique Church of Rome, with divers other reprochfull wordes, which were too long to recite in this place. High Masse and Sermon being done, our offences, as they called them, were recited, every man what he had said and done, and presently was the sentence pronounced against us. That was, that the said Augustine Boacio was condemned to weare his S. Benito all the dayes of his life, and put into perpetuall prison, where hee should fulfill the same, and all his goods confiscated and lost. And I the saide Tomson to weare the S. Benito for three yeeres, and then to be set at libertie. And for the accomplishing of this sentence or condemnation, we must be presently sent downe from Mexico, to Vera Cruz, and from thence to S. John de Ullua, and there to be shipped for Spaine, which was 65. leagues by land, with strait commandement, that upon paine of 1000. duckets, the Masters every one should looke straitly unto us, and carry us to Spaine, and deliver us unto the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Sivill, that they should put us in the places, where we should fulfill our penances that the Archbishop of Mexico had enjoyned unto us, by his sentence there given. For performance of the which, we were sent downe from Mexico, to the Sea side, which was 65. leagues, with fetters upon our feete, and there delivered to the Masters of the ships, to be caried for Spaine, as before is said. And it was so, that the Italian, fearing that if he had presented himselfe in Spaine before the Inquisitors, that they would have burned him, to prevent that danger, when wee were comming homeward, and were arrived at the yland of Terçera, one of the ysles of the Açores, the first night that we came into the said port to an ancker, about midnight he found the meanes to get him naked out of the ship into the sea, & swam

naked a shoare, and so presently got him to the further side of the yland, where hee found a little Carvel ready to depart for Portugal, in the which he came to Lisbone, and passed into France, and so into England, where hee ended his life in the Citie of London. And I for my part kept still aboard the ship, and came into Spaine, and was delivered to the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Sivill, where they kept me in close prison, till I had fulfilled the three yeeres of my penance. Which time being expired, I was freely put out of prison, and set at libertie: and being in the Citie of Sivil a casher of one Hugh Typton, an English marchant of great doing, by the space of one yeere, it fortun'd that there came out of the Citie of Mexico, a Spaniard, called John de la Barrera, that had bene long time in the Indies, and had got great summes of golde and silver, and with one onely daughter shipped himselfe for to come for Spaine, and by the way chanced to die, and gave all that hee had unto his onely daughter, whose name was Marie de la Barrera, and being arrived at the Citie of Sivil, it was my chance to marry with her. The marriage was worth to mee 2500. pounds in barres of golde and silver, besides jewels of great price. This I thought good to speake of, to shew the goodnes of God to all them that put their trust in him, that I being brought out of the Indies, in such great misery and infamy to the world, should be provided at Gods hand in one moment, of more then in all my life before I could attaine unto by my owne labour.

After we departed from Mexico, our S. Benitoes were set up in the high Church of the said Citie, with our names written in the same, according to their use and custome, which is and will be a monument and a remembrance of us, as long as the Romish Church doth raigne in that country. The same have bene seene since by one John Chilton, and divers others of our nation, which were left in that countrey long since, by Sir John Hawkins. And because it shalbe knowen wherefore it was that I was so punished by the Clergies hande, as before is mentioned, I will in briefe words declare the same.

It is so, that being in Mexico at the table, among many principall people at dinner, they began to inquire of me being an Englishman, whether it were true, that in England they had overthrowen all their Churches and

houses of Religion, and that all the images of the Saints of heaven that were in them werè thrown downe, broken, and burned, and in some places high wayes stoned with them, and whether the English nation denied their obedience to the Pope of Rome, as they had bene certified out of Spaine by their friends. To whom I made answeare, that it was so, that in deed they had in England put downe all the Religious houses of friers and monks that were in England, and the images that were in their Churches and other places were taken away, and used there no more : for that (as they say) the making of them, and putting of them where they were adored, was cleane contrary to the expresse commandement of Almighty God, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any graven image, &c. and that for that cause they thought it not lawfull that they should stand in the Church, which is the house of adoration. One that was at the declaring of these words, who was my master Gonsalo Cereso, answered and said, if it were against the commandement of God, to have images in the Churches, that then he had spent a great deale of money in vaine, for that two yeres past he had made in the monastery of Santo Domingo, in the said citie of Mexico, an image of our Lady of pure silver & golde, with pearles and precious stones, which cost him 7000. and odde pesos, and every peso is 4.s. 8.d. of our money : which indeed was true, for that I have seene it many times my selfe where it stands. At the table was another gentleman, who presuming to defend the cause more then any other that was there, saide, that they knew well ynough that they were made but of stockes and stones, and that to them was no worship given, but that there was a certaine veneration due unto them after they were set up in the Church, and that they were set there to a good intent : the one, for that they were books for the simple people, to make them understand the glory of the saints that were in heaven, & a shape of them to put us in remembrance to cal upon them, to be our intercessors unto God for us, for that we are such miserable sinners, that we are not worthy to appeare before God, & that using devotion to saints in heaven, they may obtaine at Gods hands the sooner, the thing that we demand of him. As for example, said he, imagin that a subject hath offended his king upon the earth in any kind of respect, is it for the party to go boldly to the

king in person, & to demand pardon for his offences? No, saith he, the presumption were too great, & possibly he might be repulsed, and have a great rebuke for his labour. Better it is for such a person to seek some private man neere the king in his Court, and make him acquainted with his matter, & let him be a mediator to his Majesty for him, & for the matter he hath to do with him, and so might he the better come to his purpose, and obtaine the thing which he doeth demand: even so saith he, it is with God and his saints in heaven: for we are wretched sinners: and not worthy to appeare nor present our selves before the Majesty of God, to demand of him the thing that we have need of: therefore thou hast need to be devout, and have devotion to the mother of God, and the saints of heaven, to be intercessors to God for thee, and so mayest thou the better obtaine of God the thing that thou dost demand. To this I answered, & said, sir, as touching the comparison you made of the intercessors to the king, how necessary they were, I would but aske you this question. Set the case that this king you speak of, if he be so merciful, as, when he knoweth that one, or any of his subjects hath offended him, he send for him to his owne towne, or to his owne house, or palace, & say unto him, come hither, I know that thou hast offended many lawes, if thou doest know thereof, and doest repent thee of the same, with full intent to offend no more, I wil forgive thy trespasse, and remember it no more: said I, if this be done by the kings owne person, what then hath this man need to go seeke friendship at any of the kings privat servants hands, but go to the principal, seeing that he is readier to forgive thee, then thou art to demand forgiveness at his hands? Even so is it with our gracious God, who calleth and crieth out unto us throughout all the world, by the mouth of his Prophets, Apostles, and by his owne mouth, saying, Come unto me al ye that labour and are over laden, and I wil refresh you: besides 1000. other offers and proffers which hee doth make unto us in his holy Scriptures. What then have we need of the saints helpe that are in heaven, whereas the Lord himself doth so freely offer himselfe unto us? At which sayings, many of the hearers were astonied, and said, that by that reason, I would give to understand, that the invocation of Saints was to be disanulled, and by the Lawes of

God not commanded. I answered, that they were not my words but the words of God himselfe: looke into the Scriptures your selfe, and you shall so finde it. The talke was perceived to be prejudiciall to the Romish doctrine, and therefore it was commanded to be no more entreated of, and all remained unthought upon, had it not bene for a villanous Portugal that was in the company, who said, *Basta ser Ingles para saber todo esto y mas*: who the next day, without imparting any thing to any body, went to the Bishop of Mexico, and his Provisor, and said, that in a place where he had bene the day before, was an Englishman, who had said, that there was no need of Saints in the Church, nor of any invocation of Saints, upon whose denomination I was apprehended for the same words here rehearsed, and none other thing, and thereupon was used, as before is written.

Now to speake somewhat of the description of the country, you shall understand, that the port of S. John de Ullua is a very little Island low by the water side, the broadest or longest part thereof not above a bow shoote over, and standeth within two furlongs of the firme land. In my time there was but one house, and a little Chappel to say Masse in, in all the Island: the side to the land wards is made by mans handes, with free-stone and gravel, and is 4. fadome deep downe right, wherfore the great ships that come in there do ride so neare the shoare of the Island, that you may come and goe aland upon their beake noses. They use to put great chaines of yron in at their halsers, and an ancker to the landward, and all little ynough to more well their shippes for feare of the Northerly winds, which come off the coast of Florida, that sometimes have caried ships, & houses, and all away to the shoare. The king was wont to have 20. great mightie Negroes, who did serve for nothing else, but onely to repaire the said Island, where the foule weather doeth hurt it. The Country all thereabout is very plaine ground, & a mile from the sea side a great wildernes, with great quantitie of red Deere in the same, so that when the mariners of the ships are disposed, they go up into the wildernes, and do kil of the same, and bring them aboard to eate, for their recreation.

From this port to the next towne, which is called Vera Cruz, are 5. leagues almost by the Sea side, till you come within one league of the place, and then you turne

up towards the land, into a wood, till you come to a litle river hard by the said townes side, which sometimes of the yere is dry without water. The towne of Vera Cruz in my time, had not past 300. houtholds, and served but for the folke of the ships, to buy and bring their goods aland, and deliver it to their owners, as also the owners and their factors to receive their goods of the Masters of the ships. This towne standeth also in a very plaine on the one side the river, and the other side is environed with much sande blown from the sea side with the tempest of weather, many times comming upon that coast. This towne also is subject to great sicknes, and in my time many of the Mariners & officers of the ships did die with those diseases, there accustomed, & especially those that were not used to the countrey, nor knew the danger therof, but would commonly go in the Sunne in the heat of the day, & did eat fruit of the countrey with much disorder, and especially gave themselves to womens company at their first comming: whereupon they were cast into a burning ague, of the which few escaped.

Halfe a dayes journey from Vera Cruz, towards Mexico, is a lodging of five or sixe houses, called the Rinconado, which is a place, where is a great pinnacle made of lime and stone, fast by a river side, where the Indians were wont to doe their sacrifices unto their gods, and it is plaine and low ground betwixt that and Vera Cruz, and also subject to sicknes: but afterward halfe a dayes journey that you do begin to enter into the high land, you shall find as faire, good, and sweet countrey, as any in the world, and the farther you go, the goodlier and sweeter the countrey is, till you come to Pueblo de los Angeles, which may be some 43 leagues from Vera Cruz, which was in my time a towne of 600. houtholds, or thereabout, standing in a goodly soile. Betweene Vera Cruz and that you shall come through many townes of the Indians, and villages, and many goodly fieldes of medow grounds, Rivers of fresh waters, forrests, and great woods, very pleasant to behold. From Pueblo de los Angeles, to Mexico, is 20. leagues of very faire way and countrey, as before is declared. Mexico was a Citie in my time, of not above 1500. houtholds of Spaniards inhabiting there, but of Indian people in the suburbs of the said city, dwelt above 30000. as it was thought, and many more. This City of Mexico is 65. leagues from

the North sea, and 75. leagues from the South sea, so that it standeth in the midst of the maine land, betwixt the one sea and the other. It is situated in the midst of a lake of standing water, and environed round about with the same, saving in many places, going out of the Citie, are many broad wayes through the said lake or water. This lake and Citie is environed also with great mountaines round about, which are in compasse above thirtie leagues, and the saide Citie, and lake of standing water, doeth stand in a great plaine in the midst of it. This lake of standing water doeth proceed from the shedding of the raine, that falleth upon the saide mountaines, and so gather themselves together in this place.

All the whole proportion of this Citie doeth stand in a very plaine ground, and in the midst of the said Citie is a square place of a good bow shoote over from side to side: and in the midst of the said place is the high Church, very faire and well builed all through, at that time not halfe finished, and round about the said place, are many faire houses built: on the one side, are the houses where Mutezuma the great king of Mexico that was, dwelt, and now there lye alwayes the viceroyes that the King of Spaine sendeth thither every three yeeres. And in my time there was for viceroy a gentleman of Castil, called Don Luis de Velasco. And on the other side of the saide place, over against the same, is the Bishops house, very faire built, and many other houses of goodly building. And hard by the same, are also other very faire houses, built by the Marques de Valle, otherwise called Hernando Cortes, who was hee that first conquered the saide Citie and Countrey, who after the said conquest which hee made with great labour and travaile of his person, and danger of his life, and being growen great in the Countrey, the King of Spaine sent for him, saying that he had some particular matters to impart unto him. And when he came home, he could not bee suffered to returne backe againe, as the King before had promised him. With the which, for sorrow that he tooke, he died; and this he had for the reward of his good service.

The said Citie of Mexico hath the streetes made very broad, and right, that a man being in the high place, at the one ende of the street, may see at the least a good mile forward, and in all the one part of the streets of

the North part of their Citie, there runneth a pretie lake of very cleare water, that every man may put into his house as much as he will, without the cost of any thing, but of the letting in. Also there is a great cave or ditch of water, that commeth through the Citie, even unto the high place, where come every morning at the break of the day twentie or thirtie Canoas, or troughes of the Indians, which bring in them all maner of provision for the citie, which is made, and groweth in the Countrey, which is a very good commoditie for the inhabitants of that place. And as for victuals in the said Citie, of beefe, mutton, and hennes, capons, quailles, Guiny-cockes, and such like, all are very good cheape: To say, the whole quarter of an oxe, as much as a slave can carry away from the Butchers, for five Tomynes, that is, five Royals of plate, which is just two shillings and sixe pence, and a fat sheepe at the Butchers for three Royals, which is 18. pence and no more. Bread is as good cheape as in Spaine, and all other kinde of fruites, as apples, peares, pomegranats, and quinces, at a reasonable rate. The Citie goeth wonderfully forwards in building of Frieries and Nunneries, and Chappels, and is like in time to come, to be the most populous Citie in the world, as it may be supposed. The weather is there alwayes very temperate, the day differeth but one houre of length all the yere long. The fields and the woods are alwayes greene. The woods full of popinjayes, and many other kinde of birdes, that make such an harmonie of singing, and crying, that any man will rejoyce to heare it. In the fields are such odoriferous smels of flowers and hearbs, that it giveth great content to the senses. About the Citie of Mexico two, three, or foure leagues off, are divers townes of Indians, some of 4000. or 6000. housholds, which doe stand in such a goodly soyle, that if Christians had the inhabitation thereof, it would be put to a further benefite. In my time were dwelling and alive in Mexico, many ancient men that were of the conquerours at the first conquest with Hernando Cortes: for then it was about 36. yeeres agoe, that the said Countrey was conquered.

About Mexico there are divers Mines of silver, and also in other places there about, but the principall Mines that are in all New Spaine are in Sacatecas, 80. leagues from Mexico, and the Mines of S. Martin, thirtie leagues,

both to the Northwestward of Mexico, where is great store of gold and silver. Also there is a place called the Misteca, fiftie leagues to the Northwest, which doth yeeld great store of very good silke, and Cochinilla. Wine and oyle there is none growing in the Countrey, but what commeth out of Spaine. Also there are many goodly fruits in that Countrey, whereof we have none such, as Plantanos, Guyaves, Sapotes, Tunas, and in the wildernes great store of blacke cherries, and other wholesome fruites. The Cochinilla is not a worme, or a flye, as some say it is, but a berrie that groweth upon certaine bushes in the wilde felde, which is gathered in time of the yeere, when it is ripe. Also the Indico that doeth come from thence to die blew, is a certaine hearbe that groweth in the wilde fieldes, and is gathered at one time of the yeere, and burnt, and of the ashes thereof, with other confections put thereunto, the saide Indico is made. Balme, Salsa perilla, Cana fistula, suger, oxe hides, and many other good and serviceable things the Countrey doeth yeeld, which are yeerely brought into Spaine, and there solde and distributed to many nations.

ROBERT TOMSON.

A voyage made by M. Roger Bodenham to S. John de Ullua in the bay of Mexico, in the yeere 1564.

I ROGER BODENHAM having a long time lived in the city of Sivil in Spaine, being there married, and by occasion thereof using trade and traffique to the parts of Barbary, grew at length to great losse and hinderance by that new trade begun by me in the city of Fez: whereupon being returned into Spaine, I began to call my wits about mee, and to consider with my selfe by what meanes I might recover and renew my state; and in conclusion, by the ayde of my friends, I procured a ship called The Barke Fox, pertaining to London, of the burden of eight or nine score tunnes; and with the same I made a voyage to the West India, having obtained good favour with the Spanish merchants, by reason of my long abode, and marriage in the countrey. My voyage was in the company of the Generall Don Pedro Melendes for Nova Hispania: who being himselfe appointed Generall for Terra Firma and Peru, made his sonne Generall for New Spaine, although Pedro Melendes himselfe was the principall man and directer in both fleets. We all departed

from Cadiz together the last day of May in the yere 1564 : and I with my shop being under the conduct of the sonne of Don Pedro aforesayd, arrived with him in Nova Hispania, where immediatly I tooke order for the discharge of my merchandise at the port of Vera Cruz, otherwise called Villa Rica, to be transported thence to the city of Mexico, which is sixty and odde leagues distant from the sayd port of Villa Rica. In the way are many good townes, as namely, Pueblo de los Angeles, and another called Tlaxcalan. The city of Mexico hath three great causeyes to bring men to it, compassed with a lake, so that it needeth no walles, being so defended by the water. It is a city plentifull of all necessary things, having many faire houses, churches, and monasteries. I having continued in the cuntry the space of nine moneths, returned againe for Spaine with the Spanish fleet, and delivered the merchandise and silver which I had in the ship into the Contractation house, and there received my freight, which amounted outwards and homewards to the value of 13000 ducats and more. I observed many things in the time of my abode in Nova Hispania, aswell touching the commodities of the cuntry as the maners of the people both Spanyards and Indians: but because the Spanish histories are full of those observations, I omit them, and referre the readers to the same: onely this I say, that the commodity of Cochinilla groweth in greatest abundance about the towne of Pueblo de los Angeles, and is not there worth above forty pence the pound.

A notable discourse of M. John Chilton, touching the people, maners, mines, cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of New Spaine, and other provinces in the West Indies, seene and noted by himselfe in the time of his travels, continued in those parts, the space of seventeene or eighteene yeeres.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1561, in the moneth of July, I John Chilton went out of this city of London into Spaine, where I remained for the space of seven yeres, & from thence I sailed into Nova Hispania, and so travelled there, and by the South Sea, unto Peru, the space of seventeene or eighteene yeeres: and after that time expired, I returned into Spaine, and so in the yere 1586 in the moneth of July, I arrived at the foresayd city of London: where perusing the notes which I had

taken in the time of my travell in those yeeres, I have set downe as followeth.

In the yeere 1568, in the moneth of March, being desirous to see the world, I embarked my selfe in the bay of Cadiz in Andaluzia, in a shippe bound for the Isles of the Canaries, where she tooke in her lading, & set forth from thence for the voyage, in the moneth of June, the same yere. Within a moneth after, we fell with the Isle of S. Domingo, and from thence directly to Nova Hispania, and came into the port of S. John de Ullua, which is a litle Island standing in the sea, about two miles from the land, where the king mainteineth about 50 souldiers, and captaines, that keepe the forts, and about 150 negroes, who all the yeere long are occupied in carying of stones for building, & other uses, and to helpe to make fast the ships that come in there, with their cables. There are built two bulwarkes at ech ende of a wall, that standeth likewise in the sayde Island, where the shippes use to ride, made fast to the sayd wall with their cables, so neere, that a man may leape ashore. From this port I journeyed by land to a towne called Vera Cruz, standing by a rivers side, where all the factours of the Spanish merchants dwell, which receive the goods of such ships as come thither, and also lade the same with such treasure and merchandize as they returne backe into Spaine. They are in number about foure hundred, who onely remaine there, during the time that the Spanish fleet dischargeth, and is loden againe, which is from the end of August to the beginning of April following. And then for the unwholesomnesse of the place they depart thence sixteene leagues further up within the countrey, to a towne called Xalapa, a very healthfull soile. There is never any woman delivered of childe in this port of Vera Cruz: for so soone as they perceive themselves conceived with child, they get them into the countrey, to avoid the perill of the infected aire, although they use every morning to drive thorow the towne above two thousand head of cattell, to take away the ill vapours of the earth. From Xalapa seven leagues I came to another place, named Perota, wherein are certaine houses builded of straw, called by the name of ventas, the inhabitants whereof are Spaniards, who accustome to harbour such travellers as are occasioned to journey that way up into the land. It standeth in a

great wood of Pine and Cedar trees, the soile being very colde, by reason of store of snow which lieth on the mountaines there all the yere long. There are in that place an infinite number of deere, of bignesse like unto great mules, having also hornes of great length. From Perota nine leagues, I came to the Fuentes of Ozumba, which fuentes are springs of water issuing out of certeine rocks into the midst of the high wayes, where likewise are certeine ranges, and houses, for the uses before mentioned. Eight leagues off from this place I came to the city of the Angels, so called by that name of the Spanyards, which inhabit there to the number of a thousand, besides a great number of Indians. This city standeth in very plaine fields, having neere adjoyning to it many sumptuous cities, as namely the city of Tlaxcalla, a city of two hundred thousand Indians, tributaries to the king, although he exacteth no other tribute of them then a handfull of wheat a piece, which amounteth to thirteene thousand hannesges yeerely, as hath appeared by the kings books of account. And the reason why he contenteth himselfe with this tribute, onely for them, is, because they were the occasion that he tooke the city of Mexico, with whom the Tlaxcallians had warre at the same time when the Spanyards came into the countrey. The governour of this city is a Spanyard, called among them The Alcalde mayór, who administreth chiefest causes of justice both unto the Christians and Indians, referring smaller and lighter vices, as drunkennesse and such like, to the judgement and discretion of such of the Indians as are chosen every yeere to rule amongst them, called by the name of Alcaldes. These Indians from foureteene yeeres olde upwards, pay unto the king for their yerely tribute one ounce of silver, and an hannege of maiz, which is valued among them commonly at twelve reals of plate. The widowes among them pay halfe of this. The Indians both of this city, and of the rest, lying about Mexico, goe clothed with mantles of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, painted thorowout with works of divers and fine colours. It is distant from the city of the Angels foure leagues to the Northward, & foureteene from Mexico. There is another city a league from it, called Chetula, consisting of more then sixty thousand Indians, tributaries, and there dwell not above twelve Spanyards there. From it, about two leagues, there is another,

called Acassingo, of above fifty thousand Indians, and about eight or twelve Spanyards, which standeth at the foot of the Vulcan of Mexico, on the East side. There are besides these, three other great cities, the one named Tepiaca, a very famous city, Waxazingo, and Tichama-chalcho: all these in times past belonged to the kingdome of Tlaxcalla: and from these cities they bring most of their Cochinilla into Spaine. The distance from the city of the Angels, to the city of Mexico is twenty leagues. This city of Mexico is the city of greatest fame in all the Indies, having goodly and costly houses in it, builded all of lime and stone, and seven streets in length, and seven in breadth, with rivers running thorow every second street, by which they bring their provision in canoas. It is situated at the foot of certaine hilles, which conteine in compasse by estimation above twenty leagues, compassing the sayd city on the one side, and a lake which is foureteene leagues about on the other side. Upon which lake there are built many notable and sumptuous cities, as the city of Tescuco, where the Spanyards built sixe frigats, at that time when they conquered Mexico, and where also Fernando Cortes made his abode five or six moneths in curing of the sicknesse of his people, which they had taken at their comming into the countrey. There dwell in this city about sixty thousand Indians, which pay tribute to the king. In this city the sayd Fernando built the finest church that ever was built in the Indies, the name whereof is S. Peters.

After I had continued two yeeres in this city, being desirous to see further the countreys, I imployed that which I had, and tooke my voyage towards the provinces of California, in the which was discovered a certeine countrey, by a Biscaine, whose name was Diego de Guiara, and called it after the name of his countrey, New Biscay, where I solde my merchandise for exchange of silver, for there were there certaine rich mines discovered by the aforesayd Biskaine. Going from Mexico I directed my voyage somewhat toward the Southwest, to certaine mines, called Tamascaltepec, and so travelled forward the space of twenty dayes thorow desert places unhabited, till I came to the valley of S. Bartholomew, which joyneth to the province of New Biscay. In all these places the Indians for the most part go naked, and are wilde people. Their common armour is bowes and

arrowes : they use to eate up such Christians as they come by. From hence departing, I came to another province named Xalisco, and from thence to the port of Navidad, which is 120 leagues from Mexico, in which port arrive alwayes in the moneth of April, all the ships that come out of the South sea from China, and the Philippinas, and there they lay their merchandise ashore. The most part whereof is mantles made of Cotton wooll, Waxe, and fine platters gilded, made of earth, and much golde.

The next Summer following, being in the yeere 1570 (which was the first yeere that the Popes Bulls were brought into the Indies) I undertooke another voyage towards the province of Sonsonate, which is in the kingdome of Guatimala, whither I caried divers merchandize of Spaine, all by land on mules backs. The way thithward from Mexico is to the city of the Angels, and from thence to another city of Christians 80 leagues off, called Guaxaca, in which there dwelt about 50 Spanyards, and many Indians. All the Indians of this province pay their tribute in mantles of Cotton wooll, and Cochinilla, whereof there groweth abundance thorowout this countrey. Neere to this place there lieth a port in the South sea, called Aguatulco, in the which there dwell not above three or foure Spanyards, with certaine Negroes, which the king mainteineth there: in which place Sir Francis Drake arrived in the yeere 1579, in the moneth of April, where I lost with his being there above a thousand duckets, which he tooke away, with much other goods of other merchants of Mexico from one Francisco Gomes Rangifa, factour there for all the Spanish merchants that then traded in the South sea: for from this port they use to imbarke all their goods that goe for Peru, and to the kingdome of Honduras. From Guaxaca I came to a towne named Nixapa, which standeth upon certaine very high hilles in the province of Sapotecas, wherein inhabit about the number of twenty Spanyards, by the King of Spaines commandement, to keepe that country in peace: for the Indians are very rebellious: and for this purpose hee bestoweth on them the townes & cities that be within that province. From hence I went to a city called Tecoaatepec, which is the farthest towne to the Eastward in all Nova Hispania, which some time did belong to the Marques de Valle, and because it is a very fit port, standing in the South sea, the king of Spaine, upon a

rebellion made by the sayd Marques against him, tooke it from him, and doth now possesse it as his owne. Heere in the yeere 1572 I saw a piece of ordinance of brasse, called a Demy culverin, which came out of a ship called the Jesus of Lubec, which captaine Hawkins left in S. John de Ullua, being in fight with the Spanyards in the yeere 1568; which piece they afterwards caried 100 leagues by land over mighty mountaines to the sayd city, to be embarked there for the Philippinas. Leaving Tecoantepec, I went still along by the South sea about 150 leagues in the desolate province of Soconusco, in which province there groweth cacao, which the Christians cary from thence into Nova Hispania, for that it will not grow in any colde countrey. The Indians of this countrey pay the king their tribute in cacao, giving him four hundred cargas, and every carga is 24000 almonds, which carga is worth in Mexico thirty pieces of reals of plate. They are men of great riches, and withall very proud: and in all this province thorowout, there dwell not twenty Christians. I travelled thorow another province called Suchetepec; and thence to the province of Guasacapan: in both which provinces are very few people, the biggest towne therein having not above two hundred Indians. The chiefeest merchandise there, is cacao. Hence I went to the city of Guatimala, which is the chiefe city of all this kingdome: in this city doe inhabit about 80 Spanyards: and here the king hath his governours, & councell, to whom all the people of the kingdome repaire for justice. This city standeth from the coast of the South sea 14 leagues within the land, and is very rich, by reason of the golde that they fetch out of the coast of Veragua. From this city to the Eastward 60 leagues lieth the province Sonsonate, where I solde the merchandize I caried out of Nova Hispania. The chiefeest city of this province is called S. Salvador, which lieth 7 leagues from the coast of the South sea, and hath a port lying by the sea coast, called Acaxutla, where the ships arrive with the merchandize they bring from Nova Hispania; and from thence lade backe againe the cacao: there dwell heere to the number of threescore Spanyards. From Sonsonate I travelled to Nicoia, which is in the kingdome of Nicaragua, in which port the king buildeth all the shipping that travell out of the Indies to the Malucos. I went forward from thence to Costa rica,

where the Indians both men and women go all naked, and the land lieth betweene Panama, and the kingdome of Guatimala: and for that the Indians there live as warriors, I durst not passe by land, so that here in a towne called S. Salvador I bestowed that which I caried in annile (which is a kinde of thing to die blew withall) which I caried with me to the port of Cavallos, lying in the kingdome of Honduras, which port is a mighty huge gulfe, and at the comming in on the one side of it there lieth a towne of little force without ordinance or any other strength, having in it houses of straw: at which towne the Spanyards use yeerely in the moneth of August to unlade foure ships which come out of Spaine laden with rich merchandise, and receive in heere againe their lading of a kinde of merchandise called Annile and Cochinilla (although it be not of such value as that of Nova Hispania), and silver of the mines of Tomaangua, and golde of Nicaragua, and hides, and Salsa perilla, the best in all the Indies: all which merchandize they returne, and depart from thence alwayes in the moneth of April following; taking their course by the Island of Jamaica, in which Island there dwell on the West side of it certeine Spanyards of no great number. From this place they go to the cape of S. Anthony, which is the uttermost part of the Westward of the Island of Cuba, and from thence to Havana lying hard by, which is the chiefest port that the king of Spaine hath in all the countreys of the Indies, and of greatest importance: for all the ships, both from Peru, Hunduras, Porto rico, S. Domingo, Jamaica, and all other places in his Indies, arrive there in their returne to Spaine, for that in this port they take in victuals and water, and the most part of their lading: here they meet from all the foresayd places alwayes in the beginning of May by the kings commandement: at the entrance of this port it is so narrow, that there can scarce come in two ships together, although it be above sixe fadome deepe in the narrowest place of it. In the North side of the comming in there standeth a tower, in which there watcheth every day a man to descrie the sailes of ships which hee can see on the sea; and as many as he discovereth, so many banners he setteth upon the tower, that the people of the towne (which standeth within the port about a mile from the tower) may understand thereof. Under this tower there lieth a sandy shore, where men

may easily go aland; and by the tower there runneth a hill along by the waters side, which easily with small store of ordinance subdueth the towne and port. The port within is so large that there may easily ride a thousand saile of ships without anker or cable, for no winde is able to hurt them. There inhabit within the towne of Havana about three hundred Spanyards, and about threescore souldiers, which the king mainteineth there for the keeping of a certeine castle which hee hath of late erected, which hath planted in it about twelve pieces of small ordinance, and is compassed round with a small ditch, wherethorow at their pleasure they may let in the sea. About two leagues from Havana there lieth another towne called Wanabacoa, in which there is dwelling about an hundred Indians, and from this place 60 leagues there lieth another towne named Bahama, situate on the North side of the Island. The chiefest city of this Island of Cuba (which is above 200 leagues in length) is also called Sant Iago de Cuba, where dwelleth a bishop & about two hundred Spanyards; which towne standeth on the South side of the Island about 100 leagues from Havana. All the trade of this Island is cattell, which they kill onely for the hides that are brought thence into Spaine: for which end the Spanyards mainteine there many negroes to kil their cattell, and foster a great number of hogs, which being killed, and cut into small pieces, they dry in the Sun, and so make it provision for the ships which come for Spaine.

Having remained in this Island two moneths, I tooke shipping in a frigate, and went over to Nombre de Dios, and from thence by land to Panama, which standeth upon the South sea. From Nombre de Dios to Panama is 17 leagues distance: from which towne there runneth a river which is called the river of Chagre, which runneth within 5 leagues of Panama, to a place called Cruzes, thorow which river they cary their goods, and disimbarke them at the sayd Cruzes, and from thence they are conveyed on mules backs to Panama by land; where they againe imbarke them in certeine small ships in the South sea for all the coast of Peru. In one of these ships I went to Potossi, and from thence by land to Cusco, and from thence to Paita.

Here I remained the space of seven moneths, and then returned into the kingdome of Guatimala, and arrived in

the province of Nicoia, and Nicaragua. From Nicaragua I travelled by land to a province called Nicamula (which lieth toward the North sea in certaine high mountaines) for that I could not passe thorow the kingdome of Guatimala at that time for waters, wherewith all the Low countreys of the province of Soconusco, lying by the South sea, are drowned with the raine that falleth above in the mountaines, enduring alwayes from April to September: which season for that cause they call their Winter. From this province I came into another called De Vera Paz, in which the chiefest city is also called after that name, where there dwelleth a bishop and about forty Spanyards. Among the mountaines of this countrey toward the North sea, there is a province called La Candona, where are Indian men of war which the king can not subdue, for that they have townes and forts in a great lake of water above in the sayd mountaines: the most part of them goe naked, and some weare mantles of cotton wooll. Distant from this about 80 leagues, I came into another province called the province of Chiapa, wherein the chiefest city is called Sacatlan, where there dwelleth a bishop and about an hundred Spanyards. In this countrey there is great store of Cotten wooll, whereof the Indians make fine linnen cloth, which the Christians buy and cary into Nova Hispania. The people of this province pay their tribute to the king all in Cotton wooll and Feathers. Foureteene leagues from this city there is another called Chiapa, where are the finest gennets in all the Indies, which are caried hence to Mexico, 300 leagues from it. From this city I travelled still thorow hilles and mountaines, till I came to the end of this province, to a hill called Ecatepec, which in English signifieth The hill of winde: for that they say, it is the highest hill that ever was discovered: for from the top of it may be discovered both the North and the South seas; and it is in height supposed to be nine leagues. They which travell over it, lie alwayes at the foot of it over night, and begin their journey about midnight, to travell to the top of it before the Sunne rise the next day, because the winde bloweth with such force afterwards, that it is impossible for any man to goe up: from the foot of this hill to Tecoaantepec, the first towne of Nova Hispania, are about fiteene leagues. And so from hence I journeyed to Mexico.

By and by after I came to Mexico (which was in the

ere 1572) in the company of another Spanyard, which was my companion in this journey, we went together toward the province of Panuco, which lieth upon the coast of the North sea, and within three dayes journey we entred a city called Mestitlan, where there dwelt twelve Spanyards: the Indian inhabitants there were about thirty thousand. This city standeth upon certaine hie mountaines, which are very thicke planted with townes very holesome and fruitfull, having plentifull fountaines of water running thorow them. The high wayes of these hilles are all set with fruits, and trees of divers kindes, and most pleasant. In every towne as we passed thorow, the Indians presented us with victuals. Within twenty leagues of this place there is another city called Clanchinoltepec, belonging to a gentleman, where there inhabit about fourty thousand Indians; and there are among them eight or nine friers of the Order of Saint Augustine, who have there a Monastery. Within three dayes after we departed from this place, and came to a city called Guaxutla, where there is another Monastery of friers of the same Order: there dwell in this towne about twelve Spanyards. From this place forwards beginneth a province called Guastecan, which is all plaine grounds without any hilles. The first towne we came unto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long downe to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they goe out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrowes, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certaine wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes. After nine dayes travell from this place, we came to a towne called Tampice, which is a port towne upon the sea, wherein there dwell, I thinke, forty Christians, of which number whilest wee abode there, the Indians killed foureteene, as they were gathering of Salt, which is all the trade that they have in this place: it standeth upon the entrie of the river of Panuco, which is a mighty great river; and were it not for a sand that lieth at the mouth of it, ships of five hundred tunne might goe up into it above three score leagues. From hence

we went to Panuco, foureteene leagues from Tampice, which in times past had bené a goodly city, where the king of Spaine had his governour : but by reason that the Indians there destroyed the Christians, it lieth in a maner waste, conteining in it not above tenne Christians with a priest. In this towne I fell sicke, where I lay one and forty dayes, having no other sustenance then fruit and water, which water I sent for above sixe leagues off within the country. Here I remained till my companion came to me, which had departed from me another way, reteining in my company onely a slave, which I brought with me from Mexico. And the last day in Easter weeke my companion came to me, finding me in a very weake state, by reason of the unholosomenesse of the place. Notwithstanding my weakenesse, I being set on an horse, and an Indian behinde mee to holde mee, wee went forward on our voyage all that day till night. The next day in the morning we passed over the river in a canoa; and being on the other side, I went my selfe before alone : and by reason there met many wayes traled by the wilde beasts, I lost my way, and so travelled thorow a great wood about two leagues : and at length fell into the hands of certaine wilde Indians, which were there in certaine cottages made of straw; who seeing me, came out to the number of twenty of them, with their bowes and arrowes, and spake unto mee in their language, which I understood not : and so I made signes unto them to helpe mee from my horse; which they did by commandement of their lord, which was there with them; and lighted downe. They caried me under one of their cottages, and layed me upon a mat on the ground : and perceiving that I could not understand them, they brought unto mee a little Indian wench of Mexico, of fifteene or sixteene yeeres of age, whom they commanded to aske me in her language from whence I came, and for what intent I was come among them : for (sayth she) doest thou not know Christian, how that these people will kill and eat thee? To whom I answered, let them doe with me what they will; heere now I am. Shee replied, saying, thou mayest thanke God thou art leane; for they feare thou hast the pocks; otherwise they would eate thee. So I presented to the king a little wine which I had with me in a bottle; which he esteemed above any treasure : for for wine they will sell their wives and children. Afterwards the wench asked me what I

would have, and whether I would eat any thing. I answered that I desired a little water to drinke, for that the countrey is very hote: and shee brought me a great Venice glasse, gilded, full of water. And marvelling at the glasse, I demanded how they came by it. She tolde me that the Casique brought it from Shallapa, a great towne distant 30 leagues from this place on the hilles, whereas dwelt certeine Christians, and certeine friers of the Order of S. Augustine, which this Casique with his people on a night slew; and burning the friers monasterie, among other things reserved this glasse: and from thence also brought me. Having now bene conversant with them about three or foure houres, they bid her aske me if I would goe my way. I answered her, that I desired nothing els. So the Casique caused two of his Indians to leade me forward in my way; going before me with their bowes and arrowes, naked, the space of three leagues, till they brought me into an high way: and then making a signe unto me, they signified that in short time I should come to a towne where Christians inhabited, which was called S. Iago de los valles, standing in plaine fields, walled about with a mud wall: the number of the Christians that dwelt therein, were not above foure or five and twenty, unto which the king of Spaine giveth Indians and townes, to keepe the countreys subject unto him. Heere the Christians have their mighty mules, which they cary for all the parts of the Indies, and into Peru, for that all their merchandize are caried by this meanes by land. In this towne aforesayd, I found my company, which I had lost before, who made no other account of me but that I had bene slaine: and the Christians there likewise marvelled to heare that I came from those kinde of Indians alive, which was a thing never seene nor heard of before: for they take a great pride in killing a Christian, and to weare any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men. In this towne I remained eightene dayes, till I recovered my health, and in the meane space there came one Don Francisco de Pago, whom the viceroy Don Henrico Manriques had sent for captaine generall, to open and discover a certeine way from the sea side to the mines of Sacatecas, which were from this place 160 leagues, for to transport their merchandize by that way, leaving the way by Mexico, which

is seven or eight weeks travell. So this captaine tooke me and my company, with the rest of his souldiers, to the number of forty, which he had brought with him, and five hundred Indians, which we tooke out of two towns in this province called Tanchipa, and Tamaclipa, all good archers, and naked men, and went thence to the river de las Palmas, which is of great bignesse, parting the kingdome of Nova Hispania and Florida: and going still along by this river the space of three dayes, seeking passage to passe over; and finding none, we were at length inforced to cut timber to make a balsa or raft, which when we had made, we sate on it, the Indians swimming in the water, and thrusting it before them to the other side. Within thirty dayes after, travelling thorow woods, hilles, and mountaines, we came to the mines of Sacatecas, which are the richest mines in all the Indies, and from thence they fetch most silver: at which mines there dwelt above three hundred Christians: and there our captaine gave us leave to depart. So we came to the valley of S. Michael toward Mexico; and from thence to Pueblo novo; and from that place to the province of Mechuacan, after which name the chiefeest city of that place is called: where there dwelles a bishop, and above an hundred Spanyards in it: it aboundeth with all kind of Spanish fruits, and hath woods full of nut trees, and wild vines. Heere are many mines of copper, and great store of cattell. It lieth 60. leagues from Mexico, whither we came within foure dayes after. The Indians of this countrey are very mighty and big men.

Afterwards I returned another way to the province of Sonsonate by Vera cruz, and so to Rio Alvarado, and from thence to the province of Campeche, which lieth on the South side of the bay of Mexico: the chiefe towne of this province is called Merida, in which is a bishop and almost 100 Spanyards. The Indians of this province pay all their tribute in mantles of cotton wooll and cacao. There is no port in all this province for a ship of 100 tun to ride in, but onely in the river of Tabasco, by which river this city of Merida standeth. The chiefeest merchandize which they lade there in small frigats, is a certeine wood called campeche, (wherewith they use to die) as also hides and annile. By this there lieth the province of Iucatan, nere the Honduras by the North sea coast, where there is also another bishop, and a towne likewise named Iucatan,

where there dwell a few Spanyards. They have no force at all in all this coast to defend themselves withall, save only that the land is low, and there is no port to receive any shipping, unless they be frigats, which cary from thence to the port of S. John de Ullua, waxe, cacao, hony, and also mantles of cotton wool, whereof they make there great store, and of which kind of merchandize there is great trade thence to Mexico: of the same also they pay their tribute to the king.

The king hath tribute brought him yerely out of the Indies into Spaine betweene nine and ten millions of gold and silver: for he receiveth of every Indian which is subject unto him (excepting those which do belong to the Incommenderos, which are the children of those Spanyards, who first conquered the land, to whom the king gave and granted the government of the cities and townes subdued for three lives) twelve reals of plate, and a hannege of maiz, which is a wheat of the countrey, (five of them making a quarter of English measure) and of every widow woman he hath sixe reals, & halfe a hannege of maiz. And so if any Indian have twenty children in his house, he payeth for every one of them, being above fifteene yeres old, after that rate. This Wheat being duely brought to the governour of every province and city, is sold in Mexico by the kings governours there every yeere; so that the money received for it, is put into the kings Treasurie there, and so is yeerely caried from thence into Spaine. Of the Spanyards which are owners of the mines of gold and silver, he receiveth the fift part of it, which he calleth his quintas, which being taken out of the heape, there is his armes set on it; for otherwise it may not be brought out of the land into Spaine, under paine of death. The marke of silver, which is eight ounces, when it commeth out of the mines, not having the kings seale upon it, is woorth three and forty reals of plate, and so it is current: and when they will bring it for Spaine, they cary it to the kings Treasure house, where his seale is set upon it; and so it is raised in value thereby to threescore and foure reals of plate: and so the king hath for his custome of every marke of plate one and twentie reals.

From the yere of 1570, which was the yeere that the Popes buls came into the Indies, as is afore mentioned he hath received both of the Indians which are tributaries

unto him, and also of all others belonging to the Incomenderos, of every one being above twelve yeeres of age, foure reals of every bull. Also they cary other pardons with them into the Indies, for such as be dead, although an hundred yeres before the Spanyards came into the countrey: which pardons the friers in their preachings perswaded the poore Indians to take, telling them that with giving foure reals of plate for a Masse, they would deliver their soules out of purgatory. Of the Christians likewise dwelling there he hath foureteene reals for every bull: and there be certeine buls brought thither for the Christians besides the former, which serve for pardoning all such faults wherein they have trespassed either against the king, by keeping backe his customes, or one against another by any other injury; for every hundred crownes whereof a mans conscience doth accuse him that he hath deceived the king or any other, he must give ten for a bull, and so after that rate for every hundred which he hath any way stollen, and so is pardoned the fault. The revenue of his buls after this maner yeeldeth unto his treasury yeerely above three millions of gold, as I have bene credibly informed, although of late both the Spanyards and Indians do refuse to take the buls; for that they perceive he doth make a yeerely custome of it: onely ech Indian taketh one pardon for all his householde, (whereas in former time every Indian used to take one for every person in his house) and teareth the same into small pieces, and giveth to every one of his householde a little piece, saying thus, they need now no more, seeing in that which they bought the yeere before they had above ten thousand yeres pardon. These pieces they sticke up in the wall of the houses where they lie. Both the Christians & Indians are weary with these infinite taxes and customes, which of late he hath imposed upon them, more then in the yeeres before: so as the people of both sorts did rebell twise in the time that I was among them, and would have set up another king of themselves; for which cause the king hath commanded upon paine of death, that they should not plant either wine or oile there, but should alwayes stand in need of them to be brought out of Spaine, although there would more grow there in foure yeeres, then there groweth in Spaine in twenty, it is so fertile a countrey.

And the king to keepe the countrey alwayes in sub-

jection, and to his owne use, hath streightly provided by lawe, upon paine of death, and losse of goods, that none of these countreys should traffique with any other nation, although the people themselves doe much now desire to trade with any other then with them, and would undoubtedly doe, if they feared not the perill ensuing thereupon.

About Mexico, and other places in Nova Hispania, there groweth a certeine plant called magueis, which yeeldeth wine, vinegar, hony, and blacke sugar, and of the leaves of it dried they make hempo, ropes, shooes which they use, and tiles for their houses : and at the ende of every leafe there groweth a sharpe point like an awle, wherewith they use to bore or pearce thorow any thing.

Thus to make an end, I have heere set downe the summe of all the chieftest things that I have observed and noted in my seventeene yeres travell in those parts.

A relation of the commodities of Nova Hispania, and the maners of the inhabitants, written by Henry Hawks merchant, which lived five yeeres in the sayd countrey, and drew the same at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire of Eiton in the county of Hereford, 1572.

SAINT John de Ullua is an Island not high above the water, where as now the Spanyards upon M. John Hawkins being there, are in making a strong fort. In this place all the ships that come out of Spaine with goods for these parts, do unlade : for they have none other port so good as this is. The comming into this place hath three chanel, and the best of all is the Northermost, which goeth by the maine land : and on every side of the chanel there are many small rocks as big as a small barrell : they wil make men stand in doubt of them, but there is no feare of them. There is another Island there by, called The island of sacrifices, whereas the Spanyards did in times past unlade their goods : and for that, they say, there are upon it spirits or devils, it is not frequented as it hath bene. In these places the North wind hath so great dominion, that oftentimes it destroyeth many ships and barks. This place is given to great sicknesse. These Islands stand in 18

degrees and a halfe, and about the same is great plenty of fish.

Five leagues from S. John de Ullua is a faire river; it lieth Northwest from the port, and goeth to a little towne of the Spanyards called Vera Cruz, and with small vessels or barks, which they call frigats, they cary all their merchandize which commeth out of Spaine, to the saide towne: and in like maner bring all the gold, silver, cochinita, hides, and all other things that the shippes cary into Spaine unto them. And the goods being in Vera Cruz, they cary them to Mexico, and to Pueblo de los Angeles, Sacatecas, and Saint Martin, and divers other places so farre within the countrey, that some of them are 700 miles off, and some more, and some lesse; all upon horses, mules, and in waines drawn with oxen, and in carres drawn with mules.

In this towne of Vera Cruz within these twenty yeres, when women were brought to bed, the children new borne incontinently died; which is not so now in these dayes, God be thanked.

This towne is inclined to many kinde of diseases, by reason of the great heat, and a certeine gnat or flie which they call a musquito, which biteth both men and women in their sleepe; and assoone as they are bitten, incontinently the flesh swelleth as though they had bene bitten with some venomous worme. And this musquito or gnat doth most follow such as are newly come into the countrey. Many there are that die of this annoyance.

This towne is situated upon the river aforesayd, and compassed with woods of divers maners and sorts, and many fruits, as oranges and limons, guiaves, and divers others, and birds in them, popinjays both small and great, and some of them as big as a raven, and their tailes as long as the taile of a fezant. There are also many other kinde of birds of purple colour, and small munkeys, marvellous proper.

This hote or sicke countrey continueth five and forty miles towards the city of Mexico; and the five and forty miles being passed, then there is a temperate countrey, and full of tillage: but they water all their corne with rivers which they turne in upon it. And they gather their Wheat twice a yere. And if they should not water the ground where as their corne is sowed, the country is so hote it would burne all.

Before you come to Mexico, there is a great towne called Tlaxcalla, which hath in it above 16000 households. All the inhabitants thereof are free by the kings of Spaine: for these were the occasion that Mexico was woonne in so short time, and with so little losse of men. Wherefore they are all gentlemen, and pay no tribute to the king. In this towne is all the cochinilla growing.

Mexico is a great city; it hath more then fifty thousand households, whereof there are not past five or sixe thousand houses of Spanyards: all the other are the people of the countrey, which live under the Spanyards lawes. There are in this city stately buildings, and many monasteries of friers and nunnes, which the Spanyards have made. And the building of the Indians is somewhat beautifull outwardly, and within full of small chambers, with very small windowes, which is not so comly as the building of the Spanyards. This city standeth in the midst of a great lake, and the water goeth thorow all or the most part of the streets, and there come small boats, which they call canoas, and in them they bring all things necessary, as wood, and coales, and grasse for their horses, stones and lime to build, and corne.

This city is subject to many earthquakes, which oftentimes cast downe houses, and kil people. This city is very well provided of water to drinke, and with all maner of victuals, as fruits, flesh and fish, bread, hennes and capons, Guiny cocks and hennes, and all other fowle. There are in this city every weeke three Faies or Markets, which are frequented with many people, aswell Spanyards as the people of the countrey. There are in these Faies or Markets all maner of things that may be invented, to sell, and in especiall, things of the countrey. The one of these Faies is upon the Munday, which is called S. Hypolitos faire, and S. James his faire is upon the Thursday, and upon Saturday is S. Johns faire. In this city is alwayes the kings governour or viceroy, and there are kept the Termes and Parliaments. And although there be other places of justice, yet this is above all: so that all men may appeale unto this place, and may not appeale from this city, but onely into Spaine before the king: and it must be for a certeine summe: and if it be under that summe, then there is no appellation from them. Many rivers fall into this lake which the city

standeth in : but there was never any place found whither it goeth out.

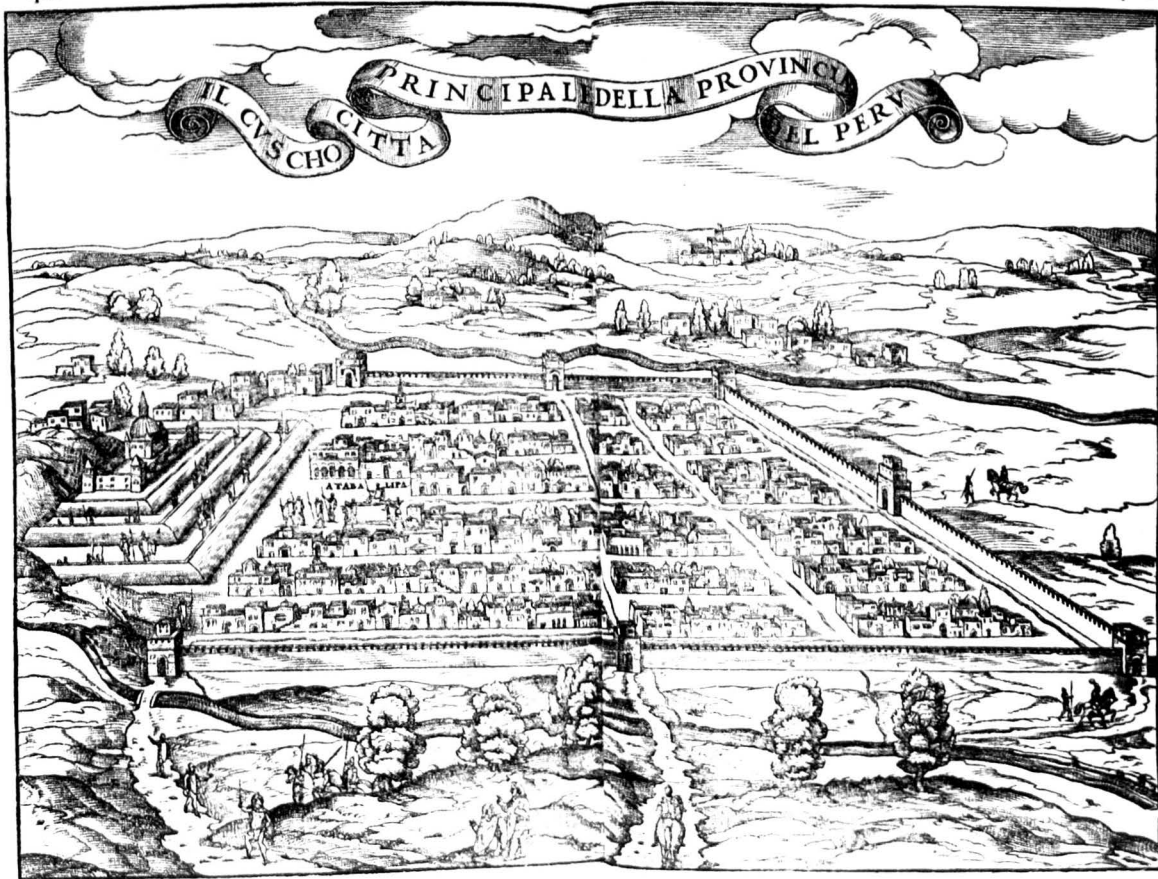
The Indians know a way to drowne the city, and within these three yeeres they would have practised the same : but they which should have bene the doers of it were hanged : and ever since the city hath bene well watched both day and night, for feare least at some time they might be deceived : for the Indians love not the Spanyards. Round about the towne there are very many gardens and orchards of the fruits of the countrey, marvellous faire, where the people have great recreation. The men of this city are marvellous vicious ; and in like maner the women are dishonest of their bodies, more then they are in other cities or townes in this countrey.

There are neere about this city of Mexico many rivers and standing waters which have in them a monstrous kinde of fish, which is marvellous ravening, and a great devourer of men and cattell. He is wont to sleepe upon the drie land many times, and if there come in the meane time any man or beast and wake or disquiet him, he speedeth well if he get from him. He is like unto a serpent, saving that he doth not flie, neither hath he wings.

There is West out of Mexico a port towne which is on the South sea, called Puerto de Acapulco, where as there are shippes which they have ordinarily for the navigation of China, which they have newly found. This port is threescore leagues from Mexico.

There is another port towne which is called Culiacan, on the South sea, which lieth West and by North out of Mexico, and is 200 leagues from the same : and there the Spanyards made two ships to goe seeke the streight or gulfe, which, as they say, is betweene the Newfoundland and Groenland ; and they call it the Englishmens streight : which as yet was never fully found. They say, that streight lieth not farre from the maine land of China, which the Spanyards account to be marvellous rich.

Toward the North from Mexico there are great store of silver mines. There is greater quantitie of silver found in these mines toward the North, then there is any other parts : and as the most men of experience sayde alwayes, they finde the richer mines the more Northerly. These



CUSCO, PRINCIPAL CITY OF PERU

From "Navigazioni et Viaggi,"
by G. B. Ramusio (1556)

mines are commonly upon great hilles and stony ground, marvellous hard to be laboured and wrought.

Out of some of the mines the Indians finde a certeine kinde of earth of divers colours, wherewith they paint themselves in times of their dances, and other pastimes which they use.

In this countrey of Nova Hispania there are also mines of golde, although the golde be commonly found in rivers, or very neere unto rivers. And nowe in these dayes there is not so much golde found as there hath bene heretofore.

There are many great rivers, and great store of fish in them, not like unto our kindes of fish. And there are marvellous great woods, and as faire trees as may be seene, of divers sorts, and especially firre trees, that may mast any shippe that goeth upon the sea, okes and pine-apples, and another tree which they call Mesquiquez: it beareth a fruit like unto a peascod, marvellous sweet, which the wilde people gather, and keepe it all the yere, and eat it in stead of bread.

The Spanyards have notice of seven cities which old men of the Indians shew them should lie towards the Northwest from Mexico. They have used and use dayly much diligence in seeking of them, but they cannot find any one of them. They say that the witchcraft of the Indians is such, that when they come by these townes they cast a mist upon them, so that they cannot see them.

They have understanding of another city which they call Copalla: and in like maner, at my beeing in the countrey, they have used much labour and diligence in the seeking of it: they have found the lake on which it should stand, and a canoa, the head whereof was wrought with copper curiously, and could not finde nor see any man nor the towne which to their understanding should stand on the same water, or very neere the same.

There is a great number of beasts or kine in the countrey of Cibola, which were never brought thither by the Spanyards, but breed naturally in the countrey. They are like unto our oxen, saving that they have long haire like a lion, and short hornes, and they have upon their shoulders a bunch like a camell, which is higher then the rest of their body. They are marvellous wild and

swift in running. They call them the beasts or kine of Cibola.

This Cibola is a city which the Spanyards found now of late, without any people in the same, goodly buildings, faire chimneys, windowes made of stone & timber excellently wrought, faire welles with wheeles to draw their water, and a place where they had buried their dead people, with many faire stones upon the graves. And the captaine would not suffer his souldiers to breake up any part of these graves, saying, he would come another time to do it.

They asked certeine people which they met, whither the people of this city were gone : and they made answeere, they were gone downe a river, which was there by, very great, and there had builded a city which was more for their commodity.

This captaine lacking things necessary for himselfe and his men, was faine to returne backe againe, without finding any treasure according to his expectation : neither found they but fewe people, although they found beaten wayes, which had beene much haunted and frequented. The captaine at his comming backe againe, had a great checke of the governour, because he had not gone forwards, and seene the end of that river.

They have in the countrey, farre from the sea side, standing waters, which are salt : and in the moneths of April and May the water of them congealeth into salt, which salt is all taken for the kings use and profit.

Their dogs are all crooked backt, as many as are of the countrey breed, and cannot run fast : their faces are like the face of a pig or an hog, with sharpe noses.

In certeine provinces which are called Guatimala, & Soconusco, there is growing great store of cacao, which is a berry like unto an almond : it is the best merchandize that is in all the Indies. The Indians make drinke of it, and in like maner meat to eat. It goeth currantly for money in any market or faire, and may buy any flesh, fish, bread or cheese, or other things.

There are many kinde of fruits of the countrey, which are very good, as plantans, sapotes, guiaves, pinas, aluacatas, tunas, mamios, limons, oranges, walnuts very small and hard with little meat in them, grapes which the Spanyards brought into the countrey, and also wilde grapes, which are of the countrey, and are very small,

quinses, peaches, figs, and but few apples, and very small, and no peares: but there are melons and calabças or gourds.

There is much hony, both of bees and also of a kind of tree which they call magueiz. This hony of magueiz is not so sweet as the other hony is, but it is better to be eaten only with bread, then the other is; and the tree serveth for many things, as the leaves make threed to sowe any kinde of bags, and are good to cover and thatch houses, and for divers other things.

They have in divers places of the countrey many hote springs of water: as above all other, I have seene one in the province of Mechuacan. In a plaine field without any mountaine, there is a spring which hath much water, & it is so hot, that if a whole quarter of beefe be cast into it, within on halfe houre it will be as well sodden as it will be over a fire in halfe a day. I have seene halfe a sheepe cast in, and immediatly it hath bene sodden, and I have eaten part of it.

There are many hares, and some conies. There are no partridges, but abundance of quailles.

They have great store of fish in the South sea, and many oysters, and very great. The people do open the oysters, and take out the meat of them, and dry it as they do any other kinde of fish, and keepe them all the yeere: and when the times serve, they send them abroad into the countrey to sell, as all other fish. They have no salmon, nor trowt, nor pele, nor carpe, tench, nor pike in all the countrey.

There are in the countrey mighty high mountaines, and hilles, and snow upon them: they commonly burne; and twice every day they cast out much smoke and ashes at certeine open places, which are in the tops of them.

There is among the wilde people much manna. I have gathered of the same, and have eaten it, and it is good: for the Apothecaries send their servants at certeine times to gather of the same for purgations, and other uses.

There are in the mountaines many wilde hogs, which all men may kill, and lions and tygres; which tygres do much harme to men that travell in the wilderness.

In this countrey, not long since, there were two poore men that found a marvellous rich mine; and when these men went to make a register of the same (according to

the law and custome) before the kings officers, they thought this mine not meet for such men as they were: and violently tooke the sayd mine for the king; and gave no part thereof unto the two poore men. And within certaine dayes the kings officers resorted thither to labor in the mine, & they found two great mighty hilles were come together; so they found no place to worke in. And in the time while I was among them, which was five yerees, there was a poore shepheard, who keeping his sheepe, happened to finde a well of quicke-silver; and he went in like maner to manifest the same, as the custome and maner is; the kings officers dealt in like order as they did with the two poore men that found the rich mine, taking it quite from the shepheard: but when they went to fetch home the quicke-silver, or part thereof, they could never finde it againe. So these things have bene declared unto the king, who hath given commandement, that nothing being found in the fields, as mines, and such like, shall be taken away from any man. And many other things have bene done in this countrey, which men might count for great marvels.

There is great abundance of sugar here, & they make divers conserves, & very good, and send them into Peru, where as they sell them marvellous well, because they make none in those parts.

The people of the countrey are of a good stature, tawny coloured, broad faced, flat nosed, and given much to drinke both wine of Spaine and also a certeine kind of wine which they make with hony of Magueiz, and roots, and other things which they use to put into the same. They call the same wine Pulco. They are soone drunke, and given to much beastlinesse, and void of all goodnesse. In their drunkennesse they use and commit Sodomy; and with their mothers and daughters they have their pleasures and pastimes. Whereupon they are defended from the drinking of wines, upon paines of money, aswell he that selleth the wines as the Indian that drinketh the same. And if this commandement were not, all the wine in Spaine and in France were not sufficient for the West Indies onely.

They are of much simplicity, and great cowards, voide of all valour, and are great witches. They use divers times to talke with the divell, to whom they do certeine sacrifices and oblations: many times they have bene taken

with the same, and I have seene them most cruelly punished for that offence.

The people are given to learne all maner of occupations and sciences, which for the most part they learned since the comming of the Spanyards: I say all maner of arts. They are very artificiall in making of images with feathers, or the proportion or figure of any man, in all kind of maner as he is. The finenesse and excellency of this is woonderfull, that a barbarous people as they are, should give themselves to so fine an arte as this is. They are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and coppersmiths, carpenters, masons, shoemakers, tailors, sadlers, imbroderers, and of all other kind of sciences: and they will do worke so good cheape, that poore yong men that goe out of Spaine to get their living, are not set on worke: which is the occasion there are many idle people in the countrey. For the Indian will live all the weeke with lesse then one groat; which the Spanyard cannot do, nor any man els.

They say, that they came of the linage of an olde man which came thither in a boat of wood, which they call a canoa. But they cannot tell whether it were before the flood or after, neither can they give any reason of the flood, nor from whence they came. And when the Spanyards came first among them, they did certeine sacrifice to an image made in stone, of their owne invention. The stone was set upon a great hill, which they made of bricks of earth: they call it their Cowa. And certeine dayes in the yere they did sacrifice, certeine olde men, and yong children; and onely beleevd in the Sunne and the Moone, saying, that from them they had all things that were needful for them. They have in these parts great store of cotton wooll, with which they make a maner of linnen cloth, which the Indians weare, both men and women, and it serveth for shirts & smocks, and all other kind of garments, which they weare upon their bodies: and the Spanyards use it to all such purposes, especially such as cannot buy other. And if it were not for this kind of cloth, all maner of cloth that goeth out of Spaine, I say linnen cloth, would be solde out of all measure.

The wilde people go naked, without any thing upon them. The women weare the skinne of a deere before their privities, and nothing els upon all their bodies. They

have no care for any thing, but onely from day to day for that which they have need to eat. They are big men, and likewise the women. They shoot in bowes which they make of a cherry tree, and their arrowes are of cane, with a sharpe flint stone in the end of the same; they will pierce any coat of maile: and they kill deere, and cranes, and wilde geese, ducks and other fowle, and wormes, and snakes, and divers other vermin, which they eat. They live very long: for I have seene men that have bene an hundred yeres of age. They have but very litle haire in their face, nor on their bodies.

The Indians have the friers in great reverence: the occasion is, that by them and by their meanes they are free and out of bondage; which was so ordeined by Charles the emperor: which is the occasion that now there is not so much gold and silver comming into Europe as there was while the Indians were slaves. For when they were in bondage they could not chuse but doe their taske every day, and bring their masters so much metall out of their mines: but now they must be well payed, and much intreated to have them worke. So it hath bene, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the mines, and to the kings quinto or custome.

There are many mines of copper in great quantity, whereof they spend in the countrey as much as serveth their turnes. There is some golde in it, but not so much as will pay the costs of the fining. The quantity of it is such, and the mines are so farre from the sea, that it will not be worth the freight to cary it into Spaine. On the other side, the kings officers will give no licence to make ordinance thereof; whereupon the mines lie unlaboured, and of no valuation.

There is much lead in the countrey; so that with it they cover churches, and other religious houses: wherefore they shall not need any of our lead, as they have had need thereof in times past.

The pompe and liberalitie of the owners of the mines is marvellous to beholde: the apparell both of them and of their wives is more to be compared to the apparell of noble persons then otherwise. If their wives goe out of their houses, as unto the church, or any other place, they goe out with great majesty, and with as many men and maids as though she were the wife of some noble man. I will assure you, I have seene a miners wife goe to the

church with an hundred men, and twenty gentlewomen and maids. They keepe open house : who will, may come to eat their meat. They call men with a bell to come to dinner and supper. They are princes in keeping of their houses, and bountifull in all maner of things.

A good owner of mines must have at the least an hundred slaves to cary and to stampe his metals ; he must have many mules, and men to keepe the mines ; he must have milles to stampe his metals ; he must have many waines and oxen to bring home wood to fine the oare ; he must have much quicke-silver, and a marvellous quantity of salt-brine for the metals ; and he must be at many other charges. And as for this charge of quicke-silver, it is a new invention, which they finde more profitable then to fine their oare with lead. Howbeit the same is very costly : for there is never a hundred of quick-silver but costeth at the least threescore pounds sterling. And the mines fall dayly in decay, and of lesse value : and the occasion is, the few Indians that men have to labour their mines.

There is in New Spaine a marvellous increase of cattel, which dayly do increase, and they are of a greater growth then ours are. You may have a great steere that hath an hundred weight of tallow in his belly for sixteene shillings ; and some one man hath 20000 head of cattel of his owne. They sell the hides unto the merchants, who lade into Spaine as many as may be well spared. They spend many in the countrey in shooes and boots, and in the mines : and as the countrey is great, so is the increase of the cattell woonderfull. In the Island of Santo Domingo they commonly kill the beasts for their hides and tallow ; and the fowles eat the carkeises : and so they do in Cuba and Porto Rico, whereas there is much sugar, and cana fistula, which dayly they send into Spaine. They have great increase of sheepe in like maner, and dayly do intend to increase them. They have much wooll, and as good as the wooll of Spaine. They make cloth as much as serveth the countrey, for the common people, and send much cloth into Peru. I have seene cloth made in the city of Mexico, which hath beene solde for tenne pezos a vare, which is almost foure pounds English, and the vare is lesse then our yard. They have woad growing in the countrey, and alum, and brasill, and divers other things to die withall, so that they make all

colours. In Peru they make no cloth: but heereafter our cloth will be little set by in these parts, unlesse it be some fine cloth. The wools are commonly foure shillings every roue, which is five & twenty pounds: and in some places of the countrey that are farre from the places where as they make cloth, it is woorth nothing, and doth serve but onely to make beds for men to lie on.

They make hats, as many as doe serve the Countrey, very fine and good, and sell them better cheape, then they can be brought out of Spaine, and in like maner send them into Peru.

Many people are set on worke both in the one and in the other: they spin their wooll as we doe, and in steed of oyle, they have hogs grease: they twist not their threed so much as wee doe, neither worke so fine a threed. They make no kersies, but they make much cloth, which is course, and sell it for lesse then 12. pence the vare. It is called Sayall.

They have much silke, and make all maner of sorts thereof, as Taffataes, Sattins, Velvets of all colours, and they are as good as the silkes of Spaine, saving that the colours are not so perfect: but the blackes are better then the blackes that come out of Spaine.

They have many horses, and mares, and mules, which the Spaniards brought thither. They have as good Jennets, as any are in Spaine, and better cheape then they bee in Spaine. And with their mules they cary all their goods from place to place.

There is raine usually in this Countrey, from the moneth of May, to the midst of October, every day, which time they call their winter, by reason of the said waters. And if it were not for the waters which fall in these hot seasons, their Maiz, which is the greatest part of their sustenance, would be destroyed. This Maiz is the greatest maintenance which the Indian hath, and also all the common people of the Spaniards. And their horses and mules which labour, cannot be without the same. This graine is substantiall, and increaseth much blood. If the Miners should bee without it, they coule not labour their Mines: for all their servants eate none other bread, but onely of this Maize, and it is made in cakes, as they make oaten cakes, in some places of England.

The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. yeeres, 4. shillings of money, and an hanege of Maiz, which is worth 4. shillings more unto the King every yeere. This is payd in all Nova Hispania, of as many as be of the age of 20. yeeres, saving the Citie of Tlascalla, which was made free, because the citizens thereof were the occasion that Cortes tooke Mexico in so little a time. And although at the first they were freed from paiment of tribute, yet the Spaniards now begin to usurpe upon them, and make them to till a great field of Maiz, at their owne costes every yeere for the King, which is as beneficial unto him, and as great cost unto them, as though they paid their tribute, as the others doe.

The ships which goe out of Spaine with goods for Peru, goe to Nombre de dios, and there discharge the said goods: and from thence they be caried over the necke of a land, unto a port towne in the South sea, called Panama, which is 17. leagues distant from Nombre de dios. And there they doe ship their goods againe, and so from thence goe to Peru. They are in going thither three moneths, and they come backe againe in 20. dayes. They have seldome foule weather, and fewe ships are lost in the South sea. Foure yeeres past, to wit 1568, there was a ship made out of Peru, to seeke Salomons Islands, and they came somewhat to the South of the Equinoctial, & found an Island with many blacke people, in such number that the Spaniards durst not go on land among them. And because they had bene long upon the voyage, their people were very weake, and so went not on land, to know what commoditie was upon it. And for want of victuals, they arrived in Nova Hispania, in a port called Puerto de Navidad, and thence returned backe againe unto Peru, whereas they were evil entreated, because they had not knowen more of the same Island.

They have in this port of Navidad ordinarily their ships, which goe to the Islands of China, which are certaine Islands which they have found within these 7. yeres. They have brought from thence gold, and much Cinamom, and dishes of earth, and cups of the same, so fine, that every man that may have a piece of them, will give the weight of silver for it. There was a Mariner that brought a pearle as big as a doves egge from thence, & a stone, for which the Viceroy would have given 3000. duckets.

Many things they bring from thence, most excellent. There are many of these ylands, and the Spaniards have not many of them as yet: for the Portugals disturbe them much, and combate with them every day, saying, it is part of their conquest, and to the maine land they cannot come at any hand. There are goodly people in them, and they are great Mariners, richly apparelled in cloth of gold, and silver, and silke of all sorts, and goe apparelled after the maner of the Turkes. This report make such as come from thence. The men of the maine land have certaine traffique with some of these ylanders, and come thither in a kind of ships, which they have with one saile, and bring of such marchandize as they have need of. And of these things there have bene brought into New Spaine both cloth of gold and silver, and divers maners of silks, and works of gold and silver, marveilous to be seene. So by their saying, there is not such a countrey in the whole world. The maine land is from the ylands 190. leagues: and the ylands are not farre from the Malucos Northwards. And the people of those ylands, which the Spaniards have, say, that if they would bring their wives and children, that then they should have among them what they would have. So there goe women dayly, and the king payeth all the charges of the married men and their wives, that go to those ylands. And there is no doubt but the trade will be marveilous rich in time to come. It was my fortune to be in company with one Diego Gutieres, who was the first Pilot that ever went to that countrey of the Phillipinas. Hee maketh report of many strange things in that Countrey, aswell riches, as other, and saith, if there bee any Paradise upon earth, it is in that countrey: and addeth, that sitting under a tree, you shall have such sweet smels, with such great content and pleasure, that you shall remember nothing, neither wife, nor children, nor have any kinde of appetite to eate or drinke, the odoriferous smels wil be so sweete. This man hath good livings in Nova Hispania, notwithstanding hee will returne thither, with his wife and children, and as for treasure there is abundance, as he maketh mention. In this countrey of Nova Hispania there are many buckes and does, but they have not so long hornes as they have here in England. The Spaniards kill them with hand-guns and with grayhounds, and the Indians kill them

with their bowes and arrowes, and with the skins they make chamoyce, such as we in England make doublets and hose of, as good as the skins that are dressed in Flanders, & likewise they make marveilous good Spanish leather of them. There is a bird which is like unto a Raven, but he hath some of his feathers white: there is such abundance of them, that they eate all the corrupt and dead flesh which is in the country. Otherwise the abundance of carren is so much, that it would make a marveilous corrupt aire in all the Countrey, and be so noisome, that no man could abide it. Therefore it is commanded there shall none of them be killed. These birds are always about Cities, and townes, where there is much flesh killed.

The Indians are much favoured by the Justices of the Countrey, and they call them their orphanes. And if any Spaniard should happen to doe any of them harme, or to wrong him in taking any thing from him, as many times they doe, or to strike any of them, being in any towne, whereas justice is, they are aswell punished for the same, as if they had done it one Spaniard to another. When a Spaniard is farre from Mexico, or any place of justice, thinking to doe with the poore Indian what he list, considering he is so farre from any place of remedy, he maketh the Indian do what he commaundeth him, and if he will not doe it, hee beateth and misuseth him, according to his owne appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace, untill hee finde an opportunitie, and then taketh a neighbour with him, and goeth to Mexico, although it be 20. leagues off, and maketh his complaint. This his complaint is immediatly heard, & although it be a knight, or a right good gentleman, he is forthwith sent for, and punished both by his goods, and also his person is imprisoned, at the pleasure of the Justice. This is the occasion that the Indians are so tame and civill, as they are: and if they should not have this favour, the Spaniards would soone dispatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them. But they may cal them dogs, and use other evill words, as much as they will, and the Indian must needs put it up, and goe his way.

The poore Indians wil go every day two or three leagues to a Faire or market with a childe upon their necks, with as much fruit or rootes, or some kinde of ware, as cotton wooll, or cadis of all colours, as shall be not

past worth a pennie: and they wil mainteine themselves upon the same. For they live with a marveilous small matter.

They are in such povertie, that if you neede to ride into the Countrey, you shall have an Indian to goe with you all the day with your bed upon his backe, for one royall of plate: and this you shall have from one towne to another. Here you are to understand, that all men that travelle by the way, are alwayes wont to carry their beds with them. They are great theeves, and wil steale all that they may, and you shall have no recompence at their hands.

The garments of the women, are in this maner. The uppermost part is made almost like to a womans smocke, saving that it is as broad above as beneath, and hath no sleeves, but holes on eche side one to put out their armes. It is made of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, and filled full of flowers, of red cadis and blew, and other colours. This garment commeth downe to the knees, and then they have another cloth made after the same maner, and that goeth rounde about their waste, and reacheth to their shooes, and over this a white fine sheet upon their heads, which goeth downe halfe the legge. Their haire is made up round with an haire lace about their head. And the men have a small paire of breeches of the same cotton wool, and their shirts which hang over their breeches, and a broad girdle about their middles, and a sheete with flowers upon their backes, and with a knot upon one shoulder, & an hat upon their heads, and a paire of shooes. And this is all their apparell, although it be a Casique, which they use in all the Countrey.

The wals of the houses of the Indians, are but plaine, but the stones are layd so close, that you shall not well perceive the joynts betweene one stone and another, they are so finely cut: and by the meanes that the stones are so workmanly done, and finely joyned together, there is some beautie in their wals. They are marveilous small and light, as Pumie stones. They make their doores very little, so that there can go in but one man at a time. Their windowes, and roomes within their houses are small, and one roome they have reserved for their friends, when they come to talke one with another, and that is alwayes faire matted, and kept marveilous cleane,

and hanged full of images, and their chaires standing there to sit in. They eat their meate upon the ground, and sleepe on the ground upon a mat, without any bed, both the gentlemen, and other.

The Indians strike their fire with one sticke in another, aswell the tame people, as the wilde. For they know not how to doe it with an yron, and a stone.

In Nova Hispania every 10. or 12. leagues they have a contrary speech, saving onely about Mexico: so there is a number of speeches in the Countrey.

Mutezuma which was the last King of this Countrey, was one of the richest princes which have bene seene in our time, or long before. He had all kinde of beasts which were then in the countrey, and all maner of birds, and fishes, and all maner of wormes, which creepe upon the earth, and all trees, and flowers, and herbes, all fashioned in silver and gold, which was the greatest part of al his treasure, and in these things had he great joy, as the old Indians report. And unto this day, they say that the treasure of Mutezuma is hidden, and that the Spaniards have it not. This King would give none of his people freedome, nor forgive any of them that should pay him tribute, though he were never so poore. For if it had bene told him that one of his tributaries was poore, & that he was not able to pay his tribute according to the custome, then he would have him bound to bring at such times as tributes should be payd, a quill full of Lice, saying, hee would have none free, but himselfe. He had as many wives or concubines, as hee would have, and such as liked him. Alwayes whensoever he went out of his Court to passe the time, he was borne upon 4. of his noble mens shoulders set upon a table, some say, of golde, and very richly dressed with feathers of divers and many colours and flowers. He washed all his body every day, were it never so cold. And unto this day so do all the Indians, and especially the women.

The Spaniards keepe the Indians in great subjection. They may have in their houses no sword nor dagger, nor knife with any point, nor may weare upon them any maner of armes, neither may they ride upon any horse nor mules, in any sadle nor bridle, neither may they drinke wine, which they take for the greatest paine of all. They have attempted divers times to make insurrections, but

they have bene overthrowen immediatly by their owne great and beastly cowardlinesse.

There remaine some among the wild people, that unto this day eate one another. I have seene the bones of a Spaniard that have bene as cleane burnished, as though it had bene done by men that had no other occupation. And many times people are caried away by them, but they never come againe, whether they be men or women.

They have in the Sea ylands of red salt in great abundance, whereas they lade it from place to place about the Sea coast: and they spend very much salt with salting their hides, and fish: and in their Mines they occupie great quantitie. They have much Alume, and as good as any that is in all the Levant, so that they neede none of that commoditie. They have also of their owne growing, much Cana fistula, & much Salsa Perilla, which is marveilous good for many kind of diseases.

There are in Florida many Jarrefalcons, and many other kinde of hawkes, which the gentlemen of Nova Hispania send for every yere. The Spaniards have two forts there, chiefly to keepe out the Frenchmen from planting there.

A discourse written by one Miles Philips Englishman, one of the company put on shoare Northward of Panuco, in the West Indies by M. John Hawkins 1568. containing many special things of that countrey and of the Spanish government, but specially of their cruelties used to our Englishmen, and amongst the rest to him selfe for the space of 15. or 16. yeres together, until by good and happy meanes he was delivered from their bloody hands, and returned into his owne Countrey. An. 1582.

Chap. i.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of England, with the number and names of the ships, their Captaines and Masters, and of our trafique and dealing upon the coast of Africa.

UPON munday the second of October 1567. the weather being reasonable faire, our Generall M. John Hawkins, having commanded all his Captaines and Masters to be in a readinesse to make saile with him, hee himselfe being imbarked in the Jesus, whereof was appointed for Master Robert Barret, hoised saile, and departed from Plim-

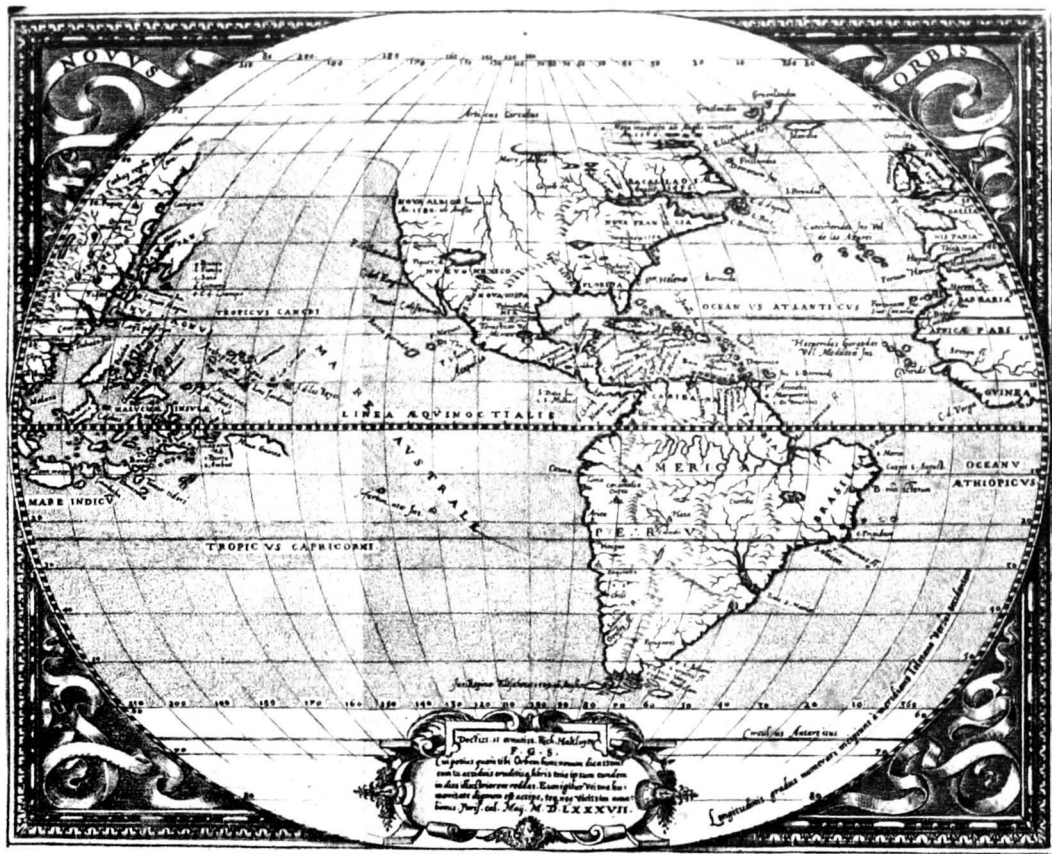
mouth upon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, and America, being accompanied with five other saile of ships, as namely the Mynion, wherein went for Captaine M. John Hampton, and John Garret Master. The William and John, wherein was Captaine Thomas Bolton, and James Raunce Master. The Judith, in whom was Captaine M. Francis Drake afterward knight, and the Angel, whose Master, as also the Captaine and Master of the Swallow I now remember not. And so sayling in company together upon our voyage untill the tenth of the same moneth, an extreeme storme then tooke us neere unto Cape Finister, which dured for the space of foure dayes, and so separated our ships, that wee had lost one another, and our Generall finding the Jesus to bee but in ill case, was in minde to give over the voyage, and to returne home. Howbeit the eleventh of the same moneth the Seas waxing calme, and the winde comming faire hee altered his purpose, and held on the former entended voyage: And so comming to the yland of Gomera being one of the ylands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appointed, we met with all our ships which were before dispersed, wee then tooke in fresh water and departed from thence the fourth of November, and holding on our course, upon the eighteenth day of the same moneth wee came to an ancker upon the coast of Africa, at Cape Verde in twelve fadome water; and here our Generall landed certaine of our men, to the number of 160. or thereabout, seeking to take some Negros. And they going up into the Countrey for the space of sixe miles, were encountred with a great number of the Negros: who with their invenomed arrowes did hurt a great number of our men, so that they were inforced to retire to the ships, in which conflict they recovered but a fewe Negros, and of these our men which were hurt with their envenomed arrowes, there died to the number of seven or eight in very strange maner, with their mouths shut, so that wee were forced to put stickes and other things into their mouths to keepe them open, and so afterward passing the time upon the coast of Guinea, untill the twelfth of January, wee obtained by that time the number of 150. Negros. And being ready to depart from the Sea coast, there was a Negro sent as an Ambasadour to our Generall, from a King of the Negros, which was oppressed with other Kings his bordering

neighbours, desiring our Generall to graunt him succour and ayde against those his enemies, which our Generall granted unto, and went himselfe in person a lande, with the number of two hundreth of our men or thereabouts, and the said King which had requested our ayde, did joyne his force with ours, so that thereby our Generall assaulted, and set fire upon a Towne of the said King his enemies, in which there was at the least the number of eight or ten thousand Negros, and they perceiving that they were not able to make any resistance sought by flight to save themselves, in which their flight there were taken prisoners to the number of eight or nine hundreth, which our Generall ought to have had for his share: howbeit the Negro King which requested our ayde, falsifying his word and promise, secretly in the night conveyed himselfe away with as many prisoners as he had in his custodie: but our Generall notwithstanding finding himselfe to have nowe very neere the number of 500. Negros thought it best without longer abode to depart with them, and such marchandize as hee had from the coast of Africa, towards the West Indies, and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in fresh water and fewel, and so with speed to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a storme that wee had, wee lost one of our ships, namely the William and John, of which ship and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage.

Chap. 2.

Wherein is showed the day and time of our departure from the coast of Africa, with the day and time of our arrivall in the West Indies, also of our trade, and trafique there, and also of the great crueltie that the Spaniards used towards us, by the Vice-roy his direction, and appointment, falsifying his faith and promise given, and seeking to have intrapped us.

ALL things being made in a readinesse, at our Generall his appointment, upon the thirde day of Februarie 1568. wee departed from the coast of Africa, having the weather somewhat tempestuous, which made our passage the more hard; and sayling so for the space of 52. dayes, upon the 27. of March 1568. we came in sight of an yland



MAP OF THE NEW WORLD

From the "De Orbo Novo" of
Peter Martyr (1587)

called Dominica, upon the coast of America in the West Indies, situated in 14. degrees of latitude, and 322. of longitude: from thence our Generall coasted from place to place, ever making trafique with the Spaniards and Indians as hee might, which was somewhat hardly obtained, for that the King had straightly charged all his governours in those parts not to trade with any: yet notwithstanding, during the moneths of April and May, our Generall had reasonable trade and trafique, and courteous entertainment in sundry places, as at Margarita, Coraçao, and else where, til we came to Cape de la vela, and Rio de Hacha, (a place from whence all the pearles doe come :) the governour there would not by any meanes permit us to have any trade or trafique, nor yet suffer us to take in fresh water: by meanes whereof our Generall for the avoyding of famine and thirst about the beginning of June, was enforced to land two hundreth of our men, and so by maine force and strength to obtaine that which by no faire meanes hee could procure: And so recovering the Towne with the losse of two of our men, there was a secret and peaceable trade admitted, and the Spaniards came in by night, and bought of our Negroes to the number of 200, and upwards, and of our other marchandize also. From thence we departed for Carthage, where the Governour was so straight, that we could not obtaine any trafique there, and so for that our trade was neere finished, our Generall thought it best to depart from thence the rather for the avoyding of certaine dangerous stormes called the Huricanos, which accustomed to begin there about that time of the yere, & so the 24. of July 1568. we departed from thence directing our course North: and leaving the yland of Cuba upon our right hand, to the Eastward of us, and so sayling toward Florida upon the 12. of August an extreeme tempest arose, which dured for the space of 8 dayes, in which our ships were most dangerously tossed and beaten hither, & thither, so that we were in continuall feare to be drowned by reason of the shallownes of the coast, and in the end we were constrained to flee for succour to the port of S. John de Ullua, or Vera Cruz, situated in 19. degrees of latitude, and in 279. degrees of longitude, which is the port that serveth for the Citie of Mexico: in our seeking to recover this port our Generall met by the way three small ships that caried passengers,

which hee tooke with him, and so the sixteenth of September 1568. wee entered the saide port of S. John de Ullua. The Spaniards there supposing us to have bene the King of Spaines Fleete, the chiefe officers of the Countrey thereabouts came presently aboard our Generall, where perceiving themselves to have made an unwise adventure, they were in great feare to have bene taken and stayed: howbeit our Generall did use them all very courteously. In the said port there were twelve ships which by report had in them in treasure to the value of two hundreth thousand pound all which being in our Generall his power and at his devotion, he did freely set at libertie, as also the passengers which he had before stayed, not taking from any of them all the value of one groat: onely hee stayed two men of credite and accompt, the one named Don Laurenzo de Alva, and the other Don Pedro de Rivera, and presently our Generall sent to the Viceroy to Mexico which was threescore leagues off, certifying him of our arrivall there by force of weather, desiring that forasmuch as our Queene his Sovereigne, was the king of Spaine his loving sister and friend, that therefore hee would, considering our necessities and wants, furnish us with victuals for our Navie, and quietly suffer us to repaire and amend our ships. Aud furthermore that at the arrival of the Spanish Fleet which was there dayly expected and looked for, to the ende that there might no quarell arise betweene them, and our Generall and his company for the breach of amitie, he humbly requested of his excellencie, that there might in this behalfe some special order be taken. This message was sent away the 16. of September 1568. it being the very day of our arrivall there.

The next morning being the seventeenth of the same moneth, wee descried 13. saile of great shippes: and after that our Generall understood, that it was the king of Spaines Fleete then looked for, he presently sent to advertise the Generall hereof, of our being in the said port, and giving him further to understand, that before he should enter there into that harbour, it was requisite that there should passe betweene the two Generals some orders and conditions to bee observed on either part, for the better contriving of peace betweene them and theirs, according to our Generals request made unto the Viceroy. And at this instant our Generall was in a great

perplexitie of minde, considering with himselfe that if hee should keepe out that Fleete from entring into the port, a thing which hee was very well able to doe with the helpe of God, then should that Fleete be in danger of present shipwracke and losse of all their substance, which amounted unto the value of one million and eight hundreth thousand pounds. Againe he saw that if he suffered them to enter, hee was assured that they would practise by all maner of meanes to betray him and his, and on the other side the haven was so little, that the other Fleete entring, the shippes were to ride one hard aboard of another. Also hee saw that if their Fleete should perish by his keeping of them out, as of necessitie they must if he should have done so, then stood hee in great feare of the Queene our Soveraignes displeasure in so waightie a cause: therefore did he choose the least evill, which was to suffer them to enter under assurance, and so to stand upon his guard, and to defend himselfe and his from their treasons which we were well assured they would practise, and so the messenger being returned from Don Martin de Henriques, the newe Viceroy, who came in the same Fleete, and had sufficient authoritie to command in all cases both by Sea and by lande in this province of Mexico or new Spaine, did certifie our Generall, that for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the king of Spaine and our Soveraigne, all our requests should bee both favourably granted, and faithfully perfourmed: signifying further that he heard and understood of the honest and friendly dealing of our Generall, toward the king of Spaines subjects in all places where he had bene, as also in the said port: so that to bee briefe our requests were articulated, and set downe in writing. Viz.

1 The first was that wee might have victuals for our money, and license to sell as much wares, as might suffice to furnish our wants.

2 The second, that we might be suffered peaceably to repaire our ships.

3 The thirde that the yland might bee in our possession during the time of our abode there, In which yland our Generall for the better safetie of him and his, had alreadye planted and placed certaine Ordinance which were eleven pieces of brasse, therefore he required that the same might so continue, and that no Spaniard should

come to lande in the saide yland, having or wearing any kinde of weapon about him.

4 The fourth and the last, that for the better and more sure performance and maintenance of peace, and of all the conditions, there might twelve gentlemen of credite bee delivered of either part as hostages.

These conditions were concluded and agreed upon in writing by the Viceroy and signed with his hand, and sealed with his seale, and 10. hostages upon either part were received. And further it was concluded that the two Generals should meet, and give faith ech to other for the performance of the premisses. Al which being done, the same was proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet, & commandement was given that none of either part should violate or breake the peace upon paine of death: thus at the ende of three dayes all was concluded, and the Fleete entred the port, the ships saluting one another as the maner of the Sea doth require: the morrow after being friday we laboured on all sides in placing the English ships by themselves, & the Spanish ships by themselves, the Captaines and inferiour persons of either part, offering, and shewing great courtesie one to another, and promising great amitie upon all sides. Howbeit as the sequel shewed, the Spaniards meant nothing lesse upon their parts. For the Viceroy and governour thereabout had secretly at land assembled to the number of 1000. chosen men, and wel appointed, meaning the next thursday being the 24. of September at dinner time to assault us, and set upon us on all sides. But before I go any further, I thinke it not amisse briefly to describe the maner of the yland as it then was, and the force and strength, that it is now of. For the Spaniards since the time of our Generals being there, for the better fortifying of the same place, have upon the same yland built a faire Castle, and bulwarke very well fortified: this port was then at our being there, a little yland of stones, not past three foote above water in the highest place, and not past a bow-shotte over any way at the most, and it standeth from the maine land, two bowshootes or more: and there is not in all this coast any other place for ships safely to arive at: also the North windes in this coast are of great violence and force, and unlesse the shippes bee safely mored in, with their anckers fastened in this yland, there is no remedie, but present

destruction and shipwracke. All this our generall wisely foreseeing, did provide that he would have the said yland in his custody, or els the Spaniards might at their pleasure, have but cut our cables, and so with the first Northwinde that blew we had had our passport, for our ships had gone a shoore. But to returne to the matter.

The time approaching that their treason must be put in practise, the same Thursday morning, some appearance thereof began to shewe it selfe, as shifting of weapons from shippe to shippe, and planting, and bending their Ordinance against our men that warded upon the lande, with great repaire of people: which apparant shewes of breach of the Viceroyes faith caused our Generall to sende one to the Viceroy, to enquire of him what was meant thereby, which presently sent and gave order, that the Ordinance aforesayde, and other things of suspicion should bee remooved, returning answere to our Generall in the faith of a Viceroy, that hee would bee our defence, and safetie from all villanous treacherie: this was upon Thursday in the morning. Our Generall not being therewith satisfied, seeing they had secretly conveyed a great number of men aboard a great hulke or ship of theirs of sixe hundreth tunne, which shippe rode hard by the Mynion, hee sent againe to the Viceroy Robert Barret the Master of the Jesus, a man that could speake the Spanish tongue very well, and required that those men might bee unshipt againe, which were in that great hulke. The Viceroy then perceiving that their treason was throughly espied, stayed our Master, and sounded the Trumpet, and gave order that his people should upon all sides charge upon our men, which warded on shoore, and else where, which strooke such a mase, and sudden feare among us, that many gave place, and sought to recover our shippes for the safetie of themselves. The Spaniards which secretly were hid in ambush at lande were quickly conveyed over to the yland in their long boates, and so comming to the yland, they slewe all our men that they could meete with, without mercy. The Minion which had somewhat before prepared her selfe to avoyd the danger, haled away and abode the first brunt of the 300 men that were in the great hulke: then they sought to fall aboard the Jesus, where was a cruell fight, and many of our men slaine: but yet our men defended themselves, and kept them out: so the Jesus

also got loose, and joyning with the Minion, the fight waxed hote upon all sides: but they having woon and got our ordinance on shore, did greatly annoy us. In this fight there were two great shippes of the Spaniards sunke, and one burnt, so that with their shippes they were not able to harme us, but from the shore they beat us cruelly with our owne ordinance, in such sort that the Jesus was very sore spoyled: and suddenly the Spaniards having fired two great ships of their owne, they came directly against us, which bred among our men a marveilous feare. Howbeit the Minion which had made her sayles ready, shifted for her selfe, without consent of the Generall, Captaine or Master, so that very hardly our Generall could be received into the Minion: the most of our men that were in the Jesus shifted for themselves, and followed the Minion in the boat, and those which that small boat was not able to receive, were most cruelly slaine by the Spaniards. Of our ships none escaped saving the Minion and the Judith: and all such of our men as were not in them were inforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certaine trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men ashore, they tooke and hung them up by the armes upon high postes untill the blood burst out of their fingers ends: of which men so used, there is one Copstow, and certaine others yet alive, who by the mercifull providence of the almighty, were long since arrived here at home in England, carying still about with them (and shal to their graves) the marks and tokens of those inhumane and more then barbarous cruell dealings.

Chap. 3.

Wherein is shewed, how that after we were escaped from the Spaniards, wee were like to perish with famine at the Sea, and how our Generall, for the avoiding thereof was constrained to put halfe of his men on land, and what miseries wee after that sustained amongst the Savage people, and how againe we fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

AFTER that the Viceroy, Don Martin Henriques, had thus contrary to his faith and promise, most cruelly dealt with our Generall master Hawkins, at S. John de Ullua, where

most of his men were by the Spaniards slaine and drowned, and all his ships sunke and burned, saving the Minion, and the Judith, which was a small barke of fiftie tunne, wherein was then Captaine master Francis Drake aforesayd: the same night the said barke lost us, we being in great necessitie, and inforced to remoove with the Minion two bow-shoote from the Spanish fleete, where we ankered all that night: and the next morning wee weyed anker, and recovered an Island a mile from the Spaniards, where a storme tooke us with a North winde, in which we were greatly distressed, having but two cables and two ankers left: for in the conflict before we had lost three cables and two ankers. The morrow after, the storme being ceased and the weather faire, we weied, and set sayle, being many men in number, and but small store of victuals to suffice us for any long time: by meanes whereof we were in despaire and feare that we should perish through famine, so that some were in minde to yeelde themselves to the mercy of the Spaniards, other some to the Savages or Infidels, and wandring thus certaine daies in these unknowen seas, hunger constrained us to eate hides, cats and dogs, mice, rats, parrats and munkies: to be short, our hunger was so great, that wee thought it savourie and sweete whatsoever wee could get to eate.

And on the eight of October wee came to land againe, in the bottome of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to have found some inhabitants, that wee might have had some reliefe of victuals, and a place where to reparaire our ship, which was so greatly bruised, that we were scarce able with our weary armes to keepe foorth the water: being thus oppressed with famine on the one side and danger of drowning on the other, not knowing where to find reliefe, wee began to be in wonderfull despaire, and we were of many mindes, amongst whom there were a great many that did desire our Generall to set them on land, making their choise rather to submit themselves to the mercie of the Savages or Infidels, then longer to hazard themselves at sea, where they very well sawe, that if they should remaine together, if they perished not by drowning, yet hunger would inforce them in the ende to eate one another: to which request our Generall did very willingly agree, considering with himselfe that it was necessary for him to lessen his number,

both for the safetie of himselfe & the rest: and therupon being resolved to set halfe his people ashore that he had then left alive, it was a world to see how suddenly mens minds were altered: for they which a little before desired to be set on land, were now of another minde, and requested rather to stay: by meanes whereof our Generall was inforced for the more contentation of all mens minds, and to take away all occasions of offence, to take this order: First he made choice of such persons of service and account, as were needefull to stay, and that being done, of those which were willing to goe he appointed such as he thought might be best spared, and presently appointed that by the boat they should bee set on shore, our Generall promising us that the next yeere he would either come himselfe, or else send to fetch us home. Here againe it would have caused any stony heart to have relented to heare the pitifull mone that many did make, and howe loth they were to depart: the weather was then somewhat stormy and tempestuous, and therefore we were to passe with great danger, yet notwithstanding there was no remedy, but we that were appointed to goe away, must of necessitie doe so. Howbeit those that went in the first boat were safely set on shore, but of them which went in the second boate, of which number I my selfe was one, the seas wrought so high, that we could not attaine to the shore, and therefore we were constrained through the cruell dealing of John Hampton captaine of the Minion, and John Sanders boatswaine of the Jesus, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leape out of the boate into the maine sea, having more then a mile to shore, and so to shift for our selves, and either to sinke or swimme. And of those that so were (as it were) throwen out, and compelled to leape into the sea, there were two drowned, which were of captaine Blands men.

In the evening of the same day, it being Munday the eight of October, 1568, when we were all come to shore, we found fresh water, whereof some of our men drunke so much, that they had almost cast themselves away, for wee could scarce get life of them for the space of two or three houres after: other some were so cruelly swollen, what with the drinking in of the salt water, and what with the eating of the fruit which wee found on land, having a stone in it much like an almond (which

fruit is called Capule) that they were all in very ill case, so that we were in a maner all of us both feeble, faint and weake.

The next morning being Tewsday, the ninth of October, we thought it best to travell along by the sea coast, to seeke out some place of habitation: (whether they were Christians or Savages, we were indifferent, so that we might have wherewithall to sustaine our hungry bodies) and so departing from an hill where we had rested all night, not having any drie threed about us, (for those that were not wet being not throwen into the sea, were thorowly wet with raine, for all the night it rained cruelly :) As we went from the hil, and were come into the plaine, we were greatly troubled to passe for the grasse and weedes that grewe there higher then any man. On the left hand we had the sea, and upon the right hand great woods, so that of necessitie we must needs pass on our way Westward, through those marshes; and going thus, suddenly we were assaulted by the Indians, a warlike kind of people, which are in a maner as Canibals, although they doe not feede upon mans flesh as Canibals doe.

These people are called Chichimici, and they use to wear their haire long; even down to their knees, they doe also colour their faces greene, yellow, red and blew, which maketh them to seeme very ougly and terrible to beholde. These people doe keepe warres against the Spaniards, of whom they have bene oftentimes very cruelly handled: for with the Spaniards there is no mercy. They perceiving us at our first comming on land, supposed us to have bene their enemies, the bordering Spaniards, and having by their forerunners descried what number we were, and how feeble and weake without armour or weapon, they suddenly according to their accustomed maner, when they encounter with any people in warlike sorte, raised a terrible and huge crie, and so came running fiercely upon us, shooting off their arrowes as thicke as haile, unto whose mercy we were constrained to yeeld, not having amongst us any kind of armour, nor yet weapon, saving one caliver, and two old rustie swords, whereby to make any resistance, or to save our selves: which when they perceived, that wee sought not any other then favour and mercie at their handes, and that we were not their enemies the Spaniards, they had com-

passion on us, and came and caused us all to sit down : and when they had a while surveyed, and taken a perfect view of us, they came to all such as had any coloured clothes amongst us, and those they did strip starke naked, and tooke their clothes away with them, but those that were apparelled in blacke they did not meddle withall, and so went their wayes, and left us without doing us any further hurt, onely in the first brunt they killed eight of our men. And at our departure, they perceiving in what weake case we were, pointed us with their hands which way we should go to come to a towne of the Spaniards, which as we afterwards perceived, was not past ten leagues from thence, using these words : Tampice, Tampice, Christiano, Tampice Christiano, which is as much (we thinke) as to say in English, at Tampice you shall find the Christians. The weapons that they use are no other but bowes and arrowes, and their arme is so good, that they very seldome misse to hit any thing that they shoote at. Shortly after they had left us stript (as aforesayd) we thought it best to devide our selves into two companies, and so being separated, halfe of us went under the leading of one Anthony Godard, who is yet a man alive, and dwelleth at this instant in the towne of Plimmouth, whom before we chose to be captaine over us all, and those which went under his leading, of which number I Miles Philips was one, travailed Westward that way which the Indians with their hands had before pointed us to go. The other halfe went under the leading of one John Hooper, whom they did choose for their captain, & with the company that went with him, David Ingram was one, and they tooke their way and travelled Northward, and shortly after, within the space of two dayes, they were againe incountered with the savage people, and their captaine Hooper and two more of his company were slaine : then againe they divided themselves, and some held on their way still Northward, and other some, knowing that we were gone Westward, sought to meet with us againe, as in truth there was about the number of 25 or 26 of them that met with us in the space of foure dayes againe, and then we began to reckon amongst our selves, how many wee were that were set on shore, and we found the number to be an hundred and foureteene, whereof two were drowned in the sea, and eight were slaine at the first incounter, so

that there remained an hundred and foure, of which 25 went Westward with us, and 52 to the North with Hooper and Ingram: and as Ingram since hath often told me, there were not past three of their company slaine, and there were but sixe and twenty of them that came againe to us, so that of the company that went Northward, there is yet lacking, and not certainly heard of, the number of three and twenty men. And verely I doe thinke that there are of them yet alive, and married in the said country, at Cibola, as hereafter I purpose (God willing) to discourse of more particularly, with the reason and causes that make mee so to thinke of them that were lacking, which were David Ingram, Twide, Browne, and sundry others, whose names wee could not remember. And being thus met againe together, we travelled on still Westward, sometime thorow such thicke woods, that we were inforced with cudgels to breake away the brambles and bushes from tearing our naked bodies: other sometimes we should travell thorow the plaines, in such high grasse that wee could scarce see one another, and as we passed in some places, we should have of our men slaine, and fall downe suddenly, being strooken by the Indians, which stood behinde trees and bushes, in secret places, and so killed our men as they went by, for wee went scatteringly in seeking of fruites to relieve our selves. We were also oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kind of flie, which in the Indian tongue is called Tequani, and the Spaniards called them Muskitos. There are also in the sayd country a number of other kinde of flies, but none so noysome as these Tequanies bee: you shall hardly see them they be so small, for they are scarce so big as a gnat; they will sucke ones blood marveilously, and if you kill them while they are sucking, they are so venomous that the place will swell extremely, even as one that is stoong with a Waspe or Bee: but if you let them sucke their fill, and to goe away of themselves, then they doe you no other hurt, but leave behinde them a red spot somewhat bigger then a flea-biting. At the first wee were terribly troubled with these kinde of flies, not knowing their qualities, and resistance wee could make none against them, being naked: as for cold wee feared not any, the country there is alwayes so warme. And as we travelled thus for the space of tenne or twelve dayes, our captaine did oftentimes cause certaine to goe

up into the toppes of high trees, to see if they could descrie any towne or place of inhabitants, but they could not perceiue any, and using often the same order to climbe up into high trees, at the length they descried a great river that fell from the Northwest into the maine sea, and presently after, we heard an harquebuze shot off, which did greatly incourage us, for thereby wee knew that we were neere to some Christians, and did therefore hope shortly to finde some succour and comfort, and within the space of one houre after, as we travelled, we heard a cocke crowe, which was also no small joy unto us, and so we came to the North side of the river of Panuco, where the Spaniards have certaine Salines, at which place it was that the harquebuze was shot off, which before we heard: to which place we went not directly, but missing thereof, we left it about a bow-shot upon our left hand: of this river we dranke very greedily, for wee had not met with any water in sixe dayes before, and as we were here by the river side resting our selves, and longing to come to the place where the cocke did crowe, and where the harquebuze was shot off, we perceived many Spaniards upon the other side of the river, riding up and downe on horsebacke, and they perceiving us, did suppose that we had beene of the Indians their bordering enemies, the Chichimeci: the river was not past halfe a bowe shoot over: and presently one of the Spaniards tooke an Indian boate called a Canoa, and so came over, being rowed by two Indians, and having taken the view of us, did presently rowe over backe againe to the Spaniards, who without any delay made out about the number of twenty horsemen, and imbarcking themselves in the Canoas, they led their horses by the reines swimming over after them, and being come over to that side of the river where we were, they saddled their horses, and being mounted upon them with their lances charged, they came very fiercely running at us. Our captaine Anthony Godard seeing them come in that order, did perswade us to submit and yeelde our selves unto them, for being naked, as we at this time were, and without weapon, we could not make any resistance, whose bidding we obeyed, and upon the yeelding of our selves, they perceived us to be Christians, and did call for more Canoas, and caried us over by foure and foure in a boat, and being come on the other side, they understanding

by our captaine how long we had bene without meate, imparted between two and two a loafe of bread made of that countrey wheat, which the Spaniards call Maiz, of the bignesse of our halfepenie loaves, which bread is named in the Indian tongue Clashacally. This bread was very sweete and pleasant unto us, for we had not eaten any in a long time before: and what is it that hunger doth not make to have a savory and a delicate taste? And having thus parted the bread amongst us, those which were men they sent afore to the towne, having also many Indians inhabitants of that place to garde them: they which were yong, as boyes, and some such also as were feeble, they tooke up upon their horses, behind them, and so caried us to the towne where they dwelt, which was very neere distant a mile from the place where we came over.

This towne is well situated, and well replenished with all kindes of fruits, as Orenge, Limons, Pomegranates, Apricoks, and Peaches, and sundry others, and is inhabited with a great number of tame Indians, or Mexicans, and had in it also at that time about the number of two hundred Spaniards, men, women, and children, besides Negros. Of their Salines, which lie upon the West side of the river, more then a mile distant from thence, they make a great profit, for it is an excellent good merchandize there: the Indians doe buy much thereof, and cary it up into the countrey, and there sell it to their owne countrey people, in doubling the price. Also much of the Salt made in this place, is transported from thence by sea to sundry other places, as to Cuba, S. John de Ullua, and the other ports of Tamiago, and Tamachos, which are two barred havens West and by South above threescore leagues from S. John de Ullua. When we were all come to the towne, the Governour there shewed himselfe very severe unto us, and threatned to hang us all: and then he demanded what money wee had, which in trueth was very little, for the Indians which we first met withall, had in a maner taken all from us, and of that which they left, the Spaniards which brought us over, tooke away a good part also: howbeit, from Anthony Godard the Governour here had a chaine of gold, which was given unto him at Carthagen, by the Governour there, and from others he had some small store of money: so that wee accounted that amongst us

all he had the number of five hundred Pezos, besides the chaine of gold.

And having thus satisfied himselfe, when he had taken all that we had, he caused us to be put into a little house much like a hogstie, where we were almost smothered: and before we were thus shut up into that little coat, they gave us some of the countrey wheate, called Mayz, sodden, which they feede their hogs withall. But many of our men which had bene hurt by the Indians at our first comming on land, whose wounds were very sore and grievous, desired to have the helpe of their Surgeons to cure their wounds. The governour, and most of them all answered, that wee should have none other Surgeon but the hangman, which should sufficiently heale us of all our griefes: and thus reviling us, and calling us English dogs, and Lutheran heretikes, we remained the space of three dayes in this miserable state, not knowing what should become of us, waiting every houre to be bereaved of our lives.

Chap. 4.

Wherin is shewed how we were used in Panuco, and in what feare of death we were there, and how we were caried to Mexico to the Viceroy, and of our imprisonment there and at Tescuco, with the courtesies and cruelties wee received during that time, and how in the end wee were by proclamation given to serve as slaves to sundry gentlemen Spaniards.

UPON the fourth day after our comming thither, and there remaining in a perplexitie, looking every houre when we should suffer death, there came a great number of Indians and Spaniards weaponed to fetch us out of the house, and amongst them wee espied one that brought a great many of new halters, at the sight whereof we were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we should presently have suffered death, and so crying and calling to God for mercie and forgivenessse of our sinnes, we prepared our selves, making us ready to die: yet in the end, as the sequel shewed, their meaning was not so: for when wee were come out of the house, with those halters they bound our armes behind us, and so coupling us two and two together, they commanded us to march on through the towne, and so along the

country from place to place toward the cite of Mexico, which is distant from Panuco West and by South the space of ninetie leagues, having onely but two Spaniards to conduct us, they being accompanied with a great number of Indians warding on either side with bowes and arrowes, lest we should escape from them. And travelling in this order, upon the second day at night we came unto a towne which the Indians call Nohele, and the Spaniards call it Santa Maria : in which towne there is a house of white friers, which did very courteously use us, and gave us hote meat, as mutton and broth, and garments also to cover our selves withal, made of white bayes : we fed very greedily of the meat, and of the Indian fruit, called Nohole, which fruit is long and small, much like in fashion to a little cucumber. Our greedy feeding caused us to fall sicke of hote burning agues. And here at this place one Thomas Baker one of our men died of a hurt : for he had bene before shot with an arrow into the throat at the first incounter.

The next morrow about ten of the clocke, we departed from thence, bound two & two together, and garded as before, and so travailed on our way toward Mexico, till we came to a towne within forty leagues of Mexico, named Mestitlan, where is a house of blacke friers : and in this towne there are about the number of three hundred Spaniards, both men, women, and children. The friers sent us meat from the house ready dressed, and the friers, and the men and women used us very courteously, and gave us some shirts and other such things as we lacked. Here our men were very sicke of their agues, and with eating of another fruit called in the Indian tongue, Guiaccos, which fruit did binde us so sore, that for the space of tenne or twelve dayes we could not ease our selves. The next morning we departed from thence with our two Spaniards and Indian gard, as aforesayd. Of these two Spaniards the one was an aged man, who all the way did very courteously intreate us, and would carefully go before to provide for us both meat and things necessary to the uttermost of his power : the other was a yong man who all the way travelled with us, and never departed from us, who was a very cruell caitive, and he caried a javeline in his hand, and sometimes when as our men with very feeblennesse and faintnesse were not able to goe so fast as he required them, he would take his

javelin in both his hands, and strike them with the same betweene the necke and the shoulders so violently, that he would strike them downe; then would he cry, and say, Marchad, marchad Ingleses perros, Luterianos, enemigos de Dios: which is as much to say in English, as March, march on you English dogges, Lutherans, enemies to God. And the next day we came to a towne called Pachuca, and there are two places of that name: as this towne of Pachuca, and the mines of Pachuca, which are mines of silver, and are about sixe leagues distant from this towne of Pachuca towards the Northwest.

Here at this towne the good olde man our Governour suffered us to stay two dayes and two nights, having compassion of our sicke and weake men, full sore against the minde of the yoong man his companion. From thence we tooke our journey, and travelled foure or five dayes by little villages, and Stantias, which are farmes or dairie houses of the Spaniards, and ever as wee had neede, the good olde man would still provide us sufficient of meates, fruites, and water to sustaine us. At the end of which five dayes wee came to a towne within five leagues of Mexico, which is called Quoghliclan, where wee also stayed one whole day and two nights, where was a faire house of gray friers, howbeit wee saw none of them. Here wee were told by the Spaniards in the towne, that wee had not past fifteene English miles from thence to Mexico, whereof we were all very joyfull and glad, hoping that when we came thither, we should either be relieved, and set free out of bonds, or els bee quickly dispatched out of our lives: for seeing our selves thus caried bound from place to place, although some used us courteously, yet could wee never joy, nor be merrie till wee might perceive our selves set free from that bondage, either by death or otherwise.

The next morning we departed from thence on our journey towards Mexico, and so travelled till wee came within two leagues of it, where there was built by the Spaniards a very faire church, called our Ladyes church, in which there is an image of our Lady of silver & gilt, being as high, & as large as a tall woman, in which church, and before this image, there are as many lamps of silver as there be dayes in the yeere, which upon high dayes are all lighted. Whensoever any Spaniards passe by this church, although they be on horse backe, they

will alight, and come into the church, and kneele before the image, and pray to our Lady to defend them from all evil; so that whether he be horseman or footman he will not passe by, but first goe into the Church, and pray as aforesayd, which if they doe not, they thinke and beleeeve that they shall never prosper: which image they call in the Spanish tongue, Nuestra sennora de Guadalupe. At this place there are certain cold baths, which arise, springing up as though the water did seeth: the water whereof is somewhat brackish in taste, but very good for any that have any sore or wound, to wash themselves therewith, for as they say, it healeth many: and every yeere once upon our Lady day the people use to repaire thither to offer, and to pray in that Church before the image, and they say that our Lady of Guadalupe doeth worke a number of miracles. About this Church there is not any towne of Spaniards that is inhabited, but certaine Indians doe dwell there in houses of their own cuntry building.

Here we were met with a great number of Spaniards on horsebacke, which came from Mexico to see us, both gentlemen, and men of occupations, and they came as people to see a wonder: we were still called upon to march on; and so about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the said day we entred into the citie of Mexico, by the way or street called La calle Santa Catherina: and we stayed not in any place till we came to the house or palace of the Vice Roy, Don Martin Henriques, which standeth in the midst of the city, hard by the market place, called La plaça del Marquese. We had not stayed any long time at this place, but there was brought us by the Spaniards from the market place great store of meat, sufficient to have satisfied five times so many as we were: some also gave us hats, & some gave us money: in which place we stayed for the space of two houres, & from thence we were conveyed by water in two large Canoas to an hospital where as certaine of our men were lodged, which were taken before the fight at S. John de Ullua: wee should have gone to our Ladies hospitall, but that there were also so many of our men taken before at that fight that there was no roome for us. After our comming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco dyed within the space of fourteene dayes: soone after which time we were taken forth from that place, and put altogether into our Ladies hospitall,

in which place we were courteously used, and visited oftentimes by vertuous gentlemen and gentlewomen of the citie, who brought us divers things to comfort us withall, as succats and marmilads, and such other things, and would also many times give us many things, and that very liberally. In which hospitall we remained for the space of sixe moneths, untill we were all whole and sound of body, and then we were appointed by the Vice Roy to be caried unto the town of Tescuco, which is from Mexico Southwest distant eight leagues: in which towne there are certaine houses of correction and punishment for ill people called Obraches, like to Bridewell here in London: into which place divers Indians are sold for slaves, some for ten yeeres, and some for twelve. It was no small grieffe unto us when we understood that we should be caried thither, and to bee used as slaves, we had rather be put to death: howbeit there was no remedy, but we were caried to the prison of Tescuco, where we were not put to any labour, but were very straitly kept, & almost famished, yet by the good providence of our mercifull God, we happened there to meet with one Robert Sweeting, who was the sonne of an Englishman borne of a Spanish woman: this man could speake very good English, and by his means wee were holpen very much with victuals from the Indians, as mutton, hennes, & bread. And if we had not bene so relieved, we had surely perished: and yet all the provision that wee had gotten that way was but slender. And continuing thus straightly kept in prison there for the space of two moneths, at the length wee agreed amongst our selves to breake forth of prison, come of it what would, for we were minded rather to suffer death then longer to live in that miserable state. And so having escaped out of prison, we knew not what way to flie for the safetie of our selves, the night was darke, and it rained terribly, and not having any guide, we went we knew not whither, and in the morning, at the appearing of the day, we perceived our selves to be come hard to the city of Mexico, which is 24 English miles from Tescuco. The day being come we were espied by the Spaniards, & pursued, and taken, and brought before the Vice Roy and head justices, who threatned to hang us for breaking of the kings prison. Yet in the end they sent us into a garden belonging to the Vice Roy, & comming thither, we found there our English gentlemen

which were delivered as hostages when as our General was betrayed at S. John de Ullua, as is aforesaid, and with them wee also found Robert Barret, the Master of the Jesus, in which place we remained labouring and doing such things as we were commanded, for the space of 4 moneths, having but two sheepe a day allowed to suffice us all, being very neere a hundred men, and for bread we had every man two loaves a day, of the quantity of one halfe peny loafe. At the end of which foure moneths, they having remooved our gentlemen hostages, and the Master of the Jesus to a prison in the Vice Roy his owne house, did cause it to be proclaimed, that what gentleman Spaniard soever was willing, or would have any English man to serve him, and be bound to keepe him forth comming, to appeare before the Justices within one moneth after notice given, that they should repaire to the said garden, and there take their choice: which proclamation was no sooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden amaine, so that happie was he that could soonest get one of us.

Chap. 5.

Wherein is shewed in what good sort, and how wealthily we lived with our masters untill the comming of the Inquisition, when as againe our sorowes began a fresh: Of our imprisonment in the holy house, and of the severe judgement and sentences given against us, and with what rigour and crueltie the same were executed.

THE gentlemen that thus tooke us for their servants or slaves did new apparell us through out, with whom we abode, doing such service as they appointed us unto, which was for the most part to attend upon them at the table, and to be as their chamberlaines, & to waite upon them when they went abroad, which they greatly accounted of; for in that countrey no Spaniard will serve one another, but they are all of them attended and served by Indians weekely, and by Negroes which be their slaves during their life. In this sort we remained and served in the said citie of Mexico, and thereabouts for the space of a yeere and somewhat longer. Afterwards many of us were by our masters appointed to go to sundry of their Mines where they had to doe, and to be as overseers of the Negroes and Indians that laboured there. In which mines

many of us did profite & gaine greatly : for first we were allowed three hundred Pezos a man for a yeere, which is threescore pound sterling, and besides that the Indians and Negroes which wrought under our charge, upon our well using & intreating of them, would at times as upon Saturdayes when they had left worke, labour for us, and blow as much silver as should be worth unto us 3 markes or thereabouts, every marke being worth 6 Pezos, and a halfe of their money, which 19 Pezos & a halfe, is worth 4li. 10s. of our money. Sundry weekes we did gaine so much by this meanes besides our wages, that many of us became very rich, and were worth three thousand or foure thousand Pezos, for we lived and gained thus in those Mines some three or foure yeeres. As concerning those Gentlemen which were delivered as hostages, and that were kept in prison, in the Viceroy his house, after that we were gone from out the garden to serve sundry gentlemen as aforesaid, they remained prisoners in the said house for the space of 4 moneths after their comming thither, at the end whereof the fleete being readie to depart from S. John de Ullua, to goe for Spaine, the said Gentlemen were sent away into Spaine with the fleete, where as I have heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruell handling of the Spaniards in the Inquisition house, as those which have bene delivered home after they had suffered the persecution of that house can more perfectly declare. Robert Barret also master of the Jesus, was sent away with the fleete into Spaine the next yeere following, where afterwards he suffered persecution in the Inquisition, and at the last was condemned to be burnt, and with him one more of our men whose name was John Gilbert.

Now after that sixe yeeres were fully expired since our first comming into the Indies, in which time we had bene imprisoned and served in the said countreys as is before truely declared, In the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred seventie foure, the Inquisition began to be established in the Indies, very much against the mindes of many of the Spaniards themselves : for never untill this time since their first conquering and planting in the Indies, were they subject to that bloodie and cruell Inquisition. The chiefe Inquisitor was named Don Pedro Moya de Contreres, and John de Bovilla his

companion, and John Sanches the Fischall, and Pedro de los Rios, the Secretary: they being come and settled, and placed in a very faire house neere unto the white Friars, considering with themselves that they must make an entrance and beginning of that their most detestable Inquisition here in Mexico, to the terror of the whole countrey, thought it best to call us that were Englishmen first in question, and so much the rather, for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence that many of us were become very rich, as hath bene already declared, and therefore we were a very good booty and pray to the Inquisitors: so that now againe began our sorrowes a fresh, for we were sent for, and sought out in all places of the countrey, and proclamation made upon paine of loosing of goods and excommunication, that no man should hide or keepe secret any Englishmen or any part of their goods. By means whereof we were all soone apprehended in all places, and all our goods seized and taken for the Inquisitors use, and so from all parts of the countrey we were conveied and sent as prisoners to the cite of Mexico, and there committed to prison in sundry darke dungeons, where we could not see but by candle light, & were never past two together in one place, so that we saw not one another, neither could one of us tell what was become of another. Thus we remained close imprisoned for the space of a yeere and a halfe, and others for some lesse time, for they came to prison ever as they were apprehended. During which time of our imprisonment, at the first beginning we were often called before the Inquisitors alone, and there severely examined of our faith, and commanded to say the Pater noster, the Ave Maria, & the Creed in Latin, which God knoweth a great number of us could not say, otherwise then in the English tongue. And having the said Robert Sweeting who was our friend at Tescuco alwayes present with them for an interpreter, he made report for us, y^t in our own countrey speech we could say them perfectly, although not word for word as they were in Latin. Then did they proceede to demand of us upon our othes what we did beleeve of the Sacrament, & whether there did remaine any bread or wine after the words of consecration, yea or no, and whether we did not beleeve that the host of bread which the priest did hold up over his head, and the wine that was in the

chalice, was the very true and perfect body & blood of our Saviour Christ, yea or no: To which if we answered not yea, then was there no way but death. Then they would demand of us what we did remember of our selves, what opinions we had held, or had bin taught to hold contrary to the same whiles we were in England: to which we for the safety of our lives were constrained to say, that we never did beleeve, nor had bene taught otherwise then has before we had sayd. Then would they charge us that we did not tell them the truth, that they knew the contrary, and therfore we should cal our selves to remembrance, & make them a better answer at the next time, or els we should be rackt, and made to confesse the trueth whether we would or no. And so comming againe before them the next time, we were still demanded of our beliefe whiles we were in England, and how we had bin taught, & also what we thought or did know of such of our owne company as they did name unto us, so that we could never be free from such demands, and at other times they would promise us, that if we would tell them trueth, then should we have favour & be set at libertie, although we very wel knew their faire speches were but means to entrap us, to the hazard and losse of our lives: howbeit God so mercifully wrought for us by a secret meanes that we had, that we kept us still to our first answer, & would stil say that we had told the trueth unto them, and knew no more by our selves nor any other of our fellows then as we had declared, and that for our sinnes and offences in England against God and our Lady, or any of his blessed Saints, we were heartily sory for the same, and did cry God mercy, and besought the Inquisitors for God's sake, considering that we came into those countreys by force of weather, & against our wils, and that never in all our lives we had either spoken or done any thing contrary to their lawes, and therfore they would have mercy upon us. Yet all this would not serve; for stil from time to time we were called upon to confesse, and about the space of 3 moneths before they proceeded to their severe judgement, we were al rackt, and some enforced to utter that against themselves, which afterwards cost them their lives. And thus having gotten from our owne mouthes matter sufficient for them to proceed in judgement against us, they caused a large scaffold to be made in the midst

of the market place in Mexico right over against the head church, & 14 or 15 daies before the day of their judgement, with the sound of a trumpet, and the noise of their Attabalies, which are a kind of drummes, they did assemble the people in all parts of the citie: before whom it was then solemnly proclaimed, that whosoever would upon such a day repaire to the market place, they should heare the sentence of the holy Inquisition against the English heretikes, Lutherans, and also see the same put in execution. Which being done, and the time approching of this cruell judgement, the night before they came to the prison where we were, with certaine officers of that holy hellish house, bringing with them certaine fooles coats which they had prepared for us, being called in their language S. Benitos, which coats were made of yellow cotten & red crosses upon them, both before & behind: they were so busied in putting on their coats about us, and bringing us out into a large yard, and placing and pointing us in what order we should go to the scaffold or place of judgement upon the morrow, that they did not once suffer us to sleepe all that night long. The next morning being come, there was given to every one of us for our breakfast a cup of wine, and a slice of bread fried in honie, and so about eight of the clocke in the morning, we set foorth of the prison, every man alone in his yellow coat, and a rope about his necke, and a great greene Waxe candle in his hand unlighted, having a Spaniard appointed to goe upon either side of every one of us: and so marching in this order and maner toward the scaffold in the market place, which was a bow shoot distant or thereabouts, we found a great assembly of people all the way, and such a throng, that certain of the Inquisitors officers on horseback were constrained to make way, and so comming to the scaffold, we went up by a paire of stayres, and found seates readie made and prepared for us to sit downe on, every man in order as he should be called to receive his judgement. We being thus set downe as we were appointed, presently the Inquisitors came up another paire of staires, and the Viceroy and all the chiefe Justices with them. When they were set downe and placed under the cloth of estate agreeing to their degrees and calling, then came up also a great number of Friers, white, blacke and gray, about the number of 300 persons, they being set in the places

for them appointed. Then was there a solemne Oyes made, and silence commanded, and then presently beganne their severe and cruell judgement.

The first man that was called was one Roger the chiefe Armourer of the Jesus, and hee had judgement to have three hundred stripes on horsebacke, and after condemned to the gallies as a slave for 10 yeeres.

After him were called John Gray, John Browne, John Rider, John Moone, James Collier, and one Thomas Browne: these were adjudged to have 200 stripes on horsebacke, and after to be committed to the gallies for the space of 8 yeeres.

Then was called John Keyes, and was adjudged to have 100 stripes on horsebacke, and condemned to serve in the gallies for the space of 6. yeeres.

Then were severally called the number of 53 one after another, and every man had his severall judgement, some to have 200 stripes on horsebacke, and some 100, and condemned for slaves to the gallies, some for 6 yeeres, some for 8 and some for 10.

And then was I Miles Philips called, and was adjudged to serve in a monasterie for 5 yeeres, without any stripes, and to weare a fooles coat, or S. Benito, during all that time.

Then were called John Storie, Richard Williams, David Alexander, Robert Cooke, Paul Horsewell and Thomas Hull: the sixe were condemned to serve in monasteries without stripes, some for 3 yeeres and some for foure, and to weare the S. Benito during all the said time. Which being done, and it now drawing toward night, George Rively, Peter Momfrie, and Cornelius the Irishman, were called and had their judgement to be burnt to ashes, and so were presently sent away to the place of execution in the market place but a little from the scaffold, where they were quickly burnt and consumed. And as for us that had received our judgement, being 68 in number, we were caried backe that night to prison againe. And the next day in the morning being good Friday, the yeere of our Lord 1575, we were all brought into a court of the Inquisitors pallace, where we found a horse in a readinesse for every one of our men which were condemned to have stripes, and to be committed to the gallies, which were in number 60 and so they being inforced to mount up on horsebacke naked from

the middle upward, were caried to be shewed as a spectacle for all the people to behold throughout the chiefe and principall streetes of the citie, and had the number of stripes to every one of them appointed, most cruelly laid upon their naked bodies with long whips by sundry men appointed to be the executioners thereof: and before our men there went a couple of criers which cried as they went: Behold these English dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God, and all the way as they went there were some of the Inquisitors themselves, and of the familiars of that rakehel order, that cried to the executioners, Strike, lay on those English heretiks, Lutherans, Gods enemies: and so this horrible spectacle being shewed round about the citie, they returned to the Inquisitors house, with their backes all gore blood, and swollen with great bumps, and were then taken from their horses, & carried againe to prison, where they remained untill they were sent into Spaine to the gallies, there to receive the rest of their martirdome: and I and the 6 other with me which had judgement, and were condemned amongst the rest to serve an apprenticeship in the monastery, were taken presently and sent to certaine religious houses appointed for the purpose.

Chap. 6.

Wherein is shewed how we were used in the religious houses, and that when the time was expired, that we were adjudged to serve in them, there came newes to Mexico of M. Francis Drakes being in the South Sea, and what preparation was made to take him, and how I seeking to escape, was againe taken and put in prison at Vera Cruz, and how againe I made mine escape from thence.

I MILES PHILIPS and William Lowe were appointed to the blacke Friers, where I was appointed to be an overseer of Indian workmen, who wrought there in building of a new church: amongst which Indians I learned their language or Mexican tongue very perfectly, and had great familiaritie with many of them, whom I found to be a courtcous and loving kind of people, ingenious, and of great understanding, and they hate and abhorre the Spaniardes with all their hearts, they have used such horrible cruelties against them, and doe still keepe them

in such subjection and servitude, that they and the Negroes also doe daily lie in waite to practise their deliverance out of that thraldome and bondage, that the Spaniards doe keepe them in. William Lowe he was appointed to serve the Cooke in the kitchin, Richard Williams and David Alexander were appointed to the gray Friars, John Story and Robert Cooke to the white Friars: Paul Horsewell the Secretary tooke to be his servant: Thomas Hull was sent to a Monastery of priests, where afterward he died. Thus we served out the yeeres that we were condemned for, with the use of our fooles coates, and we must needs confesse that the Friars did use us very courteously: for every one of us had his chamber with bedding & diet, and all things cleane and neat: yea many of the Spaniards and Friars themselves do utterly abhorre and mislike of that cruell Inquisition, and would as they durst bewaile our miseries, and comfort us the best they could, although they stood in such feare of that divelish Inquisition, that they durst not let the left hande know what the right doth. Now after that the time was expired for which we were condemned to serve in those religious houses, we were then brought againe before the chiefe Inquisitor, and had all our fooles coates pulled off and hanged up in the head church, called Ecclesia Major, and every mans name and judgement written thereupon with this addition, An heretike Lutheran reconciled. And there are also all their coates hanged up, which were condemned to the gallies, with their names and judgements, and underneath his coat, Heretike Lutheran reconciled. And also the coats and names of the three that were burned, whereupon were written, An obstinate heretike Lutheran burnt. Then were we suffered to goe up and downe the countrey, and to place our selves as we could, and yet not so free, but that we very well knew that there was good espiall alwayes attending us and all our actions, so that we durst not once speake or looke awry. David Alexander & Robert Cooke returned to serve the Inquisitor, who shortly after married them both to two of his Negro women: Richard Williams married a rich widow of Biskay with 4000 Pezos: Paul Horsewell is married to a Mestisa, as they name those whose fathers were Spaniards, and their mothers Indians, and this woman which Paul Horsewell hath married, is sayd to be the daughter of one that came in with Hernando

Cortes the Conquerour, who had with her in marriage foure thousand Pezos, and a faire house: John Storie is married to a Negro woman: William Lowe had leave and licence to goe into Spaine where he is now married: for mine owne part I could never throughly settle my selfe to marry in that countrey, although many faire offers were made unto me of such as were of great abilitie and wealth, but I could have no liking to live in that place, where I must every where see and know such horrible idolatrie committed, and durst not once for my life speake against it: and therefore I had alwayes a longing and desire to this my native countrey: and, to returne and serve againe in the Mines where I might have gathered great riches and wealth, I very well saw that at one time or another I should fall againe into the danger of that divelish Inquisition, and so be stript of all, with losse of life also, and therefore I made my choise rather to learne to weave Grogranes and Taffaties, and so compounding with a Silke-weaver, I bound my selfe for three yeeres to serve him, and gave him an hundred and fiftie Pezos to teach me the science, otherwise he would not have taught mee under seven yeeres prentiship, and by this meanes I lived the more quiet, and free from suspicion. Howbeit I should many times be charged by familiars of that divelish house, that I had a meaning to runne away into England, and to be an heretike Lutherane againe: To whom I would answer that they had no neede to suspect any such thing in mee, for that they knewe all very well that it was impossible for me to escape by any maner of meanes: yet notwithstanding I was called before the Inquisitor, and demaunded why I did not marrie: I answered that I had bound my selfe at an occupation. Well said the Inquisitor, I knowe thou meanest to runne away, and therefore I charge thee here upon paine of burning as an heretike relapsed, that thou depart not out of this citie, nor come neere to the port of S. John de Ullua, nor to any other port: To the which I answered, that I would willingly obey. Yea said he, see thou doe so and thy fellowes also, they shall have the like charge.

So I remained at my science the full time, and learned the Art, at the end whereof there came newes to Mexico that there were certaine Englishmen landed with a great power at the port of Acapulco, upon the South sea, and

that they were comming to Mexico to take the spoyle therof, which wrought a marvellous great feare amongst them, & many of those that were rich, began to shift for themselves, their wives & children: upon which hurlie burlie the Viceroy caused a generall muster to be made of all the Spaniards in Mexico, and there were found to be the number of 7000 and odde housholders of Spaniards in the citie and suburbs, and of single men unmarried, the number of 3000 and of Mestizoès, which are counted to be the sonnes of Spaniards borne of Indian women, twenty thousand persons, and then was Paul Horsewel & I Miles Philips sent for before the Viceroy, and were examined if we did know an English man named Francis Drake, which was brother to Captaine Hawkins: to which we answered, that Captaine Hawkins had not any brother but one, which was a man of the age of threescore yeeres or thereabouts, and was now governour of Plimmouth in England. And then he demanded of us if we knewe one Francis Drake, and we answered, no.

While these things were in doing, there came newes that all the Englishmen were gone, yet were there eight hundred men made out under the leading of several Captains, wherof two hundred were sent to the port of S. John de Ullua, upon the North Sea under the conduct of Don Luys Suares, two hundred were sent to Guatimala in the South sea, who had for their captaine John Cortes, two hundred more were sent to Guatulco, a port of the South sea, over whom went for captaine Don Pedro de Robles, and two hundred more were sent to Acapulco, the port where it was said that Captaine Drake had bene. And they had for Captaine doctor Robles Alcalde de Corte, with whom I Miles Philips went as interpreter, having licence given by the Inquisitors. When we were come to Acapulco, we found that Captaine Drake was departed from thence, more then a moneth before we came thither. But yet our captaine Alcalde de Corte there presently embarked himselfe in a small ship of threescore tunne or thereabout, having also in companie with him two other small barkes, and not past two hundred men in all, with whom I went as interpreter in his owne ship, which God knoweth was but weake and ill appointed, so that for certaine, if we had met with Captaine Drake, he might easily have taken us all: We being imbarked kept our course and ranne Southward towards Panama,

keeping still as nigh the shore as we could, and leaving the land upon our left hand, and having coasted thus for the space of eighteene or twentie dayes, and being more to the South then Guatimala, we met at last with other ships which came from Panama, of whom we were certainly informed that he was cleane gone off the coast more then a moneth before: and so we returned backe to Acapulco againe, and there landed, our Captaine being thereunto forced, because his men were very sore seasicke: All the while that I was at Sea, with them, I was a glad man, for I hoped that if we met with master Drake, we should all be taken, so that then I should have bene freed out of that danger and miserie wherein I lived, and should returne to mine owne countrey of England againe. But missing thereof, when I sawe there was no remedie but that we must needes come on land againe, little doeth any man know the sorow and griefe that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I was constrained to make faire weather of it. And so being landed, ye next morow after, we began our journey towardes Mexico, and past these townes of name in our way, as first the towne of Tuatpec, 50 leagues from Mexico, from thence to Washaca, 40 leagues from Mexico: from thence to Tepiaca 24 leagues from Mexico, and from thence to Pueblo de los Angeles, where is a high hill which casteth out fire three times a day, which hill is 18 leagues in maner directly West from Mexico, from thence we went to Stapelapa, 8 leagues from Mexico, and there our captaine and most of his men tooke boat, and came to Mexico againe, having bene forth about the space of seven weekes or thereabouts. Our captaine made report to the Viceroy what he had done, and how farre he had travelled, and that for certaine he was informed that captaine Drake was not to be heard of. To which the Viceroy replied and said, Surely we shall have him shortly come into our hands driven a land through necessitie in some one place or other, for he being now in these seas of Sur, it is not possible for him to get out of them againe, so that if he perish not at sea, yet hunger will force him to land. And then againe I was commanded by the Viceroy that I should not depart the citie of Mexico, but alwaies be at my masters house in a readinesse at an houres warning, when soever I should be called: for that notwithstanding within one moneth after

certaine Spaniards going to Mecameca, 18 leagues from Mexico, to send away certaine hides and Cochinilla, that they had there at their Stantias or dairie houses, and my master having leave of the Secretarie for me to go with them, I tooke my journey with them being very well horsed and appointed, and comming thither and passing the time there at Mecameca certaine dayes till we had perfect intelligence that the fleet was readie to depart, I not being past 3 daies journey from the port of S. John de Ullua, thought it to be the meetest time for me to make an escape, and I was the bolder, presuming upon my Spanish tongue, which I spake as naturally as any of them all, thinking with my selfe, that when I came to S. John de Ullua, I would get to be entertained as a souldiour, and so go home into Spaine in the same Fleete, and therefore secretly one evening late, the moone shining faire, I conveyed my selfe away, and riding so for the space of two nights and two dayes, sometimes in, and sometimes out, resting very little all that time, upon the second day at night I came to the towne of Vera Cruz, distant from the port of S. John de Ullua, where the ships rode, but only 5 leagues, and here purposing to rest my selfe a day or two, I was no sooner alighted, but within the space of one halfe houre after, I was by ill hap arrested, and brought before Justices there, being taken and suspected to be a gentlemen sonne of Mexico, that was runne away from his father, who in trueth was the man they sought for: So I being arrested, and brought before the Justices, there was a great hurly burly about the matter, every man charging me that I was the sonne of such a man dwelling in Mexico, which I flatly denied, affirming that I knewe not the man, yet would they not beleeve me, but urged stil upon me that I was he that they sought for, and so I was conveied away to prison. And as I was thus going to prison, to the further increase of my grieffe, it chanced that at that very instant there was a poore man in the presse that was come to towne to sell hennes, who told the Justices that they did me wrong, and that in truth he knew very well that I was an Englishman and no Spaniard. They then demanded of him how he knew that, and threatned him that he said so, for that he was my companion, and sought to convey me away from my father, so that he also was threatned to be laid in prison

with me: he for the discharge of himselfe stood stify in it, that I was an Englishman, & one of captaine Hawkins men, and that he had knowen me weare the S. Benito in the Blacke-friers at Mexico, for 3 or 4 whole yeres together: which when they heard, they forsooke him, and began to examine me a new, whether that speech of his were true; yea or no, which when they perceived that I could not denie, and perceiving that I was run from Mexico, & came thither of purpose to convey my selfe away with the fleete, I was presently committed to prison with a sorrowfull heart, often wishing my selfe that that man which knew me had at that time bene further off: howbeit he in sinceritie had compassion of my distressed estate, thinking by his speech, and knowing of me, to have set me free from that present danger which he saw me in: howbeit, contrary to his expectation, I was thereby brought into my extreme danger, and to the hazard of my life, yet there was no remedy but patience perforce. And I was no sooner brought into prison, but I had a great paire of bolts clapt on my legs, and thus I remained in that prison for the space of 3 weekes, where were also many other prisoners which were thither committed for sundry crimes, & condemned to the gallies. During which time of imprisonment there, I found amongst those my prison-fellowes some that had knowen me before in Mexico, and truely they had compassion of me, & would spare of their victuals and any thing els that they had to doe me good: amongst whom there was one of them that told me that he understood by a secret friend of his which often came to the prison to him, that I shold be shortly sent backe againe to Mexico by wagon, so soone as the fleete was gone from S. John de Ullua, for Spaine. This poore man my prison-fellow of himselfe, & without any request made by me, caused his said friend which came often unto him to the grate of the prison, to bring him wine and victuals, to buy for him 2 knives which had files in their backes, which files were so wel made that they would serve & suffice any prisoner to file off his irons, & of those knives or files he brought one to me, & told me that he had caused it to be made for me, and let me have it at that very price it cost him, which was 2 Pezos, the value of 8.s. of our money: which knife when I had it, I was a joyfull man, and conveied the same

into the foote of my boot, upon the inside of my left leg, and so within 3 or 4 dayes after that I had thus received my knife, I was suddenly called for, & brought before the head Justice which caused those my irons with the round bolt to be stricken off and sent to a Smiths in the towne, where was a new paire of bolts made ready for me of another fashion, which had a broad iron barre comming betweene the shackles, and caused my hands to be made fast with a paire of manacles, and so was I presently laid into a wagon all alone, which was there readie to depart with sundry other wagons, to the number of 60. towards Mexico, and they all were laden with sundry merchandise which came in the fleete out of Spaine.

The wagon that I was in was foremost in all the companie, and as we travelled I being alone in the wagon, began to trie if I could plucke my hands out of the manacles, and as God would, although it were somewhat painefull for me, yet my handes were so slender that I could pull them out, and put them in againe, and ever as we went, when the wagon made most noyse, and the men were busiest, I would be working to file off my bolts, & travelling thus for the space of 8 leagues from Vera Cruz, we came to an high hill, at the entring up of which (as God would) one of the wheeles of the wagon wherein I was, brake, so that by that meanes the other wagons went afore, and the wagon-man that had charge of me set an Indian Carpenter a worke to mend the wheele: and here at this place they baited at an hostrie that a Negro-woman keepes: and at this place, for that the going up of the hill is very steepe, for the space of two leagues and better, they doe alwaies accustome to take the moiles of 3 or 4 wagons, and to place them altogether for the drawing up of one wagon, and so to come downe againe, and fetch up others in that order. All which came very well to passe: for as it drew towards night when most of the Wagoners were gone to draw up their wagons, in this sort I being alone had quickly filed off my boltes, and so espying my time in the darke of the evening before they returned downe the hill againe, I conveyed my selfe into the woods there adjoyning, carrying my bolts and manacles with me, & a few biscuits, and two small cheeses. And being come into the woods, I threw my yrons into a thicke bush, and then covered

them with mosse and other things, and then shifted for my selfe as I might all that night. And thus by the good providence of Almighty God, I was freed from mine yrons all saving the collar that was about my necke, and so got my libertie the second time.

Chap. 7.

Wherein is shewed how I escaped to Guatimala, upon the South sea, and from thence to the port of Cavallos, where I got passage to goe into Spaine, and of our arrivall at Havana, and our comming to Spaine, where I was againe like to have bene committed prisoner, and how through the great mercy of God I escaped, and came home in safetie into England in February 1582.

THE next morning (day light being come) I perceived by the Sunne rising what way to take to escape their hands, for when I fledde, I tooke the way into the woods upon the left hand: and having left that way that went to Mexico upon my right hand, I thought to keepe my course as the woods and mountaines lay, still direct South as neere as I could: by meanes whereof I was sure to convey my selfe farre ynough from that way that went to Mexico. And as I was thus going in the woods, I saw many great fires made to the North not past a league from the mountaine where I was, and travailling thus in my bootes with mine yron coller about my necke, and my bread and cheese, the very same forenoone I mette with a company of Indians which were hunting of Deere for their sustenance: to whom I spake in the Mexican tongue, and told them how that I had of a long time bin kept in prison by the cruel Spanyards, and did desire them to helpe me to file off mine yron coller, which they willingly did: rejoycing greatly with me, that I was thus escaped out of the Spanyards hands. Then I desired that I might have one of them to guide mee out of those desert mountaines towards the South, which they also most willingly did: and so they brought mee to an Indian towne 8. leagues distant from thence, named Shalapa, where I stayed three dayes, for that I was somewhat sickely. At which towne (with the gold that I had quilted in my dublet) I bought me an horse of one of the Indians, which cost mee 6. pezos, and so travailling

South, within the space of 2. leagues I happened to overtake a gray Frier, one that I had bene familiar withall in Mexico, whom then I knewe to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lament the crueltie used against us by the Inquisitors, and truely hee used me very courteously: and I having confidence in him did indeede tel him, that I was minded to adventure to see if I could get out of the sayd countrey if I could finde shipping, and did therefore pray him of his ayde, direction, and advise herein, which he faithfully did, not onely in directing me which was my safest way to travaile, but he also of himselfe kept me company for the space of three dayes, and ever as we came to the Indians houses (who used and intertained us well) hee gathered among them in money to the value of 20. pezos, which at my departure from him hee freely gave unto mee. So came I to the cite of Guatimala upon the South sea, which is distant from Mexico about 250. leagues, where I stayed 6. dayes, for that my horse was weake. And from thence I travailed still South and by East seven dayes journey, passing by certaine Indian townes, untill I came to an Indian towne distant from Mexico, direct South 309. leagues. And here at this towne enquiring to go to the Port de Cavallos in the Northeast sea, it was answered that in travailing thither I should not come to any towne in 10. or 12. dayes journey: so heere I hired two Indians to be my guides, and I bought hennes, and bread to serve us so long time, and tooke with us things to kindle fire every night, because of wilde beastes, and to dresse our meate: and every night when we rested, my Indian guides would make two great fires, betweene the which we placed our selves, and my horse. And in the night time we should heare the Lions roare, with Tygres, Ounces, and other beastes, and some of them we should see in the night, which had eyes shining like fire. And travailing thus for the space of twelve dayes, wee came at last to the port of Cavallos upon the East sea, distant from Guatimala South and by East, two hundreth leagues, and from Mexico 450. or thereabouts. This is a good harborough for shippes, and is without either castle or bulwarke. I having dispatched away my guides, went downe to the Haven, where I saw certaine ships loden chiefly with Canary wines, where I spake with one of the Masters, who asked me what Countrey man I was,

and I told him that I was borne in Granado, & he said, that then I was his countreyman. I required him that I might passe home with him in his ship, paying for my passage: and he said yea, so that I had a safe conduct, or letter testimonial to shew, that he might incurre no danger: for said he, it may be that you have killed some man, or be indebted, and would therefore run away. To that I answered, that there was not any such cause. Wel, in the end we grew to a price, that for 60. pezos he would cary me into Spaine: a glad man was I at this good hap, and I quickly solde my horse, and made my provision of hennes and bread to serve me in my passage; And thus within 2. dayes after we set saile, and never stayed untill we came to Havana, which is distant from puerto de Cavallos by sea 500. leagues: where we found the whole fleete of Spaine, which was bound home from the Indies. And heere I was hired for a souldier to serve in the Admiral ship of the same fleete, wherein the General himself went. There landed while I was here 4. ships out of Spaine, being all full of souldiers and ordinance, of which number there were 200. men landed here, & 4. great brasse pieces of ordinance, although the castle were before sufficiently provided: 200. men more were sent to Campeche, & certaine ordinance: 200. to Florida with ordinance: and 100. lastly to S. John Ullua. As for ordinance there they have sufficient, and of the very same which was ours, which we had in the Jesus, and those others which we had planted in the place, where the Vice-roy betrayed M. Hawkins our general, as hath bene declared. The sending of those souldiers to every of those Ports, and the strengthening of them, was done by commandement from the king of Spaine, who wrote also by them to the general of his fleete, giving him in charge so to doe, as also directing him what course he should keepe in his comming home into Spaine, charging him in any hand not to come nigh to the yles of Açores, but to keepe his course more to the Northward, advertising him withal, what number and power of French ships of warre, and other, Don Antonio had at that time at Terçera, & the yles aforesaid: which the general of the fleete wel considering, and what great store of riches he had to bring home with him into Spaine, did in all very duetifully observe and obey: for in trueth he had in his said fleete

37. saile of ships, and in every of them there was as good as 30. pipes of silver one with another, besides great store of gold, Cochinilla, sugars, hides, and Cana Fistula, with other Apothecary drugs. This our general, who was called Don Pedro de Guzman, did providently take order for, for their most strength and defence, if neede should be, to the uttermost of his power, and commanded upon paine of death, that neither passenger nor souldier should come aboard without his sword and harquebush, with shot and powder, to the end that they might be the better able to encounter the fleete of Don Antonio, if they should hap to meete with them, or any of them: and ever as the weather was faire, the said general would himself go aboard from one ship to another, to see that every man had his ful provision according to the commandement given. Yet to speake truely what I thinke, two good tall ships of warre would have made a foule spoile amongst them. For in all this fleete there were not any that were strong and warlike appointed, saving only the Admiral, and Vice-admiral: And againe over and besides the weakenesse and the ill furnishing of the rest, they were all so deeply laden, that they had not bene able (if they had bene charged) to have held out any long fight. Wel, thus we set saile, & had a very ill passage home, the weather was so contrary. We kept our course in maner Northeast, and brought our selves to the height of 42. degrees of latitude, to be sure not to meete with Don Antonio his fleete, and were upon our voyage from the 4. of June, untill the 10. of September, and never saw land till we fell with the Arenas Gordas hard by S. Lucar. And there was an order taken that none should goe on shoare untill he had licence: as for me, I was knowen by one in the ship, who told the Master that I was an Englishman, which (as God would) it was my good hap to heare: for if I had not heard it, it had cost me my life. Notwithstanding, I would not take any knowledge of it, and seemed to be mery & pleasant, that we were all come so wel in safety. Presently after, licence came that we should go on shoare, and I pressed to be gone with the first: howbeit, the Master came unto me, & said, Sirra, you must goe with me to Sivil by water: I knew his meaning well inough, & that he meant there to offer me up as a sacrifice to the Holy house. For the ignorant zeale

of a number of those superstitious Spaniards is such, that they thinke that they have done God good service, when they have brought a Lutheran heretike to the fire to be burnt: for so do they account of us. Wel, I perceiving all this, tooke upon me not to suspect any thing, but was still jocund & mery: howbeit, I knew it stood me upon to shift for my selfe. And so wayting my time when the Master was in his cabbin asleepe, I conveyed my selfe secretly downe by the shrowds into the ship boate, and made no stay but cut the rope wherewithal she was moared, and so by the cable haled on shore, where I leapt on land, & let the boate goe whither it would. Thus by the helpe of God I escaped that day, & then never stayed at S. Lucar, but went all night by the way which I had seene other take toward Sivil: so that the next morning I came to Sivil, and sought me out a workemaster, that I might fall to my science, which was weaving of taffataes; and being intertained I set my selfe close to my worke, and durst not for my life once to stirre abroad for feare of being knowen: and being thus at my worke, within 4. dayes after I heard one of my fellowes say, that he heard there was great inquiry made for an Englishman that came home in the fleete: what an heretique Lutheran (quoth I) was it, I would to God I might knowe him, surely I would present him to the Holy house. And thus I kept still within doores at my worke, and fained my selfe not well at ease, & that I would labour as I might to get me new clothes. And continuing thus for the space of 3. moneths I called for my wages, and bought me all things new, different from the apparell that I did weare at sea, and yet durst not be overbold to walke abroad: and after understanding that there were certaine English ships at S. Lucar bound for England, I tooke a boat and went aboard one of them, and desired the Master that I might have passage with him to goe into England, and told him secretly that I was one of those which Captaine Hawkins did set on shore in the Indies: he very courteously prayed me to have him excused, for he durst not meddle with me, & prayed me therefore to returne from whence I came. Which when I perceived, with a sorrowful heart, God knoweth, I tooke my leave of him, not without watry cheekes. And then I went to S. Mary port, which is 3. leagues from S. Lucar, where I put

my selfe to be a souldier to goe in the king of Spaines Gallies, which were bound for Majorca, and comming thither in the end of the Christmas holidayes, I found there two English ships, the one of London, and the other of the West cuntry, which were ready freighted and stayed but for a faire wind. To the Master of the one, which was of the West cuntry went I, and told him that I had bene 2. yeeres in Spaine to learne the language, and that I was now desirous to goe home and see my friends, for that I lacked maintenance: and so having agreed with him for my passage, I tooke shipping. And thus through the providence of Almighty God, after 16. yeeres absence, having sustained many and sundry great troubles and miseries, as by this discourse appeareth, I came home to this my native cuntry of England in the yeere 1582. in the moneth of February, in the ship called the Landret, and arrived at Poole.

The travailes of Job Hortop, which Sir John Hawkins set on land within the Bay of Mexico, after his departure from the Haven of S. John de Ullua in Nueva Espanna, the 8. of October 1568.

NOT untruely nor without cause said Job the faithfull servant of God (whom the sacred Scriptures tell us, to have dwelt in the land of Hus) that man being borne of a woman, living a short time, is replenished with many miseries: which some know by reading of histories, many by the view of others calamities, and I by experience in my selfe, as this present Treatise insuing shall shew.

It is not unknowen unto many, that I Job Hortop powder-maker was borne at Bourne, a towne in Lincolnshire, from my age of twelve yeeres brought up in Redriffe neere London, with M. Francis Lee, who was the Queenes Majesties powder-maker, whom I served, until I was prest to go on the 3. voyage to the West Indies, with the right worshipful Sir John Hawkins, who appointed me to be one of the Gunners in her Majesties ship called the Jesus of Lubeck, who set saile from Plimmouth in the moneth of October 1567. having with him another ship of her Majesties, called the Minion, and foure ships of his owne, namely the Angel, the Swallow, the Judith, and the William and John. He directed his Vice-admiral, that if foule weather did separate them, to meete at the

Iland of Tenerif. After which by the space of seven dayes and seven nights, we had such stormes at sea, that we lost our long boats and a pinnesse, with some men: comming to the Isle of Tenerif, there our Generall heard that his Vice-admirall with the Swallow, and the William and John were at the Iland called Gomera, where finding his Vice-admirall, he anchored, tooke in fresh water, and set saile for Cape Blank, where in the way wee tooke a Portugal caravel, laden with fish called Mullets: from thence we sailed to cape Verde. In our course thither we met a Frenchman of Rochel called captaine Bland, who had taken a Portugal caravel, whom our vice admiral chased and tooke. Captaine Drake, now Sir Francis Drake was made master & captaine of the Caravel, and so we kept our way till we came to Cape Verde, and there we anchored, tooke our boates, & set souldiers on shore. Our Generall was the first that leapt on land, & with him Captaine Dudley: there we tooke certaine Negroes, but not without damage to our selves. For our Generall, Captaine Dudley, & 8. other of our company were hurt with poysoned arrowes: about nine dayes after, the 8. that were wounded died. Our general was taught by a Negro, to draw the poyson out of his wound with a clove of garlike, whereby he was cured. From thence wee went to Sierra leona, where be monstrous fishes called Sharkes, which will devoure men. I amongst others was sent in the Angell with two Pinnesses into the river called Calousa, to seeke two Caravels that were there trading with the Negros: wee tooke one of them with the Negros, and brought them away.

In this river in ye night time we had one of our pinnesses bulged by a sea-horse, so that our men swimming about the river, were all taken into the other pinnesses, except two that tooke hold one of another, and were carried away by the sea-horse. This monster hath the just proportion of a horse, saving that his legs be short, his teeth very great, and a span in length: hee useth in the night to goe on land into the woods, seeking at unawares to devoure the Negroes in their cabbins, whom they by their vigilancie prevent, and kill him in this maner. The Negroes keepe watch, and diligently attend their comming, and when they are gone into the woods, they forthwith lay a great tree overthwart the way, so that at their returne, for that their legs be so short, they

cannot goe over it: then the Negroes set upon them with their bowes, arrowes and darts, and so destroy them.

From thence we entred the river called the Casserroes, where there were other Caravels trading with the Negroes, and them we tooke. In this Iland betwixt the river and the maine, trees grow with Oysters upon them. There grow Palmito trees, which bee as high as a ships maine mast, and on their tops grow nuts, wine and oyle, which they call Palmito wine and Palmito oyle. The Plantan tree also groweth in that countrey; the tree is as bigge as a mans thigh, and as high as a firre pole, the leaves thereof be long and broad, and on the top grow the fruit which are called Plantanos: they are crooked, and a cubite long, and as bigge as a mans wrist, they growe on clusters: when they be ripe they be very good and daintie to eate: Sugar is not more delicate in taste then they be.

From thence with the Angel, the Judith, and the two pinnesses, we sailed to Sierra leona, where our Generall at that time was, who with the captaines and souldiers went up into the river called Taggarin, to take a towne of the Negroes, where he found three kings of that countrey with fiftie thousand Negroes besieging the same towne, which they could not take in many yeeres before, when they had warred with it. Our General made a breach, entred & valiantly tooke the towne, wherein were found five Portugals which yeilded themselves to his mercy, and hee saved their lives: we tooke & caried thence for traffique to the West Indies 500. Negroes. The three kings drove 7000. Negroes into ye sea at low water, at the point of the land, where they were all drowned in the Oze, for that they could not take their canoas to save themselves. Wee returned backe againe in our pinnesses to the ships, and there tooke in fresh water, and made ready sayle towards Rio grande. At our comming thither we entred with the Angel, the Judith, and the 2 pinnesses, and found there seven Portugal Carvels, which made great fight with us. In the ende by Gods helpe wee wonne the victory, and drove them to the shore, from whence with the Negroes they fled, and we fetcht the carvels from the shore into the river. The next morning M. Francis Drake with his carvel, the Swallow, and the William and John came into the river, with captaine Dudley and his souldiers, who landed

being but a hundred souldiers, and fought with seven thousand Negroes, burned the towne, and returned to our Generall with the losse of one man.

In that place there be many muske-cats, which breed in hollow trees: the Negroes take them in a net, & put them in a cage, & nourish them very daintily, & take the muske from them with a spoone.

Now we directed our course from Guinea towards the West Indies.

And by the way died Captaine Dudley.

In sayling towards the Indies, the first land that we escryed, was the Iland called Dominica, where at our comming we anchored, & tooke in fresh water and wood for our provision: which done, we sayled towards the Iland called Margarita, where our Generall in despite of the Spaniards anchored, landed, & tooke in fresh victuals. A mile off the Iland there is a rocke in the sea, wherein doe breede many fowles like unto Barnacles: in the night we went out in our boates, and with cudgels we killed many of them, and brought them with many of their eggs aboard with us: their egges be as bigge as Turkies egges, and speckled like them. We did eat them, and found them very good meate.

From thence wee sayled to Burboroata, which is in the maine land of the West Indies: there we came in, mored our ships, and taried two moneths trimming and dressing our ships, and in the meane time traded with certaine Spaniards of that countrey. There our Generall sent us unto a towne called Placencia, (which stood on a high hil) to have intreated a Bishop that dwelt there for his favour & friendship in their lawes, who hearing of our comming, for feare forsooke ye town.

In our way up the hil to Placencia, wee found a monstrous venomous worme with two heads: his body was as bigge as a mans arme, and a yard long: our master Robert Barret did cut him in sunder with his sword, and it made it as blacke as if it were coloured with ynke.

Heere be many Tygers, monstrous and furious beasts, which by subtiltie devoure and destroy many men: they use the traded wayes, & wil shew themselves twise or thrise to the travellers, and so depart secretly, lurking till they be past, then suddenly & at unawares they leape upon them and devoure them: they had so used two of

our company, had not one of them looked behind. Our Generall sent three ships unto the Iland called Coração, to make provision for the rest, where they remayned untill his comming. Hee sent from thence the Angel and the Judith to Rio de Hacha, where we anchored before the town. The Spaniards shot three pieces at us from the shore, whom we requited with two of ours, and shotte through the Governours house: we wayed anchor, & anchored againe without shot of the towne, where wee rid five dayes in despite of the Spaniards and their shot. In the mean space there came a Carvel of advise from S. Domingo, whom with the Angel, and the Judith wee chased and drove to the shore: we fetcht him from thence in spite of 200. Spaniards hargubush shot, and anchored againe before the towne, and rid there with them, till our Generals comming, who anchored, landed his men, and valiantly tooke the Towne, with the losse of one man, whose name was Thomas Surgeon: wee landed and planted on the shore for our safeties, our field ordinance: we drove the Spaniards up into the countrey above two leagues, whereby they were inforced to trade with our General, to whom he sold most part of his Negros.

In this river we killed a monstrous Lagarto or Crocodile in this port at sunne set: seven of us went in the pinnesse up into the River, carying with us a dogge, unto whom with ropeyarne we bound a great hooke of steele, with a chaine that had a swivel, which we put under the dogs belly, the point of the hooke comming over his back fast bound, as aforesaid: we put him over boord, and vered out our rope by litle and litle, rowing away with our boate: the Lagarto came & presently swallowed up the dogge, then did we rowe hard, till we had choked him: he plunged and made a wonderful stirre in the water: we leapt on shore, and haled him on land: he was 23. foote by the rule, headed like a hogge, in body like a serpent, full of scales as broad as a sawcer: his taile long and full of knots as bigge as a fawcon shotte: he hath foure legs, his feete have long nailes like unto a dragon: we opened him, tooke out his guts, flayed him, dried his skinne, and stuffed it with straw, meaning to have brought it home, had not the ship bin cast away. This monster will cary away and devoure both man and horse.

From hence we shaped our course to Santa Martha,

where we landed, traded, and sold certaine Negroes: there two of our company killed a monstrous adder, going towards his cave with a Conie in his mouth: his body was as bigge as any mans thigh, and seven foote long: upon his tayle he had sixteene knottes, every one as bigge as a great walnut, which they say, doe shew his age: his colour was greene and yellow: they opened him, and found two conies in his belly.

From thence wee sayled to Cartagena, where we went in, mored our Shippes, and would have traded with them, but they durst not for feare of the King: wee brought up the Minion against the Castle, and shotte at the Castle and Towne: then we landed in an Iland, where were many gardens: there in a cave we found certaine Botijos of wine, which wee brought away with us, in recompence whereof, our Generall commanded to be set on shore woollen and linnen cloth, to the value thereof. From hence by foule weather wee were forced to seeke the Port of Saint John de Ullua. In our way thwart of Campeche we met with a Spaniard, a small ship, who was bound for Santo Domingo: he had in him a Spaniard called Augustin de villa nueva, who was the man that betrayed all the Noble men in the Indies, and caused them to be beheaded, wherefore he with two Friers fled to S. Domingo: them we tooke and brought with us into the Port of S. John de Ullua. Our Generall made great account of him, and used him like a Noble man: howbeit in the ende he was one of them that betrayed us. When wee had mored our ships, and landed, wee mounted the Ordinance that wee found there in the Ilande, and for our safeties kept watch and warde. The next day after wee discovered the Spanish fleete, whereof Luçon a Spaniard was Generall: with him came a Spaniard called Don Martin Henriquez, whom the king of Spaine sent to be his Vice-roy of the Indies. He sent a Pinnesse with a flagge of truce unto our Generall, to knowe of what Country those Shippes were that rode there in the King of Spaines Port; who sayd, they were the Queene of Englands ships, which came in there for victuals for their money: wherefore if your Generall will come in here, he shall give me victuals and all other necessaries, and I will goe out on the one side of the Port, and he shall come in on the other side. The Spaniard returned for answere, that he was a Vice-roy, and had a thousand

men, & therefore he would come in. Our Generall sayd, If he be a Vice-roy, I represent my Queenes person, & I am a Vice-roy as well as he: and if he have a thousand men, my powder and shot will take the better place. Then the Vice-roy after counsell among themselves, yeelded to our Generalls demaund, swearing by his King and his Crowne, by his commission and authority that he had from his King, that hee would performe it, and thereupon pledges were given on both parts. Our Generall bearing a godly and Christian minde, voyde of fraude and deceit, judged the Spanyards to have done the like, delivered to them sixe gentlemen, not doubting to have received the like from them: but the faithlesse Spanyardes, in costly apparell gave of the basest of their company, as afterwardes it was well knowen. These things finished, proclamation was made on both sides, that on payne of death no occasion should be given, whereby any quarel should grow to the breach of the league, and then they peaceably entred the port, with great triumph on both sides.

The Spaniards presently brought a great Hulke, a ship of sixe hundred, and moored her by the side of the Minion, and they cut out ports in their other ships, planting their ordinance towards us, in the night they filled the Hulke with men, to lay the Minion aboard, as the sequel did shew, which made our General doubtful of their dealings: wherefore, for that he could speake the Spanish tongue, he sent Robert Barret aboard the Vice-roy, to knowe his meaning in those dealings, who willed him with his company to come in to him, whom he commanded presently to be set in the bilbowes, and forthwith a Cornet (for a watchword among the false Spaniards) was sounded for the enterprising of their pretended treason against our Generall, whom Augustine de villa nova sitting at dinner with him, should then presently have killed with a poynado which hee had privily in his sleeve, which was espyed and poynado out of his sleeve. Our General hastily rose up, and commanded him to be put prisoner in the Stewards roome, & to be kept with two men. The faithlesse Spaniards, thinking all things to their desire had bene finished, suddenly sounded a Trumpet, and therewith three hundred Spaniards entred the Minion, wherewith our General with a loude and fierce voyce called unto us, saying, God and

Saint George; upon those traiterous villaines, and rescue the Minion, I trust in God the day shalbe ours: and with that the Mariners & souldiers leapt out of the Jesus of Lubeck into the Minion, and beat out the Spanyards, and with a shot out of her fiered the Spanyards Vice admirall, where the most part of 300. Spanyards were spoyled, and blown over boord with powder. Their Admirall also was on fire halfe an houre: we cut our cables, wound off our ships, and presently fought with them: they came upon us on every side, and continued the fight from ten of the clocke until it was night: they killed all our men that were on shore in the Iland, saving three, which by swimming got aboard the Jesus of Lubeck. They sunke the Generals ship called the Angel, and tooke the Swallow: the Spaniards Admirall had above threescore shot through her: many of his men were spoyled: foure other of their ships were sunke. There were in that fleete, and that came from the shore to rescue them, fiteene hundred: we slew of them five hundred and fourtie, as we were credibly informed by a note that came to Mexico. In this fight the Jesus of Lubeck had five shotte through her mayne Mast: her fore-mast was strooke in sunder under the hounds with a chayne shotte, and her hull was wonderfully pearced with shotte, therefore it was impossible to bring her away. They set two of their owne Shippes on fire, intending therewith to have burnt the Jesus of Lubeck, which we prevented by cutting our cables in the halse, and winding off by our sternefast.

The Minion was forced to set saile and stand off from us, and come to an anker without shot of the Island. Our Generall courageously cheered up his souldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for a cup of Beere, who brought it him in a silver cup, and hee drinking to all men willed the gunners to stand by their Ordinance lustily like men. He had no sooner set the cup out of his hand, but a demy Culverin shot stroke away the cup and a Coopers plane that stoode by the maine mast, and ranne out on the other side of the ship: which nothing dismaid our Generall, for he ceased not to encourage us, saying, feare nothing, for God, who hath preserved me from this shot, will also deliver us from these traitours and villaines. Then Captaine Bland meaning to have turned out of the port, had his maine mast stroke over boord with a chaine shot that came from the shore,

wherefore he ankered, fired his ship, tooke his pinnesse with all his men, and came aboard the Jesus of Lubek to our Generall, who said unto him, that he thought he would not have runne away from him: he answered, that he was not minded to have run away from him, but his intent was to have turned up, and to have laid the weathermost ship of the Spanish fleete aboard, and fired his ship in hope therewith to have set on fire the Spanish fleete, hee said if he had done so he had done well. With this, night came on. Our Generall commanded the Minion, for safegard of her masts to be brought under the Jesus of Lubecks lee: he willed M. Francis Drake to come in with the Judith, and to lay the Minion aboard, to take in men and other things needefull, and to goe out, and so he did.

At night when the wind came off the shore, wee set sayle, and went out in despite of the Spanyards and their shot, where wee ankered, with two ankers under the Island, the wind being Northerly, which was wonderfull dangerous, and wee feared every houre to be driven with the lee shore. In the end when the wind came larger, we waied anker, and set saile, seeking the river of Panuco for water, whereof we had very little, and victuals were so scarce, that we were driven to eate hides, cats, rats, parrats, munkies, and dogges: wherefore our Generall was forced to divide his company into two parts, for there was a mutinie among them for want of victuals: and some said that they had rather be on the shore to shift for themselves amongst the enemies, then to sterve on ship-boord. He asked them who would go on shore, and who would tarry on ship-boord, those that would goe on shore, he willed to goe on foremast, and those that would tarrie, on baft mast: fourescore and sixteene of us were willing to depart. Our Generall gave unto every one of us sixe yards of Roane cloth, and money to them that demanded it. When we were landed, he came unto us, where friendly imbracing every one of us, he was greatly grieved that he was forced to leave us behind him, he counselled us to serve God, and to love one another, and thus courteously he gave us a sorrowful farewell, and promised if God sent him safe home, he would do what he could, that so many of us as lived should by some means be brought into England, & so he did.

Since my returne into England I have heard that many misliked that he left us so behind him, and brought away Negroes : but the reason is this, for them he might have had victuals, or any other thing needfull, if by foule weather hee had bene driven upon the Islands, which for gold nor silver he could not have had.

And thus our Generall departed to his ship, and we remained on land, where for our safeties, fearing the wild Indians that were about us, we kept watch all night, and at Sunne rising wee marched on our way, three and three in a ranke, untill that we came into a fielde under a grove, where the Indians came upon us, asking us what people we were, and how we came there. Two of our company, namely Anthony Goddard and John Cornish, for that they could speake the Spanish tongue, went to them, and said wee were Englishmen, that never came in that countrey before, and that we had fought with the Spaniards, and for that we lacked victuals, our Generall set us on shore : they asked us whither we intended to goe, we said to Panuco. The Captaine of the Indians willed us to give unto them some of our clothes & shirts, which we did : then he bad us give them all, but we would not so doe, whereupon John Cornish was then slaine with an arrow, which an Indian boy that stode by the Captaine shot at him, wherefore he stroke the boy on the necke with his bow, that he lay for dead, and willed us to follow him, who brought us into a great fielde, where we found fresh water : hee bad us sit downe about the pond and drinke, and he with his company would goe in the meane space to kill five or sixe Deere, and bring them us. We taryed there till three of the clocke, but they came not : there one of our company whose name was John Cooke, with foure other departed from us into a grove to seeke reliefe, where presently they were taken by the Indians, and stript as naked as ever they were borne, and so returned to us.

Then we divided our selves into two parts, halfe to Anthony Goddard, and the rest to James Collier, and thus severally we sought for Panuco. Anthony Goddard with his company, bid us farewell, they passed a river, where the Indians robbed many of them of their clothes, and so passing on their way, came to a stony hill, where they stayed. James Collier with his company that day passed the same river, and were also robbed, and one of them

slaine by chance: wee came that night unto the hill, where Anthony Goddard and his company rested, there we remained til morning, and then we marched altogether from thence, entring betweene two groves, where the Indians robbed us of all our clothes, and left us naked, they hurt many, and killed eight of us. Three dayes after we came to another river, there the Indians shewed us the way to Panuco, and so left us: we passed the river into the wildernes, where we made wreaths of greene grasse, which we wound about our bodies, to keepe us from the Sunne, and gnats of that Country. We travelled there seven dayes, and seven nights, before wee came to Panuco, feeding on nothing but roots, and Guiavos, a fruit like figs. At our comming to the river of Panuco two Spanish horsemen came over unto us in a Canowe: they asked us how long we had bene in the wilderness, and where our generall was, for they knewe us to be of the company that had fought with their countrimen: we told them seven dayes and seven nights, and for lacke of victuals our Generall set us on shore, & he was gone away with his ships. They returned to their Governour, who sent them with five Canowes to bring us all over, which done, they set us in aray, where a hundred horsemen with their lances, came forceably upon us, but did not hurt us, they carried us prisoners to Panuco, where we remained one night. In the river of Panuco there is a fish like a calfe, the Spanyards call it a Mallatin, hee hath a stone in his head, which the Indians use for the disease of the Collicke, in the night he commeth on land, and eateth grasse. I have eaten of it, and it eateth not much unlike to bacon. From thence we were sent to Mexico, which is 90 leagues from Panuco. In our way thither, 20 leagues from the sea side, I did see white Crabs running up & downe the sands, I have eaten of them, and they be very good meat. There groweth a fruit which the Spanyards call Avocottes, it is proportioned like an egge, and as blacke as a cole, having a stone in it, and it is an excellent good fruit. There also groweth a strange tree which they call Magueis, it serveth them to many uses, below by the root they make a hole, wherat they do take out of it twice every day a certaine kind of licour, which they seeth in a great kettle, till the third part be consumed, & that it wax thick, it is as sweet as any hony, and they do eat it.

Within 20. daies after that they have taken al the licour from it, it withereth, & they cut it down, & use it as we use our hempe here in England, which done, they convert it to many uses : of some part they make mantles, ropes, and threed : of the ends they make needles to sow their saddles, pannels, & other furniture for their horses : of the rest they make tyles to cover their houses, and they put it to many other purposes.

And thus we came to Mexico, which is seven or eight miles about, seated in a great fen, invironed with 4 hills, it hath but two wayes of entrance, and it is full of creeks, in the which in their Canowes they passe from place to place, & to the Islands there within. In the Indies ordinarily three times a yeere bee wonderfull earthquakes, which put the people in great feare and danger : during the time of two yeeres that I was in Mexico, I saw them sixe times : when they come they throw downe trees, houses, and Churches. There is a citie 25. leagues from Mexico, called Tlaxcalla, which is inhabited with a hundred thousand Indians, they goe in white shirts, linnen breeches, and long mantles, and the women weare about them a garment much like unto a flannell petticoate. The kings pallace was the first place wee were brought unto in Mexico, where without we were willed to sit downe. Much people, men, women, and children came wondring about us, many lamented our misery, & some of their clergy asked us if we were Christians, we said, we praised God, we were as good Christians as they : they asked how they might know that, we said, by our confessions. From thence we were carried in a Canow to a Tanners house, which standeth a little from the citie : the next morning two friers and two priests came thither to us, and willed us to blesse our selves, and say our prayers in the Latin tongue, that they might understand us, many of our company did so, whereupon they returned to the viceroy, and told him that we were good Christians, and that they liked us well, and then they brought us much reliefe, with clothes, our sicke men were sent to their Hospitals, where many were cured, and many died. From the Tanners house we were led to a gentlemans place, where upon paine of death we were charged to abide, and not to come into the citie, thither we had all things necessary brought us : on Sundayes and holy dayes much people came, and brought us great reliefe.

The viceroy practised to hang us, and caused a paire of new gallows to be set up, to have executed us, wherunto the noblemen of that countrey would not consent, but prayed him to stay until the ship of advise brought newes from the king of Spaine, what should be done with us, for they said they could not find any thing by us, whereby they might lawfully put us to death.

The viceroy then commanded us to be sent to an Island there by, and he sent for the Bishop of Mexico, who sent foure priests to the Island, to examine and confesse us, who said, that the viceroy would burne us, when wee were examined and confessed according to the lawes of the countrey. They returned to the Bishop, and told him that we were very good Christians. The Bishop certified the viceroy of our examinations and confessions, and said that wee were good Christians, therefore he would not meddle with us. Then the viceroy sent for our master, R. Barret, whom he kept prisoner in his pallace, untill the fleete was departed for Spayne. The rest of us he sent to a towne seven leagues from Mexico called Tescuco, to card wooll among the Indian slaves, which drudgery we disdained, and concluded to beat our masters, and so wee did: wherefore they sent to the viceroy, desiring him for Gods sake and our Ladies, to send for us, for they would not keepe us any longer, they said that we were devils and no men.

The viceroy sent for us, and imprisoned us in a house in Mexico, from thence he sent Anthony Goddard, & some other of our company with him into Spaine, with Luçon, the General that tooke us: the rest of us staid in Mexico two yeres after, and then were sent prisoners into Spaine, with Don Juan de Velasco de Varre, admirall and generall of the Spanish fleet, who caried with him in his ship, to be presented to the K. of Spaine, the anatomie of a giant, which was sent from China to Mexico, to the viceroy Don Martin Henriquez, to bee sent to the king of Spaine for a great wonder. It did appere by the anatomie, that he was of a monstrous size, the skull of his head was neere as bigge as halfe a bushel, his necke-bones, shoulder-plates, arme-bones, and all other lineaments of his other partes, were huge and monstrous to behold, the shanke of his legge from the ankle to the knee was as long as from any mans ankle up to his wast, and of bignesse accordingly.

At this time, and in this ship, were also sent to be presented to the king of Spaine, two chestes full of earth with ginger growing in them, which were also sent from China, to be sent to the king of Spaine. The ginger runneth in the ground like to liccoras, the blades grow out of it in length and proportion like unto the blades of wild garlicke, which they cut every fifteene dayes, they use to water them twice a day, as we doe our herbes here in England, they put the blades in their pottage, and use them in their other meates, whose excellent savour and tast is very delightfull, and procureth a good appetite.

When we were shipped in the Port of S. John de Ullua, the Generall called our master Robert Barret and us with him into his cabbın, & asked us if wee would fight against Englishmen if we met them at the sea, we said that we would not fight against our Crowne, but if we met with any other, we would do what we were able. He said if we had said otherwise he would not have beleved us, and for that we should be the better used, and have allowance as other men had: and he gave a charge to every one of us, according unto our knowledge. Robert Barret was placed with the pilote, I was put in the gunners roome, William Cawse with the boat-swaine, John Beare with the quarter-masters, Edward Rider, & Geffrey Giles, with the ordinary mariners, Richard the masters boy attended on him and the pilote: shortly after we departed from the port of S. John de Ullua with all the fleete of Spaine, for the port called Havana: wee were 26. dayes sayling thither. There wee came in, ankered, tooke in fresh water, and stayed 16. dayes for the fleete of Nombre de Dios, which is the fleet that brings the treasure from Peru.

The Generall of that fleet was called Diego Flores de Valdes. After his comming, when he had watred his ships, both the fleetes joyned in one, and Don Juan de Velasco de Varre was the first fifteen daies Generall of both the fleets, who turning through the chanell of Bahama, his pilote had like to have cast away all the fleet upon the Cape called Cannaveral, which was prevented by me John Hortop, & our master Robert Barret: for I being in the second watch escried land, and called to Robert Barret, bidding him looke over boord, for I saw land under the lee-bow of the ship: he called to the boat-swaine, & bid him let flie the fore saile sheat, and lay the

helm upon the lee, and cast the ship about. When we were cast about, we were but in seven fathome water : we shot off a piece, giving advice to the fleet to cast about, and so they did. For this we were beloved of the Generall, and all the fleet. The Generall was in a great rage, and swore by the king, that he would hang his pilote: for he said, that twice before he had almost cast away the Admirall. When it was day, he commanded a piece to be shot off, to call to councill: the other Admirall in his ship came up to him, and asked what the matter was, he said, that his pilote had cast away his ship and all the fleet, had it not bene for two of the Englishmen, and therefore he would hang him. The other Admirall with many faire words perswaded him to the contrary.

When we came in the height of Bermuda, we discovered a monster in the sea, who shewed himselfe three times unto us from the middle upwards, in which parts hee was proportioned like a man, of the complection of a Mulato, or tawny Indian. The Generall did commaund one of his clearks to put it in writing, and hee certified the King and his Nobles thereof. Presently after this, for the space of sixteene dayes we had wonderful foule weather, and then God sent us a faire wind, untill such time as we discovered the Iland called Faial.

On S. James day we made rackets, wheeles, and other fire-workes, to make pastime that night, as it is the order of the Spanyards. When we came neere the land, our master R. Barret conferred with us, to take the pinnesse one night, when we came on the Iland called Terçera, to free our selves from the danger and bondage that we were going into, whereunto we agreed; none had any pinnesse aterne then but our ship, which gave great courage to our enterprise: we prepared a bagge of bread, and a Botijo of water, which would have served us nine dayes, and provided our selves to goe: our Master borrowed a small compasse of the Master gunner of the ship, who lent it him, but suspected his intent, and closely made the Generall privy to it, who for a time dissembled the matter. In the ende seeing our pretense, he called R. Barret, commanding his head to bee put in the stocks, and a great payre of yron bolts on his legs, & the rest of us to be set in the stocks by the legs. Then he willed a peece to be shot off, and hee sent the pinnesse for the other Admirall, and all the captaines, masters and pilots of both fletes to

come aboard of him. He commanded the mayne-yard to be strooke downe, and to put 2. pullies, on every yard-arme one; the hangman was called, and we were willed to confesse our selves, for he swore by the king that he would hang us.

When the other Admiral, and the rest were come aboard, he called them into his counsel-chamber, and told them that he would hang the master of the Englishmen, and all his company. The Admirall, whose name was Diego Flores de Valdes, asked him wherefore: he sayd, that we had determind to rise in the night with the pinnesse, and with a ball of fireworke to set the ship on fire, and goe our wayes: therefore, sayd he, I will have you the Captaines, Masters, and Pilotes, to set your hands unto that, for I sweare by the king that I will hang them, Diego Flores de Valdes answered, I nor the Captaines, Masters, and Pilotes wil not set our hands to that, for hee said, if he had bin prisoner as we were, he would have done the like himselfe. He counselled him to keepe us fast in prison, till he came into Spaine, & then send us to the Contratation house in Sivil, where, if we had deserved death the law would passe on us, for hee would not have it said that in such a fleet as that was, sixe men and a boy should take the pinnesse, and goe away, and so he returned to his ship againe.

When he was gone, the Generall came to the maine mast to us, and swore by the king, that we should not come out of the stocks til we came into Spaine: within 16 dayes after we came over the bar of S. Lucar, and came up to the Hurcados, then he put us into a pinnesse in the stocks, and sent us prisoners to the Contratation house in Sivill. From thence after one yere we brake prison, on S. Stevens day at night, 7. of our company escaped, Robert Barret, I Job Hortop, John Emerie, Humphrey Roberts, and John Gilbert were taken, and brought backe to the contratation house, where we remained in the stocks till twelwe tide was past. Then our keeper put up a petition to the Judge of the contratation house, that we might be sent to the great prison house in Sjvill, for that we broke prison, whereupon we were presently led thither, where we remained one moneth, and then from thence, to the castell of the Inquisition house in Triana, where we continued one yere: which expired, they brought us out in procession, every one of us having a candle in his hand,

and the coate with S. Andrewes crosse on our backs : they brought us up on an high scaffold, that was set up in the place of S. Francis, which is in the chiefe street of Sivill : there they set us downe upon benches, every one in his degree, and against us on another scaffold sate all the Judges, and the Clergy on their benches : the people wondered, and gazed on us, some pittying our cases, other said, burne those heretikés. When we had sit there two houres, we had a sermon made to us : after which one called Bresinia, secretarie to the Inquisition, went up into the pulpit with the processe, and called Robert Barret and John Gilbert, whom two familiars of the Inquisition brought from the scaffold before the Judges, where the secretarie read the sentence, which was that they should be burnt, and so they returned to the scaffold, and were burnt.

Then I Job Hortop, and John Bone were called, and brought to the place, as before, where we heard our sentence, which was, that we should go to the Gallies, and there row at the oares ende ten yeeres, and then to be brought backe to the Inquisition house, to have the coate with S. Andrewes crosse put on our backs, and from thence to goe to the everlasting prison remedlesse, and so we were returned from the scaffold from whence we came. Thomas Marks, & Thomas Ellis were called, and had sentence to serve in the Galleys eight yeeres, and Humphrey Roberts, and John Emery to serve five yeeres, & so were returned to the benches on the scaffold, where we sate till foure of clocke in the afternoone. Then we were led againe to the Inquisition house, from whence we were brought. The next day in the morning Bresinia the treasurer came thither to us, and delivered to every one of us his sentence in writing. I with the rest were sent to the Gallies, where we were chained foure and foure together : every mans daily allowance was 26. ounces of course blacke bisket and water, our clothing for the whole yeere two shirts, two paire of breeches of course canvas, a red coat of course cloth, soone on, and soone off, and a gowne of haire with a friers hood : our lodging was on the bare boords, and banks of the Gallies, our heads and beards were shaven every month, hunger, thirst, cold, and stripes we lacked none, til our several times expired. And after the time of 12. yeeres, for I served two yeeres above my sentence, I was sent backe to the Inquisition

house in Sivill, and there having put on the coat with S. Andrewes crosse, I was sent to the everlasting prison remedillesse, where I wore the coat 4. yeres, & then upon great suit, I had it taken off for 50 duckets, which Hernando de Soria treasurer of the kings mint lent me, whom I served for it as a drudge 7. yeres, and until the moneth of October last, 1590, and then I came from Sivill to S. Lucar, where I made meanes to come away in a flie-boat, that was laden with wines and salt, which were Flemings goods, the king of Spaines subjects, dwelling in Sivil, married to Spanish women, and sworne to their king. In this moneth of October last, departing from S. Lucar, at sea, off the southermost Cape, we met an English ship, called the Galeon Dudley, who took the Flemming, & me out of him, & brought me to Portsmouth, where they set me on land, the 2. day of December last past, 1590. From thence I was sent by M. Muns the lieutenant of Portsmouth, with letters to the R. honorable the Earle of Sussex, who commanded his secretary to take my name and examination, how long I had bene out of England, and with whom I went, which he did. And on Christmas even I took my leave of his honor, and came to Redriffe.

The Computation of my imprisonment.

I suffered imprisonment in Mexico two yeeres.

In the Contratation house in Sivill one yeere.

In the Inquisition house in Triana one yeere.

I was in the Gallies twelve yeeres.

In the everlasting prison remediles, with the coat with S. Andrews crosse on my back 4. yeres.

And at libertie I served as a drudge Hernando de Soria 3. yeeres, which is the full complement of 23. yeeres.

Since my departure from England, untill this time of my returne, I was five times in great danger of death, besides the many perils I was in, in the Gallies.

First in the Port of S. John de Ullua, where being on shore, with many other of our company, which were all slaine saving I, and two other that by swimming got aboard the Jesus of Lubek.

Secondly, when we were robbed by the wild Indians.

Thirdly, after we came to Mexico, the viceroy would have hanged us.

Fourthly, because he could not have his mind to hang us, he would have burnt us.

Fiftly, the Generall that brought us into Spaine, would have hanged us at sea.

Thus having truely set downe unto you my travels, misery and dangers, endured the space of 23. yeeres, I ende.

A relation of the Haven of Tecuanapa, a most convenient place for building of ships, situate upon the South sea not farre from Nicaragua, which was sent unto the viceroy of Mexico or to the king of Spaine: whercin are described the rivers of Ometepeç, Tlacamama, and Tlacolula falling into the said Haven, with the townes, people, and mountaines adjoyning to the said rivers, and other things fit for the building and victualling of ships.

THE Port and small harbour of Tecuanapa hath in the driest time of Sommer in the chanell little lesse then one fathome at low water, and at full sea one fathome and an halfe: in the time of raine, with the increasing of the land-water it hath three fathoms and more. It lyeth toward the West, and there the Bishopricks of Guaxacan and Tlarcali are separated. From hence toward the point called Punta de Intla and Dordaci there is a Bay 2. leagues distant, which though it be no special harbour, yet upon an extremity ships may come and ride there, as in times past they have done. This Bay on the right hand toward the North maketh a lake somewhat large towards the midst of the chanell, and in some parts deepe, but specially on the side of Cuahintla, but on either side it is but shallow. As you passe betweene the sea & certaine great and large woods of orange trees, and trees of other nature which grow along the sea coast, which are of no great bredth, al the countrey appeareth very open: howbeit on the side of Cuahintla the mountaines have many creeks and a small lake called Tulaningo, and the countrey cannot be travelled, except you take the way betweene the sea and the end of this lake, which may be about two leagues of sandy way. And on the North side there is another small creeke. And going by the sands side one quarter of a league, you come to the way that leadeth unto Quacapotla a mansion of Intla.

The river of Ometepeç being the principal river which

commeth to this haven hath his head in the mountaines of Xicayan de Touer about 24. leagues from this haven, from divers brooks which come out of the mountaines of Cacatepec, and beneath a towne called Suchistlahuaca little more then 3. leagues all the brooks joyne together: and from that place you may passe downe to the sea with Canoas and Lighters; and you might come farther but for the fall of a furious streame or current which runneth between two great rocks, passing from Cocahulapa a mansion of Ometepec unto Yanguitle a mansion of the said Ometepec. These inconveniences being past (which in my judgement may be about one league) the river is more navigable, so that you may sayle in the same about 12. leagues. During the space of which 12. leagues, about a league and a halfe distance from the waters side, and in many other parts of the same river it hath great quantitie of woods which use to grow in hot soiles, fit for ship-timber, as Huber-trees, & Suchicuhitil, whereof they of Nicaragua make great profit. Also there be white okes and Tehegurtes in great quantitie, and many other kinds of timber: and in the mountaines there be firre-trees, okes, and cork-trees, which easily may bee caried downe the river, because they may be cut some 2, 3, 4, and 5. leagues from the river, and may be brought downe to the waters side with the service and helpe of those that dwell in the townes thereabout.

At the head of these brooks where the river beginneth is the towne which is called Xicaian, belonging to the heires of Francis de Touer y de Guillen, containing about 350. Indians of rude speach and of little policie, being 24. leagues from the sea, little more or lesse. The place it selfe is hot, although the mountaines round about be cold.

A little from this is the towne of Aioanapa possessed by the heires of Perez Gomez, having in it about 300. Indians of the selfe same speach and qualitie. The country is more subject to heate then cold; yet hath it neere it cold countreys and mountaines. It is distant from Xicaian de Touer 4. leagues, and from the sea 20. leagues.

Sixe leagues downeward toward the South is the towne of Suchistlahuaca on the said river, and the inhabitants are of the same speach and qualities. The country is more subject to heate then cold. It is in the charge

of Gonzalvo Fernandez a citizen of Mexico, and hath about 150. Indians, and is 15. leagues distant from the sea.

From this towne unto the towne of Ometepec are 6. leagues. The place is very hot, and in the same government, and is situate betweene certaine hils one league from the river: he and his followers have under them about 700. Indians, which speake the Ayacastecan, Amusgan, and Niciecan tongues, and this place is from the sea nine leagues.

From this towne unto Ihualapa are two great leagues: it is in the government of the heires of Laurence de Castro, of the foresaid temperature, and the people use the said language, and are of the like stature: and it standeth three leagues from the river, and from the sea ten leagues.

These are the best townes, and of the best traffique that are upon all this coast. The Indians are rich in Cacao and victuals, and in these townes doe the Indians of Niciecan principally trade. And in the towne of Ihualapa the chiefe Alguazil of the province is resident for the most part of the yeere.

More lowe beneath the river of Tlacolula, about a league or a league and an halfe from the towne of Ometepec is the towne called Pio, which was wont to be a towne of Tlacolula, and was a frontier towne against the Mexicans. There be in it about 50. Indians of the ancient inhabitants: one Graviel de Chiavez a citizen of Mexico hath the governement thereof: it is 4. leagues from Ihualapa, and 6. from the sea,

A little below this is the towne of Huehuetlan in the selfe same governement standing one league from the river on certaine high hils: it hath 10. Indians, and is from the sea 5. leagues.

And one league from this towne stands the towne of Cuahuacapotla a mansion of Antla or Intla: it hath to the number of 15. Indians; it standeth one league and a halfe from the river, and 4. leagues from the mouth thereof.

At the fountaines or heads of the rest of the brooks is the towne of Cacatepec being in the government of Raphael de Treyo: he and his tenants have under them some 700. Indians of Niciecan: it is from the sea some 22. leagues.

The river which is called Tlacamama commeth from the mountains of Atoyaque and Amusgos, which are some 17. leagues from the sea. There it maketh a formed river, so big, that it is navigable to the sea with canoas and lighters: I say from a litle below Tolistlahuaca a mansion of Xicaian. It is navigable 8. moneths in the yeere, and the other 4. not, because that the sands of the plaines do soke and drink up the water in such wise, that there remaineth so little, that there is no passage: howbeit in small lighters timber may bee brought downe this river one league from the place where it is cut, unto the place that I have spoken of; whereas bigger vessels may bee made; for nigh unto that place other brooks and running waters doe joyne and meet, which make it a maine river. It hath nigh unto it in the mountaines of Atoyaque, Cacatepec, and Amusgos many woods of pine-trees, cork-trees, and okes of great bignesse: and beneath those mountaines in the warme countrey, neere unto the rivers there is much timber of those sorts which I mentioned before to be about the river of Ometepec, which may easily be cut and carried downe unto Tecuanapa in the time before specified.

This river hath likewise townes adjoyning to it; the first at the foote of the mountaines is the town of Atoyaque belonging to the king, & to the heires of Pronetto: their language is Niciecan, the countrey hot, the people politique, & it is from the sea 15. leagues. It hath about 200. Indians.

One league from this towne, and 14. from the sea is the towne of Xicaian belonging likewise to the king, and to the heires of Pronetto. They are Niciecan people and very comely, and in a hot countrey. It hath by account 300. Indians. There are resident in it the Vicar and Justice; it is from the river a league and a halfe.

A league from this towne, and 14. from the sea is situate the mansion of Pinotespan subject to Tututepec, which hath with the manors subject unto it 500. Indians.

Two leagues from the towne, and one from Xicayan, and 13. from Tecuanapa, and 3. from the river is the towne of Tlacamama: the people are very comely and politique. It containeth some 100. Indians, and belongeth to the king.

More toward the South 5. leagues from the river, and two from this towne, and 14. from the sea is the towne

called Pinotespan del Rey: They are handsome people, but of slow speach: this towne containeth about 100. Indians like unto the former. They be wealthie, because they make great quantitie of salte; for they have a lake in which salte groweth under the water, (a thing repugnant to nature, that two contraries doe grow and are conserved together) whereout they take it in breaking it with stones upon the ground under the water.

It hath also the towne of Amusgos, which is in the government of Fernando de Avila, which may be from Tecuanapa 18. leagues. They speake the Amusgan tongue. The cuntry is hotte: it standeth on the high way from Nicieca: it hath 400. Indians, few more or lesse.

These are all the townes of account situate neere this river.

Neere upon this river are two farmes, the one belonging to Pedro Bravo, and the other to him that maketh this relation unto your Excellencie, which may be from the sea some 8. or 9. leagues all plaine ground. And in this territorie there is but one towne called Quesala situate upon the river, and 6. leagues from the sea; which in times past hath bene a great towne, and nowe hath but three Indians onely, and it is from the farmes 3. leagues.

The mansion house of Don Mattheo is more toward the South, standing in a large mountainous and waste cuntry, which aboundeth with cattell being 3. leagues from the river; and as farre from Tecuanapa, as from the place where all the cattell is; and the sea that way is from it but one league.

A little below this mansion about 4. leagues, and 7. leagues from the sea, is a garden of Alonso Pedraza which beareth Cacao.

And 2 leagues from this garden, and 6. leagues from the sea standeth the towne of Cuahintlan belonging to the king, a towne of 19 households, but very rich, for they gather much Cacao and the best in that cuntry. They speake the Tlapanecan tongue. This towne hath the sea that way within halfe a league.

And this coast from Cuahintlan to Tecuanapa, and the coast which runneth to Huatulco is a coast of much pearle, for in olde time the Indians gathered much pearle there.

And 2. leagues from Cuahintlan and 4. from Tecuanapa is a garden of Cacao in the landes of Francisco Maldonado, which is called Cacahu-Atoyaque.

These are the things worthy of relation from the head-springs of this river of Tlacamama unto the sea : and this foresaid river entreth into the river of Ometepec 5. leagues from Tecuanapa.

The river of Tlacolula springeth within the boundes of Chilsiztlahuaca subject to Comastlahuaca a towne of Suchislahuaca, neere which are many mountaines. This river is navigable little more then 2. leagues before it entreth into the river of Ometepec, where it is 5. leagues from the sea.

Hard by it is the towne of Tlacolula abovenamed; and 3. leagues from it is the towne of Azoyoque an olde manour of Tlapa. The towne of Chilsiztlahuaca hath but 3. Indians; and the towne of Azoyoque hath more then 300. Indians. But because in this haven must bee the building of ships, the provinces of Tlapa and Tututepec may stand them in great stead; the province of Tututepec being neighbour to the river of Tlacamama, and the province of Tlapa to the river of Tlacolula. For they may, as I have sayd, carrie the timber in lighters or rafts downe the rivers, and may use the Indians in the townes thereabout to fell, and draw the same out of the cold mountaines; for in the warm countreyes the most is plaine ground, whereas with very fewe men and oxen it may be brought unto the place where it should be imbarqued.

There may come flat bottomes, and canoas unto the townes thereabout, and lade themselves with victuals: For they have already come by that river to the rode of Ometepec, & made there provision at the mansion of Don Mattheo, and at the farmes, at that time when his Majestie did people the plaines which are betweene these rivers, containing a large and voyde country sufficient for the erecting of 20. manours, being a country well furnished with water and pasture without any danger or perill, according to the description hereunto annexed.

This small harbour of Tecuanapa being seene and viewed, seemeth very commodious for to build shippes in, by reason of the great abundance of mountaines full of good timber for that purpose, with the commodities of

rivers, and with the service and victuals from the townes thereabout, which be very good for coast townes.

The desire of him that made this relation, hath bene with zeale to serve your excellencie; who therewithall desireth the Lord God to give the successe.

