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of Sir Frances Drakes VWest Indian Voyage

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Title: A Svmmarie and Trve Discovrse of Sir Frances Drakes VWest Indian Voyage

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Release date: October 20, 2006 [eBook #19589]

Language: English

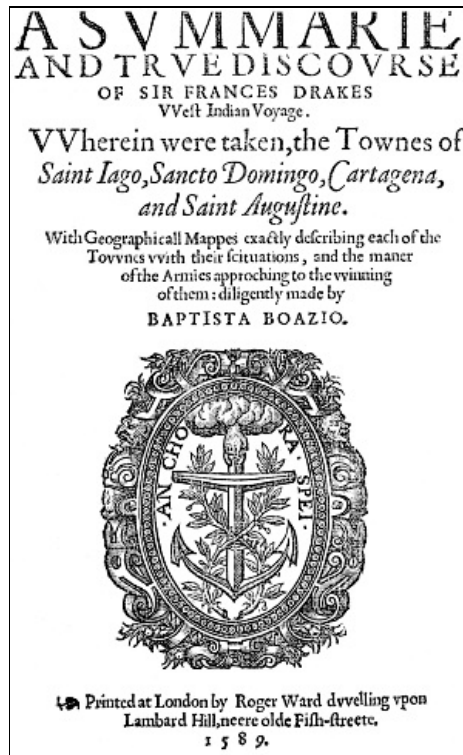
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*** START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK A SVMMARIE AND TRVE DISCOVRSE OF SIR FRANCES DRAKES VVEST INDIAN VOYAGE ***

Transcriber's note

The spelling and punctuation in the original are inconsistent. No corrections have been made except those that have been noted explicitly.

The maps referred to on the title page and after the Dedication were not present in the original.



A SVMMARIE AND TRVE DISCOVRSE OF SIR FRANCES DRAKES

VWest Indian Voyage.

VWherein were taken, the Townes of
Saint Iago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena,
and Saint Augustine.

With Geographically Mappes exactly describing each of the
Tovvnes vvith their scituations, and the maner
of the Armies approching to the vwinning
of them: diligently made by
BAPTISTA BOAZIO.



Printed at London by Roger Ward dwelling vpon
Lambard Hill, neere olde Fish-streete.

1589.

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TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
ROBERT D'EVREUX, EARLE
OF ESSEX AND EVVE, VISCOVNT
of Hereford and Bouchier, Lord Ferrers of
Chartley, Bouchier, and Louaine, Maister

of the Queenes Maiesties horse,
and knight of the most honorable
order of the Garter. T. C.
vvisheth increase of all
honour and happinesse.



Right Honorable, hauing by chaunce recouered of late into my handes (after I had once lost the same) a copie of the Discourse of our late West Indian Voyage, which was begun by Captaine Bigges; who ended his life in the said voyage after our departure from Cartagena, the same being afterwarde finished (as I thinke) by his Lieutenant Maister Croftes, or some other, I know not well who. Now finding therein a most true report of the seruices and other matters which happened in the said voyage, the sight whereof is wonderfully desired of manie honest and well disposed persons. I haue presumed to recommend the publishing thereof, vnto your Lordships protection and fauour, for these two causes. The one, for that your Lordships honourable disposition is in the knowledge of all men that know your selfe, most thirstingly affected to embrace in your owne person, the brauest enterprises, if the time would once afford anie such fit occasion, as might be agreeable to her Maiesties resolution: who wisely (and long may she do it) gouerneth all thinges to the greatest aduantage of her selfe and people. The other, because my selfe hauing bene a member in the said actions, and was Lieutenant of Maister Carleils owne companie, whereby I can well assure the truth of this report: I thought it my bounden duetie, hauing professed my seruice to your Lordship before all men, to dedicate the same rather vnto your Lordship then vnto any other. And although it be now a yeare and a halfe sithence the voyage ended, whereby some man will say, that it is now no new matter: yet the present time considered, how doubtfull some of our meaner sort of people are of the Spanish preparations, I thinke this Discourse a verie fit thing to be published, that they may see what great victories a fewe English men haue made vpon great numbers of the Spaniardes, euen at home in their owne Countries. The beholding whereof will much encourage those, who by fame and bare wordes are made to doubt much more then there is cause why they should. Vpon which point, as there may be much said: so my selfe being no Discourser, do desire to be held excused therein; and therefore doe onely commend the trueth of this report vnto your Lordship: which will be also auowed by diuers Captaines that were in the said voyage. And so in all humblenesse do take my leaue, readie to do your Lordship all faithfull seruice.

Your Lordships souldier
and humble seruant
THOMAS GATES.



¶ *The Reader must vnderstand, that this Discourse was dedicated, and intended to haue bene Imprinted somewhat before the comming of the Spanish Fleete vpon our coast of England: but by casualtie the same was forgotten and slacked for a time of some better leasure.*

The Order and maner for the true placing
of the Mappes in this Booke.

Place the Mappe of {
S'. Iago in fol. 10.
S'. Domingo in fol. 19.
S'. Cartagena in fol. 23.
S'. Augustine in fol. 31.



B



A SVMMARIE AND
TRVE DISCOVRSE OF SIR FRANCIS
DRAKES WEST INDIAN VOYAGE,
WHEREIN WERE TAKEN
THE TOVVNES OF SAINT IAGO,
Sancto Domingo, Cartagena,
and Saint Augustine,



his vvorthie Knight for the seruice of his Prince and
Countrie, hauing prepared his vvhole fleete, and gotten
them downe to Plimmouth in Deuonshire, to the
number of fiue and twentie saile of ships and pinnaces,



and hauing assembled of Souldiours and Marriners to the number of two thousand and three hundred in the vvhole, embarqued them and himselfe at Plimmouth aforesaid, the twelfth day of September 1585. being accompanied vvith these men of name and charge, vvich hereafter followe.

Maister Christopher Carleill Lieftenant Generall, a man of long experience in the vvarre as vvell by sea as land, and had formerly carried high offices in both kindes in many fightes, vvich he discharged alvvaies verie happilie, and with great good reputation.

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Anthonie Povvell Sergeant Maior.

Captaine Mathevve Morgan, and Captaine Iohn Sampson, Corporals of the field.

These Officers had commaundement ouer the rest of the land Captaines, vvwhose names hereafter follovve.

Captaine Anthony Plat.

Captaine Edvvard Winter.

Captaine Iohn Goring.

Captaine Robert Pevv.

Captaine George Barton.

Captaine Iohn Merchant.

Captaine William Cecill.

Captaine Walter Bigs.

Captaine Iohn Hannam.

Captaine Richard Stanton.

Captaine Martine Frobusher Viceadmirall, a man of great experience in sea faring actions, & had caried chiefe charge of many shippes himselfe, in sundry voyages before, being novv shipped in the Primrose.

Captaine Francis Knollis, Rieradmirall in the Gallion Leicester.

Maister Thomas Venner Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonadventure vnder the Generall.

Maister Edvvard Winter Captaine in the Aide.

Maister Christopher Carleill the Lieftenant generall, Captaine in the Tygar.

Henry White Captaine of the sea Dragon.

Thomas Drake Captaine of the Thomas.

Thomas Seelie Captaine of the Minion.

Baily Captaine of the Barke Talbot.

Robert Crosse Captaine of the Barke Bond.

George Fortescute Captaine of the Barke Bonner.

Edward Carelesse Captaine of the Hope.

James Erizo Captaine of the vvhite Lion.

Thomas Moone Captaine of the Francis.

Iohn Riuers Captaine of the Vantage,

Iohn Vaughan Captaine of the Drake.

Iohn Varney Captaine of the George,

Iohn Martin Captaine of the Benjamin.

Edward Gilman Captaine of the Skout.

Richard Haukins Captaine of the Galliot called the Ducke.

Bitfield Captaine of the Svvalowe.

After our going hence, which vvas the fourteenth of September, in the yeare of our Lord, one thowsand fiue hundred eightie and fiue: & taking our course towards Spaine, vve had the winde for a fewe daies somevvhat skant, and sometimes calme. And being arriued neere that part of the coast of Spaine, vvich is called the Moores, vvee happened to espie diuerse Sailes, vvich kept their course close by the shore, the vveather being faire and calme. The Generall caused the Vizeadmirall to

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goe vvith the Pinnaces vvell manned to see vvhat they vvere, vvho vpon sight of the said Pinnaces approching neere vnto them, abandoned for the most part all their shippes (being Frenchmen) laden all vvith salt, and bound homewardest into France, amongst vvchich shippes (being all of small burthen) there was one so vvell liked, vvchich also had no man in her, as being brought vnto the Generall, he thought good to make stay of her for the seruice, meaning to pay for her, as also accordingly performed at our returne: vvchich Barke vvas called the Drake. The rest of these shippes (being eight or nine) vvere dismissed vvithout any thing at all taken from them. Who beeing aftervvardes put somewhat further off from the shore, by the contrarietie of the vvinde, vve happened to meete vvith some other French shippes, full laden vvith Newland fish, beeing vpon their returne homewarde from the saide New found land: vvhom the Generall after some speech had vvith them, (and seeing plainely that they vvere Frenchmen) dismissed vvithout once suffering any man to goe aboard of them.

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The day follovvng standing in vvith the shore againe, vve discried an other tall ship of twelue score tunnes or therabouts, vpon vvhom Maister Carleill the Lieuutenant generall being in the Tygar, vnderooke the chase, vvhome also anon after the Admirall folloved, and the Tygar hauing caused the saide straunge shippe to strike her sayles, kept her there vvithout suffering anye bodie to goe aboorde vntill the Admirall vvas come vp: vvho foorthvvith fending for the Maister, and diuerse others of their principall men, and causing them to be seuerally examined, found the Shippe and goodes to be belonging to the inhabitantes of Saint SEBASTIAN in Spaine, but the Marriners to bee for the most parte belonging to Saint IOHN de LVCE, and the Passage. In this ship was greate store of dry Nevvland fish, commonly called vvith vs Poore Iohn, vvhereof aftervvards (being thus found a lavvfull prize) there vvas distribution made into all the shippes of the Fleete, the same being so new and good, as it did verie greatly bestead vs in the whole course of our voyage. A day or two after the taking of this ship, vve put in vvithin the Isles of BAYON, for lacke of fauourable vvind, where we had no sooner anckered some part of the Fleete, but the Generall commaunded all the Pinnaces vvith the ship boates to be manned, and euerye man to be furnished vvith such armes as vvas needefull for that present seruice; vvchich being done, the Generall put himselfe into his Galley, vvchich was also vvell furnished, and rowing towardes the Citie of BAYON; vvith intent, and the fauour of the Almighty to surprise it. Before we had aduanced one halfe league of our way, there came a messenger beeing an English Marchant from the Gouvernour, to see vvhat straunge Fleete we were, vvho came to our Generall, and conferred a vvhile vvith him, and after a small time spent, our Generall called for Captaine Sampson, and vvilled him to goe to the Gouvernour of the Citie, to resolute him of two pointes. The first, to knowe if there were any warres beetweene Spaine and England. The second, vvhy our Merchantes vvith their goodes were imbarred or arrested. Thus departed Captaine Sampson vvith the saide Messenger to the citie, vvhere he found the Gouvernour and people much amazed of such a suddaine accident.

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The Generall vvith the aduice and counsell of Maister Carleill his Lieuutenant generall, vvho was in the Galley vvith him, thought not good to make any stand, till such time as they were vvithin the shot of the Citie, vvher they might be ready vpon the returne of Captaine Sampson, to make a suddaine attempt if cause did require before it were darke.

Captaine Sampson returned vvith his message in this sort. First, touching peace or warres the Gouvernour said he knevve of no warres, and that it lay not in him to make any, he being so meane a subiect as hee vvas. And

as for the stay of the Marchantes with their goodes, it vvas the Kinges pleasure, but not with intent to endommage any man. And that the Kinges conter commaundement vvas (vvhich had bene receiued in that place some seauennight before) that English Marchants vwith their goods should be discharged: for the more verifying vwhereof, he sent such Marchants as vvere in the tovvne of our Nation, who traffiqued those parts; vvhich being at large, declared to our generall by them, counsell vvas taken vwhat myght best be done. And for that the night approached, it vvas thought needefull to land our force, vvhich vvas done in the shutting vp of the day, and hauing quartered our selues to our most aduantage, vvyth sufficient gard vpon euery straight, vve thought to rest our selues for that night there. The Gouvernour sent vs some refreshing, as bread, vvine, oyle, apples, grapes, marmalad and such lyke. About midnight the vveather beginnes to ouercast, insomuch that it vvas thought meeter to repaire aboard, then to make any longer abode on land, and before vve could recouer the Fleete, a great tempest arose, vvhich caused many of our ships to driue from their anker hold, and some vvere forced to sea in great peril, as the barke Talbot, the barke Hawkins, and the Speedewell, vvhich Speedewel onely vvas driuen into England, the others recouered vs againe, the extremitie of the storme lasted three dayes, vvhich no sooner beganne to asswage, but Maister Carleill our Lieutenant generall, vvas sent vwith his ovvne ship and three others: as also vwith the galley and vwith dyuers Pinnaces, to see vwhat he might do about VIGO, vvhich he tooke many boates and some Caruels, diuersly laden vwith thinges of small value, but chiefly vwith houshold stuffe, running into the high countrey, and amongst the rest, he found one boate laden vwith the principal Church stuffe of the high Church of VIGO, vvhich also vvas their great Crosse of siluer, of very fayre embossed vvorke, and double gilt all ouer, hauing cost them a great masse of money. They complayned to haue lost in all kind of goods about thirtie thowsand Duckets in this place.

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The next day the General vwith his vvhole Fleete vvent vp from the Isles of BAYON, to a very good harbour about VIGO, vvhich Maister Carleill stayd his comming, asvvell for the more quiet riding of his ships, as also for the good commoditie of fresh vvater, vvhich the place there did afford full vvell. In the meane time the Gouvernour of GALLISIA had reared such forces as he might, his numbers by estimate vvere some two thowsand foot, and three hundred horse, and marched from BAYON to this part of the countrey, vvhich lay in sight of our Fleete, vvhich making stand, he sent to parle vwith our Generall, vvhich vvas graunted by our Generall, so it might be in boates vpon the vvater: and for safetie of their persons, there vvere pledges deliuered on both sides, vvhich done, the Gouvernour of GALLISIA put him selfe vwith two others into our Vice-Admirals Skiffe, the same hauing bene sent to the shore for him. And in like sort our Generall in his owne Skiffe, vvhich by them it vvas agreed, vve should furnish our selues vwith fresh vvater, to be taken by our owne people quietly on the land, and haue all other such necessaries, paying for the same, as the place vvould afford.

7

VWhen all our businesse vvas ended, vve departed, and tooke our vvay by the Islands of CANARIA, vvhich are esteemed some three hundred leagues from this part of Spaine, and falling purposely vwith PALMA, vwith intention to haue taken our pleasure of that place, for the full digesting of many thinges into order, and the better furnishing our store vwith such seuerall good thinges as that affordeth very abundantly, vve vvere forced by the vile sea gate, vvhich at that present fell out, and by the naughtinesse of the landing place, being but one, and that vnder the fauor of many Platformes, vvell furnished vwith great ordinance, to depart vwith the receipt of many their Canon shot, some into our ships,

and some besides, some of them being in very deepe full Canon high. But the onely or chiefe mischiefe, vvas the daungerous sea surge, vvhich at shore all alongest, plainly threatned the ouerthrow of as many Pinnaces and boates, as for that time should haue attempted any landing at all.

Novv seeing the expectation of this attempt frustrated by the causes aforesaid, vve thought it meeter to fall vwith the Isle FERRO, to see if vve could find any better fortune, and comming to the Island, vve landed a thousand men in a valley vnder a high mountaine, vvhvhere we stayed some two or three houres, in which time the inhabitants, accompanied vwith a yong fellow borne in England, who dwelt there with them, came vnto vs, shewing their state to be so poore, that they were all readie to starue, which was not vntrue: and therefore without any thing gotten, we were all commaunded presently to imbarke, so as that night we put off to sea South Southeast along towards the coast of Barbarie.

8

Vpon Saterdag in the morning, being the thirteenth of Nouember, we fell with Cape Blancke, vvhich is a lovve lande and shallowe vvater, where vvee caught store of fish, and doubling the Cape, we put into the Bay, where wee found certaine French shippes of warre, whom we entertained with great courtesie, & there left them. The after noone the whole Fleete assembled, vvhich was a little scattered about their fishing, and put from thence to the Isles of Cape Verde, sailing till the sixteenth of the same moneth in the morning, on which day we discryed the Island of Saint IAGO, & in the euening we anckered the Fleete betweene the towne called the PLAIE or PRAIE and Saint IAGO, where we put on shore a thowsand men or more, vnder the leading of Maister Christopher Carleill Lieuetenant Generall, who directed the seruice most like a wise commaunder. The place where wee had first to march did affoord no good order, for the ground was mountaines and full of dales, being a marueilous stonye and troublesome passage, but such vvas his industrious disposition, as hee woulde neuer leaue, vntill wee had gotten vppe to a faire plaine, vvhvhere we made stand for the assembling of the armie. And when vve vvere all gathered together vpon the plaine, some two litle miles from the Towne, the Lieuetenant general thought good not to make attempt till day light: because there vvas not one that could serue for guide or giuing knowvledge at all of the place. And therefore after hauing vvell rested, euen halfe an hovver before day, he commaunded the Armie to be deuided into three speciall partes, such as he appointed, vvhvwhereas before vvee had marched by seuerall companies, being thereunto forced by the naughtinesse of the vway as is aforesaid.

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Now by the time we wer thus raunged into a very braue order, daylight began to appeare, and being aduanced hard to the vvall, we saw no enemie to resist, whereupon the Lieutenant generall appointed Captaine Sampson with thirtie shot, and Captaine Barton with other thirtie, to goe downe into the tovvne vvhich stood in the valey vnder vs, and might verie plainly be viewed all ouer from that place vvhvwhere the vvhole Army vvas novv arryued and presently after these Captaines vvas sent the great Ensigne, vvhich had nothing in it but the plaine English crosse, to be placed tovvardes the Sea, that our fleete might see Saint Georges crosse flourish in the enemies fortresse. Order vvas giuen that all the ordinance throughout the towne, and vpon all the platformes, vvhich vvas about fifty peeces al ready charged, should be shot off in honor of the Queenes Maiesties Coronation day, being the seuententh of Nouember, after the yearly custome of England, which was so aunswered againe by the ordinance out of all the ships in the fleete which novv was come neere, as it was straunge to heare such a thondering noise last so long together. In this meane while the Lieutenant general held still the most part of his force on the hill top, till

such time as the towne was quartered out for the lodging of the whole Armie, which being done euery Captaine toke his owne quarter, and in the euening was placed such sufficient gard vpon euerie part of the towne that vve had no cause to feare any presentemie.

Thus we continued in the Citie the space of fourteene daies, taking such spoiles as the place yelded, which were for the most part, wine, oyle, meale, and some such like thinges for victuall, as vineger, oliues, and some such other trash, as marchandise for their Indian trades. But there was not founde any trasure at all, or any thing else of vvorth besides.

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The scituation of Sainct IAGO is somewhat strange, in forme like to a triangle, hauing on the East and West sides two Mountaines of Roche and cliffie, as it were hanging ouer it, vpon the top of which two mountaines was builded certaine fortifications to preserue the towne from any harme that might be offered, as in this Plot is plainly sheved. From thence: on the South side of the towne is the maine sea, and on the North side, the valley lying betweene the foresayd mountaines, wherein the towne standeth: the said valley and towne both do grow verie narrow, insomuch that the space betweene the two cliffes of this ende of the towne is estimated not to be aboue tenne or twelue score ouer.

In the midst of the valley commeth dovvne a riueret, rill, or brooke of fresh vvater, which hard by the sea side maketh a pond or poole, vvhereout our ships were vvatered vvith verie great ease and pleasure. Somewhat aboue the Towne on the North side betweene the two mountaines, the valley vvaxeth somewhat larger then at the townes end, vvchich valley is vvholie conuerted into gardens and orchardes well replenished vvith diuers sorts of fruicts, herbes and trees, as lymmons, oranges, suger canes, cochars or cochos nuts, plantens, potato roots, cocumbers, small and round onions, garlike, and some other thinges not now remembred, amongst vvchich the cochos, nuts and plantens are very pleasant fruicts, the said cochos hauing a hard shell and a greene huske ouer it, as hath our vvalnut, but it farre exceedeth in greatnesse, for this cochos in his greene huske is bigger then any mans two fistes, of the hard shell many drinking cups are made here in England, and set in siluer as I haue often seene.

Next within this hard shell is a vvwhite rine resembling in shew verie much euen as any thing may do, to the vvwhite of an egge vvhen it is hard boyled. And vvithin this vvwhite of the nut lyeth a vvater, vvchich is vvhitish and very cleere, to the quantitie of halfe a pint or there abouts, vvchich vvater and white rine before spoken of, are both of a very coole fresh tast, and as pleasing as any thing may be. I haue heard some hold opinion, that it is very restoratiue.

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The Planten grovveth in cods, somewhat like to beanes, but is bigger and longer, and much more thicke together on the stalke, and vvhen it waxeth ripe, the meate vvchich filleth the rine of the cod becommeth yellovv, and is exceeding sweet and pleasant.

In this time of our being there, hapned to come a Portingall to the Westernmost fort, vvith a flag of truce, to vvhom Captaine Sampson was sent vvith Captaine Goring, vvho comming to the said Messenger, he first asked them vvhat nation they vvere, they aunswered Englishmen, he then required to knovv if warres vvere betweene England and Spaine, to vvchich they aunsvvered that they knew not, but if he would go to their Generall he could best resolue him of such particulars, and for his assurance of passage and repassage, these Captaines made offer to ingage their credits, which he refused for that he vvas not sent from his Gouvernor. Then they told him, if his Gouvernor did desire to take a course for the common benefite of the people and cuntrye, his best way vvere

to come and present him selfe vnto our Noble and mercifull Gouvernor Sir Frances Drake; vvhwhereby he might be assured to finde fauor, both for him selfe and the inhabitantes. Otherwise within three dayes vve should march ouer the land, and consume vvith fire all inhabited places, and put to the svvord all such liuing soules as vve should chaunce vpon: so thus much he tooke for the conclusion of his answere, and departing, he promised to returne the next day, but vve neuer heard more of him.

Vpon the foure and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall accompanied vvith the Lieutenant generall and sixe hundred men, marched foorth to a village tvvelue miles vvithin the lande, called S. DOMINGO, vvhere the Gouvernor and the Bishop vvith all the better sort vvere lodged, and by eight of the clocke vve came to it, finding the place abandoned, and the people fled into the mountaines: so vve made stand a vvhile to ease ourselues, and partly to see if any vvould come to speake to vs.

12

After vve had vvell rested our selues, the Generall commaunded the troupes to march away homewardes, in vvhich retreat the enemie shewed them selues, both horse and foote, though not such force as durst encounter vs: and so in passing some time at the gaze vvith them, it vvaxed late and towards night, before vve could recouer home to Saint IAGO.

On Monday the six and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall commaunded all the Pinnaces vvith the boates, to vse all diligence to imbarke the Armie into such ships as euery man belonged. The Lieutenant generall in like sort commaunded Captaine Goring and Lieutenant Tucker, with one hundred shot to make a stand in the market place, vntill our forces were wholly imbarked, the Vize-Admiral making stay vvith his Pinnace and certaine boats in the harbour, to bring the said last companie aboard the ships. Also the Generall willed forthvvith the Gallie vvith two Pinnaces to take into them the companie of Captaine Barton, and the companie of Captaine Bigs, vvnder the leading of Captaine Sampson, to seeke out such munition as vvvas hidden in the ground, at the towne of PRAY OR PLAY, hauing beene promised to be shewed it by a prisoner, vvhich was taken the day before.

The Captaines aforesaid comming to the PLAY, landed their men, and hauing placed the troupe in their best strength, Captaine Sampson tooke the prisoner, and willed him to shevve that he had promised, the vvhich he could not, or at least vvould not: but they searching all suspected places, found two peeces of ordinance, one of yron, an other of brasse. In the after noone the Generall anckered the rest of the Fleete before the PLAIE comming him selfe a shore, vvilling vs to burne the Tovvne and make all hast a boorde, the vvhich was done by sixe of the clocke the same day, and our selues imbarked againe the same night, and so we put off to sea Southwest.

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But before our departurre from the towne of Saint IAGO, we established orders for the better gouernment of the Armie, euery man mustered to his Captaine, and othes ministred to acknowledge her Maiestie supreame Gouvernour, as also euery man to doe his vttermost endeuour to aduaunce the seruice of the action, and to yeeld due obedience vnto the directions of the General and his officers. By this prouident counsell, and laying downe this good foundation before hand, all thinges went forward in a due course, to the achieuing of our happie enterprise.

In all the time of our being here, neither the Gouvernour for the King of Spaine, (vvhich is a Portugall) neither the Bishop, vvwhose authoritie is great, neither any of the inhabitantes of the towne, or Island euer came at vs (vvhich we expected they should have done) to intreate vs to leaue them some part of their needfull prouisions, or at the least, to spare the

ruining of their towne at our going away. The cause of this their vnreasonable distrust (as I doe take it) vvas the fresh remembrance of the great wronges they had done to olde Maister William Havvkins of Plimmouth, in the voyage he made foure or fiue yeares before, when as they did both breake their promise, and murthered many of his men, whereof I iudge you haue vnderstood, and therfore needlesse to be repeated. But since they came not at vs, vve left written in sundrie places, as also in the Spittle house, (vvhich building was onely appointed to be spared) the great discontentment and scorne we tooke at this their refraining to come vnto vs, as also at the rude maner of killing, and sauage kinde of handling the dead body of one of our boyes found, by them stragling all alone, from whome they had taken his head and heart, and had stragled the other bowels about the place, in a most brutish and beastly maner.

14

In reuenge vvhwhereof at our departing vve consumed vvith fire all the houses, asvvell in the countrey vvhich vve savv, as in the tovvne of S. IAGO.

From hence putting ouer to the West Indies, we vvere not many dayes at sea, but there beganne amongst our people such mortalitie, as in fevv dayes there vvere dead aboue tvvo or three hundred men. And vntill some seuen or eight dayes after out comming from S. IAGO, there had not died any one man of sicknesse in all the Fleete: the sicknesse shevved not his infection vvherevvith so many vvere stroken, vntill vve vvere departed thence, and then seized our people vvith extreme hote burning and continuall ague, vvhwhereof some very fevv escaped vvith life, and yet those for the most part not vvith out great alteration and decay of their vvittes and strength for a long time after. In some that died vvere plainly shevved the small spottes, vvhich are often found vpon those that be infected vvith the plague, vve vvere not aboue eighteene daies in passage betvvene the sight of Sainct IAGO aforesaid, and the Island of DOMINICA, being the first Islande of the West Indies that vve fell vvithall, the same being inhabited vvith sauage people, vvhich goe all naked, their skin coloured vvith some painting of a reddish tavnney, very personable and handsome strong men, vvho doe admit little conuersation vvith the Spaniardes: for as some of our people might vnnderstand them, they had a Spaniard or tvvaine prisoners vvith them, neither do I thinke that there is any safetie for any of our nation, or any other to be vvithin the limits of their commaundement, albeit they vsed vs very kindly for those fevve houres of time vvhich vve spent vvith them, helping our folkes to fill and carie on their bare shoulders fresh vvater from the riuer to our ships boates, and fetching from their houses, great store of Tobacco, as also a kinde of bread vvhich they fed on, called Cassado, verie white and sauerie, made of the rootes of Cassania. In recompence whereof, wee bestovved liberall revvardes of glasse, coloured beades, and other things, which we had found at Sainct IAGO, vvherewith (as it seemed) they rested verie greatlie satisfied, and shevving some sorrowfull countenance vvhen they perceaued that vve vvoulde depart.

C4

15

From hence vve vvent to another Island Westward of it, called Sainct CHRISTOPHERS Island, wherein vvwe spent some daies of Christmas, to refresh our sicke people, and to cleanse and ayre our ships. In vvhich island vvere not any people at all that vve could heare off.

In vvhich time by the Generall it vvas aduised and resolved, vvith the consent of the Liefteuant generall, the Vice-Admirall, and all the rest of the Captaines to proceed to the great Island of HISPANIOLA, as vvell for that we knevve our selues then to bee in our best strength, as also the rather allured thereunto, by the glorious fame of the Citie of S. DOMINGO, being the ancientest and chiefe inhabited place in al the tract of countrey ther

aboutes. And so proceeding in this determination, by the way we met a small Frigate, bound for the same place, the which the Vice-Admirall tooke, and having duellie examined the men that were in her, there was one founde by whose we were advertised, the haven to be a barred haven, and the shore or land thereof to be well fortified, having a Castle thereupon furnished with great store of Artillerie, without the danger whereof, was no convenient landing place within ten English miles of the Citie, to which the saide Pilote tooke upon him to conduct vs.

16

All things being thus considered on, the whole forces were commaunded in the evening to imbarke themselves into Pinnaces, boates, & other small barks appointed for this service. Our souldiers being thus imbarked the Generall put himselfe into the barke Francis as Admirall, and all this night we lay on the sea, bearing small saile vntill our arrival to the landing place, which was about the breaking of the day, and so we landed, being Newyears day, nine or ten miles to the Westwardes of that braue Citie of S. DOMINGO: for at that time nor yet is knowne to vs, any landing place, where the sea surge doth not threaten to ouerset a Pinnace or boat. Our General having seene vs all landed in safetie, returned to his Fleete, bequeathing vs to God, and the good conduct of Maister Carliell our Lieutenant Generall: at which time, being about eight of the clocke, we began to march, and about noone time, or towards one of the clocke we approached the towne, where the Gentlemen and those of the better sort, being some hundred and fiftie braue horses or rather more, began to present themselves, but our small shot plaied upon them, which were so sustained with good proportion of pikes in all partes, as they finding no part of our troope vnprepared to receiue them (for you must vnderstande they viewed all round about) they were thus driuen to giue vs leaue to proceed towards the two gates of the towne, which were the next to the seavard. They had manned them both, and planted their ordinance for that present, and sudden alarm without the gate, and also some troopes of small shot in Ambuscado upon the hie way side. We deuided our whole force, being some thousand or twelue hundred men into two partes, to enterprise both the gates at one instant, the Lieftenant Generall having openly vowed to Captaine Povvell (who led the troope that entered the other gate) that with Gods good fauour he would not rest vntill our meeting in the market place.

D

17

Their ordinance had no sooner discharged upon our near approach, & made some execution amongst vs, though not much, but the Lieftenant generall began forthwith to aduance both his voice of encouragement, and pace of marching, the first man that was slaine with the ordinance being verie neere vnto himselfe, and thereupon hasted all that he might to keepe them from the recharging of the ordinance. And notwithstanding their Ambuscadoes, we marched or rather ranne so roundly into them as pell mell we entered the gates, and gaue them more care every man to saue himselfe by flight, then reason to stand any longer to their broken fight, we forthwith repaired to the market place, but to be more truly vnderstood a place of verye faire spacious square grounde before the great Church, whether also came as had bene agreed Captaine Povvell with the other troope, which place with some part next vnto it, we strengthened with Barricados, and there as the most convenient place assured our selues, the Citie being farre to spacious for so small and weary a troope to vndertake to garde. Somewhat after midnight they who had the garde of the Castle, hearing vs busie about the gates of the saide Castle, abandoned the same: some being taken prisoners, and some flying away by the help of boates, to the other side of the haven, & so into the country.

The next day vve quartered a little more at large, but not into the halfe part of the tovvne, and so making substantiall trenches, and planting all the ordinance that ech part vvas correspondent to other, we held this towne the space of one moneth.

In the vvchich time happened some accidents more then are vvell remembred for the present, but amongst other thinges it chanced that the Generall sent on his message to the Spaniardes a negro boy with a flagge of vvwhite, signifiing truce, as is the Spaniardes ordinarie manner to doe there, vvhen they approach to speak to vs, vvchich boy vnappily vvas first met withall, by some of those who had bene belonging as officers for the King in the Spanish Galley, vvchich vvith the Tovvne vvas lately fallen into our hands, vvho vvithout all order or reason, and contrary to that good vsage vvherewith vvee had entertained their messengers, furiously stroke the poore boy through the bodie vvith one of their horsemens staues, with vvich vvound the boy returned to the Generall, and after he had declared the maner of this wrongfull crueltie, died forthvvith in his presence, vvherewith the Generall beeing greatly passioned, commaunded the Prouost martiall, to cause a couple of Friers, then prisoners, to be caried to the same place where the boy was stroken, accompanied with sufficient gard of our soldiers, and there presently to be hanged, dispatching at the same instant another poore prisoner, vvith this reason wherefore this execution vvas done, and vvith this message further, that vntill the partie vvho had thus murdered the Generals messenger, vvere deliuered into our handes, to receaue condigne punishment, there should no day passe, vvherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, vntill they were all consumed vvich vvere in our handes.

18

Whereupon the day following, he that had bene Captaine of the kinges galley, brought the offender to the townes ende, offering to deliuer him into our hands, but it was thought a more honourable reuenge, to make them there in our sight, to performe the execution themselues, vvchich vvas done accordingly.

During our being in this towne, as formerly also at S. IAGO there had passed iustice vpon the life of one of our owne companie for an odious matter: so here likewise was there an Irish man hanged, for the murdering of his Corporall.

In this time also passed manie treaties betweene their Commissioners and vs, for ransome of their Citie, but vpon disagreements, we still spent the early mornings in firing the outmost houses; but they being built verie magnificently of stone, vvith high loftes, gaue vs no small trauell to ruine them. And albeit for diuers daies together, we ordained eche morning by day breake, vntill the heat began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred Mariners did nought else but labour to fier and burne the said houses vvithout our trenches, vvhist the souldiers in a like proportion stood foorth for their gard: yet did we not or could not in this time consume so much as one third part of the towne, vvchich Towne is here plainly described and set forth in this Map. And so in the end, what wearied with firing, and vvhat hastened by some other respects, we were contented to accept of fiue and twentie thousand Duckets, of fiue shillings sixe pence the peece, for the ransome of the rest of the towne.

D2

19

Amongst other things which happened and were found at S. DOMINGO, I may not omit to let the world know one very notable marke and token, of the vnsatiable ambition of the Spanish king & his nation, vvchich was found in the kings house, vvherein the chiefe Gouvernor of that Citie and countrey is appointed alwaies to lodge, vvchich vvas this: In the comming to the hall or other romes of this house, you must first ascend vp by a

faire large paire of staires, at the head of vvhich staires is a handsome spacious place to vvalke in, somewhat like vnto a gallerie, vvherein vpon one of the vvals, right ouer against you as you enter the said place, so as your eye can not escape the sight of it, there is described and painted in a very large Scutchion, the armes of the king of Spaine, and in the lower part of the said Scutchion, there is likewise described a globe, containing in it the whole circuite of the sea and the earth, vvhereupon is a horse standing on his hinder part vwithin the globe, and the other fore part vwithout the globe, lifted vp as it vvere to leape, vwith a scroll painted in his mouth, vvherein vvas written these vvordes in Latin *Non sufficit orbis*: which is as much to say, as the world suffiseth not, vvhreeof the meaning vvas required to be knowen of some of those of the better sort, that came in commission to treat vpon the ransome of the tovvne, who would shake their heades, and turne aside their countenance in some smyling sort, without answering any thing, as greatly ashamed thereof. For by some of our companie it vvas told them, that if the Queene of England vvould resolutely prosecute the warres against the Kinge of Spaine, he should be forced to lay aside that proude and vnreasonable reaching vaine of his, for he should finde more then inough to do, to keepe that vvhich he had alreadye, as by the present example of their lost towne they might for a beginning perceaue vvell inough.

20

Now to the satisfying of some men, who maruel greatly that such a famous and goodly builded Citie so vvell inhabited of gallant people, very brauely apparelled (vvhreeof our souldiers found good store for their reliefe) should afoord no greater riches then vvas found there, vvherein it is to be vnderstood that the Indian people, which were the naturals of this vvhole Island of HISPANIOLA (the same being neare hand as great as England) were many yeares since cleane consumed by the tyrannie of the Spaniards, vvhich vvas cause, that for lacke of people to vvorke in the Mines, the gold and siluer Mines of this Island are vvholly giuen ouer, and thereby they are faine in this Island to vse copper money, whereof vvas found verie great quantitie. The chiefe trade of this place consisteth of Suger and Ginger, which groweth in the Island, and of hides of oxen and kine, vvhich in this wast countrey of the Island are bred in infinite numbers, the soile being verie fertile: and the said beasts are fed vp to a verie large growth, and so killed for nothing so much, as for their hides aforesaid. Wee found here great store of strong wine, sweete oyle, vineger, oliues, and other such like prouisions, as excellent vvheate meale packed vp in wine pipes and other caske, and other commodities likewise, as vvollen and linnen cloth, and some silkes, all which prouisions are brought out of Spaine & serued vs for great release. There vvas but a little plate or vessell of Siluer, in comparison of the great pride in other thinges of thys towne, because in these hote countreyes they vse much of these erthen dishes finely painted or varnished, vvich they call Parsellina, and is had out of the East India, and for their drinking, they vse glasses altogether, whereof they make excellent good and faire in the same place. But yet some plate we founde, and many other good thinges, as theyr hosholde garniture very gallant and rich, vvhich had cost them deere, although vnto vs they vvere of small importance.

D3

21

From S. DOMINGO we put ouer to the maine or firme land, and going all alongest the coast, vve came at the last in sight of CARTAGENA, standing vpon the sea side so neare as some of our barks in passing alongst, approached vwithin the reach of their Culuerin shot, vvhich they had planted vpon certaine platformes. The harbour mouth lay some three miles toward the Westvvard of the town, vvhreinto we entered about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone vwithout any resistance, of ordinance, or other impeachment planted vpon the same. In the euening

vve put our selues on land tovvardes the harbour mouth, vnder the leading of Maister Carleill our Lieftenant generall, vvho after he had digested vs to march forvvard about the midnight, as easily as foote might fall, expresselye commaunding to keepe close by the sea vvash of the shore for our best and surest vvay, whereby we vvere like to goe through, and not to misse anye more of the vvay, vvchich once vve had lost within an hower after our first beginning to march, through the slender knowledge of him that tooke vpon him to be our guide, whereby the night spent on, which otherwise must haue bene done by resting. But as we came vvithin some tvvo miles of the towne, their horsemen which vvere some hundred, met vs, and taking the alarum, retired to their townevvard again vpon the first volley of our shot that vvvas giuen them: for the place where vve encountred being vvwoody and bushie euen to the water side, was vnmeet for their seruice.

At this instant vve might heare some peeces of artillerie discharged, with diuers small shot tovvardes the harbour, vvchich gaue vs to vnderstand, according to the order set downe in the euening before by our Generall, that the Vice-Admirall accompanied with Captaine Venner, Captaine White, and Captaine Crosse, vvith other sea captaines, and vvith diuers Pinnaces and boates should giue some attempt vnto the litle fort standing on the entrie of the inner hauen, neere adiointing to the tovvne, though to small purpose, for that the place vvvas stronge, and the entrye verie narrowve vvvas chained ouer: so as there coulde be nothing gotten by the attempt, more then the giuing of them an Alarum on that other side of the hauen being a mile and a halfe from the place where vve novve vvere. In which attempt the Vice-Admirall had the rudder of his Skiffe stroken through with a Saker shot, and litle or no harme receaued else where.

The troopes being novve in their march, half a myle behither the tovvne or lesse, the ground we were on grew to be straight, and not aboute fiftie paces ouer, hauing the maine sea on the side of it, and the harbour water or inner sea (as you may tearme it) on the other side, vvchich in this plot is plainely shewed. This straight was fortified cleane ouer with a stone vvall and a ditch without it, the saide wall being as orderly built vvith flanking in euery part, as can be set dovvne. There vvvas onely so much of this straight vnvvalled, as might serue for the issuing of the horsemen, or the passing of carriage in time of neede: but this vnvvalled part vvvas not vvithout a very good Barricado of vvine butts or pipes, filled vvith earth, ful and thick as they might stand on end one by another, some part of of them standing euen vvithin the maine sea.

This place of strength vvvas furnished of sixe great peeces, demi-Culuerins, and Sakers, vvchich shot directlie in front vpon vs as vve approached. Novve vvithout this vval vpon the inner side of the streight, they had brought likewise tvvo great Gallies vvith their provvesse to the shore, hauing planted in them eleuen peeces of ordinance vvchich did beate all crosse the straight, and flanked our comming on. In these tvvo Gallies vvere planted three or foure hundred small shot, and on the land in the garde onely of thys place, three hundred shot and pikes.

They in this their full readinesse to receiue vs, spared not their shot both great and small. But our Lieftenant generall, taking the aduantage of the darke (the day light as yet not broken out) approached by the lovvest ground, according to the expresse direction vvchich himselfe hadde formerlie giuen, the same being the sea vvash shore, vvhere the vvater vvvas somevvhat fallen, so as most of all their shot vvvas in vaine. Our Lieftenant generall commaunded our shot to forbear shooting vntill vve vvere come to the vvall side, and so vvith pikes roundlie together vve approached the place, vvhere vve soone found out the Barricadoes of

pipes or butts, to be the meetest place for our assault, vvhich notvvithstaning it vvas vvell tempted by vs: dovvne vvent the butts of earth, and pell mell came our svvordes and pikes together, after our shot had first giuen their volley, euen at the enemies nose. Our pikes vvere somevvhat longer then theirs, and our bodies better armed, for very fevve of them vvere armed, vvith vvwhich aduantage out svvordes and pikes grevv to hard for them, and they driuen to giue place. In this furious entrie, the Lieutenant generall slue vvith his ovvne hands, the chiefe Ensigne bearer of the Spaniards, vvho fought verie manfullie to his liues end.

24

We follovvved into the towne vvith them, and giuing them no leasure to breath, vve vvanne the Market place, albeit they made head, and fought a while before vve got it, and so vve being once seized and assured of that, they were content to suffer vs to lodge vvithin their towne, and themselues to goe to their vviiues, vvhome they had caried into other places of the countrey before our comming thither.

At euerie streetes end they had raised verie fine Barricadoes of earth workes, vvith trenches without them, as well made as euer vve savve any vvorke done: at the entring whereof vvas some litle resistance, but soone ouercome, it vvas vvith fewe slaine or hurt. They had ioyned vvith them many Indians, vvhome they had placed in corners of aduantage, all bovvve men, vvith their Arrovvves most villanously empoisoned, so as if they did but breake the skinne, the partie so touched died vvithout great marueill: some they slevve of our people with their arrowes, some they likewise mischieued to death vvith certaine prickes of small sticke sharply pointed, of a foot and a halfe long, the one end put into the ground, the other empoisoned, sticking fast vp, right against our comming in the vvay, as we should approach from our landing tovvardes the towne, vvhereof they had planted a vvonderfull number in the ordinarie way, but our keeping the sea vvash shore, missed the greatest part of them verie happilie.

To ouerpasse many particular matters, as the hurting of Captaine Sampson at svvord blowes in the first entring, vnto vvhom was committed the charge of the pikes of the Vantgard by his lot and turne, as also of the taking of Alonso Brauo the chiefe commaunder of that place by Captaine Goring, after the said Captaine had first hurt him vvith his sword, vnto vvwhich Captaine vvas committed the charge of the shot of the said Vantgard.

E

25

Captain Winter vvas likewise by his turne of the Vantgard in this attempt, vvhere also the Liefetenant generall marched himselve, the saide Captaine Winter through a great desire to serue by land, hauing nowe exchanged his charge by sea with Captaine Cecill for his band of footemen.

Captaine Povvell the Sergeant maior hadde by hys turne, the charge of the foure companies vvwhich made the battaile.

Captaine Morgan, who at S. DOMINGO was of the Vantgard, had now by turne his charge vpon the companies of the Riergard.

Euerie man asvvell of one part as of another, came so vvillinglie on to the seruice, as the enemy vvas not able to endure the furie of such hote assault.

We staid here sixe weekes, and the sicknesse with mortalitie before spoken off, still continuing among vs, though not vvith the same fury as at the first, and such as were touched vvith the said sicknesse, escaping death, very fevv or almost none could recouer their strength, yea many of them vvere much decayed in their memorie: insomuch that it vvas

growen and ordinarie iudgement, when one was heard to speake foolishlie, to say he had bene sicke of the Calentour, vvhich is the Spanish name of their burning Ague: for as I tolde you before, it is a very burning and pestilent ague. The originall cause thereof, is imputed to the euening or first night aire, which they tearme *La serena*, vvherein they say and holde very firme opinion, that who so is then obroad in the open aire, shall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the Indian or naturall race of those countrey people: by holding their watch, vvhere thus subiected to the infectious ayre, vvhich at Sainct IAGO vvas most dangerous and deadly of al other places.

26

With the inconuenience of continuall mortalitie, vve vvere forced to giue ouer our entended enterprise, to goe with NOMBRE DE DIOS, and so ouerland to PANNAMA, vvhere vve shoulde haue stroken the stroke for the treasure, and full recompence of our tedious trauailes. And thus at CARTAGENA vve tooke our first resolution to returne homewards.

But vvhile vve vvere yet there, it happened one day, that our vvatch called the Sentinell, vpon the Church steeple, had discouered in the sea a couple of small barkes or boates, making in with the harbour of CARTAGENA, whereupon Captaine Moone and Captaine Varney, vvith John Grant the Maister of the Tyger, and some other sea men, embarqued themselues in a couple of small Pinnaces, to take them before they should come nigh the shore, at the mouth of the harbour, least by some stragling Spaniardes from the land, they might be vvarned by signes from comming in, which fel out accordingly, notvvithstanding all the diligence that our men coulde vse: for the Spanish boates, vpon the sight of our Pinnaces comming tovvardes them, ran themselues a shore, and so their men presently hid them selues in bushes hard by the sea side, amongst some others that had called them by signes thyther. Our men presently vvithout any due regard had to the qualitie of the place, and seeing no man of the Spaniardes to shew themselues, aboarded the Spanish barkes or boates, and so standing all open in them, were suddenly shot at by a troope of Spaniards out of the bushes, by vvhich volley of shot there vvere slaine Captaine Varney, vvhich died presently, and Captaine Moone, vvho died some fevve dayes after, besides some foure fiue others that vvere hurt: and so our folkes returned without their purpose, not hauing any sufficient number of souldiers, vvith them to fight on shore. For those men they carried were all marriners to rowe, fevve of them armed, because they made account with their ordinance to haue taken the barkes vvell enough at sea, which they might ful easily haue done, without any losse at all, if they had come in time to the harbour mouth, before the Spaniards boats had gotten so neare the shore.

E2

27

During our abode in this place, as also at S. DOMINGO, there passed diuerse curtesies betvveene vs and the Spaniardes, as feasting, and vsing them with all kindnes, and fauour: so as amongst others there came to see the Generall, the Gouvernor of *Cartagena*, vvith the Bishop of the same, and diuerse of other Gentlemen of the better sort.

This towne of *Cartagena* wee touched in the out parts, and consumed much vvith fire, as we had done Sainct DOMINGO vpon discontentmentes, and for want of agreeing with vs in their first treaties touching their ransome, which at the last vvas concluded betvvene vs, should be a hundred and ten thousand Duckettes for that which vvas yet standing, the Ducket valued at fiue shillings sixe pence sterling.

This towne though not halfe so big as S. DOMINGO, giues as you see, a farre greater ransome, being in verye deede of farre more importance, by reason of the excellencie of the harbour, and the situation thereof, to

serue the trade of NOMBRE DE DIOS and other places, and is inhabited with farre more richer merchantes. The other is chiefly inhabited with Lawyers & braue Gentlemen, being the chiefe or highest appeale of their suites in lawe of all the Islandes about it, and of the maine lande coast next vnto it. And it is of no such accompt as CARTAGENA, for these and some other like reasons, which I could giue you, ouer long to be novv vwritten.

28

The vvarning which this tovvne receaued of our coming tovvardes them, from S. DOMINGO, by the space of twentie daies before our arriuall hither, was cause that they had both fortified and euey vway prepared for their best defence. As also that they had caried and conuayed away all their treasure and principall substance.

The ransome of an hundred and tenne thousand Duckets thus concluded on, as is aforesaid, the same being written, and expressing for nothing more then the tovvne of CARTAGENA, vpon the payment of the said ransome, we left the said tovvne, and drevv some part of our souldiers into the Priorie or Abbey, standing a quarter of an English mile belovv the tovvne vpon the harbour water side, the same being vvalled vvith a wall of stone, vvchich vve told the Spaniards vvas yet ours, and not redeemed by their composition: vvhereupon they finding the defect of their contract, vvere contented to enter into another ransome for all places, but specially for the said house, as also the blocke house or Castle, vvchich is vpon the mouth of the inner harbour. And vvhen vve asked as much for the one as for the other, they yelded to giue a thousand Crownes for the Abbey, leauing vs to take our pleasure vpon the blocke house, vvchich they said they vvere not able to ransome, hauing stretched them selues to the vttermost of their powers: and therefore the said blocke house vvas by vs vndermined, and so vvith gunne powder blowen vp in peeces.

While this latter contract vvas in making, our whole Fleete of ships fell dovvne tovvardes the harbour mouth, vvhere they ankered the third time, and employed their men in fetching of fresh vvater aboard the ships for our voiage homevvardes, which vvater vvas had in a great vvell, that is in the Island by the harbour mouth, which Island is a verie pleasant place as hath bene seene, hauing in it many sortes of goodly and verie pleasant fruitcs, as the orange trees and others, being set orderly in walkes of great length together. Insomuch as the vvhole Island being some two or three miles about, is cast into groundes of gardening and orchards.

E3

29

After sixe vveeks abode in this place, vve put to sea the last of March, where after tvvo or three dayes a great ship vvchich vve had taken at S. DOMINGO, and thereupon vvas called the New yeares gift, fell into a great leake, being laden with ordinance, hides, and other spoiles, and in the night shee lost the companie of our Fleete, vvchich being missed the next morning by the Generall, he cast about vvith the whole Fleete, fearing some great mischance to be happened vnto her, as in verie deede it so fell out, for her leake vvas so great, and her men were all tyred vvith pumping. But at the last hauing found her and the Barke Talbot in her companie, vvchich staid by great hap vvith her, vvas readie to take their men out of her, for the sauing of them. And so the Generall being fully aduertised of their great extremitie, made saile directlie back againe to CARTAGENA with the vvhole Fleete, where hauing staid eight or tenne daies more, about the vnlading of this ship, and the bestovving thereof and her men, into other ships, vve departed once againe to sea, directing our course tovvardes the Cape S. ANTHONIE, being the Eastermost part of CVBA, vvwhether vve arriued the seuen and twentieth of Aprill. But because fresh vvater could not presently be found, we weyed anker and departed, thinking in few daies to recouer the MATTANCES, a place to the Eastward

After we had sailed some fourteene dayes, we vvere brought to Cape S. ANTHONIE againe, thorough lacke of fauorable winde: but then our scarcity vvas growen such, as neede made vs looke a little better for vvater, vvchich vve found in sufficient quantitie, being in deede as I iudge, none other then raine vvater nevvely fallen, and gathered vp by making pittes in a plot of marrish ground, some three hundred pases from the sea side.

30

I do vvrong if I should forget the good example of the Generall at this place, vvho to encourage others, and to hasten the getting of fresh vvater aboard the ships, tooke no lesse paine him selfe then the meanest, as also at S. DOMINGO, CARTAGENA, and all other places, hauing alvvaies so vigilant a care and foresight in the good ordering of his Fleete, accompanying them, as it is said, with such vvonderfull trauell of bodie, as doubtlesse had he bene the meanest person, as he vvas the chiefest, he had yet deserued the first place of honour: and no lesse happie do we accompt him, for being associated with Maister Carleill his Lieutenant generall, by whose experiences, prudent counsell, and gallant performance, he atchiued so many and happie enterprises of the warre, by vvhom also he was verie greatly assisted, in setting downe the needefull orders, lawes, and course of iustice, and for the due administration of the same vpon all occasions.

After three daies spent in watering our ships, vve departed now the second time from the Cape of S. ANTHONIE the thirteenth of May, and proceeding about the Cape of FLORIDA, we neuer touched anie where, but coasting alongst FLORIDA, and keeping the shore still in sight, the eight and twentieth of May early in the morning, vve descried on the shore a place built like a Beacon, vvchich vvas in deede a scaffold vpon fowre long mastes, raised on ende for men to discouer to the seaward, being in the latitude of thirtie degrees, or verie neare thereunto. Our Pinnaces manned, and comming to the shore, we marched vp alongst the riuier side, to see vvhat place the enemies held there: for none amongst vs had any knowledge thereof at all.

E4

31

Here the Generall tooke occasion to march vvith the companies him selfe in person, the Lieutenant generall hauing the Vantgard, and going a mile vp or somewhat more by the riuier side, vve might discerne on the other side of the riuier ouer against vs, a fort, which newly had bene built by the Spaniards, and some mile or there about about the fort, vvas a litle towne or village without walls, built of vvoodden houses, as this Plot here doth plainlie shevv: we forthwith prepared to haue ordinance for the batterie, and one peece vvas a litle before the euening planted, and the first shot being made by the Lieutenant generall him selfe at their Ensigne, strake through the Ensigne, as vve afterwarde vnderstood by a French man, vvchich came vnto vs from them. One shot more vvas then made, which strake the foote of the fort vvall, which vvas all massiue timber of great trees like Mastes. The Lieutenant generall vvas determined to passe the riuier this night vvith fovvre companies, and there to lodge him selfe intrenched as neare the fort, as that he might play vvith his muskets and smallest shot vpon any that should appeare: and so afterwarde to bring and plant the batterie vvith him, but the helpe of marriners for that sudden to make trenches could not be had, vvchich vvas the cause that this determination vvas remitted vntill the next night.

In the night the Lieutenant generall tooke a litle rowing Skiffe, and halfe a dozen vvell armed, as Captaine Morgan, and Captaine Sampson, vvith some others besides the rowers, and went to view vvhat gard the enemies kept, as also to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as

couertly as might be, yet the enemie taking the *Alarum*, grev fearefull that the whole Force was approaching to the assault, and therefore vwith all speede abandoned the place after the shooting of some of their peeces. They thus gone, and he being returned vnto vs againe, but nothing knowing of their flight from their fort, forthwith came a French man being a Phipher (who had bene prisoner vwith them) in a litle boate, playing on his phiph the tune of the Prince of Orenge his song, and beeing called vnto by the gard, he tolde them before he put foote out of the boate, vwhat he vvas him selfe, and hovv the Spaniardes were gone from the fort, offering either to remaine in handes there, or els to returne to the place with them that vvould goe.

32

Vpon this intelligence the Generall, the Lieftenant generall, vwith some of the Captaines in one Skiffe, and the Vice-Admirall vwith some others in his Skiffe, and tvvo or three Pinnaces furnished of souldiours vwith them, put presently ouer tovvardes the fort, giuing order for the rest of the Pinnaces to follovve. And in our approach, some of the enemie bolder then the rest, hauing stayed behinde their companie, shot off tvvo peeces of ordinance at vs: but on shore we vvent, and entered the place without finding any man there.

When the day appeared, we found it built all of timber, the walles being none other but whole mastes or bodies of trees set vppe right and close together in manner of a pale, vvithout any ditch as yet made, but who intended with some more time, for they had not as yet finished all their worke, hauing begun the same some three or foure monethes before: so as to say the trueth, they had no reason to keepe it, being subiect both to fire and easie assault.

The platforme vwhereon the ordinance lay, vvas whole bodies of long Pine trees, whereof there is great plentie, layed a crosse one on another, and some litle earth amongst. There vvas in it thirteene or fourteene greate peeces of brasse ordinance, and a chest vnbroken vp, hauing in it the value of some two thousande poundes sterling, by estimation of the kinges treasure, to pay the souldiers of that place vvho vvere a hundred and fiftie men.

The fort thus vwonne, vvchich they called S. Iohn fort, and the day opened, vve assayed to go to the tovvne, but could not by reason of some ryuers and broken ground vvchich was betweene the tvvo places: and therefore enforced to imbarke againe into our Pinnaces, vve vvent thither vpon the great maine riuier, which is called as also the Tovvne by the name of S. AVGVSTINE.

F

33

At our approaching to land, there vvas some that began to shevve themselues, and to bestovve some fevv shot vpon vs, but presently vvithdrevv themselues. And in their running thus avvay, the Sergeant Maior finding one of their horses readie sadled and bridled, tooke the same to follovv the chase, and so ouergoing all his companie, vvas (by one laied behind a bush) shot through the head, and falling dovvn therevvith, vvas by the same and tvvo or three more, stabbed in three or foure places of his bodie with swords and daggers, before any could come neer to his reskue. His death vvas much lamented, being in very deed an honest vvise Gentleman and a souldier of good experience, and of as great courage as any man might be.

In this place called S. AVGVSTINE, vve vnderstode the King did keepe as is before saide, one hundred and fifty souldiers, and at another place some dozen leagues beyond to the Northvwards, called S. HELENA, he did there likewise keepe an hundred and fifty more, seruing there for no other purpose, then to keepe all other nations from inhabiting any part of al that coast, the gouvernement vvherof vvas committed to one Pedro

Melendez Marquesse, Nephewv to that Melendez the Admirall, vvho had ouerthrowven Maister Iohn Havvkins in the Bay of MEXICO some fifteene or sixteene yeares agoe. This Gouvernour had charge of both places, but vvvas at this time in this place, and one of the first that left the same.

Here it vvvas resolved in full assembly of Captaines, to vndertake the enterprise of S HELENA, and from thence to seeke out the inhabitation of our English countrey men in VIRGINIA, distant from thence some sixe degrees Northvvvard.

34

When we came thvvvart of Saint *Helena* the shols appearing dangerous, and we hauing no Pilot to vndertake the entrie, it was thought meetest to goe hence alongst. For the Admiral had bene the same night in foure fadome and a halfe three leagues from the shore: and yet we vnderstood by the help of a knowne Pilot, there may and doeth goe in ships of greater burthen and draught then any wee had in our Fleete.

Wee passed thus alongest the coast harde aboorde the shore, which is shallowe for a league or tvvo from the shore, and the same is lovve and broken land for the most part.

The ninth of Iune vpon sight of one speciall great fire (which are very ordinarie all alongst this coast, euen from the Cape FLORIDA hither) the Generall sent his Skiffe to the shore, where they found some of our English countrey men (that had bene sent thither the yeare before by Sir Walter Raleigh) and brought on aboard, by vvwhose direction wee proceeded along to the place, vvwhich they make their Port. But some of our shippes beeing of great draught vnable to enter, we anckered all without the harbour in a vvilde road at sea, about two miles from shore.

From whence the Generall wrote letters to Maister Ralfe Lane, being Gouvernour of those English in VIRGINIA, and then at his fort about six leagues from the rode in an Island, which they call ROANOAC, wherein is specially he shewed how ready he was to supply his necessities and wants, which he vnderstood of, by those he had first talked withall.

The morrowe after Maister Lane himselfe and some of his companie comming vnto him, with the consent of his Captaines he gaue them the choice of tvvo offers, that is to say: Either he woulde leaue a ship, a pinnace, and certaine boates with sufficient Maisters and Mariners, together furnished vvwith a monethes victuall to stay and make farther discouerie of the countrey and coastes, and so much victuall likewise that might bee sufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three persons) into England if they thought good after such time, with any other thing they vvould desire, and that he might be able to spare.

F2

35

Or else if they thought they had made sufficient discouerie already, and did desire to returne into England, he would giue them passage. But they as it seemed, being desirous to stay, accepted verie thankfully, and with great gladnesse that which vvvas offred first. Whereupon the ship being appointed and receaued into charge, by some of their ovvne companie sent into her by Maister Lane, before they had receaued from the rest of the Fleete, the prouision appointed them, there arose a great storme (vvwhich they said vvvas extraordinarie and verie strange) that lasted three daies together, and put all our Fleete in great danger, to be driuen from their ankering vpon the coast. For vve brake many Cables, and lost manie Ankers. And some of our Fleete which had lost all (of vvwhich number was the ship appointed for Maister Lane and his companie) vvvas driuen to put to sea in great danger, in auoyding the coast, and could neuer see vs againe vntill we met in England. Manie also of our small Pinnaces and boates vvvere lost in this storme.

Notwithstanding after all this, the Generall offered them (with consent of his Captaines) another ship with some prouision, although not such a one for their turnes, as might haue bene spared them before, this being vnable to be brought into their harbour. Or else if they vvould, to giue them passage into England, although he knew he should performe it vvith greater difficultie then he might haue done before.

But Maister Lane vvith those of the chiefest of his companie he had then with him, considering vvhat should be best for them to doe, made request vnto the Generall vnder their handes, that they might haue passage for England: the vvich being graunted, and the rest sent for out of the countrey and shipped, we departed from that coast the eighteenth of Iune.

36

And so God be thanked, both they and we in good safetie arriued at Portesmouth the eight and twentieth of Iuly 1586, to the great glorie of God, and to no small honour to our Prince, our Countrey, and our selues.

The totall value of that which was gotten in this voyage, is estimated at three score thousand pounds, vvhereof the companies vvich haue trauelled in the voyage were to haue twentie thousand pounds, the aduenturers the other fortie. Of which twentie thousand pounds (as I can iudge) will redound some sixe pound to the single share.

We lost some seuen hundred and fiftie men in the voiage.

The men of name that died and were slaine in this voiage as I can presently call to my remembrance, are these.

Captaine Powell.
Captaine Varney.
Captaine Moone.
Captaine Fortescute.
Captaine Bigges.
Captaine Cecill.
Captaine Hannam.
Captaine Greenefield.
Thomas Tucker a Lieutenant.
Alexander Starkey a Lieutenant.
Maister Escot a Lieutenant.
Maister Waterhouse a Lieutenant.
Maister Nicholas Winter.
Maister Alexander Carleill.
Maister Robert Alexander.
Maister Scroope.
Maister Iames Dier.
Maister Peter Duke.

37

With some other, vvho for hast I can not so suddenly thinke on.

The ordinance gotten of all sortes brasse and Iron were about two hundred and fortie, whereof the two hundred and some more were brasse, and were thus founde and gotten.

In S. IAGO some two or three and fiftie peeces.

In S. DOMINGO about foure score, whereof was verie much great ordinance, as vvhole Cannon, Dimi-Cannon, Culuerins, and such like.

In CARTAGENA some sixtie and three peeces, and good stoore likewise of the greater sort.

In the fort of S. AVGVSTINE vvere fourteene peeces.

The rest vvas Iron ordinance, of vvich the most part vvas gotten at S.

Pag. 17. Lin. 3. recharging.
21. 21. of ordinance.
26. 3. Pannama.

Transcriber's notes

The corrections indicated by the three errata notes have been made:

'keepe them from the reaching of the ordinance' corrected to 'keepe them from the recharging of the ordinance' on page 17.

'vwithout any resistance, or ordinance,' corrected to 'vwithout any resistance, of ordinance,' on page 21.

'and so ouerland to PANNANIA' corrected to 'and so ouerland to PANNAMA' on page 26.

The following corrections to obvious typographical errors have also been made:

'nnd therefore doe onely commend the trueth' changed to 'and therefore doe onely commend the trueth' in the Dedication.

'slacked for a time of some better leasure,' changed to 'slacked for a time of some better leasure.' after the Dedication.

'Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonaduentnre' changed to 'Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonadventure' on page 2.

'willed him to goe to to the Gouvernour of the Citie' changed to 'willed him to goe to the Gouvernour of the Citie' on page 4.

'Maister Carleill our Lieuteuant generall' changed to 'Maister Carleill our Lieutenant generall' on page 6.

Page signature C2 was erroneously printed as B2 in the original on page 11.

'On Mnnday the six and twentieth of Nouember' changed to 'On Monday the six and twentieth of Nouember' on page 12.

'being some hun dred and fiftie braue horses' changed to 'being some hundred and fiftie braue horses' on page 16. The word 'hundred' was split over a line break without a hyphen.

'vwich was found in the kings house' changed to 'vwich was found in the kings house' on page 19.

'the grond we were on grew to be straight' changed to 'the ground we were on grew to be straight' on page 22.

'Our Lieftenant generall com maunded our shot' changed to 'Our Lieftenant generall commaunded our shot' on page 22. The word 'commaunded' was split over a line break without a hyphen.

'fought a while beforev egot it' changed to 'fought a while before vve got it' on page 24.

'when onewas heard to speake foolishlie' changed to 'when one was heard to speake foolishlie' on page 25.

'full recompence of our tedious tranailles' changed to 'full recompence of our tedious trauailles' on page 26.

'raken the barkes vwell enough at sea' changed to 'taken the barkes vwell enough at sea' on page 27, by reference to the catchword on the previous page.

'built of vwoodden houses,,' changed to 'built of vwoodden houses,' on page 31.

'then any wee had in our Fleete,' changed to 'then any wee had in our Fleete.' on page 34.

One contraction has been expanded: in 'to the number of fiue and twentie saile of ships' on page 1, the 'm' in 'number' was represented by a horizontal line over the 'u' in the original.

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